

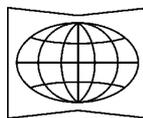
2014 YEARBOOK 35
JAHRBUCH 35
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS
INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR GESCHICHTSDIDAKTIK
SOCIÉTÉ INTERNATIONALE POUR LA DIDACTIQUE DE L'HISTOIRE

COLONIALISM, DECOLONIZATION AND POST-
COLONIAL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: CHALLENGES
FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS AND HISTORY TEACHING
IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

KOLONIALISMUS, DEKOLONISIERUNG, POSTKOLO-
NIALE PERSPEKTIVEN. HERAUSFORDERUNGEN
FÜR DIE DIDAKTIK DER GESCHICHTE
UND DEN GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT IM KONTEXT
DER GLOBALISIERUNG

COLONIALISME – DÉCOLONISATION – PERSPECTIVES
POSTCOLONIALES: DES DÉFIS POUR LA DIDACTIQUE ET
L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE DANS LE CONTEXTE
DE LA MONDIALISATION



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CONTENTS · INHALT · TABLE DES MATIERES

PREFACE · VORWORT · PRÉFACE	7
COLONIALISM, DECOLONISATION AND POST-COLONIAL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: CHALLENGES FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS AND HISTORY TEACHING IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD KOLONIALISMUS, DEKOLONISIERUNG, POSTKOLONIALE PERSPEKTIVEN. HERAUSFORDERUNGEN FÜR DIE DIDAKTIK DER GESCHICHTE UND DEN GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT IM KONTEXT DER GLOBALISIERUNG COLONIALISME, DÉCOLONISATION, PERSPECTIVES POSTCOLONIALES: DES DÉFIS POUR LA DIDACTIQUE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE DANS LE CONTEXTE DE LA MONDIALISATION	13
<i>George Wrangham</i> India: Training for empire and independence	15
<i>Terry Haydn</i> How and what should we teach about the British empire in English schools?	23
<i>David Lefrançois, Marc-André Éthier and Stéphanie Demers</i> A theoretical framework for analysing discourse regarding post-colonial national identity in the context of history teaching in Quebec	41
<i>Katja Gorbahn</i> From Carl Peters to the Maji Maji War – colonialism in current Tanzanian and German textbooks	57

<i>Karel van Nieuwenhuysse</i>	79
From triumphalism to amnesia. Belgian-Congolese (post)colonial history in Belgian secondary history education curricula and textbooks (1945-1989)	
<i>Harry Haue</i>	101
Greenland – history teaching in a former Danish colony	
<i>George Kokkinos, Panayotis Kimourtzis, Elli Lemonidou, Aggelos Palikidis, Panayotis Gatsotis, John Papageorgiou</i>	115
Colonialism and decolonisation in Greek school history textbooks of secondary and primary education	
<i>Barbara Techmańska</i>	137
Decolonisation issues in contemporary history textbooks for secondary schools in Poland	
<i>Jan Löfström</i>	147
Lost encounters: a post-colonial view on the history course ‘meeting of cultures’, in the upper secondary school in Finland	
<i>Barnabas Vajda</i>	165
Czechoslovakia, decolonisation and some ‘materiales de guerra’	
<i>Alexandr Khodnev</i>	177
The history of colonialism and decolonisation in the Russian educational curriculum and the challenges to history didactics	
<i>Marat Gibatdinov</i>	193
Post-Soviet or post-colonial history in contemporary Russian history textbooks?	
FORUM	207
<i>Susanne Popp and Jutta Schumann</i>	209
Developing trans-regional perspectives in museums	

<i>Michael Wobring</i>	229
The visual depiction of Islam in European history textbooks (1970-2010)	
<i>Sebastian Barsch</i>	253
Silent stories of exclusion – teaching deaf history	
<i>Mare Oja</i>	263
Changing approach toward the past. How do history teachers assess the changes in history education in general education in Estonia from the middle of the 1980s to today?	
<i>Anu Raudsepp</i>	293
Changes in initial training of history teachers at the university of Tartu in post-Soviet period	
ABSTRACTS · ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN · RÉSUMÉS	305
AUTHOR'S INDEX · AUTORENVERZEICHNIS · LISTE DES AUTEURS	321
PEER-REVIEWERS OF THE 2013 AND 2014 YEARBOOK/JAHRBUCH/ANNALES · PEER-REVIEWER 2013 UND 2014 DES YEARBOOK'S/JAHRBUCHS/ANNALES · COMITÉ DE LECTURE DU YEARBOOK/JAHRBUCH/ANNALES 2013 ET 2014	325
CALL FOR PAPERS · THEMENANKÜNDIGUNG · APPEL À CONTRIBUTIONS	327
ORDERS · BESTELLADRESSE · ADRESSE DE COMMANDE	329

PREFACE

As usual, most part of the Yearbook's/Jahrbuch's/Annales' contributions are based on the papers presented during the annual conference of the International Society for History Didactics. In 2013 it was organized in Tutzing, Germany, in cooperation with the Tutzing Academy for Civic Education. Out of over 50 papers presented, only a part could be published in the Yearbook. Nevertheless, they present divergent perspectives on the theme of *Colonialism, Decolonisation and Post-colonial Historical Perspectives – Challenges for History Didactics and History Teaching in a Globalising World*. Different countries are taken into consideration, including the 'traditional' colonial empire of Great Britain, the late-comers to the colonial politics: Germany, Belgium and Denmark, and countries that had little to do with colonialism, like Greece, Poland or Czechoslovakia. Russia is presented as a specific example of the colonial power that has been denying its status. What is significant in this volume, is its focus on history didactics. School curricula and textbooks are the main primary sources (though many authors expressed their reservation about the extent to which they reflect the genuine teaching-learning process), but interviews with teachers, lesson observations and exam questions are also taken into consideration. Both theoretical and practical aspects of presenting colonialism and decolonisation are included; both in the past and today – thus showing different research approaches in history didactics.

The studies have not resulted in one coherent model of teaching about colonialism and post-colonialism. But a reader will be able to find some guidance and some models with their strong and weak points. The articles present the co-relations between history education and historiography (which are sometimes too superficial), but also between education and politics (which are sometimes too deep). We hope that this volume will open new perspectives for the didactical research on the topic; that it sets a catalogue of research questions and a point of reference.

"Forum" section of the journal includes important articles on the topics beyond the scope of the annual conference. I am very glad that Yearbook/Jahrbuch/Annales serves as a platform of dissemination of the results of different research projects where the members of

ISHD work as partners. This year they present the research on museums in history education, on the image of Islam in the European school textbooks, on the Deaf culture and its place in history didactics and the changes in history didactics in post-Soviet Estonia.

This year, for the first time, we publish the list of the peer-reviewers who worked on the last two issues of the Journal. It is one more step in fulfilling contemporary standards of an academic journal. As an international double-blind peer-review publication with a scientific board comprised of the specialists in the field of history didactics from the five continents, it has a good chance to obtain high positions in national rankings of scientific journals. I appeal to the members of ISHD to take an effort to put the Yearbook on those lists.

I am deeply indebted to Terry Hayden, Markus Furrer and David Lefrançois and his students: Catinca-Adriana Stan from Université Laval, Alexandre Joly-Lavoie and Frédéric Yelle from Université de Montréal for their invaluable help with the three languages of the Yearbook.

JW

VORWORT

Wie gewöhnlich entstammen die meisten Beiträge des Yearbook's/Jahrbuchs/Annales den Referaten der jährlichen Konferenz der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik. 2013 wurde sie in Tutzing in Zusammenarbeit mit der Akademie für Politische Bildung organisiert. Über 50 Beiträge wurden präsentiert und nur ein Teil von ihnen kann im Jahrbuch veröffentlicht werden. Trotzdem repräsentieren sie unterschiedliche Perspektiven zu den Themen Kolonialismus, Dekolonisierung, postkoloniale Perspektiven. Herausforderungen für die Didaktik der Geschichte und den Geschichtsunterricht im Kontext der Globalisierung. Verschiedene Länder werden einbezogen, darunter traditionelle koloniale Imperien wie Großbritannien, später dazu gestossene, wie Deutschland, Belgien und Dänemark sowie Länder, welche wenig mit Kolonialpolitik zu tun hatten, wie Griechenland, Polen oder die Tschechoslowakei. Russland wird als spezifisches Beispiel einer Kolonialmacht dargestellt, welche ihren kolonialen Status verneinte. Signifikant in diesem Band ist der Fokus auf die Geschichtsdidaktik. Lehrpläne und Lehrmittel sind die Hauptuntersuchungsquellen (auch wenn viele Autorinnen und Autoren skeptisch sind in Bezug auf deren Wirkung auf den genuin historischen Lernprozess). Auch Interviews mit Lehrpersonen, Unterrichtsbeobachtungen und Analysen von Prüfungen finden Eingang. Beides, theoretische wie auch praktische Ansätze, Kolonialismus und Dekolonisierung zu behandeln, werden einbezogen, sowohl in der Vergangenheit wie auch in der Gegenwart. So ergeben sich unterschiedliche Einblicke in Forschungszugänge der Geschichtsdidaktik.

Die Beiträge führen nicht zu einem einzigen kohärenten Modell, Kolonialismus und Postkolonialismus zu unterrichten. Aber Leserinnen und Leser erhalten die Möglichkeit, Vorschläge und Modelle mit ihren Vor- und Nachteilen zu prüfen. In den Artikeln kommen auch die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Geschichtsvermittlung und Historiographie zur Sprache (welche mitunter etwas zu allgemein daherkommen) aber auch zwischen Bildung und Politik (welche manchmal zu tiefgründig ausfallen). Wir hoffen, dass dieser Band neue Perspektiven für die geschichtsdidaktische Forschung zum Thema eröffnet und dass ein

Katalog von Untersuchungsfragen und Referenzpunkten vermittelt werden kann.

Der Forumsteil des Journals enthält weitere wichtige Artikel, die über die Themen der Jahreskonferenz hinausgehen. Ich bin sehr erfreut, dass das Yearbook/Jahrbuch/Annales hierzu eine Plattform für die Weiterverbreitung der Forschungsergebnisse verschiedener Projekte darstellt, bei denen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft (IGGD) als Partner mitwirkten. Dieses Jahr präsentieren wir die Untersuchungen zum Geschichtsunterricht in Museen, dem Bild des Islam in europäischen Lehrmitteln, der Kultur der Gehörlosen in der Geschichtsdidaktik und dem Wandel der Geschichtsdidaktik im post-sowjetischen Estland.

Zum ersten Mal veröffentlichen wir die Liste der Peerreviewer, die zu den beiden letzten Themenbereichen des Journals gearbeitet haben. Dies stellt einen weiteren gewichtigen Schritt dar, um die Standards eines akademischen Journals gewährleisten zu können. Als internationale double-blind Peer-Review-Publikation mit einem wissenschaftlichen Beirat, bestehend aus Spezialistinnen und Spezialisten der Geschichtsdidaktik aus fünf Kontinenten, hat das Journal eine gute Chance, eine hohe Position in den nationalen Rankings wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften einzunehmen. Ich appelliere an die Mitglieder der IGGD, sich darum zu bemühen, dass das Jahrbuch in die betreffenden Listen aufgenommen wird.

Ich bin Terry Haydn, Markus Furrer and David Lefrançois mit seinen Studierenden, Catinca-Adriana Stan von der Université Laval, Alexandre Joly-Lavoie and Frédéric Yelle von der Université de Montréal, zu großem Dank verpflichtet für ihre unschätzbare Hilfe mit den drei Sprachen des Jahrbuchs.

JW

PRÉFACE

Comme d'ordinaire, la plupart des contributions au Yearbook/Jahrbuch/Annales sont issues des communications présentées dans le cadre du congrès annuel de la Société internationale pour la didactique de l'histoire (SIDH). En 2013, le congrès s'est tenu à Tutzing, en Allemagne, en coopération avec l'Académie Tutzing pour l'éducation citoyenne. De l'ensemble des 50 communications présentées, seule une partie pouvait être publiée dans les Annales. Néanmoins, les textes retenus présentent des perspectives divergentes sur le thème: Colonialisme, décolonisation et perspectives postcoloniales défis pour la didactique et l'enseignement de l'histoire dans le contexte de la mondialisation. Différents pays sont étudiés, notamment la Grande-Bretagne, représentant certainement la vision la plus traditionnelle d'un empire colonial, mais aussi l'Allemagne, la Belgique et le Danemark, acteurs politiques coloniaux arrivés plus tardivement, sans oublier des pays ayant peu de liens avec le colonialisme, comme la Grèce, la Pologne ou l'ancienne Tchécoslovaquie. La Russie est présentée comme l'exemple par excellence d'un pays refusant de reconnaître son statut d'ancienne puissance coloniale. Ce qui est marquant dans ce numéro, c'est l'accent mis sur la didactique de l'histoire. Les programmes et les manuels scolaires sont les principales sources analysées (bien que de nombreux auteurs aient exprimé des réserves quant à la capacité de ces outils à présenter de façon authentique le processus d'enseignement-apprentissage), mais des entretiens avec des enseignants, des observations de leçons ainsi que des questions d'examen sont aussi pris en considération. La présentation théorique et pratique du colonialisme et de la décolonisation tient compte à la fois du passé et du présent illustrant ainsi différentes approches de recherche en didactique de l'histoire.

Les recherches présentées n'ont pas permis d'élaborer un modèle cohérent pour l'enseignement du colonialisme et du postcolonialisme. Toutefois, le lecteur sera en mesure de trouver quelques repères ainsi que des modèles avec leurs points forts et leurs points faibles. Les articles présentent les relations existantes entre l'enseignement de l'histoire et l'historiographie (qui sont parfois trop superficielles), mais aussi entre l'éducation et la politique (qui sont parfois trop serrées). Nous espérons que ce numéro permettra d'identifier de

nouvelles avenues pour la recherche en didactique portant sur le sujet en plus d'établir un inventaire de questions de recherche et devenir une référence en matière.

La section 'Forum' de la revue comprend des articles importants qui portent sur des sujets dépassant les objectifs du congrès annuel. Je suis très contente que le Yearbook/Jahrbuch/Annales serve de plateforme de diffusion pour les résultats des projets de recherche menés en collaboration par les membres de la SIDH. Cette année, ces derniers présentent des recherches sur le rôle des musées dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, sur l'image de l'islam dans les manuels scolaires européens, sur la culture des élèves sourds et la place qu'elle occupe au sein de la didactique de l'histoire et, enfin, sur les changements en didactique de l'histoire en Estonie postsoviétique.

Pour la première fois, cette année nous publions le nom de ceux ayant participé au comité de lecture qui a travaillé sur les deux derniers numéros de la revue. C'est un pas de plus vers l'atteinte des normes d'une revue scientifique contemporaine. En tant que revue ayant un comité de lecture international, qui évalue les articles de façon anonyme, ainsi qu'un conseil scientifique composé de spécialistes en didactique de l'histoire issus des cinq continents, la revue a de bonnes chances de s'élever au sein des classements nationaux de revues scientifiques. À cet effet, je lance un appel aux membres de la SIDH et leur demande de faire un effort afin que les Annales figurent dans ces classements.

Je tiens à souligner toute ma reconnaissance à l'endroit de Terry Haydn, de Markus Furrer et de David Lefrançois (assisté de ses étudiants: Catinca-Adriana Stan de l'Université Laval, Alexandre Joly-Lavoie et Frédéric Yelle de l'Université de Montréal) pour leur aide inestimable quant à la présentation trilingue des Annales.

JW

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**INDIA:
TRAINING FOR EMPIRE AND INDEPENDENCE**

George Wrangham

Through extensive patterns of worldwide trade Britain acquired a vast empire, nearly all of which was acquired piecemeal with one settlement or trading post extending its area for its protection. This was the case in India: England never set out to conquer the subcontinent but in practice did so. An uneasy relationship developed, with Britain reluctantly realising that she must relinquish the Jewel in the Crown in the face of growing Indian national sentiment. The end came sharply and suddenly, but the fact that so many Indian leaders had been educated in England helped ease the situation, and now there is a solid friendship between the two countries.

The late nineteenth century saw an astonishing phenomenon in the world: a modest-sized island off the northwest coast of Europe had amassed the largest empire the world had ever seen, an empire that stretched around the globe and upon which it could truly be said that the sun never set. Much of the acquisition of this empire had been undertaken by private enterprise: by religious refugees, by individual fortune-seekers, and especially by commercial joint-stock enterprises devoted to profit in a capitalist way. Not much of this great empire was acquired through deliberate government policy at any time from its inception in the early seventeenth century to its greatest flowering in the late nineteenth: it has been truly said by a notable historian of empire, Professor Seeley, that Britain acquired her empire in a fit of absence of mind. The wealth, actual or potential, was out there in faraway places, and England (Britain after the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707) was eager for her share or for more than her share. From Virginia came tobacco, from Canada furs, from the Caribbean Islands sugar, from West Africa gold, ivory and slaves (until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807), and from India wealth unbelievable: silks, gold, jewels and all the spectacular glory of the Orient.

The British government back in London for a long time exerted little control, believing in freedom of enterprise and minimal governmental intervention. Some lands the government did

deliberately acquire for strategic and geopolitical reasons: South Africa in 1814, for example, as the key to the maritime route from Europe to the Orient, the Falklands to guard the entryway to the Pacific, and Australia as a penal colony for convicts from Britain. But there is little evidence that in early years the British cared very much about the native peoples – at least until the long drawn-out impeachment for corruption in India of Warren Hastings in 1785.

India was first seen by the British certainly as a field of interest of some value to a group of independent trading partners but mostly as a steppingstone to the fabulous treasures of the Spice Islands, now Indonesia. The Dutch sailed to the East Indies first and Britain was soon evicted, compelled to withdraw, receiving New Netherland (now New York) in compensation. Gradually, however, the real wealth of India became apparent, trading posts were established by the East India Company and they needed guards, so ‘sepoys’ or native troops were recruited. Inevitably the East India Company found itself drawn into the wars of local princes in the last decades of the once mighty Mughal Empire, particularly when the French set up their rival trading posts and sponsored their own favored princes, soon to fall to the British. So it was that during the first half of the nineteenth century the British East India Company expanded and expanded its holdings until by mid-century the entire subcontinent save for the remaining scattered Princely States had fallen under its control.

Can you imagine that, an entire subcontinent actually ruled by a business corporation? With its British employees amounting to only a few hundreds, this corporation dominated a land of millions of native peoples with no common bond, no common language although Hindi was the most widespread, no single faith although Hinduism had the most followers with Islam and Christianity fast making inroads. All that India had in common, after the final collapse of the last remnants of the Mughal Empire, was really geography and British rule. Albeit haphazardly, Britain had indeed united India as she had never been united before and was fated never to be united again.

How were the native Indians to be treated and how were they to be brought forward, over who knows how many centuries of education and training, into that state of restrained and law-abiding civilization to which, to her everlasting credit, Britain believed all her subject peoples should be brought just as soon as they could with

responsibility manage self-government, 'Swa-Raj', within the British Empire and Commonwealth? This was 180 degrees contrary to the policy of King Leopold II of the Belgians, for example, who tortured, maimed and slew the peoples of the Congo in his pursuit of ivory and rubber, so unforgettably described by Joseph Conrad in his novel *Heart of Darkness*.

Responsible self-government under the British Crown certainly came in the course of time to be Britain's policy in governing India, but it did not really start that way. Through the seventeenth century the East India Company recruited employees whom it called Factors or agents, then apprentices and clerks, some recruited from boys' boarding schools. But by the late eighteenth century most of those sent to serve in India, even as apprentices, returned with colossal fortunes and were known as Nabobs. Exploitation was rife, and vacancies in the Indian Service sold for as much as L 3,000 (many thousands of Euros in today's currency).

So in 1806 the East India Company, determined to set this right, founded the East India Company College at Haileybury near Hartford in England, leading to a change in the tasks of its public servants from weighing tea, counting bales and measuring muslin to dispensing justice, administering complex systems of revenue, and maintaining civil order for millions of native people of many languages, customs and religions.

Enter the commanding figure of Thomas Babington Macaulay, a Member of Parliament, an inaugural member of the governing Supreme Council of India, a commanding liberal historian and absolutely one of the greatest masters of English prose. I thoroughly recommend his *History of England* and his historical essays and reviews: I have derived as much pleasure from them as I have from any other author's literary canon. As regards India and education for full and equal citizenship, the topic of this paper, Macaulay wrote:

'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population... It may be that the public mind of India

may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not... But whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.'

What Macaulay knew intimately from personal experience was that India was of course far too large and far too disparate, an entire subcontinent, to be administered by no more than a few hundred Englishmen, however well prepared and trained they might be, however elevated their aspirations for the subject people, and however strong in Christian morality might be their consciences. India demanded more. India needed Indians to administer India. Therefore the most intelligent and adaptable of Indians must have a Western education. Furthermore, this training would take them far beyond the humdrum daily life of civil administrators into the creation of a whole class of modern and truly educated Indians, wise in the ways of the world beyond their origins, and ready, when in God's good time the moment should arrive, to manage and direct India as a full partner rather than as a subject state in the greatest empire in the world. No wonder India would come to be considered the Jewel in the Imperial Crown, and then move forward into independence, taking with her the British system of constitutional parliamentary government, so that today India can claim with pride and in truth that she is far and away the largest democracy in the world. Not only at the centre in Parliament but also all along the line right down to local village councils and local village courts India has chosen to maintain and to extend all those Western institutions so highly praised by Macaulay. This is indeed the proudest legacy of the British Raj in India.

Inevitably and regrettably, however, this educated class would to some degree lose a deep-seated sense of being Indian through and through. So it came about that a hundred years after Macaulay's hard work to Westernize all the Indians he could, Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of independent India, accused Macaulay of 'marginalizing inherited [Indian] learning', of 'uprooting Indian academics from traditional Indian modes of thought', inducing in them 'a spirit of self-denigration'. It is ironic that all of this comes from Nehru, who spent most of his youth in Britain and was

educated at Harrow School, Winston Churchill's *alma mater*, and at Cambridge University. Poor Macaulay, to stand accused of cultural genocide, especially by such a beneficiary of two cultures as Nehru!

In the meantime, before she was properly prepared for responsible self-government, a spirit of national identity arose such as had never been felt before, even in the days of the Mughal Empire. It spread through the subcontinent, coupled unfortunately but naturally enough with burning resentment at the British who ruled the Indian land. This deep and bitter anger burst forth in 1857 in the tragic First War for Independence, known to the English as the Indian Mutiny. Indian terrorism, savagery and massacre were met by British brutality and condign punishment of the harshest kind. The rebellion was crushed without mercy. It was over: India was still British.

The British took note, however, of the danger of losing India altogether, and closed down the East India Company, enfolding India under the direct purview of the Crown: Queen Victoria was crowned Empress of India. The East India College was also closed down, to be revived a couple of years later as Haileybury School, dedicated to public service, especially in the Empire. The school performed that task magnificently, being the first institution anywhere in the West to teach political economy and such Asian languages as Sanskrit, Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu and Farsee with native speakers as instructors, long before such subjects were ever taught at Oxford or Cambridge, at Eton or Harrow. Virtually every single graduate of Haileybury went out to India to lead a distinguished life in the military or the civil service. No fewer than seventeen graduates earned the Victoria Cross, the highest medal in the Empire for courage and gallantry – and in 1938 there were no fewer than eight bishops among the graduates of Haileybury, just one boarding school. This dedication to imperial service lasted until Independence in 1947.

One might note that at the time of Indian Independence the Prime Minister of Great Britain was Clement Attlee, himself a graduate of Haileybury who was so shocked by the wretched living conditions in the East End of London that he converted to socialism, joined the Labour Party and subsequently led it to electoral victory over Winston Churchill in 1945.

Besides the blessings of stable and impartial justice there were other ways in which India benefited from her centuries of foreign rule. The first generation of independent India's national leaders, the men of

1947 if you will, were very nearly all of them educated in England. The two best known are Mahatma Gandhi, a trained and qualified barrister in London, and Jawaharlal Nehru, who, as I have said, attended boarding school at Harrow and graduated from Cambridge University. The British did indeed rule with a fundamentally Christian conscience, apart from the horrors of the unforgivable Amritsar Massacre in 1919 and a few lesser tragedies. Just think, for example, what would have happened to Mahatma Gandhi if he had born the potential liberator of Stalinist Russia or Nazi Germany: the first time he opened his mouth he would have been snuffed out, and no one would ever have heard of the name of one who, besides liberating his own country, provided with Jesus Christ the greatest inspiration to Martin Luther King and to Nelson Mandela.

It is perhaps due to a memory of these blessings that an interesting phenomenon existed in the generation of Indians and English-in-India (or Anglo-Indians as they are called) at the time of Independence and thereafter, lasting in its final days into the early decades of the twenty-first century. A mutual affection, respect and nostalgia grew up between a great many individuals both Indian and British. The grandfather of a friend of mine, for example, an Indian who lived well into the 1970's, all his life long cultivated and maintained his clipped British accent rather than a lilting Indian cadence whenever he spoke English. Years before Independence he was awarded a gold medal by the British government for averting a famine in the province he governed, and ever thereafter he remained immensely proud of his gold medal -- but more or less indifferent to the thousands of his fellow-countrymen whose lives he had saved.

Britain had promised to pay India for her notable efforts in the Second World War, but by the end of that monumental struggle Britain stood bankrupt, a victor yes, but barely able to stand up on her own two feet, as harshly beaten down in all things economic as any of her Axis enemies. And she had completely lost the will to Empire. So, instead of maintaining the long, progressive forward stride toward self-rule and equal partnership advocated a hundred years before by Lord Macaulay, Britain was driven out of India and abandoned her altogether in what came to be known as 'The Scuttle.' Prime Minister Clement Attlee was glad to let India take her own path. So it was that through her own efforts and through British lassitude India achieved the independence so long demanded by

Gandhi, Nehru and many others, but at a terrible price: the greatest massacres in the entire history of the subcontinent took place as Pakistan wrenched herself out of India: Hindus and Moslems unfortunate enough to find themselves on the wrong side of the new border were promptly slaughtered in their hundreds and hundreds of thousands. Who was responsible for this? The Hindus and Muslims in their blind hatred of each other? Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim leader who cut India apart and founded Pakistan, insisting that while Muslims could indeed live side by side with Hindus in British India, he would be damned if they would accept life as a minority religious faction in what he always called Hindustan? Believe it or not, the blame has even been laid at the door of the British, for ever founding in the first place, albeit in a fit of absence of mind, their Indian Empire!

India, however, now enjoys a warm and cordial friendship with her former imperial mistress. One might expect such sentiment where there are close ties of blood and culture, as in the relationship between Britain, and her Anglophone former colonies such as the United States of America, and Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other members of that eminently successful association, the Commonwealth. There is a geopolitical lesson to be drawn from all this, and a personal lesson as well: treat with dignity and generosity those who depend upon you in their time of dependence and you will be repaid many times over when they gain independence. All of us who are parents know that.

HOW AND WHAT SHOULD WE TEACH ABOUT THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS?

Terry Haydn

Empire is an important concept in history, and some form of consideration of aspects of empire is part of the school curriculum in many countries. Given that empire has played an important part in British history, it is not surprising that study of the British Empire has always been a feature of the history curriculum in English schools. However, although some consideration has been given to which aspects of empire pupils should learn about in school, less attention has focused on exactly what we want pupils to learn about the British Empire, and the concept of 'empire' more generally, in terms of learning outcomes for pupils. The article provides a brief summary of the changing ways which empire has been taught in English schools, and how empire is currently taught in English schools, before some suggestions are made about what young people ought to learn about empire.

1. Context

Most countries have either had some form of empire or have been a part of someone else's empire over the course of their history. Like 'war', 'trade', and 'government', empires are an important part of the past, and it seems reasonable to argue that history in schools should have something to say about empire and empires. As a small island which at some points in its history had an extensive empire (Laycock estimates that at one point or another, Britain has invaded, had some control over or fought conflicts in approximately 90% of current UN member states),¹ empire would seem to be an important part of Britain's past, and young people ought to know something about it. Although 'empire' is a contested and multi-faceted concept, for the purposes of this paper, I have used the definition offered by Howe, who argues that 'A kind of basic, consensus definition would be that an empire is a large political body which rules over territories outside its original borders.'² However, the concluding section of the paper makes the point that empires can take different forms, and that these forms have changed over time.

What young people are taught about empire at school in England has changed quite radically over the past century. In the early

twentieth century, the empire was regarded as an unequivocally positive part of being British; as part of what made Britain 'great'. Most people in Britain thought that people in other countries were fortunate to be part of the British Empire. In 1908, in a statement which was not untypical of attitudes of the time, J.W. Willis Bund, Chairman of the Worcester County Council School Board declared that the purpose of teaching history in school was 'To bring before the children the lives and work of English people who served God in Church and State, to show that they did this by courage, endurance and self-sacrifice, that as a result, the British Empire was founded and extended and that it behoved every child to emulate them.'³

Another manifestation of attitudes to the British Empire was the annual celebration of 'Empire Day'; 'A day that would remind children that they formed part of the British Empire, and that they might think with others in lands across the sea, what it meant to be sons and daughters of such a glorious Empire.'⁴

Each Empire Day, millions of school children from all walks of life across the length and breadth of the British Empire would typically salute the union flag and sing patriotic songs like Jerusalem and God Save the Queen. They would hear inspirational speeches and listen to tales of 'daring do' from across the Empire, stories that included such heroes as Clive of India, Wolfe of Québec and 'Chinese Gordon' of Khartoum.⁵

It is perhaps interesting to note that 'Empire Day' continued in Britain well into the 1950s, as did the convention of the audience standing to sing or at least listen to the national anthem at the end of a film at the cinema; practices which evoke incredulity to pupils growing up in the twenty first century, so quickly has the aura and importance accorded to empire faded over recent decades.⁶

Not only was empire unreservedly 'a good thing', those who built and sustained the empire were the heroes and celebrities of their day, and not just for their conquests and triumphs, but for their selflessness, integrity and sense of duty. In the words of Howe, 'To be an empire builder was to be an adventurer, a hero, a selfless labourer for other's well-being.'⁷

The belief or claim that making some other territory and people part of your empire was in fact 'doing them a favour', and was primarily a civilising mission can be traced back to at least as far as Cicero's belief that 'only under Roman rule could civilisation flourish.'⁸ Nor were such beliefs of the benefits of becoming civilised

by superior powers limited to the British. In 1908 Deherme argued that: 'The most important part of colonisation is to increase world productivity. It is at the same time a great social force for progress. The earth belongs to humanity. It belongs to those who know how to develop it, increase its wealth, and in the process, augment it, beautify it and elevate humanity. Colonisation is the propagation of the highest civilisation yet conceived and realised, the perpetuation of the most talented race, the progressive organisation of humanity.'⁹

These attitudes to empire were to change drastically as the century progressed. The British Empire declined, global decolonisation increased in pace in the aftermath of the Second World War, there was a growth in anti-empire groups and thinking, there were changes in public attitudes to empire, changes in historical research related to empire, with a surge in 'post-colonial' history.

There was also a change in the ways in which history was taught in schools in England, with a move towards a much more critical and less celebratory examination of the national past. Grindel's study of the portrayal of the British Empire in the last decades of the twentieth century reveals a much more nuanced and ambiguous vision of the empire. A text book produced in 1981 contained images which 'emphatically illustrate the fact that the Empire was founded on a passionate belief in European modernity and the European mission to civilize. Their representation of empire is that of a success story, excluding colonial violence, racism, and the waging of war. The textbook's imagery transmits an uncomplicated, untroubled concept of empire.'¹⁰ Grindel goes on to add that 'Overall, the textbook's narrative and iconography present a picture of a benevolent, paternalistic, civilizing empire.'¹¹

However, within the same text book, Grindel notes that the text includes references to 'colonial imbalances of power, resistance to colonialism, the exploitation of indigenous peoples as labor, and rivalry among colonial powers.'¹² There is at least a move towards a more balanced (and accurate) picture of empire. Referring to a more recent English history textbook, Grindel points out that 'the new generation of history textbooks' acknowledge historical and public debate about empire in a way which earlier texts did not, citing the following extract from Michael Willis's (2006) *Britain 1851 to 1918*:

'British imperialism is still a live issue today in many parts of Africa and Asia and in Britain itself. British historians cannot be neutral

about it. It arouses pride, shame, anxieties about racism or nostalgia for past greatness depending on a person's viewpoint. Left- and right-wing approaches differ markedly, and we view popular imperialism more emotionally than most history topics.¹³

2. What Are Pupils Currently Being Taught About the British Empire?

What have pupils been taught about empire since the inception of the National Curriculum in 1991? A study of The British Empire was explicitly part of the National Curriculum, as part of the year 9 programmes of study (13-14 year olds) 'Industry, trade and empire', which focused primarily on the history of England in the nineteenth century. Empire was thus considered to at least some extent as a nineteenth century phenomenon. Although study of the Roman Empire was part of the year 7 curriculum (11-12 year olds), study of empire was limited largely to these two empires, and there was very little consideration of the decline of the empire in the twentieth century; for example, the Suez Crisis of 1956 – widely acknowledged by historians as an important turning point in British history and the history of the empire – is not widely studied in schools. However, in contrast to the first half of the twentieth century, it has not been unusual for history teachers in England to encourage discussion and debate about the extent to which the British Empire was a force for good or otherwise.

What was the reaction of politicians and political parties to this shift in the ways in which the British Empire was taught in schools? As in many other countries, there was a tendency for politicians to argue for a positive rendering of the national past,¹⁴ on the grounds that this would help to inculcate pride in being British amongst all who lived in Britain, therefore aiding social cohesion.¹⁵ Although it is important not to generalise, to some extent, there was a tendency, in England and elsewhere, for politicians to favour a history curriculum which focused on the transmission of a 'progress narrative' of the national past, and for history didactics to place more emphasis on the role that school history might play in developing pupils' understanding of the discipline of history, with the view that this would develop young people's ability to handle information intelligently, and develop their critical judgement and intellectual autonomy.

Not untypical of English politicians' views on the purposes of school history was a speech by Kenneth Baker, Secretary of State for Education in Margaret Thatcher's first administration, and considered by some to be 'the architect' of the first version of the English National Curriculum which was introduced in 1991. Baker argued that 'Pupils should be taught about the spread of Britain's influence for good throughout the empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries... These things are matters in which we should take great pride.'¹⁶

The current Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, has also argued for a more positive and celebratory rendering of 'Our Island Story', claiming that 'too much history teaching is informed by post-colonial guilt.'¹⁷

Support for a more patriotic form of school history which celebrated 'Britishness', and 'British Values' was not limited to politicians of the right; Prime Ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown also extolled the virtues of Britishness, and there was also support for a positive story to be told about the British Empire from the popular press, sections of public opinion, and some academic historians.

One of the outcomes of the election of a Conservative-led coalition in 2010 was the formulation of a revised National Curriculum for history, in February 2013, which provided some insight into the government's thinking about the form and purposes of school history. These draft proposals placed considerable emphasis on the teaching of *British* history, and there was also an increase in the time devoted to the British Empire. Instead of being confined largely to the role of the Empire in the nineteenth century, this was to include English expansion to the New World, India and the plantations in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'Britain's global impact' in the nineteenth century 'including: War in the Crimea and the Eastern Question, gunboat diplomacy and the growth of Empire, the Indian Mutiny and the Great Game, the scramble for Africa, the Boer Wars', and 'Britain's retreat from empire', including 'independence for India and the Wind of Change in Africa, the independence generation – Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, Kenyatta, Nkrumah, the Windrush generation, wider new Commonwealth immigration, and the arrival of East African Asians'.¹⁸

Thus, the intention was that the teaching of the British Empire would be accorded a much more substantial place in the National Curriculum, and there were exhortations from politicians that teachers should present a much more positive picture of the empire.

3. What *Should* Pupils Be Taught About Empire?

Given the limits on curriculum time, it is not possible to teach students about every aspect of the British Empire. In a very useful article about how teachers should approach the teaching of this topic, Byrom and Riley point out that there are hard choices to be made about what to include, and what to leave out. They also suggest criteria for the selection of content on a series of lessons about the British Empire, including:

Chronology – does our selected content give a fair sense of the rise, peak and fall of the empire?

Geography – does our selected content give a fair sense of the spread of the empire.

Coherence – does our selected content help us to give pupils a framework or a story where all the parts hold together? Does our selected content allow them to understand how and why the empire (including its ‘icons’) is interpreted differently by historians?¹⁹

However, there is more to planning than the problem of which substantive historical content to include in the teaching of the topic. Former Secretary of State for Education Sir Keith Joseph argued that one of the main objectives for the study of history in schools is ‘to enable pupils to gain some understanding of human activity in the past *and its implications for the present* (my italics).²⁰ Or in the words of Byrom and Riley, ‘Does our selected content help pupils to understand their world and their place in the world?’²¹

Given ‘the diversity and unevenness of the history which is now publicly available’,²² it is important that students understand some important overarching points about the phenomenon of empires in history, if they are to overcome misconceptions and misunderstandings about empire derived from less scholarly representations of empire. The theoretical framework underpinning the rationale for teaching Empire in this paper sees history as a discipline which acknowledges ‘the limits of our knowledge’,²³ but which rejects the ‘radical’ postmodernist position that the idea of ‘knowledge of the past’ is illusory.²⁴ As Lee and Ashby have argued,

pupils should not be led to believe that ‘one story is as good as another’, and they should develop an understanding that the discipline of history, with its rules, conventions and procedures, can help to ascertain the validity of knowledge claims.²⁵ Pupils need to understand history as a community of practice, and to understand that there are many aspects of the past where there is a considerable degree of consensus about what happened, why, and with what results. Because there may be revisionists, ‘outriders’ and dissenters from mainstream opinion within this community of practice²⁶ (for example, with regard to empire, the views of Niall Ferguson),²⁷ this does not mean that pupils cannot be informed about the views of the community of practice of professional historians, as long as this is appropriately nuanced and acknowledges the existence of ‘minority views’.

Some suggestions of important points about empire which should be understood by young people are provided below.

3.1 Empires Were Not Predominantly a Nineteenth Century Phenomenon

With the government’s retreat from the February 2013 proposals for a new National Curriculum for history, there is a danger that school history will revert back to a form which presents empires as something that, with the exception of the Roman Empire, occurred mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as part of ‘The scramble for Africa’, and the extension of British power and influence. There are bestselling text books on twentieth century world history which make no mention of the word empire. Like ‘wars’, empires are an ever-present feature of world history, not something that was confined to a particular period in history. Pupils should understand that there were lots of empires between the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the British Empire. Stephen Howe powerfully makes the point that ‘a great deal of the world’s history is the history of empires’, by pointing to the ubiquity of stories about empires (of differing forms) in current newspapers.²⁸

3.2 Britain Was Not the Only Nation to Have an Empire

The heavy current emphasis on British history means that with the exception of fairly cursory treatment of the Roman Empire at primary school, and possible reference to ‘The scramble for Africa’ on some (optional) examination syllabuses, young people may regard

the British Empire as a ‘one-off’, or exceptional occurrence, rather than as one of the many empires that have been a constant feature of history over the past 3,000 years. Pupils need to understand that Britain’s was not ‘the only empire in town’, and that like wars, empires are a recurring and prevalent feature of the past. Grindel argues that history textbooks, and history teaching more generally continue to present colonialism in discrete national contexts, as if it had played out in each nation in isolated fashion, rather than being an overarching European phenomenon. The thesis that colonialism was a transnational venture that accordingly may only be understood properly by shedding light on transnational entanglements and interconnections is almost completely absent from British school textbooks to date.²⁹

Developing young people’s awareness of the existence of non-European empires, whether it be Mughal, Ottoman, Chinese or whatever, may also help to remedy the misconception that ‘empire’ was something that Europeans invariably inflicted on ‘lesser’ civilisations.

3.3 Empires Are Generally Susceptible to Rise, Decline and Fall

Nations, city states and empires are not inexorably and permanently superior to the peoples they subjugate and incorporate into their orbit. Many young people in England would probably be surprised to know that countries such as Mesopotamia, Sweden, Holland and Portugal, amongst others, once had considerable empires. As Paul Kennedy argues, it is in the nature of things that countries that build up large empires suffer from ‘imperial overstretch’, and then decline, or that other factors impinge on their ability to control their territories.³⁰ John B. Sparks ‘Histomap: Four Thousand Years Of World History. Relative Power Of Contemporary States, Nations and Empires’ is a very powerful graphical representation of this phenomenon.³¹

3.4 Empires Vary Considerably in the Way They Operate

It is misleading for pupils to think that all empires operate in fairly much the same way in terms of the relations between the rulers and the ruled and the degree to which the rulers are rapaciously exploitative of their colonies. Even within the British Empire, Porter argues that there were ‘an extraordinary variety of relationships

between the colonies and the mother country.... which ranged from absolute despotisms and racist tyrannies, through colonies ruled paternalistically, in intention at any rate, and territories simply 'protected' by the British, to colonies whose (white) people were for more 'free' than stay at home Britons and whose non-white subjects were so little touched by the system that they could barely have been aware that they were colonies at all... To bundle these together under the rubric of 'empire' seems perverse. Equating the experience of a colonial Nigerian with a New South Walesian... makes no sense at all.³² Howe makes the point that nineteenth century British colonies, imbued with the British public school ethos of duty and responsibility, may have been less ruthlessly exploitative than their twentieth century equivalents, a point also made by Klein in her analysis of modern neo-conservative 'disaster capitalism'.³³

As John Slater has argued, history should be the enemy of stereotyping and facile, lazy generalisation,³⁴ many empires in history have been neither evil or wonderful, and they have varied considerably in the extent to which they have tyrannised and exploited their colonies, and in the extent to which their rule has improved the lives of those they have ruled over.

3.5 *Different Forms of Empire Have Evolved Over Time*

It is particularly important that young people recognise that empires and imperialism take different forms. It is not necessarily a question of big countries taking over smaller countries and physically annexing them. As well as the sort of ideological imperialism evidenced in Soviet Russia's control of its satellite states, modern times have seen the emergence of cultural forms of imperialism – with 'colonies' resenting and resisting the use and influence of 'soft power' (McDonalds, Coca Cola, Western music, etc), and economic control exercised by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and European Central Bank.³⁵ Howe points out the existence of 'internal' victims of empire, whereby areas *within* 'the mother country' are subject to control and exploitation by the ruling classes, and of particular significance in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dominance and control exerted by transnational corporations and financial agencies.³⁶ It could be argued that neo-conservatism (termed neo-liberalism by some commentators) is also a form of empire, and one which has an influence which is as wide-ranging in

the number of people it affects as the British and Communist empires which preceded it.³⁷ The aim of school history is not primarily to enable pupils to understand the past, but, to study the past in order to better understand the world in which they live. (The historian John Tosh argues that historians also have the task of disseminating ‘those of their findings that bear upon issues of the day’ as well as ‘promoting the widest possible grasp of “thinking with history”’).³⁸

3.6 *Historians Disagree About the British Empire, and Empires More Generally*

A key element of developing pupils’ understanding of history as a discipline is that our knowledge of the past is differentially secure. Unlike science, history does not generally concern itself with ‘covering laws’ which enable us to make confident predictions about the future. Historians are more confident about their knowledge claims in some areas compared to others, and often historians disagree. Pupils have to learn how to handle these disagreements and uncertainties, and pupils have to get beyond thinking that differences are entirely attributable to one historian being more ‘truthful’ or ‘correct’ than another.³⁹

It is therefore desirable that as pupils mature, they should be exposed to controversies of historical interpretation about the British Empire, and the concept of empire more generally. There have been those who argue that pupils will simply be confused by being offered different interpretations of historical events, and that they should therefore be provided with an ‘authoritative’ version of the past by the teacher.⁴⁰ However, this approach risks leaving pupils with an imperfect grasp of what history *is* as a discipline. As John Arnold has pointed out, history is often an *argument* about the meaning of aspects of the past: “The Greek word which has become “history” originally meant “to enquire”, and more specifically, indicated a person who was able to choose wisely between conflicting accounts.”⁴¹

Thus, for older pupils, it can be helpful for teachers to provide pupils with a distillation of the arguments of generally pro-empire Niall Ferguson,⁴² and the much more critical views of Richard Gott,⁴³ or any materials that help to illustrate the challenge and intellectual complexity of ‘getting at the truth’ about the British Empire, the pros and cons, rights and wrongs of Empire, and other ‘big’ historical issues and questions.

3.7 *Understanding 'Empire' is Partly About Understanding the Nature and Role Which 'Power' Plays in the Creation and Dissolution of Empires*

Although there may well have been many collateral benefits to being part of the British Empire (or at least some bits of it), it would be misleading to suggest that the motives of those responsible for the building of the British Empire (or any other of the great empires in history) were principally evangelical and philanthropic. This is not to deny that there may have been elements of altruism and idealism amongst some of those who elected to spend their lives administering and governing the British Empire, but to make the point that there were not many instances where imperial powers were invited in to take over territories outside their borders, or where there was an entirely symbiotic relationship between governors and governed. The history of decolonisation suggests that on the whole, nations and peoples prefer to govern themselves rather than being governed by others. The chronicler of British invasions of Afghanistan, William Dalrymple, suggests that given 'the lessons of history' from previous invasions and interventions in Afghanistan and elsewhere, the United States and England should perhaps not have been so surprised when occupying troops were not welcomed with flowers and cheering crowds.⁴⁴ The lessons of history suggest that generally, countries do not like being invaded by foreigners. There is also a degree of paradox, or 'not thinking things through', in politicians' defence of empire. On the whole, recent UK governments have been critical of invasions other than the ones they have been directly involved with, and have tended to condemn expansionist moves by other powers. There is a degree of hypocrisy in this stance, for a country that has at one time or another invaded or interfered in the affairs of around 90% of current UN member states.⁴⁵

Is it perhaps unfortunate that the unification of Germany, and the role that Otto Von Bismarck played in that story is no longer widely studied in English schools. The topic introduced pupils to the concept of *realpolitik*; the idea that more powerful states often impose their ideas and will on less powerful states not because their moves are morally justifiable or 'right', but because superior force enables them to do so.⁴⁶

In spite of the implications of power imbalances and their role in the rise and fall of empires, pupils might also be invited to consider the ethical implications of imperialism, and the question of whether ‘rule by one people over another is wrong.’²⁴⁷

However, it is important that young people growing up in the twenty first century understand the concept of *realpolitik*, and the implications it has for issues of ‘empire’, if they are to develop a mature understanding of the world that they live in.

Conclusion

It is important that young people growing up in England are taught about the British Empire, and about the impact that various forms of empire have had on human beings over the past 3,000 years or so. We should not avoid teaching about empire as a topic because it is a controversial issue and historians have differing views about the British Empire. Dalrymple argues that ‘The empire was, for better or worse, the most important thing the British ever did; it completely changed the shape of the modern world.’ He goes on to argue that we should try to ‘tell the truth’ about empire, or at least get as close as we can to the truth. The story that we tell about empire should not be embroidered, falsified or censored, so that it will serve some political or social purpose:

For while there are things about the British Empire that can be celebrated, and of which we can be proud – the incorruptibility of the Indian civil service, the railways, the rule of law, or the laying of the foundations for parliamentary democracies through legislative assemblies and so on – these have to be weighed against a long succession of terrible war crimes. For we must never forget that whatever its achievements, the British Empire, like every empire before or since, was both gained and maintained by military might, and built over a mountain of skulls of those it conquered and defeated.⁴⁸

Grindel talks of ‘a clash of expectations between the need for a unifying, canonical, coherent narrative whose chronological nature provides orientation in an increasingly heterogeneous society, and the urgent call for a history that recognizes empire as an integral part of Britain’s national history and that does not edit out its difficult past.’⁴⁹ However, the answer to this tension or dilemma is not to try and fashion some inevitably flawed compromise (from the point of

view of historical rigour), but to abandon the project of trying to make the British Empire (or any other strand of the national past) 'a unifying, canonical, coherent narrative.' Any attempt to fashion a story of the British Empire which presents it as an unblemished success story which worked wonderfully well for all concerned is false, and is probably doomed to failure anyway, given young people's access to the record of the past outside the classroom, on the internet, on television, in the newspapers etc. Politicians' enthusiasm to construct a story of the national past based on 'the wonderfulness of us.'⁵⁰ is an ingenuous mistake by people who often have a very limited understanding of the discipline of history. Taylor and Collins argue that 'Without evidence based theorisation of the relationship between historical consciousness and social identity, the evolution of history curricula will remain vulnerable to the ongoing incursions of hostile but poorly conceived political rhetoric.'⁵¹

Politicians' desire for a 'patriotic' form of school history, as described in the opening section of this paper has not gone away, it has simply evolved into a slightly revised form which places emphasis on *social cohesion*, rather than out and out patriotism. One example of this is Michael Gove's recent speech to the Conservative Party conference, arguing that 'There is no better way of building a modern, inclusive, patriotism than by teaching all British citizens to take pride in this country's historic achievements.'⁵² This is the idea that school history can be used as a form of 'social cement'⁵³ or sticking plaster, which will cover up and remove unpleasant divisions and hostilities within the country, as everyone will feel so fortunate to be citizens of a country which has such a glorious past. It should be stressed that Michael Gove is not alone in this belief; there appear to be lots of politicians in England and elsewhere who cling to this idea, in spite of the absence of evidence that it is effective.⁵⁴

Not only is the construction of such myths pointless, in terms of credibility. It is also bad history. English historians John Tosh and David Cannadine have both spoken out about the malign effect which grotesquely simplified and distorted forms of history as presented by politicians and the media. have on the quality of historical discourse. Cannadine's most recent book, is described in the following terms in a recent review by Dan Jones:

The undivided past: history beyond our differences, a meditation on the ways in which history has been abused to present the world divided

into simple opposing identities of good and evil, 'them' and 'us'; Christianity versus Islam, women versus men, the working classes versus their capitalist masters, or 'civilisation' against 'barbarity', the dichotomy most recently peddled by George W. Bush and Tony Blair before the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Cannadine calls this 'rhetorical irresponsibility and conceptual idleness.... A lot of politicians and pundits always want to present us with a polarised world... the point of the book is to say that's not how the world really is, and we shouldn't talk about it that way.'⁵⁵

Not only should school history eschew such simplistic, polemical and instrumental approaches, it should provide young people with the intellectual facilities to discern when the past is being distorted for unethical or dubious purposes, and to resist the 'Hollywoodisation' of the past. These intellectual qualities are more important than ever at a time when there is widespread concern about the unscrupulous ways in which many politicians, journalists, bloggers and television presenters attempt to use the past for their own purposes and because of 'the diversity and unevenness of the history which is publicly available.'⁵⁶ As the late historian Eric Hobsbawm urged, 'It is time to re-establish the coalition of those who believe in history as a rational enquiry into the course of human transformations against those who distort history for political purposes.'⁵⁷

One final point which might be made. There has been considerable attention given to the role of second order concepts in history education, (such as 'evidence', 'enquiry', 'cause', 'interpretation', 'change', 'significance' etc), in England and elsewhere. One concept which, I would argue, has been comparatively neglected in history education, is that of 'veracity': that is to say, the idea that the historian (or any person trying to find out something about the past or the present), does their best to get at and present 'the truth'.⁵⁸

This was a concept which was pointed out as important in the study and teaching of history by former Conservative Secretary of State for Education, Keith Joseph. In 1984, in an article for *The Historian*, he made the following case for the contribution which school history might make to young people's education:

The complicated interplay of evidence which is itself not certain and subject to interpretation gives history a particularly valuable part in the development of an adult understanding. It helps pupils to

understand that there is a range of questions – be they political, economic, social or cultural – on which there is no single right answer, where opinions have to be tolerated but need to be subjected to the test of evidence and argument. As the pupil progresses in this encounter with history, he should be helped to acquire a sense of the necessity for personal judgements in the light of facts – recognising that the facts often be far from easy to establish and far from conclusive. And it should equally awaken recognition of the possible legitimacy of other points of view... The teaching of history has to take place in a spirit which takes seriously the need to pursue truth on the basis of evidence, and at the same time accepts the need for give and take in that pursuit and that teaching in that spirit should encourage pupils to take a similar approach.⁵⁹

Many of the bad things happen in the world are done by people who are very clever, who did well in history at school, and who have examination qualifications, or even a degree in history, and who are at one level 'good' at handling evidence. However, they are not good at handling evidence in the way that Sir Keith Joseph suggested was important.

Whether teaching about the British Empire, Empire more generally, or any topics where there are controversies of interpretation, history teachers, history didactics, and policymakers responsible for the formulation of history curricula should devote some attention to trying to cultivate in learners the dispositions of open-mindedness, respect for evidence and veracity.

Notes

¹ Laycock, S. (2012), *All the Countries We've Ever Invaded: and the Few We Never Got Round To*, London: History Press.

² Howe, S. (2012), *Empire: a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 14.

³ Quoted in Batho, G. (1986) 'From a Test of Memory to a Training for Life', in M. H. Price (ed) (1986), *The Development of the Secondary Curriculum*, London: Temple Smith, 224.

⁴ Johnson, B., *Historic UK*, online at <http://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Empire-Day> (10.09.2013).

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Porter, B. (2012) 'Cutting the Empire Down to Size', *History Today*, 62 (10).

⁷ Howe, 2012: 10.

⁸ Ibidem, 42.

⁹ Georges Duherme, quoted in Conklin, A. (1997), *A Mission to Civilise. The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 55.

¹⁰ Grindel, S. (2013) 'The End of Empire: Colonial Heritage and the Politics of Memory in Britain', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, 5 (1): 39.

¹¹ Ibidem, 40.

¹² Ibidem, 39.

¹³ Willis, M. (2006), *Britain 1851-1918: A Leap in the Dark?*, London: Hodder, 105.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Barton K. and Levstik L. (2004), *History for the Common Good*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum; Grever, M. and Stuurman S. (eds) (2007), *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty First Century*, Basingstoke: Macmillan; Macmillan, M. (2009), *The Uses and Abuses of History*, London: Profile.

¹⁵ For further development of this point, see Haydn, T. (2012) 'History in Schools and the Problem of the "Nation"', *Education Sciences*, 2: 276-289.

¹⁶ Kenneth Baker, speech at the Conservative Party Conference, 1998.

¹⁷ Michael Gove, interview in *The Times*, 6 March, 2010.

¹⁸ It is important to note that after a consultation period, and substantial opposition from history teachers, history didactics and academic historians, a revised and less Anglocentric version of the proposals was announced in August 2013.

¹⁹ Byrom J. and Riley, M. (2003) 'Professional Wrestling in the History Department: a Case Study in Planning the Teaching of the British Empire at Key Stage 3', *Teaching History*, 112: 8.

²⁰ Joseph, K. (1984) 'Why Teach History in School?', *The Historian*, 2: insert.

²¹ Byrom and Riley, 2003: 8.

²² Tosh, J. (2008), *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 136.

²³ Morris, M. (2013) '1066: the Limits of Our Knowledge', *The Historian*, 117: 9-13.

²⁴ See Evans, R. (2013) 'Our Job is to Explain', *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, online at <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/177421.article>, and 'Postmodernism and History' (8.02.2014), contribution to the 'Great Debate on History and Postmodernism', University of Sydney, Australia, 27 July 2002, online at <http://www.butterfliesandwheels.org/2002/postmodernism-and-history/#sthash.yiwMzJ2s.dpuf> (8.02.2014), for further explanation of this point.

²⁵ Lee, P. and Ashby, R. (2000) 'Progression in Historical Understanding Among Students Ages 7-14', in P. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. Wineburg (eds) *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History*, New York: New York University Press, 199-222.

²⁶ Conrad, M. et al. (2013), *Canadians and Their Pasts: The Pasts Collective*, Toronto: Toronto University Press.

²⁷ Ferguson, N. (2002), *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, New York: Allen Lane.

- ²⁸ Howe, 2012: 1-8.
- ²⁹ Grindel, 2013: 44.
- ³⁰ Kennedy, P. (1989), *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, New York: Vintage.
- ³¹ Sparks, J. (1931), *Histomap: Four Thousand Years Of World History. Relative Power Of Contemporary States, Nations and Empires*, New York: Rand McNally.
- ³² Porter, 2012: 2.
- ³³ Klein, N. (2008), *The Shock Doctrine: the Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, New York: Penguin.
- ³⁴ Slater, J. (1989), *The Politics of History Teaching: a Humanity Dehumanised?*, London: ULIE.
- ³⁵ Ibidem.
- ³⁶ Howe, 2012.
- ³⁷ Monbiot, G. (2013) 'If You Think We're Done With Neoliberalism, Think Again', *The Guardian*, 14.01.2013, online at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/14/neoliberal-theory-economic-failure>, (10.09.2013).
- ³⁸ Tosh, 2008: 142.
- ³⁹ See, for example, Lee, 2000.
- ⁴⁰ Lawlor, S. (1989) *Critique of the Interim Report of the National Curriculum History Working Group*, London, Centre for Policy Studies.
- ⁴¹ Arnold, J. (2000), *History: a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 18.
- ⁴² Ferguson, 2003.
- ⁴³ Gott, R. (2011), *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression and Revolt*, New York: Verso.
- ⁴⁴ Dalrymple, W. (2013), *Return of a King: the Battle for Afghanistan*, London: Bloomsbury.
- ⁴⁵ Laycock, 2012.
- ⁴⁶ See Taylor, A.J.P. (1954), *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe 1848-1914*, Oxford: Clarendon, and Chomsky, N. (1992), *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, Tuscon: Odonian Press, for nineteenth and twentieth century examples of this precept.
- ⁴⁷ A point made by Howe, 2012: 43.
- ⁴⁸ Dalrymple, W. (2013) 'Never Forget the Empire', in *The Guardian*, 23.02.2013, 42.
- ⁴⁹ Grindel, 2013: 43.
- ⁵⁰ Evans, R. (2011) 'The Wonderfulness of Us: the Tory Interpretation of History', *London Review of Books*, 33 (6): 9-12.
- ⁵¹ Taylor, T. and Collins, S. (2012) 'Behind the Battle Lines of History as Politics: An International and Intergenerational Methodology for Testing the Social Identity Thesis of History Education', *Educational Sciences*, 2, 208-217.
- ⁵² Michael Gove, speech to the Conservative Party Conference, 7 October 2009.
- ⁵³ Aldrich, R. and Dean, D. (1991) 'The Historical Dimension,' in Aldrich R. (ed), *History in the National Curriculum*, London: Kogan Page, 102.
- ⁵⁴ Grever, M., Pelzer B. and Haydn, T. (2011) 'High School Students' Views on History', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 43 (2), 207-229.

⁵⁵ Jones, D. (2013) 'History Should Be Compulsory Until the Age of 16, Not 14' (an interview with David Cannadine), *Daily Telegraph Review*, 30.03.2013, 27.

⁵⁶ Tosh, 2008: 136.

⁵⁷ Hobsbawm, E. (2005) 'In Defence of History', *The Guardian*, 15.01.2005.

⁵⁸ Chambers Everyday Dictionary defines veracity as '1.Conformity to facts; accuracy: 'the veracity of the story'. 2.Habitual truthfulness: 'his veracity and character'.

⁵⁹ Joseph, 1984.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING DISCOURSE REGARDING POST-COLONIAL NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF HISTORY TEACHING IN QUEBEC

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A curricular reform, implemented in Quebec secondary schools in 2007, has pushed the national question to the forefront in the debate surrounding the teaching of history in Quebec. This chapter seeks to describe the ideological substrates of discourses, which appear to form the core of the social identity issues in Quebec. We identified and categorized four trends regarding conceptions of the nation that we found in mass media, and propose a theoretical framework that will help to answer the following question: how colonialism, decolonization, and the impact of post-colonial theory are presently represented in history textbooks, curricula, teacher education, and educational media in Quebec?

Colonialism, decolonization and post-colonial history are salient concepts in Canada and Quebec, where they overlap according to political and cultural perspectives. More notably, as Quebec history is doubly colonial – first as a product of French imperialism and second, of British imperialism – colonial and decolonization issues concerning First Nations (indigenous peoples) and francophone Quebecois remain unresolved and particularly complex in the face of increasing cultural diversity. Indeed, questions of social identity and shared values have once more been thrust into the spotlight as the Canadian government did engage in fervent nationalist campaigns (around the War of 1812, the Battle of Vimy Ridge, or the 1867 Confederation Pact), and as the Quebec government has proposed two bills to effectively legislate both the identity and values to which all Quebecois must adhere if they are to be considered true members of society. The first of these bills proposes a Charter of Quebec Values, whereas the second rests of the ‘reinforcement’ of national history teaching. Juxtaposed within these two attempts to definitively define a Quebecois national identity is a confrontation between perspectives of what and who constitutes a nation, and how the past may be reimagined or reclaimed.

We contend that in the face of a persistent colonial culture, post-colonialism is not strictly a historical period following European

colonialism (though it is historically anchored), as it continues to shape social aspirations and configurations and to alter economic, political and cultural relations. In keeping with the works of anti-colonial scholars, such as Ahmad (1995) or Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989), we conceive post-colonialism as cultural processes, symbols and meanings inscribed in both the colonizers' and the colonized's social practices. Among those practices which are of interest to our research, we seek to identify discursive practices which embody resistance to colonialism in all of its forms and consequences, thus promoting the development of agency. As bearers of substantive cultural meanings, history textbooks offer the possibility of accessing potentially post-colonial discursive practices.

The advent of Quebec's most recent mandatory curricular reform, implemented in secondary schools from September 2007, has pushed the 'national question' to the forefront in the debate surrounding the teaching of history in Quebec. This article seeks to describe the ideological substrates of axiological and teleological discourse, which, in part because they have benefitted from mass media coverage and though they have garnered varying degrees of attention, appear to form the core of the aforementioned social identity issues. In doing so, this paper seeks to propose a theoretical framework that will help to answer the following question: how colonialism, decolonization, and the impact of post-colonial theory are presently represented in history textbooks, curricula, teacher education, and educational media in Quebec. This article demonstrates the usefulness of this framework by applying it to the content analysis of history textbooks. From April 2006 to March 2010, the two main Montreal francophone dailies indexed by the Eureka database (*Le Devoir* and *La Presse*) had published 648 editorials or position papers containing a combination of the terms 'Quebec', 'nation', and 'Canada'. We proceeded to evaluate and categorize three trends based on secondary, external and contingent cues. Our analysis did not consider the material foundations of diverse trends, nor did it include the examination of their social nature or their objective historical role. We instead turned our attention to the attitude the texts conveyed toward a single abstract concept: the nation.

The author most often published and indeed quoted in the sample of texts was Gérard Bouchard, a historian and sociologist specializing in issues of collective imagination and cultural myths. The second

most frequently quoted author is Jocelyn Letourneau, also a historian, specializing in contemporary Quebec history. Both authors are recognized as influential intellectuals. Their positions in regards to the national question, which will be described further, appear diametrically opposed and have been developed previous to the period studied, both in mass media and scholarly writings. Both reject a third trend, which in turn opposes their perspectives and is often characterized as ethnic nationalism. This third conception of the nation, whose occurrences are most frequent in our sample, is much less associated with a single central figure, though Mathieu Bock-Côté appears as its staunchest partisan. This message is at once most often and most broadly disseminated. Finally, in spite of its absence from our sample, we include a fourth perspective on the national issue, both for historical and theoretical reasons. This communist perspective had significant reach in the 1970's but its audience and variety abruptly declined from the 1980's onward.

The characteristics of all four perspectives or trends regarding conceptions of the nation can be identified through the analysis of typical and representative units of meaning.

1. First Trend: National Identity As Diversity and Identification to Law and Territory

For Bouchard (2001, 2002, 2004), the sovereigntist project of French-Canadians living in Quebec is legitimate in so far as, on the one hand, Quebec is a nation in the sociological sense — that is a group of individuals who share a willingness to live together and find common ground in their collective aspirations (a kind of *affectio societatis*) — and, on the other, the sovereigntist project does not imply hierarchy or structural discrimination toward other citizens, namely immigrants and indigenous First Nations. Nonetheless, the Quebecois political community, whether or not it be sovereign, does not appear to Bouchard to be viable without a significant ideological update and rejuvenation. His writings illustrate a belief that it is both desirable and possible to establish a national identity open to all Quebec citizens, independent of their culture and origins. Such an identity would be necessary to consolidate Quebec's political community, so long as two conditions are met. First, this national identity must be founded upon diversity and the fragmentation of multiple belongings, which include national belonging. Second,

fundamental values and evolutions of the collective French-Canadian experience which are also shared with and common to indigenous and immigrant experiences must be extracted, translated, and promoted, so that they may be appropriated and assumed by members of these communities. This however calls for the invention of new positive myths which render collective French-Canadian memory significant and accessible to those communities who do not share it, while avoiding that these myths disqualify the emergent memory in the eyes of French-Canadians. These new collective myths, Bouchard argues, must break with defeatist, self-denigrating histories and mentalities which characterize a self-assigned 'victims' and 'survivors' of Conquest colonial identity embedded in ethnic nationalism and its nostalgia for an imagined, glorified, 'lost' past; its conception of national culture as fragile, threatened or borne of shame in the face of events nonetheless illustrative of widespread phenomena. Bouchard rather calls for the commemoration of historical episodes which allow Quebecois of all origins to inscribe their past, present, and future in the great tale of national liberation following the narrative thread of other 'new' countries (Australia, the United States, Mexico, Brazil, etc.). In short, Bouchard proposes that a new territorial identity be invented through the creation of historical myths to which descendants of French colonization as well as indigenous First Nations and later immigrants may identify. In other words, according to this perspective on the nation, an end must be put to tribal division of suffrage in favour of a unitary territorial nationalism, transcendent of particular ethnic identity. Bouchard does not however address cultural hybridity in the concepts of resistance which typically acts as the common core of the colonized's self-assigned identity.

2. Second Trend: National Identity As Ambivalence

For Letourneau (2000, 2004, 2008a, 2008b) Quebecois' past is ambivalent and contradictory, their political life is complex and filled with paradox – in short, illustrative of most post-colonial societies. Their collective memory, Letourneau believes, has retained a monolithic and obsolete political, economical, social and ideological image, based on bad memories which paralyze them and confines them in their fear of vanishment, in their role as powerless victims, in their resentment toward all Others (though mostly the English) seen

as aggressive or disloyal, as well as responsible for deviating the Quebecois nation from its intended destiny. Yet it is these very misfortunes (or tragedies, depending on one's viewpoint), starting with the British conquest of New France in 1759, which have created Quebec and the ambivalence of various groups and figures, which in turn have allowed for its self-affirmation. In spite of unequivocal moves to do so, the victors were unable to force the conquered to submit to their will and their ways, but rather changed themselves and their project in the process. The expressed will of many Quebecois to either be members of the Canadian federation without being assimilated, to distinguish themselves from Canada without separating from it, is for Letourneau emblematic of this ambivalence. To sum up, the Quebecois attitude of ambivalence toward Quebec's political status and their own identity, based upon a quest for just compromises to support Quebec's interests within Canada, has served Quebecois well. Under these conditions, rather than being afraid of opening up the benchmarks of Quebecois identity, it should rather be feared that the latter should coalesce around a fixed and ethnicist vision of its past. Letourneau draws two lessons from this analysis. First, historical misfortunes and complaints should be put to rest, and second, Quebecois should seek to gain from the historical to and fro between roots and mobility, the simultaneous will to respect tradition and break from it, to draw from one's origins or to cultivate exoticism, to cohabitate with and against the Other. Historical narratives should consequently transform social representations of the past and create new belongings, in order to allow present-day Quebecois to extract from their French-Canadian past the symbols and referents needed to build the future they want. It is not so much a question of re-writing history or of creating a new identity as it is a project for updating a healthy ambivalence, characteristic of the Quebecois, within the old identity which though it has served them well, has been tainted by melancholic interpretation.

In other words, as Bouchard suggests, Letourneau considers that Quebecois must '[...] insert [in the story of the past] collective actors who had been traditionally excluded and [...] reconstitute the evolution of relations (alliances or oppositions, inclusion or exclusion) between all ethnic groups present on Quebec territory. Such a process would help in understanding a complex dynamic

which has led to the present conjuncture and the perspectives henceforth available' (Bouchard, 2000: 62).

If post-colonialism as a set of discursive practices is to be conceived foremost as 'resistance to colonialism, colonist ideologies and their contemporary forms and subjectificatory legacies' (Childs and Williams, 1997: 4), Bouchard and Letourneau's conceptions of national identity are not post-colonial. They are however not so distant from each other, though the first is more closely associated with Quebecois nationalism and the second, with Canadian nationalism.

3. Third Trend: National Identity As French-Catholic Heritage

For the tenants of the third trend in conceiving the Quebecois nation, the descendants of French-Catholic colonists must reject all propositions of inter-culturalism and multi-culturalism. Indeed, nationhood must serve as a bulwark against hybridisation of social practices. As products of the Canadian Charter of rights and freedoms, centred on individual rights, and statism upheld by the progressive intelligentsia, which profits from it, inter-/multi-culturalism is seen as prejudicial to the national community, which makes up the majority of the Quebecois population. It is further believed to minoritize its historical heritage, under the pretext of redeeming its past xenophobe sins (such as 1930's episodes of anti-Semitism), since expiated, and maybe even imaginary. Quebecois must on the contrary adhere to a single collective memory, culture, and historical heritage. They must perceive themselves as unitary political subjects with a common and substantial identity (Chevrier, 1999: A11) and establish assimilation into this national identity as the norm for immigrants' successful integration (see, among others, Beauchemin, 2010; Bock-Côté, 2008; Cantin, 2000; Therriault, 2010). In this regard, the ethnic conception of the Quebecois nation is very much colonial, rather than post-colonial, as it defines the boundaries for membership to a nation-state through subsumation of minoritized identities. The idea of resistance has turned not toward a conquering Other, but toward economically weaker, disenfranchised and fragmented Others, portrayed in various ways as threatening the preservation of some immutable nation and its core values. This definition of who is a true Quebecois recalls the ethnicizing processes

of European colonization, aimed at maintaining social order in favour of the preservation of the dominant groups' power. Most recently, this conception of national identity has been seen as the foundation for a bill calling for the reinforcement of national history programmes in schools and colleges, the basis of which is to return to a grand national narrative and the mastery of 'historical facts' purported to be benchmarks of the Quebecois nation.

In spite of their differences, the three attitudes toward the abstract principle of nationalism at the core of various social debates in Quebec share the goal of promoting identification to a nation differing only in scale, and of establishing the expansion and consolidation of their respective social foundations on the writings of social scientists. They also share the idea of reinterpreting Quebecois history to extract from the past those elements which may allow for building a 'better future'. To achieve this end, historical evidence is carefully selected and promoted to uphold each nationalist perspective's central argument. In certain respects, all present-day Quebecois (of recent or immemorial immigration) would owe allegiance to the identity components put forth by the each of the three authors: a love of diversity, democracy and liberty (Bouchard), moderation, conciliation, compromise and Canadianhood (Letourneau), or French-Catholic heritage (Bock-Côté). While the writings of Bouchard and Letourneau may be in certain respects linked to French-Canadian liberal ideology (Fernande Roy, Claude Couture, etc.), the antagonistic position (Bock-Côté) is the brainchild of authors more closely aligned with clerico-nationalism.

When national identity, as it presupposes institutional and normative dimensions (a political community defined through its institutions), becomes ethnic national identity, it necessarily implies an empirical equivalence between nation and ethnic identity, whereby the institutions of the state are bearers, through their normative components, of some cultural invariant or characteristics associated with a singular ethnic group, thus excluding other cultural or ethnic groups. Hence national institutions, which hold the power to disseminate identity discourses, may be subverted to build-up the dominant ethnic identity over the others, thus consolidating its power. Such discourse may be mobilized to rally the masses to the defence of institutions, a supposedly 'founding' culture to which the members of a nation are indebted, and an economic or political

system at the expense of their own (often class-based) interests, elevating the 'national' cause to the status of superior interest. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) argue that as a category of social practice, national identity is called upon by political entrepreneurs to persuade the masses to understand themselves, as well as their interests and challenges, in a certain way and to see themselves as identical to some (all francophone Quebecois, for example, regardless of class) and different from others (non-francophone, for example) according to chosen (and institutionalised) symbols of national discourse (for example: descendance, historical heritage). The problem posed by this post-colonial concept of representation is salient in the ethnic nationalist discourse. In Quebec, control of civic and political social hegemony provides ethnic nationalists with some power in declaring their interests and worldview as 'proxy and portrait' (Spivak, 1990: 108) of a Quebecois nation. Contesting this representation has become equivalent with either ethnic self-exclusion or denial of historical subaltern-ness of French-Catholic Quebecois, especially in the debate surrounding the teaching of history. Ethnic nationalists argue that Quebec history needs to be taught as transmission of a univocal narrative of the nation in order to guarantee that students should know and recognize 'successive common sites [events] of a singular community' (Gouvernement du Québec, 2013). Shohat (1995: 173) warns that these representations 'must be analysed not only in terms of who represents but also in terms of who is being represented for what purpose, at which historical moment, for which location, using which strategies, and in what tone of address'. Ethnic nationalist 'representation' of the historically subaltern status of the French-Catholic Quebecois must be questioned, both in its self-declared 'benevolence' for cultural survival and integration and in its hypocrisy/denial toward all claims of historical and current subaltern-ness of Others (indigenous First Nations, immigrants, and the working and work-seeking class). This is also true of Bouchard and Letourneau, as neither acknowledges the fragmentation of Quebecois society along class lines, though as Ogien (2013) has recently pointed out, the Others most often singled out as not 'identical' or not worthy of membership into said nation, thus requiring various modes of integration, are almost exclusively of the working or work-seeking class.

4. Fourth Trend: National Identity As Struggle Against Oppression

From the 1940's and through the 1960's, the struggle against national oppression coalesced in the face of increasing unionization, strikes and the consciousness of a convergence of working class interests with those of a minoritized majority, as well as the cultural affirmation of First Nations in the Red Power movement (Palmer, 2009). Facing the same capitalist exploitative forces, these groups at times found some unity of action and aspirations until there re-emerged a bourgeois nationalist elite which, having gained access to public institutions through the appropriation of the state by the French-speaking liberal elite (which replaced the French-speaking conservative elite, which had profited vastly from its cooperation with the oppressive forces of Anglo-American capital in keeping the masses subservient), proceeded to divide and pacify popular groups, dangling the meritocratic 'North American dream' before their eyes.

A fourth message regarding the concept of nation, which does address the issues of power and class relations in conceptions of national identity and which may be qualified as proto- or cir-communist, was part of the debate in Quebec beginning at least in the 1960's (Deleuze, 2001). As many schools of thought claim this label, we limit our analysis to an accidental sample. The political movement which bore the communist discourse was at its strongest in the 1970s, then lost its impetus, though it has continued *mezza-voce*. This discourse does not consider ethnic origin as the keystone of national identities. The latter can rather be found either in the egotism of a state's system (a bourgeois state occupying a particular territory) building itself up as universal (against the egotism of feudal and colonial particularities) or in the experience of oppression and the collective struggle against it. Thus the continuity of resistance against oppression begun after the failed revolt of 1837-1838¹ would have given birth to the French-Canadian nation (Prairie, 1988: 14).

The crown's and capital's attendants had discounted the tenacity and the will to struggle of Quebec farmers and other artisans who refused to give way to attempts to eliminate their language and culture. The bourgeoisie is responsible for constituting an oppressed nation in Canada, but francophone producers are at the origin of the development of Quebecois national consciousness, through more than 150 years of struggle and resistance against systematic

discrimination and social inequality (Dugré, 1987: 118). Hence, the fact that capitalism is the fundamental though sometimes indirect target of contemporary struggles against injustice² implies that oppressed groups share, consciously or not, the same immanent interest, though the working class alone has the interest of carrying the struggle to the end: forging unity through common struggle against the common source of their oppression and exploitation, by aiming their salves against the dominant class, its States, and its social system on a global scale, thus providing all with the means to eradicate the roots of the problem and free themselves (Dugré and Penner, 1991; Ellis, 1970; Fidler, 1970; Gans, 1970; Henderson, 1970; Kopyto, 1970; Levis, 1972; Penner and Prairie, 1991; Riddell, 1970; Simpson, 1970; Young, 1970). These authors would add that Canada is not only a prison house of nations which makes profits out of nationally-discriminated (including French-Canadians, First Nations and immigrants of oppressed nationalities) workers, but also an imperialist power, with the Canadian ruling class (now including, as a by-product of the French-Canadian struggle against institutionalized discrimination, a more significant French-Canadian faction living in Quebec) owning large investments abroad – from Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East to Africa, and Southeast Asia – and competing with London, Paris, Washington, Berlin, and other rival imperialist powers in the struggle among themselves to re-divide and plunder the world. Such an interpretation of national identity is post-colonial both in its acknowledgement of resistance and struggle against colonial oppression, as because it proposes social practice which goes beyond traditional post-colonialism and anti-colonialism to self-assigned emancipatory identity and self-determined collective action. One would expect to find curriculum or textbooks claiming to be in line with this ideal in the presentation of opportunity for militant citizen action within and outside of school, as well as the presentation of examples of citizenship praxis amongst the various peoples of the Americas.

In conclusion, while the first three conceptions of Quebecois national identity consider that one must identify with a nation (Quebecois, Canadian or French-Canadian, respectively) to put an end to the social identity debate in Quebec, tenets of the fourth conception believe that this debate is in fact a question of social

justice which all oppressed should embrace, as the injustices incurred by one group of oppressed hurts all of the oppressed.

5. The Colonial World in Quebec History Textbooks

In Quebec, the mandatory curriculum is comprised of a network of expected outcomes related to discipline-based competencies, as well as prescribed concepts, notions and 'cultural benchmarks'. The history programme which teachers are expected to follow in the third and fourth years of secondary education is a Quebecois nationalist programme, insisting upon 'the promotion of a set of shared values and the development of a sense of belonging' (Gouvernement du Québec, 2004: 28), mandated with social integration of immigrant students based on a 'shared history'. According to this document, all students should be taught to identify with provincial public institutions and the 'democratic' values they embody. There is social reproduction of the conditions which feed the bourgeois nationalist hegemony: students identify with a territory and a set of values, which also leads away from questions of opposing interests (in the class struggle, for example) within the nation, and of identities and solidarities which transcend it. The national history programme is divided in two distinct parts. In the first year, students study seven socio-historical phenomena in chronological order: relations between pre-Colombian indigenous peoples of eastern North America; contact between indigenous peoples and Europeans and the emergence of a colonial society in New France; British conquest and the change in Empire; the influence of liberal ideas on national struggle for liberation in the now British colony; the formation of the Canadian federation; the modernization of the Quebecois state; and current issues in Quebecois society since 1980. The second year is oriented toward a thematic study of Quebec history. Five themes are studied, each in a diachronic fashion going from 1500 to present-day. These themes include population and settlement, economy and development, culture and currents of thought, official power and countervailing powers. These social phenomena and themes are circumscribed by transferable historical concepts (which include concepts such as imperialism, capitalism, etc.) and prescribed historical content: grand historical figures, dates, events, cultural manifestations (artwork, music, etc.). A closer look at these in officially sanctioned textbooks, however, reveals an underlying

narrative which does not stray far from traditional bourgeois nationalism (the first three conceptions of national identity) but rather serves to consolidate it.

Convergent trends emerge from an analysis of how best selling high school textbooks cover the three ethnic groups most prevalent within their pages, namely indigenous First Nations, francophones, and anglophones. Our attention, however, is turned mostly toward indigenous First Nations, as they are portrayed in Quebec history classes as the archetypical image of the colonized. As the three main textbooks contain analogous content, we chose to present them globally rather than individually.

The narration found in these textbooks is mono-logical and its para-text contains few historical documents from which to draw to build an autonomous interpretation. Europeans arbitrarily populate the story, their prejudices or biases never addressed or confronted. For example, the indigenous way of life is said to be incompatible with industrialization and this consubstantially destined to disappear: 'Conscious that their role [as a traditional culture] no longer has the same importance in the face of industrial society's development'. Folkloric elements (mythology, canoes, snowshoes, dream catchers) occupy a large portion of content and are in addition represented in stereotypical illustrations, from artists of European or French-Canadian origin. Such a treatment of indigenous First Nations brings to mind the question posed by Spivak (1990) in her pivotal study of post-colonialism: Can the subaltern speak? Quebec history textbooks, for their part, do not give voice to indigenous peoples, though these voices may be found among historians of indigenous descent.

In the same manner, Europeans give accounts of First Nations' beliefs that end the myths presented in the textbooks are either unsourced or from non indigenous sources. Indigenous people are presented as passive objects of their destiny. Consequently, South American indigenous peoples are passive victims of Spanish conquest, as are the Iroquois encountered by the explorer Cartier. That First Nations helped Cartier and his men in 1535-1536 is not mentioned, neither for that matter are instances of indigenous resistance to the appropriation of the North American territory by Cartier. In fact there is no reciprocity between indigenous First Nations and French colonizers, the former are passive and the latter presented without any critical dimension.

French settlers are portrayed as independent, rebellious toward the crown, and paradoxically, pious. Much is made of their strong will to survive in the harsh climate of the territory, though little is said about the methods and practices borrowed from the First Nations for winter survival. Ironically, the absolutist nature of the French regime, including serfdom imposed on the peasantry through the medieval *seigneurial* regime, are presented as having little importance, and colonial life is often favourably compared to peasant life in France, concluding that though they were serfs and suffered oppression, the peasants of New France lived a relatively good life. The narrative of bourgeois nationalism finds echo in the portrayal of present-day Quebecois society as ‘marked by the French phenomena since the time of New France’ and defined first by what separates it from other North American societies. This cannot provide a foundation for universalism, understanding of oppression processes (or racialization of indigenous peoples), hegemony, or that an oppressed citizen must revolt against unjust government (the fourth conception of national identity).

French-Canadian awareness of oppression eventually arose from the failures of bourgeois national liberation struggles against the British — struggles which did not seek to abolish the causes of exploitation and inequality, but rather to replace the British elite with the French-Canadian elite. The latter used the political-economic conditions arising from Conquest to their advantage. French-Canadians are shown to defend their identity against the British, though in reality, the French elite (the *seigneurs*, the *petite-bourgeoisie* and the Church) used the British occupation to consolidate power by portraying themselves as the saviours of a *Canadienne* identity (referring to the name settlers ascribe themselves after some generations had been established). The change of empire is sometimes presented as an example of conciliating diverging interests within a society. Students are thus little exposed to the processes which project the interests of one group over another or to oppression processes borne out of class struggle. The impact of the change in empire on the populace, whether they be peasants (as the majority of French-Canadians and then Loyalists were) or artisans is not shown, the textbooks concentrate almost exclusively on political changes and demands from the liberal elites and the corresponding response of colonial powers. This approach tends to evacuate the

notion that the people are the greatest initiators and motors of change and present a skewed version of history as the juxtaposition of actions by great historical figures. Furthermore, it denies the inscription of the colonial enterprise and its attending exploitation into a larger capitalist expansion, thus failing to offer students the historical perspective through which pluri-vocal histories may provide the commonalities required to transcend colonialism.

As Childs and Williams (1997: 6) contend, 'if the 500-year expansionary dynamic of capitalism-as-imperialism is accepted as the big-picture within which colonialism and post-colonialism are phases' post-colonialism remains unfinished so long as neo-colonialist economic relations, driven by the search for low-cost labour forces and expanding markets for goods, are legitimized through indirect control over economic, political and cultural channels by Western powers. We would add that the persistence of the colonialist tradition of usurping the history of the colonized, the suspect use of nostalgia-driven efforts to recover some idealized 'lost' immutable ethnic identity, or the denial of shared colonialist/capitalist oppression do little to contribute to efforts to decolonize history teaching and move toward emancipatory historical interpretation.

Notes

¹ The uprisings form the beginning of an anti-colonial bourgeois revolution led by francophones and anglophones against the British bourgeoisie, aimed at creating a democratic republic. They simultaneously erupted in Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

² Whether these struggles be led against oppression based on gender, phenotype or other characteristics perceived more commonly as cultural – notably language and religion – by indigenous or alien populations, etc.

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FROM CARL PETERS TO THE MAJI MAJI WAR – COLONIALISM IN CURRENT TANZANIAN AND GERMAN TEXTBOOKS

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The article summarises the results of a textbook analysis that compares the presentation of colonialism in current Tanzanian and German textbooks. Key directions of inquiry are the relevance and position of colonialism in curricular construction, the relevance of a structural 'us'-'them'- opposition, and the way, the textbooks present issues of conflict, oppression and violence. The article argues that both textbook cultures reflect considerable differences, but also processes of entanglement. However, the basic narratives which are strongly based on the national dimension (European/African respectively) create a bias. Further textbook development should take such bias into consideration and try to balance its undesirable effects.

In 2010, the exhibition 'Who knows tomorrow' featured works by artists with an African background in Berlin. At this exhibition, the British-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare presented his installation 'Scramble for Africa'. The installation represents the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884/85, portraying gesticulating, arguing and, literally, headless statesmen. As the artist puts it himself: "Scramble for Africa" is about people having a conference about a continent that was not theirs and deciding how they are going to divide it up without any form of consultation with those who would be most affected – the Africans'. One of the exhibition's curators stated that in her opinion many Germans are not familiar with their country's own colonial history and that few even know about the Berlin Congo Conference. 'These artworks are telling us another history', she said.¹ The presentation of Shonibares installation in a 19th century German neo-Gothic church seems to introduce an African perspective into the German debate about the nation's colonial history.

At the same time, the installation suggests that a clear distinction between 'the African' and 'the European' is difficult. For instance, the figures wear suits from a fabric that often is understood as typically African. However, the emergence of these colourful wax prints is historically closely connected to global trade networks, since they are based on Indonesian batik, were manufactured amongst

others in the Netherlands and then exported to West Africa. The hybridity of identity constructions and the entangled relationship between Africa and Europe is one of the central topics in Shonibares art.² Moreover, the presentation of the installation in Berlin also indicates that the construction of colonial memory does not take place in isolated national or geographical spaces, but reflects processes of global interconnectedness and entanglement.

This paper will compare current Tanzanian and German textbooks for lower secondary education, taking into account also the Tanzanian syllabus. I will demonstrate the complexity and opaqueness of perspectives in their mutual relationship.³ The major part of Tanzania's territory belonged to the colony German East Africa, until Germany lost its colonies as a consequence of the 1st World War.⁴ I will analyse how history textbooks of Germany as a former colonising, and Tanzania as a former colonised state, conceptualise the colonial past, how the narrations are integrated in different narratives and how they relate to each other. The focus will be on the presentation of the period before 1918. In the analysis, I combined quantitative and qualitative methods.⁵ Additional information was collected by a questionnaire which the Tanzanian Institute of Education answered.⁶

In the first section, I will provide some basic information on my textbook sample. Afterwards, I will compare the textbooks with respect to three directions of inquiry: a) the relevance and position of colonialism in the curricular construction, with a focus on the role of national and supranational dimensions; b) the relevance of a structural 'us'/'them' opposition and its impact on the understanding and presentation of colonialism, e.g. the role of Eurocentric and Afrocentric approaches and problems of multiperspectivity; and c) the way the textbooks present conflict, oppression and violence during the colonial period and deal with issues of victimisation, agency and guilt. In my comparison, I will not draw a differentiated picture of the textbooks' variety and cannot provide the findings in detail, but summarise the most important results. Finally, I will present some concluding remarks.

1. Sample

The following analysis takes into account textbooks for lower secondary education. In the case of Tanzania, the so-called first cycle of secondary education follows 7 years of primary school and lasts 4 years (Form 1 to 4). Language of instruction in secondary education is English.⁷ The sample includes 7 books for forms 1 to 4, stemming from 2 different textbook series. Moreover, I analysed the syllabus which was revised in 2005 and which is remarkably detailed and extensive.⁸ In the case of Germany, the analysis takes into account 27 textbooks for the different school forms of lower secondary education, licensed in diverse federal states. The books' language is German, except for one book, which is written in English.⁹

The German and Tanzanian textbooks represent different textbook types. The German books comprise both author text and working materials and contain numerous pictures. In contrast, the Tanzanian books are as a matter of fact 'text'-books and contain few pictures and almost no materials for class activities.¹⁰ Moreover, the role textbooks are playing in the classroom seems to differ a lot between both countries.¹¹ However, textbooks never directly represent the reality of history teaching. In this article, they are understood as media specific realisations of interpretation patterns which gain dominance in a complex process and which exert their influence in complex ways.¹²

2. Comparison

2.1 *Colonialism in the Curriculum*

In the Tanzanian syllabus and textbooks, colonialism is a crucial issue. It is understood as part of a trans-temporal pattern of exploitation¹³ and is extensively dealt with for the whole year of Form 3.¹⁴ In this context, the Berlin Conference is an outstanding event. Both textbook-series discuss it at length in distinct subchapters and make it the topic of numerous revision questions. Moreover, the curriculum is based on a periodisation which distinguishes between the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial period. Therefore, a basic structure is prevalent which has been criticised for making 'colonialism the pivot around which African history spins', thereby subtly reinforcing 'the view that dynamic movement in African history started with colonialism.' (Zezeza, 1990: 13).

The geographical focus in the textbooks is not limited to the territory of present-day's Tanzania. On the contrary, syllabus and textbooks favour a pan-African approach.¹⁵ The textbooks discuss colonial rule and anti-colonial resistance not only in East-Africa, but also in other parts of (mainly Sub-Saharan-)Africa.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the concept of the nation plays an important role in the curricular conception. For example, the Tanzanian textbooks follow a nation-centred interpretation pattern that played a big role in African historiography after independence: Efforts to establish national narratives, especially in the 1960s and 70s, took up the history of anticolonial resistance as a key topic in the nations' history.¹⁷ In line with this, the strong focus on resistance is one of the most striking features of the Tanzanian textbooks, compared to the German books.¹⁸

In Tanzania's national historiography, the so-called Maji Maji Uprising or Maji Maji War was of special importance. After independence, it was interpreted as a proto-national movement that united a diversity of groups in the fight against colonial oppression. Recent research has shown the limits of this interpretation and tried to draw a more differentiated picture.¹⁹ Still, the Maji Maji War is particularly accentuated in both textbooks and the national interpretation is very explicitly reflected in one of them.²⁰ However, following a tradition that emerged in the context of decolonisation, Africa and its nation-states are not conceptualised as contradictions, but as closely connected in anti-colonial resistance.²¹ Both Pan-Africanism and nationalism are portrayed as the most important protagonists in the fight for independence, whereas ethnicity and subgroup interests are seen as obstacles to independence and valued rather negatively.²²

In Germany's official memory culture, the colonial past did not attract big attention for a long time, but became more visible in the course of recent years.²³ In history teaching, German colonialism is essential and is discussed in each of the textbooks analysed, but it does not have a central position in the curriculum and is not dealt with extensively. Since German textbooks contain many pictures and working materials, the space for the historical account is additionally limited. The Berlin conference is often not mentioned. The former colony German East Africa does not attract big attention either. Instead, many textbooks choose South-West-Africa, today's

Namibia, as a case for the discussion of German colonialism in a more in depth manner.²⁴

The German curriculum is mainly based on a national narrative, complemented and extended by European and global perspectives. The topic of colonialism is related to all three dimensions: It can be presented as part of the German empire's foreign policy, as part of imperialistic Europe's disagreement, leading to the Great War, or as part of a process towards increasing global interconnectedness. In the analysed textbooks, all approaches are present. However, one structural pattern is prevalent: After prioritising the national perspective in connection with the German empire, the spatial focus of the textbooks' narrative expands in the chapters concerning colonialism. Very often, examples of other colonising nations are dealt with, especially Great Britain and France, but sometimes also Russia or the United States. Intended or not, the integration of a European perspective in the framework of a national narrative just at this very point may partly fulfil an exculpatory function. For in the framework of a national narrative, colonialism raises the question of national guilt.

2.2 *'Us' and 'Them'*

Both Tanzanian and German textbooks are based on an underlying opposition between 'us' and 'them' which results from the narrative's perspective and which is deeply anchored in the curricula's basic structure. Since the Tanzanian textbooks and syllabus centre on a Sub-Saharan African perspective, Europe enters the narrative as the external 'other' in the moment of its impact on Africa. After having entered the stage, Europe's perspective is strongly acknowledged: the textbooks' chapters concerning the establishment of colonialism are partly Eurocentric in character, describing the 'scramble for Africa' from a European point of view and discussing colonialism to a large extent in categories of 'impact' and 'reaction'. However, the Tanzanian books do not draw a concrete and differentiated picture of European societies and their history. Rather, they approach the development of European societies in terms of highly abstract Marxist and Leninist concepts,²⁵ interpret European agency in terms of the nation-state and choose a crossing point between European and African history which tends to present Europe at the peak of its power and Africa at a point of humiliation and defeat. Therefore, the

African perspective in fact risks ending up in a Eurocentric trap, presenting European dominance and African subjugation not so much as a specific historic situation but as a trans-temporal cultural pattern.²⁶

A comparable 'us'/'them' structure applies to the German textbooks with the opposite perspective. Sub-Saharan Africa enters the curriculum in connection with its contact with Europe, and the textbooks' readers learn practically nothing of pre-colonial African history and societies. Some German textbook authors try to give some information, but can do so only on a very limited scale.²⁷ At the same time, multiperspectivity has become an important principle in German textbook culture, and many textbook authors try to consider an African perspective in the presentation of colonialism.²⁸ However, quality differences are big, and there still is a strong tendency to depict Africans in a stereotypic way.²⁹ What is more, the basic 'us'/'them' structure can create a bias which is difficult to overcome and tends to undermine the principle of multiperspectivity or even to reverse it to its opposite. To give an example: Sometimes, pupils are requested to imagine an African perspective or perception in connection with the interpretation of a photographic source.³⁰ However, these photos are in general taken by the colonisers themselves and picture Africans in an inferior position or as exotic. Without a critical approach to the source and without rich information about the cultural, historical and political background, pupils cannot possibly be able to assess the African perspective. Since this kind of information is usually not provided, exercises of this sort will probably strengthen exactly those implications of strangeness and foreignness which they pretend to overcome.

2.3 *Memories of Conflict*

The history of colonialism confronts textbook authors and pupils with a history of violence and conflict, with notions of guilt and trauma. How do German and Tanzanian textbooks present this history of conflict? To what extent and in which ways do they make use of the categories of perpetrators, heroes and victims? What role do national identity concepts and the basic 'us'/'them' structure of the curriculum play in this context? In the following discussion, one aspect will be crucial: In presentations of violence, the focus easily shifts to the perpetrators, whereas those who suffer violence often

tend to attract less attention. And though many groups wish their status as victims to be acknowledged, they do not necessarily want to be described as helpless and without any agency. In the context of colonialism, the fact that the colonising nations shaped African historiography to a considerable extent complicates this problem.

The Tanzanian textbooks name Germany's and other nations' atrocities and the African defeat. Still, they try to avoid or at least balance a picture that presents Africans merely as helpless victims. Perpetrators, as for example the German colonial officer Carl Peters, who was notorious for his brutality, are portrayed in a comparatively neutral way.³¹ Instead, as mentioned above, the focus is on resistance in order to demonstrate African agency. The accounts of resistance contain elements of storytelling and partly use heroic or tragic narrative patterns. Textbooks authors also try to emphasise the impact of resistance on the colonial rule, for example in the case of Maji Maji.³² Moreover, one of the books seems deliberately to avoid presenting pictures that show colonisers dominating the colonised.³³ What is more, even though the texts criticize or even condemn colonialism sharply, they sometimes also point to positive effects that resulted from it, even if unintended by the colonisers.³⁴

In sum: The Tanzanian books denounce colonialism strongly, but try to balance a history of defeat by offering at least partly points of positive identification with the African and Tanzanian colonial past. This is perhaps not too astonishing: After all, colonialism shaped the Tanzanian nation state and its elites to a large extent. An exclusively negative picture of their own group's past would obviously not serve the national identity function of history teaching. Despite these efforts, however, Africa and Africans still are often portrayed as inactive objects of European agency.

With respect to colonial memory as memory of conflict, German textbook authors face among others two challenges: 1) how to acknowledge German crimes and, consequently, how to discuss the problem of national guilt; 2) how to acknowledge and integrate the point of view of the colonised and demonstrate African agency. During the last decades, both political and scholarly developments affected the way textbook authors approach these issues. Among them, the Herero claims for reparation³⁵ and postcolonial scholarly approaches were of particular relevance.

In today's textbooks, German and European crimes in Africa are clearly acknowledged. In contrast to the Tanzanian textbooks, German textbooks in general do not discuss positive impacts of colonialism.³⁶ Instead, they focus on oppression and suffering of Africans, which is illustrated in various pictorial sources.³⁷ Though the Maji Maji War is hardly ever mentioned,³⁸ the German-Herero War in South-West-Africa, today's Namibia, is strongly present.³⁹ Especially one picture type has nearly iconic status, portraying defeated and captured Hereros in chains, often close to starvation.⁴⁰ The parallels to the pictorial representation of the holocaust are striking. In this perspective, colonial memory gets integrated in a path of German memory culture that centres on questions of guilt and suffering. It follows a basic pattern that interprets the excesses of nationalism as the nation's Fall, followed by punishment. Correspondingly, some of the textbooks' introductory pages print pictorial sources on colonialism next to pictures showing the German soldiers' suffering in the 1st World War, thereby indicating a connection between colonialism and the 20th century's 'great seminal catastrophe' (George Kennan).⁴¹

However, this basically nation-centred interpretation, critical as it may be, does not necessarily do justice to the perspective of the colonised. In the numerous photographic sources that demonstrate – and denounce – colonial oppression, Africans are portrayed as helpless victims, in an inferior position and without agency, exposed to white dominance.⁴² Although these pictures are presented with critical distance, they still and unavoidably shape the visual impression of colonialism, thereby, if unwillingly, perpetuating the colonisers' perspective. Many textbook authors seem to be aware of that problem, since in some books there is a tendency to balance victimisation of Africans by referring to African agency, at least to some extent. This is done by visually presenting German and Herero military leaders on equal terms,⁴³ or by maps indicating various resistance movements.⁴⁴ Thus, postcolonial approaches start influencing textbook presentations to some extent.⁴⁵ But, more modern approaches to the history of colonialism can have their problematic side-effects. For example: Following the emphasis on colonial discourses in a cultural studies perspective, many textbooks provide source material from popular culture, as for example presentations of Africans in advertisements stemming from the

colonial period.⁴⁶ In consequence, a racist image of the colonised is strongly present which, though the intention is a deconstructive one, is not balanced by other, more adequate, pictorial representations of Africans. We have to consider: In a deeply anchored curricular 'us'/'them' structure, critical approaches do not necessarily work out, but can backfire.

3. Concluding Remarks

I hope to have demonstrated that it would be too simple to understand the Tanzanian textbooks as realisation of 'the' African perspective in contrast to 'the' European perspective as provided in the German textbooks. Rather, the analysis resulted in a more differentiated picture, revealing not only complex interactions between national and supranational categories, but also between both textbook cultures. Textbooks are not developed in isolated national or geographical spaces. Rather, they are a significant part of entangled memory cultures. European and US-American historiography and historiographical concepts for example have had a strong impact on all efforts to write African history. Accordingly, the production of the *UNESCO General History of Africa* has demonstrated what a challenge it is to emancipate from this framework and base the account on the African point of view (Santana Barbosa, 2012). Indeed: Eurocentric approaches are still mirrored in some parts of the Tanzanian textbooks; and though the authors try to demonstrate African agency, they do not always succeed, but focus mostly on a framework of collaboration and resistance as main types of reactions to colonialism.

As for the German textbooks, many authors try to consider the African point of view – with sometimes problematic results. Attempts to represent Africans not only as victims but as agents of historical processes are still quite rare. Thus, the elaboration of teaching materials and concepts that allow demonstrating African agency in a concrete and understandable way could be a common task for future textbook development.

However, there still remains the fact that the historical narratives in both textbook cultures are structured around an 'us'/'them' opposition and that national interpretation patterns are deeply anchored. This creates a bias that influences the meanings of the chosen contents. I want to illustrate this with one last example: One

of the German textbooks I analysed is designed for content and language integrated learning and is written in English.⁴⁷ It discusses not only the negative, but also the positive legacy of colonialism, including a long passage on colonialism's positive impacts on Africa. This is exceptional in the German sample and is to be explained by the fact that the authors adapted an English text by the Ghanaian historian Albert Adu Boahen. Boahen's text, which discusses colonialism's impacts from the perspective of the African post-independence nation states, is partly restructured, partly reproduced literally and not presented as a source but integrated in the authors' account.⁴⁸ However, the adaptation and even more the text's transfer into the framework of the German curriculum apparently influence its meaning. Since the German national narrative is strongly oriented towards the question of national guilt, an enumeration of positive impacts of colonialism in this context can, if unintended, deploy apologetic tendencies.

That a text by an African historian finds its way into a German textbook is evidence of entanglement processes in memory culture which are fostered by modern communication technologies and which may very well increase in the future. However, these interconnections reflect asymmetrical power-structures. Moreover, shared contents and argumentation patterns may not have the same meaning if they are transferred in a differently structured narrative. To put it in the German historian Sebastian Conrad's words: 'The history of memory production [...] is a process of entanglement rather than a "shared history" suggesting the hope for consensual interpretations of the past. [...] Against this nostalgia for a "pure" and "objective" (and therefore uncontroversial) account of past reality, the term "entanglement" stresses the asymmetrical relations and interactions that produce different and conflicting accounts of the past.' (Conrad, 2003: 86-87) Indeed, the problems described in this article cannot be solved by harmonising differently structured curricula. Instead, the didactical challenge lies in finding ways to balance the undesirable bias they can create.⁴⁹

Notes

¹ For the quotations, information on the exhibition and a photo of the installation see <http://www.dw.de/berlin-exhibition-draws-african-artists-into-global-discourse/a-5658290-1> (23.10.2013).

² For other works of Yinka Shonibare and the metaphor of the entangled relationship between Africa and Europe see Hynes, 2001.

³ For other comparisons of African and European textbooks' presentations of colonialism see (with a focus on upper secondary education) Grindel, 2012c and Grindel, 2012a. For the presentation of colonialism in German textbooks (with focus on upper secondary education as well) see Grindel, 2012b. For developments in African textbooks see Moser-Lécho, 2002.

⁴ For the history of Tanzania respectively Tanganyika see Iliffe, 1979.

⁵ For the analysis, I used the CDA-Software *atlas.ti*. In the development of the codes, I employed a mixed inductive and deductive approach. Additionally, I partly used quantifications, e.g. frequency analyses of important terms such as 'genocide' or 'Maji-Maji'.

⁶ I would like to thank the staff members of the TIE for their and kind cooperation and helpful reply. For the institute and its functions in the Tanzanian education system see <http://www.tie.go.tz/> (30.10.2013).

⁷ I confine myself to Tanzania mainland, leaving aside Zanzibar. For the following and for more details see UNESCO International Bureau of Education 2010-11. School education is completed by the two years of the 2nd cycle of Secondary education. Secondary education is not compulsory in Tanzania. In 2008, the GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) for the 1st cycle of secondary education was estimated at 36,2 %, for the 2nd cycle at 4 % (UNESCO World Data, 16). After form 4 and form 6, students take national examinations, which have (as the syllabus) a strong impact on the textbooks. For the history of education in Tanzania see Mushi, 2009. For current pedagogical challenges see Vavrus/Lesley Bartlett, 2012: 641-644. For current problems regarding the quality of education, high failing rates in national exams and corruption problems with regard to textbooks, see Samson, 2013.

⁸ For the sample, see appendix I. Form 1 for one of the series was not available. In the following, I will refer to the Tanzanian books according with their numbers in appendix I.

⁹ For the sample, see appendix II. Many different school forms (including Gesamtschule, Hauptschule, Realschule, Mittelschule, Gymnasium) and federal states were considered. In Germany, lower secondary education starts after 4 or 6 years of primary school, depending on the federal state. The grade in which colonialism is discussed varies, centering around the 8th grade. I did not include in the analysis the vast amount of curricula which are much less elaborate than the Tanzanian syllabus and tend to provide a more general framework. The curricula for the different German federal states and school types can be found here: <http://www.kmk.org/dokumentation/lehrplaene.html> (24.10.2013). The

book that is written in English (book 8) pursues content and language integrated learning. In the following, I will refer to the German books with short titles.

¹⁰ Series III contains however suggestions for class activities. The use of sources is very rare.

¹¹ As to Tanzania, many pupils do not have access to textbooks at all. Textbook:pupil ratios in different schools and in different parts of the country seem to vary strongly (see The World Bank 2008, 71). Provision with textbooks seems to be a problem for example in remote areas of the country.

¹² In Tanzania, textbooks have to be licensed, as in many German federal states. If education is steered to a large extent by national exams, as it is the case in Tanzania, textbooks must reflect the relevant contents and approaches, at least to a considerable extent. Moreover, textbooks may often be used by the teachers for their preparation, thereby having an indirect impact even if the pupils do not work directly with them.

¹³ In the syllabus, one of the 'General Subject Competences' is defined as follows: 'Shows an understanding of an ability to objectively relate Africa's developmental problems with foreign intrusion, colonial domination, cultural subjugation and economic exploitation across time.' (Tanzanian History Syllabus for Secondary Schools, Form I – IV, bullet point 4e).

¹⁴ For the contents of the Tanzanian syllabus, see the outline in appendix III.

¹⁵ This is characteristic not only of the presentation of colonialism, but of the whole curriculum.

¹⁶ In this article, I cannot address the aspect of the definition of African sub-regions. For general considerations see Zeleza, 1990: 12-13.

¹⁷ For the history of the historiography on Africa see e.g. Bergenthum, 2004: 9-18.

¹⁸ The chapter with the title 'Establishment of Colonial Control and African Reaction' in book IIb of the Tanzanian sample (see appendix 1) contains ca. 1,75 pages on the European course of action, 1,5 pages on African collaboration and 25,5 pages on African resistance (ca. 2 pages for introduction and revision were not counted). In book IIIc, the correspondent chapter contains: 3 pages on the European course of action, 2 pages on African collaboration and 14,5 pages on African resistance (2 pages for introduction and revision not counted).

¹⁹ The Maji-Maji War (also called Maji Maji Uprising) took place in today's Tanzania's territory, started in July 1905 and ended 1907 in the rebels' military defeat and a humanitarian catastrophe. For the War and its different interpretations see Moyd, 2011; Schmidt, 2010; Sunseri, 1999; Sunseri, 2000.

²⁰ The War is dealt with on ca. 4 pages in book IIb and ca. 2,5 pages in book IIIc. Book IIb, 35, names as one of the impacts of the Maji Maji War: 'The war laid the foundation for nationalism in Tanganyika, because after the uprising Africans learnt a lot and adopted a new method of resistance against colonial in Tanganyika and disregarded their ethnic differences.'

²¹ For the emerging of an African nationalism, its transnational orientation and its use for the early nation states' legitimization see Kohnert, 2008: 197-199.

²² See quotation in endnote 20.

²³ For an introduction to the issue of German colonialism and colonial memory see Conrad, 2008.

²⁴ See below, section 2c.

²⁵ Colonialism is in both textbooks interpreted in the framework of Lenin's imperialism theory, presenting this interpretation pattern as fact and not as a theoretical approach.

²⁶ For the problems of a comparison of pre-industrial Africa with industrial (and not pre-industrial) Europe see Zeleza, 1990: 11-12.

²⁷ As e.g. *Expedition Geschichte*, 8, with a map that shows 'African empires and tribes in the 19th century'. In the task associated to the map, pupils are requested to check the claim that there were no African states before the arrival of the whites.

²⁸ By including African viewpoints as well in sources (e.g. *Geschichte und Geschehen*, 2005, 225) as in interpretations of colonialism by African scholars (e.g. *Geschichte Geschehen*, 2005: 222).

²⁹ Stereotypic patterns can result also in idealizing statements as e.g. in *Entdecken und Verstehen*, 164, where the Herero and Nama are described as 'proud and freedom-loving tribes, whose peaceableness was especially emphasized by German missionaries at a later date.' ('Es waren stolze, freiheitsliebende Stämme, deren Friedfertigkeit deutsche Missionare später besonders betonten.')

³⁰ As in *Trio*, 139, and *Mitmischen*, 45.

³¹ As one of the founders of the German East Africa Company, Peters is often mentioned with his doctoral title and in some passages understood mainly as a trader. His methods of tricking African chiefs into highly unfair contracts are strongly criticised. Atrocities and cruelties are however not mentioned.

³² Book IIb, 34, names as the first of many mentioned impacts of the Maji Maji War: 'The Majimaji resistance made Germans ruler to reform their administration so as to avoid another uprising in Tanganyika. These reforms were made under Governor Lord Rothenberg. They also changed their attitudes towards Africans. Governor Rothenberg introduced some important measures to improve Africa services, like education and health, farming and communication system. He also rejected extra taxation of Africans and abolished corporal punishment. The Governor recognized traditional chiefs, stopped forced labour and began to punish German settlers who mistreated the African workers.' The position that German colonial rule in East Africa improved considerably as a consequence of the Maji Maji War is highly controversial (for research on the Maji Maji War see endnote 19). The governor's name given in the textbook is not correct, his actual name was Albrecht von Rechenberg.

³³ This is the case in book IIIc, which uses own drawings instead of pictorial sources. Some of the pictures show motives that correspond to well-known and often printed photos. However, the Europeans that usually are portrayed on these – colonial – photos are simply omitted in the Tanzanian textbook's drawings.

³⁴ Book IIIc is a bit more positive compared to IIb. According to the Tanzanian Institute of Education, positive and negative effects of colonialism to African societies are a key issue that should be addressed in history teaching about colonialism (answer to the questionnaire, see endnote 6).

³⁵ For the German-Herero War 1904 – 1907 and the debate after 1989, see Müller, 2013: 52-57.

³⁶ But exceptions exist, see the concluding remarks.

³⁷ According to Müller, 2008, this is a development that took place mainly in the 1980s.

³⁸ Only in 2 of the German books (*Gesellschaft bemusst, Horizonte*).

³⁹ Although it is not explicitly mentioned in the most syllabi, the Herero War is regularly discussed in not all, but most textbooks (only 3 textbooks in the sample do not mention the Herero at all). See also Müller's textbook analysis on the topic (see Müller, especially 59).

⁴⁰ The relevant pictures are easily accessible in the internet as well, see e.g. <http://www.dhm.de/lemo/objekte/pict/ba108413/index.html>, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Surviving_Herero_c1907.jpg or http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herero_chained.jpg (30.10.2013).

⁴¹ See e.g. *Geschichte und Geschehen 2005*, 4/5, and *Forum Geschichte*, 236/237.

⁴² As for example in the photos showing Africans carrying a German.

⁴³ As in *Exploring History*, 121 (Maharero and von Trotha).

⁴⁴ As in *Forum Geschichte*, 248.

⁴⁵ This corresponds to Susanne Grindels findings for upper secondary education, see Grindel, 2012.

⁴⁶ As e.g. Africans in advertisements for chocolate.

⁴⁷ *Exploring History*. In the German debate, the term bilingual history teaching is widely used.

⁴⁸ Boahen, 1984. Boahen was the editor of volume VII of the Unesco General History of Africa which covers the period between 1880 and 1935.

⁴⁹ The discussion of such possibilities is beyond the scope of this article. I would however like to mention the big potential of a global perspective in in this context. For a global approach in history didactics see especially the works of Susanne Popp, e.g. Popp and Röder, 2008.

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Appendix I: German textbooks

	Title	Subject	Publisher	©	ISBN	School Type	Federal State
1	Anno 4	History	Westermann	2006	978-3-14-110988-7	Gymnasium	Sachsen
2	Das waren Zeiten 3	History	C. C. Buchner	2013	978-3-7661-4453-9	Gymnasium	Bayern
3	denk mal 2	History	Schroedel	2011	978-3-507-35612-2	Realschule	Nordrhein-Westfalen
4	Die Reise in die Vergangenheit 8	History	Westermann	2010	978-3-14-140748-8	Haupt-/Real- /Gesamtschule	Mecklenburg- Vorpommern
5	Durchblick 7/8	History/Politics / Geography	Westermann	2009	978-3-14-110767-8	Haupt-/Real- /Gesamtschule	Niedersachsen
6	Entdecken und Verstehen 3	History	Cornelsen	2006	978-3-464-64195-8	Realschule	Hessen
7	Expedition Geschichte 4	History	Diederweg	2006	978-3425-10514-7	Mittelschule	Sachsen
8	Exploring History 1	History for Bilingual Classes	Westermann	2007	978-3-14-111048-7	different school types	Rheinland-Pfalz
9	Forum Geschichte 2	History	Cornelsen	2011	978-3-06-064258-8	Gymnasium	Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen
10	Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule 8	History	Bildungsverlag EINS	2010	978-3-8237-7378-8	Wirtschaftsschule	Bayern
11	Geschichte plus 7/8	History	Volk und Wissen	2000	3-06-110717-7	different school types	Thüringen
12	Geschichte Real 2	History	Cornelsen	2004	3-464-64445-6	Realschule	Nordrhein-Westfalen
13	Geschichte Real 2	History	Cornelsen	2012	978-3-06-064904-4	Realschule	Nordrhein-Westfalen
14	Geschichte und Geschichten 3	History	Klett	2005	978-3-12-411270-5	Gymnasium	Baden-Württemberg
15	Geschichte und Geschichten 5/6	History	Klett	2013	978-3-12-443460-9	Gymnasium	Niedersachsen

	Title	Subject	Publisher	©	ISBN	School type	Federal state
16	Gesellschaft bewusst 2	Social Studies	Westermann	2011	978-3-14-114622-6	Integrierte Gesamtschule / Sekundarschule	Nordrhein-Westfalen
17	Horizonte 9/10	History	Westermann	2011	978-3-14-111006-7	Gymnasium	Hamburg
18	Menschen Zeiten Räume 3	Social Studies	Cornelsen	2010	978-3-06-064747-7	Gesamtschule	Hessen
19	Mitmischen 3	History	Klett	2009	978-3-12-434030-6	Haupt- und Gesamtschule	Hessen
20	Mosaik F3	History	Oldenbourg	2012	978-3-637-01099-4	Gymnasium	Hessen
21	Terra / WZG 4	Geography / History / Social Studies	Klett	2006	978-3-623-23840-1	Hauptschule	Baden-Württemberg
22	Trio 8 / 8M	History / Social Studies / Geography	Schroedel	2005	978-3-507-36053-2	Hauptschule	Bayern
23	Welt/Zeit Gesellschaft 3	Geography / History / Social Studies	Cornelsen	2006	978-3-507-36089-1	Hauptschule	Baden-Württemberg
24	Zeit für Geschichte 9/10	History		2010	978-3-507-36564-3	Gymnasium	Niedersachsen
25	Zeiten und Menschen 2	History	Schöningh	2004	3-14-034521-6	licensed for different school types	Rheinland-Pfalz
26	Zeitreise 2	History	Klett	2012	978-3-12-451013-6	Gesamtschule / Realschule	Nordrhein-Westfalen
27	Zeitreise 4	History	Klett	2010	978-3-12-427040-5	Realschule	Bayern

Appendix II: Tanzanian textbooks

The United Republic of Tanzania. Ministry of Education and Vocational Training: History Syllabus for Secondary Schools, Form I-IV, Second Edition 2010 (First Edition 2005)

History for secondary schools (Nyambari Nyangwine Publishers, Dar es Salaam, 2008)

Book Two (author: Azika Juma; ISBN: 9987 491 50 2)

Book Three (authors: Azika Juma, Stephen Maluka; ISBN: 9987 491 38 3)

Book Four (author: Stephen Maluka; ISBN: 9987 491 80 4)

History for Secondary Schools (Oxford University Press Tanzania Ltd., Dar es Salaam; authors: Perazia Kaloly, Felix Kiruthu)

Form One (ISBN 978 9976 4 0145 5; year: 2009, reprint 2012)

Form Two (ISBN 978 9976 4 0147 9; year: 2009, reprint 2012)

Form Three (ISBN 978 9976 4 0399 2; year: 2011, reprint 2012)

Form Four (ISBN 978 9976 4 0403 6; year: 2011, reprint 2012)

Appendix III: Outline of the Tanzanian history syllabus for Secondary Schools, Form I-IV (2010)

Form 1

1. Sources and importance of history
 - a. Meaning and importance
 - b. Sources of history

2. Evolution of man, technology and environment
 - a. Evolution of man
 - b. Early Stone Age (Old Stone Age)
 - c. Middle Stone Age
 - d. Late (New) Stone Age
 - e. Iron Age

3. Development of economic activities and their impact
 - a. Agriculture
 - b. Handicrafts, industries and mining in pre-colonial Africa
 - c. Trade in pre-colonial Africa

4. Development of social and political systems
 - a. Kinship or clan organization
 - b. Age-set system
 - c. Ntemiship
 - d. State organization

Form 2

1. Interactions among the people of Africa
 - a. Social and economic factors for interactions
 - b. The coming of the Ngoni

2. Social-economic development and production in pre-colonial Africa
 - a. Social organization and production
 - b. Types of social organizations and production
 - Communalism
 - Slavery
 - Feudalism

3. Africa and the external world
 - a. Early contacts with the Middle East and Far East
 - b. Contacts with Europe
 - c. The Portuguese
 - d. Dutch settlement at the Cape
 - e. Slave trade in the Indian Ocean seaboard and the Trans-Atlantic slave trade

4. Industrial capitalism
 - a. Demands of industrial capitalism
 - b. Agents of industrial capitalism
 - c. Abolition of slave trade
 - d. British occupation of South Africa via the Cape

Form 3

1. Establishment of colonialism
 - a. Scramble for and partition of Africa
 - b. The Berlin Conference (1884-1885)

-
- c. Establishment of colonial control/rule
 - d. African reactions to colonial rule

 - 2. Colonial administrative systems
 - a. Direct rule, indirect rule, assimilation and association
 - b. Colonial military and colonial legal institutions

 - 3. Colonial economy
 - a. Establishment of colonial economy
 - b. Sectors of colonial economy
 - c. Colonial labour

 - 4. Colonial social services
 - a. Colonial education
 - b. Colonial health services
 - c. Provision of water and housing services during the colonial era

Form 4

- 1. Crises in the capitalist system
 - a. First World War: causes and impact on Africa
 - b. The Great Depression: its causes and impact on Africa
 - c. The Second World War: Causes and impact on Africa

- 2. Nationalism and decolonisation
 - a. Nationalism in Africa
 - b. The rise of social and welfare associations
 - c. The rise of protest and religious movements
 - d. The rise of mass nationalism and political parties in Africa
 - e. Decolonisation through constitutional means Decolonization through armed struggle Decolonisation through revolution

- 3. Changes in political, social and economic policies in Africa after independence
 - a. Changes in political, ideological and administrative systems
 - b. Changes in economic development policies and strategies
 - c. Provision of education in Africa after independence
 - d. Changes in the provision of health services after independence in Africa

- e. Changes in the provision of water services in Africa after independence
 - f. Changes in the provision of housing services after independence
 - g. Establishment of national military and national legal institutions
 - h. Problems hindering development in Africa after independence
-
- 4. Africa in international affairs
 - a. Continental cooperation
 - b. African regional cooperation
 - c. Africa in international affairs

**FROM TRIUMPHALISM TO AMNESIA
BELGIAN-CONGOLESE (POST)COLONIAL HISTORY
IN BELGIAN SECONDARY HISTORY EDUCATION
CURRICULA AND TEXTBOOKS (1945-1989)**

Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse

Unlike many western European countries that have witnessed or still witness fierce postcolonial debates in broader society which extend to history education, Belgium has barely witnessed such debates at all. This paper examines how Congolese (post)colonial history was and is covered in Belgian secondary history education, through an analysis of curricula and textbooks since 1945, taking ideological and communitarian differences into account. It also seeks to explain continuity and change in the (post)colonial accounts evolving within education in general and history education in particular, in governmental expectations towards history education and governmental interference with memory politics, in the state of historiography, in the way history textbooks are established, and in public memory cultures regarding (post)colonialism.

Belgium was a latecomer in the colonial race among western European countries. The country became a colonial power only in 1908 when it took over the Congo Free State from the Belgian king Leopold II, who had held the territory in private possession since 1885. During the colonial period, Belgians considered the Belgian Congo as a model colony, and spoke of it in triumphalist terms. In 1960, the Congo gained its independence, as a result of which Belgium ceased to be a colonial power. Since the country was only a colonizer for half a century, Rosoux and van Ypersele (2012: 54) conclude that a true identification in Belgian society at large with the Congo as the fruit of an 'imperial Belgium' never occurred, neither within contemporary generations who lived in the colonial era, nor within the post-1960 generation. According to these authors, the Congo never fully secured a place in Belgian national consciousness, and Belgian society at large suffered from colonial amnesia soon after the 1960 events.

The question then arises whether this societal image applies to Belgian secondary-school history education. How was Congolese colonial history and the decolonization covered here? This article will

assess the question through an analysis of secondary school history curricula and textbooks from the Second World War until 1989.

1. Research Questions and Research Methodology

Textbook research, and critical analysis which focuses on representativeness, balance and the way themes are covered, has been widespread among historians and history didacticists for decades. Recent examples are the special issue 'Koloniale Vergangenheiten in Europäischen Schulbüchern' of the *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 30 (2008), on a European comparison on colonial memory in textbooks, the 2011 *Yearbook of the International Society of History Didactics* on the theme of 'Analyzing textbooks: methodological issues', and the special issue in 2013 (5/1) of the *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* on 'Educational Media, Textbooks, and Postcolonial Relocations of Memory Politics in Europe'. Contributors analyzed the way in which different countries deal with their (post)colonial history, including Italy, France, Great Britain, and Germany. In Belgium, some research has been done into Congolese (post)colonial history in history education as well (Verhaegen, 1992), mostly by undergraduates in order to obtain their Master's degree (Boonants, 1982; Willaert, 2000; Fobelets, 2008). This research was limited to shorter time periods (e.g. only the 1970-80s), to one type of material (only a small number of textbooks, no curricula) and to a narrow focus (only the colonial period, or decolonization). Antoon De Baets (1991 and 1994) examined how Belgian history textbooks between 1945 and 1984 represented other cultures' past, and, through that, assessed to what extent racism occurred in the textbooks. The Congolese case was one of his research objects.

The central research question in this article is different. The focus here is on the way both Congolese colonial and postcolonial history is covered in the curricula and textbook-analyses examined, from 1945 to 1989. Congolese (post)colonial history is, contrary to De Baets, examined in the broader, general textbook narrative. At first, the representation and the narrative of (post)colonialism is examined. Operational sub-questions are: was attention paid to the issue, and to what extent? What developments occurred? Within what framework was (post)colonialism dealt with? Was a national, a transnational (comparative) and/or a neocolonial perspective primarily adopted? Did curricula and textbooks mainly focus on the period of colonial

rule, or is attention paid rather to the reciprocity of colonial encounters? How was colonialism looked at: in heroic-patriotic terms, or rather in a critical way? How did the narrative on Congolese (post)colonial history relate to the account of (post)colonialism in general? Were different accounts to be found in curricula and textbooks according to ideological and/or communitarian lines of fracture? Belgian society has been characterised since the 19th century by three major tensions: an ideological one between Catholics and non-Catholics, a social one between employers and employees, and a communitarian one between the Dutch-speaking and the francophone part of the country. The Belgian colonial enterprise was often considered a francophone bourgeoisie-led enterprise. Yet many Flemish missionaries were active in the Congo. Both of these findings might have an influence on the textbook narratives in a different way. Secondly, explanations are sought for the way in which (post)colonialism is narrated and represented in curricula and textbooks. These explanations can be situated within developments in history education itself, and within evolutions in both broader society and the state of the historiographical research.

This research concerns 11th and 12th grade secondary history education, since (post)colonial history is especially addressed in those grades. A distinction is made between educational networks, and between Flemish and francophone education. From 1830 two main educational networks are present in Belgium: public education and private, mainly Catholic education. Since the 1960s, education in Belgium became regionalized and in 1989 was formally devolved to the three Belgian communities (the Flemish, the French and the German speaking).

The analysis is not limited to secondary history textbooks, for they are based on and written according to guidelines from curricula, formulated by the different educational networks. Both curricula and textbooks are very interesting sources, since the historical period and context in which they have been shaped influence their contents. On the other hand, however, one should be aware of their limitations. Curricula and textbooks do not directly reflect classroom teaching discourses, as teachers do not slavishly imitate textbooks but add their own knowledge and interpretations. Nevertheless, curricula and textbooks provide an interesting and valid entry to the representation and narrative of (post)colonialism.

In this research, all Belgian secondary history curricula for the 11th and 12th grade between 1945 and 1989 were analyzed. Regarding the textbooks, a selection was made so that materials from both educational networks stemming from the Flemish and the francophone part of Belgium were present in a representative and sufficient manner. Preference was given to widely-distributed textbook series, existing in repeatedly revised versions, in order to discern developments across time. Ultimately, 10 textbook series were analyzed.¹

Concerning the research methodology, it can be observed that for a long time, two types of research occurred (Vanhulle, 2005 and 2009). ‘Check historians’ investigated history textbooks for chauvinism, revanchism, racism etc. and examined the extent to which new research results found their way into the textbooks. ‘Representational historians’ on the other hand concentrated their research on the representation of one event, group, person, etc. in the textbooks, and linked it with existing collective memories within society.² In the last few years, a third kind of research has come to the fore: the narrative analysis textbook research, in which it is stressed that only by being embedded in the narrative as a whole do the different parts of the textbooks and the representations of events, groups, persons, etc. get their significance. This paper makes use of a narrative qualitative analysis research-approach, thereby also drawing on the previous research traditions (e.g. concerning the influence of academic historiography and concerning colonial representations).

2. The Coverage of Congolese (Post)colonialism

Three stages can be distinguished in the ways Congolese (post)colonial history is covered in Belgian secondary history education. Before elucidating each stage, a very brief outline of some of the most important events within Congolese colonial history is presented.

Thanks to expedient diplomacy and close cooperation with the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, Belgian King Leopold II succeeded in acquiring international recognition for his Congo Free State by closing a series of bilateral treaties during and after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. While Leopold’s colonial enterprise was initially loss-making, this changed at the end of the 19th century, because of the emerging automobile industry and the accompanying

demand for rubber tyres. The harvesting of rubber gained importance rapidly. Leopold II did not deploy the huge profits from the rubber (and ivory) trade in the Congo, but used them for the embellishment of Belgium and the glorification of the dynasty. The increasing international criticism regarding the atrocities towards the indigenous people that accompanied the rubber regime led to the acquisition of the Congo by Belgium in 1908.

In the Belgian Congo, the economic exploitation led by large companies went hand in hand with a self-proclaimed 'civilizing mission' of the Belgian colonizers and missionaries in the fields of religion, education and healthcare. The native people were, however, denied the opportunity of any actual political participation. When the Congo gained its independence in 1960 the country was unable to stand on its own precisely because the Belgians had refrained from forming a group of competent native administrators and rulers. Moreover, the Congo became politically independent, but remained economically in the grip of Belgium and the West.

Decolonization failed. The army rose in mutiny, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was assassinated, and the Congo fell into chaos. The rich Katanga and South Kasai provinces seceded, initially with Belgian support, from the Congo. Only in 1964 were these secessions revoked permanently. In 1965, army chief Mobutu seized power and established a kleptocratic dictatorship that would last until 1997. He changed the name of the Congo to Zaire. The West and Belgium supported Mobutu's dictatorship throughout the Cold War, and maintained good relations with the Congo.

2.1 Triumphalism and Apologetics (1945-60)

In 1945, the Congo was a Belgian colony. Therefore, the account of the Congo in curricula and textbooks was addressed not in the general chapter on colonialism in modern times, but specifically within the framework of national, Belgian history, whereby the Congo was considered the 'Tenth Belgian Province' (De Baets, 1994). For a short time after the Second World War, for that matter, national history was still considered important, in both educational networks, especially in terms of citizenship educational goals. Private education connected national history with the formation of Christian citizens; public education with pacifism, internationalism and democratic citizenship. The latter was influenced by UNESCO which

aimed at spreading a message of international understanding, pluralism and democracy (Lobbès, 2012b). UNESCO also pleaded for a history of intercultural civilization. This call was not yet answered in Belgium. Congolese colonial history (as well as colonialism in general) was not approached from an intercultural perspective, but mainly (if not exclusively) from a white and western perspective. Moreover, despite all the promises and overblown statements in that regard, the Belgian colonial account was scarcely integrated into an international perspective.

Much space was devoted to the history of Congolese colonialism in both educational networks and in history textbooks in Belgium. The starting points were the travels of Stanley in the last quarter of the 19th century to discover and map Central Africa, and the role of Leopold II in acquiring the Congo Free State. The accounts in all textbooks were very favorable and even laudatory. The Flemish Catholic textbook *Historia* (1956) mentioned 'the brilliant Leopold II' and his 'brave agents'; francophone Catholic textbook *Sciences et Lettres* described Leopold II as 'one of the most prominent persons of his time', and someone with a 'tough force of will and clever discernment'. The textbook authors did not ignore the economic gain Leopold strived for, but related it to his love for Belgium. He looked for new markets and raw material suppliers for the benefit of his country. Subsequently, the textbook authors implicitly criticized Belgium and its leaders for not having shown interest in the king's colonial enterprise. The textbook authors justified the colonial enterprise primordially via the notion of civilization-work, connected to the Christianization of the native peoples. They especially emphasized the positive aspects of Leopold's enterprise. All textbooks praised the battle against the Arabic slave traders, and the accomplishments in health care, education, communication and transport. They all emphasized the fact that the colonial enterprise cost Leopold significant sums of money. *Historia* (1956) argued that Leopold II 'had to bear all alone the heavy financial burdens with regard to the exploration, the defence and the organization of the Congo Free State'. Thus, the reasoning proceeds, Leopold had to establish the so-called State-domain and the Crown domain in 1896, through which the rubber harvesting which caused such suffering to the indigenous people was organized. Textbooks did not deny the abuse in those domains, yet minimized them. Flemish Catholic

textbook *Cultuurgetijden* (1960) only wrote: ‘Within those domains, things occurred that could not bear the light of day.’ This textbook, like all others, did not detail the concrete abuses.

Belgian colonial rule, begun in 1908, was extensively described, especially its political organization (Boonants, 1982; De Keyser, 1982). All textbooks were unanimously favourable in their presentation. Health care and education were foregrounded, as well as trade, industry and agriculture. It was beyond all doubt that colonialism was a blessing for the Congolese people: it brought peace among the natives, ended slavery trade, and brought civilization. The textbook for public education, *Sciences et Lettres*, noted enormous progress in the Congo when compared to the period before the Belgians arrival, when diseases, fetishism and cannibalism, primitive living conditions and bloody rivalries still were a matter of course. The ongoing decolonization in Asia did not influence the very favorable judgment on Congolese colonialism.

The only noticeable difference between textbooks concerned the specification of the merits of colonial rule. Textbooks stemming from the public educational network presented the missionaries, together with officers, civil servants, engineers and technicians, as conducting a tireless struggle against barbarism, but did not elaborate their role. However the textbooks from private, Catholic education did so. *Cultuurgetijden* (1960) mentioned that it was due to ‘the unremitting and loving labor of numerous missionaries, of whom the majority were Flemish, that Belgium has accomplished its civilising work in a better way than did other European countries in other African regions. Which other country could appeal, to such an extent, to such a loving working power?’ The phrase ‘of whom the majority was Flemish’, for that matter, was the first and only communitarian reference to be found in the textbooks throughout the examined period. Both the ideological and the communitarian consensus are in fact remarkable, given the fierce ideological struggle of the 1950s in Belgium between Catholics and anti-clericals concerning education (over whether or not to subsidise private education), and, from the 1960s onwards, the equally-fierce struggle between Flemings and francophones (over the question of unitarianism versus federalism). Those lines of fracture however did not trickle through into the colonial account of history curricula and textbooks. All accounts were pretty much congenial.

In general it can be stated, in line with De Baets (1994), that textbooks showed a 'colonialist triumphalism'. He showed how colonizers were represented as heroic pioneers with a civilizing mission and how the process of colonial conquests was depersonalized and naturalized, making it into an almost clean and in any case inevitable part of history. The Congolese people, as well as their sources, were mentioned if at all in the account of the Congo only as 'passive' objects of colonialism. The phrase in *Historia* (1956) that 'the Congolese indeed are Belgian nationals, although not Belgian citizens' illustrates very well the stance of the textbooks towards the Congolese people. De Baets (1994) talks about the very ethnocentric character of Belgian textbooks in general, and representations of colonialism in particular, during the 1940s-50s. The underlying narrative clearly concerned one of western superiority.

In that sense, the textbooks, the majority of which were written in part by academics,³ largely reflected the academic historiographical account on Congolese colonialism after the Second World War. According to Vanthemsche (2006), after Leopold's death, some sort of cult of Leopold as the brilliant founder of the Congo Free State arose, and 'became a new tool in the forging of a lively Belgian patriotism' (Vanthemsche, 2006: 93). This affected the historiography on Congolese colonialism largely. Historians adopted the mythologization on Leopold and his colonialism without question, e.g. Constant Leclère in his *La formation d'un empire colonial Belge* (1932), to which both public (1952) and private (1953) secondary history education curricula referred. A change would only occur in historiography at the end of the 1950s and especially at the beginning of the 1960s, when Belgian historian Jean Stengers came to the fore.

2.2 *Waning Attention After the Decolonization of the Congo (1960s)*

Stengers' significance for the development of Belgian colonial historiography was crucial. He eliminated the hagiographical elements, and established a link with colonial historians of the neighbouring countries. As Vanthemsche (2006: 97) notes: 'Stengers has guided Belgian colonial historiography out of apologetic waters into the currents of modern science.' Some nuance, however, is in order. In general, only little interest existed in Belgium for colonial historiography, as it was considered 'exotic' (Stengers, 1979). No

university for example created a chair in colonial history. Undoubtedly, disillusionment after decolonization – for after 1960, the independent Congo fell into chaos – played an important part in this (Vanhee en Castryck, 2002). A lack of attention to colonial history can be found in Belgian history education in the 1960s as well. While curricula only mentioned Congolese colonialism as a topic to be dealt with in history class (without further explanation), it seems as if, throughout the first decennium after Congolese independence, the history textbooks especially wanted to forget about the colonial episode, according to De Baets (1991).

He determined for example that the first edition of the textbook *Historia* in 1954 spent one and a half times more attention on Congolese colonialism than the ninth edition of 1969. That process especially unfolded from 1963 onwards. In this 1963 edition, the author indicated in general terms the need for a reduction. The account on Congolese colonialism was shortened in particular. On the other hand, it needs to be stressed that in 1963, the account of the *decolonization* was added. Congolese colonial history was still included in the broader account on national, Belgian history, without any international colonial comparisons being made.

The account on Congolese colonialism limited itself from 1963 onwards to the periods of 1885-1908 (Congo Free State) and 1960 (independence); the years between 1908 and 1960 dwindled to a great emptiness. The account on the Congo Free State remained embedded in the hagiographical tradition. It concerned the story of the brilliant Leopold II, who, against the will of the narrow-minded Belgians, donated little Belgium a large colony, in which the whites brought civilization and prosperity (De Baets, 1991). It might appear that Stengers' research had not reached the textbook authors.

Nevertheless, the tone in textbooks changed gradually. The triumphalist account from the 1950s disappeared little by little, and noises that are somewhat more critical sounded, as shown in a comparison between different editions of *Historia*. The 1954 edition wrote about forced labour in the rubber domains: 'The king had to haul on the heavy financial burdens all alone (...). To overcome the deadlock, the king tried to increase the yield of rubber and ivory by obliging the natives to undertake forced labor.' The 1969 edition stated: 'In those domains, the king had the rubber and ivory yield increase by obliging the natives to undertake forced labor, a regime in

which corporal punishment, the burning of villages and executions were not avoided.’ Both editions acknowledged abuses, yet the more recent one was more negative. Leopold II was not exclusively considered as a wise man with a vision any more. The curricula and textbooks from the 1960s onwards also addressed his weaknesses (De Baets, 1991). Evaluating the colonial enterprise thus became a little more critical, albeit very gradually. Again, a comparison of different editions of *Historia* is very revealing. In the 1940s and 1950s the judgment was very triumphalistic. The 1963 and 1965 editions brought in a little nuance, when stating: ‘From all this it can be discerned that, despite some drawbacks, Belgian paternalism in the Congo was *a blessing* for the Congolese people.’ In 1969 the drawbacks were emphasized, and the ‘blessings’ toned down: ‘From all this it can be discerned that, despite the many drawbacks, Belgian paternalism in the Congo yielded *a surplus* for the Congolese people.’ The difference in formulation might be connected to the fact that, after the death of the original author in 1967, another author was responsible for the 1969 edition, yet it is characteristic of the gradually changing tone in the textbooks. At the same time, it is noticeable how textbook authors especially relied on previous editions to write their textbooks, incorporating some adjustments.

Concerning decolonization, the textbooks did not take a critical stance when discussing the Belgian role. Textbook authors admitted that the Belgians were late in forming a native elite, a native officers corps and a cadre for political management, yet the responsibility, and even blame, for the chaotic and violent decolonization was passed almost exclusively onto the Congolese themselves. According to the textbooks, they were the ones who caused disturbance and committed atrocities towards the whites in 1959, and again in 1960. The textbooks did not mention the fact that many black people also died in the first weeks and months after independence.

The textbook *Historia* (1961) entirely went along with the Belgian political view on the events, in which Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was portrayed as the communists’ friend and took all the blame. A neocolonial framework, for example to interpret the Katanga secession, was totally absent: ‘Meanwhile Congo slipped into chaos. However, Prime Minister Tsjombe proclaimed the independence of Katanga on July 11th, restored order, and the economy flourished again. Yet, Prime Minister Lumumba, a first class

demagogue but no politician, subverted the black against the white, increased chaos, and received airplanes, vehicles and so on from the Soviet-Union.⁷ Rather than illustrating a Catholic aversion against communism, this representation of the events especially illustrated how the textbook adopted the Belgian position of wallowing in innocence towards the failed decolonization. In later editions (of 1962 and 1963), the sharp tone on Lumumba was softened a little. On Lumumba's death, *Historia* (1961) wrote that he died 'in a mysterious way'. It did not mention any possible involvement of the Belgians in the murder.

Besides the classic textbooks such as *Historia* and *Cultuurgetijden*, in the 1960s the first experiments took place with new textbooks, which generally approached colonialism through a different framework. Tessa Lobbes' recent dissertation on Belgian secondary history education since 1945 confirms De Baets' analysis (1991), that the independence of Belgium's former colony Congo in 1960 marked a turning point. It accelerated, slowly, the decline of ethnocentrism in general, and it opened the way for a cautiously critical assessment of the colonial enterprise with a focus on its economic exploitation, starting in the mid-1970s. She nevertheless presents a more diverse and subtle picture, based not only on textbooks and curricula but also on history teachers' journals and archival material. Lobbes points to the role of UNESCO during the 1950s in stimulating Belgian history teaching professionals to integrate the processes of decolonization in Asia into curricula and textbooks. More importantly, Lobbes also shed light on the radical, left-wing experiments of a group of influential history educators and inspectors in public education, who proposed from the late 1950s on a so-called 'planetary' view on history (Lobbes, 2012a). Whereas in Catholic schools national history would preserve a separate position until the 1970s, in both Dutch- and French-speaking public education-systems things changed earlier. For it should be noted that, from the 1960s on, the two large language communities of the country made different choices concerning education, a process, which was completed in 1989, as mentioned above. In other words, 'Belgian' history education no longer existed. Both communities could start developing their own curricula and textbooks.

The left-wing project resulted in the early 1960s in Flanders in a textbook series for public education, *Sprekend Verleden*, which had the

ambition to break once and for all with historicism and with Eurocentrism (Lobbès & Wils, 2013b). In the opinion of these innovators, history education had to be in the service of the present. It had to start from current problems of contemporary society, and had to devote much more time to current issues than to older periods. The textbook took a very critical attitude towards the past resulting in a very condemnatory attitude towards a past that was considered wrong and inhumane. Critics such as the Dutch historian Brands, labeled this 'past relationship' as a 'hunt for the wrong past' (Lobbès, 2012b). Colonialism was marked as one of those dark pages in history comparable to slavery and absolutism. Moreover, the textbook series did not shun postcolonial debate in general. It stated for example: 'Due to colonialism, the African negro was brought into the European economic order, without yielding him many material and social benefits.' The Congo, however, was scarcely mentioned explicitly in this anti-colonial account. This finding needs to be put in perspective though. In several journals for history teachers, history inspector Leopold Flam stressed the importance of paying attention to Congolese colonialism, and supplied teachers with developed lesson plans. This makes clear again that history textbooks do not fully reflect history teaching's reality.

2.3 *The Hunt for a Wrong Colonial Past – Congolese Amnesia (1970s – 1980s)*

The experiments in public education were the forerunners of a big reform of secondary education, considered necessary to accommodate the increasing influx of students and make further democratization possible. On 1 September 1970 in Belgium, the 'Renewed Secondary Education' (VSO) was launched. In Flanders, VSO was introduced in a number of schools in both private and public educational network; in Wallonia, it was introduced in all schools. VSO introduced a series of structural and pedagogical innovations in one fell swoop. A common core curriculum was created for general, technical, professional and arts education, new evaluation techniques, teaching methods, subjects, inter-disciplinarity, etc. were introduced. No longer was the subject matter or the teacher at the center of education, but rather the student.

At the same time, VSO intended all students to have access to and participate in contemporary democracy. VSO therefore strongly

concentrated on clarification of existence and providing insight into contemporary society (Lobbès, 2012b). From that point of view, the position of history education came under attack. This would continue until the end of the 1980s. History education was reproached on the grounds that its lessons were antiquated and of little social and civic use. A new subject, 'societal education', was preferred, which was expected to provide a better understanding of contemporary society and its problems (Lobbès & Wils, 2013c). In addition to the subject of history, 'societal education' was created in 1970. All its themes were mainly related to current, global issues. History education continued to exist, although in a reduced form. It concentrated strongly on cosmopolitanism, especially in the public educational network, where history education was oriented against a 'global perspective', with adherence to universal democratic values, striving for emancipation and social and racial equality, and commitment towards the Third World and the condemnation of racism.⁴ Western feelings of superiority were the target. In the 'hunt for a wrong past', the 'black pages' of colonialism and slavery were at the center, and were condemned. In VSO in private education, the same tendencies occurred, though less markedly (Lobbès, 2012b).

The orientation towards internationalism and the present naturally influenced the position of national history. While national history was already interconnected to general history in public education, in private education it preserved an autonomous, distinct status during the 1960s. Only since 1970, influenced by UNESCO and Council of Europe conferences on international reconciliation thinking, has national history had to be integrated in general history, according to the curricula of both Flemish and francophone private education of the mid-1970s. Examples from Belgian history could be advanced, to concretize general developments, and need to be addressed if necessary in order to understand current issues. The evolving position of national history reflected on the position of Congolese colonial history. From the 1970s onwards, Congolese colonial and postcolonial history were no longer addressed in the chapters on Belgian history but in those concerning 19th century western imperialism, decolonization, the emergence of the north-south gap and the Third World issue.⁵

As mentioned above, textbooks took a critical stance towards colonialism in general, in both educational networks and

communities. The textbook for Flemish public education *Janus* (1977) stated concisely: 'Colonization was above all territorial robbery, economic exploitation, oppression and humiliation.' Colonialism was primarily explained by adducing economic and financial reasons. European industrializing powers, so the account ran, needed new markets, and sufficient raw materials. Furthermore, the European population surplus (causing unemployment and mere pittance), the development of political and military bases, and political prestige were also cited as reasons. The civilizing motive was touched upon as well, if in a very critical way. *Historische Units* for Flemish private education (1975) stated: 'Colonization offered European powers a new area for action and competition. Civilizing barbarians was invoked as an excuse.' The critical account extended to the postcolonial period. *Janus* criticized the fact that after World War II many colonies became politically independent but 'remained economically tied to the industrialized countries'. Postcolonial debate was not avoided. On the contrary, several textbooks blamed neocolonialism for being some sort of 'structural violence' coming from impersonal structures such as western multinationals. Only in French-speaking private education, was the critical stance towards colonialism rather moderate.⁶

As the attitude to colonialism in general was very critical, a much more moderate and restrained stance was taken towards Congolese colonialism. The textbook *Janus* (1978) voiced most criticism on Congolese colonialism, but always added nuance and/or justification. The foundation of the Crown domain in 1896, for example, 'where many abuses occurred of course because of white self-interest', and the exploitation of the black people, were addressed in the context of the enormous expenses Leopold made to organize the Congo Free State. British criticism of Leopold's rule 'certainly was not always inspired by humanitarian and altruistic intentions. Self-interest and envy played a part as well.' The textbook *Historia*, published in 1971-72 in a renewed edition for those schools in the Flemish private educational network that did not want to introduce VSO, acknowledged the abuses that took place in the Congo Free State, but considered the ultimate colonial balance as positive. Many other textbooks, such as *Tijdspiegel*, *Historische Units*, *Formation Historique* and *Histoire et Humanités*, evaded discussion of Congolese colonialism. They limited the account on the Congo to a few – albeit critical –

sentences. *Historische Units* (1975) e.g. wrote: 'Behind a façade of ethical and cultural motives, Dutch and Belgian colonial rule was very paternalistic and authoritarian. Progressive emancipation and training and self-government did not form a part at all of the colonial plan.' It is striking how in the 1970s the textbooks paid substantially less attention to the Congo than in previous decades. Almost all that was mentioned were Leopold's acquisition of the Congo, and, very briefly, the abuses in the Congo Free State followed by the Belgian take-over in 1908.

From this date, all textbooks but one (*Tijdspiegel*) immediately moved on to the decolonization of the Congo in 1960, thereby ignoring the period of Belgian colonial rule. *Tijdspiegel* (1975), for Flemish private education, wrote the following on the Belgian Congo: 'Through the agency of king Leopold II, Belgium acquired colonial soil in Africa as well. From Brussels, a colonial form of rule was designed, based on three pillars: the administration, the Church, which was present in the Congo with about 6 000 missionaries, and the large companies that conducted splendid business and also played a decisive political role. Above all this: the dynasty. The work of civilising the Congolese was seen as a pyramid. Its foundation was laid by widespread primary education; further building continued through secondary education, to ultimately end up in university education which would form an elite. Full attention was paid to the formation of a strong middle class as well. On the whole, colonial rule wanted to see established a Belgian-Congolese community, on terms of equality between blacks and whites.' Again, the very minimal critical perspective is striking. Even the account of the Congo was at odds with the account on colonialism in general. Here the fundamentally discriminating character of the colonial system, and the accompanying inherent inequality, were apparently ignored, and even denied. (Ceuppens, 2003).⁷ The account, moreover, makes no sense, since Belgium did not build on secondary and university education for the black people, and did not want to establish an equal black-white society.

Congolese decolonization and the first years of independence were, again, addressed very briefly or even not at all (as was the case in *Historische Units* for Flemish private education and *Formation Historique* for francophone public education), and in a very little critical perspective towards Belgian responsibilities in the

unsuccessful decolonization and chaos following independence. The only explicit critical note concerned the ‘hasty’ granting of independence. The textbooks sought the reason for this in the riots the Congolese provoked in January 1959 in Leopoldville, which were the responsibility of the Congolese. The responsibility for the chaos after independence was passed exclusively to the Congolese as well. Because of the mutiny of the army, and the violation of the whites in the Congo, many whites fled the new state, resulting in the collapse of the state administration and government. The textbook *Janus* even made mention, in relation to the riots accompanying independence, of ‘the old tribal war’ escalating again. In the account on the Katangese secession forced through by Moïse Tsjombe, Belgian involvement and agency was not mentioned either, nor was it addressed within a neocolonial framework. The secession was dealt with as an internal Congolese issue as well, just like the assassination of Lumumba (if this was even mentioned) and the seizure of power by Mobutu. Western and Belgian involvement and interference remained under the surface. In general, concerning explanations for the chaos in postcolonial Congo, almost no connection was made to the colonial period. Neither was the Congo mentioned in the postcolonial debate. Again, it seems as if textbooks especially wanted to forget about the Belgian (post)colonial enterprise.

This sharply contrasted with the scientific historiography at the time (Vanthemsche, 2006). During the 1970s and 1980s, several important and critical historiographical contributions to Belgian and Congolese colonial history were published, such as the many articles by university professors Jean Stengers and Jean-Luc Vellut, and Daniël Vangroenweghe’s *Rood rubber, Leopold II en zijn Kongo* (Brussel-Amsterdam: Elsevier) from 1985. Abroad, even more studies were published. Vanthemsche (2006: 100) concludes that perhaps no other field of Belgian history attracted so many non-Belgian authors as did its colonial past. The recent state of historiography, however, went unnoticed in the content of the textbooks. It should be noted in this regard that, from the 1970s onwards, the writing of textbooks passed into the hands of history teachers instead of academics. In particular the new textbook series from the 1970s onwards were written by history teachers, who combined this work with a fulltime job in history teaching in secondary school. They had little time left to read academic historiography before starting to write textbook chapters.

This widened the gulf between textbooks and contemporary scientific historiography (Hoebanx, 1981; Citron, 1984; Verhaegen, 1992).

3. Conclusion and Discussion

The account of Congolese (post)colonial history given in Belgian history curricula and textbooks was examined between 1945 and 1989. Developments were found at first in the extent of attention paid to the (former) Belgian colony. This changed, from the significant attention given in the 1940s and 1950s, when the Congo was a Belgian colony, to a firm decline starting in the 1960s, when the Congo ceased to be a Belgian colony, and extending into the 1970s and 1980s. As a result of the fact that the decolonization process failed, some sort of national diffidence occurred, and reinforced the silence falling on the colonial past. The heroically patriotic textbook narratives about the Belgian colonial past in the colonial period made way for a slightly critical, but notably much truncated account after 1960. The framework in which the Congo was addressed changed from one of national history to one of modern imperial history, from the public education, and from the 1970s in private education. This had to do with the changing status of national history in the history curriculum, which became less important and less addressed. That change did not bring about the siting to a large extent of the history of the Congo in an international comparative perspective. On the contrary, at no time were systematic comparisons made of different colonial systems, including the Belgian, in curricula and textbooks.

Besides evolutions and changes, elements of continuity remained. Colonial history was approached throughout the four and a half decennia examined from a western and white perspective. Colonial rule was the main focus of attention; the reciprocity of colonial encounters was hardly attended to. There was little space for African agency. The Congolese voice remained largely absent. Furthermore, the history of Congo was treated in a relatively isolated way, even though in general, imperialism and decolonization were presented as transnational phenomena. The basic narrative of Belgian-Congolese colonial history did not change that much during four and a half decades. Recent historiographical research results did not really trickle through in the history textbooks' accounts. Furthermore the (post)colonial account was barely affected by the lines of fracture,

characteristic of Belgian society. Those last two remarks will be further elaborated.

The fact that basic (post)colonial narrative between 1945 and 1989 did not change that much can certainly be connected to the establishment of textbooks. From the 1960s onwards, textbooks were no longer written by academics, but by history teachers, who were generalists instead of specialists in the various issues addressed in the textbooks. Textbook authors moreover often combined the writing of a textbook with a fulltime teaching job in secondary education. That way, little time remained for them to read up on recent academic historiography. The time pressure imposed by the publishers reinforced this situation. As a result, it is not surprising that textbook authors especially relied on previous editions of their textbooks, and only confined themselves to slight changes. The gulf between academic history and secondary history education widened accordingly (Hoebanx, 1981; Citron, 1984; Verhaegen, 1992).

The consensus on the Belgian colonial past across all textbooks is a very conspicuous conclusion. Even though Belgian society was riddled with both ideological and communitarian lines of fracture, stirring much struggle especially in the 1950s and 1960s, a quite unanimous perspective characterized the account on the colonial past in both curricula and textbooks of both educational networks in both communities. From that point of view, colonial history could be considered as a remnant of the Belgian nation in secondary school history textbooks, especially since education became the authority of the language communities in Belgium from the 1960s onwards, and 'Belgian' history education slowly ceased to exist. How to explain this consensus? Apart from reasons related to the above-mentioned process of establishment of textbooks, the absence of colonial memory politics also played an important part. For the Belgian government did not interfere with history education or history and remembrance politics, especially after the Second World War. Previously, in the 19th century, the Belgian government was actively involved in the policy of displaying the grandeur of the Belgian nation, and creating Belgian-national(ist) feelings. Colonialism was involved in this policy as well. After World War I, Belgian nation-building was in a winning mood and the then the Belgian colony was part of the propaganda. After World War II, a change occurred, as the Belgian government did not meddle in memory politics anymore,

due to the fact that the memory of World War II was highly- charged ideologically and in terms of community (Benvindo and Peeters, 2011).⁸ Governmental non-interference extended towards memory politics in general, and concerned colonialism in particular. According to Castryck, this was a deliberate strategy, for Belgium only survived by not constructing a national identity, by avoiding national history (Castryck, 2010: 6). On the other hand, as education became under the authority of the language communities in Belgium from the 1960s onwards, regional authorities themselves did start to interfere actively in memory politics (and to a lesser extent in education), if only to support their own subnational identities. Congolese colonialism, however, being a Belgian enterprise, did not fit into this. Such a move further enhanced the collective amnesia, characteristic for the colonial memory from the 1960s onwards until 1989.

Notes

¹List of analyzed textbook series, organized according to language community and educational network.

1945-1969

Language community	Educational network	Textbook
Flemish	Private education	Historia
Flemish	Private education	Cultuurgetijden
Francophone	Private education	Histoire et Humanités
Flemish and francophone	Public education	Sciences et Lettres
Flemish and francophone	Public education	Sprekend Verleden

1970s and 1980s

Languagecommunity	Educational network	Textbook
Flemish	Private education	Historia
Flemish	Private education	Cultuurgetijden
Flemish	Private education	Historische Units
Flemish	Private education	Actua - Chrono - Tijdspiegel
Flemish	Public education	Janus
Flemish	Public education	Gio-Clio. Heden-verleden
Francophone	Private education	Histoire et Humanités
Francophone	Public education	Formation Historique

² Antoon De Baets (1991 and 1994) can be considered a 'check historian' since he investigated history textbooks in search of racism. Marc Ferro (1981) offers another example. Elie Podeh (2000) can serve as an example of a representational historian.

³ *Historia* was written by dr. Michel Dierickx (a Jesuit); *Histoire et Humanités* by Le Maire (professor in higher education), Lefèvre (PhD in arts and philosophy), Genicot (university professor), Ruwet (university professor) and Lefèvre (PhD in arts and philosophy); *Cultuurgetijden* by Prof. dr. J.A. Van Houtte (university professor) and drs. P. Voeten (secondary school teacher); *Sciences et Lettres* by G. Gysels (secondary school teacher, and higher education professor) en M. Van Den Eynde (secondary school teacher).

⁴ In the 1980s, under the influence of the liberal minister of education, the history education orientation evolved from a global to a European perspective.

⁵ A notable exception was the textbook Janus for public education, in which Congolese colonialism was addressed in general as well as in Belgian history.

⁶ This would lead to an ideological conflict between public and private education in the French-speaking part of Belgium, as public education reproached private education for not taking a sufficiently critical stance towards colonialism (Lobbès, 2012b).

⁷ This applies to several vulgarized history books in the 1980s-1990s as well.

⁸ Especially in the Flemish part of Belgium, in Catholic circles, a significant anti-Belgian collaboration with the German occupying forces during the war took place. After the war, Flemish collaborationists were considered victims of the Belgian state in broader Flemish-Catholic circles, and thus were not expelled, but embraced. This made a national, Belgian war memory into a possible divisive element between the communities and ideological groups in Belgium, and therefore it was avoided.

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GREENLAND – HISTORY TEACHING IN A FORMER DANISH COLONY

Harry Haue

Since 1380 Greenland has been connected to Denmark, from 1721 to 1953 as a colony, then to 1979 as a Danish county. In 1979 it gained its independence within the Danish Commonwealth and in 2009 its independent status was extended. In this article I want to examine the development of the history education in Greenland since World War II in order to detect how this gradual liberation from Denmark was reflected in the historiography of Greenland and in history education in the schools of the island. An examination of this process presupposes an understanding of the concept 'post-colonial history teaching', which could be defined as: 'A strategy to decolonise colonial thinking by reflecting on the experiences from the colonial past and its consequences, both the oppression and discrimination as well as the changes, which were preconditions for the emergence of a modernisation of society.' The aim of post-colonial history teaching is therefore to qualify the student's historical consciousness in order to combine tradition and the actual societal conditions and thereby form an identity, which is appropriate to cope with global challenges. The main question is: Did history teaching in the Greenlandic schools contribute to decolonise the consciousness of the students, and did history classes give the students their own national voice instead of that of his former masters'?

1. Danish Influence

The Vikings and their descendants lived in Greenland from 900 to approximately 1400. Due probably to climatic changes they vanished. The colonisation of the island was revived when the Danish king in 1721 sent a Norwegian vicar as a missionary to Greenland as he had done some years before to Tranquebar, a Danish colony on the east coast of India. It was a fundamental Lutheran conviction that the native population should be taught the gospel in their own language. Therefore in order to communicate with the Inuit population, it became necessary to know their mother tongue and to create a written language. The main purpose was to teach the natives to read the Holy Text and give them knowledge about the power structure to which they belonged. The Danish king was head of the church, which also was incorporated in the state. That was the beginning of colonial history education in Greenland. It was difficult to establish a

school system in the scarcely populated island and up to 1950 the church was responsible for all education. However, a new law changed that and a 7-years state school became compulsory for all children and Danish became part of the curriculum. One of the positive consequences was the possibility for young Greenlanders to have further education in Denmark. In the 1960s, it was common to place the children in their early teens in a Danish family or a Danish boarding school for a year, a practice which later on has been characterised as inhuman and patronising. Gradually a more comprehensive school system was established in Greenland and still more subjects were taught in Danish. Secondary education developed in the 1990s, and today there are four upper secondary schools placed in Nuuk (Godthåb), Sisimiut (Holsteinsborg), Aaasiaat (Egedesminde) and Qaqortoq (Julianehåb) respectively. The Danish colonial names of cities were changed as a part of the process of liberation from Denmark, and in 1979 Greenland got its own flag. The official name of the country is now Kalaallit Nunaat, The Land of the People.

2. Content

An examination of history education in Greenland since World War II cannot be understood without a short description of the development of the historiography of Greenland, of the school system and a presentation of the most used learning materials. Furthermore it is necessary to analyse the syllabi for history education at the different levels. In order to know how the syllabus was practised, it is important to observe classes. During a visit to Greenland in March 2013 I had an opportunity to do so and to interview history teachers in the upper secondary schools about their teaching experiences, which was supplemented by a questionnaire. In order to cover the possible changes of history teaching it was appropriate to interview former history teachers, now living in Denmark. The theoretical framework for understanding the decolonising process would relate to the concept of the Indian born philosopher Gayatri C. Spivak to 'engage the subaltern voice' and to Michel Foucault's conception of 'epistemic violence' practiced by the colonial power. It was obvious the Danish official goal to 'engage the subaltern voice' but to what extend did the school subjects history contribute to that end? (Spivak, 2008).

3. Post-Colonial Theory and the Historiography of Greenland

Since Eduard Said published his famous book on orientalism in 1978 and the concept 'linguistic turn' was developed, the research and views on former colonies and colonial thinking has been challenged. Hayden White was among others inspired to formulate his thesis on the disconnectedness of the past and the narratives about the past. From this presumption White gives the historian the role of a storyteller, who invents poetical and rhetorical elements combined in a plot-structure. This could be tragedy, comedy, romance or satire (White, 1975: 156). One of my colleagues, Dea Dahl Christensen, has in her master thesis combined this new view on colonialism and post-colonialism with discourse theory, and examined the historiography on the development in Greenland in the light of the three categories of nationalism as presented in Anthony D. Smith: *The Nation in History* from 2000 (Christensen, 2007). The modernist nation conceptions are:

- Modernistic (Hobsbawm, Gellner, nationalistic invention)
- Ethno symbolist (Smith, ethnical past)
- Constructivist (Anderson, imagined communities)

The historiography of Greenland has been inspired by all three positions. The first and most comprehensive book on the history of Greenland appeared in 1946. The author Finn Gad used an evolutionary theoretical optic and followed a tradition, which one of his predecessors characterised in this way: 'Nowhere else have the Eskimo so long been under the influence of a more advanced civilization and nowhere else have they progressed so far in enlightenment as in Danish Greenland.' (Thalbitzer, 1904: 31). The attitude is Eurocentric and the Danish colonisation was a necessary precondition if the primitive Eskimo race should be brought up to modern standards. The author is Danish and writes from a position of superiority in terms of 'us and them'. This was common practice within an imperial tradition, also with a conviction of 'the white man's burden' as a reality. According to Gad the basic cohesion of the Eskimo culture is racial, which creates a consciousness of unity, although until recently the different tribes have not been able to communicate and cooperate. Gad can therefore be characterised as

an ethno symbolist and the plot is – to use Hayden White’s view – romantic.

In 1953 Greenland became a Danish county; however this change did not immediately result in a new attitude to the relationship between Greenland and Denmark, but in 1961 the effects of decolonisation was considered in Mads Lidegaard’s book: *Gronlands Historie*. In his opinion the Danes had carried their decolonisation process out in a more laudable way than many other colonial powers, and could be proud of the progress they had established. This attitude must also be characterised as imperial and furthermore to be characterised as an ethno symbolic romance. The development in Greenland is seen from a privileged European view, and also he is using the distinction ‘us and them’ (Lidegaard, 1961).

In the beginning of 1970s a fundamental new attitude to the understanding of the development in Greenland took place. A Neo-Marxist movement also influenced historians’ description of the development in Greenland. The new focus was on relations of production, class formation and conflicts, economic structures and anti-imperialistic attitudes. For example Jørgen Viemose, who in 1976 wrote a short history of Greenland with emphasis on Danish colonial policy (Viemose, 1976); one of the conclusions is: ‘The aim of Danish activities in Greenland has always been economic gains...Always at the expense of the Greenlandic people and the Danish underclass.’ The plot is a tragedy; the Greenlanders are victims of a cruel Danish oppression. The result was a number of social problems for the Greenlanders, misuse of alcohol, criminality and a high suicide rate (Viemose, 1976: 57). There are a number of Neo-Marxist oriented researches on the relations between Denmark and Greenland, one of them published by the sociological Institute at the University of Copenhagen. The attitude is Danish exploitation and destruction of a pre capitalistic Greenlandic well-functioning society. The Greenlanders are again characterised as victims (Sørensen, 1980).

In 1979 Greenland obtained home rule and in the next decade the Neo-Marxist views was replaced by more traditional historical research, now with a post-colonial approach. Among other things one of those authors, Axel Kjær Sørensen, distinguished between Greenlanders on the one side and Danish policy in Greenland on the other. Consequently the Danish missionaries and administrators were not praised as heroes nor as villains. In this way there was no place

for romance or tragedy, but a satirical attitude to ethnic essentialism and a political analysis of the strategic initiatives taken by the Greenlandic elite. They were given and took the right to have a voice of 'the subaltern'. Sørensen can be characterised as having a modernistic understanding of nation, in so far as it was the Greenlandic elite who formed the national spirit. The challenge was the Danish membership of EEC, which the Greenlanders did not want to follow. As Sørensen formulated it: 'The present generation of politicians in Greenland were not the first to recognise that they were Greenlanders and not Danish. They just seem to be the first to call their attention to this fact in a persuasive way.' (Sørensen, 1983)

In the last two decades the historiography on Greenland has changed in an ethno-historical direction. It is inspired by a North American tradition more than Danish colonial tradition. The first indication of this new trend was: *Kalaallit Oqaluttuarisaanerat 1925-ptungaanut*, (The Greenland people's history) from 1991, edited by H.C. Petersen. This was a broad description of the development from the life of the first known tribes in Greenland to 1925. The book is not an 'us and them' model but a 'we and our' attitude, and the basic assumption was the existence of an ethnic consciousness among the people of Greenland. The documentation for this assumption is also the oral Eskimo tradition, the myth, recollection of for example memories of hunters' lives and archaeological artefacts. In this way an imagined kinship is established, which – it was assumed – goes 160 generations back. This long-lasting imagined ethnic kinship was used as an argument for an independent Greenland, which was partly accomplished in 2009. One of the arguments was an essentialist attitude to the Eskimo-culture, which indicated a special quality compared to Danish culture among others. This attitude was clearly formulated in a book from 1999: *Kalaallit Nunat* in which a political common attitude was also put forward. The two latest mentioned books can be characterised as having a romantic plot-structure in an ethno-historical setting. (Gynther, 1999). Then we are back to the use of a primordial organic national theory, now also with the use of 'us and them' but with the important difference that 'us' is the Greenlandic people. The Greenlanders seemed to have acquired their own voice. The new nationalistic viewpoints could be an inspiration for the teaching of history, and the question is to what extent this was and is the case?

4. The School System in Greenland

Up to 1950 the teaching in Greenlandic schools was undertaken by the church and the mission.¹ The change to secular organisation nonetheless had to reckon on church-people as teachers, however, especially after a new school-law in 1967, a growing number of Danish teachers were engaged, and Danish became the dominant language in the schools. This also involved the use of Danish learning material and of course Danish attitudes and values. It has been said that Greenland was first really colonised in 1960s. The local Greenlandic representatives wanted to assimilate themselves with Danish culture and language in order to have the opportunity to have access to further education in Denmark. The Danish administration invested considerable amounts of money in infrastructure and housing in order to move the population from small villages to town-centres with institutions equivalent to those of the Danish welfare state. This demographic transition was problematic as it meant a dramatic shift in culture and living conditions for new city people (Hammerich, 1976).

A new school-law from 1967 had the intention of making Greenlandic schools like Danish schools. One of the options was to prepare some of the best theoretically gifted pupils during seven years of schooling for a three year secondary school. The upper secondary school was not yet established, however it was possible for those who wanted further education to go to Denmark in order to qualify for university education or teacher training schools. The aim of the education of history was to 'develop the pupil's interest in how people lived during the ages, and how they created earlier cultures as well as existing cultures.' After home rule was introduced in 1979, Greenlandic school was changed again, now primary school was extended to 9-10 years and hereafter some students could attend an upper secondary school. At the same time the teaching of history became more based on sources in order to develop the student's critical sense and form their own judgements. The language was to be Greenlandic, and Danish was placed as a (first) foreign language. However, the problem was – especially in the upper secondary school – that most of the teachers were not able to speak the native language, and therefore nearly all history teaching was done in Danish. The books were therefore written in both languages.²

In the following part of my presentation I shall describe the teaching material for history education in primary school, and for the upper secondary school analyse the development from colonial to post-colonial times on the basis of the syllabus and interviews with existing and former teachers in Greenland.

5. History Textbooks in the Primary School

From the 1960s two books dominated the history teaching in the primary school, both written by Mads Lidegaard. The first of them from 1963 was intended for grade 3 and 4, and focussed on prehistoric Eskimo life. Myth and sagas supplemented by archaeological findings were the main contents of this book. The description was also restricted to the life of the four different types of tribes respectively in the north, west, east and the Thule area, and in a chapter on culture, the emphasis was on the unity of people in Greenland. Thereby it postulated an ethno-cultural development. In the second book from 1964, *Gronlands historie*, for grade 5-7, the author's description of the relations between the colonised and the colonisers is very positive, although the Danes necessarily, when it came to modernisation, had to enforce their superior culture.

In 1969 P.B. Christensen published *En Nordbodreng*, a fiction on the experiences of two shipwrecked Nordic boys, who were adopted by a Greenlandic tribe. The relation between the members of the tribe and the two boys was respectful and the boys survived because they could rely on competent hunters and sealers. Three stories do all have a romantic plot, parallel to the above described historiography development.

Just after the inauguration of home rule in 1979, a number of source collections on history were published, and one of them was edited in 1981 by J. Rosing and B. Gynther: *Qallunaatsiaat/Nordboerne*, which covers the development in Greenland up to 1400 on the basis of sagas and archaeological findings; the overall assumption is that 'Greenland is our country'. This book and the next mentioned were constructed in order to let the pupils work with different texts and archaeological findings, and on basis of this multifarious material to be able to form their own opinion. B. Gynther and J. Meldgaard called their book from 1983: *Fem kapitler af Gronlands forhistorie* (Five chapters on the prehistory of Greenland) and it was also limited to the prehistoric times. The intention was to form a picture of a special

Greenlandic community, parallel to the visions of a new Greenland under home rule. Mads Lidgaard published in 1991 a source collection, which was advocating the existence of a 'special Greenlandic community'. This was a shift from the same author's books from the 1960s, which had a romantic plot. Now in the 1990s the plot is more tragic at least critical. The Greenlandic community had antagonistic relations with the Danes, which influence the understanding of the past. This tendency is even more outspoken in Poul Hansen's *Historien om mit liv (The story about my life)* from 2000, which contains his memories as a sealer supplemented with some mythological representations. Poul Hansen dreams of a Greenlandic community by appealing to the reconstruction of old habits and forms of life. 'Big progress has reached us, the welfare state, in which people just throw things away. While we are overtaking the white man's habits, the old Greenlandic culture, the sealers' form of living similar to smells and dreams – it loses its vigour.' This romantic plot establishes a fanciful kind of ethno-nationalism seen from a Greenlandic point of view, quite contrary to the Danish conception in the two decades after the war. Of course there is not necessarily a correspondence between the content of the books and the actual teaching in classes. In the following part we shall look at how the teaching of history is carried out in upper secondary schools.

6. Upper Secondary History Teachers' Understanding of Their Mission

During my visit to Greenland in March 2013 I had the opportunity to supervise a number of history classes in upper secondary schools in Nuuk, Sisimiut and Aasiaat. Subsequently I interviewed the history teachers about their reflections on aims and practice. Compared to history education in Denmark, there were in Greenland a number of supplementary challenges, of which language problems must be assessed as the most important one. Also the students used their mother tongue in class, and they only used Danish in communication with the teacher. The teachers was generally not able to speak Greenlandic, however in terms of differentiated teaching, the students often worked in couples, using their mother tongue, and when they had to present their findings for the class, they had to translate it into Danish, which for many of them was a difficult task. One of the young teachers emphasised that a bilingual strategy was

commendable. The teacher should use narratives in Danish, repeat them, and when possible illustrate the narrative with short video sessions or a painting and then let the students discuss the content of the narrative in Greenlandic. After this process it is possible to have a teacher-student dialogue on the subject matter in question in Danish. The black board/smart board is used to accentuate the most important aspects, which the students write down in their notebooks.³ This procedure is also recommended in the guidelines to the new syllabus in history from 2012. ‘Teachers must be aware of the students’ different backgrounds, especially at the beginning of the first grade in the gymnasium.’⁴ This challenge can be answered in two ways, according to the guidelines, either by differentiation in depth, that is group-work, or in breadth when the teacher repeats the message for the theoretically weaker students. The teacher can also, according to the guidelines, use a kind of modelling. In that case the teacher acts as a ‘cognitive role-model’ and illustrates to the students an academic way of thinking or of concept-formation. This kind of scaffolding indicates that the teacher asks questions in a taxonomic progression in order to demonstrate to the students, how it ought to be done.⁵ It is also stressed in the guidelines that each history lesson is a lesson in the Danish language.

7. The History Syllabus

In the new syllabus for upper secondary Greenlandic schools from 2012 post-colonial education is more predominant than in the former syllabus from 2006. In the first paragraph in the 2012 edition it is underlined that: ‘History does focus on events, lines of development and societal coherence from ancient time until today in both a global as well as in a Greenlandic perspective.’ Paragraph 2 emphasises that the student should acquire knowledge of lines of development and events in the history of Greenland, Europe and the world. In 2006 on the contrary, Greenland was only mentioned in connection with choice of topics, when in paragraph 3.4 it was mentioned that after 1945 topics should be chosen with focus on global, European and the Greenlandic development. In 2012 the syllable gives Greenland first priority. In the guidelines there are examples to choose from: the forced emigration in 1953, when US-military wanted to build a base in Thule on a site of a sealer community, or the visit of the Danish prime minister in 1948. At this occasion he gave the Greenlandic

politicians 24 hours to decide if they wanted to accept the Danish plan for the modernisation of Greenland or not!

In the 2006 syllabus the periodisation of historical development was copied from the Danish syllabus, before 1750, 1750-1945, and the time after 1945. The new syllabus from 2012 connected the history of Greenland and then the periodisation is 1721, when the first Lutheran missionaries came to Greenland, and the colonial period between 1721 and 1953; from 1953 to 1979 Greenland no longer formally was a colony but a Danish county, and in 1979 and 2009 Greenland's independence was extended. This new periodisation is an expression of post-colonial history didactics. Greenland has attained a more predominant role; however, at the same time – perhaps symptomatic – the history of Greenland has been reduced in Danish upper secondary schools, a matter which the government of Greenland has asked the Danish minister of education to improve.⁶

8. Interview with Former History Teachers

But what do teachers think about post-colonial history education in their classes? Elisabeth and Sven Rask taught history at GU-Aasiaat 1985-92. When they came to Aasiaat the relation to Denmark and Europe was changed. Greenland had followed Denmark when it became a member of the European Community in 1973; however in 1985 Greenlanders had a referendum about their membership of the EU. A majority voted against this membership, and thereby also financial support from Brussels. Therefore the Danish state had to continue to support Greenland by paying half of the state budget. And this is still a commitment for Danish taxpayers to do so, and to take care of foreign policy, defence and surveillance of the fishing limits. The arctic economy could not cover the expenses to a welfare state for the 50,000 inhabitants. Aasiaat had then approximately 3000 inhabitants and many of them supported the party Inuit Ataqatigiit, which wanted to cut all ties to Denmark and instead strengthen their connections to their kinsfolk in Canada, and Iceland and the Faeroes (Gad, 1984: 317).

In spite of those liberation attitudes the students at GU-Aasiaat were rather friendly to their two new teachers. First of all the students were polite and reserved, and as most Greenlanders they were reluctant to disagree. Their tendency to act in consensus might

be caused by their fear of losing face. That might be the reason for their quiet behaviour in classes. In spite of the general anti-Danish attitude in Aasiaat, the students did not use anti-colonial expressions in history classes. They were not inclined to choose items in Danish and European history, but preferred the history of Greenland, especially the ancient cultures, and global themes. Class teaching was the most common way of teaching, and the students loved to listen to the teacher's narratives about the myths and the old Eskimo nature worship, angagkkoqs and toornats (necromancers). Perhaps this polite and reserved attitude of the students is a colonial heritage, or is it an inherent part of old Eskimo culture? This is a difficult question to answer. Elisabeth and Sven Rask are convinced that the teaching of history has contributed to developing a post colonial student attitude, and they emphasise the effects of understanding the history of Greenland as a means of creating a modern Inuit identity. It is not possible for the students to imitate the old sealers and hunters, but the consciousness of belonging to an Inuit culture give them some self-esteem. Simultaneously the Greenlandic students know that they are half breed, as they all have some Danish blood in their veins (Gad, 1984: 198).⁷

From 2007 to 2011 Krister Hansen taught history in GU-Nuuk at the upper secondary school. Among other things, his experience was that the students were extremely private and reluctant in classes and were not eager to join in group work or to share information. In class discussions they did not want to step forward and tell the fellow students and the teacher what they knew and meant. They were also reluctant to suggest new items in their history education. In his classes, the focus was the history of Greenland combined with examples of international imperialism. The relations between UK and India were frequently used and related to Denmark and Greenland, albeit the history of Denmark played a minor role.

This picture could be verified by observing the classes in 2013. It seems a contradiction that Greenland at least on a political and cultural level want to form their own way, whereas the students' participation and willingness to communicate their knowledge and opinions evidently is not expressed. They might have the right to use a language of their own – in the sense of Spivak – but either can't or won't use it in history classes. Perhaps the problem is the epistemic

violence, which the colonisers have exerted on the colonised for centuries?

In the interviews with other teachers, now practising in upper secondary school in Greenland, the above mentioned dichotomy between the wish to be an independent people and society and the reality in history education, is confirmed. But what should the solutions be in terms of history didactics? One way of filling the gap between the national consciousness and the lack of historical based self-consciousness could be to focus on the cultivation of the students' Inuit-identity. A young teacher in Aasiaat had developed a strategy for fulfilling this option. His intention is to make the students reflect on their Inuit-background and history, their family history and traditions and compare them with the human capital of young people elsewhere in the world. By discussing the discrepancies between the two identities and societal preconditions, history classes could at best be a place for developing a new identity, which of course is Inuit-based but open to imagining a 'global' identity. The vision was to establish an openness, readiness and willingness to cope as well with life in Greenland in global conditions as with the challenges out there in a global world.⁸

Conclusion

One of the respondents to the questionnaire, which was sent to all history teachers in Greenland, answered the question: Has the teaching of history in your opinion empowered the decolonisation or does it contribute to maintaining the dependence on Denmark? 'History teaching empowers the spirit of liberation, however simultaneously the students are getting more conscious of dependence on Denmark now and in the foreseeable future.' The arctic economic realities do not make it possible to realise a total liberation from Denmark. An independent Greenland is so far a dream – and of course history education can support that dream, however – and this is more important – history education can generate an Inuit identity, which can make it possible for Greenlanders to cope with the challenges of globalisation. Spivak's statement: 'To give the subaltern their own voice' has for decades been the policy of the Danish government; however, the students in history classes do not utilise this option in a post-colonial discourse. Of course it is difficult to assess to what extent the students'

historical consciousness is decolonised because it predominantly is a question of ‘tacit knowledge’. The decolonisation process is expensive, more than the arctic economy can afford, and if the Danish welfare state has to be maintained, the old colonial power has to pay. As long as this is the case the Greenlandic people will – presumably – be kept in a subordinate position and the decolonising of their colonial thinking will be difficult to foster in history education.

Notes

¹ Gad, F (1972). ‘Vestgrønlandsk undervisnings- og skoleforhold 1721-1807’ in: *Årbog for Dansk Skolehistorie*, 21-54, København, Selskabet for Dansk Skolehistorie.

² Folkeskole forordningen, 1979. Bilingual editions has the latest three decades been common, e.g.: Rosing, 1981.

³ Interview with adjunkt Henrik Jespersen, Asiaat GU, 13.03.13.

⁴ 80% of the students in GU-Asiaat come from small trading stations scattered along the coast of Northern Greenland. The school is therefore basically a boarding school.

⁵ Undervisningsvejledning til Historie B, 2012.

⁶ GU-bekendtgørelsen, Historie B, 2006. Information from the Danish Ministry of Education.

⁷ In 1800 a pock plague reduced the native population, whereas the Danes and many of the half breed had a vaccination.

⁸ Plan for history teaching in GU-Asiaat developed by upper secondary history teacher Henrik Jespersen. 7 history teachers responded on a questionnaire, which confirmed the opinions expressed in the interview.

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COLONIALISM AND DECOLONIZATION IN GREEK SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FOR SECONDARY AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

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Colonialism and decolonization constitute one of the most significant fields of interest for modern world history, both in the presentation and analysis of the events in themselves, as well as in the study of how the historical approach to the phenomenon has changed in the course of the years and how important school has been in the formation of collective attitudes towards it. The case study of history textbooks in Greece, covering a period of many decades in both primary and secondary education, stresses the particular conditions constraining historical writing in this country, but still confirms the gradual change of approach towards the history of colonialism and decolonization, which is directly linked to the encompassing political and social environment.

1. Colonialism and Decolonization – a Short Overview

1.1 *The Era of Colonialism*

Many decades have passed since Carl Schmitt, by transforming an unfair historical relationship of brute domination and cruel exploitation into a substantial category of law, acknowledged ‘*ius publicum europaeum*’. He used this term to describe the territories the imperialist European countries acquired or exploited, traumatising, with their imperialist penetration, the indigenous peoples in the foreign lands of Asia, Africa, Australia and South America (Garapon, 2008: 73). These territories covered 80% of the planet’s surface even though the total surface area of the imperialist countries themselves in 1913 did not exceed 10% of the planet’s total (Ferguson, 2012: 171). It would have been impossible for the Western empires’ economies to develop so rapidly without the military, economic and cultural dependence of these territories. Indeed, western economies ended up controlling 74% of global economic production on the verge of WWI, while it was equally difficult to internally balance the European continent, since there were ‘Malthusian constraints’ inside the countries, that is, an

asymmetry between limited resources and overpopulation (Mazower, 2009: 581).

As was expected, the European imperialists and colonizers did not regard the conquest and the use of violence against the natives as an act of barbarism. On the contrary, they regarded it as a means for civilisation and modernisation, as an expression of their historical mission (*mission civilisatrice*) (Gentile, 2011: 69; Mommsen, 2007). Military domination was prepared by and definitely invested in certain ideologies and intellectual strains with an obvious violent and authoritarian nature, at the core of which one could find racism, social Darwinism, racial and eugenic theories (Mazower, 2009: 586). Despite these common principles, practices and orientations, there were internal differentiations within the colonial front. Some historians, for example, distinguish between a British conservative imperialism, based on the idea of racial hierarchy and cultural difference, and a more liberal and progressive French imperialism, which allowed for the conditioned integration of otherness in the name of meritocracy, the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, even though it never abandoned savagery (Ferguson, 2012: 192-3, 195). The exploration of the development of imperial history, using British imperial history as a tool in the discourse on empire and imperialism, can lead us to understand colonial and postcolonial thinking, its development and its emergence as a response to different political, public and academic circumstances and views. As imperial history started becoming more formal from the early 19th century, it underwent many shifts and was formulated according to the conditions specific to each era, influencing social, political and academic processes (Syriatou, 2012: 38-67). Nowadays, new imperial histories, taking unexpected and untraditional points of view and researching subjects such as globalisation, migration, sexuality, etc., reveal that it is necessary to be able to decentralise, at any time, the focus from the Empire to the periphery and the interaction with other contemporary empires and cultures as well. The many varieties of postcolonial approach may tend to challenge each other but nonetheless all determine the hybrid nature of Postcolonialism itself, which cannot be confined to a single definition. One has to evaluate at both global and local levels since these are inseparable, while discussing contemporary social problems, offering challenges instead of solutions, and articulating all kinds of tensions, social or political in

a changing and incoherent society. Finally, it is not conclusive to categorize imperial history into old and new, since the works of both histories are more intertwined than they seem. The multiple themes of imperial historiography, old and new, open up wide perspectives of knowledge that can include both approaches in order to complete each other.

The accelerating processes of globalization during the last decades, in combination with the intense emigrating flows, the various civilization osmoses, as well as the diasporic development, detached from the concept of territory, hybrid, mixed cultures, which are being formed on a local, regional or global scale, are restructuring the field of academic historiography on the whole and, subsequently, the field of historic culture and education. Globalization is really far from being assumed to comprise a utopia of global brotherliness, common perception and accomplished peace, which would signal a new 'end of History' after the illustrious 'end of communism'. Therefore, the resistance-related value load of the ideas of Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) remains timely (Fanon, 1952; Fanon, 1961), while at the same time the critical epistemological and historiographic approaches, which emerged on the one hand from the fields of Comparative and Global History and of Historical Sociology, on the other hand, and mainly, from the field of Post-colonial and Subaltern Studies (Liakos, 2005: 99-108) – among which the most significant, in our opinion, are those of Edward Said (1978; 1993), Homi Bhabha (1990; 1994) and Partha Chatterjee (1993) – have not lost their meaning and timeliness. Nor, most importantly, have they lost their effectiveness concerning the ways in which both the Western world (and more specifically Europe) and the nations which formerly were held under the state of colonialism encounter their controversial and traumatic past, which contrasts and unites them simultaneously. This is confirmed also by the view of Jörn Rüsen that focusing on Western and European culture remains persistently the dominating axis of our way of viewing the world and civilization, and it also functions as the ideological and organizational frame of narrative representation and periodization of the historical past (Rüsen, 2004: 118-129). If something is to be avoided, as research turns its interest to the meaning of identity not only as a historical creation but as a social experience as well, this is, as shown by the analyses in the field of Post-colonial and Subaltern Studies, the following: 1st) from the side

of ex-rulers, a) the exculpatory generalizing moralism of the universality of rights and of partial regret, b) self-justification through pointing out the civilizing role which they have played, but also c) the neo-Marxist deterministic explanatory form of tripartite distinction of the world-system in center/semiregion/region, and 2nd) at the antipode, from the side of the victims of colonialism, the demonizing and bipolar conception of the past. In the second case, as Fanon warned already from the beginning of the 1960s, the analytical categories of the regulatory narrative of nationalism, imperialism and colonialism are reproduced reversed; that is the point of view of the former victimizer colonizes unconsciously the one of the former victim. In other words, according to Liakos, national self-definition of post-colonial nations constitutionally and genetically contains the hetero-definition (the definition of the other), which derives from the imprint of the Western colonial policy, but also from the asymmetrical relation of difference between the supposedly superior and the supposedly inferior (Liakos, 2005: 99-100).

1.2 *New Approaches*

A series of events helped Europeans realize (this time, as Aimé Césaire points out, from the victim's point of view) the meaning and eventual consequences of racial discrimination. One can recall the horrendous disaster of WWII, the rapid degradation of Europe's international role, the disdain or the ambivalent approach towards Western civilization after 1945, the outbreak of anti-colonization movements and, most importantly, the realization of the consequences resulting from the racial dystopia of national socialism (Mazower, 2009: 585; Moses and Stone, 2007). However, not even the Holocaust could remove the inaction and the atavism of the colonial mentality from the European horizon. Even in May 1945 'thousands of Algerians died in massacres after the celebrations of victory in Europe', while, during the same time, the persistence of the French state to directly exercise its power in Syria cost the lives of about 2,000 Damascenes. Soon the French were involved in Vietnam and in the violent repression of the independence movement in Madagascar in 1947-1948, which cost the lives of 80,000 people (Mazower, 2009: 592; Traverso, 2013: 86-92).

Nevertheless, the painful postwar circumstances that enabled the intermittent and timid realisation to arise of the responsibility or the

guilt of the West for the centuries of colonial exploitation should not blur the insuperable differences between colonial practices and the Nazi genocidal horror. As Mark Mazower underlines, despite their rigid racial determinism, and the cruelty used by the colonisers, none of the colonial powers 'controlled the problem of 'the power of numbers', with such violence or urgency as the Nazis did'. The colonial approach 'was usually phased and experimental', while, at the same time, they did had 'neither the ideology, nor the means to provide a systematic mass extermination at a scale equivalent to the New World Order, nor any deep sense of urgency' (Mazower, 2009: 588).¹

Generally, the West and especially Europe, confined today in a contemporaneous regime of historicity (Hartog, 2003), and at the same time, forced by the dynamics of globalization, after the recession of its economic domination, to turn critically towards itself and study its historical course and particularity, tends to realize the elements that made it special, ensuring its global domination from 1500 AD until the dawn of the 21st century. At the same time though, by being 'the mother of good and evil', as Ferguson (2012: 22) points out, Europe and the West became aware of the bright and dark sides of its domination, especially now that its supremacy is collapsing due to its rivals as well as its own internal antagonisms and antinomies (Ferguson, 2012: 9; Mazower, 2001). This collapse makes Europeans either nostalgic about the idealised past of their global domination, or anxious and uncertain about the ominous future, or even prone to self-punishment and collective masochism.

Nowadays, however, with some exceptions of course, self-criticism is considered necessary, as Europeans are coming in actual contact with the multiple types of otherness, externally and internally. These are factors which can pave the way for a consciousness of mutual respect, ecumenism and cordiality, shifting the centre of gravity from the history of the nation-states, the European continent and the Western world towards global history. Potentially, we are in a position where we can organize strategies and structures to help us overcome the burden and the pain, the hatred and the hostility, the shame and the repulsion, aiming, in the longer or shorter term, at a difficult historical reconciliation. This, on the other hand, does not mean that we have the capacity, in a conclusive and definitive way (political will, objective historical knowledge, legal know-how), to

altogether lift the burden of claims and vengeance weighing on the history of humanity, especially in a period of accelerating globalised interdependence, of dominant humanist law and the ‘moral imperialism’ of the West. Besides, this has been proved by the lacklustre results following the ambitious initiative by the UN, filled with utopian cosmopolitanism and historical optimism, when that body organised a global convention in Durban at the beginning of September 2001 for remedying the passions born from History and consequently ‘treating’ historical traumas (Osiel, 2006; Mink and Neumayer, 2007). Using medical terms for the historical past augured badly for the success of the convention, since it undermined, from the beginning, every effort towards consensus between Western and Third World countries. Such effort, according to the architects of such initiative, could end up in expressing a universally committing historical narrative for the maladies of the past (slave trade, colonialism, genocides) and their symbolic compensation. The ambitious plans of the organisers had emphasized this historical narrative as a critical turn for the ‘symbolic re-establishment of the global community’ itself (Garapon, 2008:238). Such a historical narrative, as was rather obvious, did not arise, since many African countries, using history as their weapon (Subaltern Studies), questioned the cultural hegemony of the West, demanded repentance in action with symbolic (establishing positive distinctions) and material compensation (return of artworks, zeroing out debts, paying out damages), while, at the same time, they played a leading role in a competition for exposing traumatic memories, and demanding an equivalent status for the traumas of slave trade and colonisation to that of the Holocaust (Garapon, 2008:239, 241). The only substantial result of the Durban Convention was to adopt the suggestion of the then UN General Secretary, Kofi Annan, to establish a volunteering base of supporting capital flow from the Western countries to Third World countries as symbolic compensation for the suffering caused from the 15th century until the end of WWII to the natives by slave trade and colonisation (deprivation of freedom, stealing of resources, neglect of infrastructures, enforced labor, poverty, malnutrition, contagious diseases) (Garapon, 2008: 241).

However, a post-conflict historical consciousness can only be thought in relation to the idea of reconciliation (Cole, 2007: 1). Indeed, as Hannah Arendt had already supported since 1968,

reconciliation cannot mean 're-establishing an imaginative moral order that was supposedly there and was disrupted'. On the contrary, it means 'building new relationships between the members of a political community' (Cole, 2007:5), or between states, peoples, races, religions, languages, regimes that were either involved in an existential battle of life or death or were confined in a vicious circle of blood with unchangeable or interchangeable roles of victim and victimiser. In addition, reconciliation does not mean total agreement of views or a definite compromise between two competing, hostile or previously mutually inter-excluding worlds; it does not mean total amnesia, neither humiliation of the victimiser nor reification and idealisation of the role of the victim (Müller, 2002: 32). Reconciliation, though, could mean public apology, active and acknowledged repentance by the victimiser, recognition of the injustice, administration of justice, symbolic or material compensation, the victim's forgiveness, tolerance, co-existence, a joint pledge for a mutually committing framework of values, principles and practices that ensure peace and reinforce cooperation and solidarity in the present and future. After taking everything into account, reconciliation should be considered a long, painful and mutually committing process of collective self-awareness that ought to be established within measures of public recognition and the administration of justice to the victims (Cole, 2007: 4).

1.3 *The Role of School*

As Henri Rousso points out, school is a social institution within which a significant part of the citizen's memory is being formulated. It is, at the same time, a privileged memory space recorded in the national imaginary. Especially in relation to the modern multicultural school as it undergoes a structural crisis, it is a field of expression and conflict between memories and opposing memory strategies, which are organically connected with specific identity policies and framed ideological structures (Rousso, 2013: 36). French schools can provide one of the best examples of these 'memory complications/conflicts' in school: from the beginning of the 1990s French society may be characterised by a 'memory boom', resulting in a kind of a 'memory hysteria' by the state - see for example the voting of the memory laws (Nora, 1997, 2002, 2011a, 2011b). This situation is reflected in multicultural French schools where students with different origins –

who understand differently the concept or the history of colonization and decolonization – form groups ('communautarisme') in order to demand recognition of 'their' memory and their truth for the past. At the same time, analytical curricula and History textbooks in France do not examine thoroughly the issues of colonization and decolonization, which exacerbates this delicate situation (Falaize et al., 2010: 7-25; Lemonidou, 2010: 220-8, 234-5; De Cock, 2012).²Therefore, it is in this kind of school where, by focusing on learning the historical method and the ethics of critical scientific discourse, we have to aim at moving towards 'just memory' (Ricoeur, 2000), whose establishment is an inviolable condition for historical awareness.

So, what about Greece, a country without a colonial past?³ What about historical education in Greek schools? What exactly is the place of the colonization and decolonization process in analytical curricula and History textbooks of this country? We will try to examine the case thoroughly, focusing on a series of History textbooks which have been used in the last decades in many levels of the Greek educational system. It needs to be mentioned that the textbooks have a dominant role in the Greek educational system. Until now in each and every classroom one single textbook is used for teaching. This textbook is produced under procedures which are fully controlled by the central administration and are not always transparent. The books are published by the state and given to the students free of charge. Even so, school textbooks are to be found at the center of public criticism; they generate forceful political debates, which can sometimes lead to their being withdrawn (Nakou and Apostolidou, 2010; Kokkinos and Gatsotis, 2008).

2. Research Material and Methodology

A total of 16 history textbooks from Primary and (more commonly) Secondary Education which looked at the post-war period until today were studied (see annex below).

It has to be taken into account that most of the history textbooks published until the change of the political regime in 1981, when PASOK (the Hellenic Socialist Party) gained power, can be considered rather conservative in their approach – with some exceptions. At the same time, they notably deviated from modern historiographical trends and relevant epistemological ideas. So, we

think it would be an inexcusable anachronism – that is, projecting the present into the past– to examine systematically issues, such as multiculturalism, in school textbooks used before modern migration flows escalated and globalization started its intensified process. Therefore, it is appropriate to follow a flexible analytic strategy by taking the peculiarities of each era into consideration, while recognising aspects that would allow us to express our assumptions, *mutatis mutandis*, in order to have a comparative base within the extended time frame of our research.

Our research objects were the narrative texts of the textbooks as well as the complementary elements of the main narration (primary sources, tables, maps, glossary, exercises, illustration, i.e. images and captions). We applied the method of Content Analysis, mainly in its qualitative approach⁴ and posed eight research questions regarding four issues: *New Colonialism*, *Decolonization*, *Imperialism* and *Globalization*. The aim of the research was to detect the intentions, the ideological framework and the ways in which the authors approach these historical concepts and link them with issues of modern reality, such as migration, racism, cultural and religious differences, racial inequality, exploitation of the Third World, etc. The fact that the research material covers almost all the last seven decades provide us with the opportunity to study the textbooks comparatively, focusing on changes that occurred and on structures that survived. More specifically, we posed the following research questions:

- How are Imperialism, New Colonialism and Decolonization linked with the present of the students ('up-to-date')?
- How are modern immigration trends linked with the issues of Decolonization and Globalization?
- Is the increase in the number of states with intense internal cultural and religious differentiation linked with the issues of New Colonialism, Decolonization and Globalization?
- Are the unequal relations between different political, economic, ethnic, cultural, racial and social groups linked with the issues of the New Colonialism, Decolonization and Globalization?
- Is the continuous construction and promotion of stereotypes linked with the issues of new Colonialism, Decolonization and Globalization?
- Are racist views, deriving mainly from the dynamic public presence and discourse of the systemic popular far-right ideology

as well as the anti-systemic neo-fascism and neo-nazism, linked with the issues of Decolonization and Globalization?

- Are the following linked with the issues of Decolonization and Globalization: (a) issues of multiple identities and identity policies, (b) entangled histories and views, (c) the hybrid cultures that resulted from the interaction, diffusion and influence between colonialists and natives?
- Is criticism of (a) Orientalism, (b) Eurocentrism, (c) Westernism and (d) Occidentalism linked with the issues of New Colonialism, Decolonization and Globalization?

3. Research Data

3.1 *Pre-War and Post-War School Textbooks (1939-1982)*

It is obvious that the school textbook authors are not concerned with most of our research questions. However, Eurocentrism and Occidentalism are widely covered, while the evaluations reveal evidence of national and racial stereotypes. More specifically:

- There is a prevailing admiration for the skills and efficiency of the English to create and exploit colonies and extract 'huge treasures' from them (Lazarou, 1965: 198).⁵ Then France follows, which, despite 'its remarkable cultural effort in the colonies, falls short of England' (Theodoridis – Lazarou, 1939: 403).
- The above national stereotypes are based on similar, more blatant evaluations in the school textbook of the previous grade, where there is reference to the colonies of the 17th and the 18th century. The old colonialists, the Portuguese and the Spanish, are characterized as people with 'mediocre intelligence', hardly creative and progressive, who exploited the colonies only to gain 'profits without any effort' and who, 'in the new countries', were affected by the climate or mingled with the natives, resulting in becoming 'remotely active' (Lazarou – Diafas, 1968: 216). The Dutch, on the other hand, despite their intense commercial and maritime activity and their excellence in fine arts, created a 'flawed' colonial system, since they viewed the colonies 'only as a means for profit and treated the natives with greed and pettiness' (Lazarou – Diafas, 1968: 217). Thus, according to the authors, it is logical for France and England to stand out.

- The natives who resisted colonial armies or colonial domination are described as barbarians (Theodoridis – Lazarou, 1939: 400, 407).
- The cultural consequences are presented as beneficial to the natives, since they learn the language, the political values and the culture of the metropolis (Lazarou, 1965: 202).

3.2 *School Textbooks of the Period 1983-2007*

The 1980s signalled the final withdrawal of all old school textbooks from the Greek educational system, while the newly-written ones incorporated, to a large extent, historiographic trends current at that time. The attitude against Colonialism, Decolonization, Globalization and Imperialism changed radically.

The first textbooks, published by Skoulatos – Dimakopoulos – Kondis (1984) for the last grades of Lyceum, link poverty, underdevelopment, economic deficiency and social pathogeny in the countries of the Third World with the colonial politics of their European metropolises. Indeed, it is stated clearly that the politics applied in underdeveloped countries continue to be exercised under new forms, such as financial aid, which is used as a means of economic dependence and exploitation of their natural resources (Skoulatos, Dimakopoulos and Kondis, 1988: 319, 321). Migration to the rich countries of the North is presented as the only way out for the people of the South, so that they can escape poverty. There are similar references in the extreme inequalities observed in the decolonized societies, the ethnic-racial heterogeneity, the dictatorship regimes controlled by the West and the cultural imperialism of the colonialists (Skoulatos, Dimakopoulos and Kondis, 1988: 201, 353, 355, 363, 366-7, 381).

Two textbooks published around 2000 introduced new approaches to the Colonial phenomenon, but were scarcely if at all part of the curriculum in Greek schools, each for different reasons: a) the book by Antonis Liakos' team *European Civilization and its Roots* (1998) is a thematic history book and was given as material for a selective module in the second grade of Lyceum; (b) the textbook by George Kokkinos' team *Modern and Contemporary History of the World* (2002) that was part of the general education curriculum in the 3rd grade of Lyceum. Despite the fact that this textbook was printed and distributed to schools, it was soon recalled and never made it into the

hands of students, mainly due to the fierce political reaction it inspired in conservative groups (Kokkinos, 2012: 469-470).

The authors of both textbooks introduced in Greek historical education new issues such as biological racism, the relationship between colonial ideology and nationalism, the social background of the Decolonization leaders and, most of all, the universality of the economic, ecological, social and political problems at the beginning of the 21st century (Liakos et al., 1998: 71-8, 94, 109-12, 142-3, 154; Kokkinos et al., 2002: 96-100, 223-6, 233-8).

3.3 *The History of the Human Race by L. Stavrianos: a Unique Case of a School Textbook*

Lefteris (Leften) Stavrianos (1913-2004) was a Greek-Canadian historian and is considered one of the founders of the generalist approach and an interpreter of world history and the history of the human race. With social history as a reference field and having developmental anthropology and marxism as a starting point (Kokkinos, 2012: 417), L. Stavrianos and his work attempt to gain a comprehensive view into humanity's progress, linking, at a global scale, political and military history, from antiquity till today, with social and economic structures, technology, ecology, education, communications, consumerism, migration, etc.

With this book, he responds to the need of constructing a new epistemological field within the framework of school history; that is, a new World History that takes into consideration the new bipolar reality of the world shaped after WWII, a reality that goes beyond national or European borders. His ultimate aim in most of the cases we examined is to reveal the politics that define the pathologies of modern societies and link them to similar pathologies of older historical periods.

Stavrianos attempts to make Greek students realize that what happens in the world, and not just within their own country, concerns them, and therefore it is their duty to become aware and act. Studying his book as a whole, one realizes that the author places poverty and underdevelopment in the centre of a polygonal framework, the sides of which are comprised by many factors as:

- the politics of the old colonial powers,
- the postcolonial politics of modern West countries,

- the blatant and uncontrollable activities of multinational corporations in Third World countries, mainly in the industrial and agricultural sectors,
- the brutal political interference of Western powers that extends to overthrowing democratic governments and the assassination of politicians,
- military coups d'etat,
- military interventions,
- the control of the Mass Media in Third World countries and the manipulation of public opinion,
- the manipulations of Western countries and their corporations that aim at controlling post-colonial countries within a state of economic slavery (loans, investments) and
- industrialization and those technological applications in the economy and production activities of the Third World, which increase unemployment and migration to the Western countries (Stavrianos, 1984:73-4, 96-7, 115-7, 127-32, 141-4, 148-51, 160-2).

All the above lead to the conclusion that poverty is a result of the politics applied by the powerful and that citizens of underdeveloped countries are not responsible for that. In that way Stavrianos attempts, in advance, to deconstruct any negative stereotype, prejudice or ideology that students or teachers may potentially have on the subject.

It has to be noted that during the period that the textbook was being taught, there were very few immigrants in Greece and therefore these issues concerned students only under the wider concept of political education and their worldview. However, if this book was taught today, it would have been more up-to-date than ever, since Greece has been flooded with hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. Moreover today Greece is subject, in a shameless way, to political manipulation aimed at submitting its economy to international control. These are similar manipulations to those mentioned by Stavrianos, which were applied in the Third World dictatorships many decades ago.

3.4 Current Primary Education Textbooks

Analytical Curricula and therefore History textbooks of Primary School in Greece are intensely ethnocentric regarding their contents and the way they approach historical phenomena. Under this

viewpoint, the issues we explore are essentially absent from the pages of not only the old but also the modern textbooks. Thus, the only reference detected regarding Colonialism was about the Cyprus dispute and mainly the struggle of the Cypriots for the liberation of the island from the British, as well as the problematic co-existence of the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities, that functioned as a pretext for the interference of foreign powers and led to the Turkish invasion in 1974 (Aktipis et al., 1997: 259; Repoussi et al., 2006: 108, 121; Koliopoulos et al., 2012: 161).

3.5 *Current Textbooks in Secondary Education*

In order to understand the differences between the current school textbooks of the 3rd Gymnasium grade and the 3rd Lyceum grade, it has to be noted that the viewpoint and perspective taken by the authors is different: The authors of the Gymnasium textbook have a more social orientation, while the authors of the Lyceum textbook focus on the political, diplomatic and military history.

Within this framework, the Gymnasium textbook approaches up-to-date issues such as Third World over-population, which students can link to modern problems, like mass migratory flows to the countries of the West (Louvi and Ksifaras, 2007: 130-131). It is also worth noting the 'exercise-activity' suggested to students, within the framework of a role-playing game: the students are asked to imagine that their class is the Greek Delegation to the European Union and to discuss measures they would propose to deal with the issue of people migrating to Europe from other continents (Louvi and Ksifaras, 2007: 146, 148, 170). On the other hand, in the Lyceum textbook, while there are references to the problems of the Third World, these references are vague, they seem to concern a 'faraway' world and do not come close to the students' present experiences (Koliopoulos et al., 2007: 153).

In short, neither textbook uses the specific historical phenomena as an opportunity to process historical traumas and promote the various and multi-dimensional influences between people and cultures. They do not utilize them as a basis to develop a historical consciousness and an understanding of citizenship that is appropriate to a global democratic community of interdependent cultures, controversial memories and multiple identities.⁶

4. Illustration

In all school textbooks under examination colonial maps of Africa and Asia dominate. In these maps, areas or regions vary in colour, depending on the European state that controlled them. Images are included, though, particularly in the textbooks of the last thirty years. In most school textbooks illustrations have a purely decorative role; they are not clearly linked to the main text and they are not suitable for educative use. However in some textbooks, such as the one written by Stavrianos, the use of images also has a documentary role, and tries to offer visual confirmation of the author's views.⁷ Information given in picture-captions is often incomplete and sometimes misleading. However, such information does reveal the ideological background of the authors, their emotional attitudes and the stereotypes which they have formed towards Colonialism, Imperialism and Decolonization.

From the entire visual material of the textbooks we choose a very interesting caricature in the 2nd Lyceum grade textbook by Skoulatos, Dimakopoulos and Kondis (1988: 205), which was first published in the German satirical magazine *Simplicissimus* in 1904. This image symbolically pictures the exploitation of African people by the English colonialists (pict. 1). The image shows an African man placed in a huge clamp. A British imperialist pours alcohol in his mouth, an Anglican priest drugs him with religion and a soldier turns the clamp making gold coins out of him. However, the textbook authors appear to be aware only of some of the connotations of this illustration, according to their caption-note: 'English Colonialism: ...but England has more faith in the power of money'. The authentic title of the caricature is '*so kolonisiert der Engländer*' and belongs to the series by Thomas Theodor Heine.⁸ In the same page Heine also published three other caricatures satirizing the colonial methods of the Germans, the Belgians and the French with the relevant captions. The textbook authors seem to ignore or underestimate other connotations, thus losing the chance to make use of the multiple points of view mobilised this caricature, as well as similar ones that satirize the other colonial countries. They could have verified comparatively the methods of exploitation and imposition used by the competitive European powers in Africa as well as the national stereotypes emerging from there. The historical and educational value of these caricatures is immense, if one takes into consideration that

they were created and published at the peak of colonial competition and just a few years before WWI.

On the other hand, Stavrianos uses illustration either to document his views or to generate strong emotional reactions in students, such as anger, disgust and even guilt. Here are some typical cases:

- In a section dedicated to the consumerism issue and to the economic expansionism of capitalist countries in the Third World, advertisements are presented of American cars, deodorants and soft drinks in Arab countries, in Russia, in China (Stavrianos, 1984: 33-34).
- The author displays images that confirm the brutal exploitation of blacks by white slavers and cause outrage in the reader: Searing of the shoulder of a black woman with hot iron, iron shackles and tools used for slaves, a slave ship used for the transfer of people from Africa to America – these all depicted in 19th-century drawings (Stavrianos, 1984: 76).

The issue of the huge disparity in the humane treatment of inhabitants, and the poverty that plagues Third World countries, are presented through the juxtaposition of photos of children under the title: 'Rich and poor in today's world' (Stavrianos, 1984: 138-139). On the page at the left there are photos of happy and healthy children from Scandinavian countries; on the page at the right the photos show malnourished children of Ethiopia – one of these photos is marked by the caption: 'waiting for a plate of food' (pict. 2-3).'

Conclusion

The 1980s constitute a turning point in the historiographic approaches of New Colonialism, Decolonization, Imperialism and Globalization. West-centric views, full of racial, ethnic and cultural stereotypes, were largely abandoned at this time and new explanatory frameworks were introduced which demystify the Western world and historicize the underdevelopment and poverty of the Third World. In the new textbooks, problems that resulted from Decolonization and Globalization are more or less brought to light (migration to the West, heterogeneity of the population in Third World countries, unequal relations between different political, economic, ethnocultural, racial and social groups), whereas criticism is directed

at the political practices of the West and at West-centric and Eurocentric ideologies.

Nevertheless, in spite of great progress, textbooks which degrade the historical phenomena or reproduce directly or indirectly West-centric cultural stereotypes continue to be written. These resiliences, inconsistencies or contradictions are related to a number of factors: the epistemological or ideological background of the authors, their bibliographical updating, the political context in which textbooks were written, the degradation and downplaying of global history and the domination of national history.

The most important problem for Greek historical education, though, lies in its inability to link the past with the present and to interpret in historical terms, within a modern pedagogical frame, what is happening today in the world. Nowadays Greek society is paying the price of this failing in numerous ways, as neo-Nazi rhetoric appears convincing to a great part of the student population, finding fertile ground in the xenophobia caused recently in Greece by the massive influx of hundreds of thousands of impoverished immigrants from Third World countries.

Notes

¹ For the exact opposite, see for example the views of the British historian Niall Ferguson (2012: 174-176, 200-201) who challenges the arguments of the supporters of such a comparison by mentioning the positive consequences of the imperial and colonial cultural policies in the everyday lives of the indigenous people.

² Similar insufficiencies regarding other European countries, as for example Switzerland and, more particularly, the Swiss school textbooks of secondary education are recorded by Moser-Léchoy, (2012: 49-62). Generally, for the management of controversial issues in the Classrooms see: Percoco, 2001; Schweber, 2004; Stradling, 1985, 2001 and 2003; Simon, 2004, 2005; Levinson, 2006.

³ The only case in Greek history where reference to colonialism can be made regards the city-states of ancient Greece, which are part of a particular field of study and cannot be confronted with the colonial paradigm of Modern History. There have been some claims regarding the expansionist movements in Greece during the 19th and early 20th century that link them to the major imperialistic visions of that period at international level (Leontaritis, 2000: 432-503) – but by no means can one talk about colonialism in such cases.

⁴ A wide variety of ways to apply this method in school textbooks can be found in the publication of International Society for the Didactics of History (2011).

⁵ The authors note: 'today, when someone travels around the English colonies all over the world, the sun does not set in the countries England rules. Wherever he is, the sun always shines upon the activities of the Anglo-Saxon race, who turns over the earth, removes its treasures and quests for new ones' (Lazarou, 1965: 401).

⁶ About the role and the ideological features of the World History in Greek school History see Kokkinos, 2013: 406-485.

⁷ For a classification of the illustration in Greek school textbooks see: Palikidis, 2007: 324-335.

⁸ *Simplissimus*, 9 Jg., Nr. 6: Spezial-Nummer 'Kolonien' (05.03.1904), 55. See also the webpage <https://sites.google.com/site/ghsengsoc/karikaturenkp> (29.10.2013).

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**DECOLONISATION ISSUES
IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY TEXTBOOKS
FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN POLAND**

Barbara Techmańska

The author analyses five Polish history textbooks for upper secondary school that cover the 20th century history in accordance with the most recent national curriculum, published by the most popular textbook publishers. The analysis focuses on the issue of decolonisation, which turns out to be a marginal one in the textbook narratives, presented as an element of the broader cold war world politics, quite exotic to the Polish students. The Author notices that the textbooks' approach to the topic is rather schematic, they all use the same iconography, maps and primary sources, present the decolonisation mostly in political terms, as a large-scale, mostly anonymous process, and they do not exploit the educational potential of the issue, do not try to inspire the debates on values or on controversial topics. The issues of colonisation and decolonisation were and still are quite distant from Poland's point of view.

The new core curriculum for history, introduced in Poland in 2009,¹ changed the way historical content is presented. The history of the twentieth century appears in material for the first class of secondary school. Thus students get to know at this stage of education about events that occurred in the previous century. Among them arises the problem of decolonisation. In the core curriculum this element is included in point 10: 'The World After World War II.' The authors of the document expect that the student will pinpoint in time and space the decolonisation processes and assess its implications, taking into account the role of the United Nations. Alternatively, elements of decolonisation can be traced back to the topic of 'Conflicts of the Cold War' as the war in Vietnam is mentioned there.

Generally speaking, the core curriculum treats decolonisation very symbolically. In fact, it merely states the issue. This is hardly surprising, however, considering that from the perspective of Poland, it is a quite exotic problem. Poland did not participate in the race for colonies, and did not have them, and nor did Poland itself have the status of a colony. When colonial empires were formed in the nineteenth century Poland was non-existent on the political map of the world. The status of the partitioned Polish lands at that time

could be compared to the one of many colonies.² When the process of decolonisation took place Poland was in the Soviet sphere of influence. Certainly it did not have independence. Generally speaking, it was said to be a satellite state, dependent, subordinated, burdened with 'compulsory deliveries' to the USSR, forced to retain Soviet 'advisers', but it was not a colony. Such a definition has not been employed in Polish historical terminology.

Five history textbooks of the twentieth century tailored to the new curriculum³ and available on the publishing market were analysed. All were published in 2012. Efforts were made to find textbooks from reputable and popular publishing houses, also teachers' suggestions were taken into account. It is worth noticing that these textbooks were approved for use in schools by the Ministry of Education. The books were equipped with two opinions: a content-related one with a didactical focus (evaluating the author's text as well as illustrations in terms of substantive correctness and teaching suitability) and a linguistic one (evaluating the correctness of the language used as well as communicative skills of the text).⁴ Reviewers were normally people with educational and academic achievements, often additionally supported by practical knowledge.⁵ At Polish schools textbooks are not only by their very name the most important and universal means of teaching; they also play a very important role in reality, both from the perspective of a teacher and a student. The problem of decolonisation presented in books appears at different levels of detail. Sometimes 'decolonisation' is treated as a separate and distinct entity in a lesson, while sometimes it is a supportive remedy when discussing conflicts between East and West or the creation of a new political balance of power in the post-war world. The way the information is presented also reflects the structure of a textbook (glossary, the hero of the moment, you-should-know questions, the principle of the use of info-graphic diagrams).

In the case of Asia, we have a more or less fully discussed process of the securing of independence for India, the creation of Pakistan and the Kashmir conflict, or the war in Vietnam. In the case of Africa, recovery of independence is indicated on the map by date. More information is directed to results or, more specifically, conflicts in Africa, the creation of dictatorships in African countries and other problems in post-colonial states. Each book also includes information about the Non-Aligned Movement. Also, usually there is

information about apartheid, but above all, from the perspective of Nelson Mandela's biography.⁶ The textbook which presents the most detailed factual material of decolonisation is the publication of the Operon publishing house.⁷ In the topic entitled 'The Disintegration of the Colonial System' there is some discussion of the origins of the decolonisation processes, highlighting the huge impact on the whole process of the Atlantic Charter and UN activities. The authors drew attention to the 'controlled disassembly' of its own colonial empire undertaken by the British with the effect of keeping the Commonwealth Community of Nations. When presenting 'The Course of the Decolonisation Process in Asia' Gandhi's biography was well to the fore. In addition there was a description of the process of India's obtaining independence, the creation of such countries as Pakistan and Bangladesh or discussion of the Kashmir conflict. Also mentioned was the activity of Japan after losing the war: giving Taiwan to China, withdrawal from the occupation of Manchuria and the relinquishment of control over Korea. When considering the issue of 'Decolonisation of Africa', chronological steps are listed showing which countries obtained their independence. The bloody conflict in Algeria, whose death-toll reached a mind-boggling two million victims, is also mentioned. More space than in previous books was devoted to the issue of the recovery of independence by the former Portuguese colonies. The authors briefly recalled the 'Carnation Revolution' which triggered the outbreak of freedom in the former colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. The policy of Apartheid was also discussed in the Republic of South Africa. Apart from Nelson Mandela, Frederik Willem de Klerk is mentioned as the other 'liquidator' of racial segregation. Obviously, the problems of postcolonial countries were not forgotten. It was mentioned that Ethiopia signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and that the country which officially adopted socialist ideology was the People's Republic of the Congo. A lot of space is devoted to recalling coups d'état (usually military) in the former colonies. The Togo coup in 1963 is mentioned as the first of these. It was stressed that in total military regimes ruled in 32 countries. Of the 53 members of the OAU only 20 states did not suffer from military attacks. Many dictators applied terror, and treated their states as private property. Jean Bedel Bokassa, who seized power in the

Central African Republic, is especially well-known for his cruelty. A short period of his power is characterised, as well as conflicts in other African countries: Algeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Chad, Nigeria and Republic of the Congo.⁸ Finally, the political changes in the Middle East were outlined: the division of Palestine into Arab and Jewish parts, the proclamation of Israel and the first conflicts, then liberation from the French rule of Jordan and Syria; and expiry of British control over Iraq.⁹

The first general remark, which can be expressed following the analysis of textbooks, is that the authors put greater focus on Asia (strictly speaking on India) and much less on Africa. In the latter case most of the textbooks are limited to the presentation of maps with the dates given for the 'recovery' of independence by individual countries.

Another issue worthy of note is that the authors give the necessary factual 'political' material, while also wishing to emphasize and foreground human suffering. They want to work on students' imagination and emotion, require the assessment of (partially controlled, suggested) events, and emphasize that every conflict brings huge destruction, victims, misery, and tragedies. It is worth noting that the internal bloody conflicts which are exposed are located within colonial countries rather than along the axis of the relationship between colony and metropolis. Also missing is the idea that there is no a clear rejection of the policies of countries having colonies and losing their authority over them. If one tries to make a moral judgment is not so much colonialism but neo-colonialism which is being dealt with. When characterizing the problems of post-colonial states it is hard not to get the impression that problems that occurred in them are the direct result of the lack of ability to use the opportunity they got and not because of the sustained devastating, profit - oriented, policy of colonial powers. There are frequent examples such as: 'after recovering independence the old social and ethnic problems revived', which may suggest that when countries were colonies they had a better, more stable internal situation. The aspirations of colonies as entities but not subjects to international policy or the right to an independent, normal development are not emphasized. In fact, the process of decolonisation took place because of the coincidental international situation, which offered an

appropriate chance 'for this time'. Alternatively helpful ideas were contained in the Atlantic Charter and in UN activities. It is also stressed that the British and the French retained close cultural and economic ties with their colonies through the establishment of the Commonwealth and the French Community (which provides a positive perception of colonies by former colonists and their metropolises).

Most authors show the process of decolonisation by pointing to a string of cause-and-effect relationships and searching for the consequences of the disintegration of empires in the contemporary political and economic system of the world. Decolonisation is not regarded as one of the separate 'elements' of world history but as a piece of the puzzle: 'The World After World War II.' Sometimes the authors 'deliver a lecture' starting from decolonisation and ending with the modern image of the post-colonial state, even showing that India today has a nuclear weapon or providing information on the fact that a country has experienced a tremendous population growth: from fewer than 400 million people in 1950 to 850 million in 1990 and that the problem burdening the population was solved by developing national agriculture (so-called green revolution) introducing new, efficient plant varieties, fertilisation and specialist mechanisation. It was also noted that India is the largest democracy in the world. In the first elections in 1952, 173 million people had the right to vote, of whom $\frac{3}{4}$ could not read and write, hence there was the need to place a party's image-symbol¹⁰ next to its name. However, negative references dominate up to the present times: countries in conflict, declining dictatorships, radicalisation of moods, starving people (due to the lack of ability to use international aid and rampant corruption).

The process of decolonisation described in textbooks deals with millions of lives but is actually anonymous. In the available materials only two heroes appear, both not only mentioned by name but also 'with affixed' information on their lives and political activities: Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. The fact is, that their examples show the extent to which outstanding personalities or charismatic leaders have impacted on the unfolding events, how they are able to lead the crowds (even using peaceful slogans, not referring to the aggressive actions, showing passive resistance). A student may, however, get the impression that the history of these two characters

is the history of decolonisation. Mentioning a few other people by name, often in the form of captions under the illustrations, is a rather inadequate treatment. Even the mention by authors of one textbook of the other 'liquidator' of racial segregation – Fredrik Willem de Klerk – seems not to be entirely appropriate.¹¹

Playing a vital role, from the perspective of teaching and in the case of each subject, is a block of practical exercises.¹² Properly formulated tasks and questions allow the systematisation of knowledge, the acquisition of additional skills, and enable pupils to learn how to analyze and be encouraged to think critically. It is worth noting that 'creators' of textbooks do try to mobilise students to remember the information needed to understand the processes of decolonisation ('Do you remember which colonies belonged to Great Britain and France? What were the provisions of the Versailles Conference concerning German colonies?'). There are various ways of treating the instructions that appear in the lesson or in its summary. Frequently, there are reconstructive questions asking about the causes of decolonisation; the consequences of the process; what apartheid was; or asking pupils to point to a map and state which country regained its independence at the latest stage. However, there are more 'demanding' tasks too: compare the course of decolonisation of India and Algeria – explain the differences; find out in which countries the British monarch is considered the head of state today; the Indians gave Gandhi the nickname 'Mahatma' – find out what that nickname means; during its existence the OAU was colloquially called 'a club of dictators' – explain the meaning of the term.¹³

A small critical remark can be attached to the authors' work, which after implementation, certainly might have an impact on the 'attractiveness' of the work's reception. It is the common duplication of iconographic and cartographic material. A characteristic feature of textbooks written for the new curriculum is a rich graphic layout. It should be emphasized that the authors have taken pains with the educational value of iconography. Iconography functions not only to illustrate the subject but primarily as the basis for independent and cognitive research within students' work. Pictures are in fact annotated, introducing new material and with questions and exercises attached that mobilise pupils to search through various sources of knowledge. However, the advantage of a good textbook is to present

the iconography in an interesting or unusual manner, one occasionally-appearing in various sources of knowledge. Publishing the same picture or similar shots is not a 'magnet' for the recipient. All books present the images of Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. Although it is probably hindered by copyright and there is only the possibility of using primarily free resources, few writers were able to spice the text with suitable photos. One interesting solution is to refer to the infographic diagrams. These hand down knowledge, shape ideas, and with well-chosen exercise material encourage pupils to take up a research attitude. One such approach was applied in 'Decolonisation of Africa' by S. Roszak and J. Klaczko¹⁴ – both selection of illustrations (photographs of the French army in Algeria, the picture of the independence manifestations by inhabitants of Tanzania carrying Julius Kambarage – the Prime Minister and the President of the country; a photograph of a state institution in South Africa where there are visible separate 'windows' for white and black citizens; Mobutu SeseSeko's photograph – President of Zaire), the maps (contour maps of Africa with separate colours for: Algeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and South Africa) and the text differ from the information presented in previous books. Another interesting example of iconographic material, additionally bearing fairly detailed commentary, is 'the image that changed the course of the war'.¹⁵ This is supposed to be the most famous photograph of the Vietnam War. General Nguyen Ngoc Loana kills a captured Viet Cong officer with a pistol shot to the head. The author of the picture, working for Associated Press, journalist Eddie Adams explains that the image provoked outrage in the U.S. and was another argument for opponents of the Vietnam War. Few, however, knew that the executed Viet Cong officer commanded a special firing squad who murdered wives and children of South Vietnamese officers. The general, who saw the corpses, immediately shot the criminal. In addition, the officer was in civilian clothes, thus was not protected by any convention. Adams's comment given to his own image was crucial. It emphasised the importance of the media in formulating opinions, evaluations and perceptions of a particular event: 'The general killed the criminal and with that photograph I killed the general. The camera is the most dangerous weapon. People believe the images but these lie even if they are not manipulated. They are only half-truths. Everyone should ask the question – what

would I have done if I had been the general?, I caught the criminal responsible for the murder of my friends'. Authors also used the photo as training material and asked students to assess the general's behaviour.

In the case of cartographic material – it was simply copied. Books feature two maps: 'Decolonisation of Asia' and 'Decolonisation of Africa', outlined schematically: political division with dates of the recovery of independence. In the case of Africa there is additional information that the year 1960 was called 'the year of Africa'. It seems that the application of induction maps, or fitting them with sidebars and more detailed illustrations, would certainly enrich the main text and would work on students' imagination.

Critical attention can equally be paid to the selection of source texts. Is 'the final act of the conference in Bandung' the most necessary message for pupils, without which understanding of decolonisation, and especially the 'Non-Aligned Movement' is impossible? Furthermore, this document is a public source which is freely accessible and does not bring any extra attractiveness. Perhaps it's better to use lesser-known texts, juxtapose newspaper articles, journalistic or biographical sources, or memoir-literature, to better understand the complexity of the historical process and in this particular case, the process of disintegration of the colonial empire and its consequences. Worth mentioning is N. Podhoretz's text, that of an American politician justifying the presence of American troops in Vietnam, and especially the question that is put forth to draw conclusions and critical analysis: 'For what reason did the Americans begin to intervene in Vietnam and what was the lesson of Munich? What were similarities between the situation in Europe in the 30s and the situation in Indochina in the 60s?'¹⁶ More interesting from the perspective of providing new information is the statement in 1965 by Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana, about neo-colonialism and the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence in the Case of Colonial Countries and Peoples. This expects students' to show understanding of the problem of the origins and consequences of the process of decolonisation.¹⁷

For Polish students the issue of decolonisation is likely to be one among many less important issues. That is a part of history 'which does not directly concern me' and did not have and does not affect the Polish international situation. The Polish student is far more

likely to take part in the debate on 'The Consequences of the Collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe' because the effects 'of this history' are felt in the political and economic reality of post-communist countries today. Even if this student hears about the 'Problems of Decolonisation', these in her or his opinion do not apply to them. Reading history textbooks will not alter that.

Notes

¹ 'Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 23 grudnia 2008 roku w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz kształcenia ogólnego w poszczególnych typach szkół', *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 2009, no. 4, item 17.

² Grzegorz Chomicki presented this notion at the conference of the International Society for History Didactics in Tutzing in 2013.

³ Dolecki, R., Gutowski, K. and Smoleński, R. (2012), „*Po prostu historia*”. *Szkoły ponadgimnazjalne. Zakres podstawowy*, Warsaw: WsiP, 278-286; Brzozowski, A. and Szczepański, G. (2012), *Ku współczesności, Dzieje najnowsze 1918-2006, Podręcznik do klasy I liceum i technikum – zakres podstawowy*, Warsaw : Stentor, 193-196. Stola, D. (2012), *Historia. Wiek XX. Szkoły ponadgimnazjalne – zakres podstawowy*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, 177-181; Roszak, S. and Klaczkow J. (2012), *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX. Podręcznik do historii dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych*, Warsaw: Nowa Era, 281-286; Burda, B., Halczak, B., Józefiak, R.M., Roszak, A. and Szymczak, M. (2012), *Historia. Cz. 2. Historia najnowsza, Podręcznik do szkół ponadgimnazjalnych*, Gdynia: Operon, 31-40.

⁴ Detailed rules are legislated by 'Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 21 czerwca 2012 r. w sprawie dopuszczania do użytku w szkole programów wychowania przedszkolnego i programów nauczania oraz dopuszczania do użytku szkolnego', *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 2012, pos. 752.

⁵ List of certified history textbook experts, http://www.men.gov.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2050&Itemid=292 (21.11.2013)

⁶ Of course, apartheid and Nelson Mandela is not a part of decolonization, but in the Polish textbooks those issues are always presented in the chapters dealing with decolonization. In all likelihood they are regarded as an illustration of how difficult it was for Europeans to give up their privileged status in the former colonies and to admit the political and civil rights of indigenous populations.

⁷ Burda et al., 2012: 31-40.

⁸ Obviously, many conflicts were omitted in Polish school textbooks (e.g. the Mau Mau war or the attempts to keep Indonesia within the Netherlands) as were many important persons involved in the process of decolonization. In all likelihood this is a result of a general concept of presenting only a very general overview of the process with a very limited selection of case studies illustrating the ways how decolonization could happen and what its shortcomings might be.

⁹ The conflict in the Middle East was only briefly mentioned in the chapters dealing with decolonization. It was presented in more detail in a separate chapter 'Changes in the Middle East' devoted to the Israel-Arab wars and the Islamic revolution in Iran.

¹⁰ Stola, 2012: 178.

¹¹ Burda et al., 2012: 38.

¹² In this place instructions to source texts were omitted.

¹³ Burda et al., 2012, 32,33.

¹⁴ Roszak and Kłaczko, 2012: 285.

¹⁵ Dolecki, Gutowski and Smolenski, 2012: 280.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 285.

¹⁷ Burda et al., 2012: 39, 40.

**LOST ENCOUNTERS: A POST-COLONIAL VIEW
OF THE HISTORY COURSE
'MEETING OF CULTURES',
IN THE UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL
IN FINLAND**

Jan Löfström

Since 2003, there has been an optional history course, titled Meeting of Cultures, in the core curriculum for upper secondary schools in Finland. It focuses on the history of Non-European cultures and societies. Its objectives have many positive elements, yet it can be criticized for reproducing a problematic view of culture(s) and cultural encounters. This article is a post-colonial analysis of the aims of the course and the contents of the textbooks for the course. It argues that the course fails to meet the challenges that post-colonial theory brings to bear on teaching the history of non-European cultures. More particularly, it does not seem to support reflexivity or critical thought regarding the notions of culture and cultural identity and their political uses.

1. Introduction

'Meeting of Cultures' has been an optional course in the history core curriculum for upper secondary schools in Finland since 2003 when the core curriculum was last reformed. However, it has a longer pedigree. The previous core curriculum for upper secondary schools, dating from 1994, mentioned the history of 'the Non-European world' as a topic for an optional history course, but contained nothing more specified about its aims or contents.

In the 1994 core curriculum the subject-specific element in history was reformed. The history courses became thematic: there was a course in European cultural history from Antiquity to the present and a course in the social and economic history of the Western world, for example. The number of obligatory courses in history was cut down. The use of a thematic structure was considered to secure coherence in the history courses in the new situation. As the history of Non-European civilizations was envisaged to take up limited space in the obligatory history courses, the topic was designed as a separate, albeit an optional, course. The section responsible for pedagogy in the

upper secondary school in the Association of History and Social Studies Teachers had a seminal role in the creation of the new history curriculum, but one can argue that it was textbook authors who defined the content in 'Meeting of Cultures'. The first textbooks for the course were published in the mid-1990s, but not until in 2003 were the aims and contents of the course specified in the core curriculum. (Professor Emerita Sirkka Ahonen, interview 11.10.2013; Virta, 1998:93-99).

It is worth pointing out that the Non-European civilizations were not ignored as a topic in the history curricula before 1994. Arja Virta (2013) has noted that they had more space in the history curricula in the 1970s than in the recent decades, whereas in the general parts of the core curricula the importance of studying cultural diversities and cultural encounters became all the more visible in recent decades (see also Virta, 2008: 38-42).

To judge by its title, the course 'Meeting of Cultures' appears to promise to focus on the questions of cultural encounters. But does it keep the promise? Does it include elements that encourage students' reflexivity regarding the dynamics of cultural encounters and the use of concepts like culture or cultural identity in the public discourses? Given that symbolic power often entails producing and circulating hierarchical distinctions with regard to diverse cultural categories, it is pertinent to ask how does this course deal with such categories, and how does it de/construct the very concepts of 'culture' and 'cultural encounters' to which its title refers?

These questions have been inspired by post-colonial theories of how the production of culture-related symbolic divisions has material social outcomes. The theorists in this field – e.g. Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Dipesh Chakrabarty – have analyzed how the discourses of culture create and sustain categories of 'us' and 'them' and perpetuate thereby hierarchical power relations based on such symbolic 'cultural' divisions. They have also emphasized the importance of being aware of the privileged position one may often have in such constellations, and of the symbolic power based on such a position. This theoretical perspective informs much recent discussion on intercultural education and post-colonial or 'post-critical' citizenship education (e.g. Andreotti 2007, 2011; Riitaoja 2013). Another source of inspiration, and one which has also fuelled much post-colonialist theory, has been the strands of anthropology that since the 1960s called into question traditional ways of

representing 'other' cultures and drew attention to the 'politics of ethnography' implicit in them (eg. Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1999).

2. The Aims and Content of 'Meeting of Cultures' in the 2003 Core Curriculum for Finnish Upper Secondary Schools

The aims and content of the 'Meeting of Cultures' course have been stated in the 2003 core curriculum for upper secondary schools, and rather briefly when compared to the more detailed lists of core contents for the other history courses. The document declares (*National Core ... 2003*: 181-182):

The course will deal with the distinct characteristics and contemporary times of one or more optional cultural spheres and intercultural interaction. Culture will be understood as being a comprehensive concept. The cultural areas to be discussed will be chosen from outside Europe.[...]

The objectives of the course are for students to

- *be familiar with the basic concepts of culture and learn to understand the values and lifestyle of a culture different from their own;*
- *understand the interdependencies between abstract [i.e. non-material] culture, the social structure, economic life and natural conditions;*
- *be familiar with the historical development of the culture being examined and with its interaction with other cultures;*
- *learn to analyse different manifestations of culture in areas such as the arts, religion and social structures;*
- *be able to take the diversity of cultural backgrounds into account in interactive situations.*

Core contents: One or more of the following cultural areas will be examined:

- *Africa;*
- *Arctic cultures;*
- *indigenous Australian and Oceanic cultures;*
- *India;*
- *the Islamic world;*
- *Japan;*
- *China;*
- *Korea;*
- *Latin America;*
- *indigenous North American cultures.*

The text has some elements that would seem to allow for a dynamic notion of culture: there are references to intercultural interaction and to the interdependencies between 'abstract' culture, social structure, economic life and the physical environment. There is also a reference to the comprehensiveness of the concept of culture that should warn the reader against a narrow understanding of culture as something solely elitist. There is no reason to doubt that in aims such as, 'to understand the values and lifestyle of a culture different from their own', or, 'to be able to take the diversity of cultural backgrounds into account in interactive situations' there is a laudable intention that the course will support constructive and respectful encounters between people and help students to analyse and appreciate the diversity of cultural formations.

However there are also passages and formulations in the text that seem to betray a static and non-flexible notion of culture and cultural difference, for example a reference to 'the distinct characteristics' of cultural spheres. Further on it is stated that the students will learn to understand the lifestyle and values of a 'culture different from their own'. The passage suggests that cultures can be clearly distinguished from each other and that it is important to learn about their *differences*, in particular the differences between 'our' culture and 'other' cultures. To characterize culture as a comprehensive concept can be seen as a positive thing, as I noted, but it can also feed into a conception that culture is a totalizing force in people's lives (or at least in the lives of the 'other' people). In combination with the point about taking the diversity of cultural backgrounds into account in interactive situations it easily gives the impression that culture and cultural differences are a major explanation for why people act as they do in a given situation. The text points out that the interdependencies between non-material culture, social structures and economy should be seen in relation to each other, but this is overshadowed by the remarks on the salience of studying *cultural* interactions and *cultural* backgrounds.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the question of cultural differences is framed in the curriculum in spatial and geographical terms. The text delineates the content of the course with reference to 'cultural areas' which are – except for 'the Islamic world' – geographical and spatial categories (Africa, India, Arctic, etc.). A conflation between place and culture has been identified, for example, by Doreen Massey (Massey and Jess, 1995), as a symbolic and mental operation where cultures,

most notably 'our' culture and 'their' culture, are demarcated from each other as purportedly separate and distinguishable entities.

Moreover, all the aforementioned spatial-cultural areas are located outside Europe. The aims in 'Meeting of Cultures' would not prevent studying the history of cultural encounters in European societies. The question of cultural encounters and cultural differences could well be approached in terms of differences between social classes, genders or linguistic and religious communities, but the description in the core curriculum fails to consider such alternatives. Thereby it reproduces a notion of unified cultures that are homogeneous and without internal divisions or tensions. In the aims of the course there is nothing about studying how divides between 'our' culture and 'other' cultures have been created and perpetuated in history, nor how divisions relating to class, gender, language and creed cut through cultures and make them internally non-monolithic. The task of learning to understand cultural diversity and cultural encounters is presented as if it only concerned the relations between the Europeans and the Non-Europeans. This, in fact, should not come as a surprise: it has been pointed out that a symbolic divide between the 'European' and the 'Non-European' has also become more accentuated recently in history textbooks in many European countries (Challand, 2009).

In fact, the same critique can be levelled against the cross-curricular theme Cultural Identity and Knowledge of Cultures, in the 2003 core curriculum for upper secondary schools. The cross-curricular themes in the core curriculum are 'priority areas that cross subject boundaries and integrate education' (*National Core...*, 2003:24). The objectives in the theme Cultural Identity and Knowledge of Cultures are described in the core curriculum as follows (*National Core...*, 2003: 27-28):

Upper secondary schools must reinforce students' positive cultural identity and knowledge of cultures; these form the basis for successful intercultural activities and international co-operation.

The objectives are for students to:

- *be familiar with different interpretations of the concept of culture and be able to describe the special characteristics of different cultures [...];*
- *be aware of their own cultural identity, be clear about the cultural group to which they wish to belong and know how to act as interpreters of their own culture [...];*

- *be able to communicate diversely with people from different cultural backgrounds, even in foreign languages;*
- *[...] Students must be encouraged to engage in intercultural interaction and international co-operation.*

Intercultural interaction and activities are here equated with international co-operation, implying that intercultural encounters are encounters between nationalities and ethnic groups. Further it is implied that it is important to describe the special characteristics of different cultures, the word 'special' conveying that it is the differences between cultures that are relevant to know. Anna-Leena Riitaoja (2013) has analyzed the cross-curricular theme Cultural Identity and Internationalism, in the 2004 core curriculum for basic education. She has criticized it for its static and homogenizing notions of culture and cultural identity and for its implicit conception of the Finnish culture as an entity devoid of any internal divisions (Riitaoja, 2013: 138-141). This critique applies also to the theme Cultural Identity and Knowledge of Cultures.

3. Textbooks for 'Meeting of Cultures'

As previously mentioned, the 1994 core curriculum for upper secondary schools did not specify the content of the proposed optional course in the history of the Non-European civilizations. It was, in practice, the textbook authors who created the content in the 1990s and early 2000s. The first textbook for 'Meeting of Cultures' appeared in 1996 (West et al., 1996), but as the textbook authors and publishers had to produce textbooks for the new post-1994 thematic history courses very quickly, and the obligatory courses were their most urgent task, it took a long while before a wider supply of textbooks for 'Meeting of Cultures' became available. Textbooks that have been available in the course so far and which have been analyzed for this article are listed in the References.

In Finland history textbooks are authored by teachers and, to a lesser extent, by university teachers. This has also been the case in the textbooks for 'Meeting of Cultures'. On rare occasions authors of these textbooks have also been experts in fields of study other than history, for example in religious studies. Since the authors have not been specialists in anthropology or cultural studies, it is not surprising that the textbooks are traditionally historical in approach. Basically

they are accounts of social and political developments – and mostly of problems – in the Non-European world. They cover a wide range of civilizations; most of the books discuss the civilizations in the Arab world, Non-Arabic Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia and the Americas. The books are 180-220 pages long and generously illustrated; thus it might be predicted that the result is a rather compressed and cursory history of these civilizations.

Two qualifying remarks are needed. First, teachers can decide with their students on the themes they focus on in the course and whether they use a textbook or not. In the core curriculum there is only a list of options on the target civilizations, thus the implementation of the course can vary between schools. Second, some history teachers have encouraged an approach inspired more by anthropology/cultural studies (Sahi, 2001; Sivonen, 1996; West, 2001). However there has not been any wider move in that direction. The core curriculum discusses the content of the course only at a general level, so there is freedom of choice for the textbook authors and publishers in how they set the core curriculum in practice. However the books are strikingly similar to each other in approach and structure. From the publishers' point of view, of course, a more unconventional textbook is a commercial risk.

In what follows I will present the major findings I have made in analysing the course's textbooks. My focus has been on what Falk Pingel has named 'content analysis' of a textbook; this approach analyses the congruity between the textbooks and academic studies (Pingel, 2010: 31). Here the academic reference point is the work in cultural studies inspired by post-colonial theory and the 'new anthropology' of recent decades (see chapter 1 above). More particularly, my analysis has focused on how the textbooks are structured (thematic or chronological structures), how the concept of culture is used in the accounts and representations of the Non-European societies (singular or plural cultures, internal homogeneity or heterogeneity of cultures), and how much space is allocated to the analyses of 'cultural encounters' as processes of symbolic negotiation, compared to accounts of political and social developments. These, I would argue, are the features that indicate how sensitive a textbook is to the cultural and anthropological interpretations of the 'meeting of cultures'.

There are two major shortcomings in the textbooks for the course 'Meeting of Cultures' that I have analysed. First, they convey a static

picture of ‘culture(s)’, and second, they give little space to exploring the dynamics of cultural encounters themselves, contrary to what the title of the course seems to suggest. Let us look at these two points more closely.

The textbooks tend to reproduce a somewhat homogeneous notion of ‘culture’ and in numerous though not in all occasions, a monolithic picture of the world civilizations. There are cases where, for example, the internal heterogeneity of civilizations is signalled with rubrics like ‘The cultures of India’, ‘The cultures of Africa’, and ‘The cultures of Australia’, in the list of contents (Aalto et al., 2011: 5-7), however the content in the chapters does not necessarily warrant the use of plural; for example in the aforementioned textbook the chapter on China is eleven pages and hence does not allow going beyond the generalizing notions like ‘China’ or ‘Chinese thought’ (Aalto et al., 2011: 96-102). The books do pay attention to temporal changes, but the very limited space available to any single civilization unavoidably leads to a cursory discussion where the social or cultural diversity within a civilization, for example its class- or gender-related and regional divides, very rarely emerge.

The purportedly specific characteristics of the Indian, Chinese etc. cultures are sometimes described in a stereotypical form, particularly in illustrations and captions and in separate ‘information boxes’. For example, in the caption to a picture of black drummers and local people the reader is told, ‘Drums and a heavy beat are an essential part of the African music culture’ (Kohi et al., 2008: 122). In a section entitled, ‘Survival kit’ to India, the reader is instructed, ‘Religion has a central place in the life of Indians’ (Aalto et al., 2011: 87). Solutions like these (see also Kohi et al., 2008: 48; Jokiahho & Putus-Hilasvuori, 2011: 35, 119; Aalto et al., 2011: 62-63, 118-119) may be appealing and pedagogically motivated, yet they easily sustain traditional images of cultural ‘others’ and hence may be counterproductive if a course-aim is to develop students’ reflexivity and intercultural competence.

There is some discussion of the concept of ‘multiculturality’ in the textbooks, typically in the introductory parts, where it is stated, for example, that ‘[b]ecause of global interactions, cultures are no longer scattered around, each in its own corner of the world [...] The notion of multiculturalism underlines that societies consist of groups of citizens with different cultures’ (Ahtiainen et al. 1999: 13). This way of looking at cultural diversity in societies has the advantage of calling into question simplifying notions of culturally unified communities,

yet the concepts of culture and cultural identity remain unproblematic: the reality of different cultures or cultural groups is taken for granted when, in the view of post-colonial theory, it would be important to reflect on the uses and effects of constructing those mental categories, and to encourage thinking about alternative conceptualisations of the social world.

In the textbooks the 'meetings of cultures' are encounters between states or other political subjects, and the focus is on the demographic, political and social consequences of the encounters. The question of what symbolic meanings those encounters held for the people in the involved communities is mostly ignored: there is rarely discussion of the interpretative processes that have taken place in the encounters. This may be seen in the rubrics of the textbook chapters: they typically build a chronological outline of the political-social development of the Non-European societies and their contacts with Europeans. There is a dynamic element in the rubrics such as, 'China meets the West', or, 'Cultures meet – American-Indian cultures are destroyed' (Kohi et al, 2008: 52, 142), and in these chapters there is, for example, discussion on 'What we have inherited from the American Indians?', or on 'The multiple names for October 12, 1492' (Kohi et al., 2008: 144, 148), but the point is that these analyses discuss the outcomes rather than the processes wherein different interpretations have been bartered and negotiated.

The title of the course would seem to suggest a focus on how, in the encounters of different symbolic orders, people have negotiated, and how the processes of diffusion, assimilation and adaptation have unfolded. But there is nothing about that in the 2003 core curriculum. The 1994 core curriculum adopted a more anthropology-inspired tone when declaring: 'The development and the modern essence of some Non-European civilization can be studied both from the perspective of cultural clashes or adaptation and integration, and from the perspective of its present-day influence' (*National Core...*, 1994: 99). In the 2003 core curriculum such terminology no longer appears; that is to say teachers are not given anthropological conceptual tools for dealing with the dynamics of cultural interactions, as they were in the preceding core curriculum.

I would argue that a window of opportunity opened towards a more cultural/anthropological approach in the mid-1990s, right after the structural reform of the history curriculum, but it seems to me that the textbooks effectively closed it when they gradually cemented

a traditional chronological(socio-)political approach which is not thematic. In the introductory chapters and glossaries in the textbooks concepts like ethnocentrism, assimilation and orientalism are defined, and there is also sometimes a brief account on anthropology. There are revision-questions where students are asked to ponder the different worldviews and values in some given historical documents. However these questions are rare, and also the key concepts listed in the introductions or the glossaries do not inform the textbook's structure, which follows a conventionally chronological line.

It is fair to say that all the textbooks for 'Meeting of Cultures' are of good quality: they are informative, well-written, and visually compelling, and they cover a broad range of civilizations and a wide time span from the prehistoric to the present day. Yet their approach can make for disappointment if one takes the anthropological element in the title of the course seriously. Moreover, there is also the risk that as the textbooks present compressed histories of various civilizations which are not organized around concepts relating directly to the dynamics of cultural encounters, the students only receives a fragmentary picture of the past and the present of global encounters. Some themes run through the course – primarily nationalism, colonisation and decolonisation –but these are approached in a socio-political, rather than cultural/anthropological, conceptual framework.

It may be said in passing that Non-European peoples and cultures are discussed in the history textbooks pertaining not only to the course 'Meeting of Cultures' but in other contexts too, mostly as the colonized objects or as the political and military adversaries of the West. Some analyses have argued that in those contexts the nature of the representation sometimes tacitly constructs a constellation 'us' – 'them' where 'us' includes the reader as a representative of the Western civilization and 'they' are in an antagonistic relationship to the West (e.g. Kurkela, 2012; Mikander, 2012).

The afore mentioned shortcomings in 'Meeting of Cultures' are not a mere academic issue; they have real consequences when, for example, exam questions on this course are set in the history paper for the Matriculation Examination.

4. 'Meeting of Cultures' in the Matriculation Examination

Since 2006 it has been possible to take a separate exam in history as part of the Finnish Matriculation Examination. Prior to that, all the so-called realia subjects (e.g. history, social studies, geography and physics) were included in one exam where students had a free choice of which exam questions they would answer. From 1997 onward, when the 1994 core curriculum was fully implemented, until 2005, there were two questions in the history section of the realia exam related to the optional course on the history of Non-European civilizations. In the separate history exams after the 2006 reform there is only one question per exam relating directly to 'Meeting of Cultures'. In 2006-2008, however, there was an extra optional question on 'Meeting of Cultures' so that those students who had begun their upper secondary studies before the reform would not be disadvantaged.

The law mandates that the Matriculation Examination should assess how well the students master the knowledge and competences designated in the core curriculum. As the core curriculum speaks of the aims and contents at rather a general level, the team which constructs the exam questions in history has considerable space to manoeuvre. The team has no obligation to consider the content in the textbooks, but it tries to construct questions which do not depart too drastically from the prevailing interpretation of the core content in the textbooks. Having been involved in the exam's construction since 2000 I think the team is well aware that 'Meeting of Cultures' is implemented in the schools in different ways and it tries to design questions that the students would be able to tackle on an equal basis, irrespective of what civilizations they have studied and what textbook – if any – they have used in school. High stakes tests often have a backwash effect (Au, 2007), in that the students concentrate on learning what is likely to be in the exam, and also teachers adjust their teaching to what they find in the exams, but the effect can also be the reverse: an exam is designed according to the assumed reality in schools. The backwash effect is a relevant issue also in the context of the Matriculation Examination.

From an insider's position, I argue that the team has often found it problematic to design exam questions on 'Meeting of Cultures'. The key concepts of the course mentioned in the core curriculum are few and they are only remotely connected with the dynamics of cultural

encounters *per se*. Considering the presence of a backwash effect, the team designing the history exam has sometimes wanted to signal to schools that themes and perspectives typical of anthropology or cultural studies are also a legitimate part of 'Meeting of Cultures', but mostly the team has considered it fair to set questions that are less 'progressive' but more likely to be closer to what is taught in schools.

As mentioned above, in 1997-2005 two questions per exam always related directly to the optional course on the history of the Non-European civilizations. Almost invariably one of these dealt with social or political developments in the Non-European world, and the other with issues of cultural encounters. The latter type of question was particularly posed in a way that allowed students to discuss the civilizations which they had studied in history class. This was reasonable because the core curriculum only gave cursory guidelines about the content of the course: it would have been unjust to focus the exam questions too restrictively (Professor Emerita Sirkka Ahonen, interview 29.10.2013). Moreover, these questions also often had an anthropological flavour which was faithful to the words in the 1994 core curriculum quoted earlier in this text. The following questions are examples of this:

Discuss the coming-together of traditional values and Western influences in the culture and lifestyle of a selected Asian or African country in this century. (Autumn 1998: 14)

Development co-operation also entails cultural encounters. Discuss two selected examples of how cultural differences have been taken into consideration in development co-operation projects. Discuss also the consequences that ignoring cultural differences has had for the chosen projects. (Autumn 2001: 9)

When migrants settle in their new resident country, one of the following processes takes place: 1) assimilation, complete merging with the dominant culture, 2) segregation, isolation or withdrawal as a separate subculture that is separate from the dominant culture, or 3) integration, becoming part of society but maintaining one's culture. Select a country and discuss how these alternatives have materialized there. (Spring 2004: 10)

In 2006-2013, when it was possible to take a separate exam in history, there were twenty-two questions directly related to 'Meeting of Cultures'. These can be grouped into two categories which I have

titled *Cultural encounters and cultural values*, and *Colonialism, nationalism and socio-political developments*. The first group includes seven questions, and the second, fifteen.¹ The following questions are examples from the first group (the year of exam and the number of the question):

The concepts creolisation, syncretism and hybrid culture refer to the phenomenon that elements originating in different cultures merge and constitute for example new languages or religious traditions. Discuss the characteristics of this phenomenon, using an example. (Spring 2013: 8)

Today the Islamic world is often seen as culturally homogeneous. Assess this view by using examples. (Autumn 2006: 8a)

[Two contemporary testimonies, from the 15th and 17th centuries, describing the encounters between European and West Africans.]

a) How do the two testimonies of the encounters between Europeans and the local people differ from each other, and what is your assessment of their credibility as sources of information?

b) What factors contributed to the way that reaction to the Europeans' arrival was different in different historical situations? (Autumn 2006: 7)

The following questions are examples from the second group:

It has been argued that, as a result of globalisation, the world has become a global village. Discuss how apt that judgement is. (Autumn 2012: 8)

[Two assessments of the consequences of European colonialism, one by a Finnish geographer (1936), one by Franz Fanon (1961).]

a) How do the assessments on the effects of European colonialism in these quotations differ?

b) What kind of positive and negative effects has European colonial rule brought in the Non-European region that you choose? (Autumn 2010: 8)

Why has improving women's social position turned out to be a particularly good way to improve the conditions in the developing countries? (Autumn 2009: 8)

Explain what forms nationalism has taken and what effects it has had in the 19th and the 20th centuries in the Non-European region you choose. (Spring 2009: 8)

As the figures show, there has been more questions in the category *colonialism, nationalism and the socio-political developments* (16 items) than in the category *cultural encounters and cultural values* (6 items), from 2006 to 2013. The latter were more frequently used in 2006 when the system of separate exams in the realia subjects was introduced, but after that they have appeared only sporadically. In fact, the so-called model exam in history which was designed and sent to schools in 2005, before the new exams were launched in 2006, also had a question in which historical documents were analysed as testimonies of cultural encounters. Thus, anthropological perspectives were frequent in the exam questions in the 1990s and early 2000s and continued to be at the time the new exam was launched.²

Why have the anthropology inspired questions become so sporadic after being more prominent before? As an ‘accomplice’ I would argue that albeit the history teachers did not criticize such questions it was seen as somewhat monotonous that questions so often focused on the issues of eurocentrism or ethnocentrism and that the analyses expected of students seemed to have a predictably similar format. However the major obstacle for constructing more varied questions that are also intellectually challenging is that the core curriculum, and consequently the textbooks, offer very few analytic concepts that can reasonably be placed within the purview of the questions. This is a case of backwash effect where the realities of teaching have a crippling effect on the content of the exam.

It would be a research project in its own right to study the content of the students’ essays in the history exam and analyse how they reflect the content of the textbooks and what images of Non-European cultures are found in the essays. Ilona Herlin (2011) has carried out a study on the representation of Europe and Islam in the students’ essays, and she has noted that the students’ essays attempt to render the content in the textbooks accurately and comprehensively, but they differ in their style of presentation where value judgments are also discernible. Furthermore she points out, very importantly, that the influence of media representations must be taken into account when pondering the background of students’ views of Non-European cultures and peoples. Thus the role of school textbooks in conveying images of Non-European cultures and peoples should not be overstated.

Conclusion

In terms of its objectives in the core curriculum, 'Meeting of Cultures' would seem to have the potential to encourage an anthropological view on cultural diversity and the dynamics of cultural encounters, but the core curriculum actually fails to mobilise concepts that could give the course an anthropological-thematic structure and content instead of a more conventionally political-chronological one. The path towards a more anthropological perspective in the study of cultural encounters – admittedly mostly in the context of encounters between the Non-Europeans and Europeans – was opened in the 1994 core curriculum that drew attention, briefly but explicitly, to concepts like adaptation and integration. However the path was closed as the textbooks in the 1990s and early 2000s, mostly authored by history teachers, set the standards for the content of the course that the 2003 core curriculum would also follow.

The questions in the history exam in the Matriculation Examination have often been conventionally historical, but in 1997–2005 and right after the implementation of the new realia exams format in 2006 the questions relating to 'Meeting of Cultures' focused relatively often on the anthropological dimensions and dynamics of cultural encounters. However, they soon became more traditional again, focusing mostly on the political and social developments in the Non-European world. As an exam-paper constructor for the history exams since 2000, I acknowledge having connived in this development. An opportunity to encourage a more anthropology-inspired approach in the 'Meeting of Cultures' course has been lost, but perhaps not irrevocably.

The present situation regarding how 'Meeting of Cultures' is framed in the core curriculum, implemented in the textbooks, and assessed in the Matriculation Examination, is dissatisfying because students (and also teachers) are not invited to ponder on the constructed nature of cultural categories and cultural identities reflexively and critically. For example, the textbooks are very informative and will sometimes say, albeit in passing, that the 'Indian culture' or the 'Islamic culture' are monolithic concepts and the reality is more diverse; however they fail to follow this line of thought consistently. They do not push one to discuss the porosity and complexity, or even arbitrariness, of such concepts as 'African

culture' or 'Chinese culture'. Also they mostly do not discuss what goes on in situations where people interpret the world with the concepts 'culture' or 'cultural identity'. The great promise in 'Meeting of Cultures' would be to problematize how the categories 'us' and 'them' are (re)produced and the representations of 'our' culture and 'other' cultures are used and circulated. The course could valuably encourage students to analyse the narratives of 'us' and 'them' and the symbolic power relations hinged upon these terms. That would also fit the modern idea(l)s of intercultural education where the reproduction of essentialist and hierarchical notions of culture is at the centre of researchers' and teachers' efforts.

Admittedly this shift of perspective would require in the Finnish context that history teachers would need a new set of competences in anthropology or cultural studies. That is a lot to ask, given that they usually teach both history and social studies and thus already now study history, politics, economy, law and education. However, the distribution of tasks between those who teach primarily history and those who teach primarily social studies may develop in the future so that some space will also open to more anthropological approaches. It is critically important that the next core curriculum for upper secondary schools provides conceptual tools and signposts in that direction.

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Notes

¹The first group includes questions: Spring 2006: 7 / Autumn 2006: 7 / Autumn 2006: 8a / Spring 2008: 7 / Autumn 2011: 8 / Spring 2013: 8 / Autumn 2013: 8. The second group includes questions: Spring 2006: 8a / Spring 2007: 7 / Spring 2007: 8a / Autumn 2007: 7 / Autumn 2007: 8a / Spring 2008: 8a / Autumn 2008: 7a / Autumn 2008: 8 / Spring 2009: 8 / Autumn 2009: 8 / Spring 2010: 8 / Autumn 2010: 8 / Spring 2011: 7 / Spring 2012: 8 / Autumn 2012: 8.

²Sometimes in the history exams there are questions that concern the history of the Non-European world but whose focus lies in the subject area of some other history courses and not 'Meeting of Cultures'. The only one among them relating to cultural encounters is the following: 'Discuss what kind of encounters there

have been between the European and the Islamic cultures in the Mediterranean region from the 7th century to the beginning of the 19th century' (Autumn 2012, 4).

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DECOLONISATION AND SOME 'MATERIALES DE GUERRA'

Barnabas Vajda

This paper makes a research into the foreign relations of the communist Czechoslovakia, particularly into its weapon sales to some decolonised countries. The author argues that citizens of Czecho/Slovakia had a false perception of the post-1945 decolonisation due to the false and deliberately deformed picture given in the contemporary Czechoslovak press. At the same time, Czecho/Slovakia kept a deep silence about its doubtful role played in the decolonisation, as far as its large weapon sales were concerned. The combination of these two factors (overstressed jovial propaganda in the one hand, and the lack of knowledge about the true nature of the decolonisation) have created a weird historical notion in peoples' minds.

East European countries and nations used not to be big actors in the history of colonialism. In general or public discourse as well as in history schoolbooks, the 'classical' 19th century colonialism is something that concerns West Europe, namely Great Britain, Portugal, France, Belgium, Japan, the Netherlands, and briefly (just before the First World War) Imperial Germany. I agree with the statement that classical colonialism has deeply influenced West European self understanding by structuring the idea of a European or Western identity, and I also agree that it had often been combined with a sense of superiority. In the historical culture of the Slovak Republic, there are two main topics that might be linked to the theme of our conference. The first is colonialism, especially its 19th century form, and the second is decolonisation post-1945. Frankly, neither topic is part of mainstream historical discourse.

And yet, regarding colonialism and post-1945 decolonisation, there are some topics in the history of Czecho/Slovakia that can be linked to this particular scientific issue. I would like to deal with one of these topics in this paper, namely how in the first half of the Cold War the Czechoslovak Communist Party handled the issue of decolonisation. As we will see, the communists-led Czechoslovak state took a very hypocritical approach. On the one hand, it

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consciously spread wide ranging upbeat media propaganda in favour of the decolonised countries, while on the other it engaged in large-scale weapons-trading and manufacture with them, of course in total secrecy.

In the early days of the Cold War, the communist countries were pretty much limited to international relations only with each other. Their previous and traditional international contacts were either re-directed, or simply cut off, or their contacts were strictly frozen at a low diplomatic level. In fact, Czechoslovakia's most valuable western links began to be established only around the late 1960s, and especially after the year 1975, when the country re-launched its international relations via the Helsinki process.

In 1975, Czechoslovakia had some kind of diplomatic relation with 102 countries of the globe (52% of the total 194 countries in 1975); of these, only 24 were European countries. Since in 1975 there were 35 European countries altogether, Czechoslovakia had official diplomatic contacts with some 68% of European countries. The vast majority of these diplomatic relationships were with the so called 'Third World':¹ 30 Asian, 32 African countries, 14 countries from the American continent, plus Australia and New Zealand.² It might be surprising but it is true, that the country had better diplomatic contacts with remote exotic islands than with its closest European neighbours. For example, Czechoslovakia sent an ambassador to the Republic of Cape Verde in the same year (1975) as it sent an ambassador to its capitalist neighbour, Austria. With Austria, Czechoslovakia raised its relation to the highest diplomatic level only in May 1975, when the countries officially exchanged ambassadors, whereas it sent a serving ambassador to the Cape Verde Islands almost immediately after this former colony gained final independence from Portugal on July 5, 1975.

For a Communist Party led country like Czechoslovakia, the decolonisation movement on a global scale was a unique opportunity for two reasons. Firstly, it offered a good escape-route from an isolated position on the international stage, and secondly it meant fruitful business-opportunities, hidden behind jovial 'smile' diplomacy.

Let us focus on the earliest cases, such as how Czechoslovakia supplied Guatemala and Cuba with weapons in the 1950s and 1960s. As we know from recently published sources,³ Fidel Castro's revolutionary July 26th Movement turned to the Czechoslovak

government with a request of purchase of arms in mid-1958. From then on throughout the 1960s, Czechoslovakia was the biggest conventional weapon deliverer to Cuba (of course, except for the Cuban missile crisis in 1962). The Czechoslovak link was extremely important for the success of the Cuban revolutionary movement, because from 1959 till 1965/1966, Cuban anti-communist insurgents fought a six-year rebellion in the Escambray Mountains against the Castro government. Indeed, Czechoslovak weapons were needed for the 'War Against the Bandits', as F. Castro called the insurgents.

The Politburo of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, discussed in detail and finally agreed upon a resolution; it approved sending military supplies to Havana in September 1959. The Cuban side had asked for, among others, 50 000 pieces of 9 mm guns (of Czechoslovak type 23/25), plus a corresponding amount of ammunition. On the Czechoslovak side, members of the highest political establishment were explicitly involved, commencing with president of the republic Antonín Novotný, through half of the government of the Czechoslovak Republic, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of National Defence, ending with the Head of the State Planning Commission. Curiously enough, the documents used cryptic wording: what the Spanish language calls 'materiales de guerra' was euphemistically described in the Czech documents as 'special technical supplies' or 'supplies of specialized technology'.

According to the contract, the total cost of this particular transaction was valued at 32 million Czechoslovak Crowns (Kčs). Technically and financially, the whole transaction went through a Swiss private firm of 'Mr. Philip Fridlander' and through the 'Schweizerische Bankgesellschaft Zurich'. The seemingly neutral mediator was necessary because, as the document stated, 'The purchase of these goods could only be made by way of a third country, otherwise direct supplies from Czechoslovakia could be politically manipulated by the United States, as in the case of Guatemala.'⁴

As the closest political ally of the Soviet Union, this action by the government, like all further ones, involved 'preliminary consultation' and required 'approval by' the 'Soviet representatives'. In fact, Czechoslovakia was selected by Moscow to be a spearhead in relations with the 'third world'. Later on, Czechoslovakia widened its fruitful relations with Cuba. Among others, it supplied telephone

switchboards and aircraft parts; Czech military personnel and technical advisors flew to Cuba along with Soviet specialists; Cuban air force personnel received training in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia also contributed to the preparation of trusted Cuban communist cadres, and the country participated in a highly secret international project called Manuel, a project which was aimed at training trusted personnel from Latin America, and dispatching them throughout the world in the 1960s.⁵

Someone might ask here: What is the point in all this? Many countries, including the USA, Great Britain, France, China etc. supported decolonised countries. They all gave economic and/or military help in return for some kind of political loyalty, didn't they?⁶

Czechoslovakia's situation had been slightly different. First of all, because the economic strength of the world powers simply could not be compared to Czechoslovakia's struggling economy. Beyond the fiasco of the first and the second Five-Year-Plan, and without counting too many figures, here is just one example: Czechoslovakia was not able to provide enough tropical fruit to its shops, not even around Christmas, not even in the 1980s. The country had a very weak economy, yet it insisted on large international weapon sales.

In fact, the Cuban weapon requests were itself a big problem. In 1958, the Czechoslovak Army simply did not have enough 9 mm guns. They could cover this demand only from the military supplies of the Technical Division of the Ministry of International Trade, in two instalments, allowing first to release 20 000 guns in 1959, and further more 30 000 guns in 1960. The cartridges were a problem, too. As the Czechoslovak officials stated in their interim report to the competent ministry, the number of '500 million cartridges is disproportionately high when compared with the number of requested guns', so they recommended reducing this number to 80 million.

Just to show the extent of the sellers' cynicism, let us quote a contemporary ministerial official: 'The realization of this transaction would have a series of advantages [*for us*]. Above all, it would be the first supply of 'specialised technology' for use in support of an anti-imperialist movement in the Central American region [...] Furthermore, it would be a useful way to utilize guns already put out of commission, because old ammunition manufactured in the years 1946/1951 would be sold.' In summing up all advantages of the deal, the Czechoslovak documents stated: 'Considering that practically all of these supplied materials are of a second category, the Czech

delegation will refuse any request to provide a guarantee on the supplied goods.⁷

Czechoslovakia's weapon businesses with decolonised countries took place, of course, in total secrecy. The pragmatic goal (i.e. selling weapons) was hidden underneath a massive media propaganda – which was not too difficult to do since all press and media were strictly centralised under the censorship of the Central Committee of the CPCS.

For the domestic public, Czecho-Slovakia seemed a peace-loving country which was determined to support the decolonisation and liberation movement up to and beyond its capabilities in the name of world-peace. At the same time, Czecho-Slovakia (incorporating a Slovak weapon industry) was keen to exploit any need for guns and military equipment whenever and wherever this was possible, throughout the whole period of the Cold War. Thus communist Czecho-Slovakia was an example of a hypocritical country, as far as decolonisation was concerned.

This was the most obvious and strongest public feature of decolonisation in the former Czechoslovakia. Any newspaper reader or any TV watcher could easily understand that only Marxism or Socialism offered a way out from colonial dependency. Newspaper slogans read: 'Socialism helps colonised nations to get rid of the imperialist yoke', and 'It was the social revolution that has opened the door for decolonisation'. In the 1960s, this happened almost every day, and in all newspapers, beginning with national and ending with local newspapers. And today, these lying, hypocritical, and primitive slogans are still vivid in the minds of many Slovakian adults over the age of 30. It was a sheer fooling of people, overstressing the idyllic and humanistic side of our relations with the decolonised countries, without a single reference to the real economic nature of the relations.

Let there be no mistake about the centralised propaganda aims of the communist system. In the Soviet Union, a separate department called 'International Information Department' (IID) was set up as a tool for disseminating Soviet propaganda under the supervision of the Communist Party, right under the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee, led by a very high ranking politician, Boris Nikolajevich Ponomarev.⁸ The IID set up a cover international organization, called Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), established in 1957. The principal

function of the AAPSO was to serve ‘as a channel for Soviet influence in the Third World’, and among its aims we literally find the expression ‘exploiting the developing third world’.⁹ Following this Soviet pattern, the Czech and Slovak comrades at the Czechoslovak Department No 8 (i.e. Disinformation Dept. of the Czech Intelligence Service) stated as their aim: ‘We should focus on the Third World, and on American relations with these new nations. The objective of the Czech disinformation is to cause rifts, and to discredit US policies and programmes in the third world.’¹⁰

Someone could ask here again: What is the point? Many countries, incl. the USA, Great Britain, France, China etc. sold weaponry, often out-of-date weaponry, didn’t they? And they also kept their military businesses secret, covered in plain propaganda slogans, didn’t they? Well, if we look at Czechoslovakia’s historical time-line, and ask which was first, the arm sales or the willingness to help citizens of the decolonised countries, than it is rather clear that Czechoslovakia started selling military equipment to international crisis zones earlier than any other East European communist country. I would like to point out that Guatemala and Cuba were the earliest weapon sales to any Third World country from any East European state, two or three years earlier than the first Soviet weapon sale to Cuba took place in 1961.¹¹ (Beyond this, Czechoslovakia already in January 1948 delivered 200 machine guns, 4500 rifles and over 50 million rounds of ammunition to the Jewish Agency (later to become the Israeli government). Most of these were German weapons, captured by the Czechoslovak army on its territory at the end of the second World War.)

As to the accompanying aid projects: well, those never happened in the 1960s. One should not forget that Czechoslovakia had hardly any experience with free migration from outside Europe; in fact, free movement of people was hardly possible even between the friendly communist states. To put it very simply, during the Cold War East Europeans had no chance to learn either how to meet the ‘otherness’ of people coming from Africa or Asia, or their cultural diversity. Not to mention the potential cross-religious relations, which might have sounded absurd in an officially atheist country. Later on, this situation changed slightly when communist-led Czechoslovakia launched some genuine cross-cultural projects for creating relationship between its citizens and the citizens of the decolonised countries (e.g. Mongolia, Vietnam) in the late 1970s. These were true

aid projects for some decolonised countries, included sending engineers, doctors as well as hardware and medical assistance to Iraq, Libya, Angola, etc.

Moreover, while selling weapons to decolonised countries, Czechoslovakia routinely and consciously violated contemporary arms-sale-standards. Of course, many countries sold weaponry in the Cold War. However most kept themselves to certain written international rules, of which we have to mention the most important three: no sale to abusers of human rights; no weapon sales to conflict zones; no sales to place where there is a suspicion that weapons might be diverted to unauthorized destination.

After 1945, Czechoslovakia was in a very exceptional position. It not only had a strong and intact tradition of arms manufacturing (inherited from the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, and boosted in the 1930s), but the country was a Second World War winner too (unlike other East European countries like Hungary or Romania). Yet Czechoslovakia misused its position. The country consciously undermined routine arms export standards in certain regions where it sold weaponry, namely to Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Colombia, Yemen, Angola. Czechoslovakia regularly violated embargoes issued by the United Nations, or the European Union or the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In fairness it has to be said that many countries during the Cold War violated these international rules. One instance would be during the covert 'Iran-Contra' operations, masterminded by president Ronald Reagan's closest people. In this case, perhaps the most notorious, American weapons were exported to Iran, an unreliable country, despite such action having been forbidden by the US Congress.

This instance particularly violated the rule that military equipment was not to be transferred/diverted to unreliable actors. It is quite well known that Czechoslovakia manufactured a type of a highly explosive plastic material (called 'Semtex'), sadly a favourite of some 1970s terrorist groups, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA). To point out briefly here a very special and perhaps unexpected link between the IRA and decolonisation: Communist Czechoslovak newspapers had often seen and presented the case of the IRA in a perspective based on Ireland's relationship with colonial Britain. That is, they often praised the IRA for its 'anti-colonial position', etc. And

this was in total accord with the view of the most radical Irish republicans.¹²

Czechoslovakia's unreliability in the field of arms sales, more precisely its insufficiently-controlled weapon sales to third world countries, became a political issue after 1989, and it was also at stake even during the European accession negotiations. As the Cold War framework went, Czechoslovakia's military export fell into deep crisis. Its arms export to third world countries was about 8 billion US dollars in 1986, a figure which had dropped to 1 billion US dollars in 1991. (So it plummeted to one-eighth of its value between 1988 and 1991.) Yet, in 1991 Czecho/Slovakia still sold 300 items of T 72 type tanks to Syria and Iran, most of them manufactured in Slovakia. Czechoslovakia, and notably its Slovak third where the two biggest arms factories in the country had been situated, was very reluctant to abandon its fruitful business after 1989. Not too many details are known, but recently discovered documents show that even during 2004/2006 the Embassy of the USA in Bratislava held a strict control over the Slovakian weapon sales aimed to Libya, Cameroon, Yemen, and Afghanistan.¹³

Only by considering both sides of the coin, Czechoslovakia's weapon sales to Cuba as well as its wide-ranging pro-decolonisation media machinery, is it possible to see Czechoslovakia's true attitude toward the decolonisation movement. Recent historiography has established a deep discrepancy between contemporary propaganda and historical reality. It is proven that there were pragmatic economic interests behind the presentation and the fine-sounding political slogans of the post-1945 decolonisation in Czechoslovakia.

As a result, in my view too many Czechs and Slovaks have a totally false perception of post-1945 decolonisation. The combination of two different factors (overstressed upbeat propaganda on the one hand, and lack of knowledge about the secret processes on the other) created a weird historical notion in our people's minds. Wrongly enough, Czecho/Slovakia has chosen deep silence about the doubtful role it played during decolonisation, rather than looking straight and sincerely into the eyes of history. In this respect, even Czecho/Slovakia, a country without a significant colonial past, has its own 'post-colonial skeleton' hidden in the wardrobe.

And I regard the outcomes for the teaching of the decolonisation as even more tragic. The theme of our conference is a shop-window example of how difficult it is to apply or put across up-to-date

historical research in history teaching. In fact, recent scientific research is not mirrored in our history schoolbooks at all. This is what Joanna Wojdon calls the 'succumbing of historical research to educational needs'¹⁴. In our history schoolbooks we can still find nothing about Czechoslovakia's 'contribution' to the post-1945 decolonisation (the better option). Or (the worse option) we can find a hypocritically idyllic picture of it, for example in the 'classical decolonisation themes' such as Gandhi's movement which still prevail in our history schoolbooks. Historical research has revealed that East European countries had much more at stake in decolonisation than ideology. Yet these chapters are completely missing from both the teaching of our history and our general historical consciousness. And I ask, for how much longer?

Notes

¹ Being fully aware of its inappropriateness today, in my paper I desperately try to limit the usage of the term 'third world'; I certainly cannot avoid quoting it in primary sources, since the term was commonly used both in the West and East during the Cold War times.

² Open Society Archives (OSA), Budapest. HU OSA 300-30-6, Box 76, Folder: 1502/Foreign Relations CS Diplomatic Services 1975.

³ On Cuban-Czechoslovak arms sales, see Woodrow Wilson Center's Cold War History Project's Bulletin, Issue 17/18 Fall 2012. I especially mean the collection of documents which were obtained by Oldřich Tuma and edited by James G. Hershberg, see for instance pp. 349-400.

⁴ There was a shipment of 2000 tons of Soviet-made armaments from Czechoslovakia to Guatemala in May 1954. See <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol44no5/html/v44i5a03p.htm> (25.08.2013). For further details on this shipment of guns to Guatemala see Newton, J. (2011), *Eisenhower. The White House Years*, New York:Anchor Books, 166-169.

⁵ Besides the documents mentioned earlier, you can also see: Cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Cuban intelligence services, Prague, January 11, 1967. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112974> (5.08.2013); Operation MANUEL: origins, development and aims, Prague, November 17, 1967 (5.08.2013; http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/19671117_Report.pdf (5.08.2013); Complaint by [Government of] Brazil Regarding Czechoslovak Transport of Guerrilla Fighters from Cuba to Latin America http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/19671107_Report.pdf (5.08.2013).

⁶ Just one example from the American side is that during the Ronald Reagan years the USA delivered 'Stinger' rockets to the Afghan Islamic insurgents, commencing from April 1986. See O'Sullivan, J. (2010): *Az elnök, a pápa és a miniszterelnök. Helikon-Heti Válasz*, 264.

⁷ Woodrow Wilson Center's Cold War History Project's Bulletin, Issue 17/18 Fall 2012. Collection of documents which were obtained by Oldřich Tuma and edited by James G. Hershberg, 349-400.

⁸ See Shultz, R. H. and Godson, R. (1984), *Dezinformatsia. Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*, Washington : Pergamon-Brassey's, 25. From 1955 to 1986, Ponomaryov was the chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and also in charge of the World Communist Movement.

⁹ Shultz and Godson, 1984:24-25, 54.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 172.

¹¹ Wilson Center Digital Archive. 'Secret Agreement Between Cuba and the USSR Regarding Exchange of Special Materials,' August 04, 1961, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Cuban documents released for the International Conference, 'La Crisis de Octubre,' October 2002. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110873> (25.08.2013). Agreement between the the Republic of Cuba and the USSR regarding a provision of special materials to Cuba and payment for these materials. The document was made possible with support from the War History Foundation. See <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/82/cuban-foreign-relations/2> (25.08.2013)

¹² English, R. (2012), *Armed Struggle. The History of the IRA*, London: Pan Books, 88-92.

¹³ Some secret documents were published by WikiLeaks Slovakia as a revenge for sentencing Bradley Edward [resp Chelsea Elisabeth] Manning for 35 years of imprisonment. See <http://www.wikileaks-slovensko.org/archives/321> (22.08.2013)

¹⁴ Wojdon, J. (2013) 'When History Education Outruns Historical Research', *Jahrbuch/Yearbook/Annales of International Society for History Didactics*, 34, 234.

Further readings

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Fischerné Dárdai, Á. and Mészáros, C. E. (2004) 'Afrika-kép a magyar történelem- és földrajz tankönyvekben', *Iskolakultúra*, (11), 53-69.

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- Shultz, R. H. and Godson, R. (1984), *Dezinformatsia. Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*, Washington : Pergamon-Brassey's.
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**THE HISTORY OF COLONIALISM
AND DECOLONIZATION
IN THE RUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM
AND THE CHALLENGES TO HISTORY DIDACTICS**

Alexander Khodnev

The history of colonialism, decolonization, and post-colonial development is a component of the Russian educational curriculum in history at secondary school. From the 7th until 11th year at school the pupils become familiar with stories of European overseas colonization, decolonization and post-colonial development, and with the problems of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Russian historians are not entirely clear how to interpret that part of the history of the Russian state which has been linked to colonial expansion and Russian policy in the East. Was this policy linked to 'Orientalism' in the spirit of interpretation of Edward Said? A new interpretation of these problems has emerged slowly since 1991. But the schools' curriculum, educational standards and school textbooks do not say anything about Russian colonial politics and Russian colonialism in the past. Moreover the post-imperial history of Russia overshadows the story of Russian colonialism and post-colonial policies.

The history of colonialism, decolonization, and the post-colonial development of the peoples of Asia and Africa is an integrated part of the Russian educational curriculum in history at secondary school. Running from the 7th year until the 11th year at school pupils become familiar with stories of European overseas colonization, and the difficulties and different kind of atrocities and exploitation suffered by indigenous people. The history of imperialism and the creating of the huge colonial empires were a part of the history curriculum and school texts for several decades. The main discourse focused on a critical approach to European colonial politics and racism, and an empathic attitude to the native peoples' struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

A new interpretation of these problems emerged slowly and it is connected with post-colonial concepts. Post-colonialism is usually understood as an academic discipline featuring methods of intellectual discourse that explain, and respond to the cultural legacies of colonialism and imperialism. Drawing from post-modern schools

of thought, post-colonial studies analyze first of all the politics of knowledge (its creation, control, and distribution) by examining the functional relations of social and political power that sustain colonialism. As a genre of contemporary history, post-colonialism questions and interprets modes of cultural perception to do with ways of viewing and being viewed.¹

Post-colonial problems in the Russian humanities are just beginning to be studied. A well known Russian academician, Apollon B. Davidson, devoted his article to this issue. He noticed an important feature in modern Russian studies of the external world, and especially Asia and Africa, was that with the collapse of the Soviet Union the interest in Africa, for instance declined severely, although the region's 'importance in world politics, economy, culture and population in recent decades did not fall, but rose sharply'.² He also called upon Russian researchers to do more intensive study of post-colonial Africa, and stressed that investigating the multiplicity of approaches and postcolonial theories 'requires a big job from Russian historians', that was interrupted nearly three decades ago.³ This situation in the field of Russian academia complicates the whole educational context of teaching the history of colonialism and decolonization.

One additional feature of the present schools' curriculum and educational standards illustrates that neither the standards nor the textbooks say anything about Russian colonial politics and Russian colonialism in the past.

1. Features of the Russian Perception of the History of the East, Colonialism and Decolonization

The history of colonialism and decolonization in Russian terminology was described from a geographical point of view: 'The History of the East'. In other words, this title emphasized the space where the processes of formation of colonial empires, and then their collapse in the 20th century, occurred. In the middle of the 20th century this area of knowledge in the Soviet Union also became known as the 'History of countries of Asia and Africa', obviously stressing the second part of the process – decolonization.

Where did the East begin in the perception of a Russian? Many authors have underlined that the East for the Russian people was a complex image. Geographically and politically Russia from the 13th

century was associated with the East, it was also subjected to invasions from the East. The Russian state began its expansion to the East during the 16th century. In 1552, the Muscovy kingdom conquered the Khanate of Kazan, formed in 1438 as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde, and in 1556 the Astrakhan Khanate became a part of Muscovy. This changed the position of the Russian state on the eastern frontier. Kazan, and more importantly Astrakhan, became eastern borders of the Russian state line. It is logically to be recalled that in fact only after these events the entire river Volga from the Valdai to the Caspian Sea was seen as a symbol of Russia. These events had also become a prologue to the forging of a Russian identity on the basis of key binaries: Russian /non-Russian, Orthodox /non-Orthodox.

Tsar Peter I strongly moved Russia toward the West, while leaving in the new imperial state many of the signs of oriental despotism. The main idea of Peter the Great was the creation of a regular state, similar to the absolutist regimes in Europe. At the same time Russia remained quite outlandish to the European political views of the 18th century. Under the successors of Peter Russia continued territorial expansion in all directions. The eastern and southern borders of the Russian state moved farther. And Kazan, once perceived as a horizon of civilization and the Russian border with the East, found itself in the beginning of the 19th century at the center of a vast empire. However, the Kazan University was created as the first research center of the Eastern studies outside St. Petersburg. At the same time, there existed for Russians a new object of study in the East: the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus, Persia, China, and India. The next wave of interest to the East was associated with an advance into Central Asia in 1880s.

This brief excursion into the history of Russian expansion to the East and the growth of interest in the subject of the history of colonialism suggests perspectives on the perception of the East (the colonial world) in Russia. So far, Russian historians are not entirely clear how to interpret that part of the history of the Russian state which has been linked to colonial expansion and Russian policy in the East. Was this policy linked to 'Orientalism' in the spirit of Edward Said's interpretation? In other words, was it mere domination and justification of authority over the nations, furnished with academic institutions, or was there something else? For example,

soft and liberal actions were carried on related to the fact that the conquered territories were not separated from the center of empire by the seas.

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century saw the rise of new political movements. One was alien to the colonial rule. Nationalism was gaining strength as an ideology and policy worldwide. The second was connected with the constructing by all big states of empires. In Russia at the turn of the 20th century nation-building and maintaining imperial structures were not considered incompatible. It seemed for many Russian intellectuals that the territorial durability of the Russian Empire provided additional opportunities for the political and cultural integration of the imperial periphery.⁴ The history of Russian colonization and the accession of non-Russian peoples were connected with the new trend. According to the analysis of Russian historian A.B. Zubov 'There is no doubt that before 1917, the Great Russians, or, more broadly, the Orthodox eastern Slavs, was seen as, de facto, the principal nation of the empire'.⁵ At the same time the Russian Empire was considered by many Russian intellectuals as the space where all non-Russians could develop their nations.

The upheavals of 1917 meant a big change in Russian colonial policy. As a result of these changes some reforms were carried out regarding national autonomy in the former Russian Empire. Several entities such as Poland, Finland and the Baltic republics secured sovereignty and established their own nation states. Others enjoyed ethnic autonomy at least in the 1920s. For instance in the early 1920s the representatives of national minorities had leading positions in the newly created ethnic autonomous areas of the Soviet Union.⁶ Many of these events gave historian T. Martin the opportunity to describe the policy of the Soviet Union in the national regions of the country as 'The Affirmative Action Empire' at least in 1920s.⁷

The next important turning point in the interpretation of the history of colonialism occurred in the Soviet period in the middle of the 20th century. The Second World War changed global order. Under the influence of positive changes brought about by the end of the Second World War, the colonial empires disintegrated. The new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, strengthened his political power after the death of Stalin in 1953, and called for some openness to the world, supporting national liberation movements and the struggle

against imperialism. All this was called a policy of 'proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the peoples of the colonies'.⁸ The Soviet Union believed that 'proletarian internationalism' provided conditions for the convergence of all peoples enhancing their prosperity and rapprochement, and opposed nationalism. Vladislav Zubok, researcher of Soviet foreign policy, rightly emphasizes that 'for many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, recently liberated from colonialism, the Soviet way of development of the society seemed extremely attractive'. In Soviet society in the 1960s there was a special atmosphere associated with the expression of sympathy and support for peoples of the colonies and of newly independent countries. A large part of Russian society supported the efforts of Nikita Khrushchev to expand Soviet influence in the world, especially the course taken by him to assist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.⁹

The new politics set new challenges for Soviet Oriental scientists. During Stalin's life, in 1950, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences was transferred from Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) to Moscow and was significantly expanded. Since 1957 the publication of the scientific journal 'Soviet Oriental Studies' began. Also in 1957 came the monthly scientific and socio-political magazine 'Modern East' (subsequently published from 1961 under the title 'Asia and Africa Today'). The Africa Institute was established in Moscow as part of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1959. Since 1961, a new mandatory academic discipline, 'the History of Asia and Africa' appeared in the educational programs of all departments of history in all higher educational institutions (universities and pedagogical institutes) of the Soviet Union. New textbooks were published, and educational programs in Eastern (Asia and Africa) studies in graduate schools were expanded, mostly in Moscow and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg).

Everything changed again after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After 1991, the system of teaching so-called social sciences (history of the CPSU, historical and dialectical materialism, scientific communism) failed. Representatives from different disciplines made various proposals about how to replace Soviet social sciences in education. For example, ethnographers seriously suggested supplying the school and university curriculum with an ethnography course intended to familiarize students with the features of cultures of

different peoples and ethnic relations. This course could give the pupils knowledge about the cultures of the colonial peoples.¹⁰ However, officials of the Ministry of Education replaced the former Social Studies courses with courses such as 'History of Russia' and 'Culture'.

2. Which Kind of Colonial Empire was the Soviet Union?

Extreme estimates of modern Russia's position in the world and the search for a new identity appeared after 1991. For example, a professor in the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of Florida, Dragan Kujundzic, wrote in 2000 that Russia was a post-historical state or was even 'out of history'.¹¹ In the minds of many Russians the collapse of the Soviet empire still leaves a deep impression. In 2005 President Vladimir Putin called in the collapse of the Soviet Union 'the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century'.¹² The current political leadership periodically tries to reunite the incompatible: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Central Asia. Such political imagining cannot but influence how Russian history is understood.

Indeed, the late 1980s saw the beginning in the national regions of Russia of a revision of the previous relationship to history, and condemnation of Russian colonialism. One well-known example is associated with the celebration in 2005, the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Kazan. In August 2005, the newspaper 'Izvestia' said that after the reconstruction of a street called after St. Petersburg in Kazan, which was allocated money from the government of St. Petersburg, it was decided to erect a monument to Peter I. But several community organizations in Kazan opposed the monument under the slogan: 'No to the construction of a monument to the Russian colonizer of Tatarstan!'¹³ Moscow authorities prefer not to pay attention to these developments, or reconsider the past policy of the Russian state with regard to the national regions.

In an informative article Laura Adams, specialist in the history of Central Asia, raised the question, 'What kind of empire was the Soviet Union?' In her view, the Soviet Union was similar to an Empire in the sense that the state exercised political domination over a geographically vast territory and imposed a hierarchical management structure (based in Moscow) on ethnically diverse populations. But this state was in many ways not like other European

empires. The most significant differences were caused by its focus on the modernization and political mobilization of the periphery. Because of this, the Soviet government was much more aggressive than other colonial powers in attacking the inner, spiritual world of people whose integrity inhabitants of Central Asia and other regions were trying to defend. It was the type of empire which can be described as a hybrid of centralized empire and the state, aimed at modernizing the periphery. However, according to L. Adams the theory of post-colonialism is applicable to the post-Soviet reality.¹⁴

Another important assessment of Russian colonialism and post-colonial reality is given in the works of Vera Toltz. She argues that Said's book finds a textual match with the article 'Orientalism' from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (1951). It is a quite unexpected association.¹⁵

The situation in the research field of the history of Russian colonial policy is changing slowly. In 2010 there appeared a fresh group of researchers in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. This group focuses on post-colonial reality in the regions of Russia, Central Asia, the Caucasus and Volga-Ural region. The English name of the Centre is the Central Eurasia Research Center (CERC). The Centre declares its official purpose as 'The study of Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Volga-Urals region, or Central Eurasia, which belongs to the most important, actual and perspective directions of scientific researches in the field of Russian Oriental studies'.¹⁶

The post-Soviet or post-imperial history of Russia, or the search for a worthy place for Russia in the world, is overshadowed by the story of Russian colonialism and post-colonialism in contemporary Russia.

3. Challenges of Teaching the History of Colonialism, Decolonization, and Post-Colonialism in Modern Russia

The modern context of history didactics in Russia is bound up with the previous period of the Soviet Union. Even if modern attempts by the Russian government to revive some of the features of life in the Soviet Union are not taken into account, it should be recognized that there is a certain continuity with the previous epoch. This is clear in the case of historiography, as many from the new generation of postgraduates are still sharing ideas in the scientific schools which

appeared in the middle of the 20th Century. Old institutions and centers of the study of the history of Asia and Africa are preserved from the Soviet era. Old approaches to teaching and learning about the East and the colonial and post-colonial world are retained. For example, a special course: 'The history of Asia and Africa in modern and contemporary times' is still included in the curricula of history departments (basic educational programs) of the universities. In this course the history of colonialism and the history of colonial empires in Asia and Africa are studied, and more emphasis is given to the study of the anti-colonial movements of the Afro-Asian peoples. At the same time the discussion and development of a new theory of post-colonialism became more energised in recent years especially after the translation into Russian of Edward Said's 'Orientalism'. The book was published in Russian in 2006. However the Eurocentric approach to history teaching still dominates even in the universities' lecture rooms.

The school history context has changed considerably in recent decades. The first Russian Federations Law 'On Education' appeared in 1992. Under this law, the concentric (two stages) system of teaching history was introduced. This meant that universal (world) history and the history of Russia were synchronously taught from 5th to 9th class and in the 10th and 11th grade universal history and the Russian history were studied again at a deeper level. This system of teaching existed until 2012. The majority of history textbooks were adapted to the two-stage concentric structure of history education.

In September 2012 Russian pupils began to explore the new Federal State Educational Standard for basic general education (5-9 grades). New state educational standards of secondary (complete) general education (grades 10-11) were also approved in May 2012. The new directives are based, wonderfully, on developing teaching/learning and socialization of students. At the core of the basic educational program is a system-activity approach, which involves, among other important elements of education, tolerance, dialogue between cultures and respect for the multinational, multi-linguistic, multicultural and multi-religious composition of the Russian Federation.¹⁷ The Federal Educational Standard developed the idea of the two-stage concentric system of the history education.

Major Russian political forces intervened several times in the process of educational reform. President Vladimir V. Putin

demanding in February 2013 that there should be one concept of Russian history teaching and one textbook. According to Putin the concept of the textbook should represent official state of view.¹⁸ In April 2013 the head of the Russian State said: 'This year's recommended history textbooks list includes 65 textbooks – is this normal? Some of the key things are known only to specialists, and this must be corrected'. 'Some young people do not realize that the acts of bravery of veterans are for their own pride'. They do not feel the connection with the heroes of the past years. Putin said, these things happen, due to the lack of formal (state) assessment of historical events. The Head of State noted that the textbooks should be designed for different ages, but 'built under a single concept, within the logic of continuous Russian history, the relationship of all its stages, and respect to all the pages of our past.'¹⁹

Such remarks by the head of state in another country would lead to a discussion in the teachers unions and academia, and their consideration or abandonment. There was another outcome in Russia. The state commission was established, headed by the chairman of the State Duma Sergei E. Naryshkin. The work on the creation of the textbook is in the hands of the Russian Historical Society (RIO), a wholly official organization founded in 2012 with the aim of the 'development of the national historical enlightenment' in Russia. The result of this political pressure is clear: to make a history that the group from the Kremlin will like.

The new concept of Russian history, the 'Historical and cultural standard', was prepared by September 2013. It contained some evaluations. For example the famous period of Mongol sovereignty over Russian principalities in 13th – 15th centuries is now termed 'the system of dependence of Russian lands from the Horde khans' instead of 'Tatar-Mongol yoke' in the past.²⁰

The 9th point of the 'Historical and cultural standard' suggests that the content of the course of history in high school 'should be radically revised' under the 'so-called 'Concentric' system of teaching history'.²¹ These comments were understood in the teaching community as a turn to the linear system of teaching history in the near future. However, opening the competition to compile the new line texts in history was postponed. This delay might be connected with an idea of creating a new concept of World history teaching.

The present way of conceiving the teaching of history in Russia offers two largely opposing views on colonialism and decolonization. The first is linked with the teaching of universal history or the history of other countries (not Russia), other empires and the colonial conquests which they carried out. This approach is more or less clear: the teachers need to demonstrate how Western countries established their colonial empires, how indigenous peoples confronted colonialism, anti-colonial struggles, such as the Sepoy Mutiny in India in the middle of the 19th century, and the condemnation of colonialism in the style of post-colonial theories.

For instance, the textbook for 7th grade portrays colonization as a result of the great geographical discoveries or the 'Western European colonization of the new lands'.²² The 8th form text adds more information about the colonial history in the 19th Century. It is said that until the 19th Century the colonial powers were engaged in an unequal trade in the colonial areas. But in the 19th Century, the picture changed. This is the age of colonial conquest by industrial capitalism. The old system of colonialism gave way to the colonial system of imperialism. The West did not just rob the colonies, but it penetrated all areas of life: political, economic, social, and spiritual.²³ As mentioned already, the school text speaks about the Sepoy Mutiny in India in 1857. In the text there is a question for the pupils to discuss: 'What was the Great uprising in India in 1857: the war against British rule, or war for a return to the old traditions?'²⁴ This assignment shows that the contents of historical interpretation had changed in recent years. In Soviet times such questions were prohibited in teaching and the rebellion in India should have only one explanation: the Great uprising was against British rule.

History texts for the 9th grade explore the history of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. For instance L. Aleksashkina's text gives a detailed account of decolonization process and post colonial development of peoples of Asia and Africa with some abstracts from historical sources. This part of the text is one of the most extensive. The principal process is called 'the Collapse of the colonial empires and the liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa from colonial and semi-colonial dependence'. Alternative ways of development for the independent countries are depicted as a choice between the capitalist and the 'non-capitalist' or socialist orientation.²⁵ The text says that a large portion of the young states maintained the 'capitalist

orientation', inherited from the former colonial powers. 'Non-capitalist' or socialist orientation have been chosen by smaller number of countries. In the 1960s, there were about 30 states that declared socialist orientation. By the end of 1980 only 10 states remain. Next is a description of the reforms in these countries (Algeria, Syria, Afghanistan, Angola, and Ethiopia).²⁶ It is clear that the author gave absolutely no information about the way development in Angola, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan was accompanied by long-lasting armed conflicts and wars. According to the text the special third or fourth way of development has been selected by Iran and Libya. In Iran, an Islamic state was built with a 'leading role in the society of the Islamic clergy'. On Libya it is said that the 'leader of the revolution on September 1' Muammar Gaddafi set up a regime under which there governs 'neither party, nor class, nor parliament, but all the people through public meetings and committees'²⁷. It is clear that this textbook lags behind present scientific interpretations. The text gives an important lesson to pupils that newly independent countries in the world today 'resist neo-colonialism, as a system of unequal economic and political relations imposed by the leading industrial nations and transnational corporations'.²⁸ Nevertheless there is some underestimation of the issue of decolonization and post-colonial development in the text. In the section 'Questions and tasks for the final repetition of' there is no question about the process of decolonization and the collapse of the colonial empires as one of the key processes of the 20th century.

The second area of discussion on colonialism is related to the assessment of colonial policy in Russian history, the Russian and then the Soviet empire, and the approach to the Russian and Soviet colonial experience. In this case, the tone of presentation of educational material related to the history of colonialism changes immediately. Evaluations of Russian State policy towards the conquered peoples in the approved textbooks show elements of Russian patriotic nationalism. At the very least, all the attempts of new nation-states that have emerged from the Soviet Union to create their own national histories from the standpoint of decolonization and condemnation of Russian colonialism are considered destructive and are estimated negatively in Moscow. In the special report about school history textbooks in the former Soviet states it was stressed that these new assessments, which appeared in the neighboring

countries, 'flip their evaluation 180 degrees', 'showing only the negative in history', 'destroying a common history and the common past of the peoples' which lived in Russia and in the Soviet Union.²⁹

The new concept of Russian history mentioned above, 'Historical and cultural standard', suggested the same line of very careful pro-state moderate patriotic nationalism. There are such topics as 'Inclusion in the Russian State of the Left-Bank Ukraine' and 'Completion of joining to the Russian State of Siberia', 'Joining to Russia of Belarus and Lithuania' and 'Joining Central Asia with Russia'. The new part in the Standard 'Ethno cultural image of Empire' proposes units such as 'Russian' in the imperial consciousness', and 'Interaction of cultures and peoples'.³⁰ This approach contrasts with the present historical interpretations. For instance the new Standard does not pay attention to the concept of Russia as an Inland Empire that practiced internal colonialism not only towards the indigenous peoples of the periphery but also to Russian peasant who was considered by Russian noble men nearly the same as backward population of the colonies or 'eternal children'.³¹

Another vast problem of teaching the history of colonialism is connected with politics in education and the bureaucratic approach to it. Following patriotic rhetoric, the local education administrators usually suggest in their instructive messages to the history teachers teaching Russian and universal history (World history) that the proportions be distributed 60 percent and 40 percent. They think that more Russian history means rousing more patriotism in the minds of pupils. In many cases it presents reverse results. And in these circumstances the important issues of colonial and postcolonial experiences from world history are omitted in the school course. The famous Moscow history teacher Tamara Eidelman touched on the problem of lack of time for the lessons of world history. She confirmed that the subject of current history, in which we study the completion of the history of colonialism and the collapse of the colonial empires (decolonization), is usually reduced by school teachers. 'This is a section of the school curriculum which, alas, teachers have to sacrifice mostly' in order to prepare for the examination in Russian history, and to arrange pupils knowledge for the Unified State Exam.³² There was a practice of evaluating the governors of the Russian regions by the results of the Unified State

Exam. Political leaders in the regions where the graduates score lower result may suffer some punishment from Moscow. This circumstance forces teachers to give up making extensive educational programs about history and social studies and instead concentrate efforts on preparing pupils for the Unified State Exam that mainly assesses Russian history.

The story of colonialism and post colonial realities could be good cases in reaching the goals in history teaching and developing pupils' critical thinking and analysis of texts, using the methods of search and selection of information, comparing different points of view, and distinguishing facts and their interpretations.³³ There are many concerns for Russian teachers of history in reviving the pupils' interest in the subject of colonial history and post-colonialism, and in searching out an adequate way of teaching and learning of these stories.

Conclusion

It can be seen that the concept of a history of colonialism and the post-colonial period for the East, and for Asian and African countries, from a Russian perspective were always associated with certain geographical spaces: Kazan, the Ottoman Empire, India, Persia, China, and Africa. It is also important for this concept that the Soviet Union supported liberation from colonial rule of the African peoples as Soviet allies in the struggle against western imperialism. It seems that this interpretations with some reduction remains in the present educational context.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the interpretations of the history of colonialism in Russia became connected with the issues of nationalism, nation building and protecting the empire. The first years of the Soviet Union revealed an ambiguous process that led to the special interpretation of this period as 'The Affirmative Action Empire'. The Soviet Union is also described as a hybrid of centralized empire and the state, aimed at forced modernization of the periphery. And it is important to stress that the theory of post-colonialism is applicable to the post-Soviet reality.

The history of colonialism, decolonization, and post-colonial peoples is seen as an integrated part of World (Universal) history curriculum and is supposed to be taught at secondary school from

7th to 11th grade. Russian textbooks contain stories of European overseas colonization and different kind of atrocities and exploitation suffered by indigenous people. Russian texts conventionally offered much information about the struggle of Asian and African peoples for their National independence.

In spite of the fact that there are texts and topics on colonialism and decolonization it is no simple thing in modern Russian educational practice to integrate the course of the history of Asia and Africa (the history of colonialism and post-colonial period) in general classroom practice. As such, there are no conditions and opportunities even for teaching many topics of world history as was the case in preceding years. The emphasis in school training is routinely concerned with Russian history and preparing for the Unified State Exam. At the same time the questions of colonial policies in the ages of the Russian and Soviet Empires are gently removed from the curriculums and the school texts.

The history of post-colonialism is often confused with post-Soviet or post-imperial Russian history. In the school curriculum the Russian post-imperial crisis overshadows post-colonialism and the history of Asia and Africa. Moreover in recent years, the Russian government has sought to put into practice the informing idea for taught history that the policy of the Russian state in virtually all periods of its history was always correct, and was especially so in the area of the national question, where it conveyed to the conquered/'attached' peoples order and development.

Notes

¹ Hawley J. (2001), ed., *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, Westport, Connecticut – London: Greenwood Press, 2001, 359-360.

² Davidson, A. (2012) 'Satnovlenie istoricheskoi mysli v Afrike. Problemy izucheniia', *Novaya i noveisbaia istoriia*, 3, 48.

³ Ibidem., 49, 51.

⁴ Toltz, V. (2013) '*Sobstvenny Vostok Rossii: Politikaidentichnosti i vostokovedenie v pozdneimperskii i rannesovetskii period*', Moskva: NovoeLiteraturnoeObozrenie, 43.

⁵ Zubov, A.B. (1994) 'The Soviet Union: From an Empire into Nothing?' *Russian Social Science Review*, 35 (3), 59.

⁶ Toltz (2013), 203.

⁷ Martin, T. (2011), *Imperia 'polozhitelnoi deiatelnosti'. Natsii i natsionalism v SSSR, 1923-1932*, Moskva: ROSSPEN, 10.

- ⁸ Zubok, V. (2011), *Neudavshaiasiimperii: SovetskiiSouz v bolodnoivoineotStalina do Gorbacheva*, Moskva: ROSSPEN, 260-261.
- ⁹ Ibidem, 264.
- ¹⁰ *Antropologicheskii forum*. 2005 (3), 26-27.
- ¹¹ Kujundzic, D. (2000) "After": Russian Post-Colonial Identity, *MLN*, 75 (5) *Comparative Literature Issue*, 892-893.
- ¹² 'Poslanie Federal'nomu Sobraniu Rossiiskoi Federatzii. 25 April 2005. Moskva. Kreml', <http://archive.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2005/04/87049.shtml>
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- ¹⁴ Adams, L. (2009) 'Primenimali postkolonial'naia teoriia k Tzentral'noi Azii?', *Neprikosnovennii zapas*, 4 (66), [http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2009/4/am5.html\(30.08.2013\)](http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2009/4/am5.html(30.08.2013)).
- ¹⁵ *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2010 (105), [http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2010/105/ge46.html\(31.08.2013\)](http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2010/105/ge46.html(31.08.2013)).
- ¹⁶ Institutvostokovedinia// [http://www.ivran.ru/institute-structure/scientific-centers/25-centre-of-central-asia-and-caucasus\(14.09.2013\)](http://www.ivran.ru/institute-structure/scientific-centers/25-centre-of-central-asia-and-caucasus(14.09.2013)).
- ¹⁷ *Federal'ny gosudarstvenny obrazovatel'ny standart srednego (polnogo) obrazovania*. Moskva: Ministerstvo obrazovaniya i nauki RF, 17 05. 2012, 4-5.
- ¹⁸ 'Prezident: Uchebniki istorii dolzhny imet edinuyu kontseptziyu', [http://www.rg.ru/2013/04/25/uchebnik-anons.html\(31.08.2013\)](http://www.rg.ru/2013/04/25/uchebnik-anons.html(31.08.2013)).
- ¹⁹ Ibidem.
- ²⁰ Istoriko-kul'turny standart. Proekt, 2013:10.
- ²¹ Ibidem,7.
- ²² Yudovskaia, A.Ya., Baranov, P.A., Vanyushkina, L.M. (2009), *Vseobshchaia istoriia. Istorii novogo vremeni, 1500-1800. 7 klass. Uchebnik dlia sbkol*. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 20.
- ²³ Yudovskaia, A.Ya., Baranov, P.A., Vanyushkina, L.M. (2012), *Vseobshchaia istoriia. Istorii novogo vremeni, 1800-1900. 8 klass. Uchebnik dlia sbkol*, Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 239.
- ²⁴ Ibidem, 260.
- ²⁵ Aleksashkina, L. (2012), *Vseobshchaiaistoriia. 20 – nachalo 21 veka. 9 klass. Uchebnik dlia obsheobrazovatel'nykh uchrezhdenii*, Moskva: Mnemozina, 208.
- ²⁶ Ibidem.
- ²⁷ Ibidem. 209.
- ²⁸ Ibidem. 210-211.
- ²⁹ *Osveshchenie obshei istorii Rossii i narodov postsovetsskikh stran v sbkol'nykh uchebnikakh istorii novykh nezavisimykh gosudarstv*. Moskva: Gosudarstvenny klub, 2009, 249-251.
- ³⁰ Istoriko-kul'turny standart. Proekt, 2013: 15, 24, 25.
- ³¹ Khramov, A. (n.d.) 'Kolonial'naya iznanka evropeiskogo kostuma. Zametki o vnutrennem kolonializme v rossiiskoi imperii (XVIII –nachalo XX v.)' [http://a-hramov.ru/upload/image/khramov_internal_colonialism.pdf\(30.08.2013\)](http://a-hramov.ru/upload/image/khramov_internal_colonialism.pdf(30.08.2013)).
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POST-SOVIET OR POST-COLONIAL HISTORY IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS?

Marat Gibatdinov

The principal objective of this paper is to demonstrate the possibility of using the postcolonial approach in contemporary school textbooks for Russian history. A new Concept of history education and Concept of common history textbook are a growing problem in Russia last ?in recent years? years. The Government tries to use textbooks as an instrument for promoting national pride and patriotism and textbook issues enter the political limelight. The main mechanisms used for establishing governmental control over the process of approving and publishing textbooks are described in the first part of paper. The Government actively promotes in textbooks only the mainstream direction of Russian historiography which denied the validity of the postcolonial approaches to Russian history. The main characteristics of this neo-conservative wave in Russia, its influence on textbooks and the main subject-matter of the current debates about new history textbooks are analysed in the paper with the particular focus to the image of indigenous peoples (non-ethnic Russians inhabitants of Russia) and the place for their histories in modern Russian history textbooks and in the new Concept of teaching of Russian History.

1. Textbook Publishing and Approval System in Russia

There are sharp debates in contemporary Russia about the content of history education, and also about didactical and methodological approaches to studying and teaching Russian history in schools (especially as regards the Soviet and post-Soviet periods). And there are different inclinations among historians, such as those with a westernized 'liberal direction'; patriotic, national loyalists; and different left wingers (social-democratic, communistic etc.).¹ But not all of these directions are evident in modern textbooks because there is no free textbook-market in Russia. You can print any kind of book, you can call it a 'textbook', a 'manual', 'teaching materials' etc., but you are not allowed to use it in school.

To print a regular textbook first you should get an official certificate from the Russian Ministry of Education, which permits the publisher to print textbooks (there are 4 or 5 recognised publishing

houses for all of Russia). Then you will need the textbook officially approved by the Russian Ministry of Education – ‘recommended’ or ‘allowed to use in school’. The Ministry can provide this only after two expert analyses, and only two institutions in Russia allowed to do these – the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Academy of Education (both Academies are under strict state control, the Russian President² and prime ministers³ *appoint and authorise the presidents* of these Academies). No other approach for producing a textbook is possible save securing official approval by the government.

2. The Neo-Conservative Wave in Russia

It should be noted that the current mainstream orientation of historiography in Russia has developed under strong conservative influence – especially that of patriotic, national loyalists (the great-power nationalists – supporters of strong government authority). The new conservative (even reactionary) wave in Russian public opinion and in historiography has become more and more visible and influential, and is actively supported and promoted by Government.

The main characteristics of this orientation, supported by A. Dugin⁴, S. Kurginjan,⁵N. Narochnitskaya⁶ etc., can be characterised as follow:

- By its anti-westernism and anti-globalism;
- By its idealizing of Orthodox Christianity’s role in Russian History;
- By its apology for strong centralized power.⁷

For representatives of this orientation any kind of postcolonial studies approach is absolutely unacceptable – Russia is not even recognised as a colonial empire. If they compare the Russian empire with other colonial empires of the Early modern and Late modern periods (for Russia, the 18th-20th cent.) – they argue it was a special kind of empire which was very ‘kind’ to the people, or was a ‘velvet, paternalistic empire’ which did not exploit the colonies but developed ‘incorporated territories’ bringing modern European knowledge, and civilization to the ‘attached peoples of the west’ etc. The term ‘incorporation of new territories’ in the body of the state is frequently used instead of colonial expansion or conquering, some of the authors state that it was of benefit to some ‘incorporated territories

be incorporated in to Russia'.⁸ Such ideas can easily be traced in the books of Vladimir Medinsky,⁹ one of the authors officially responsible for the elaboration of the *new history textbook concept of Russian History*:

'The Russian Empire was built on entirely different principles than the European colonial empires.... Russia has not created a colonial empire, like the countries of 'old' Europe and did not win foreign lands to live at their expense. Russian did not enslave people from other countries, nor bring them from one part of his empire to the other. They did not destroy the population of conquered countries in the mines, nor expel from their land whole tribes and nations. The Russian Empire is not like the European colonial empires. The Russian state has grown largely because the Russians were viable and active people... Russia was always surrounded by sparsely populated zone, almost undeveloped lands... The population in colonized lands loses nothing by the appearance of Russians... Was the Russian empire at war? Yes, but for the most part fighting not with future subjects [of empire], but with their sovereigns... Unlike the Europeans – the Russians were in constant contact with the people, who were part of the Russian empire. On the contrary, the European nations were almost never in contact with the population of their colonies. Therefore, Russians, unlike the Europeans, well knew the non-Russians who were part of the Russian Empire and treated them without racial and ethnic prejudice... And nothing is known about any non-Russian uprising against the Russian Empire...¹⁰ The metropolitan countries of European colonial empires grew fat on account of their colonies. But the Russian parent state shared [resources] with them [colonies] and often the situation [in the centre] was not better but worse [than in periphery] ... so Russia's was a 'crazy' empire ... An empire which did not want (at least at the level of official foreign policy) to own colonies ... The Russian empire grew and strengthened by its new lands and peoples, but regarded these lands and peoples as equal participants of the great Russian orchestra'.¹¹

For now Russia pretends to bring western civilization to the conquered / 'attached' peoples but at the same time opposes the West – stressing the uniqueness of Russia between Europe and Asia. As Ewa Thompson said: 'Russia engaged in a massive effort to manufacture a history, one that stands in partial opposition to the history created by the West on the one hand, and on the other to the

history sustained by the efforts of those whom Russia had colonized'.¹² In recent years this trend gains support from government officials at the highest level: 'Russia cannot and will not blindly and mindlessly copy foreign models. We do not accept political correctness reduced to an absurdity, or the Western pattern of multiculturalism'.¹³

Our analyses of the main trends in the development of educational policy in Russia for the last decades show that these ideas are already implemented in practice. For instance, multiculturalism is referred to in some textbooks as a 'bad thing' and 'dangerous for Russia'.¹⁴ Another example; from 1990s till 2007 republics and other regions (constituent territories) of the Russian Federation were allowed to publish their own regional textbooks representing their own view of the common history. But these textbooks were criticized by some experts for promoting 'opposition to national historiographies' and 'a slackening of national unity of Russia'.¹⁵ As a result of the changes in the system of education in Russia, regions lost these rights.

Obviously, there is no post-colonialism without decolonization. And Russia is still in the process of post-colonial and post-soviet transition. The process of decolonization is unfinished and liberalization seems to be turned to the opposite direction – that of a reactionary, retrograde policy.

3. Back in USSR?

Large numbers of citizens in Russia still have nostalgia for the Soviet past and this nostalgia is actively promoted by Russian authorities through textbooks and school curricula. For example: 'The Soviet Union was not a democracy, but it was a benchmark and an example of a better, fairer society for millions of people around the world... For 70 years the internal policy of the Western countries was adjusted in favor of human rights under the considerable influence of the USSR, a giant superpower, which had accomplished a social revolution and won a most brutal war'.¹⁶

In today's Russia it is officially recognized that the education system in general¹⁷ and history education in particular should promote patriotic feelings among school students.¹⁸ Lately some politicians call for a change to that part of the Russian Constitution which declares: 'No ideology may be established as the state or

obligatory one'.¹⁹ Some even propose to revive the official state ideology²⁰ or write into the Constitution the 'exclusive role of Orthodoxy'²¹ or to declare only ethnic Russians as the 'only state-building nation' with a special privileged position in the state.²² Such ideas are proposed not only by right wing radical nationalists, but also by members of parliament from the 'United Russia'²³ and 'A Just Russia'²⁴ parties and supported even by Communist Party. But this has been rejected by a majority of Parliament Members and by representatives of some Christian and Muslim religious leaders.

To what extent are these ideas from conservative discourse promoted in history textbooks?

4. Current Debates About New History Textbook

After Putin's speech on the Presidential Council on Interethnic Relations²⁵ (February 19, 2013) declaring that 'only one history textbook is needed and it should be free from internal contradictions and dual interpretations'²⁶ the old idea about the unification of textbooks was revitalized again. The recently restored Russian Historical Association²⁷ and Russian Military Historical Society²⁸ (both directed by politicians, not by historians) were charged by government as officially responsible for the elaboration of 'The *Concept of new history textbook on Russian History*'.²⁹ *Concept* calls for history education to be used for promoting patriotic feeling: 'The aims for a patriotic grounding of the historical narrative – to educate the younger generation to be proud of their country, to be aware of its role in world history. In so doing, it is important to emphasize the mass heroism in the wars'.³⁰ As a result the 'constructive feeling and positive attitude in the perception of the country's history should prevail in school course'.³¹ Moral upbringing (close to indoctrination), instead of awareness of historical knowledge, is declared to be the first priority, (especially in the first draft of the document).

After sharp discussions authors of the *Concept* agreed to present Russian history in the broad context of European and global processes. However there is still a gap between World and Russian history narratives. Traditionally the departments of Russian history and World history are still divided in most Russian universities. And World History and 'History of Motherland' constitute two different research fields with their own historiographies, and their own

methodological approaches. It seems to be very difficult to combine these approaches. The previously declared idea of an integrated school subject -- 'Russia in/and the World'-- was not implemented in the new *Concept of Common history textbook*.

The most scandalous theories ('Sovereign Democracy';³² apology for Stalinism, excluding communism and Stalinism from the framework of totalitarian regimes;³³ Creation of Eastern bloc as the 'great achievement of Russia'; the idea of an exclusive role for Orthodoxy³⁴) actively promoted in recent years by historians, political scientists and politicians closely connected with the government, did not survive into the final version of *Concept*. Nevertheless the term 'totalitarianism' is nowhere mentioned in whole text of *Concept*.

Officially the new *Concept* promoted the use of the human dimension and a cultural approach in studying Russian history, but the history of wars and conflicts, namely political history, prevails. Analyses of *Concept* convinced us that culture and everyday life remain among the last chapters of the new textbook which will be written in line with the *Concept*. It is not only inertia in thinking among historians but also the officially declared position of government: 'The whole history of Russia – is a history of endless military confrontation, defense and military victories. And, of course, there is a need to learn from our ancestors to see how they defend their Motherland', said Vladimir Medinsky.³⁵

The main goal of the new textbooks is to serve the unification of peoples on the basis of Russian culture and an official ideology of étatism. The Russian government also plans to create a common history textbook for all post-Soviet area,³⁶ but not on the basis of consensus, respect for others' points of view and positions (Russia still does not respect and will hardly appreciate national historiographies developed for last two decades in the new independent states). Such initiatives aim to spread and reinforce the ideological influence of Russia as a means to provide an integration process in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), but this can scarcely be accepted by a majority of those countries (such as Ukraine, Georgia, Baltic states etc.) who aim to establish independent national ideas with their own national heroes and their own concepts of national history.

5. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'

As Gayatri Spivak put it in her essay 'Can the subaltern speak?': 'in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak'.³⁷ Can we use this thesis as applied to Russian history textbooks? To answer Spivak's question in the Russian case we must identify the place for the indigenous people's³⁸ histories in modern Russian history textbooks and in the new *Concept*.

Actually such histories hardly exist in the current textbooks. All topics related to ethnicity and interethnic communications mostly concentrated on:

- 'opening up' ('development'³⁹) the new lands;
- settlement, peopling of new territories;⁴⁰
- connection with the wars, invasion, revolts, deportation;
- civilizing or acculturizing mission of Russians.

So, non-ethnic Russian inhabitants of Russia are still presented in textbooks only as 'object of colonialist historiography' or as 'subject of insurgency', hardly ever as equal subject of a common history. Here is just one of many examples; how 'Russian colonization of Siberia' is represented in History textbooks:

'The Yermak's march and subjugation of Siberian Khanate. At the end of the reign of Czar Ivan the Terrible Russians had begun to make progress in the border areas of Siberian Khanate... here, in Western Siberia... Siberian Tatars, Khanty, Mansi... and other small peoples lived. All together no more than 200-220 thousand inhabitants... smaller in size, and a backward people, they were often the target for attacks and robbery by neighbors... In 1582 Yermak's troop came through the Ural Mountains and moved 'now fighting, now without fighting'... at the end of October the brave pioneer-soldiers came up to Kuchum's [last ruler of Khanate] capital... the great battle took place near the city. Kuchum's army (composed of Tatars, Khanty and Mansi) was defeated and scattered... locals started to pay a tribute to Moscow... The Eastern borders of the state were significantly extended. Inflow of goods (furs, fishes etc.) came to the European part of Russia from the Western Siberia'.⁴¹

It should be noted that apart from this fragment we can hardly find any information about Tatars, Khanty, Mansi and other non-

ethnic Russian inhabitants of Siberia in the whole textbook. A similar picture can be seen in the majority of modern Russian textbooks.

Multiperspectivity is hardly represented in textbooks; there is no place for 'other's' viewpoints. Russian-centric concepts of national history dominate, and the political history of the state and its institutions prevail over the cultural and social history.

Almost the same approach characterises the new *Concept*. There is a contradiction between the goals declared in the introductory part of the *Concept*: 'providing the preserving of pluralism of opinions and appraisal in the historical research' but at the same time 'excluding the possibility of internal contradictions and conflicting alternative interpretations of historical events, including those which are sensitive for the different regions of Russia'.⁴² As a result, authors decided to ignore those sensitive topics (such as Tatar-Mongol invasion, Horde Yoke, subjugation of Caucasus etc.) or use euphemism ('ordyntsy' instead of 'Mongol-Tatars' or 'dependence from the Khans' instead of 'Horde Yoke', or 'national operations of NKVD'⁴³ instead of 'ethnic cleansing'⁴⁴) instead of allowing different alternative interpretations. Teaching the history of multiethnic Russia, as declared in the introduction, is still not implemented in main part of *Concept*. The Golden Horde and other 'Tatar States' are still not seen as an integral part of Russian history but just as an anomaly, as well as other periods when the territories of today's Russia were under the power of the 'others', the 'States of other ethnical origin – Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland'.⁴⁵ Tatar historians begin to show in textbooks how Russia developed as a multicultural society from very beginning: 'The *Concept's* authors tries to show the 'Old Russian State' as a purely Slavic. But it is important to note that Russia was originally formed as a polyethnic society. It is obvious; the population of the ancient Russian state – its Slavic, Finnish and Turkic tribes – were engaged in a processes of cross-cultural communication and assimilation. It would be correct to show the interaction between Finnish, Slavic and Turkic peoples on two levels: as [relationships between citizens] within the state and as relationships between neighboring nations'.⁴⁶ But this is not accepted by the *Concept's* authors. Finally, the main text of the *Concept* still concentrates on the Russian people – how they create the state and enlarged its territory. The history of other peoples of Russia is only a supplement to the main narrative. The indigenous people's narrative is represented in *Concept* mostly via political history, with

cultural aspects still ignored. Such sensitive topics as the Holocaust, forcible Christianization and Russification are still ignored in the *Concept*.

Conclusion

Nowadays Russian elites are trying to find their place in a rapidly changing global context. They are faced with choosing the direction for further development: toward self-isolation or toward an open society. This choice will determine the future of postcolonial discourse in Russia, and history education and textbooks seems to be considered by the government as the instrument to promote official ideology among youth.

For now, the federal government in Russia still uses hegemonic vocabulary towards the 'others'. It follows imperial and colonial styles of thinking and pretends to the position of 'big brother'⁴⁷ not only for the subjects of the federation but also across the post-Soviet area. Russian authorities are now in permanent struggle against the new national histories developed through post-colonial approaches in the Baltic States, Ukraine and Georgia etc. However the Presidential Commission against the falsification of history (2009-2012), especially created for this reason, was closed after the three years having failed to produce the intended result. Perhaps the government understands the futility of such contending, and will have to recognize sooner or later the new national historiographies arising from the new independent states.

But on the national level the situation seems to be rather more difficult. Postcolonial studies don't fit the official ideology of promoting of national pride and patriotism and are not allowed to hold a place in secondary schools textbooks. However, recent decades clearly show that in many places in Russia their own independent schools of historiography (Tatar, Bashkir, Chechen etc.) have arisen – and sometime these can exert quite a strong influence at the regional level – so much so that in the end the federal center can't merely ignore them. Discussion around the new *Concept* of history textbook makes this perfectly clear. In the end the alternative interpretations of our common history should be recognized and allowed space in Russian textbooks. The benefits afforded us by modern communicational technologies and the development of an information-oriented society make this unavoidable.

Notes

¹ For more details see: Eliseeva N. (n.d.) 'Современное состояние исторической науки в РФ [The Present Situation in the Historical Science in Russia]', <http://rodnaya-istoriya.ru/index.php/istoriya-sovremennoie-rossii/istoriya-sovremennoie-rossii/sovremennoe-sostoyanie-istoricheskoi-nauki-v-rf.html>.

² Vladimir Putin signed a decree 'On the President of the Russian Academy of Sciences', 08.07.2013, <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/18547>.

³ Dmitry Medvedev's Decree of November 11, 2013 no. 2082-p 'On approval of Lyudmila Verbitskaya as president of the Russian Academy of Education', <http://government.ru/docs/8036>.

⁴ Aleksandr Dugin (born 1962) – a Russian political scientist, sociologist, philosopher-traditionalist, professor at Moscow State University and one of the most popular ideologists of the creation of a Eurasian empire that would be against the 'North Atlantic interests' through the integration of Russia with the former Soviet republics.

⁵ Sergei Kurginjan (born 1949) – a political scientist, theater director, founder and leader of Russian left patriotic social movement 'Essence of Time' for revival of the Soviet Union on the base of not only socialist and communist ideas but also patriotic views as well as Orthodox Christian values.

⁶ Natalya Narochinskaya (born 1948) - a politician, historian (Dr. Hab. In History) and political scientist, founder of 'Historical Perspective Foundation' (the national-conservative NGO) and director of the Paris office of the Russian Institute for Democracy and Cooperation.

⁷ Eliseeva (n.d.).

⁸ Because the postcolonial studies is not widely developed in contemporary Russian historiography, the terms 'colony' or 'colonisation' is rarely used with regard to Russia. Majority of authors prefer to use such terms as 'incorporation of new territories', 'extension of boundaries' and 'centre-peripheries' or 'center - provinces', 'national (ethnic) outlying districts'.

⁹ Vladimir Medinsky (born 1970) – a Russian politician, political scientist, PR specialist and writer. He holds the office of Minister of Culture of Russian Federation (since 2012) and was elected as the first Head of the Russian Military Historical Society (2013).

¹⁰ Author seems to 'forget' about numerous Polish and Bashkir uprisings, Cheremis's wars of liberation (1552—1557), (1571—1574), (1581—1585) after the fall of Kazan khanate (1552) etc.

¹¹ Vladimir Medinsky (2008) *О русском рабстве, грязи и "тюрьме народов". Мифы о России [About Russian Slavery, Dirt and 'Prison of Nations'. Myths about Russia]* Moscow: Olma Media Grupp, 109-290.

¹² Thompson, 2000: 24.

¹³ An Address of the Sergey Ivanov, the Head of the Presidential Administration to the World Russian People's Council on 31.10.2013, <http://che.rus4all.ru/expert/20131106/724615608.html>.

¹⁴ Polyakov L. (ed) (2008), *Обществознание. Глобальный мир в XXI веке. [Social science: global world in the 21st century: textbook for 11 grade]*, Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 71.

¹⁵ For more details see: Gibatdinov M. (2006/7) 'Teaching History in Multicultural Russia', *Yearbook – Jahrbuch – Annales of International Society of History Didactic (ISHD)*, 39-48.

¹⁶ Utkin A., Filippov A. et al (2009), *История России [History of Russia] (1945-2008). Textbook for 11 grade*, 3rd ed., Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 6.

¹⁷ President of Russia introduced a bill on the wider use of state symbols at schools, 07.11.2013, <http://iarex.ru/news/42966.html>.

¹⁸ 'Концепция духовно-нравственного развития и воспитания личности гражданина России [The concept of spiritual and moral development and upbringing of a citizen of Russia]', <http://standart.edu.ru/attachment.aspx?id=323>.

¹⁹ The Constitution of the Russian Federation. Chapter 1. 'The Fundamentals of the Constitutional System', article 13.2.

²⁰ State Duma deputy Fyodorov proposed to revive the state ideology, 29.11.2013, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/news/185149.html>.

²¹ Mizulin proposed to enter Orthodoxy in the Russian Constitution, 22.11.2013, <http://lenta.ru/news/2013/11/22/constitution/>.

²² Andrei Gorshkov's petition to the Putin 'To secure the status of Russians as the state-building nation' accessible at: <http://www.change.org/ru>.

²³ 'United Russia' – current ruling centre-right-wing party in Russia, founded by Vladimir Putin and currently lead by Dmitry Medvedev.

²⁴ 'A Just Russia' – a political party in Russia declared as social democratic, centre-left, or the moderate left, opposition party, but supported most of the conservative initiatives of government.

²⁵ Presidential Council on Interethnic Relations – a consultative (deliberative) body established by president Putin on June 7, 2012 for discussing the issues regarding the implementation of nationalities policy of Russian Federation.

²⁶ 'Putin: we need new history textbooks without ambiguities', 19.02.2013 <http://ria.ru/society/20130219/923705535.html>; 'Schoolchildren need a textbook on military history, says Putin', 14.03.2013 http://tvrain.ru/articles/shkolnikam_nuzhen_uchebnik_po_voennoj_istorii_schitaet_putin_-338718/.

²⁷ Russian Historical Association was created on June 20, 2012 for 'forming the All-Russian historical culture based on the researching and popularization of national and world history, preserving the national memory and promoting national historical education', headed by Sergey Naryshkin, the Chairman of the State Duma (The Russian Parliament). New society officially declared as the successor of Imperial Russian Historical Society (public organization of Imperial Russia founded in 1866 and dissolved in 1917). However, Imperial Russian Historical Society has already been restored as NGO in 2004, with all old statuses and internal rules.

²⁸ Russian Military Historical Society – established on March 14, 2013 by Federal Ministries of Culture and Defense according to the presidential decree signed by

Putin on December 29, 2012, as the 'public- governmental organization' for the 'researching of national military history, promoting of patriotism and prestige of military service'. The society is headed by Vladimir Medinsky, the Minister of Culture of Russian Federation, and declared as the successor of Imperial Russian Military Historical Society (1907- 1917).

²⁹ The concept of new educational complex on national history http://rushistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/2013.10.31-Концепция_финал.pdf.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 8.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 9.

³² Utkin, Filippov et al., 2009: 420-482.

³³ 'It should be mentioned that we are opposed to the concept of totalitarianism. This doctrine equate the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany, it was and is not an instrument of knowledge, but an instrument of ideological war. Nazi ideology and the ideology of Soviet Russia had nothing in common. The first was based on the exalted, fanatical nationalism, the second - on the social revolt of the masses... socialism did not proclaim national exclusiveness, did not put other people to the lowest rank... did not generate haughty arrogance.' Utkin, Filippov et al., 2009: 6-7.

³⁴ 'The History of Religions, first of all Orthodoxy, should runs through the entire content of textbook' – The Project of Historical-Cultural Standard, the first draft of the *Concept of New Textbook*, http://минобрнауки.рф/документы/3483/файл/2325/13.07.01-Проект_Историко-культурного_стандарта.pdf.

³⁵ Russian Military Historical Society opened its first congress in Moscow, 14.03.2013, http://tvkultura.ru/article/show/article_id/81122?fb_action_ids=10151331317508062&fb_action_types=og.recommends&fb_source=aggregation&fb_aggregation_id=288381481237582

³⁶ First of all for the independent states on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

³⁷ Spivak, G. (1994), 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in: P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 82-83.

³⁸ Russian Federation inhabited by the more than 160 different ethnic groups (altogether around 20% of total population), most of them not migrants but indigenous, autochthonous peoples who lives on their own historical lands, their habitats over centuries.

³⁹ Russian term 'development' (*osvoenie*) used to describe development of land, which is treated as 'empty' and requiring settlement and acculturation - the administration of territories already mastered by 'other' people.

⁴⁰ The term 'colonization' never used.

⁴¹ Sakharov A. and Buganov V. (2012), *История России [History of Russia]. Textbook for 10 grade*, 18th ed. Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 214-215.

⁴² The concept of new educational complex on national history, 3.

⁴³ NKVD – Russian abbreviation for People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (1934-1946) which responsible for mass extrajudicial executions, deportations, political assassinations and the Gulag system.

⁴⁴ The concept..., 17, 53.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁶ The expert's report made by the Institute of History, Tatarstan Academy of Sciences on the Concept of new educational complex on national history (September 11, 2013). Unpublished document from the Author's personal archive.

⁴⁷ The concept of 'big brother' was created in the Soviet Union in 1937 in order to explain 'special' leading position of Russians among of other nationalities of SU: 'Peoples of USSR proud of their big brother – the Russians – who is the first among equals in the fraternal family of peoples'. According to this concept other peoples of the USSR were declared 'younger brothers' who because of their 'backwardness' should just follow to the example of 'great Russian people'. It might be termed as the soviet interpretation of the 'White Man's Burden'.

FORUM

DEVELOPING TRANS-REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES IN MUSEUMS

Jutta Schumann and Susanne Popp

This contribution presents a concept which develops local museum objects as historic material resources for trans-regional and trans-national perspectives in historical education. It thereby especially focuses on the aim to foster “glocal” competences’ that pave the way for reflecting the ‘global’ (or trans-regional) within the ‘local’ and the local dimension in trans-regional and global connections through continuously changing the perspective from which these are considered and analysed. In order to give some sense of how museum objects can be interpreted as historic material and used in historical education in this way, the article explains seven possibilities for the reconstruction of the trans-regional and trans-cultural dimensions of museum objects. In addition it provides several examples to illustrate the seven different approaches of the concept.

‘Museums have the potential to turn material into material witnesses provided, of course, the arrangement of the objects induces well considered interrogation and cross-examination.’¹

Introduction

This paper presents a concept which develops local museum objects as historic material resources for trans-regional and trans-national perspectives in historical education.² It thereby focuses on the often multi-thematic local museums, which depict the history of the community as well as of the region, and which are particularly suitable for museum-based history education due to their geographic proximity and their local connections.³ However, this approach is also suitable for other types of museums such as art museums or for ethnographic collections that are dedicated to objects originating from non-European regions or cultures, thereby explicitly representing the ‘foreign’ and trans-regional perspective.

The concept is to be understood as bridging the gap between two equally important challenges for historical education. On the one hand, there is history education in out-of-school learning facilities; in this case, engagement with historical material sources in museums.

Detailed reasons why didactics demand the integration of museums in the history studies curriculum of general schools are not repeated here.⁴ It should be enough to point out two central aspects of historical education in museums, namely the encounter with original material sources and the acquisition of skills necessary for responsible participation in museum and history culture.

On the other hand, there is the need to encourage historical questioning and thinking which aims to find implicit trans-regional and global perspectives in historical phenomena rooted in the regionally prevailing culture and identity. This 'school of perception' is an important component of a form of historical education which wants to react to the challenges posed by a globalised lifeworld – by calling for 'glocal competences'⁵ that pave the way for reflecting the 'global' (or trans-regional) within the 'local' and the local dimension in trans-regional and global connections through continuously changing the perspective from which these are considered and the analysed.⁶ This does not merely entail recognising the trans-regional and trans-cultural aspects in those museum objects, which are locally presented as documenting local or regional history history culture, and/or cultural identity. It is equally important to experience and understand that historic material sources can often function as highly talkative and immediately tangible testimony to the trans-regional (and often also trans-cultural) processes of circulation, exchange, adaptation and transformation⁷ in which the local lifeworld was integrated at a certain time and in certain areas. It is the potential of museum objects to function as historical testimonies to trans-regional and trans-cultural cross-linking of local history which is to be explored here.

In general, there are various possibilities for the reconstruction of the trans-regional and trans-cultural dimensions of museum objects, which are systematically outlined in what follows. In their application to a specific object these possibilities may however overlap.

1. The Question of the Provenance of an Object: The Object as 'Migrant'

With regard to museums of city or regional history, which predominantly exhibit objects found in the regional vicinity, the question concerning provenance from a trans-regional point of view may appear less productive. By taking a closer look, however, it often becomes apparent that in their expanded history such objects indeed

show trans-regional and/or trans-cultural references when, for instance, they were produced elsewhere and subsequently sold and resold once or twice before ending up in the respective regions.

Even though in museums of local and regional history such trans-regional aspects are discernible only for specific objects and groups of objects, the following may well apply to all museum objects regardless of their being exhibited or not: they all have a 'history of migration', which leads them from their place of origin – perhaps covering vast distances with multiple resting-places – to their position in a specific museum. The fact that their 'story of migration' may be as exciting as a person's life story and open up further perspectives of trans-regional and/or trans-cultural questions is illustrated in the following by means of an example showing references to colonial history.⁸

Since 1753 the Akan drum has verifiably been in the possession of the British Museum in London.⁹ In 1730 the physician, scientist, and collector Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) bought the drum in Virginia/USA, assuming it was a Native American product. In giving his collection to the British Museum the drum travelled from America to England. The Native American origin was not questioned at the time being. First doubts were raised in 1906 and subsequent examinations revealed that the body of the drum with its buttons and cords dates back to Africa. Accordingly, in the 18th century this object had already traversed three continents on a historically very significant route. The object's 'history of migration' not only illustrates the occasionally most astonishing 'mobility' of past centuries, but at the same time also illuminates the former slave trade or the 'Atlantic triangular trade' between Africa, America and Europe. Furthermore, the covering of the drum also reveals trans-regional perspectives: the (possibly) North American deerskin can presumably be regarded as the result of an exchange and adaptation process between the Native Americans and the respective drum owners. Finally, also the aspect of the museumization of the object is insightful: The fact that this object is kept and exhibited in the British Museum and that this museum features an innordinate amount of objects originating from colonial times is no coincidence, but is closely tied to the colonial history of the British Empire. In that way, the collection which Hans Sloane bequeathed to the state in 1753 became the foundation of the British Museum, which was opened in 1759.¹⁰

This example shows that the 'migration history' of an object can illuminate various aspects of trans-regional interaction and interrelation. Therefore, the museum where the object has (for the time being) found its 'final' location should always be considered as also reflecting trans-regional references. In this context, it could moreover be asked why and how such a potentially well-travelled object is presented by the museum curators, and what its regional reference actually looks like.

2. The Question of the Producer: The Manufacturer as Possible Representative of Trans-regional Networks

A second way of revealing trans-regional or trans-cultural dimensions of meanings in museum objects leads to the producer/manufacturer of an object. The possibility of the object being manufactured far from the current exhibition location has already been addressed with regard to 'provenance'. However, the reverse is also possible. Thus, an object may as well be manufactured locally, but by the hands of a foreign craftsman or artist in form of commissioned work, for instance, without being closely linked to the respective region.

Trans-regional references of this kind are manifold in a city like for example Augsburg: artists and craftsmen were hired for commissioned work and for a certain time produced works in the local workshop where they not only learned from the Augsburg people, but also extended and enriched the local competences with their own skills. A classic example of this is the Dutch artist Adriaen de Vries (1545 or 1556-1626) who between 1597 and 1600 created the Hercules and Mercer fountains as part of the comprehensive reshaping of Augsburg's grand boulevard.¹¹ De Vries can be considered as an artist who was active throughout Europe in his time. Born in Den Haag, he moved to Bologna in 1580 for an apprenticeship. Thereafter he worked in Rome and Milan and later lived at the imperial court in Prague. He also took on external commissions such as for the royal court in Denmark. As a consequence, his works can be seen in many countries throughout Europe and in those days they defined a new technical state of the art since they were made via complete bronze casting.

The life of the widely travelled artist makes visible the trans-regional dimensions of his work in an easily accessible way, but even in those cases where the producer comes from the region where the

respective city or regional museum is located it may be worth taking a closer look. The artist may have travelled far beyond the boundaries of the region and thereby may have picked up 'foreign' influences, which upon his return he may have emphasised in his home region. In these cases even works of regionally active artists may indeed exhibit trans-regional influences.

In the same way, the collaboration of several producers working on one regional object can reveal trans-regional components. One example in the Augsburg region are the highly developed and meticulously handcrafted products such as the automaton clocks, *Automatenuhren*,¹² which were manufactured in Augsburg, but required the collaboration of various craftsmen. These were normally recruited from a trans-regional network.

3. The Question of Trans-regional Networks and Cultural Transfer Services

Even though the topic of trans-regional networks has already been addressed with regard to provenance and the manufacturers of museum objects it nevertheless constitutes its own category of object consultation since these trans-regional networks can be relevant on various levels: firstly – as already suggested – in manufacturing the object and secondly in the spread and reception of the object at its time, provided it was initiated or organised by trans-regional networks.

A significant example with regard to the production of objects is Augsburg's chinoiserie in the Maximilian Museum. The china, which was highly coveted throughout Europe and the colonies, was manufactured in Meißen, but, among other locations, painted in Augsburg.¹³ The templates, which were used for painting the china in Augsburg and which can be seen in the archive, predominantly drew from illustrated travel reports, which especially in the late 16th and early 17th century brought China closer to the Europeans.¹⁴ Based on the illustrations of the travel reports, but also based on further sources, pattern books were developed which were used in Europe for the manufacture of chinoiserie. The patterns were of course tailored to the prevailing European tendencies in style.

Accordingly, the Meißner chinoiserie completed in Augsburg was the result of a widespread cultural linking and transfer service which finally found its way via several networks and in several stages (dele-

gations, travellers, publishers, pattern books, porcelain painters) into the noble palaces and drawing rooms of the educated bourgeoisie.

In considering the contemporary spread of such works, the question of distribution networks and trade routes is especially informative when looking at trans-regional references. An example from antiquity is the treasure trove of Begram, today's Afghanistan, which shows that trans-regional aspects on the level of material objects can be impressively proven. In Roman times, Begram was connected via trade routes to India, China and Europe.¹⁵ In the middle of the past century, two walled up rooms were found on a site in what used to be Begram which were filled with antique art objects. A closer look at the findings, presumably collected by a retailer, reveals objects from India and China as well as crafts from Roman antiquity: fragments of a Roman glass vase, originating from the Eastern Roman Empire, were stored next to Indian ivory carvings and Chinese lacquerware.¹⁶ All the found objects can be assigned to a time period dating from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. The material resources apparently prove something which can only be gathered indirectly from text sources. In Roman antiquity several trading contacts existed which spanned many way stations and reached as far as India and China. Begram, which is situated between the large regions of Europe, India and China, therefore appears as a place where – symbolised by the various objects – different cultures come together. In connection with such findings the trans-regional perspective also has to be applied to the question of whether and to what extent knowledge about the material culture of other civilisations changes the original culture and its manufactured products. In doing so, cultural exchange and cultural transfer as well as adaptation and transformation move take centre-stage.

The two examples above particularly focus on non-European influences and cultural contacts. On the level of a craftsman or artist producing locally, trans-regional networks and economic as well as cultural links to neighbouring regions or other parts of the world may be important. Thus it is possible that a regional artist who worked solely in one place his entire life was nonetheless part of a trans-regional network. In this way, he still participated in a cultural exchange. He could have picked up and processed 'foreign' influences through correspondence and reading, but also through local encounters with 'foreign' craftspeople/artists or with local objects which mirror the influence of faraway regions.

In general it can be said that considering trans-regional networks as well as the concomitant cultural exchange and adaptation processes is vital for investigating supra-regional and especially trans-cultural aspects of 'local' museum objects. This point of view enables the local to be classified in a general context, and situated between centre and periphery as well as between actor and recipient. By establishing a general context, a single cup with Chinese patterns presented in a museum of local history becomes an object in which the local and the trans-regional levels are combined. Defined more narrowly, the 'Koppchen' (tea bowl) brings to light the connection between Augsburg and Meißen in geographical terms; in terms of distance relationships, it makes cultural contacts apparent between Augsburg and China based on travel reports and illustrations. Integration of the individual object into a wider context leads to the questioning and evaluating of the relative position of the home region within contemporary trans-regional networks.

4. The Question of an Encompassing Cultural Context

The trans-regional dimension of museum objects may be demonstrated not only by the origin and manufacture of museum objects, but also by pointing out that the object can be understood as a part of an encompassing context, i.e. with regard to the style, the history of ideas and thought or cultural practice. Augsburg's Augustus Fountain, for example, can be considered as a local representative of supra-regional phenomena – when looking at the interpretation of pre-Christian antiquity by the Renaissance and within humanism in general, or at the design of the fountain in particular with its free-standing sculptures which no longer stand in a religious context, or at the forms and practices of representing the free cities, dynasties and nobilities or rich merchants of those days. In every designated aspect the local object is not only part of a locally and regionally specific cultural heritage, but at the same time stands for the local and regional participation in a supra-regional historic phenomenon, which is also – under regionally specific conditions – locally reflected in a locally or regionally typical variation. A wide range of examples predominantly from the 19th century can be found when looking at the context of 'nation building'²⁷, 'inventions', or the new interpretations and popularisation of local and regional 'folkloric clothing'²⁸: Despite their respective individual contents the objects nonetheless aim at

expressing a specific collective identity and help people to distance themselves from others. But above all, the objects prove trans-national commonalities in the respective cultural practices as is the case with imaginative symbol production. Both perspectives of the local and the regional as well as the trans-regional and trans-national are to be developed and conveyed by engaging with museum objects. Comparison between relevant objects¹⁹ – by using the internet when appropriate or data bases which show the exhibits in other museums²⁰ – plays a constitutive role.

5. The Question of the Object's Dimension of Content

Trans-regional perspectives can be gained furthermore from the iconic and/or possibly verbal statements of the objects or paintings on two different levels: (a) The iconic (and/or where possible also verbal, i.e. written) messages of the objects explicitly deal with trans-regional historic aspects, such as cultural contact, trade contacts, migration, but also armed conflicts and disputes.²¹ (b) The iconic and/or verbal messages address far-away, perhaps even 'exotic', regions and/or cultures thereby drawing from either myth and legend, or solid knowledge, or a combination of both. These imaginings provide an impression of the concepts and ideas which certain regions at a certain time held about 'foreign' regions and cultures. They also reveal something of the active self-image too, since its projections are the basis for construction of the 'foreign'.

With regard to the first level (a) manifold examples of objects can be found on a local level, because a wide range of subjects is addressed especially when it comes to war or peaceful cultural contact. At the second level (b) objects can predominantly be found in the city or regional museums which (more or less) reflect the 'local' or regional self-image in its imaginative projection of the 'foreign'. The most obvious starting point, to be found in many local and regional museums, is artwork that interprets and mixes (originally: 'non-local') biblical themes such as Jesus's birth in Bethlehem or the worship of the 'three Wise Men of the East' with local or regional, but in any case autochthonous, details. Also paintings or material objects which focus on foreign continents or individual parts of the earth reflect the self-image of Europe and the impression of its own position in the world. From early modern times many descriptive documents can be found which highlight the historically tangible sense of superiority of

Europe toward the other parts of the world and which thereby focus on a still prevailing European-centred view of Europe's understanding of history. However, subsumed under this subheading can also be found objects which not only help to understand the self-image infused in the foreign projection, but also the 'foreign' gaze upon the home culture. With the help of this approach the other region's or culture's view of Europe can be contrasted with the home view of the respective European regions, so that the limits of the home perspective become even more apparent.

The challenges that the 'foreign' gaze may pose for the self can be illustrated by an example from the early 16th century, which in history lessons can be linked to early modern 'discoveries' and the European history of colonialism. Engaging with the highly advanced and centuries-old Benin culture²² proves, on the one hand, that the African continent is not 'ahistorical'²³ as history classes may have pupils believe. On the other hand, the topic emphasises the importance of material sources. There is only scanty written evidence to illustrate as clearly as do objects the culture of these civilisations. In Benin, the 'foreign' European or rather Portuguese colonial rulers were depicted in a special image language during the late 16th century. Those characteristics which were most important for the Edo people from Benin were especially highlighted. Richly embroidered clothing emphasises the important position of the Europeans. Hats, hair and long beards are sometimes exaggerated; oversized noses and European collars are striking. However, embroideries at the same time feature typical Edo patterns which heighten the strange impression these figures have on Europeans. Depicted Portuguese often carry large-size bracelets, so called Manillas, which were used on the African continent for monetary purposes after having been introduced by the Portuguese.²⁴ That the Europeans had problems recognising themselves in this 'foreign' picture can be illustrated by an ivory horn from West Africa, which is now in possession of the Dresdner Museum for Ethnology. On the pointy end of the horn a seated Portuguese is depicted. Apparently, recordings of the origin of the horn were lost and therefore the horn was described in a Dresden inventory as an Indian object featuring an 'unförmlich[n] Zwarck'²⁵. Not until much later was the object rightly localised and the 'shapeless dwarf' recognised for what it was: a Portuguese.

Generally speaking, many documents of non-European origin show how remarkably different the 'home' perception of oneself can

be when compared to the perception from a foreign point of view. At the same time such examples offer insights into more far-reaching complexities relating to cultural encounter, cultural transfer and cultural adaption or cultural transformation.

6. Discovering Trans-regional References by ‘Storytelling’

The trans-regional references of locally or regionally situated objects can, according to the latest theory of museum sciences, be made generally accessible through the entertaining method of ‘storytelling’²⁶. In this process, as in digital ‘storytelling’ for example, people comment on an object or era and tell their story from their perspective – as ‘co-constructors of meaning’. In doing so, the construction of the ‘story’, the subjective narration regarding the object, is foregrounded so that it becomes possible to establish historic or contemporary contexts which at first sight have little in common with the actual object. It is the narration with regard to the object which conveys possible trans-regional or cultural perspectives. Naturally, this idea can be viewed critically since a subjective perspective towards the object takes on the lead role, the degree of fictionality is hard to determine and the choice of which ‘stories’ are to be presented in the museum is more strongly influenced by curators than is the case with texts illustrated in a matter-of-fact style. Nonetheless, the advantages for museum presentation are obvious. In our context this approach can be useful in limited cases for the depiction of trans-regional and/or cultural topics in local museums when, for instance, the story of an immigrant is being told based on an object. A specific suitcase may not have anything to do with immigration. It gains its possible trans-regional and/or cultural meaning by connection to the life story of the immigrant. One example for this connection is presented in the volume ‘Reflecting Europe in its Museum Objects’ edited by ICOM²⁷, where a wardrobe trunk is exhibited as a ‘typically European’ object. Such a wardrobe trunk in itself represents travelling and not necessarily the transatlantic migration from Europe to the USA at the beginning of the 20th century. This context is only secondarily established by the story of a certain family who used this trunk for their transatlantic emigration and (their later re-) immigration.

In the context of historical education in museums, these developed ‘stories’ have to be checked for their historic validity by reference to adequate sources. A fundamentally-different historically ori-

ented storytelling approach emerges when the objects in an exhibition room are considered as a meeting of ‘migrants’ that reached their places in the exhibition in many varying ways.²⁸ With the help of sources and figures related to the history of the objects, pupils work out the ‘story of migration’ of each object in groups, employing the first person perspective. In a comparative overview, they document the (often very divergent) migratory backgrounds of objects which, on a systematic level, appear to be very similar.

7. The Deductive Approach: Objects as Representatives of Trans-regional, -Cultural and/or Global Developments

Lastly, the deductive method may be mentioned as another approach. Starting from trans-regional, -cultural, -national, European or even global lines of historic development this approach finds objects in local or regional museums which epitomize these processes in a particularly accessible way. Accordingly, this approach partially follows the ideas illustrated above in 4. ‘The Question of an Encompassing Cultural Context’, but differs in deliberately choosing one single exponent as representative of a general step in the development or process. Whereas the former is a rather comparative approach, the latter chooses one single object in the cause of didactic reduction and justifies its relevance for the encompassing historic context. For a visit to the regional museum this would imply that the pupils themselves look for objects representing, for instance, ‘the era of discovery’. For their historic engagement they might pick an astrolabe or a compass, both indispensable prerequisites for seafaring.

Further perspectives on the specifics of local and regional history may evolve subsequently by comparing the representative objects in data bases such as ‘europeana.eu’²⁹ or via the websites of other museums. Inquiring after the reasons why certain objects or object groups may be exhibited elsewhere, but not in the local on-site museum, can illuminate local history.

Summary and Outlook

The concept introduced here presents seven approaches for developing local and regional museum objects as material sources for a form of historical education which enhances the interrelation and the connection of local/regional and trans-regional or trans-cultural perspec-

tives. In looking at this concept from the viewpoint of museums it has to be noted that the exhibited objects are yet to be made (sufficiently) accessible in this way. This is also an issue for the large data base 'europeana.eu'. Consequently, history teachers first have to develop the fundamentals in cooperation with museum curators by choosing adequate objects with implicit or explicit trans-regional perspectives, which, however, are sufficiently tangible in sources and figures so that the pupils can be provided with the material necessary for active engagement. 'Adequate' in this case also means that the chosen objects should retain powerful learning potential and establish a clear reference to what is studied in history classes so that visiting the museum becomes 'worthwhile' for didactical reasons (more specifically, for working with source materials). With regard to an approach to museum objects through material and visual sources, exemplar objects are especially suitable through which pupils explore the typical trans-regional, -cultural and -national phenomena of the given epoch. Every epoch of the curriculum can be chosen for this. Additionally, virtually accessible objects on the internet or from other museums can always be included for comparative or revision purposes.

The considerable effort historical education requires when looking at the trans-regional and trans-cultural dimensions of the 'local' in regional museums, may be rewarded in a two ways: pupils' interest in discovering and researching local museum objects is fostered by the vast and often surprising historical contextualisation of the material sources. Likewise, such an approach enhances pupils' capacity to see the 'local' and the 'encompassing' as intertwined and to gain or construct immensely expanded historical meaning(s). On the one hand, the following applies to historic education in local museums: museum objects 'not only *represent* the past, but *produce* a certain relation between the visitors and the past' ('[...] *repräsentieren* nicht nur Vergangenheit, sondern *produzieren* ein bestimmtes Verhältnis der Besucher zur Vergangenheit').³⁰ But on the other hand, this is merely half the truth. The visitor is a co-constructor of the historic meaning of the object. Therefore, the pupils have to learn at an early stage to create meaningful contexts – by specifically asking (among other things) about the trans-regional dimension of the historic testimonies.

Notes

¹ Korff, G. (1993) 'Die Wonnen der Gewöhnung. Anmerkungen zu Positionen und Perspektiven der musealen Alltagsdokumentation', in Gottfried Korff, *Museumsdinge. Deponieren – Exponieren*, edited by Martina Eberspächer, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 155-66, 161. 'Im Museum kann das Zeugs zum Zeugen werden, was freilich nur dann gelingt, wenn durch die Objektarrangements überlegte Befragungsverfahren und Kreuzverhöre arrangiert werden.'

² This article focuses on the potential of museum objects to contribute to historical education by functioning as material sources. From this perspective, the objects are taken as evidence for and as references to something absent which can be (partially) reconstructed with the help of the historic objects. Focusing on this specific aspect of museum objects does not imply a general denial of the historico-didactical importance of the objects' 'aura' and the concomitant potential to encourage emotional and imaginative suggestions.

³ This concept was successfully tested at the 'Augsburger Kontaktstudientag Geschichte 2013' – a two-day advanced learning course for history teachers, organised by the Chair of History Didactics at Augsburg University – on 7-8 February, 2013. Approximately 20 history teachers, 10 trainee teachers and 10 masters' graduates (MA Mediating Culture) participated.

⁴ See, Reeken, D. von (2011) 'Historisches Lernen im Museum', in Jan Hodel and Béatrice Ziegler (eds), *Forschungsverkstatt Geschichtsdidaktik 09. Beiträge zur Tagung 'geschichtsdidaktik empirisch 09'*, Bern: hep verlag, 35-44; Padberg, M. And Schmidt, M. (2010) 'Die Magie der Geschichte. Zur Einführung', in Martina Padberg (ed) *Die Magie der Geschichte, Geschichtskultur und Museum* (Schriften des Bundesverbands Freiberuflicher Kulturwissenschaftler, Vol. 3), Bielefeld: Transcript-Verl., 11-22; Popp, S. And Schönemann, B. (eds) (2009), *Historische Kompetenzen und Museen* (Schriften zur Geschichtsdidaktik, Vol. 25), Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner; Kunz-Ott, H., Kudorfer, S. And Weber, T. (eds) (2009), *Kulturelle Bildung im Museum. Aneignungsprozesse – Vermittlungsformen – Praxisbeispiele* (Kultur- und Museumsmanagement), Bielefeld: transcript; *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik* 7 (2006). Themenschwerpunkt: Museum und historisches Lernen. Commissioned by the conference for history didactics; Hartung, O. (ed) (2006) *Museum und Geschichtskultur. Ästhetik, Politik, Wissenschaft* (Sonderveröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Kieler Stadtgeschichte, Vol. 52), Gütersloh: Verl. für Regionalgeschichte; Kunz-Ott, H. (ed) (2005), *Museum und Schule. Wege zu einer erfolgreichen Partnerschaft*, München, Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl.; Urban, A. (1999), *Von der Gesinnungsbildung zur Erlebnisorientierung. Geschichtsvermittlung in einem kommunalen historischen Museum im 20. Jahrhundert*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag; Matthes, M. (1998) 'Einführung', in Museumspädagogischer Dienst Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit der Senatsverwaltung für Schule Jugend und Sport und dem Außenamt der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Preußischer Kulturbesitz (ed) *Schule und Museum. Vom Nutzen des Museums für die Schule. Anregungen für den Unterricht in den Fächern*

Geschichte, Deutsch, Musik, Bildende Kunst, Erdkunde/Sachkunde, Berlin, Milow: Schibri-Verl.; Borries, B. von (1997) 'Präsentation und Rezeption von Geschichte im Museum', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 48, 337-43; Schneider, G. (1997) 'Bemerkungen zum Historischen Museum als Lernort', in Herbert Raisch & Armin Reese (eds) *Historia didactica. Geschichtsunterricht heute. Uwe Uffelman zum 60. Geburtstag*, Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 185-206; Grütter, H. (1997) 'Geschichte im Museum', in Klaus Bergmann et al. (ed) *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, 5th Edition, Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 707-13; Schmitz, H.-J. (1992) 'Historische Spurensuche im Museum – aber wie?', in Frank M. Andraschko, Alexander Link & Hans-Jacob Schmitz (eds) *Geschichte erleben im Museum. Anregungen und Beispiele für den Geschichtsunterricht*, Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg; Herles, D. (1996) *Das Museum und die Dinge. Wissenschaft, Präsentation, Pädagogik*, Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus-Verl.; Schuck-Wersig, P. & Wersig, G. (1986), *Die Lust am Schauen. Oder: Müssen Museen langweilig sein? Plädoyer für eine neue Sehkultur*, Berlin: Mann-Verlag.

⁵ Relating to Beck, U. (1998) 'Wie wird Demokratie im Zeitalter der Globalisierung möglich? Eine Einleitung', in Ulrich Beck (ed) *Politik der Globalisierung*, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 7-66, 19.

⁶ See e.g. Popp, S. (2011) 'Globales Lernen im Geschichtsunterricht – weltgeschichtliche Perspektiven', in Wolfgang Sander & Annette Scheunpflug (eds) (2011) *Politische Bildung in der Weltgesellschaft. Herausforderungen, Positionen, Kontroversen* (Perspektiven politischer Bildung, Vol. 1201), Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 350-64; Schumann J. & Popp, S. (2011) 'Reflections and Suggestions for the "Europeanization" of National and Regional History Museums', in *Jahrbuch – Yearbook – Annales 32*, edited by the International Society of History Didactics, 203-16; Popp, S. & Röder, D. (2008) 'Constructing Macro Perspectives – a Feasible Way to Introduce World and Global History Perspectives into German History Classrooms?', in *Jahrbuch – Yearbook – Annales 28*, edited by the International Society of History Didactics, 73-89.

Also the interdisciplinary EMEE project 'Euro Vision. Museums Exhibiting Europe' (11/2012-10/2016; EU-Culture-Programs), which the Chair for History Didactics coordinates, deals with the possibility of bringing to light the complexity of the meaning of historical museum objects through specific ways of presentation and by understanding the visitors as 'co-constructors' of meaning. The focus is thereby placed on the complexity of meaning of the single object which arises out of the local, regional, national and European point of views. See: <http://www.museums-exhibiting-europe.de/> (19.08.2013).

⁷ For the various classes and concepts see: Osterhammel, J. (1998) 'Weltgeschichte: Ein Propädeutikum', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 49, 452-79.

⁸ For reasons of clarity, this example, like many others, refers to object groups which are only to be found in museums of local and regional history that present aspects of colonial history or long-distance travels.

⁹ See MacGregor, N. (2012), *Eine Geschichte der Welt in 100 Objekten*, 4th Edition, München: C.H.Beck, 642-47.

¹⁰ See Wilson, D. M. (2002), *The British Museum. A history*, London: British Museum Press.

¹¹ Regarding de Vries see: Bassett, J. (2008) *The Craftsman Revealed. Adriaen de Vries. Sculptor in Bronze*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute; Diemer, D. (1999) 'Adriaen de Vries. Neue Forschungen und eine bedeutende Ausstellung', *Kunstchronik*, 52, 242-59.

¹² The so-called 'Passionsuhr' is as an example of a Augsburgischer Automatenuhr, see Maurice, K. (1980), *Die Welt als Uhr. Deutsche Uhren und Automaten 1550-1650*, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, Katalog Nr. 69.

¹³ Regarding the 18th century see: Ducret, S. (1971/1972), *Meissner Porzellan bemalt in Augsburg. 1718 bis um 1750*. 2 Vols. Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann.

¹⁴ See contributions by Werkstetter, C. (2009) 'sie verstunden es nicht genug?' as well as by Ulrichs, F. (2009) 'Von Nieuhof bis Engelbrecht: Das Bild Chinas in süddeutschen Vorlagenstichen und ihre Verwendung im Kunsthandwerk', both in Renate Eikelmann (ed) *Die Wittelsbacher und das Reich der Mitte. 400 Jahre China und Bayern*, München: Hirmer, 303-13 and 292-302.

¹⁵ Regarding trade routes see Black, J. (ed) (2000), *Atlas der Weltgeschichte*, Köln: Dorling Kindersley, 45.

¹⁶ Picture material regarding the treasure trove of Begram at <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Begram> (02.08.2013). Further information Menninger, M. (1996), *Untersuchungen zu den Gläsern und Gipsabdrücken aus dem Fund von Begram/Afghanistan*, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

¹⁷ See especially Flacke, M. (ed) (2004) *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 – Arena der Erinnerungen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Historischen Museum Berlin*, 2 Vols., Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum.

¹⁸ Regarding the popularised traditional costumes in the 19th century see, for instance: Bayerischer Verein für Heimatpflege (ed) (2008), *Betrachtungen. Tracht zwischen Wissenschaft und Pflege*, München: Verlag schönere Heimat, especially: Jauernig, B. (2008) 'Tracht seit dem 19. Jahrhundert – Fund und Erfindung', 20-5; Mai, M. (1994), *Kleidung. Bestandskatalog des Schwäbischen Bauernhofmuseums Illerbeuren*, Kronburg-Illerbeuren: Zweckverband Schwäb. Bauernhofmuseum, 11-42; Griebel, A. (1991), *Tracht und Folklorismus in Franken. Amtliche Berichte und Aktivitäten zwischen 1828 und 1914 mit einer Quellenedition* (Veröffentlichungen zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 48), Würzburg: Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde; Moritz, M. (1997), *Trachten machen Leute. Ländliche Kleidungsstile im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert. Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde*, Erfurt: Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde; Kaiser, C. (2009) *Die Tracht als veränderliche Kleidung*, 2nd Edition, München: Grin Verlag; Weissengruber, T. (2004), *Zwischen Pflege und Kommerz: Studien zum Umgang mit Trachten in Österreich nach 1945*, Wien: Lit Verlag (compare here the historical retrospective pp. 15-30).

¹⁹ See e.g. Neil MacGregor (2012). Contrary to this approach, the volume of the director of the British Museum develops trans-regional connections especially for

objects of non-European provenance.] Also see with certain reservations ICOM Europe (ed) (2010) *Reflecting Europe in its Museum Objects*, Berlin: ICOM-Europe.

²⁰ See especially 'Europeana.eu', <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/> (19.08.2013), a virtual library which through various search functions would like to bring the public closer to Europe's scientific and cultural heritage in the form of picture, text, audio and video files and which shows manifold exhibits from European museums.

As a comparison, which includes non-European regions and cultures, see online also:

(a) the school project 'Cultures in contact' (2009-2011) from the British Museum, which exclusively dealt with exhibits representing the contact of Europeans with indigenous peoples in the 16th and 17th century, http://www.britishmuseum.org/learning/schools_and_teachers/projects/cultures_in_contact.aspx (19.08.2013).

(b) the didactic material ('resources') for teachers and students, which is provided by the British Museum and which exclusively deals with objects from non-European cultures, see, for instance: 'Discover the Arab world' http://www.britishmuseum.org/learning/schools_and_teachers/resources/all_resources-1/resource_arab_world.aspx (19.08.2013).

²¹ See e.g. the ceiling fresco 'Trade connects all parts of the globe' ('Handel verbindet die Erdeile') by Gregorio Guglielmi (1714-1773) in Augsburg's Schaezler-Palais.

²² Generally see: Duchâteau, A. (1995), *Benin. Kunst einer afrikanischen Königskultur. Die Benin-Sammlung des Museums für Völkerkunde Wien*, München, New York: Prestel Verlag GmbH and Co; Eisenhofer, S. (2007) 'Das westafrikanische Reich Benin und die Portugiesen', in Michael Kraus & Hans Ottomeyer (ed) *Novos Mundos – Neue Welten. Portugal im Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, Dresden: Sandstein, 107-15; Ben-Amos, P. (1995), *The Art of Benin*, 2nd Edition, London: British Museum; Kraus M. & Ottomeyer, H. (ed) (2007), *Novos Mundos – Neue Welten. Portugal im Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, Abteilung XI. Fremdbilder, Dresden: Sandstein, 563-66.

²³ See, e.g.: Speitkamp, W. (2007), *Kleine Geschichte Afrikas*, Stuttgart: Reclam, Philipp, jun. GmbH, Verlag.

²⁴ As excellent example see the bronze plaque from Benin: a representative of the Oba people with Europeans [Benin plaque: the Oba with Europeans. Benin, Nigeria, Edo peoples, 16th century AD] in the 'Resources' (= didactic material) of the British Museum, which represents locals and foreigners (i.e. Europeans) in the manner described here,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/learning/schools_and_teachers/resources/all_resources-1/resource_benin.aspx (19.08.2013). Regarding this object see also the article Benin plaque: Der Oba mit Europäern, in: MacGregor (2012), 573-79.

²⁵ Kraus, Ottomeyer (2007), Objekt Nr. XI,9, 566. The description dates back to the year 1684. Already by then the object was not correctly allocated in the inventory of the 'Native American Chamber' in Dresden.

- ²⁶ See http://www.museumsverband-bw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/mvbw/pdfs/Tagungsvortraege/2013/Krachling_-_Digital_Storytelling_-_Vortrag.pdf resp. <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/B285BBD9-209D-4DA2-8811-3F1B5FA8B4E5/0/TellingTales.pdf> (19.08.2013). See also the website of the Portland Museum 'Object Stories', <http://objectstories.org/> (19.08.2013) and Roberts, L. C. (1997), *From Knowledge to Narrative. Educators and the Changing Museum*. Washington: Smithsonian Books.
- ²⁷ See also ICOM Europe (ed) (2010), 3-102. The suitcase is exhibited in the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp.
- ²⁸ Compare section one of this contribution, which focuses on the object as 'migrant'.
- ²⁹ See 'Europeana.eu', <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/> (19.08.2013).
- ³⁰ Thiemeyer, T. (no date) *Die Sprache der Dinge*, no place: no pub., 4, http://www.museenfuergeschichte.de/downloads/news/Thomas_Thiemeyer-Die_Sprache_der_Dinge.pdf (19.08.2013).

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THE VISUAL DEPICTION OF ISLAM IN EUROPEAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS (1970–2010)

Michael Wobring

This article is about the visual presentation of the subject 'Islam' in history textbooks, comparing different approaches and different points of view in the three European countries Germany, France, and Spain. History has caused these countries to have different relations with the Islamic world and consequent embedded attitudes to the religion. The purpose is to identify specific features of iconic narrative concerning Islam by analyzing the selection of the pictures, the contexts of their presentation, and the techniques and effects of the arrangement in textbooks. The general focus of this study is on the depiction of Islam in contemporary history and on the photographic image.

Apart from the general political and social importance of questions concerning 'Islam' in contemporary discussion, the relevance of the approach sketched here is high. The visual presentation of current textbooks in Europe is influenced by the visual culture of mass media: television, web, and magazines. The school textbook has a semi-official status, often requiring approval from state or local government bodies. In so far as we are concerned with a formally and officially approved narrative, it is directed to the historical and political education of children and teenagers. In Europe, among the Christian majority, the intention is to integrate Muslim children.¹

To judge tendencies in the visual depiction of Islam in textbooks, an international comparison is necessary. In doing so, it makes sense to select countries with different historical relations to Islam: In Spain, Islamic culture, going back to mediaeval times, is an essential fundament of the present culture.² In France, relation to Islam is influenced by a - to date - unresolved relation to colonial history, current countries with Muslim population, and immigration and integration of people from these countries.³ And in the Federal Republic of West Germany where Muslims came since the 1950s as immigrant workers and are living in the Germany of today in the second or third generation.⁴

The visual depiction of Islam in textbooks in general is a complex phenomenon because it is connected to different iconic traditions and iconic connotations of the host country alongside the history of Islam and the reception of Islam. By comparing textbooks from the three countries it is necessary to look for common tendencies and differences in the depiction of Islam. Is there a kind of 'European master narrative' supported by images or are there significant differences between the history textbooks of the countries? This approach is connected with the question of how the visual depiction of Islam works and which techniques are used by the editorial departments in constructing visual narratives. Subsequently, it is necessary to make assumptions on the reasons for choices and the alternatives to those choices. How can we present 'Islam' in history textbooks, and what are certain demands for depiction sensitive issues?

This study is based on a random selection of German history textbooks from the last 40 years and a selection of French and Spanish textbooks, mainly from the last 20 years. Before general aspects of the depiction of Islam can be pointed out, it is necessary to explain what the visual depiction of Islam is and to find categories to classify the numbers and types of pictures. A short sketch on the text-based narrative of Islam in history textbooks of the different nations is offered, too, because the images are elements of these master narratives.

The scientific discussion concerning the depiction of Islam in textbook culture is still an open field with only a few approaches, embedded in general or special studies since the 1980s.⁵ In relation to the textbook layout concerning the contemporary history of Islam, it is necessary to include studies on Islam in press photography and mass media.⁶

1. Iconic Representation of Islam and Categories of Images

Pictures of Islam can be found in parts of the textbook which centre on the subject of Islam. But we also find images concerning Islam in chapters of the textbook without any thematic relation to Islam. Beside this, there are parts of the textbook where it would make sense to present pictures of Islam, but which are without any such images. The approach to images seems to be easy, but quite the contrary is true. Pictures communicate much faster than text. The effect of a picture

on the recipient's perception takes place before he reads the text, but the image influences the perception of the text.

On account of this, in history teaching, work with images bears chances and risks. It is in the sense of the concept of a history textbook to use images in relation to studying history, firstly to use a picture as a resource and secondly to use it as an illustration for the treated subject.⁷

Today the textbook publishing houses have access to seemingly endless amounts of visual documents. Beside public picture archives, pictures are available on the market of stock photo agencies with an endless repertoire. Usually, publishing houses operate with their own picture collections and hold the copyrights of the images. This is cost-saving and the reason why they carry pictures from one edition to the next for a long time.⁸

But it is necessary to point out what in a picture in fact concerns Islam, how we recognize Islam and which categories are useful to discern different types of visual depiction in photographs:

In a first category we can put all pictures with an explicit relation to the practice of religion. Those pictures contain elements or objects, buildings or habits with an explicit relation to religion, independent from country, people or culture.⁹

Beside this we have a second big cluster of images in which we see a 'relation to' Islam because we see elements in the picture we relate to the religion of Islam, e.g. objects, clothes, or customs, mostly from oriental countries.¹⁰ This classification is already related to stereotyping, the cultural background of the intended recipient, expectations, and confirmed habits (and in the context of this study, the classification is made from a Central European point of view). Some of these stereotypes have a long tradition, e.g. the turban, or the oriental scimitar. Many of them are the result of picture creation in modern media culture, because press photographers try to make master-pictures (reference pictures) by using composited elements of stereotyping. In this second category of pictures, the explicit relation to Islam is given by its use in the context of the history textbook.

In a third group we can find images without any iconographic relation to Islam. Those pictures do not contain explicit elements of religion or implicit connotations to Islamic culture. In those pictures the reference to Islam is made by the caption or a commenting text next to the picture. E.g. the picture shows a disabled little boy playing

with a disabled girl. There is no element or detail in this picture relating to Islam, but the caption is setting the context: ‘The Muslim boy Aladdin playing with his Serbo-Croat friend Sonja, victims of the civil war in Yugoslavia.’¹¹

The last one, the fourth group, contains images without iconographic relation to the Islamic religion and without any comment or context relating to Islam. But we recognize somebody in the picture, a specific person, who is known as a member of the Islamic religion.¹²

By these four categories, the amount of images from history textbooks can be attached to these four groups. (In the following examples, the category is named in brackets.)

2. The General Narrative of the History of Islam in History Textbooks

The presentation of pictures concerning Islam in history textbooks is embedded in a general narrative, or master narrative. The history textbooks from European countries broach the issue Islam in different contexts according to their respective curricula.¹³ By comparing the presentation of Islam, we can describe a kind of general ‘European master narrative’ with national accentuations according to the origin of the book. The common chapter ‘Beginnings and Spread of Islam’ concerning mediaeval history illuminates the basics of the religion, its spread and its cultural achievements, e.g. in architecture, mathematics and medicine. In the textbooks of the three countries being compared, this unit is depicted as a period of prosperity, and it is illustrated in this way: we can find images of buildings, mediaeval book illustrations, pictures of artifacts, and scientific illustrations. The publishers present buildings in idealized photos, with blue sky, without any people, in full size on the page, in complex design, and exemplified according to the age group of the pupils.

In this comparison, the most significant difference appears in Spain and is caused by the special relation of Spanish culture to Islam: According to the curriculum, Islam is the root of Spanish culture¹⁴ and consequently, their textbooks enlarge this chapter. Spanish textbooks, in comparison, show Islam in mediaeval times in more detail. Especially in textbooks from Andalusia (south of Spain), almost all aspects of medieval history are connected with Islam in chapters up to 20 pages.¹⁵ Linked or connected with this we can find aspects of the crusades, and by this, the era of mediaeval Islam prosperity ends.

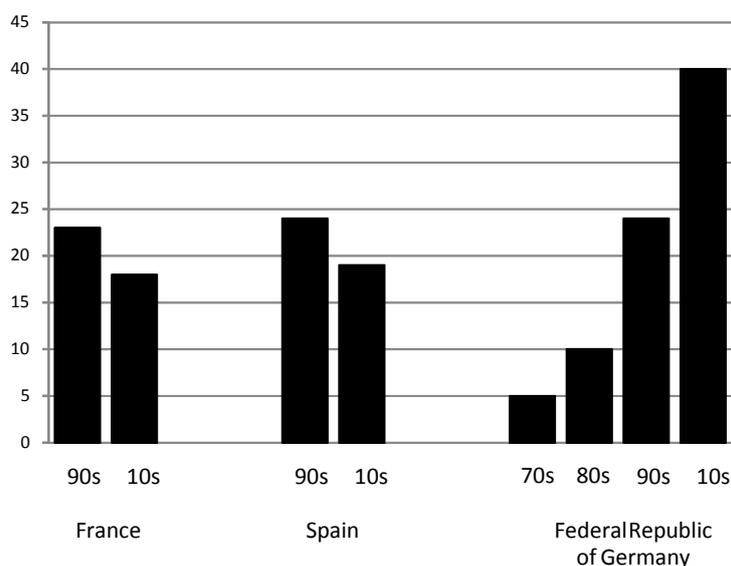
By and large, the subject of Islam is not broached in the period of early modern times as a result of the cutbacks in curricula and textbooks. Then, in the context of 20th century, references to Islam are integrated again. But paragraphs with explicit or implicit references to Islam are insular, scattered and mostly not linked with each other.

While German textbooks make references to Islam in the 1970s again, French and Spanish books start much earlier in connection with colonialism or Second World War. The subject of Islamism is also mentioned earlier in French and Spanish books than in German ones. As an example, the Revolution in Iran (1978/1979) is a matter in French books since the middle of the 1980s. In France, subjects concerning Islam are not only reflected as phenomena of foreign countries, but also as French internal questions, the same in Spain, and since the 1990s in Germany, too. The discussion of political riots and crises increases continuously in the textbooks since 2002 in the three countries, mostly separated and well defined from the history of western democracies. If the constructed narrative of Islam in European textbooks were simplified and illustrated in a curve we would see a graphic chart of decline. This tendency is similar to the description of Islam in mass media by Edward Said.¹⁶ The visual narrative is embedded in this master-narrative. But the presentation is characterized by special techniques and mechanism.

3. The Depiction of Islam in a Comparative Statistical Overview

A quantitative examination of a representative number of history textbooks of the three countries allows the description of significant tendencies in the depiction of Islam concerning issues of contemporary history.

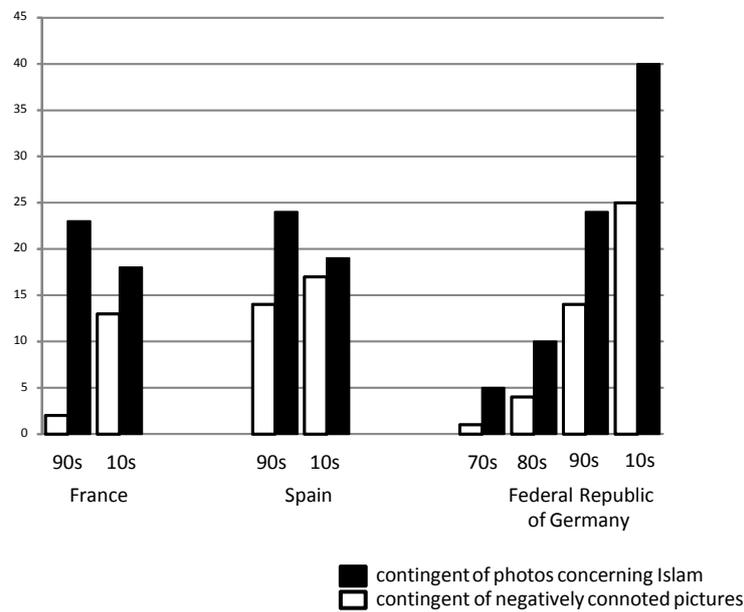
Chart 1. Number of photos concerning the subject Islam in history textbooks 1970-2010 (6 books per decade; 1990s include 2001, 2010s since 2002)



This first compilation (chart 1) shows the number of photos concerning Islam in a random sample of history textbooks published between 1970 and 2010. All of the pictures belong to the formerly described categories (1-4). The examination is based upon a total of 48 books, 6 per decade,¹⁷ from the middle school phase of education. Summing all pictures considered, a total of 165 images are included in the following charts (chart 1-3).

The general tendency is that the number of images concerning Islam in German history textbooks is increasing since the 1970s, progressively in the last 10 years. In contrast, history textbooks from France and Spain show a decreasing number of images.¹⁸ Since the 1990s, there are more images showing riots and violence. Since the last 10 years, we are able to perceive new contents in pictures, especially concerning the ordinary everyday life, and the air strikes of September 11, 2001.

Chart 2. Number of photos concerning the subject 'Islam' in history textbooks and contingent of 'negative'-connoted pictures 1970-2010 (6 books per decade; 1990s include 2001; 2010s from 2002)

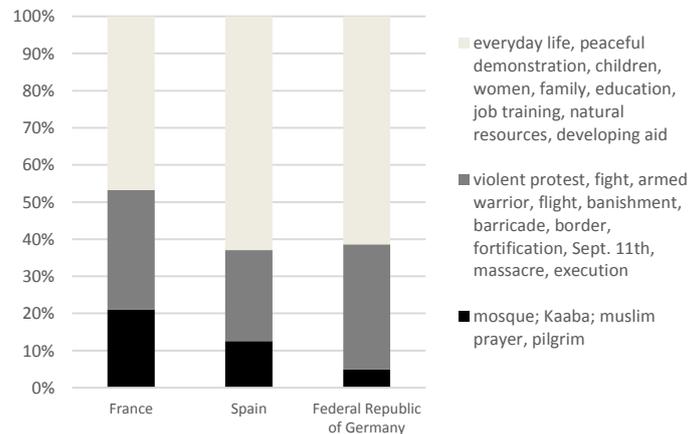


The second compilation contains the same data as the first chart (black pillar) and in addition the amount of pictures with negatively connotated contents shown in white on the chart (chart 2). The classification 'negative' refers especially to pictures showing cruelty, violence, war or destruction. During all considered periods the number of photos with negative connotation is growing in the textbooks of the three countries. Thereby, it is significant that in Germany and Spain the numbers of negatively connotated images overrun the amount of positively connoted images in the 1990s. In France, we can recognize a significant step to present more pictures of this kind from the 1990s to the first decade of the new century. But the chart shows the interesting fact that while in France and Spain the number of pictures concerning Islam is decreasing, the percentage of pictures with

negative connotation is growing. Even if we already get the impression that a negative presentation in the depiction of Islam seems to be predominant, a closer look at and classification of the content of the pictures will be even more informative.

If we classify the number of pictures according to the content, it is possible to describe three groups or thematic fields (chart 3). The first group contains all photos with a direct relation to Islam, the religion and its symbols, such as mosque, Kaaba, prayer, pilgrim, etc. (black part of the pillars). The second group classifies images with an obvious negative content and in relation to violence (e.g. violent protest, fight, armed warrior, flight, banishment, barricade, border, fortification, strikes of September 11th, massacre, execution, etc.; diagonally striped). The third group classifies images with 'neutral' or 'positive' contents, such as everyday life, peaceful demonstration, children, women, family, education, job training, basic materials, development aid, etc. (white).

Chart 3. Photos concerning the subject 'Islam' in history textbooks. Amount of pictures classified by content/subject 1990-2010 (12 books per nation) [in percent]



In comparison, German history textbooks have the least number of images showing religion, about 10 percent, but the most showing

violence, about 45 percent. These 45 percent are the pictures shown in the preceding chart in the black pillar (chart 2). Beside this, we have an equal proportion of 45 percent of images with neutral content. The Spanish textbooks are significant again. As pointed out before, Spain has the biggest amount of negatively connotated pictures. Yet Spain has also the smallest part of images showing violence, only 15 percent, but the biggest part of pictures with 'neutral' and 'positive' content, about 60 percent. The phenomenon is that Spanish history textbooks show a significant and problematic tendency to give images with 'peaceful' content a negative connotation.

Before making assumptions about the reasons for these tendencies, it is important to take a look at the techniques and mechanisms of visual presentation in textbooks.

4. Mechanisms of Visual Narrative by the Depiction of Islam in History Textbooks

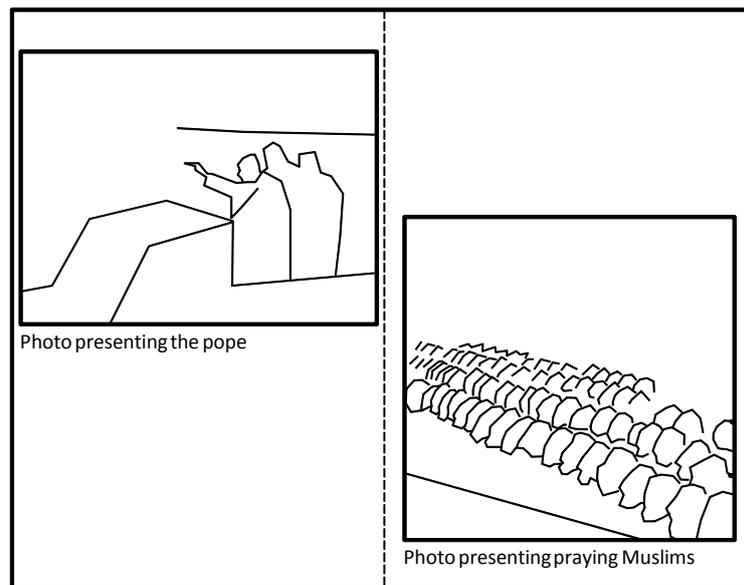
The editorial departments do not create the pictures themselves, but they do create visual narratives by choosing, arranging, combining, and commenting on the pictures in the page. The sense to present images in a history textbook is to offer the picture as a historical resource, as a base to work with, or in an illustrative function to give an impression according to the textual narrative. By presenting an image, it is necessary to look at some principles and standards in relation to the scientific handling of picture documents (see below). Beyond these principles and standards, there is a spectrum of ways and techniques of how to present pictures in the layout of a double page. These mechanisms are not significant for the presentation of the subject Islam in particular, but significant for textbook culture in general. Across some examples, it is necessary to point out how these mechanisms work and to look at how they construct a 'visual narrative' consciously or unconsciously.

A frequently used technique is the juxtaposition of pictures from different contexts: usually between Islam and Christianity. In practice we can find many variations. The picture of Islam shows mostly many praying persons in groups and photographed from a higher point of view, exactly in the moment when they bend forward. In many cases, praying people are covered in black cloth. On the other side, we can see pictures of the Pope in many variations, visible with individual features, and in white clothes. The confrontation is between a person

with individuality and an anonymous, covered mass without faces. In an example from a French textbook, the picture with the photo of the Pope is placed a little higher in the layout than the image of the praying Muslim mass (see sketch 1, both pictures from category 1).¹⁹

There are similar comparisons of images showing the Kaaba and photos of the St. Peter's Square in Rome. In pictures like these, the space around the Kaaba is mostly full of pilgrims, frequently in black clothes, and sometimes the scenery is photographed at night. The St. Peter's Square, in contrast, is pictured under blue sky and filled with happy people in colored clothes.²⁰

Sketch 1. Structure of the layout, from: Marseille, 2004: 334, 335.



Photos of Islam are sometimes presented in contexts without any thematic relation to Islam, confronted with images from different thematic fields and even other epochs: In a German textbook from the early 1980s, the publisher prints a picture showing an immigrant family

from Turkey at the beginning of the 1980s (category 2).²¹ The parents and four children are living in a one room apartment in cramped social conditions; a box of onions is placed on the bed. But this photo is embedded in a distant context: The context is 'Social poverty of working class people in the time before the First World War'. The comment is: 'Some people in Germany are living under miserable conditions, even today, which are comparable with the cramped conditions 100 years ago. For example, this family from Turkey in Duisburg 1980'. The picture of the Turkish family is contrasted with a photo of a German working class family from 1912.²² This use of the photo is in connection to the elementary pedagogical technique of emphasising the relationship of the historical period with the present day, but in this case, by constructing a very particular slant through the century. The example confirms a stereotype of the late 1970s, of immigrants, so called 'guest workers', living in simple conditions with many children and on top of that: being Muslim.

In contrast to this, Islam is sometimes connected with wealth and prosperity in present time. A German history textbook from 2002 presents a photo with Muslim women in niqab in front of the store of a goldsmith, made in Dubai 1987 (category 2).²³ Gold is a symbol of opulence and power. In the picture, the overloaded display window in connection with women covered in a niqab and standing tightly together gives a strange and sinister impression.

Another technique is the combination of a central headline, verbalized in form of a direct leading question, and an image. The image and the headline are communicating faster to the recipient than the explanatory text. The headline in the German textbook from 2006 is: 'Conflict or dialogue of cultures?'²⁴ The only image on the page shows an armed Islamic fundamentalist burning a US flag in the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan at the end of September 2001 (category 2). The second headline is: 'Islam and Islamism – is not the same', followed by a text that tries to explain and differentiate, but has no chance against the predominance of the main picture in combination with the central headline. In this case a second picture on the right side of the double page is supporting the first headline.²⁵ It is a reproduction of an illustration from the 16th century showing scenery from a battle. The comment is 'The Prophet is watching a battle against infidels' (category 1). The effect of this picture in connection with the

first one and the caption is suggestive of a tradition of violence in Islam.

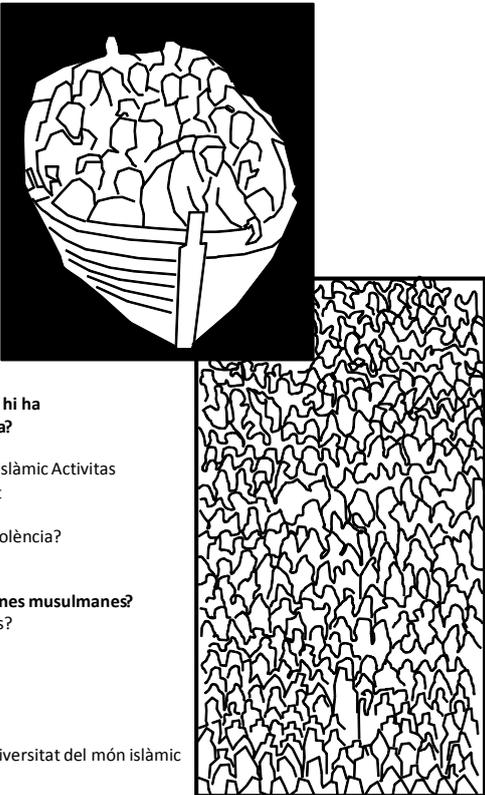
Muslim women are especially connected with many more stereotypes. One stereotype sometimes findable in textbooks from Spain is the connection with illness.²⁶ One more combination of subjects is significant for Spain, the connection of Islam and illegal immigration. Spain as a state bordering the Mediterranean Sea with the shortest distance to Africa at the Strait of Gibraltar has many problems with illegal immigrants.²⁷

The technique of connecting Islam and illegal immigration is caused by the overlap of two pictures: In the example (sketch 2), we can see a front page of a textbook chapter concerning Islam with content list. To illustrate the content list, two pictures are presented in combination. One image, a color photo, shows a mass of praying Muslims in niqab, photographed from a higher point of view (category 1). It is placed on the right lower side of the page. The other picture, a black and white photo placed in the upper center of the page, shows a little boat at night, overcrowded with illegal immigrants, probably from North Africa. The image depicting the boat has no iconographic element of Islam (category 3), but it is connected to the Islam picture by an overlay at the angle. The image with the immigrant boat is dominating the arrangement. While the chapter has the headline: 'Islam, What is it?', the picture is suggesting a simple answer: Islam is those people coming illegally at night from Africa via boat. But in the following chapter of the textbook, there is no explanation of the pictures and no explanation of the phenomenon of immigration.

A further thematic field is connected with Islam in the textbooks of the three countries many times since the 1980s: The natural resources, especially the world supply of mineral oil. 'The oil, the Achilles heel of the Occident' is the caption of a press-picture in the context of the revolution of Iran, the oil embargo, and production of the OPEC. The photographer has created a significant image, with a kind of white dressed sheik handling the stopcock of a fire red oil pipeline in front of a big oil tank of 'Ras Tanura', the biggest oil terminal in the world (category 2). The picture suggests that it is exactly this man who has the power to interrupt the oil supply of the Occident.²⁸

Sketch 2. See Caba et al., 2001: 196.

UNITAT 10
L'Íslam: qui som?



ÍNDEX

- 1. Totés violència? Què hi ha darrere de la violència?**
 - 1.1. Ser jove en el món islàmic *Activitas*
 - 1.2. Del camp a la ciutat *Activitas*
 - 1.3. Aquí beneficia la violència? *Activitas*
- 2. Hem desalvar les dones musulmanes?**
 - 2.1. Dones mantingudes? *Activitas*
 - 2.2. Dones tancades? *Activitas*
- 3. Un únic Íslam?**
 - 3.1. La immensitat i la diversitat del món islàmic
 - 3.2. Líslamisme *Activitas*

One more, a very emotional type of picture, is important, the press-photo showing the exploitation of children. In those examples the fanaticism of the adult generation is delegated to the children, the next generation. In one case a little boy already carries a machine gun, supplied by the father sitting behind him. While the father is holding up the right arm of his son, mother and daughter are showing the victory hand signal (category 2).²⁹

Already, the selection of a singular picture in relation to the context of its presentation can be made with a negative connotation. Images showing Islam in everyday life can have a negative connotation only by choice. For example a photo in a German textbook presents a Muslim praying at work. The man is using a table, because he has no prayer mat instead of it (category 1). The caption explains: 'A guest worker praying on a building yard.'³⁰ There is no explanation that a Muslim is not allowed to touch the ground when he prays. And according to pupils an entreating impression remains. A content of a picture does not have to be negative, but in combination with other pictures or text it can be devalued.

These examples of presentation show representative techniques and mechanism of the selection and presentation of images. But these mechanisms are not only significant for the presentation of the subject of Islam in particular, but for textbook culture in general. The problems of this layout culture become apparent when it centres on a sensitive issue concerning a social minority.

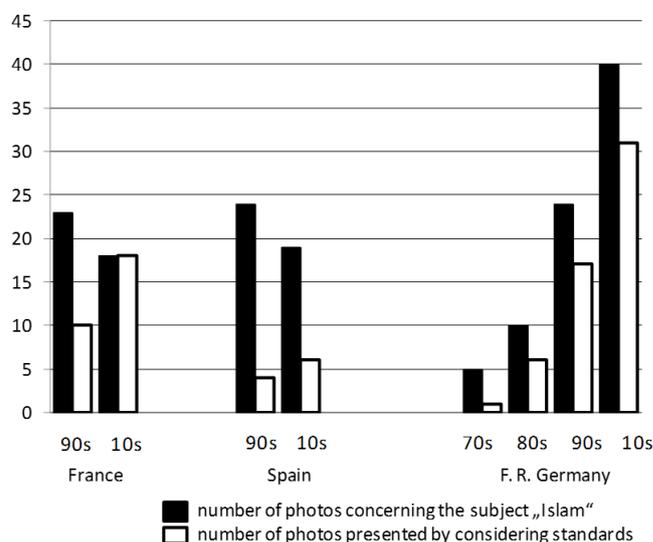
5. Picture Documents for History Teaching and Pedagogical Standards

One very important focus is to observe in how far textbooks are observing pedagogical standards when they prepare images for history teaching.³¹ The acceptance of standards has nothing to do with the subject 'Islam'. The standards are in relation to the scientific use of an image as a historical resource to be used for the reconstruction of history. Their implementation is in the hands of the editorial staff; it is in the culture of the publishing house and affects all issues in the whole textbook in general.

To use a picture for history teaching as a historical resource or as an illustration, there are some facts to point out in a comment in the

caption. These explanations represent the minimum of standards for use of a photo document: to mark the content of the picture, to name the place where it was made, and to name the date of origin.³² If we just take these minimum standards and take a look at the presentation of the selected photos concerning Islam (chart 4) shortcomings are already obvious. Especially French books of the last 10 years observe the standards very consistently. For Germany, the portion of presentations neglecting the standards is broadly constant. Significant are the books from Spain again: By far the biggest portion of photos presented without meeting even the minimum standard are attributable to the selected Spanish books of the last 20 years.

Chart 4. Photos concerning the subject 'Islam' in history textbooks. Consideration of didactical (minimum-)standards in presentation (classification by concern, space and time) 1970-2010 (6 books per decade; 1990s include 2001; 2010s from 2002)



This inattention to standards becomes a bigger problem if we relate it to the tendencies in picture selection and presentation already pointed out. In general we can point out that if historical images are not

supplemented with additional information, the connection to history education is lost. The effect of such pictures on the recipient is beyond control and can act in any direction.

6. Visual Narrative and the Construction of 'Narrative Chains'

If we collate the characteristic features of the presented examples, it is possible to understand the mechanisms of visual narrative. Visual narrative is generated from linking familiar elements, noticed in one picture, with similar elements in other pictures. These other pictures can be elements of other pages of the textbook or just memorized from other media. Thereby, recognized elements are associated and connected, consciously or unconsciously. The visual metaphors are transferred and linked across the book and beyond the function of the picture in its thematic context.³³

An example can serve to illustrate the mechanisms (chart 5). We can find a first subject concerning Islam in one chapter of a textbook with a picture in a page. The recipient identifies one element, maybe a detail, in the picture. In a second chapter concerning Islam he recognizes the element again in another picture of Islam. Maybe there is a suggestive headline above the picture and one more image concerning Islam. In a third context Islam is maybe not explicitly the subject, but there is a picture in the page with elements familiar from the pictures in the first and second context. Thereby a visual narrative, a narrative chain of iconic metaphors is working across and beyond the units of the book and generating 'a picture of Islam'. But this visual narrative is in close relation and cannot help but be applied to presentations of Islam in all kinds of other visual media. Elements from pictures or pictures in general are recognized because textbook editors select images from media and public stock photo agencies.

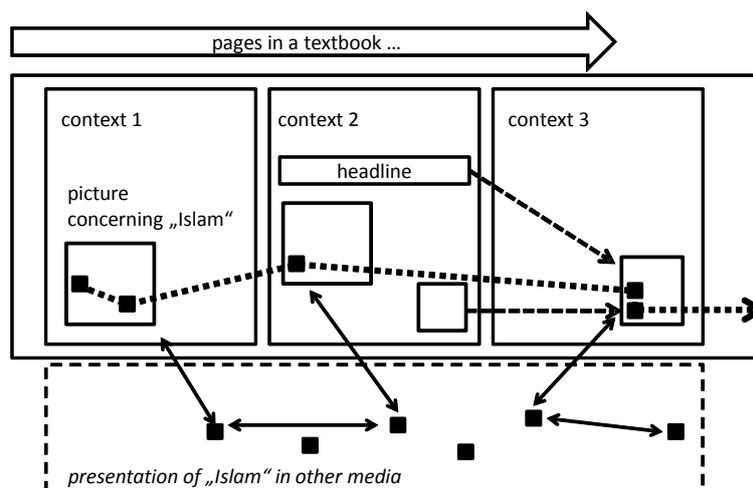
From the pedagogical point of view, it is necessary to interrupt these subliminal narrative chains and to control the effect of each individual picture as much as possible.

An interruption is already possible by a careful selection of any singular picture.

This is true especially when it is not necessary according to the subject to select images with negative connotation, a positively or neutrally connoted picture could interrupt the stereotyping narrative chain. For example a Spanish textbook presents women from Iran in a computer training seminar (category 2). The editors took the picture

to illustrate a chapter concerning 'globalization'.³⁴ The selected photo is negatively connotated because we see black covered women from behind. It is unknown what these black covered women without a face are doing at the computer. But the same book presents in a former chapter a group of black covered women in Iran in political protest.³⁵ Consciously or unconsciously, the recipient transfers the negative connotation from the one picture to the next. And there are images of women in political protest in many different forms, in weapons, burning US-American flags, etc.

Chart 5. Visual narrative – connections of picture-metaphors



But there is no reason to present a negatively connotated image in this context. In this case, another selection of pictures could interrupt the stereotype very easily: If we look at the offer of public stock photo agencies, for example Getty Images, a research by using the key words 'Islam' and 'computer education' will bring up lots of photos showing Muslim women, covered with scarves, working with computers, independent from religion, ethos, and culture. But these kinds of pictures in history textbooks are an exception. Only a few examples

are indicating that the editors are trying to interrupt the negative stereotyping:

One picture from a German history textbook, for example, shows an ecumenical church service held on September 14th 2001 in Bremen (Germany).³⁶ In another example, girls in Iran are playing on a swing with the comment "The cloth of a jeans rises under the tshador. This is the new Iran."³⁷

Conclusion

Even though we have just looked at the history textbooks of three European countries, tendencies in depicting Islam in history textbooks become obvious. The narrative of Islam, based on photos, concerning subjects of contemporary history is mainly negatively connoted, showing cruelty, violence, war or destruction. There are some national characteristics, but it seems to be a tendency which could be confirmed if the comparative study were enlarged to other European countries: The visual narrative concerning Islam in the history textbooks of Europe is a story of decline of image of the religion and its followers over time and is in close relation to the presentation of Islam in the mass media culture of each society.

Scientists have already pointed out that the textual narrative of Islam in European history textbooks has a negative tendency,³⁸ but the narrative of pictures seems to be a particularly problematic field: In general, images are able to communicate a message much faster than text. There are lots of pictures presented without observing pedagogical standards. This is a general problem, but becomes a special problem in case of a subject as sensitive as Islam in European societies. The research brings out pictures connected in bizarre relation to other subjects of present or past times. One more problematic field is that while in text-narrative the differences between 'Islam' and 'Islamism' are pointed out, this important difference remains inexact and diffused in visual narrative. The point is not to avoid showing the negative side of historical events concerning Islam in the 20th century. The problem is the blanking out of the normal and positive side of Islam and especially of giving this normal and positive side a negative connotation as has been shown above.

Among the three countries compared, the results concerning Spain represent a peculiarity. Spain is the country with the longest and most

intensive tradition in Islam and Islamic culture since mediaeval times. But this long tradition and cultural root is blanked out when contemporary history or present time becomes the focus of the history textbook. If we make assumptions on the basis of probability and take a look at the Spanish society, we see a predominant role of the Catholic Church: a church in an awkward situation.³⁹ This predominant Catholic Church is challenged by trends of modernization more than in France and Germany. Current challenges in Spain are the plurality of religions and a younger generation with a weaker relation to religion. One more phenomenon is the immigration of Muslims from Africa. According to evaluations among the three reviewed countries, more than half of the Spanish people have a poor opinion of Islam.⁴⁰

Respecting the European modes of textbook creation and textbook approbation, the responsibility for the design and for the editorial selection and presentation of pictures is in the hands of the editors and publishing houses: They select the images, comment on the pictures and create the layouts as well as the new contexts. It would make sense to mark a border between the history textbook and the public media culture by a more sensitive selection of the pictures and by overseeing the observation of pedagogical standards for the presentation of picture documents very accurately. Many of the pictures presented are press photos from mass media. It is necessary to present press photos in history textbooks because they are a critical link to contemporary history. But it is also necessary to explain their special character, their function in mass media, the work of the photographers, the necessarily fast circulation of the pictures, and the character of their effect in the public.

Perhaps the textbook editors are not aware of the tendencies and problems of the depiction of Islam uncovered by this research. But this seems to be an important and urgent concern. A society's attitude concerning other religions, maybe a minority in its own country, is not a question of order, but a question of education, concerning different subjects at school, especially education in religion, history, politics, social sciences, language and literature, philosophy, and ethics. The textbook as the central medium has a special and central function because it can represent the ministerially approved claim to generate the consciousness of a new generation.

Notes

¹ Elements of this study were presented at the Annual Conference of the International Society of History Pedagogies (ISHD): Cultural and religious diversity and the implications for history education, Kazan (Tatarstan) June 2012 and at the 48. German Historians Conference, panel 'Ansichts-Sachen. Fremd- und Selbstwahrnehmung des "Islam" in Bildmedien', Berlin 2010.

² See e.g. Jäger, 2010.

³ See e.g. Riedel, 2007.

⁴ See e.g. Güvercin et al. 2011.

⁵ In Germany, general research on Islam in German history textbooks – and textbooks of all subjects – was conducted by Abdold Falaturi and Monika Tworuschka in the 1980s. The depiction of Islam was a neglected aspect of their research. Aspects of the contemporary history of Islam, especially in photographs, were by and large not represented in the history textbooks of this time (see Tworuschka, 1986). In present time, Islam narratives in all kinds of media were analyzed by Gerdien Jonker, but the depiction of textbooks is a neglected aspect and only represented in one article (see Challand, 2010). For the present research see: Ihtiyar et al., 2004.

⁶ The field of press photos and mass media culture was a central theme of Edward Said, but his work 'Covering Islam' was created before the digital revolution and the new quality in picture distribution (see Said, 1985).

In this tradition, there are special approaches on the depiction of Islam in media culture in the field of *Gerhard Paul's* 'Jahrhundert der Bilder' (Paul, 2008).

⁷ See Sauer, 2000; Fröhlich, 1997.

⁸ Wobring, 2014.

⁹ See as an example Trepát et al. 2002, 407.

¹⁰ See as an example Rodríguez Bragado, 2002: 398.

¹¹ See as an example Aldariz Veiga et al., 1980: 299 (The original comment is in Spanish).

¹² See e.g. Donézar, 1990: 369.

¹³ See Jonker, 2009.

¹⁴ See Ministerio de Educación y ciencia, 2007; concerning Andalusia: Consejería de Educación (ed) (2007).

¹⁵ See the example Sánchez Sánchez et al., 1998.

¹⁶ Said, 1981.

¹⁷ The decade of the 1990s includes the books of the year 2001 because of the strike of September 11, 2001. The decade of the 2010s includes books published since 2002.

¹⁸ In general, textbooks from Spain do not contain as many images as German textbooks. French textbooks, in contrast, contain more than German ones.

¹⁹ See the example in the history textbook from France: Marseille, 2004: 334, 335. The title of the chapter is: 'Exercising religion in France from 1945 to now'.

²⁰ E.g. Frank, 1989: 333.

²¹ See Ebeling and Birkenfeld, 1981: 27.

- ²² See *ibidem*, 26.
- ²³ See Brückne, 2002, 250.
- ²⁴ See Regenhardt and Tatsch, 2003, 284.
- ²⁵ See *ibidem*, 285.
- ²⁶ E.g. 'Women in burka in the waiting room of a hospital in Afghanistan', see Trepap et al., 2002: 384; Garcia, 2005, 399.
- ²⁷ Caba et al., 2001: 196; Garcia, 2005: 399.
- ²⁸ Santacana and Zaragoza, 2002: 285.
- ²⁹ Doézar, 1990: 368.
- ³⁰ See Berger et al., 1990: 116.
- ³¹ Wobring et al., 2014.
- ³² Beyond this minimum standard it would be useful to have much more information about the photographer, the circumstances when and why the picture was made and if the image is printed in full size or with any side trim.
- ³³ Behr, 2003: 96; Lakoff and Johnson, 2000: 22.
- ³⁴ See Prats et al., 2005: 382.
- ³⁵ *Ibidem*, 348.
- ³⁶ See Regenhardt, 2003: 286.
- ³⁷ See Santacana and Zaragoza, 2002, 287.
- ³⁸ See Jonker, 2009.
- ³⁹ See Jäger, 2010, 27-32.
- ⁴⁰ See *ibidem*, 30.

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SILENT STORIES OF EXCLUSION – TEACHING DEAF HISTORY

Sebastian Barsch

This paper focusses on issues of diversity in history teaching by referring to the example of Deaf culture, which arose from the burgeoning field of special education in the 19th century. The characteristics of Deaf culture's contemporary historical consciousness are being summarised and linked to this group's history. After that a brief overview of how this topic could be of use for history education will be presented. Moreover, it will be shown that disability history in general can be a valuable subject in history lessons for societies facing diversity.

Throughout history deafness has been linked to foolery, and foolery usually was linked to animal life. Human culture was then intrinsically coupled with the ability to communicate. Indeed, human culture was ascribed to oralist societies only. Or, to be more precise: to (human) members of a society who could – and did – make use of any kind of spoken language. This implies, that at least in the past, deaf people had been recognised as humans with a lack of reason. In fact a result from this point of view was the social exclusion and segregation of deaf people in specialised institutions. But simultaneously to this segregation and exclusion, people subsumed to this group constituted their own cultures apart from those of mainstream societies.

When we talk about Deaf culture we do not talk about a subculture of mainstream societies. 'Unlike subcultures, or even some ethnic cultures, deaf people possess their own distinct language(s), each with a unique vocabulary and grammar. Deaf people also have a shared set of experiences, relating to the consequences of deafness in a hearing culture, a shared history and distinct set of institutions.' (Sparrow, 2005: 140). More than a few deaf people identify themselves of being members of a group offering resistance to mainstream societies. As deaf identity massively refers to deaf history, Deaf culture is an important and fruitful field for historical research. As the American historian Susan Burch wrote in her book 'Signs of Resistance. American deaf cultural history, 1900 to World War II' the 'relationship between deaf citizens and mainstream society highlights important conflicts over the concepts of normality, citizenship, culture, and disability.' (Burch, 2002: 1). Furthermore, the history of

the Deaf can be an exciting issue for history didactics. It can be used as an example to show that cultural diversity is also some kind of diversity of abilities. Or, to make use of Bourdieu's term 'habitus' (Navarro, 2006: 16): being deaf could result in a special habitus that differs from those of other groups.

Next to this theoretical relevance there is a practical issue, which is important for countries where pupils with disabilities are separated from those without disabilities. In essence, one group of pupils lacks the awareness of disability due to the absence of classmates with disabilities, while the other group finds that their own disabilities separate them from nearly all other children and teenagers in their peer group. Deaf history is an outstanding example to show formation processes of groups in history and at present. It is also an example to illustrate the emergence of systems of exclusion within societies. Furthermore, it addresses issues of culture and respectively subculture by showing vividly how exclusion could form distinct identities and their embodiments.

1. Deaf History and Cultural Diversity

Assuming that the topic 'disabilities' in general matters for history didactics and that 'disabilities' is an issue of cultural diversity, what in particular is the value of Deaf history for history didactics focussing on cultural diversity? Is deafness really an issue of cultural diversity? And if so, how could one outline the basic attributes of this culture? Matthew S. Moore and Linda Levitan try to describe American deaf culture like this:

'One possible definition of U.S. Deaf culture [...] is a social, communal, and creative force of, by, and for Deaf people based on American Sign Language (ASL). It encompasses communication, social protocol, art, entertainment, recreation (e.g. sports, travel, and deaf clubs), and worship. It's also an attitude, and, as such, can be a weapon of prejudice – "You're not one of us; you don't belong."

Despite the mighty efforts of generations of oralists, deaf people still prefer to communicate and mingle with their own kind. That is the psychosocial basis of Deaf culture. Deaf people in the United States have staunchly resisted the unstinting attempts of oralists to eradicate the use of sign language and assimilate them into the hearing mainstream. The simple fact is that deaf people

who attend the common residential schools for the deaf – no matter what mode of communication is forced on them in the classroom – tend to seek out other deaf people and communicate in sign language.’ (2003)

Within the deaf community there are groups refusing integration to the oralist societies in a radical way. The year 2000 documentary ‘Sound and Fury’ showed the story of the child Heather, who was born deaf like her parents. The question for her parents was ‘whether to give their deaf kid a cochlear implant [which is a surgically implanted electronic device that provides a sense of sound to a person who is profoundly deaf or severely hard of hearing, SB] or [to] wait for the time she can make the choice herself.’¹

There are more than isolated cases of deaf parents who deny their children the chance to hear with the help of medical surgery. Heather’s parents, for instance, decided against the implant. So they decided for her daughter that she would be unable to hear spoken language and as a result, they decided that their daughter would not be able to develop speech. A comment on the website youtube.com with regard to the trailer of this documentary vividly shows understanding for this position: ‘The father is afraid of losing his daughter to another culture, the hearing culture [...]’.²

The philosopher Robert Sparrow describes the controversy pro or con cochlear implants in his essay ‘Defending Deaf Culture’ as follows: ‘Throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s, Deaf people mobilised to protest the use of cochlear implants. [...] Indeed they have compared it to genocide. They argue that deaf people should not be thought of as disabled but as members of a minority cultural group.’ (2005: 135).

2. Deafness in History – Historical Rise of a Culture

Where are the roots of this resistance to oral societies? We can find them in history.

In his book ‘Seeing Voices: A Journey into the World of the Deaf’ Oliver Sacks asked some simple questions:

Have the deaf always and everywhere been seen as ‘handicapped’ or ‘inferior’? Have they always suffered, must they always suffer, segregation and isolation? Can one imagine their situation otherwise? If only there were a world where being deaf did not matter, and in which all deaf people could enjoy complete fulfilment and integration! (1989: 32)

There had been such a world, at least partially. Martha's Vineyard is an island at the coast of Massachusetts. First deaf settlers arrived at this isolated island in the 1690s. Unique to this group was a specific gene mutation, which resulted in a relatively high number of deaf people on this island.

By the mid-nineteenth century, scarcely an up-Island family was unaffected, and in some villages [...] the incidence of deafness had risen to one in four. In response to this, the entire community learned Sign, and there was free and complete intercourse between the hearing and the deaf. Indeed the deaf were scarcely seen as 'deaf', and certainly not seen as being at all 'handicapped.' (33)

The history of this island was reconstructed comprehensively in the book 'Everyone here spoke sign language: Hereditary Deafness on Martha's Vineyard' by Nora Ellen Groce in 1985, which has become one of the classics of deaf studies. Sacks concluded:

In the astonishing interviews recorded by Groce, the island's older residents would talk at length, vividly and affectionately, about their former relatives, neighbours, and friends, usually without even mentioning that they were deaf. And it would only be if this question was specifically asked that there would be a pause and then, 'Now you come to mention it, yes, Ebenezer was deaf and dumb.' (34)

The last deaf person on this island died in 1952.

This little example shows us the fluidity of concepts like 'normality'. In the past deaf people have been treated in much more deficient ways than on Martha's Vineyard. Roots of deaf culture and its resistance to oralist societies can be easily found in the question how to educate deaf children. Already in the mid of the sixteenth century Spanish monk Pedro Ponce de Leon taught deaf children the use of orally spoken language. His goal was mainly to make them able to inherit, as this status was linked to the ability of speech. However, Ponce de Leon was more or less a particular case. More intense steps in educating deaf children were taken by a variety of institutions in the late 18th century. In Paris, (Charles Michel) Abbé de l'Épée founded the first school for deaf children in 1770. Eight years later in 1778 Samuel Heinicke founded the first school for the deaf in Leipzig, Germany. Although addressing the same population, methods of both schools differed widely. The so-called 'French-method' of Abbé de l'Épée was based on the idea that sign language is the native language of people born deaf. Although his aim was to teach deaf children speech in order to integrate them into the oralist

society (de L'Épée, 1910: 76) he made use of sign within his school. Samuel Heinicke had the same goal. But he was a strong advocate for spoken language. Therefore pupils in his school were not allowed to use signs (Ellger-Rüttgardt, 2008, 62-65). This controversy has been very powerful and influences deaf education even today. There are still schools for the deaf where sign language is not allowed.

There are some examples that show the shift between these two approaches within one geographical area. In the USA, for instance, most schools adopted the 'French method' until the 1860s.

As a result, the language and the method became a central part of a developing Deaf culture. The schools fostered a common sign language across the nation. [...] Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, Deaf cultural self-awareness was established and expanding. In the late nineteenth century, critics' growing concern over this separate Deaf culture inspired a unified attack on the community. (Burch, 2002: 12).

The concerns were also a result of nation building processes of the nineteenth century. To remain with the example of the United States, this nation faced dramatic migration movements after the end of the Civil War. So attempts

to reassert a unified American identity took on various forms. [...] Promising to instil an education fitted to modern needs, school not only instructed young pupils in rudimentary academic subjects but also emphasized unity through such common values as democracy, industry, and civic responsibility. Of utmost importance, schooling promoted the use of a common American language – English. Oralism – training in speech and lipreading – became the principal means of pressing this agenda on the deaf community. (Burch, 2002: 7-8)

Vigorous measures like these unified the deaf community in their awareness of their own culture and their rejection of the mainstream culture. Deaf leaders feared that the infiltration of oralism could split up the deaf community because isolated students 'would create their own signs to communicate with each other, thus losing the historic tradition of experiencing "appropriate" eloquent signs from the masters'. (53) It was feared that the deaf community therefore had to carry further 'specific cultural values such as pride in their identity and appreciation for the language and folklore that united them.' (53) This struggle goes on as the example of the child Heather from the beginning of this article shows.

3. Deaf History as a Matter of History Didactics

When Martin Lücke remarks that societies all around the world are characterised by heterogeneity and social disparities he also addresses the question how categories like race, class and gender impact historical consciousness of people and groups (Lücke, 2012: 136-137). Based on the theoretical background of diversity and intersectionality studies he analyses how social differences (e.g. old/young woman; migrant/native) result in social inequalities. By referring to the trio of race, class and gender he also points towards other categories of distinction like religion, age, sexuality, the body and disabilities (138). For him, analysing the emergence of social inequalities based on these categories is a task for historical research. Furthermore, Lücke claims, history didactics profit from involving tools and perspectives of diversity and intersectionality studies to its own theories. Based on Jörn Rüsen's notion that historical thinking and historical learning is an act of narration (144) he argues that telling stories about inequality promotes the understanding for categories of *social* inequalities. This means for the practice of teaching history in schools that stories which approach the point of intersection between categories of social difference and power are the ones to look at (145). This also indicates a drawback from coherent 'big' histories in favour of different 'small' stories (146). In this sense deaf history is one of the narratives to promote the awareness of the link between social difference and power/exclusion. This is true for disability history in general (Barsch, 2011).

Next to these theoretical implications there are other implications for teaching practices. In many countries pupils with diverse backgrounds come together in classrooms. In Germany, for example, the process of inclusion becomes more and more important (Wenzel, 2012: 239). This also brings up the question of the narratives dealing with the need to be more diverse as they are now. Here again, the history of deaf people could be a vivid example addressing issues of identity, inclusion/exclusion and diversity. Of course it is only one example among many others. But it is one which might become more important when the process of inclusion proceeds. In fact, there are already some teaching resources that deal with Deaf history.

4. Resources for Deaf History in History Lessons

With regard to teaching units, there are already few resources for teaching Deaf history. Some deal with the Disability Rights Movement in particular, but most of them cover outstanding disabled people such as Helen Keller, who was a deaf-blind American writer and political activist (1880-1968).³ These are important motivating examples that allow pupils to deal with the topic of deafness. They show that disabilities do not automatically prevent people from achieving great things, thus directing attention toward skills and away from deficits. But at the same time, these examples reveal a problem, in that they portray individual personalities as special cases, thereby distancing them from all other people in their 'group'.

Other teaching resources make use of friend or foe metaphors. The 'Disability History Museum' e.g. offers teaching tools for lessons about Alexander Graham Bell (who was a strict oralist) and Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (who promoted Sign).⁴ Here we find argumentation imported from advocates of the disability rights movement. With regard to the teaching of history this is problematic in a profound way as it restricts pupils from developing their own moral judgements by offering them a steady view.

What still has to be developed is material dealing with micro and social history of deaf communities: how did 'ordinary' deaf people (like those on Martha's Vineyard) live their normal lives beside mainstream societies? How did they shape their culture? What were the main characteristics and topics of deaf theatres, deaf magazines, deaf literature and so on different similar aspects of the hearing culture?

For a lot of people being deaf usually means being a part of the deaf community, which in fact is a culture. In classrooms the topic 'Deaf culture' could be of use for developing awareness about the notion that the construction of norm and deviation from the norm is always present in history. Then again 'Deaf history' as a specific topic is separating one group from another by focussing on 'abnormal' people. 'Disabilities' as a dimension of historical reflection could be addressed safely by including it into general topics. When dealing with 'school in the 19th century', for instance, it is possible to go different ways. One way could consolidate dominant concepts of norm and deviation by making special schools for deaf children a subject of discussion. The other way would just show the diversity of

schools in this century without focussing on one special type of school: There had been schools for workers' children, schools for boys and girls, for blind children, for deaf children and so on.

Conclusion

Deaf history is a fruitful example for teaching the history of cultural minorities and their relationship to mainstream society. Disabilities are a dimension of difference as much as 'gender', 'ethnicity' or 'social status'. Therefore this kind of 'being different' is another fruitful category both when thinking about history and teaching history in schools. Given that millions of people are disabled – e.g. 7.3 million people in Germany are (according to Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland)⁵ – disability history is a matter of history education as much as migration history. Deaf history also shows processes of identity formation and its historical emergence. Furthermore, this example illustrates what worries minorities about how the majorities in the society approach diversity.

What more can Deaf history contribute to history didactics? To give an answer to this I would like to end with a quote from Rebecca Edwards' book *Words Made Flesh* (2012: 207): Deaf history 'is a story that teaches us about disability, culture, difference, tolerance, language, and diversity. In other words, it is a story larger than Deaf people. It tells us about ourselves. It asks us to consider how we embrace or reject difference in our midst.'

Notes

¹ <http://www.filmoa.com/2008/04/16/sound-and-fury> (20.11.2013).

² Comment of user 'truelocity', <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s80N4o4ctxw> (20.11.2013).

³ <http://www.dcmp.org/helenkeller> (20.11.2013).

⁴ <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/edu/essays.html> (20.11.2013).

⁵ <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Gesundheit/Behinderte/Aktuell.html> (20.11.2013).

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**CHANGING OUR APPROACH TOWARD THE PAST.
HOW DO HISTORY TEACHERS ASSESS
THE CHANGES IN HISTORY EDUCATION
WITHIN GENERAL EDUCATION IN ESTONIA
FROM THE MID-1980S UNTIL TODAY?**

Mare Oja

Restoration of Estonian independence made restructuring of history teaching possible. Teachers had to re-evaluate their knowledge and understanding of teaching history. The article is based on research, which aimed to find out, how teachers interpreted and evaluated the changing process during its occurrence and today. Research shows that the history lesson, the student and the teacher have changed a lot compared to the Soviet period. Mainly because society has changed. The National Curriculum gave the general direction, but the key influencers of teaching are textbooks and national exam. Ideological knowledge-centric history teaching has been replaced by valuing the development of skills, critical thinking and multiperspectivity. In-service training supported teachers during the reform period, but they had to develop or adapt teaching materials themselves. Teachers wish for greater stability in their work and more support from the state.

1. Introduction

Education is regarded as a direct reflection of ethnic cultural traditions and social background. This explains, why educational systems differ by countries (Glenn and Groof, 2005: 11). Educational policy is an integral system of concepts and views about the constitution and tasks of education, and the principles of resolving these tasks (Aarna, 2005: 8). The objectives that create the base for the educational system and the efforts to fulfil these objectives determine the form of society and country. Changes in education reach all social spheres and exhibit long exposure and after-effects.

Curriculum is a ground structure of the educational system. It determines the constitution of education and has a long-lasting effect on society as a whole, as well as on the individual. The curriculum is related to the values, interests and positions of different social groups within society and, therefore, curriculum reformation will change relationships between these groups and individuals inside formal

education and out of it (Ruus, 2005: 25). The National Curriculum is a desired status of educational policy, where reality is represented by the pupil and the teacher (Skogen and Holmberg, 2004: 15). Therefore, in order for educational reform to succeed, teachers must be involved.

Great changes have taken place in the teaching of history from Soviet times to the present day. The reorganisation of history teaching was made possible by the collapse of the Soviet Union and by Estonia's regaining independence. Additionally, teachers had to reassess their knowledge and understanding of history to a greater or lesser extent.

This survey aimed to ascertain how teachers perceived and assessed the process of change while it occurred and in retrospect. Which circumstances most affected the changes? What has changed in pupils, in their interest and knowledge of history? What is perceived by teachers to be of particular importance in the present day context? The conclusions will help form a future strategy for a more collected and effective reform that will account for the needs of teachers and help them cope with the changes.

The Soviet educational system was unified and centralised. Curricula were based on Soviet ideology which aimed to secure the supremacy of the communist party, in order to guarantee the leading social role of the proletariat. The great importance of Science and Mathematics was determined by military endeavours. Russian was the dominant language in the educational system. Western European languages were underestimated (Ruus, 2004: 13-14). Pedagogy was indoctrinated – the teaching of final truths, even in values, in order to develop definite and lasting knowledge, skills and habits in pupils, which would be centred on the communist world view. The learning process was authoritarian and traditional, mostly based on memory (Ruus and Loogma, 1998: 23). Historical development was treated as a never-changing movement from class society toward a society without social classes. History and Social Studies were politicised and treated with a biased approach. Studying the history of Estonia was limited to a part of the course on the history of the Soviet Union and, obviously, from an ideologically infallible point of view. Additionally, the historical narrative attributed either as a direct or an indirect motive the role of the Great Russian nation in helping and guiding the history of their neighbouring nations.

During the educational reform, the greatest changes took place in politically significant subjects, such as History and Social Studies.

On the Curriculum Seminar on April 10, 2008, Viive-Riina Ruus separated four stages of curriculum reformation in the re-independent Estonia.

Stage I (1987–1990) was a revolutionary period of changes during the shifting of the political order and was ideological in essence. The educational model based on the communistic ideology of ‘shaping a new individual’ was abandoned and a new democratic educational model was set upon, one that enhanced native culture and ethnoscapes (Estonian) and increased the options for schools. The changes were reflected in the programmes issued by the ESSR Ministry of Education. (Ruus, 2008)

During this period, alternative programmes in history teaching and the course of the history of Estonia were developed. At first, experimental programmes, which were not mandatory, were completed for grades five and six. In the beginning of 1989, it was recommended and later became obligatory for teachers to abandon the Soviet textbooks; teachers were recommended to follow different supplementary materials. This period was very difficult for History teachers, as they had to put together study materials on their own, mostly based on the media. There were no new textbooks or overviews. Many historians were not ready to abandon the Soviet traditions or were afraid of being pressured by the authorities.¹

Stage II (1991–2000) was centred on confirming the first National Curriculum in 1996, which authorised the first open *curriculum* type of curriculum. Developing this document took place in the context of building an independent country, characterised by democratic pluralism, political parties’ struggle for power, a liberal market economy and the restoration of private property. Central changes in paradigm were the increasing of responsibility (pupil, teacher, head of school), school syllabus, transition to the system of courses at the gymnasium level, developing competence. The main problems were weakly integrated subjects, general part and minimal compatibility of syllabuses (Ruus, 2008).

A study by OECD (2001) suggested that the approach of including only the brightest pupils be changed to including all. General education was reproached for its excessive orientation toward higher education and lack of attention toward the special

needs of pupils. Attention was drawn to the inequality caused by the unequal choices of general secondary schools (for example elite schools). According to Ene-Silvia Sarv(1998: 48), passing the curriculum into law was hindered by the positivistic paradigm - the smart know and dictate the way.

The teaching of History changed greatly. In 1992, the programmes of the Ministry of Education included the course on Estonian history. Subject contents were revised and the history of Russia was given the same level of attention as that given to other countries, i.e. the entire history-course did not follow the perspective set by Russia. The Soviet educational system was abandoned. Different training-regimes were organised for teachers. The world began to open and it became possible to take up foreign relations. In 1993, Estonian history teachers formed their own association and joined the EUROCLIO,² which opened the door for participating in the European pedagogic and academic discussion.

Teachers met many challenges in the vortex of rapid change: history had *white spots*; even the History teachers did not know the history, modern literature was not available behind the Iron Curtain, archives were closed. The first textbooks were based on facts; the teachers' methods were weak; some of the teachers were conservative; the Russian speaking school and collective memory of the Soviet people, who refused to believe any other kind of interpretation of history, also retained an influence.

The Russian speaking school continued following Soviet traditions in teaching, up until the re-independence of Estonia was officially finalised in 1992. History teachers had little or no knowledge of the history of Estonia as they had been trained in the universities of the Soviet Union which did not teach the history of Estonia. Those who did not speak Estonian (which was a great problem at the time and remains so) had no help from literature or the media. Russian media was still Soviet-minded in that time.

The first National Curriculum (1996) brought along great changes in the organisation and teaching of History. The Estonian and Russian speaking schools began following the same National Curriculum. Contrary to the practice of Soviet times, Russian speaking schools had to start using textbooks written by Estonian historians and translated into Russian.

The History syllabus was developed on the double concentric principle: a chronological principle was used in basic school and a thematic principle in the gymnasium. There was no lesson-by-lesson planning as had been typical of Soviet times and the teachers had the liberty to decide the depth to which the subject was dealt with, which also brought along greater responsibility. Developing skills replaced the Soviet fact-centred approach. The syllabus followed the objectives of proper history education (Bennett, 2000: 6): to develop identity and the skills of critical thinking. Without fulfilling the first objective, history is nothing but an intellectual exercise; without the skill of critical thinking, one can easily become an object of manipulation.

Introducing the national examination system in 1997 brought along a great change in teaching. Teachers were forced to abandon the old paradigm and take up working with historical sources and maps, developing skills of discussion and analysis. However, in this particular process, it was possible to rely on existing teaching materials. Additionally, teachers' handbooks and other guiding materials had been compiled, supported by participation in EUROCLIO projects, which offered different examples of dealing with topics as well as methodological support.

Stage III (2000-2007) (Ruus, 2008) was defined by fast economic growth and different parties struggling for authority. In 2004, Estonia became a member of the European Union and NATO. This period included the confirmation of the Second National Curriculum in 2002, which was an improved version of the first (1996). This was followed by politicisation of curriculum development, and struggles for power. Two projects for the curriculum were drawn up, neither of which was confirmed as a legal act. The revised curriculum of 2002 needed to be developed further and adjusted to new requirements. According to Olav Aarna (2005: 17, 21), a definite social agreement on future objectives and a programme for development of the educational system – as a whole – lacked an overview; educational surveys were not valued and, therefore, the process of educational policy was unprofessional. Transferring separate solutions from different countries into the Estonian educational system was ineffective.

The changes to the National Curriculum of 2002 in the History syllabus were not extensive. Amendments were integrated, based on

the three-year-long teaching practice. The number of lessons was fixed for grade five and the course on the history of Estonia and the Baltic countries at the gymnasium level became the History of Estonia. The number of Recent History courses in the gymnasium was reduced from three to two. Multiple perspectives (Stradling, 2003, 2005) and multicultural topics gained importance in history teaching – Estonia had been integrated to Europe through the European Union and NATO. The analysis of national examination results showed improvement in pupils' skills at source-analysis and discussion.

Stage IV began in 2007. Economic growth had slowed down, economic inequality increased. The 'Russian problem' arose after the Bronze Night³, and the transition to learning in Estonian in Russian speaking schools met defiance and opposition. Civil activity decreased at the start of the period and intolerance emerged. Violence in schools was brought to the public's attention, the stress and fatigue of teachers and pupils was talked about, as well as the lack of mutual trust (PISA, 2006). The results of Estonian pupils were good in international surveys (PISA, 2009). The new keywords in curriculum development were ambition, school culture, innovation, sustainability, health, cooperation, active learning, decreased workload of pupils. (Ruus, 2008)

Keywords for the National Curriculum of 2011 were values, decreasing workload of pupils, stronger integration between subjects and the general part of the curriculum and syllabuses, prioritising pupils' original and research work. The common part of the curriculum in the gymnasium was greatly reduced (to 63%) and pupils were given more freedom in making their own syllabus. Syllabuses were presented by subject fields. The concept of the learning environment was broadened and formative evaluation gained priority. Most of the elective national examinations, including in history, will be dropped during the last year of constitution.

Great changes took place in history teaching: a concentration on learning the local and cultural history instead of political history; problem-centred learning; introducing different interpretations of history to the pupil; prioritising results. The aim of these changes was to prepare the pupil for coping in future society. The content of recent history (20th century) was increased and the compulsory courses of general history decreased. (The two courses of general

history can be taken as elective courses in the subject field.) The proportion of course-time looking at the history of Estonia remained the same, but it became more integrated with general history, i.e. topics of general history are dealt with before large thematic units are tackled, in order to put the history of Estonia in context within the general history.

Much like the curriculum development as a whole, the contents of syllabuses is a political decision (Apple, 2004: 59-76); it encodes an agreement: which knowledge is given and who has the right to decide on the contents and evaluation process. Drawing conclusions about whether the curriculum leads to the desired results will always remain an open question.

The challenges of history teaching today are to what extent should national identity be shaped by history education, and how to broaden pupils' horizons using examples from world history.⁴ Another problem is how to address the phenomenon of us and them, the encounter of collective identity with history education – the effect of family traditions. The decreased interest of the young, raised in a democratic society, towards history and society, and the acceptance of the loss of democratic freedom as taken for granted, and the inability to see a threat in anti-democratic occurrences, are also issues.

Practice must be altered if changes in education are to succeed. New learning materials to support the curriculum must be compiled and technology applied; new methods of teaching introduced (Fullan, 2006: 28). The teachers are the key element in educational change. The final result depends on how teachers think and act: have they have been involved in reforming the curriculum and do they support the changes? The greatest challenge is changing the profession of the teacher. Therefore, it is essential for future reforms and curriculum development to be aware of the teachers' assessment of the changes that have taken place as well as their wishes and demands for planning future political decisions.

2. The aim of the survey

The aim of the survey was to determine how teachers conceived and assessed the process of change during the time of change, and how they assess it today in retrospect. How did they conceive their work and the role of history teaching? What were the differences and similarities? Which circumstances have affected the process of

change the most? In which ways have pupils changed in relation to their interest in and knowledge of history? What do History teachers perceive as of most importance in the context of the present day? The results of the survey make it possible to analyse the impact and extent of the changes and present propositions for the field workers of educational policy as to what should be accounted for when planning educational reforms, in order to help those involved in the process – teachers and pupils – cope with the changes.

There are no earlier surveys on the development of history teaching from the middle of the 1980-s to nowadays. Therefore, no comparative data can be used in the present survey. However, it is possible to find similarities with the conclusions of other scientists. Anu Raudsepp has studied the changes in history teaching during an earlier period in her PhD thesis ‘The organisation of history teaching in Estonian-speaking Schools in Estonian SSR in 1944-1985’ (2005). The (currently undefended) PhD thesis by Katrin Kello concentrates on how history teachers interpret the objectives of the history syllabus. The (currently undefended) PhD thesis by Milvi-Martina Piir includes interviews with the young who learnt history after regaining independence. The curricula of Estonia after it regained independence are studied by Vadim Rõuk and Maria Erss. The curriculum change as experienced by teachers has been dealt with by Eeva Keskküla, Krista Loogma, Piibe Kolka ja Krisitina Sau-Ek from the viewpoint of social innovation in the article *Curriculum change in teachers experience: the social innovation perspective* (2012).

3. Methods

10 phenomenographic interviews with History teachers from Estonian and Russian speaking schools were carried out in 2012 to answer the problems in question. 7 of the 10 teachers worked in Estonian and 3 in Russian speaking schools, 8 were female and 2 were male. The teachers were aged 47-73. All of them had been working in school during the Singing Revolution, and still do so. The interviewed teachers represent different geographical districts in Estonia. The length of the interviews varied between one to two hours. The questions to direct the interview were based on the factors that had emerged in the analysis of legal acts and literature that represent the period in focus. Questions were formed as open

(to offer the interviewees the option of describing their experience), directing (to remain on the interviewer's topics of interest) and contrasting (to confirm the statements). The interviewees gave consent to sharing their thoughts. Sharing their experience was meaningful for the interviewees.

The interviews were transcribed and categorised based on the written text and a narrative analysis was carried out. This was also sent to the interviewees to be checked for validity. The respondents were asked to highlight the parts they felt were not in accordance with what they had conversed and to add anything of relevance if it was not already a feature of the text. There were no substantial additions.

Based on the analysis of the interviews a questionnaire was prepared for the next stage, to conduct a survey of all the teachers who had been working in schools in 1991 and before that, and continued to be working in 2012/2013. Before sending the questionnaire to the full sample a pilot study was conducted on the previously interviewed teachers (10) in order to test the suitability of the questions.

The questionnaire contained 18 questions, divided into five separate units. The aim of the questions in the First Unit was to reveal the origin of primary knowledge in history and whether or to what extent it has been reassessed, what has been the source of new knowledge, and which historical events or their interpretations have caused the most dispute. The Second Unit contained questions about history education during Soviet times and the transition period. Questions about national curricula and History syllabus were in the Third Unit. These aimed to reveal the teachers' attitude toward normative documents and their opinion on history education and the changes that have taken place. The Fourth Unit contained questions on the national examination in History – how do teachers perceive the effect of the examination, its pros and cons? Questions in the Fifth Unit revealed the effect of the History teachers' association on history education. The last question was a request to rank the most important aspects of history education today in order of importance.

Teachers were requested three times to answer the questions. A total of 125 teachers aged 42-83 filled in the questionnaire. It is difficult to evaluate how many responses from the full sample were not received, as the sample by EHIS (Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteem –

Estonian Educational Information System) did not meet the given criteria: many of the teachers taught other subjects. At the same time, several teachers, who to my knowledge had been working in school during the period of interest, were missing from the sample. I sent the questionnaires individually to 31 teachers outside the sample, all of them responded. 69 teachers in the EHIS sample, which might also include teachers of other subjects, did not respond.

The choice-answer questions were analysed quantitatively. The narrative method was used for open questions and interviews. A summary is given. When a question implied choosing an answer from a specified selection, many of the specific choices were highlighted. When it was requested to order on a rank of 1-3, the tendency of the choices is given in percentages. Inter-sample differences are not presented in statistical analysis. The differences between the answers given by teachers from Estonian and Russian speaking schools are reflected in the supplementary explanations.

4. Discussion

The discussion is based on the most important aspects of the survey.

4.1 *The Beginning of Educational Changes*

The first half of the 1980s can be marked as the beginning of changes. At first, forbidden materials such as poems by the famous Estonian writer Hando Runnel and the Letter of 40⁵ were read in a closed circle of trusted colleagues. Some of the schools started a tradition of wearing national costumes at final ceremonies. Problems were raised and discussed more readily at public forums. In 1985, Tallinn Secondary School No 32 began teaching the history of Estonia with the permission of the Ministry of Education. In 1987/88, the Republican Syllabus Commission drafted a letter to be sent to the USSR Ministry of Education in Moscow making public the planned reformations in the contents and literature of the subject. The letter was supported by minister Elsa Gretškina. While Soviet rhetoric was applied during the teachers' congress of 1987 it was clear that something was in the air. Political activity and social engagement by both teachers and pupils had increased. They took part in bicycle trips to protest phosphate mining in East-Estonia (*Robelisterattaretk*), in night singing festivals and other events. Radios played all night and the issues heard were discussed during the day.

The questionnaire aimed to find an answer for the question of who directed and coordinated the process of change and what has changed the most in history teaching compared to Soviet times. There were four multiple answers for the first question. The teacher's liberty of decision-making ranked the highest (96), followed by the effects of what was going on in public society (70), then came directions of the Ministry of Education (36) and the role of the school head ranked lowest (6). In the second question, the highest-ranking answer was subject contents (88), pupil (64), methods (57), study materials (53), role of the teacher (37) and, finally, the importance of History in comparison with other subjects (25).

The changes in history teaching occurred gradually with changes in society. In 1987, at the conceptual session of Tallinn Pedagogical University, Silvia Õispuu (History educationalist of the then Tallinn Pedagogical Institute) invited teachers to reform history teaching and asked for volunteers to help in the development. The concept emerged of developing national history programmes and abandoning the general model previously given by the Soviet Union.

Most teachers did not perceive any directing by the state and recognised that the teachers had a lot of freedom. *There were no directions in 1990, when I started teaching history in school. ... The principal of our school promoted my work, I even received some kind of extra pay.* Some conservative heads of school were difficult – *public activists, such as Tunne Kelam and Trivimi Velliste, were prohibited from appearing in front of the pupils.* The liberty of the transitional period had a negative side. A head of school reveals – *In some cases, the so-called democracy and liberty caused anarchy in the teachers' attitudes and the concept of everything being allowed and having excessive rights. At the same time, random people (such as unemployed specialists from the sovboxes, the young straight from school), who had a great potential to disrupt the balance and continuity of schools, without understanding the many facets of school life, came to schools, particularly in the countryside. The forms of complementary training and open university were only freshly new and the path of these young people on the way to becoming a teacher depended on directions of the school principle and head teacher and the individual desire to become a good teacher.*

In general, teachers assessed their freedom in a positive manner, but would have expected the state to provide more support. Those not comfortable with reassessing the past quit teaching. The changes in society were so quick that study materials were not renewed fast

enough. I recall going to the cinemas from across the county, to watch documentaries on the history of Estonia, commentated on by historian Lauri Vahter. We went to see the programme in the cinema 'Ilo' in Rakvere, the hall was full of pupils and teachers. In the beginning of 1990s, a television series 'Stories of the Past' ('Lugusidmöödunudajast') presented summarised reviews of the history of Estonia. We watched these in lessons as they made good illustrative material. The teachers prepared their lessons based on notes from their studies in university and material from the media. I had to start teaching a course on the history of Estonia in 1989 and I took notes from *History of Estonia parts I-III in the library of the University of Tartu for the ancient times*, I also looked for materials on the Republic of Estonia. Lectures on historical events were given to pupils, who took notes. The pupils' had a very strong interest in history during the transitional period. Teachers received support via complementary training. Participation in the work of heritage protection and conceptual sessions was educational.

The teachers of Russian speaking schools highlighted the obligation to follow the programme. The view that the ministry abandoned Russian speaking schools has also been expressed. The Russian speaking school followed the old system during the transitional period. The syllabus was synchronised in 1996, with confirmation of the National Curriculum.

Attitudes differed toward interpretations of history, even about the future of Estonia. There were clear supporters, but also a marginal number of those not supportive of such bold conceptions, even among pupils. *The boys banged on top of their desks and told us not to lie. We were taught differently...* The teacher guided Russian pupils to study history on their own ...I did not make this up. *Read on your own, what Russian historians write, how Russian history has changed.*

Therefore, history education during the transitional period depended mostly on the history teacher, on his or her knowledge and sense of responsibility.

4.1.1 Reassessing the Knowledge in History

Historical truth was a central key-word during the period of change. Soviet education had not included learning the history of the Republic of Estonia. Knowledge of that period originated from home, informal education: discussions with university lecturers, books, but also parents' memories. It was influenced by the cultural

atmosphere created by educated parents and grandparents; outstanding home library collection or a suitcase in the attic full of forbidden books; having a history teacher as mother or father.

A large proportion of respondents have had to reassess their knowledge about history or position (61). Acquiring better knowledge is given as an explanation. 'Not much' and 'a little' were marked equally (28), because the respondents knew that such acquisition is a continuous process and will occur in the future as well. Those whose knowledge has remained the same throughout their lifetime, were clearly a minority (7). The most common source of new knowledge is literature (93). This is followed by media (78) and scientists (71), with little difference between both. Other people (28) were the least used source for reassessing one's knowledge.

To answer the question '*Which knowledge has been reassessed the most?*' World War II (79) and repressions by the Soviet regime (79) were equally ranked, the Estonian Fight for Freedom (60) came second, Estonian period of independence (59) came third by only one point and the Independence of Estonia in 1918 (51) was the fourth. Taking a historical-philosophical approach toward the past, assessing the same event from different perspectives, was novel, compared to right-or-wrong, good-or-bad.

4.1.2 *Which Problems or Interpretations of Historical Events Have Caused the Most Dispute?*

Incontestably, the highest-ranking topic of dispute was the year 1940 in Estonia (84), followed by occupation (69), World War II (47) and regaining the independence of Estonia (37), deportations (26), Estonian Fight for Freedom (15) and, lastly, declaring the Republic of Estonia (9). Collaboration between Estonians and foreign regimes and participating in deportation, aiding the deportation, informing on neighbours and acting out for revenge have also been highlighted. Additionally, the year 1944, signing the Treaty of the Bases in 1939, the role of the government of Otto Tief⁶ and assessments of the Soviet period in general were highlighted. *There is always a greater number of different positions when more recent events are assessed, because all either remember the time differently or serve it in a way that suits them best.*

The main questions of the events in 1940 are: Who were the June Communists?⁷ What happened during the elections? What were the roles of Konstantin Päts⁸ and Johan Laidoner⁹? Why was the

surrender silent, without any resistance? Why were the Baltic countries unable to cooperate? At the same time it was argued that it is easy to blame the politicians of the time for not taking action, but the situation was complicated and they did not possess the information that we do today. *These events will remain an object of discussion for a very long time. In my opinion, until it is finally acknowledged – the Republic of Estonia was occupied in 1940. Deportation was a crime.*

The problem of how to deal with Estonians choosing sides in World War II is also raised. This was often not the decision of the individual. In order to survive, one had to choose the lesser of two evils. *My father served in the air force. But I don't consider Estonians who served on the German side as heroes (much less those on the Soviet side). They were simply caught in between the events of history, not heroes.*

There were differences in the positions taken by Estonian and Russian society in assessing the events of 1940 and World War II. World War II has a different meaning for us – both the Soviet and German occupations were foreign regimes forced upon us, but for Russian pupils what matters is the historical defeat of Nazism, when Europe was freed. The effects of the Russian media and of family traditions are strong in shaping attitudes. *At the moment, the Russian pupil has three histories: the official (textbook), the teacher's position, and what they hear at home. The situation was the same in Soviet times, except that it was reversed.*

A teacher from a Russian speaking school explained that the definition of occupation causes negative emotions and is insulting. The common people believed the Soviet newspapers and went to help their common nation – the Estonians. Today, pupils are starting to accept the occupation as a historical fact, although the topic still causes negative emotions.

Assessing the Soviet period is further complicated by the fact that the respondents had a personal connection to the time. Many thought that life was safer during the Soviet regime, people felt more secure about the future. *The entire period is generalised, based on personal memories and single events. ... there is a certain nostalgic feeling and the negative is not remembered for long. The Soviet times are somewhat idealised (especially in times of low economy)... There is a danger of passing the same way of thinking on to the young, without talking about the negative side of the period. Some of the young have a naïve and simplified impression that life was better in the Soviet times, because the state provided a job and home,*

everything was free etc. When a story is told from a different angle (for example three years in the Soviet army, only two television channels, closed borders), they start to think about it.

There are other difficult aspects. Are all, are those who lived in Estonia during the time guilty somehow? *When talking about the Soviet occupation, how to deal with the people who were not deported, who were often forced to join the Communist Party, but who really wanted to preserve what existed, including history.*

If occupation and World War II are one area of dispute between the two communities, then Estonia's regaining of independence is mostly discussed within the Estonian community. The main issue is the role of different individuals and organisations: whether the Peoples' Front, Estonian Congress or the Supreme Council had the most effect ... *who said, who thought, who had the biggest part, who's in the background, who's in the picture. ... Political affiliations have a big part in biasing history for one's benefit. History as a whole is subjective, everyone sees from their personal perspective.*

In addition to disputes, interpretations of the history of the 20th century Estonia also include myths: *Declaring the Republic – we did it, Fight for Freedom – we did well; 1940 – Päts was bad, gave Estonia away; occupation – not so bad, paid work, jobs for everyone, don't remember the politics; re-independence – we sang ourselves free. ... I've tried to explain the pupils that in reality there were a lot of different people, understandings, ambitions, beliefs, spirit of the time. History lives as long as the people who lived in these times, living memory, remembrance exist.*

4.2 Development of History Education in a Re-independent Estonia

Substantial changes in history education were gradual. Teachers were pleased with the liberty gained during the transition period, but they don't miss that time because it was very time-consuming to prepare materials for each lesson. A distinctive framework was created by the new National Curriculum of 1996, which had a lot of opposition at first because teachers could not choose what to teach. Textbooks were mostly followed, the syllabus set out in the collection *To Help the Teacher* (*Abiks õpetajale*, 2002) was used instead of the curriculum. Some respondents also admitted that they never looked at the curriculum, they follow the textbooks instead. *I sincerely admit that I did not look at any curriculum for at least 10 initial years of working as a teacher.*

... I follow the existing materials in good faith that they correspond to the National Curriculum.

The History syllabus of the curriculum of 2002 was an amended and completed version of the preceding curriculum; its deficiencies had been removed based on experience.

4.2.1 History Education in the National Curriculum of 2011

The current (2011) National Curriculum has been praised for reducing the number of compulsory topics, which leaves more time for an in-depth approach. The separation of topics into categories of 'compulsory' and 'in-depth' gives the teachers greater freedom to decide, and evinces trust in the teacher. Prioritisation of culture, integrating history with the local past, and developing skills, are all welcomed. Integration and cooperation with other subjects, which allows the pupils to develop creativity and the teacher to apply formative evaluation, is also highlighted. The introduction of selective courses allows the pupils' interests to be taken into account. Values education is highlighted. Teaching the history of Estonia in context within general history is well-received.

The decrease in the number of compulsory General History courses is highlighted as a weakness. The 35-lesson long General History overview course might increase superficiality. ... *According to the latest curriculum, a decent history education is impossible. Important parts have been left out and there is too little time for the rest. There is no time for discussions and assessments. A quick look at the facts and on to the next... The curriculum broke the previous well-established system.* At the same time, a decrease in the contents of the subject is not perceived. *The amount of teaching is the same (which was aimed for), but at the same time it's nonsense to chase after all these skills. We grow and raise the children every day, without even thinking, whether skills in Mathematics are developed in History. ... The expected results are formative and have seemingly been written with a presumption that most of the teachers will not bother to read them.*

The following arguments were given in support of reducing the contents: *The pupils' abilities must be taken into account realistically and with the notion that they need to acquire knowledge in other subjects as well... The current curriculum has regard to the changes in pupils' lifestyle and interests. There is no time for reading the long text, even the pupils' ability to read has (sadly) weakened. Therefore, the decrease in content, greater liberty and creativity*

are justified, they help to avoid the situation, where a bright-eyed and interested child is against picking up a History textbook in a few years' time.

4.2.2 The Main issues With the History Syllabus

The heavy load of contents and topics (36.09 %) and the low number of lessons/courses (33.91 %) are highlighted as the greatest problem. Other multiple-choice answers such as directives (16.96 %), teacher's freedom to decide (6.09 %), large number of lessons/courses (3.9 %), and lack of topics (3.04 %) occur to a lesser extent.

Additionally, fragmentation and lack of attention to 20th century Estonian history are mentioned. Some of the teachers want the subject to be centred more on the world history; others disagree – *History should be Europe-centred. Dealing with the history of African countries in general education schools is questionable.*

Teachers were mostly pleased with History in basic school. This changed very little compared to the curriculum of 2002. Younger pupils have always been interested in learning about Ancient and Medieval times, but they lose interest in form 8, when they learn about the Modern Age. *The pupil cannot relate to the revolutions of 1848 and peasant laws are boring. Napoleon and inventions can still attract attention.* Pupils search for answers to the crises of today and are, therefore, interested in international relations during the Cold War, which explain the reasons behind the current conflicts.

Lack of time is perceived as the greatest problem. With only 35 lessons a year, History is too substantial in content-terms. Teachers complained about this in relation to teaching History in form 5 and with the General History course in the gymnasium. This leads to ... *losing the pupils' interest... There is still only barely enough time to go into depth and revise. Going to study trips and lessons in museums needs to be given more time... With more lessons, time could be given for discussions, role-plays and other activities.* Other teachers don't see increasing the number of lessons as an option, because pupils' interests and expectations are different and all pupils cannot become historians. Interaction with other subjects is seen as a means of making the subject more effective. *For example, written texts in the textbooks of other subjects, maps in Geography, history of science in each specific subject etc.* This is recognised to be an ideal, but coordination must be achieved by cooperating with other teachers and can only occur at the curricular level. Lack of time

is complained about and integration will not come about in a way that truly supports the pupil.

Lack of specifics is also highlighted: there are a lot of facts that should be known. *If we remain true to the concept that facts are not important, then what do we really know about history? What happened first and what after can only be known, if we know, when a specific event occurred and who the participants were and who the leading figures were etc.* A student in the University of Tartu, who failed to recognise the name of Martin Luther,¹⁰ was used as an illustrative example.

The teachers fear that elective subjects in schools will be decided based on pragmatic consideration and these would be the subjects of the national examinations. The importance of humanities subjects could possibly decrease. There is also the danger of elective courses becoming recreational. What guarantees are there that schools will decide on introducing elective subjects wisely, based on the development of the pupil?

The educational literature corresponding to the latest curriculum has met with a critical reception. A teachers' handbook is needed. Teachers have trouble adapting the materials for a 35-lesson course because the new curriculum was accepted without new textbooks and the old set of Human-Society-Culture was meant for 105 lessons. Some expressed their opinion that the new curriculum should not have been accepted before new materials had been worked out. *It's as if we're back in the beginning – making materials ourselves.* A teacher from a Russian speaking school expressed displeasure with not having parallel textbooks in basic school. Competition would increase quality. Current textbooks are filled with facts and include mistakes.

Teachers complain about being overloaded with work and consequent fatigue and apathy caused by the continuing educational reforms. They are worried about an increased workload due to supervising creative and independent studies. They also complained about the pupils' decreased performance, that's without including results for pupils with special needs, whose numbers in basic school have increased.

In addition to issues with the syllabus, the schools' supply of study materials and tools is a problem. *The greatest issue – our school lacks technical applications (some rooms have a data-projector and a TV set and previous registration is necessary).* Limited numbers of copies can be made. Lessons in museums and excursions also require funding.

4.2.3 Teachers' Support During the Reformation Period

Complementary training (95) has affected the carrying-out of the changes the most, followed by new textbooks (78), supportive materials for the curriculum (65) and the national examination system (32).

Supplementary materials and teachers' guidebooks, which would assist the teacher in applying the concepts of the curriculum to their teaching, are given as substantial a role as complementary training, but publishers are not interested in compiling these due to the small size of the market for textbooks.

Training seminars on county, national or international topics, which introduced both new knowledge and methods, were all rated as the most useful. The respondents also included teachers with negative experience. *I greatly distrust training seminars, which have become a huge business project that do not attend to the real needs of teachers.*

Experience gained by teaching, cooperation and the exchange of experience with colleagues, were highlighted, as also were common sense, long evenings on the Internet including e-training, and English language skills. Library and supplementary materials for the curriculum offered support, particularly: To Help the Teacher.

Textbooks are assessed differently. There is both praise and critique. ... *that the new textbooks are child-friendly, with many interesting facts, colourful pictures...* Basic school textbooks based on the current curriculum (2011) that need to be explained by the teacher received a negative critique ... *textbooks are vague, pupils do not understand the wording... Despite the concept that we do not teach a textbook, it is difficult to underestimate the role of the textbook. Pupils are increasingly more often absent from lessons, they must have an opportunity to learn independently, i.e. the material must be accessible at all times.* General History for the XII grade by Kaido Jaanson, published by Koolibri in 1992, was considered to have been the best textbook through the ages.

At the same time, teachers appreciate having supplementary material that helps to understand the curriculum (www.oppekava.ee).¹¹

4.3 *National Examination in History*

The majority of respondents found that the national examination has had both positive and negative effects on learning (55), a large proportion (35) thought that it had only a positive effect and only a few (7) a wholly-negative one.

The positive aspects of the examination were its role as an entrance test (77), prioritisation of skills (76), central composition (69), central evaluation (62), pass mark 20 points (47) and, lastly, the school ranking (5). It is in accordance with the latter that school ranking was rated as the most negative (86), followed by threshold result (27), central evaluation (17), central composition (14), using it to enter a university (10) and prioritisation of skills (8).

The national examination in History has both positive and negative aspects in directing the learning process. The national curriculum of 2011 will eliminate the national examination in History. There was a lot of opposition when the examination was first introduced. Its elimination causes both dismay and delight. At the same time the new examination system has not yet been fully developed. It has already been noticed that the schools base their course outlines on the subjects which will retain national examination and, thus, there is the danger of History being relegated to the background. But knowledge of history is an important part of literacy.

The respondents considered the national examination as a way of motivating pupils' interest. They had to write essays and work with sources while preparing for the examination. Students could use the examination results to enter a university. Members of the examination committee learnt to create high-quality tasks and the graders received an overview of the level of pupils' knowledge and skills. Summarising analyses were a help in orientating teaching, and adjusted the contents and standards of teaching. History became less fact-centred thanks to the national examination. ... I can say as feedback from the students that they have less trouble with writing essays, discussions and course works in the universities. Additionally, the examination proved to the head of school that History and Social Studies are important subjects. The elimination of the examination is seen as a threat to maintaining attention on developing skills. Analysing and evaluating student essays is very time-consuming. If there is no national examination to require writing an essay, would it

still be practiced in school? The examination reviewed very different tasks (map, picture, source)...and was thereby varied... People (even History teachers) are as lazy as they are allowed to be. And if there is no external pressure then there will be those (and I really hope not many) who choose the easier and more convenient way.

Ranking the schools in the public media, which was a basis for assessing a teacher's work, was negatively perceived. School ranking caused pointless problems, because it compared the incomparable. Elite school students, who were accepted based on entry-examination results, cannot be compared with students from ordinary schools, whom the teacher has probably had to do more work with. There was also the opinion that school ranking shows general standards and signals possible problems, especially if the average result of ten years is used instead of just one. Publishing the ranking lists on the media is a separate issue. However, each school should have a chance to compare itself with other schools. Teachers from Russian speaking schools mentioned being pressurised by the administration if students' results were low.

At some point the national examination became limiting – students learnt for the examination! Written expression was prioritised over oral. The threshold of 20 points was criticised for not being in accordance with a scale, which requires 50% for a positive result.

Only interested students chose the national examination in History, because it was elective. The students who chose the national examination have become some kind of 'followers' of the teacher, who are fun to meet even years later.

The possibility of using the results of the national examination for entering a university was highlighted in a positive way. At the same time, some thought that the entry examinations of the university should be based on the specifics of the university. I can also recall the entry examinations in the university as both a student and the examiner and I find the national examination to be more objective. Separating the examinations increases the students' stress and workload.

There were some doubts as to whether the evaluation process of national examinations is objective, i.e. are the student's arguments taken into account or do the graders look for a previously agreed upon answer?¹²The grading of the examination was considered to be

a valuable experience and it was suggested that members of the evaluation commission should change every year, so that as many teachers as possible could have a chance to develop.¹³ Uniform demands are appreciated. Teachers, who know each student, their abilities and can see the whole picture, should do the grading. The period of waiting for results is very stressful for the students. And the most negative aspect is that students and teachers received no feedback about their work.¹⁴

Central compilation, which guarantees that all students take identical examinations, was assessed positively. Compilation is a lot of work: extra work for the teacher. Some respondents also thought that teachers were being distrusted, and preferred that the examinations are compiled and taken in schools. The decision about graduating from the gymnasium should be left for the school. If the school has a right to function, then it should also be granted the right to decide who graduates, and how. There was another opinion: I find it unethical that teachers, whose students take the examination, also compile it. I'm not saying that teachers teach their students the tasks in the examination paper, but that the tasks are created based on what the teacher teaches.¹⁵ Central compilation and evaluation reduce the parents' stress. The common opinion is that teachers are unreasonably spiteful.

National examinations are deficient by being excessively standardised. Teachers learnt to teach and students to solve the examination form, which derived from years of experience. Sets of review materials were published prior to the examination and students learnt everything in the materials, due to lack of time. Examination papers became correct in form and boring in contents.

The respondents also highlighted several stereotypical attitudes of teachers toward examinations.

4.4 *Modern History Education*

4.4.1 *The Greatest Changes From the Soviet Times to Today*

For the majority, these were considered to be contents (88), pupil (64), teaching methods (57), teaching materials (53), teacher's role (37) and the importance of History in comparison with other subjects (25).

The society we live in has changed completely. This affects the pupil, the child of the age. Values and the way life is understood

differ. Teachers highlight the widened access to information and pupils' decreased interest in history. Interest is lost when the historical memory is lost in the family. Attitudes toward learning have changed, motivation to study has decreased. The modern pupil is aware in choosing what and how much to learn.

The practice of pupil-centred learning is the greatest change in history education. Different understandings and points of view are studied instead of the final truth. The teacher can use different interactive applications, a wide range of native and translated literature, encyclopaedias, Internet, movies etc. During Soviet times we had a blackboard with chalk. The practice of active study has increased. Today, it is important to have the pupil shape his/her opinion and explain it with arguments and have a chance and right to voice it.

The contents of ancient history and the history of China and Rome have changed less than the recent history. The importance of History, which was once an ideologically significant subject, has decreased, which cannot be something approved of.

Opinions on teaching materials differ. Some say that the quality of textbooks and supplementary materials has increased. Others consider the textbooks to have lost quality year by year. Too many pictures, too colourful, visually tiring, contents are increasingly vague, illogical, difficult for the pupils to understand.

The teachers' role has changed. The teacher today must be a social worker, family counsellor, security worker, police officer ... , but professionalism is important in every age. The teacher is more like a guide, supporter, the pupil the seeker and finder. Results are reached through cooperation. There are more rights and greater freedom to make decisions. I dare to discuss with the children. I do not mock anyone's opinion. This was not possible during Soviet times. At the same time, the teacher has less authority than during Soviet times; inspiration and the ability to motivate are the means of influence.

4.4.2 The Major Aims and Tasks of History Education

The respondents were asked to rank the given answers on a scale of 1 to 3. The ordering is based on average scores: developing critical thinking, providing evidence for one's opinion (24%), developing pupils' ability to think (20,75%), raising interest in history (19,5%), appreciating historical experience (15%) , followed by shaping skills

as equals (7,5%) and offering knowledge in important historical events (7,5%) and appreciating democracy (4,75%) and, lastly, good results in examinations (1%).

Teachers recognise raising interest in pupils, emphasising and keeping democracy and developing human values as the keywords of the modern history education. Examples of the importance of keeping these values are provided by history. It must also be explained that past nations have been clever before us – to appreciate experience, including that of parents and grandparents. It is also important to prioritise Estonia, learn native history and shape constructive patriotism. Learning the basic facts and concepts of history must not be forgotten when shaping the skills. There can be no discussion or analysis without knowledge, but at the same time, the whole picture will not follow from learning a single fact from history.

4.5 *Problems With History Education*

The respondents were asked to choose three of six given answers and rank them on a scale of 1 to 3. Pupils being overloaded was highlighted as the most significant problem (21,24%), History is not important for the pupil (19,17%), educative literature (17,99%), pupils' lack of interest (15,93%), teachers being overloaded (15,04%). History syllabus (6,78%) and national examination (3,83%) were perceived much less frequently as problems.

In open answers, the divided interests of pupils was stressed, but also being absent, lack of reading, inability to concentrate and go into depth, and the workload of both teachers and pupils. Other factors included the requirements of the curriculum and the position of history education in school, its loss of significance due to changes in the national examination system, the complexity of educative literature, and schools' supply of educative materials and literature. The transition to Estonian in Russian speaking schools leads to decreased knowledge and interest in the subject in the gymnasium.

The importance of History will decrease in the school's curriculum, because it is no longer a subject in the national examination (based of the National Curriculum, 2011). Students receive a message that Mathematics and foreign languages have higher priority. In the national examination system, the choice of topics guided the teachers' choice of contents, but the universities'

requirements for entering will inevitably affect teaching in the future. Or the system of passing an entrance examination will be reinstated in universities, as it was before the national examinations were introduced.

Teachers of Russian speaking schools see a problem in the transition to teaching in Estonian. Knowledge in the subject will suffer due to the students' bad language skills. Interest in the subject is unthinkable when students cannot learn in Estonian. Sadly, these subjects are History and Social Studies. Learning in Estonian must begin much sooner, so that understanding subjects that are difficult to learn even in mother tongue may be guaranteed.

New textbooks have plenty of illustrations and are eye-catching at first sight. However, when concentrating, it becomes clear that the many colours are distracting and the pupil is unable to locate the most significant elements from the text. The basic school textbook would be better suited for the gymnasium. The transition to the new curriculum was too sudden; textbooks are not finished. *First, before the new curriculum comes into effect, there should be a new set of study materials.* The teachers have once more been forced into combining and compiling materials on their own.

Modern pupils have many different interests and the opportunity to pursue them. They don't often consider History to be the most important subject. Active pupils with wide knowledge participate in nearly all Olympiads/contests and are overloaded. Gymnasium students have 8-9 lessons per day. Homework must be finished after the school day ends. ... Therefore, subjects that can be helpful in succeeding in life, such as English, are studied more and there is not enough time and energy for much else. *The situation is particularly hard, when there are one or two strong teachers in school, they give so much homework that others don't have a chance.*

Teaching must become more and more interactive to earn the pupils' interest. Learning History requires thinking, but this is unpleasant for the pupil! It takes time and concentration. 'Stories about history' are preferred. Knowledge is gained from television channels (History, Discovery etc.), which have more interesting ways of presenting the material and contrast with teaching in school. *History is to be presented as entertainment.* Pupils' lack of reading causes problems with vocabulary; pupils do not understand the age and the background of historical events. The emphasis on special needs

forces the teacher to differentiate his/her teaching. There isn't enough knowledge, time and energy. Teachers feel abandoned with their workload and problems. They expect more support from the state and a more specified work management, instructions for making complex-examinations and writing and evaluating research works. ... *Where is the science of pedagogy?*

Teachers are as overloaded as the pupils. *There is barely enough time for giving and preparing the lessons.* The teacher must do a lot of extra work to make the subject more attractive... *which could be available as a supplement to the textbook.* There is a need to concentrate and order electronical materials. ...*we should agree on where to collect these materials, so as to make it more easily accessible* ... The increased workload from transition to the new national curriculum is perceived with anxiety, much like the increasing bureaucracy. ...*supervising research, finding and compiling ICT materials, reports, e-school, communicating with the pupils via e-mail, ... preparing and grading examination papers, ... at the same time, you have to be aware of new and revolutionary concepts in history.* Teachers of History and Civic Studies feel that they are expected to contribute more to celebrating different national days in school ... *organising Citizen's Day, Independence Day.* At the same time, the pay is low in comparison with other professions that require higher education (for example doctors and lawyers). ... *a teacher must give more lessons than the standards require to earn a decent pay.*

Conclusions

Based on analysing the results of the survey, it is apparent that teachers perceive great changes compared to the Soviet period. The period of reformations is assessed as an interesting challenge and a time of great liberty, but its passing is not missed. Better organisation and stability in teaching, supplementary materials and tools to apply for teaching are required. Educative literature has a great role in guiding the teacher's work. The curriculum as a document is the ground for teaching the subject, but teachers are not well-acquainted with the requirements in the general part. The national examination has had much influence on history education. Whether the attitude was positive or negative, the effect of the examination on teaching methods and standardising the teaching was acknowledged. Supplementary methodical materials and a common electronic environment to be based on the curriculum were missed.

Establishing an institute for method-development or making it a task for existing establishments (universities, for example) should be considered. Teachers should be involved in future educational reforms. Taking the teachers' propositions into account would guarantee a consensus in decisions and solidarity in following the concepts agreed upon. Explanations, queries and supplementary training are required for a better understanding of each change. A well-established subject association can be a useful partner for the state in developing the subject.

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Notes

¹ Silvia Õispuu, the author of the first teaching material on the history of Estonia, published in 1989, had trouble finding historians who would agree to write about the period of the Republic of Estonia. Historians were afraid of the future.

² EUROCLIO, a European History teachers' association founded in 1993, was supported by the Council of Europe and aimed to prioritise and support history education. This was achieved by organising conferences, conducting projects, publishing prints, practice exchange and other activities. Today, the association has 60 full member and 18 additional organisations from different countries. The Estonian History and Civic Teachers' Association has been a member of EUROCLIO from the beginning. As a result of two projects, two methodical handbooks for Estonian History teachers were published.

³ The Bronze Night refers to the events that occurred during the late hours of April 26, 2007 in Tallinn. It was caused by the intent to relocate the Bronze Soldier (monument for World War II) from the city centre to the Cemetery of the Estonian Defence Forces and subsequent archeological digging with the purpose of reburial of the associated remains. The symbolism of the Bronze Soldier differed among the separate national communities living in Estonia: for the Estonian Russians, it was the symbol of victory over Nazism in World War II, but for the ethnic Estonians it symbolised the Soviet occupation. Tension had been building for quite some time. In the evening of April 26, encounters among the people who had gathered around the monument lead to vandalism in the centre of Tallinn – shops were looted, cars were turned upside-down etc. In the early morning of April 27, the government decided to displace the monument. It

was relocated to the Cemetery of the Estonian Defence Forces, where veterans of World War II celebrate the Victory Day on May 9. The former location of the monument was transformed into a green area with flowerbeds. The tensions between separate communities remained. In the following weeks, the Minister of Education and Science Tõnis Lukas invited the teachers of Russian-speaking schools to discuss these events. However, a trustful atmosphere conducive for substantial discussion was not established at these meetings. Later, history teachers from Russian-speaking schools expressed their concern that the government ought to have discussed the issues related to the monument and possible solutions to the problems before the conflict broke out.

⁴ Volume II of the *History of Estonia: the Middle Ages* caused wide discussion. One key question was: to what extent should history support the national identity?

⁵ Forty intellectuals signed in 1980 the appeal to the Estonian Communist Party leaders pointing out serious problems and alarming tendencies in society.

⁶ Formed 1944, after German troops left and before Russian Army came in. The aim of the government was to declare the independence of Estonia between two occupations.

⁷ June communists are Estonian leftists who were enrolled in the new state authorities, when the Soviet Union organized the coup d'état in June 1940. In July-August 1940 they were enrolled in the Communist Party by simplified procedures.

⁸ Estonian politician, head of the state and the first president, elected 1938.

⁹ Estonian Commander in Chief.

¹⁰ A student mixed up Martin Luther with Martin Luther King.

¹¹ To Help the Teacher includes exemplary work plans for organising the teaching process and thematic and methodological articles. There is a similar material for interpreting the History syllabus of the curriculum of 2002.

¹² The guidelines for grading the Discussion are public and available among the materials of the national examinations on the SA Innove homepage (*Ajaloo riigieksamite eristuskiiri* – Introductory guide of the National Exam, its point 4.3 is a 25-point-long guideline for grading) and should convince teachers that a student's arguments be taken into account, whether or not the teacher agrees with the point of view.

¹³ This would not be good in the sense of standardising the grading process, because the experience in reading a lot of papers and common discussion guarantee that the graders are professional. The best graders have been selected over many years.

¹⁴ The subject teacher had and still has the opportunity to see their students' papers in the National Examinations Centre/Innove.

¹⁵ The authors of the examination tasks don't know which specific tasks are used in the final version. The paper is finished by a small workgroup whose members are not active teachers. The author-teacher cannot make the task unique to himself/herself because the task must meet the requirements of the curriculum

and examination directions, and all tasks will be properly reworded by the common committee.

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CHANGES IN INITIAL TRAINING OF HISTORY TEACHERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU IN THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD

Anu Raudsepp

The aim of the article is to explain the post-Soviet changes in the training of history teachers, its main results and factors during the transition of Estonia from the USSR to westernised society by the example of the University of Tartu where the training of gymnasium history teachers has traditionally and systematically been carried out since the 19th century. Significant development has taken place in the field of history teacher training in last twenty years at the University of Tartu. Like history teaching at a comprehensive school, developments in university teacher training have followed European best practice and new teaching directions. Mainly the improvement and modernisation of history didactics and its connection with the national curriculum have helped to increase the motivation for becoming a history teacher. The goal of the new, competence-based training is to develop a personality that is inclined to democratic thinking, tolerating diversity and avoiding violence.

Introduction

Throughout history, education in the subject of history has interested various societies first and foremost for its social function as the shaper of collective identity.¹ Therefore, over time the politically powerful have tried to establish as the aims of history teaching those aims which are compatible with their political purposes.² The training of history teachers is one of the key issues in history teaching, because on these teachers depends the realization of the curriculum and the development of values accepted in the society.

The aim of the present article is to explain the main factors and results relating to post-Soviet changes to the training of history teachers during Estonia's transition from the USSR to a westernized society, and to do so by taking as an example the University of Tartu where the training of gymnasium history teachers has traditionally and systematically been carried out since the 19th century. The importance of the University of Tartu as the oldest educational institution in Estonia, established in 1632, is demonstrated by its being among the top 3% of the world's best universities and the only university in so high a position in the Baltic countries.³ The other

higher educational establishment in Estonia to train gymnasium history teachers is Tallinn University (founded in 1952 as Tallinn Pedagogical Institute). During the Soviet period history teachers were trained for a short while there from 1952 to 1958⁴ and again at the end of the 1990s.

The chronological principle is followed. In determining a chronological framework, reforms in educational policy and the curricula adopted for training history teachers during a particular period are important. The article is based on documents concerning history teacher training (including curricula, and practical training diaries) and the opinions of relevant key figures.

The author participated in the process as a student, teacher and teacher training lecturer, so she will also draw on her own experience in the following analysis. The basis for the present research is the PhD thesis 'The Organization of history teaching in Estonian-speaking Schools in Estonian SSR in 1944-1985', defended by the author in the University of Tartu in 2005.⁵ Soviet educational policy in the 1980s⁶ and in post-communist Russian schools⁷ has been studied by Joseph Zajda.

1. Changes in the Training of History Teachers and Its Factors at the End of the Soviet Period

New changes to strengthen ideological pressure took place in the USSR in the second half of the 1970s. Obviously their goal was to restrict the discontent with the existing regime which was growing all over the Soviet Union. Signs of the Soviet system's weakening were becoming visible. School was one of the first and main areas to face this increasing ideological pressure.⁸ According to Joseph Zajda, who has studied Soviet educational policy, the reason why the establishment of principles for educating schoolchildren in the spirit of the Soviet internationalism and patriotism was required more than ever in new curricula and textbooks was the fact that existing Soviet school curricula did not foster the moral, ideological and social values required.⁹ Leaders in the Estonian educational sphere, the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party (ECP) and the Ministry of Education of the Estonian SSR, followed the instructions of the respective Soviet party and educational institutions, and also insisted on, and controlled the intensification of, ideological educational

work, especially through the humanities, including history and civics.¹⁰

Teachers were the main implementers of educational policy. During Soviet times all history students at the University of Tartu were obliged, like other students of school-related specialities, to undertake pedagogical training in school, after which most of the graduates were appointed to schools as teachers for three years. The measure taken to make the educational training of future teachers more efficient was a sharp broadening of the scope of pedagogical training in the second half of the 1980s. In addition to basic pedagogical training (10 weeks), constant pedagogical training was added in 1986, where altogether 144 hours of participation in the in school's educational and subject work across four semesters were mandated. However, in reality this gave rise to the opposite situation to that intended: students' interest in educational training became more and more formal. This is expressed particularly vividly in students' pedagogical training reports from that time. For example, in the constant pedagogical training reports by teacher training students in the academic year 1985/1986 the following laconic key words about educational work were named: organization of school's anniversary celebration, hiking day, group visit to an exhibition, library lesson, arranging and carrying out a history Olympiad.¹¹ Besides formality, the intensifying of antipathy towards educational work can clearly be observed in the basic pedagogical training reports by teacher training students. Still in the academic year 1985/1986 all 26 students except one wrote about educational work in the style *all is well*. For example, *I took part in subbotnik* ('voluntary' weekend work in the Soviet period) *in the market hall; as the class Komsomol*¹² *organization acted well, the Komsomol work also went normally in every way; I consider it successful; the class Komsomol core was authoritative and solid, which eased supervision etc.* On the other hand, in the academic year 1987/1988 from 17 students only two wrote that *all was well*. Most of the students (eleven) did not take part in pioneer and Komsomol work, saying: *such work was not done in school, there were no contacts, the lack of experience etc.*¹³ Substantial changes in the pedagogical and subject didactic training of future history teachers did not take place at the end of the Soviet period. However, considerable changes occurred in the teaching of history subjects. Young historians with a well-rounded education and proactive attitude to life found increasingly-

good employment possibilities in politics, journalism etc. The profession of history teacher became, by contrast, more and more unpopular.

2. Changes in the Training of History Teachers and the Factors in 1991-1998

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism brought along great political and social changes in all Europe.¹⁴ In connection with the establishment of the European Union in 1992, new integration started in Europe. Besides the domination of economic integration, in the post-Maastricht Treaty period (1993-1999) the European dimension of education also became important. This was specified in the document of the Commission of the European Communities on 9 September 1993: 'Green Paper on the European Dimension of Education', which considered teacher training very important: 'Teacher training is the main tool in the development of teachers' pedagogical practices. It therefore should be in the forefront of action to promote pedagogical innovation as well as to develop the European dimension in teaching. /---/Indeed, teachers and their trainers have an important role to play in the definition and introduction of new teaching areas. They are therefore the main players in integrating the European dimension into the content and practice of education.'¹⁵

Estonia, separating from the USSR and restoring independence in 1991, moved into a new cultural area, which also brought new democratic ideas and values to the university and to teacher training. The reorganization of teacher training inherited from the Soviet period was a real challenge. According to Prof. Edgar Krull, the university educationists were divided into different groups about the reorganization of teacher training. Most of them were generally satisfied with the teacher training system which had previously existed, and satisfied themselves with only removing meaningless communist slogans from the texts and trying to regulate pedagogical training at schools. Another group of educationists agreed with the organization of teacher training inherited from the Soviet period, but tried to reform the content more radically. As new teaching materials could not be produced yet, translated textbooks were published. A third group of educationists was even more radical, valuing more practical skills and experience apart from studying theory. Some

lecturers also appreciated international contacts and partnership between school and university in the renewal of teacher training.¹⁶

Until retiring in 1996, university senior lecturers Allan Liim and Hillar Palamets, who had been working since the Soviet period, maintained the initial training of history teachers. They tried to motivate young historians with positive experiences of history teaching to start to work as lectures in history didactics. Pille Valk, who was a lecturer in history didactics in the 1990s, later moved to the Faculty of Theology and became an internationally recognized religious education researcher.

At the beginning of the 1990s the five-year study-course was changed to one of four years; obligatory study for all to become a teacher and the three-year appointment to school were abolished in the teacher-training course at the University of Tartu. However, those who had entered university under the previous curriculum, were received into the profession of history teacher until the middle of the 1990s.

Substantial changes in teacher training started to take place only from spring 1994. The media expressed concern *about an educational crisis in Estonian schools and even the lack of home-grown educational policy*,¹⁷ *lack of consideration for schools' needs in teacher training and even the ongoing functioning of the old system of teacher training proceeding from the dictates of Moscow*.¹⁸ By this was meant that no considerable changes had taken place in teacher training since Estonia had regained independence. At the meeting of the deans of the University of Tartu on 12 April 1994 a commission to coordinate teacher training was established (altogether 12 members, 5 of them professors), led by Prof. Toomas Tenno and including representatives of all faculties. The task of the commission was to work out a general concept of teacher training.¹⁹ Following the example of natural scientists, the commission recommended establishing subject didactics lectureships in all faculties that dealt with teacher training. The statute was approved by the Council of the University of Tartu on 30 June 1995.²⁰ Allan Liim, for many years a well-known former headmaster and the Dean of the Faculty of History, established history didactics lectureship in the Department of History at once. In reality, this existed just a year, until the retirement of its establisher.²¹

Pedagogical subjects had a bad reputation, and therefore there was great tension between historians and pedagogical lecturers. While history lecturers thought only one semester enough for all

pedagogical preparation (including pedagogical training), the university lecturers of pedagogy did not agree.²² A new system was introduced in the university – four-year academic study was followed by one-year teacher training.²³ It was started for those interested from the academic year 1995/1996.²⁴ Although according to a contemporary student *there existed the real possibility that due to the sparsity of interested persons the training of history teachers would not take place that academic year*, nine students in total entered the inaugural one-year teacher training course in the autumn,²⁵ three of whom continue working at school today.

Most changes at that time in initial history teacher training took place in the field of subject instruction, as history was to be taught at school distinctly differently than it had been taught before. Scientific research work of the Department of History of the University of Tartu greatly contributed to good training in history. In history didactics international examples of practices remained marginal. In pedagogy communication psychology and ethics were emphasised more. The outdated didactics mode of instruction is also reflected in the opinions of students. The results of a survey carried out among students who had undergone teacher training in the University of Tartu in 1992-1997 show that only 46.6% considered their training adequate in order to work in school. 74% of respondents thought highly of their subject instruction but only 34% of their educational training.²⁶ Motivation for becoming a history teacher decreased even more compared with the end of the Soviet period and by the year 1998 only a few young history teachers graduated and went to school.²⁷

3. Changes in the Training of History Teachers and the Factors in 1998 – the Present Day

Estonian history teacher training had quite a bad reputation at the end of the 1990s. Elected as lecturer in history didactics in spring 1998, the author faced great challenges to motivate history students to choose the profession of a teacher and to ensure them good training. Although the new Estonian curriculum of 1997 was oriented to working with sources, critical thinking and the other skills, which were more important than just subject-knowledge, teacher training did not offer a necessary preparation.

Great reorganization in history teacher training took place at the time, when in Europe as well as in Estonia big changes in the development of higher education were caused by the Bologna declaration of 1999,²⁸ which aim was to create a coherent and cohesive European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010. The main policy-outlines in the statement included: adopt a system of easily readable and comparable degrees; adopt a system with two main cycles (undergraduate/graduate), establish a system of credits (ECTS), promote mobility by overcoming legal recognition and administrative obstacles, promote European co-operation in quality assurance, promote a European dimension in higher education.²⁹

The Estonian Minister of Education Tõnis Lukas, who was among the 29 European Ministers of Education signing the document, valued highly the importance of the Bologna process *to prepare a new generation of Europeans, who could step out from the shadows of the past and value the diversity of European cultures and languages. Acknowledging one's own culture and history, as well as knowing and appreciating other cultures, is our guarantee for the persistence of a Europe which is peaceful and enjoys economic development.*³⁰

As in the whole of Estonian education, changes also began in history teacher training in the University of Tartu. The main factor that helped radical change in teacher training towards a competence-based model was joining the European network of history didactics, and accessing its experience and advice. I thank especially Sirkka Ahonen, Professor at the University of Helsinki, for good advice and introduction in the international professional literature.

Projects supported by the Council of Europe and coordinated by Prof. Alois Ecker of University Vienna have been very important in supporting and promoting history teacher training since 1997 until the present. The first of these, which was also the first comparative study on the training of subject teachers on a European level,³¹ was the Council of Europe project 'Initial training for history teachers: structures and standards in 13 member states of the Council of Europe', carried out at the beginning of the Bologna process. The last was 'Assessment, tutorial structures and initial teacher education of trainee students in the subjects Political/Civic Education, Social/Cultural Studies and History in Europe – a comparative study' (coordinated by Prof. Alois Ecker, University of Vienna).³² Participation in the projects has significantly contributed to the

modernization of history teacher training in the University of Tartu, for example in the following areas: the relationship between theory and practice in university-based teacher education; the relationship between didactics theory and teaching practice; developing interdisciplinary co-operation and teamwork etc.

International training has also been significant, for example the Council of Europe Pestalozzi Programme for education professionals: 'Education for the prevention of crimes against humanity' 2008-2010 with the goal of working out methods with the help of experts at the Council of Europe. Based on the experience of that project, the University of Tartu runs an e-course 'Crimes Against Humanity as a Topic in History and Civics Lessons', whose study-outcomes include the competence to teach pupils in school how to find, analyze and critically interpret information about crimes against humanity; the competence to develop attitudes against such crimes and the abilities to prevent them; the competence to choose and use different methods, and how best to teach sensitive topics.³³

To help better carry out educational and scientific work in history and civics teachers' training, the Centre for Didactics of History and Civics was set up at the Institute of History and Archaeology at the University of Tartu in 2008. One of its main areas covers the compilation and publication of teaching materials for history teachers in the series 'History in Class' produced by the publishing house founded in 2006 especially for this purpose.³⁴ The series introduces sources and strategies to deal methodically with a variety of historical topics. The group of authors includes historians, history didactics and history teachers. While compiling these books, the reality and necessity of such topics in the present day are considered and the Estonian subject-matter is connected to the world-context. Six books have been published in the series since 2007. Here are some examples.

The first book of the series *Ajalooõpetamisemetoodikakäsiraamat* (Handbook of History Teaching Methodology) relies on the approach of the well-known European history didacts Christiane Counsell, Peter Meyers, Hans-Jürgen Pandel, Michael Sauer, etc., adapted for Estonian history teaching. The goal of the third book of the series *Sõjadjakonfliktid* (Wars and Conflicts) is to explain the methods for dealing with topics to do with war and present sources to develop antiwar attitudes among the youth. As the pretexts or

reasons of many actual acute problems originate from the 19th and 20th centuries, the chosen topics and examples (preferably from Estonian history) are connected with certain period. In the methods for dealing with military history various possibilities are explained relying on the perspectives of Sebastian Kühn, Gerhard Schneider etc., with new examples added. The most capacious part *Eesti ja 20. sajandi sõjakirjasõnas* (Estonia and the 20th Century Wars in Written Word) includes a wide selection of texts proceeding from various perspectives with explanations that can be used in practical schoolwork.

The areas engaged in by the Centre for Didactics of History and Civics also include in-service training, the study of the history of education, cooperation with the Estonian History and Civic Teachers Association (for example, participation in organising competitions to judge research work carried out by schoolchildren) and cooperation with schools, including the part-time job of university history didactics lecturers working in school as teachers.

Last but not least, international cooperation is also very important. One example is the European Commission's Lifelong Learning Programme, Project Colonisation and Decolonisation in National History Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective/ 'CoDec', coordinated by Prof. Bärbel Kuhn, University of Siegen). The project partners are the University of Siegen, the University of Leuven, the University of Tartu, Spoleczna Akademia Nauk, Glasgow Caledonian University, the University of Augsburg, Pädagogische Hochschule FHNW.

The project deals with several important research issues and approaches towards history cultures and memory politics in Europe: 1) studying the reappraisal of the colonial past and the processes of decolonisation in different European states in a comparative perspective and in cooperation with the European project partners; 2) studying how partner states teach the topic in history education and the question of the impact and importance of the colonial past on history cultures and memory politics today; 3) discussing how far national memory cultures of colonialism and decolonisation can be implemented into a collective European frame, in the context of the idea that the colonial past is a connecting as well as a dividing moment in European history.

Phases and projects of de-centralisation in history education, and widening historic views beyond national constraints, enable students to become aware of cultural diversity and to recognise and evaluate it accordingly. In encountering other times and historically different worlds is the chance to look at one's own history with a new awareness and to respect the other as a legitimate variant. In general, a closer cooperation between science and didactics is highly important. The main results of the project will be teaching modules, published in print and in digital versions, including introductions and lesson plans plus new sources, translated into the official EU-languages.³⁵

Conclusion

Significant development has taken place in the field of history didactics in teacher training over the last twenty years at the University of Tartu. As with history teaching in the comprehensive school, developments in university teacher training have followed European best practice and new teaching directions. The improvement and modernization of history didactics and its connecting with the national curriculum have mainly helped increase motivation for becoming a history teacher. The goal of the new, competence-based training is to develop a personality that is inclined towards democratic thinking, tolerating diversity and avoiding violence— which are largely ideological (or value-laden) goals.

Interest in the profession of history teacher has started to grow little by little and consistently. In 1998 only two students graduated from the University of Tartu as history teachers, whereas in the present year there were 16 graduates. In total over the last three years there have been 41 graduates, comprising 7,5% of the graduates of the Master's Studies in the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Tartu and 37% of the graduates of the Master's Studies of the Institute of History and Archaeology.³⁶ All young history teachers, who graduated from the University of Tartu went to work at school and have stayed there. They are doing good work. Some of them have become members of the management-board of the Estonian History and Civic Teachers Association, school directors and authors of recognised approaches to history didactics.

Notes

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⁴ Raudsepp, A. (2005) 'Ajaloõ õpetamise korraldus Eesti NSV eesti õppekeele üldhariduskoolides 1944-1985'. [The Organisation of History Teaching in Estonian-speaking Schools in Estonian SSR in 1944-1985], *Disserationes Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis*, 10, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 105-112.

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⁸ Raudsepp, 2005: 47.

⁹ Zajda, 1990: 80-95.

¹⁰ Raudsepp, 2005: 47-53.

¹¹ Reports of constant pedagogical training by the history students of the University of Tartu, 1986, in Library of the Centre for Didactics of History and Civics of the University of Tartu.

¹² Komsomol, Russian abbreviation of VsesoyuznyLeninskyKommunistichesky Soyuz Molodyozhi, English All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth, in the history of the Soviet Union, organization for young people aged 14 to 28 that was primarily a political organ for spreading Communist teachings and preparing future members of the Communist Party. Closely associated with this organization were the Pioneers (All-Union Lenin Pioneer Organization, established in 1922), for ages 9 to 14, and the Little Octobrists, for the very young. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/321647/Komsomol> (5.03.2014).

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²² Interview with Hillar Palamets, 22. 11.2013.

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²⁹ European University Association, <http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/building-the-european-higher-education-area/bologna-basics.aspx> (5.12.2013).

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ABSTRACTS
ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Sebastian Barsch

Silent stories of exclusion – teaching deaf history

This paper focusses on issues of diversity in history teaching by referring to the example of Deaf culture, which arose from the burgeoning field of special education in the 19th century. The characteristics of Deaf culture's contemporary historical consciousness are being summarised and linked to this group's history. After that a brief overview of how this topic could be of use for history education will be presented. Moreover, it will be shown that disability history in general can be a valuable subject in history lessons for societies facing diversity.

Der Text umreißt, welchen Einfluss die sich entwickelnde Sonderpädagogik des 19. Jahrhunderts auf die Entstehung einer spezifischen Gehörlosenkultur hatte. Es wird gezeigt, wie das Bewusstsein der Gehörlosengemeinschaft durch ihre Geschichte zwischen Ausgrenzung und Teilhabe geprägt ist. Darauf basierend soll gezeigt werden, warum die Geschichte der Gehörlosen und die Geschichte der Behinderung generell von geschichtsdidaktischer Relevanz sind und wertvolle Ergänzungen für den Geschichtsunterricht in von Vielfältigkeit geprägten Gesellschaften sein können.

Cet article traite de l'influence de l'enseignement spécialisé du XIXe siècle sur la formation des sourds d'aujourd'hui. Des concepts variés concernant la pédagogie pour les sourds ont eu une grande influence dans les sphères publique et politique. Ces facteurs extrascolaires ont influencé la diffusion du langage gestuel par son interdiction ou son utilisation dans les écoles. Je montrerai comment la conscience actuelle de la communauté sourde est marquée par l'histoire d'exclusion puis de participation. En conclusion, je ferai ressortir comment l'histoire des sourds et l'histoire des handicapés en général ont une place dans les cours d'histoire de diverses sociétés.

Marat Gibatdinov

Post-Soviet or post-colonial history in contemporary Russian history textbooks?

The principal objective of this paper is to demonstrate the possibility of using the postcolonial approach in contemporary school textbooks for Russian history. A new Concept of history education and Concept of common history textbook are a growing problem in Russia last few recent years? years. The Government tries to use textbooks as an instrument for promoting national pride and patriotism and textbook issues enter the political limelight. The main mechanisms used for establishing governmental control over the process of approving and publishing textbooks are described in the first part of paper. The Government actively promotes in textbooks only the mainstream direction of Russian historiography which denied the validity

of the postcolonial approaches to Russian history. The main characteristics of this neo-conservative wave in Russia, its influence on textbooks and the main subject-matter of the current debates about new history textbooks are analysed in the paper with the particular focus to the image of indigenous peoples (non-ethnic Russians inhabitants of Russia) and the place for their histories in modern Russian history textbooks and in the new Concept of teaching of Russian History.

Generelles Ansinnen dieser Analyse ist es, die Möglichkeit der Verwendung eines postkolonialen Ansatzes in russländischen Schulbüchern zu demonstrieren: Ein neues Konzept in der historischen Bildung und ein Konzept für gemeinsame Geschichtsschulbücher sind ein immer relevanter werdendes Problem der letzten Jahre in der Russländischen Föderation. Die Regierung versucht Schulbücher als ein Instrument für das Propagieren von Nationalstolz und Patriotismus zu nutzen und Schulbuchangelegenheiten gelangten so ins politische Rampenlicht. Die primären Mechanismen der Etablierung staatlicher Kontrolle über den Schulbuchproduktions- und Genehmigungsprozess werden im ersten Teil des Artikels diskutiert. Die Regierung propagiert aktiv ausschließlich eine russozentristische Mainstream-Perspektive der russischen Historiografie, die die Stabilität postkolonialer Zugänge in der russländischen Historiografie leugnet. Die wesentlichen Charakteristika dieser neo-konservativen Welle in Russland, die Schulbücher beeinflusst und zum Hauptgegenstand der Debatten um die Produktion neuer Schulbücher avancierte, werden mit dem Fokus auf die Darstellung der indigenen Bevölkerung (ethnisch nicht-russischer Bewohner Russlands) analysiert. Gleichfalls im Fokus stehen deren Platz in den modernen Geschichtsbüchern Russlands und ein neues Konzept für das Lehren russländischer Geschichte.

L'objectif principal de cet article est de démontrer la possibilité d'utiliser une approche postcoloniale dans les manuels scolaires d'histoire contemporaine de la Russie. Les dernières années ont vu l'émergence d'une nouvelle conception de l'enseignement de l'histoire russe ainsi que de nouveaux manuels d'histoire générale, ce qui est problématique pour les enseignants. En effet, le gouvernement essaie d'utiliser les manuels comme un instrument de promotion du nationalisme et du patriotisme. Ces derniers se retrouvent donc au cœur des débats sur les finalités politiques des manuels scolaires. En premier lieu, les principaux mécanismes utilisés pour établir un contrôle gouvernemental sur le processus d'approbation et de la publication des manuels scolaires sont décrits. Ainsi, le gouvernement ne promeut activement que les manuels qui suivent le courant historiographique russe le plus important qui nie la validité des approches postcoloniales liées à l'étude de l'histoire russe. L'article analyse ensuite les principales caractéristiques de ce courant néo-conservateur en Russie et son influence sur les manuels scolaires. Enfin, le principal objet des débats actuels sur les nouveaux manuels d'histoire est analysé en mettant l'accent sur l'image des peuples autochtones (les peuples non-ethniques russes présents en Russie) et la place de leurs histoires au sein des manuels modernes d'histoire russe et de la nouvelle conception de l'enseignement de l'histoire.

Katja Gorbahn

From Carl Peters to the Maji Maji War – colonialism in current Tanzanian and German textbooks

The article summarises the results of a textbook analysis that compares the presentation of colonialism in current Tanzanian and German textbooks. Key directions of inquiry are the relevance and position of colonialism in curricular construction, the relevance of a structural 'us'- 'them'- opposition, and the way, the textbooks present issues of conflict, oppression and violence. The article argues that both textbook cultures reflect considerable differences, but also processes of entanglement. However, the basic narratives which are strongly based on the national dimension (European/African respectively) create a bias. Further textbook development should take such bias into consideration and try to balance its undesirable effects.

Der Aufsatz fasst die Ergebnisse einer Schulbuchanalyse zusammen, in der die Darstellung des Kolonialismus in aktuellen tansanischen und deutschen Schulbüchern verglichen wurde. Untersucht wurden insbesondere Relevanz und Position des Kolonialismus in der curricularen Konstruktion, die Bedeutung eines strukturellen „wir“-„sie“-Gegensatzes sowie die Art und Weise, in der Konflikt, Unterdrückung und Gewalt repräsentiert sind. Beide Schulbuchkulturen weisen nicht nur deutliche Unterschiede auf, es schlagen sich auch Verflechtungsprozesse nieder. Die nationale bzw. europäische/afrikanische Grundstruktur der Basisnarrative führt jedoch zu spezifischen Verzerrungen. Zukünftige Schulbuchgestaltung sollte dies in Betracht ziehen und versuchen, den problematischen Effekten entgegenzuwirken.

Cet article présente un compte rendu des résultats d'une analyse portant sur la représentation du colonialisme dans des manuels scolaires tanzaniens et allemands. L'analyse concerne notamment l'importance et la position du colonialisme au sein de la structure du curriculum ainsi que la signification de la représentation du « Nous » par rapport à l'« Autre » dans la notion de conflit, de répression et de violence. L'analyse des manuels scolaires appartenant aux deux cultures met en évidence des différences ainsi qu'un processus d'interconnexion. Néanmoins, la structure fondamentale du récit historique national/européen/africain donne naissance aux distorsions spécifiques que l'écriture des manuels scolaires devra prendre en considération, tout en essayant de contrecarrer les effets négatifs de ce récit.

Harry Haue

Greenland – history teaching in a former Danish colony

Since 1380 Greenland has been connected to Denmark, from 1721 to 1953 as a colony, then to 1979 as a Danish county. In 1979 it gained its independence within the Danish Commonwealth and in 2009 its independent status was extended. In this article I want to examine the development of the history education in Greenland since World War II in order to detect how this gradual liberation from Denmark was reflected in the historiography of Greenland and in history education in the schools of the island. An examination of this process presupposes an understanding of the concept 'post-colonial history teaching', which could be defined as: 'A strategy to decolonise colonial thinking by reflecting on the experiences from the

colonial past and its consequences, both the oppression and discrimination as well as the changes, which were preconditions for the emergence of a modernisation of society.' The aim of post-colonial history teaching is therefore to qualify the student's historical consciousness in order to combine tradition and the actual societal conditions and thereby form an identity, which is appropriate to cope with global challenges. The main question is: Did history teaching in the Greenlandic schools contribute to decolonise the consciousness of the students, and did history classes give the students their own national voice instead of that of his former masters'?

In diesem Artikel wird die Entwicklung des Geschichtsunterrichts in Grönland mit besonderem Blick auf die Zeit nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg behandelt. Seit 1380 war Grönland staatsrechtlich mit Dänemark verbunden, zwischen 1721 und 1953 als Kolonie, von 1953 bis 1979 als ein dänischer Verwaltungsbezirk. 1979 wurde Grönland in staatsrechtlicher Beziehung selbstständig, verblieb aber als Teil der dänischen Reichsgemeinschaft. Diese Unabhängigkeit von Dänemark wurde 2009 noch erweitert. Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat die Absicht, die seit 1945 stattfindenden Änderungen im Geschichtsunterricht zu dokumentieren, und den Einfluss der Entkolonisierung auf diese Änderungen zu diskutieren. Der Begriff, 'post-kolonialer Geschichtsunterricht' ist zentral und muss klargestellt werden. Er könnte als eine Strategie verstanden werden, die das Ziel hat, das 'koloniale' Denken zu 'dekolonisieren'. Dies könnte erreicht werden, indem die Schüler zur Reflexion angehalten werden: Reflexion über die Erfahrungen aus der kolonialen Vergangenheit, über die Konsequenzen der Unterdrückung und der Diskrimination, mitsamt der Veränderungen, die die Voraussetzungen für die Etablierung der modernen grönländischen Gesellschaft geschaffen haben. Die Forschungsfrage ist: Hat der Geschichtsunterricht in den grönländischen Schulen dazu beigetragen, das Bewusstsein der Schüler zu 'entkolonisieren', so dass sie ihre eigene Stimme entwickeln können, statt die Stimme der Kolonialherren zu verwenden?

Cet article est issu de ma recherche introductive sur l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles secondaires au Groenland après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Depuis 1380, le Groenland était lié au Danemark, d'abord de 1721-1953 en tant que colonie et jusqu'en 1979, comme un département d'outre-mer. En 1979, le Groenland a obtenu son indépendance, tout en demeurant membre de la communauté danoise. Cette indépendance a été récemment confirmée. L'article présente les résultats de ma recherche, incluant des observations et un entretien. Mon objectif est de documenter la relation entre la décolonisation et la réforme dans l'enseignement de l'histoire. Pour ce faire, il est nécessaire de clarifier l'idée d'enseignement historique postcolonial. La réforme devra tenir compte de l'expérience coloniale et ses conséquences – c'est-à-dire les oppressions et les discriminations d'un côté, et les conditions pour une modernisation raisonnable de la société, de l'autre. Le but de l'enseignement de l'histoire postcoloniale sera de qualifier la conscience historique des étudiants par une combinaison de la connaissance du passé et du développement de la conscience citoyenne actuelle. Cette combinaison entre l'histoire générale et l'expérience personnelle forme potentiellement une nouvelle identité qui sera une réponse convenable aux défis de la mondialisation. La question principale est : est-ce que l'enseignement de l'histoire au Groenland va contribuer au développement de la conscience réflexive des étudiants, afin de rendre possible le questionnement du passé, plutôt que de se fier au discours officiel sur la décolonisation?

Terry Haydn

How and what should we teach about the British empire in English schools?

Empire is an important concept in history, and some form of consideration of aspects of empire is part of the school curriculum in many countries. Given that empire has played an important part in British history, it is not surprising that study of the British Empire has always been a feature of the history curriculum in English schools. However, although some consideration has been given to which aspects of empire pupils should learn about in school, less attention has focused on exactly what we want pupils to learn about the British Empire, and the concept of 'empire' more generally, in terms of learning outcomes for pupils. The article provides a brief summary of the changing ways which empire has been taught in English schools, and how empire is currently taught in English schools, before some suggestions are made about what young people ought to learn about empire.

Das Empire ist ein wichtiges Konzept in der Geschichtswissenschaft und einige Aspekte daraus sind Teil des Lehrplans an Schulen in vielen Ländern. Ausgehend vom Befund, dass das Empire eine wichtige Rolle in der britischen Geschichte spielte, überrascht es nicht, dass in englischen Schulen die Thematik seit jeher Bestandteil des Geschichtslehrplans ist. Jedoch, auch wenn in Erwägung gezogen wird, welche Aspekte Schülerinnen und Schüler über das Empire zu lernen haben, so wurde der Frage, was Schülerinnen und Schülern über das Britische Empire lernen sollen und wie das Konzept Empire generell zu vermitteln ist, wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Der Beitrag enthält eine kurze Übersicht über den Wandel der Darstellung des Empire in englischen Geschichtslehrmitteln und er zeigt auf, wie das Empire an englischen Schulen in der Gegenwart unterrichtet wird. Daran fügen sich einige Vorschläge, was junge Leute über das Empire lernen sollten.

Le concept d'empire est important en histoire et est abordé sous plusieurs angles dans les programmes de formation de nombreux pays. Comme l'empire a joué un rôle important dans l'histoire britannique, il n'est pas surprenant que l'étude de l'Empire britannique ait toujours été une constante de l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles anglaises. Nous avons déjà déterminé quels contenus devaient être acquis par les élèves en regard du concept d'empire en général, mais il a moins été question de savoir ce que les élèves devaient apprendre au sujet de l'Empire britannique. L'article trace d'abord un bref portrait de l'évolution de l'enseignement du concept d'empire dans les écoles anglaises, puis s'intéresse à savoir comment l'empire est actuellement enseigné dans ces mêmes écoles, avant de conclure avec quelques suggestions à propos de ce que les jeunes devraient savoir à son sujet.

Alexander Khodnev

The history of colonialism and decolonization in the Russian educational curriculum and the challenges to history didactics

The history of colonialism, decolonization, and post-colonial development is a component of the Russian educational curriculum in history at secondary school. From the 7th until 11th year at school the pupils become familiar with stories of European overseas colonization, decolonization

and post-colonial development, and with the problems of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Russian historians are not entirely clear how to interpret that part of the history of the Russian state which has been linked to colonial expansion and Russian policy in the East. Was this policy linked to 'Orientalism' in the spirit of interpretation of Edward Said? A new interpretation of these problems has emerged slowly since 1991. But the schools' curriculum, educational standards and school textbooks do not say anything about Russian colonial politics and Russian colonialism in the past. Moreover the post-imperial history of Russia overshadows the story of Russian colonialism and post-colonial policies.

Die Geschichte des Kolonialismus, der Dekolonisierung und des Postkolonialismus ist Teil des russischen Geschichtscurriculums auf der Sekundarstufe. Vom 7. bis 11. Schuljahr werden Schülerinnen und Schüler in die Geschichte der europäischen Übersee-Kolonisation, der Dekolonisierung und des Postkolonialismus eingeführt sowie mit den Problemen der kolonisierten Menschen in Asien und Afrika konfrontiert. Russische Historiker sind sich jedoch nicht völlig einig, wie mit der Geschichte der kolonialen Expansion Russlands sowie der Politik im Osten umzugehen ist. Lässt sich diese Politik auf den 'Orientalismus' zurückführen im Sinne der Interpretation von Edward Said? Seit 1991 drängte sich hier langsam eine Neuinterpretation auf. Aber Schulcurriculum, Bildungsstandards und Schulbücher machen keine Aussagen über die russische Kolonialpolitik und den russischen Kolonialismus in der Vergangenheit. Außerdem überschattet die postimperiale Geschichte Russlands die russische Geschichte des Kolonialismus und der postkolonialen Politik.

L'histoire du colonialisme, de la décolonisation et du développement postcolonial est une composante du programme de formation d'histoire russe au niveau secondaire. De la 7^e à la 11^e année, les élèves se familiarisent avec l'histoire de la colonisation européenne outremer, la décolonisation et le développement postcolonial ainsi qu'avec les problèmes des peuples asiatiques et africains. Les historiens russes ne s'entendent pas clairement sur la manière d'interpréter cette partie de l'histoire de l'État russe, associée à l'expansion coloniale et à la politique russe en Orient. Cette politique était-elle liée à « l'orientalisme » au sens où l'entend Edward Said? Une nouvelle interprétation de cette problématique a lentement émergé depuis 1991. Toutefois, le programme de formation, les normes éducatives et les manuels passent sous silence la politique coloniale russe ainsi que son passé colonial. Qui plus est, l'histoire russe post-impériale éclipsé l'histoire du colonialisme russe et ses politiques postcoloniales.

George Kokkinos, Panayotis Kimourtzis, Elli Lemonidou, Aggelos Palikidis, Panayotis Gatsotis, John Papageorgiou
Colonialism and decolonization in Greek school history textbooks for secondary and primary education

Colonialism and decolonization constitute one of the most significant fields of interest for modern world history, both in the presentation and analysis of the events in themselves, as well as in the study of how the historical approach to the phenomenon has changed in the course of the years and how important school has been in the formation of collective attitudes towards it. The case study of history textbooks in Greece, covering a period of many decades in both primary and

secondary education, stresses the particular conditions constraining historical writing in this country, but still confirms the gradual change of approach towards the history of colonialism and decolonization, which is directly linked to the encompassing political and social environment.

In diesem Aufsatz wird untersucht, wie sich die Autoren von sechzehn griechischen Geschichtslehrbüchern in den letzten sieben Jahrzehnten Fragen des Kolonialismus und der Entkolonialisierung genähert haben. Forschungsgegenstand stellten die narrativen Texte der Lehrbücher sowie komplementäre Elemente der Haupterzählung (Primärquellen, Tabellen, Karten, Glossar, Übungen, Illustration) dar. Es wurde die Methode der Inhaltsanalyse verwendet, vor allem was ihren qualitativen Ansatz betrifft, und es wurden acht Forschungsfragen hinsichtlich vier Themen gestellt: Neuer Kolonialismus, Entkolonialisierung, Imperialismus und Globalisierung. Ziel der Forschung ist es, die Absichten, den ideologischen Rahmen so wie die Art und Weise, wie sich die Autoren diesen historischen Konzepten nähern und sie mit Fragen der modernen Realität in Zusammenhang bringen, wie Migration, Rassismus, kulturelle und religiöse Unterschiede, Rassenungleichheit, Explodierung der Dritten Welt u.s.w. Das breite Spektrum des Forschungsmaterials ermöglicht uns, die Lehrbücher in vergleichender Perspektive zu untersuchen, indem wir dabei auf die eingetretenen Veränderungen so wie auf die überlebten Strukturen fokussieren.

Cet article explore la façon dont les auteurs de 16 manuels scolaires d'histoire – publiés au cours des sept dernières décennies – ont abordé les sujets du colonialisme et de la décolonisation. La recherche porte sur les textes narratifs de ces manuels, ainsi que sur le paratexte (sources primaires, tableaux, cartes, glossaires, exercices, illustrations). Nous avons utilisé la méthode d'analyse de contenu – surtout dans son approche qualitative – et nous avons posé des questions concernant quatre thématiques : le nouveau colonialisme, la décolonisation, l'impérialisme et la mondialisation. Le but de notre recherche a été d'analyser les intentions, le cadre idéologique et la façon dont les auteurs de manuels abordent ces concepts historiques en les reliant avec des phénomènes de notre réalité contemporaine, tels que l'immigration, le racisme, les différences culturelles et religieuses, les inégalités sociales, l'exploitation du Tiers-Monde, etc. La diversité de notre corpus nous a fourni l'occasion de procéder à une étude comparative des manuels, tout en mettant l'accent sur les changements qui ont été faits, ainsi que sur les structures qui ont survécu à travers les années.

David Lefrançois, Marc-André Éthier and Stéphanie Demers

A theoretical framework for analysing discourse regarding post-colonial national identity in the context of history teaching in Quebec

A curricular reform, implemented in Quebec secondary schools in 2007, has pushed the national question to the forefront in the debate surrounding the teaching of history in Quebec. This chapter seeks to describe the ideological substrates of discourses, which appear to form the core of the social identity issues in Quebec. We identified and categorized four trends regarding conceptions of the nation that we found in mass media, and propose a theoretical framework that will help to answer the following question: how colonialism, decolonization, and the impact

of post-colonial theory are presently represented in history textbooks, curricula, teacher education, and educational media in Quebec?

Eine Lehrplanreform 2007 in Quebec auf der Sekundarstufe hat der nationalen Frage Auftrieb gegeben und eine Debatte über das Lehren von Geschichte in Quebec ausgelöst. Der Beitrag beschreibt mit Bezug auf den Identitätsaspekt in Quebec, wie sich der Diskurs ideologisch entwickelte. Identifiziert und kategorisiert werden vier Trends entlang dem Konzepts der Nation, dargestellt in Massenmedien und einem theoretischen Rahmen: Wie werden Kolonialismus, Dekolonisierung und der Einfluss postkolonialer Theorie in aktuellen Geschichtslehrmitteln, in Lehrplänen, in der Lehrerbildung sowie in den Bildungsmedien in Quebec dargestellt?

Une réforme des programmes, implantée dans les écoles secondaires québécoises en 2007, a mis la question nationale à l'avant-scène dans les débats entourant l'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec. Ce chapitre vise à décrire les substrats idéologiques des discours que sous-tend la question de l'identité sociale au Québec. Nous avons identifié et catégorisé quatre tendances concernant les conceptions de la nation véhiculées dans les médias et proposons un cadre théorique pouvant contribuer à répondre à la question suivante : Comment le colonialisme, la décolonisation et l'impact de la théorie postcoloniale sont actuellement représentés dans les manuels d'histoire, les programmes, la formation des enseignants et le matériel didactique au Québec?

Jan Löfström

Lost encounters: a post-colonial view of the history course 'meeting of cultures', in the upper secondary school in Finland

Since 2003, there has been an optional history course, titled Meeting of Cultures, in the core curriculum for upper secondary schools in Finland. It focuses on the history of Non-European cultures and societies. Its objectives have many positive elements, yet it can be criticized for reproducing a problematic view of culture(s) and cultural encounters. This article is a post-colonial analysis of the aims of the course and the contents of the textbooks for the course. It argues that the course fails to meet the challenges that post-colonial theory brings to bear on teaching the history of non-European cultures. More particularly, it does not seem to support reflexivity or critical thought regarding the notions of culture and cultural identity and their political uses.

Seit 2003 gibt es im finnischen Gymnasium einen Wahlkurs, der 'Kulturen begegnen einander' heißt. Der Kurs behandelt die Geschichte der außereuropäischen Kulturkreise und zeigt, was passiert ist, als diese der abendländischen Zivilisation begegneten. Der Artikel analysiert die Ziele des Kurses im Unterrichtsprogramm, den Inhalt in den Schulbüchern und die Prüfungsaufgaben in der Geschichtsprüfung im Abitur. Der Kurs hat auch positive Elemente in Bezug auf Toleranz und kulturelles Verstehen, aber er benutzt keine anthropologischen Begriffe und deswegen bleibt der Fokus unvermeidlich auf der konventionellen politischen und sozialen Geschichte. Durch anthropologische Begriffe würde der Fokus besser auf die

symbolische Dimension der Kultur und die Dynamik der Begegnungen gestellt werden. In dieser Form würde der Kurs auch besser die kritischen Fähigkeiten der Studenten entwickeln, besonders hinsichtlich der Begriffe 'Kultur' und 'Kulturidentität' und ihrer politischen Verwendung.

Depuis 2003, le programme des lycées en Finlande propose un cours optionnel intitulé 'Rencontre des cultures'. Le sujet de ce cours est l'histoire des cultures et des sociétés non européennes. L'article analyse les objectifs du cours, les manuels scolaires et les questions à l'examen du baccalauréat finlandais. Il est possible de retirer des éléments positifs de ce cours, mais il est aussi possible de le critiquer, car il reproduit une conception statique de la culture et des rencontres culturelles. L'article propose qu'il n'y ait pas dans le programme de mots-clés anthropologiques qui mettent l'accent sur le niveau symbolique des rencontres culturelles, car, dans ce cours, l'importance repose inévitablement sur l'histoire politique et sociale des sociétés non européennes. C'est aussi pourquoi le cours ne permet pas le développement de la réflexivité critique des étudiants en ce qui concerne les concepts de culture et d'identité culturelle en fonction de leurs usages politiques.

Mare Oja

Changing our approach toward the past. How do history teachers assess the changes in history education within general education in Estonia from the mid-1980s until today?

Restoration of Estonian independence made restructuring of history teaching possible. Teachers had to re-evaluate their knowledge and understanding of teaching history. The article is based on research, which aimed to find out, how teachers interpreted and evaluated the changing process during its occurrence and today. Research shows that the history lesson, the student and the teacher have changed a lot compared to the Soviet period. Mainly because society has changed. The National Curriculum gave the general direction, but the key influencers of teaching are textbooks and national exam. Ideological knowledge-centric history teaching has been replaced by valuing the development of skills, critical thinking and multiperspectivity. In-service training supported teachers during the reform period, but they had to develop or adapt teaching materials themselves. Teachers wish for greater stability in their work and more support from the state.

Das Wiedererlangen der estnischen Unabhängigkeit ermöglichte eine Restrukturierung des Geschichtsunterrichts. Lehrpersonen mussten ihr Geschichtswissen und ihr Lehrverständnis von Geschichte überprüfen. Der Beitrag basiert auf Untersuchungen mit dem Ziel herauszufinden, wie Lehrpersonen den wandelnden Prozess interpretieren und evaluieren. Untersuchungen zeigen, dass sich im Vergleich zur Zeit der Sowjetunion der Geschichtsunterricht, die Studierenden und die Lehrpersonen gewandelt haben. Vor allem hat sich die Gesellschaft verändert. Das nationale Curriculum gab die allgemeine Richtung vor, eine Schlüsselrolle auf den Unterricht haben aber Lehrmittel und nationale Examen. Ideologisch ausgerichtetes Geschichtswissen wurde abgelöst durch das Festschreiben von Fähigkeiten, kritischem Denken und Multiperspektivität. Während der Reformphase wurden Lehrpersonen durch Training

unterstützt, aber sie mussten Lehrmaterial selber entwickeln oder adaptieren. Lehrpersonen wünschen sich eine größere Stabilität und Unterstützung bei ihrer Arbeit durch den Staat.

L'indépendance de l'Estonie a rendu possible une réforme de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Les professeurs ont alors dû réévaluer leurs savoirs et leur compréhension de l'enseignement de l'histoire. L'article se base sur une recherche visant à comprendre comment les enseignants ont interprété et évalué ce processus de changement, de son apparition à aujourd'hui. La recherche montre que la façon d'enseigner l'histoire, la posture de l'élève et celle de l'enseignant a beaucoup changé par rapport à l'ère soviétique, notamment parce que la société elle-même a connu des changements. Le programme de formation a fourni l'orientation générale, mais les facteurs déterminants de l'enseignement demeurent les manuels scolaires et l'examen national. Ainsi, le paradigme de l'enseignement de l'histoire centré sur la transmission des connaissances a été remplacé par le développement des compétences, de la pensée critique et des perspectives multiples. La formation continue a assuré la préparation des enseignants pour cette réforme, mais ils ont dû développer ou adapter eux-mêmes le matériel didactique. Les enseignants souhaitent une plus grande stabilité dans leur travail et plus de soutien de la part de l'État.

Anu Raudsepp

Changes in initial training of history teachers at the university of Tartu in the post-Soviet period

The aim of the article is to explain the post-Soviet changes in the training of history teachers, its main results and factors during the transition of Estonia from the USSR to westernised society by the example of the University of Tartu where the training of gymnasium history teachers has traditionally and systematically been carried out since the 19th century. Significant development has taken place in the field of history teacher training in last twenty years at the University of Tartu. Like history teaching at a comprehensive school, developments in university teacher training have followed European best practice and new teaching directions. Mainly the improvement and modernisation of history didactics and its connection with the national curriculum have helped to increase the motivation for becoming a history teacher. The goal of the new, competence-based training is to develop a personality that is inclined to democratic thinking, tolerating diversity and avoiding violence.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags Über Veränderungen in der Geschichtslehrerausbildung an der Tartuer Universität in der postsovjetschen Zeit (Changes in initial training of history teachers at the University of Tartu in post-Soviet period) ist die Darstellung der demokratischen Reform in der Geschichtslehrerausbildung in Estland beim Übergang aus der UdSSR zu einer offenen westlichen Gesellschaft. Ihre wichtigsten Ergebnisse und Einflussfaktoren werden am Beispiel der Universität Tartu, an der seit dem 19. Jahrhundert kontinuierlich Gymnasiallehrer für Geschichte ausgebildet werden, erläutert.

Die Geschichtslehrerausbildung an der Tartuer Universität hat in den letzten zwanzig Jahren bedeutende Veränderungen durchgemacht. Ähnlich wie der Geschichtsunterricht an allgemeinbildenden Schulen orientiert sich auch die Lehrerausbildung an der Universität seit Ende der 1990er Jahre an europäischen Vorbildern und an aktuellen Unterrichtskonzepten.

Die Weiterentwicklung der Geschichtsdidaktik und ihr enger Zusammenhang mit dem staatlichen Curriculum motiviert immer mehr junge Menschen, Geschichtslehrer zu werden. Das neue kompetenzbasierte Curriculum zielt darauf ab, eine demokratisch denkende Person zu erziehen, die tolerant ist und Gewalt vermeidet.

L'objectif de l'article 'Changements dans la formation des professeurs d'histoire à l'Université de Tartu dans la période postsoviétique' est d'expliquer la réforme démocratique qui a eu lieu dans la formation des enseignants d'histoire en Estonie après la dissolution de l'Union soviétique et la restauration d'une société démocratique ouverte à l'Occident. Nous nous proposons de présenter les résultats et les principaux facteurs de cette réforme en prenant l'exemple de l'Université de Tartu où les traditions de la formation des professeurs d'histoire remontent à la fin du 19^e siècle. Au cours des vingt dernières années, de grands changements ont eu lieu dans la formation des professeurs d'histoire à l'Université de Tartu. Tout comme le renouvellement de l'enseignement de l'histoire au secondaire, le développement de la formation des professeurs s'est appuyé sur les modèles et les nouvelles tendances apparues en Europe dans ce domaine. La modernisation de la didactique de l'histoire et la création d'un nouveau programme de formation ont augmenté la motivation des étudiants à devenir enseignant. Le but du nouveau programme, basé sur des objectifs et des compétences, est de former des individus tolérants envers les différences, notamment en évitant la violence, et ouverts aux idées et aux valeurs démocratiques.

Jutta Schumann and Susanne Popp

Developing trans-regional perspectives in museums

This contribution presents a concept which develops local museum objects as historic material resources for trans-regional and trans-national perspectives in historical education. It thereby especially focuses on the aim to foster "glocal" competences' that pave the way for reflecting the 'global' (or trans-regional) within the 'local' and the local dimension in trans-regional and global connections through continuously changing the perspective from which these are considered and analysed. In order to give some sense of how museum objects can be interpreted as historic material and used in historical education in this way, the article explains seven possibilities for the reconstruction of the trans-regional and trans-cultural dimensions of museum objects. In addition it provides several examples to illustrate the seven different approaches of the concept.

Dieser Beitrag stellt ein Konzept vor, das lokale Museumsobjekte als historische Sachquellen für geschichtliches Lernen in transregionalen bzw. -nationalen Perspektiven erschließt. Das Konzept konzentriert sich dabei speziell auf das Ziel der Förderung einer „glokalen Kompetenz“, die im fortgesetzten Wechsel der Betrachtungs- und Analyse-Perspektiven das „Globale“ (bzw. Transregionale) im „Lokalen“ und die lokale Dimension in transregionalen und globalen Zusammenhängen zu reflektieren versteht. Um ein paar Ideen zu geben, wie Museumsobjekte als Sachquellen in diesem Sinne interpretiert werden können, erläutert der Artikel sieben verschiedene Zugänge, die dabei helfen sollen die transregionale und transkulturelle Dimension von Objekten zu rekonstruieren oder neu zu erschließen. Zusätzlich liefert der Beitrag zahlreiche Objektbeispiele, die die sieben skizzierten Zugänge veranschaulichen sollen.

Cet article élabore un concept qui exploite des artefacts de musée à titre de témoignages pour l'enseignement de l'histoire dans une perspective transrégionale, respectivement transnationale. Le concept vise particulièrement à améliorer une compétence 'globale' – c'est-à-dire à la fois spécifique et générale. Ceci est rendu possible par le changement continu d'échelles spatiales, en tenant compte à la fois des éléments globaux ainsi que des éléments transrégionaux dans un contexte local et vice versa, c'est-à-dire, en tenant compte de la dimension locale dans des contextes transrégionaux et globaux. Afin d'illustrer comment des objets de musée peuvent être interprétés comme témoignages historiques, l'article propose sept approches différentes. Ces dernières doivent contribuer à reconstruire la dimension transrégionale et transculturelle, ou aider à se familiariser de nouveau avec la dimension transrégionale et transculturelle des objets. De surcroît, l'article fournit maints exemples d'objets questionnés à l'aide des sept approches.

Barbara Techmańska

Decolonisation issues in contemporary history textbooks for secondary schools in Poland

The author analyses five Polish history textbooks for upper secondary school that cover the 20th century history in accordance with the most recent national curriculum, published by the most popular textbook publishers. The analysis focuses on the issue of decolonisation, which turns out to be a marginal one in the textbook narratives, presented as an element of the broader cold war world politics, quite exotic to the Polish students. The Author notices that the textbooks' approach to the topic is rather schematic, they all use the same iconography, maps and primary sources, present the decolonisation mostly in political terms, as a large-scale, mostly anonymous process, and they do not exploit the educational potential of the issue, do not try to inspire the debates on values or on controversial topics. The issues of colonisation and decolonisation were and still are quite distant from Poland's point of view.

Der Autor untersucht fünf polnische Geschichtsbücher für die Sekundarstufe II, die das 20. Jahrhundert in Übereinstimmung mit dem aktuellen nationalen Lehrplan beinhalten und die von bekannten Schulbuchautorinnen und -autoren verfasst worden sind. Die Untersuchung befasst sich mit dem Thema der Dekolonisierung, welche in den Narrativen der Geschichtslehrmittel marginal sowie als Teil eines weiter gefassten Kalten Krieges präsentiert wird und daher auf die polnischen Studierenden exotisch wirkt. Der Autor hält fest, dass der Zugang der Lehrmittel zur Thematik eher schematisch verläuft, indem alle Bücher die gleiche Ikonographie, die gleichen Karten und Primärquellen verwenden. Präsentiert wird die Dekolonisierung meist mittels politischer Begrifflichkeiten als lange dauernder meist anonymer Prozess. Die Lehrmittel schöpfen das didaktische Potential der Thematik denn auch nicht aus und sie versuchen nicht, mit unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen und kontroversen Bezügen Interesse zu wecken. Kolonialismus und Dekolonisierung wurden und werden so als sehr entfernt von der polnischen Sichtweise behandelt.

L'auteur analyse cinq manuels d'histoire polonaise conçus pour le secondaire. Ces manuels s'intéressent à l'histoire du 20^e siècle en conformité avec les plus récents programmes de formation et ont été publiés par les maisons d'éditions de manuels scolaires les plus populaires.

L'analyse se concentre sur la question de la décolonisation qui s'avère marginale dans les récits de manuels. La décolonisation est présentée comme un élément périphérique s'inscrivant dans le contexte politique plus large de la guerre froide, ce qui en fait un sujet plutôt exotique pour les élèves polonais. L'auteur conclut que le discours des manuels sur le sujet est plutôt schématique, ils utilisent tous les mêmes documents iconographiques, cartes et sources primaires en plus de présenter la décolonisation surtout en termes macro politiques, principalement comme un processus anonyme. Les manuels n'exploitent pas le potentiel éducatif du sujet et n'essaient pas de susciter des débats sur les valeurs ou sur des sujets controversés. Les questions de la colonisation et de la décolonisation ont été et demeurent encore assez éloignées du point de vue de la Pologne.

Barnabas Vajda

Czechoslovakia, decolonization and some 'materiales de guerra'

This paper makes a research into the foreign relations of the communist Czechoslovakia, particularly into its weapon sales to some decolonised countries. The author argues that citizens of Czecho/Slovakia had a false perception of the post-1945 decolonisation due to the false and deliberately deformed picture given in the contemporary Czechoslovak press. At the same time, Czecho/Slovakia kept a deep silence about its doubtful role played in the decolonisation, as far as its large weapon sales were concerned. The combination of these two factors (overstressed jovial propaganda in the one hand, and the lack of knowledge about the true nature of the decolonisation) have created a weird historical notion in peoples' minds.

Diese Studie bietet Einsicht in Außenkontakteder kommunistischen Tschechoslowakei, vor allem in ihren Waffenhandel mit einigen dekolonisierten Ländern. Der Autor argumentiert, dass die Einwohner der Tschechoslowakei über die Dekolonisation nach 1945 irrtümliche Vorstellungen gehabt haben, weil die zeitgenössische Presse über die Ereignisse absichtlich ein deformiertes Bild gegeben hat. Die Tschechoslowakei hat sich zugleich über ihre zweifelhafte Rolle in der Dekolonisation - besonders, was ihren großen Waffenhandel betrifft - ausgeschwiegen. Diese zwei Faktoren (einerseits die joviale Propaganda durch die Presse, andererseits das Verschweigen der Art der Kolonisation) bewirkten, dass das Bild der Tschechen und Slowaken über die Dekolonisation auch in der Gegenwart eigenartig komisch geblieben ist.

Cet article est basé sur une recherche qui s'intéresse aux relations internationales de la Tchécoslovaquie communiste, particulièrement ses politiques liées à la vente d'armes à des pays décolonisés. L'auteur soutient que les citoyens de ont une fausse perception de la décolonisation après 1945 en raison de l'image intentionnellement faussée et déformée transmise présentement par la presse tchèque et slovaque. De plus, l'ancienne Tchécoslovaquie a passé sous silence son rôle ambigu dans la décolonisation, en regard, du moins, aux importantes ventes d'armes. La combinaison de ces deux facteurs (l'accent mis sur la propagande, d'une part, et le manque de connaissances sur la véritable nature de la décolonisation, d'autre part) a créé une étrange notion historique dans l'esprit des gens.

Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse

From triumphalism to amnesia. Belgian-Congolese (post)colonial history in Belgian secondary history education curricula and textbooks (1945-1989)

Unlike many western European countries that have witnessed or still witness fierce postcolonial debates in broader society which extend to history education, Belgium has barely witnessed such debates at all. This paper examines how Congolese (post)colonial history was and is covered in Belgian secondary history education, through an analysis of curricula and textbooks since 1945, taking ideological and communitarian differences into account. It also seeks to explain continuity and change in the (post)colonial accounts evolving within education in general and history education in particular, in governmental expectations towards history education and governmental interference with memory politics, in the state of historiography, in the way history textbooks are established, and in public memory cultures regarding (post)colonialism.

Dieses Paper untersucht mittels Analyse der Lehrpläne und Lehrbücher, wobei ideologische und gemeinschaftliche Unterschiede berücksichtigt werden, wie kongolesische (post)koloniale Geschichte in der belgischen Sekundärbildung Geschichte von 1945 bis 1989 abgedeckt wurde. Der Text sucht auch nach Erklärungen für Kontinuität und Wandel in der (post)kolonialen Geschichte mit Bezug auf Entwicklungen im Bildungswesen allgemein sowie im Geschichtsunterricht speziell auf Grund der staatlichen Erwartungen an den Geschichtsunterricht und der staatlichen Eingriffen in die Erinnerungspolitik, den Stand der Geschichtsschreibung und ihres Einflusses auf Geschichtslehrbücher und die öffentliche Erinnerungskultur in Bezug auf (Post-)Kolonialismus.

Cet article examine comment l'histoire congolaise (post)coloniale était présentée dans l'enseignement de l'histoire au secondaire en Belgique, par une analyse des programmes de formation et des manuels scolaires pour la période de 1945 à 1989, prenant en compte les différences idéologiques et communautaires. L'article cherche aussi à expliquer la continuité et le changement qu'on peut remarquer dans les récits (post)coloniaux. Ces explications se situent : dans les transformations au sein de l'éducation en général et de l'éducation en histoire en particulier ; dans l'évolution des attentes gouvernementales quant à l'éducation en histoire et de l'ingérence du gouvernement dans la politique mémorielle ; dans l'état de l'historiographie ; dans la façon dont les manuels d'histoire sont construits et dans les cultures mémorielles publiques en ce qui concerne le (post)colonialisme.

Michael Wobring

The visual depiction of Islam in European history textbooks (1970-2010)

This article is about the visual presentation of the subject 'Islam' in history textbooks, comparing different approaches and different points of view in the three European countries Germany, France, and Spain. History has caused these countries to have different relations

with the Islamic world and consequent embedded attitudes to the religion. The purpose is to identify specific features of iconic narrative concerning Islam by analyzing the selection of the pictures, the contexts of their presentation, and the techniques and effects of the arrangement in textbooks. The general focus of this study is on the depiction of Islam in contemporary history and on the photographic image.

Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der visuellen Präsentation des Themas „Islam“ in Schulgeschichtsbüchern der drei europäischen Länder Deutschland, Frankreich und Spanien, die historisch bedingt über eine unterschiedliche Beziehung zum Islam verfügen. Hierbei werden in diachroner und synchroner Perspektive Trends und Merkmale der visuellen Präsentation herausgestellt. Untersucht werden die Bildauswahl, die Sachzusammenhänge der Bildpräsentation sowie die Techniken und Effekte der Bildarrangements. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Islam-Bebilderung zu zeitgeschichtlichen Themen. Hierbei steht der Bild-Typ Fotografie im Mittelpunkt.

L'article étudie la présentation visuelle de « l'islam » dans des manuels scolaires d'histoire/géographie de trois pays européens : l'Allemagne, la France et l'Espagne. Ces derniers ont tous des relations différentes avec l'islam grâce à leurs histoires nationales respectives. Dans une perspective diachronique et synchronique, l'accent est mis sur les tendances et les caractéristiques de la présentation visuelle. En mettant l'accent sur la photographie, on analyse le choix d'images, le contexte dans lequel elles sont présentées ainsi que la manière de produire et de les disposer sous un angle technique. L'article se concentre sur l'illustration de l'islam dans des sujets concernant l'histoire contemporaine.

George Wrangham

India: training for empire and independence

Through extensive patterns of worldwide trade Britain acquired a vast empire, nearly all of which was acquired piecemeal with one settlement or trading post extending its area for its protection. This was the case in India: England never set out to conquer the subcontinent but in practice did so. An uneasy relationship developed, with Britain reluctantly realising that she must relinquish the Jewel in the Crown in the face of growing Indian national sentiment. The end came sharply and suddenly, but the fact that so many Indian leaders had been educated in England helped ease the situation, and now there is a solid friendship between the two countries.

Mittels extensiver Ausdehnung des Welthandels erwarben die Briten ein riesengroßes Imperium. Nabezu alles davon wurde bruchstückhaft erworben durch Besiedlung, dem Errichten von Handelsposten und als Ausdehnung des Gebiets zu seinem eigenen Schutz; Dies war der Fall in Indien. England brach nie aktiv auf, den Subkontinent zu erobern, aber praktisch kam dies dem gleich. Eine schwierige Beziehung entwickelte sich; Großbritannien realisierte nur widerwillig, dass es das Kronjuwel Indien angesichts des Wachstums eines indischen Nationalgefühls aufgeben musste. Das Ende kam plötzlich und heftig. Aber die Tatsache, dass viele indische Führer in England ausgebildet worden waren, half die Situation zu mildern und es entwickelte sich eine solide Freundschaft zwischen den beiden Ländern.

Grâce à plusieurs stratégies de commerce mondial, la Grande-Bretagne a bâti un vaste empire, dont la plus grande partie fut acquise morceau par morceau à partir d'une colonie ou d'un poste de traite lui permettant ainsi d'étendre sa zone d'influence. Ce fut notamment le cas en Inde : l'Angleterre n'a jamais planifié de conquérir le sous-continent, bien que de facto ce fut le cas. Une relation difficile s'est installée entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Inde alors que la métropole a réalisé, à contrecœur, qu'il était nécessaire d'abandonner ce joyau de la Couronne devant la montée du sentiment nationaliste indien. Le tout s'est terminé brutalement, mais le fait que tant de dirigeants indiens aient été éduqués en Angleterre a permis de calmer la situation et d'instaurer une certaine amitié entre les deux pays.

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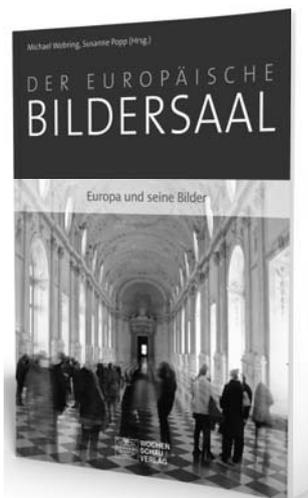
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... ein Begriff für politische Bildung

Charlotte Bühl-Gramer, Wolfgang Hasberg,
Susanne Popp (Hrsg.)

Antike – Bilder – Welt

Forschungserträge
internationaler Vernetzung

Elisabeth Erdmann zum 70. Geburtstag

Der Band versammelt Beiträge, die aus Anlass des siebenzigsten Geburtstages Elisabeth Erdmanns entstanden sind. Die aufgenommenen Artikel, die von SchülerInnen, WeggefährtInnen, FreundInnen der Jubilarin stammen, repräsentieren die Breite ihrer internationalen Vernetzung und ihrer thematischen Vielfalt.

Antike – Bilder – Welt benennen als Stichworte die Schwerpunkte, mit denen Elisabeth Erdmann sich immer wieder befasst hat. Dabei symbolisiert der globale Aspekt gleichzeitig ihre aktive Tätigkeit als langjährige Präsidentin der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik, während der sie die internationale Vernetzung vorangetrieben hat. Bilder als „Fenster zur Vergangenheit“ zählen zu den Gegenständen, denen Elisabeth Erdmann zahlreiche Aufsätze und Sammelbände gewidmet hat. Die Antike schließlich war der Ausgangspunkt der wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn von Elisabeth Erdmann, zu der sie immer wieder zurückgekehrt ist. Hinzutreten Beiträge zu neuen Aspekten der Geschichtsdidaktik, für die Elisabeth Erdmann unermüdlich gewirkt hat und weiter wirkt. geschichtsdidaktische Diskussion aus heutiger Perspektive.

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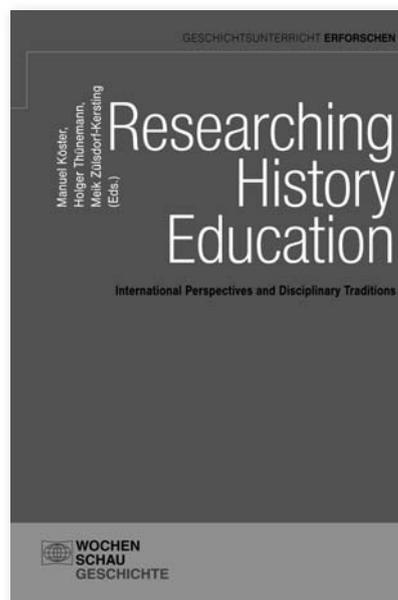
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