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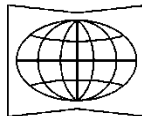


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YEARBOOK
OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY
FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS (ISHD)

Why History Education?



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PREFACE

Why History Education? was the leading question of the conference organized by the Pedagogical University of Luzern, originally planned for 2020, but postponed due to the pandemic of COVID-19 and eventually held on-line in September 2021. The articles in the main section of the current issue of JHEC are based mostly, but not exclusively, on a selection of papers presented during that conference. A corresponding volume based on another set of presentations, edited by Peter Gautschi and Markus Furrer, under the same title *Why History Education?* is currently in press by Wochenschau Verlag.

The Forum section re-visits the topic of colonialism in school textbooks (dealt with extensively in the 2015 issue of the ISHD Yearbook) as well as the interest in the issues of health and disease that had been boosted by the pandemic. It also addresses the challenges of lesson planning and presents a tool under German name *Plannungsmatrix* developed by Alois Ecker. All these are recurring topics of debates not only in the didactics of history, but also within the broader academic community concerned about the perspectives of historiography, academic history and history education facing the challenges of the changing world.

In this way, the Forum may serve as a bridge towards the planned 2023 issue of the International Journal of Research in History Didactics, History Education and Historical Culture (JHEC) which will be focused on *Teaching History in the Anthropocene Era*. Please consult the Call for Papers in the closing section of the volume for details and the website ishd.co for the submission guidelines. Following the citation guidelines presented in the first footnote on the title page of each article will be also greatly appreciated as it shall increase the visibility and outreach of the publications in the times of their increasing dependence on automated search engines.

As in the past ten years, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Terry Haydn for the English language proofreading of the articles and to Markus Furrer and Dorota Wiśniewska with Teresa Malinowska for the German and French translations, respectively. And since this is my last issue as managing editor of JHEC, I wish to extend this expression of gratitude also to all the Contributors, Peer-Reviewers, Supporters and Readers, from the ISHD Membership and

beyond, for their inputs, suggestions, feedback and support. Last but not least I want to thank the Publisher, Wochenschau Verlag, and in particular to Mr. Jan Truetzschler for his patience and support in the process of typesetting and finetuning the journal's appearance. Thank you!

Joanna Wojdon

VORWORT

Warum Geschichtsunterricht? war die Leitfrage der von der Pädagogischen Hochschule Luzern organisierten Konferenz, die ursprünglich für 2020 geplant war, aber wegen der Pandemie COVID-19 verschoben wurde und schliesslich im September 2021 online stattfand. Die Artikel im Hauptteil der aktuellen Ausgabe von JHEC basieren grösstenteils, aber nicht ausschliesslich, auf einer Auswahl von Beiträgen, die während dieser Konferenz präsentiert wurden. Ein entsprechender Band, der auf einer weiteren Reihe von Vorträgen basiert und von Peter Gautschi, Markus Furrer und Nadine Fink herausgegeben wird, erscheint unter dem gleichen Titel *Why History Education* im Wochenschau Verlag.

Die Rubrik Forum greift das Thema Kolonialismus in Schulbüchern (das in der Ausgabe 2015 des ISHD-Jahrbuchs ausführlich behandelt wurde) sowie das durch die Pandemie verstärkte Interesse an den Themen Gesundheit und Krankheit wieder auf. Ausserdem werden die Herausforderungen bei der Unterrichtsplanung angesprochen und ein von Alois Ecker entwickeltes Instrument mit dem Namen *Planungsmatrix* vorgestellt. All dies sind wiederkehrende Themen von Debatten nicht nur in der Geschichtsdidaktik, sondern auch in der breiteren akademischen Gemeinschaft, die sich mit den Perspektiven der Geschichtsschreibung, der akademischen Geschichte und der Geschichtsausbildung angesichts der Herausforderungen der sich verändernden Welt befasst.

Auf diese Weise kann das Forum als Brücke zu der für 2023 geplanten Ausgabe des International Journal of Research in History Didactics, History Education and Historical Culture (JHEC) dienen, die sich mit dem Thema *Teaching History in the Anthropocene Era beschäftigen* wird. Einzelheiten entnehmen Sie bitte dem Call for Papers im Schlussteil des Bandes und den Einreichungsrichtlinien auf der Website ishd.co. Die Einhaltung der Zitier Richtlinien in der ersten Fußnote auf der Titelseite jedes Artikels wird ebenfalls sehr geschätzt, da dies die Sichtbarkeit und Reichweite der Publikationen in Zeiten zunehmender Abhängigkeit von automatisierten Suchmaschinen erhöhen wird.

Wie in den vergangenen zehn Jahren möchte ich Terry Haydn für das Korrekturlesen der englischen Artikel und Markus Furrer sowie

Dorota Wiśniewska mit Teresa Malinowska für die deutsche bzw. französische Übersetzung meinen aufrichtigen Dank aussprechen. Da dies meine letzte Ausgabe als geschäftsführende Herausgeberin von JHEC ist, möchte ich mich auch bei allen Autorinnen und Autoren, Gutachterinnen und Gutachtern, wie auch Förderern und Leserinnen und Lesern aus der ISHD-Mitgliedschaft und darüber hinaus für ihre Beiträge, Vorschläge, Rückmeldungen und Unterstützung bedanken. Nicht zuletzt möchte ich dem Wochenschau Verlag und insbesondere Herrn Jan Trützschler für seine Geduld und Unterstützung beim Satz und der Feinabstimmung des Erscheinungsbildes der Zeitschrift danken. Ich danke Ihnen!

Joanna Wojdon

PRÉFACE

Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire ? Telle était la problématique principale de la conférence organisée par l'Université Pédagogique de Lucerne, initialement prévue pour 2020, mais reportée en raison de la pandémie de COVID-19, et qui s'est finalement tenue en ligne en septembre 2021. Les articles de la section principale du présent numéro de la revue JHEC s'appuient principalement, mais pas exclusivement, sur une sélection de communications présentées lors de cette conférence. Un autre volume, qui rassemble une autre série d'interventions, édité par Peter Gautschi et Markus Furrer, sous le même titre *Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire (Why History Education)*, est actuellement sous presse chez Wochenschau Verlag.

La section Forum revisite le thème du colonialisme dans les manuels scolaires (déjà traité en profondeur dans le numéro 2015 des *Annales de la ISHD*) et évoque l'intérêt des questionnements sur la santé et la maladie, qui ont été stimulés par la pandémie. Elle aborde également les défis liés à la planification des cours et présente un outil développé par Alois Ecker sous le nom allemand de *Plannungs-matrix*. Tous ces sujets sont des thèmes récurrents des débats qui animent non seulement le domaine de la didactique de l'histoire, mais aussi plus largement la communauté universitaire, préoccupée par les perspectives de l'historiographie, de l'histoire académique et de l'enseignement de l'histoire face aux défis d'un monde en mutation.

De cette façon, le Forum peut servir de passerelle vers le numéro 2023 du *Journal international de recherche en didactique de l'histoire, enseignement de l'histoire et culture historique (International Journal of Research in History Didactics, History Education and Historical Culture, JHEC)*. Il sera consacré à *L'Enseignement de l'histoire à l'ère de l'anthropocène*. Pour plus de détails et pour les normes éditoriales de soumission, veuillez consulter l'appel à contributions dans la section qui clôt le volume et le site web ishd.co. Le respect des normes de citation présentées dans la première note de bas de page de la page de titre de chaque article sera également très apprécié, car cela permettra d'accroître la visibilité et la portée des publications, à une époque où elles dépendent de plus en plus des moteurs de recherche automatisés.

Comme ces dix dernières années, je souhaite exprimer ma sincère gratitude à Terry Haydn pour la relecture des articles en anglais et à

Markus Furrer et Dorota Wiśniewska avec Teresa Malinowska pour les traductions en allemand et en français, respectivement. Et comme il s'agit de mon dernier numéro en tant que rédacteur en chef de la revue JHEC, je souhaite également exprimer ma gratitude à tous les contributeurs, évaluateurs, collaborateurs et lecteurs, parmi les membres de la ISHD et au-delà, pour leurs contributions, leurs suggestions, leurs commentaires et leur soutien. Enfin, je tiens à remercier l'éditeur, Wochenschau Verlag, et en particulier M. Jan Truetzschler pour sa patience et son soutien dans le processus de rédaction, de correction et de mise en page du journal. Merci à vous !

Joanna Wojdon

WHY HISTORY EDUCATION?

WARUM GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT?

PORQUOI L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE?

HISTORY EDUCATION IN ISRAEL: BETWEEN THE SILICON VALLEY AND THE THIRD TEMPLE*

Roy Weintraub, Nimrod Tal and Eyal Naveh

This article uses the dramatic education reforms that taking place in the Israel to explore the question of 'Why History Education?' in the Israeli context. Using a wide variety of sources – from official curricula through matriculation tests to lesson plans – the article conducts a diachronic analysis spanning eight decades, from the establishment of the State of Israel to the present day. It places the changes in Israeli history education in a broader international context within which the great historical canons and national identity goals were undermined. The analysis shows that in recent decades Israel's history education has undergone a twofold trend. On the one hand, the secular public sought to move away from the narrow national narrative, focusing instead on the development of historical thinking skills and other useful tools in the twenty-first-century economy. Religious Zionist education, on the other hand, wished to take advantage of the ideological space that created by the erosion of the classic Zionist narrative, to establish a new narrative based on the principles of the Torah of Israel and its prophets.

1. Introduction

In the 2021 school year, for the first time since the establishment of The State of Israel, mandatory history studies were excluded from the middle-school curriculum. This decision was part of a broader reform initiated by Minister of Education Dr. Yifat Shasha-Biton. It intends to cancel external matriculation state exams in history and other humanities and grant school principals and local-level educators greater independence (Kadari-Ovadia, 2021). Despite the reform's significance, it has not provoked a public outcry. Professional educators and other education stakeholders have criticized this move, warning that abolishing the external matriculation exams in history would wipe out this subject (The Historical Society of Israel, 2022). Yet, even this criticism did not receive media attention or awaken a

* Preferred citation: Roy Weintraub, Nimrod Tal and Eyal Naveh (2022) 'History Education in Israel: Between the Silicon Valley and the Third Temple,' *International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics*, 43: 13–34.

broad debate outside closed internal circles, and public interest in this matter has been low. This phenomenon is particularly interesting given the high sensitivity of the Israeli public and media to arguments around historical issues (Naveh, 2007; 2010).

The reform and the limited criticism against it thus offer an excellent opportunity to raise the question of ‘Why history education?’ in the Israeli context. In this article, we will explore the status of history education in present-day Israeli society and review the past few decades’ significant changes it has undergone. Our central argument is that the changes planned by the Ministry of Education (MoE) indicate the complex status of history education in Israel, which is the outcome of two almost opposite processes.

On the one hand, Israeli society seems to distance itself from ‘grand narratives’ (Lyotard, 1984), abandoning the teleological historical approach that wishes to define and consolidate a collective identity and harness the public to a national mission. Instead, it turns to career-oriented individualism, which at best encourages critical thinking and pluralistic values, but often creates indifference to the importance of historical studies in the educational process. On the other hand, the religious-Zionist public is undergoing an almost opposite process. It aspires to instill in the students a new, religious, and teleological metanarrative maintaining that redemption is about to come true thanks to the Zionist enterprise. Thus, while a large public has been distancing itself from the canonical national narrative, another large public aspires to create a new faith-based canonical narrative. Due to this situation, Israel’s history education is in a transitional state, accompanied by concern, uncertainty, and often even awkwardness, which may explain somewhat the evolving policy of the MoE and the public reaction to it.

Although this article focuses on Israel, with its unique social, geopolitical, and religious circumstances, we also regard it as a case study and a reflection of other broad processes. We will weave the Israeli trends into international processes that have occurred in the past few decades. They regard the history discipline, the perception of meaningful education, the weakening of the nation-state, and ideological-cultural changes (Taylor and Guyver, 2011; Elmersjö, Clark & Vinterek, 2017; Yearbook of the International Society of History Didactics, 2009). These processes across continents and cultures have significantly changed the goals and characteristics of history education. They will help us analyze the change in the status

of history education within Israeli society, and observe the dynamics between the groups through an international conceptual framework.

To thoroughly substantiate our central argument, we will conduct a historical analysis of the goals of history education in the Israeli Jewish state education – the secular State Education (SE) and the State Religious Education (SRE) systems – from its beginning to the present. Our methodology will be critical contextual analysis. The approved curricula and textbooks will stand at the center of the investigation. In large-scale education systems comprising hundreds of thousand students, such materials represent the learning process reliably and mirror the worldviews and goals of education leaders (Carretero, Berger, and Grever, 2017; Schissler, 2009). In Israel, where the MoE closely supervises the textbooks used, this is particularly apparent (Carretero, Berger & Grever, 2017). To enhance our understanding, we will also analyze various other sources engaging with the MoE activity, the teachers' fieldwork, and the public discourse around this matter.

The article has four parts combining diachronic and synchronic analyses. The first two chapters are chronological, analyzing and presenting the historical context of the last decades' changes. The first chapter describes the formative years of the education system, from the establishment of the State to the early 1970s. The second analyzes the changes that began in the early 1970s and gathered momentum over the following decades. The next two chapters coincide chronologically, analyzing the dual process of the past few decades. The third chapter is dedicated to changes among the general non-religious public. The last chapter investigates the Religious Zionism aspirations in history education, highlighting the dynamics with the state education system.

2. Building an Israeli Nation

Around the time of the State's establishment, the question 'Why history education' had a clear answer. Like history education around the world (Carretero, Asensio & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Wilschut, 2010), the State of Israel also perceived this discipline as a primary means for creating social cohesiveness and instilling a patriotic worldview (Goldberg & Gerwin, 2013; Hofman, 2007). The explicit goal of the first high school curriculum was:

To inculcate in the students the importance of the State of Israel in ensuring the biological and historical existence of the Jewish nation, develop their sense of personal accountability for the State's consolidation and development, and imbue them with a desire to fulfill its needs and a willingness to serve it (MoE, 1957: 35).

The establishment of the State ended the Zionist Movement's voluntarism age, as the State assumed the missions performed by various Jewish organizations during the British Mandate period. The government centralized its state mechanisms, and the State became the focal activity and power center. Alongside the disbanding of various paramilitary organizations replaced by the Israel Defense Forces, another noticeable move in this process was setting up a State Education System.

The centrality of education intensified in the face of the significant challenges the State of Israel had to cope with in its early years, threatening its nature and jeopardizing its existence. Next to the ominous military threats of its neighboring states, the massive immigration waves that doubled its population and resulted in unprecedented diversification were an enormous challenge. Within a few years, Israel's Jewish population featured ethnic groups with different, not necessarily Zionist traditions and other, sometimes contradicting cultural values that destabilized its core nature. The education system's role in integrating the new immigrants became even more vital since about a third of the newcomers were children or teenagers, constituting about a half of the students. Researchers have shown that in these circumstances, the national leadership perceived the education system as crucial to consolidating the young state's society and 'nationalizing' it (Naveh & Yogev, 2002; Kizel, 2008; Mattiash, 2002).

The history discipline's contribution to structuring the Israeli national identity placed it at the center of the MoE consolidation efforts. The appointment of historian Ben-Zion Dinur as minister of education (1951–1955) underscored this point. Dinur was among the most prominent Hebrew University historians. To him, writing the Jewish history was way more than a mere professional task. He perceived it as an ideological mission in support of the Zionist enterprise (Rein, 1999).

With Dinur at its head, the MoE assumed an ethnocentric-recruiting historical stance meant to ingrain a national identity and implant love for the State of Israel. Dinur and his colleagues wished

to create a uniform national historical narrative, rejecting any pluralistic approach. The wording of the history curriculum purposes already revealed its recruiting message. Among other things, it said, 'it is necessary to imbue [in the students] love for the State of Israel and a willingness to act on its behalf and safeguard its existence' (MoE, 1954: 18). Namely, the history curriculum aimed the students to perceive the nation as an organic biological body. It immediately went on to warn against the dangers that threatened its continuous existence. By these principles, the curriculum designers sought to awaken a sense of national belonging and accountability in their students and consequently recruit them to serve the needs of the state.

The curriculum design adhered to the organic-teleological approach of Zionism, which maintained that the exile and the return to Zion were the essences of Jewish history. The curriculum reflected the three-sided structure of the Zionist narrative: The birth and prosperity of the nation in the ancient biblical time, the suffering and anomaly during the exile, and the modern period revival and regained sovereignty in Zion.

The selected content was meant to glorify Jewish history, highlight the attributes that allow constructing a Hebrew patriotic identity, and strengthen the heroic national perspective of myths. The primary purpose of the curriculum designers was to project an image of the nation as an organic entity that, despite the hardships and challenges in exile, 'has preserved its religion, traditions, and opinions' and 'has never ceased to exist as one nation throughout the countries of exile' (MoE, 1954: 17). This is, in fact, the basic feature of the Zionist narrative, aiming to establish homogeneous characteristics of the Jewish people that comprehend all the periods and locations.

Alongside the national-romantic approach, they emphasized that the Jewish people had an extraordinary history. The students were to understand the uniqueness of the nation and be acquainted with its 'great past' that was manifest in its 'spiritual heritage, achievements, and vision' (MoE, 1954: 17). Thus, on the one hand, the Jewish nation was presented as a nation like any other and one of the oldest members of the global family of nations. On the other hand, however, it was said to have a singular importance and influence on humanity. Thus, the aim to show that the nation had a natural place among other nations, while preserving its uniqueness and superior value.

The first-generation textbooks fully corresponded to the principles and purposes of the curriculum. Two central MoE figures, Michael Ziv and Michael Hendel, wrote and designed the books, backing up and strengthening Dinur's ethnocentric-recruiting approach. The textbooks' national perspective followed the development of the Jewish nation and selected world history content accordingly, with an almost exclusive focus on Western culture. Numerous stories of heroism and sacrifice interwove with the Jewish and world history throughout the different historical periods. The writers focused on military and political history that dealt with war and revolutionary heroes, rulers, and political developments (Kizel, 2008). This was the common approach in the 1950s but it also served the recruiting educational purposes of the curriculum. It was a *'favorable tendentious education,'* as Ziv (1957: 13–14) put it, adding: *'History education must nurture the students' social activism. ... We do not intend to bring up historians but rather citizens who participate in creating and shaping history.'*

Given the determination of history education to unite the nation and recruit the young generation, it is no wonder that no attempt was made to introduce other perspectives, such as of another ethnic group, a different faith, and more than anything else – adversary nations. Of course, it was inconceivable to question the rightness of Zionism. Thus, the curricula and learning materials simply ignored the history of Eretz Yisrael's local inhabitants. The Palestinians were only mentioned in the context of their struggle against the Jewish Yishuv. Thus, despite the emphasis placed on the history of Eretz Yisrael, the only mention of the Arab population was as enemies fighting the efforts of the Jewish people. Historical developments, cultural characteristics, social structures, questions of identity – all were ignored.

Moreover, besides being intolerant to external others, history education also ignored 'close others,' such as North African and Middle Eastern Jews (commonly referred to as Mizrahi). Their culture and values, orientally perceived as primitive and non-Zionist, ostensibly were not in line with the educational aspirations of the new state. Thus, despite the emphasis placed on the History of the Jewish People, the curricula conspicuously included little content dealing with North African and Middle Eastern Jewish communities (Weintraub & Tal, 2021; Naveh & Yogev, 2002).

The religious public was another 'close other.' Although the religious Zionist education system was not eliminated, this almost

happened. In the field of history, the SRE system was subjected to the general SE system. At that time, it perceived its position as inferior and had to cope with the massive secularization of the Jewish people in the modern era. That abandonment of religious faith in favor of science, rationalism, and great ideologies – socialism and nationalism, finally gave birth to the Zionist movement and the establishment of the State of Israel. Religious education struggled to exist, and was far from envisioning an independent history education of its own (Weintraub, 2021).

The curriculum assigned several specific goals to the SRE, allowing it to express its religious-oriented historical perception. However, it imposed almost the same learning process on the SRE institutes as on the general nonreligious education system. Beyond the instructions and curriculum makeup, this was evident in other layers of the learning process, such as the annual guidelines of the MoE director, which applied to all the learning institutes, or symposia and teacher training programs held jointly for both systems. Thus, even in the significant matter of textbooks, the religious education administration avoided issuing any instructions or supervising classroom work (Weintraub, 2021).

The project that consolidated and inculcated the narrative described above was highly successful. This narrative became canonical, the backbone of historical awareness in Israel for decades. Yet, as early as the mid-1960s, cracks appeared in it, and changes occurred in answering the question ‘Why history education?’

3. Socio-cultural Changes

In the late 1960s, and even more so in later decades, Israeli society changed and no longer featured the same characteristics it had in the 1950s when the first curriculum was formulated. Economic development and closer contacts with the American culture pushed aside the collective-recruiting nature of the early years and replaced it with the ideals of a Western individualistic society (Gutwein, 2004).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Israel’s education leaders, aware of the students’ different circumstances and needs, adopted a differential approach. At the same time, the system became receptive to pedagogical developments in the United States that advocated professionalization and academization of the learning process design

at the expense of the previous ideological approach (Naveh & Yogev, 2002; Hofman, 2007; Kizel, 2008).

The SE system issued its third-generation history curricula in the wake of the changes it had underwent and the deep disenchantment with the leadership following the Yom Kippur War (1973). The ties of the Israeli education departments with the American academia greatly influenced these curricula. They reflected the new trend of underscoring achievements and reducing the mission-oriented emphasis on the defense of nation and state. The curricula still focused on fostering a sense of national identity. Their primary objective was 'Imparting to the student knowledge and understanding of the history of Israel and other nations, with emphasis on the unique path of the Jewish nation' (MoE, 1977: 3). However, unlike the previous curricula, the national mission was not exclusive, and the new curricula planners attempted to avoid instilling predetermined state-sponsored stands (Naveh, 2017: 39). The curriculum emphasized the importance of active student participation in the learning process towards developing learning skills and critical historical thinking in the students (Kizel, 2008) and contributing to 'fostering a sense of rights and the need to judge historical events and phenomena based on human values' (MoE, 1977: 7). Secular history textbooks issued based on these curricula clearly reflected this approach (Ben Amos, 1994).

Evidence of the scope and depth of the changes the history education leaders wished to institute emerges from the reactions they elicited from numerous teachers (Tal & Hofman, 2021). A few of them saw the new spirit within the MoE as nothing less than a timely revolution. However, more frequent were the objections of history teachers, who saw any breakaway – no matter how initial and mild – from the canonical national narrative as a tangible danger. For example, a middle-school history coordinator wrote the following to then Minister of Education Aharon Yadlin in June 1974:

In recent years, particularly after the Yom Kippur War, a horrible affliction has been noticed, which might be called a 'self-hatred syndrome.' This disease is widespread among young persons. ... It is terrible that they [the young generation] do not believe in their struggle for survival here, in their country, and question their right for the land on which they live, seeking legal justification and title deeds because they are completely ignorant about their recent past. If we do nothing shortly, we will face serious problems. (Shalev, 1974)

Given the decline in Zionist ardor and the time that has passed since the establishment of the state, many feared that the proposed changes would impair the new generation's ability to connect collectively to the national identity. One teacher wrote, *'As we drift farther away from the national revival period and from the establishment of the State, we witness manifestations of alienation [in some of our students], ... and we must ask ourselves what should be done to deepen the[ir] Zionist consciousness.'* (Issacharov, 1976). Thus, those years saw first moves (albeit limited) away from the canon, along with concern about this trend.

The ideological and organizational changes within the MoE offered the SRE additional maneuvering space that allowed it greater independence for the first time since the establishment of the state of Israel. This independence first emerged in the early 1960s, when the SRE became more established following ideological changes among the Zionist religious public that pressed to increase its influence on the Israeli population and the nature of the State. It kept strengthening after the Six-Day War (June 1967), which gave rise to a flare-up of messianic approaches. Religious Zionism took the return to biblical sites and the glorious victory as undisputed proof that Jewish redemption was imminent. They saw it as their duty to take Zionism to the next stage, that of faith (Schwartz, 2208; Feige, 2009). Since the 1970s, SRE's history education has had one clear purpose: To convince students that they were living in an extraordinary era, where the biblical prophecy of redemption was about to come true and make them understand that they were responsible for continuing this process. The SRE journal cited the following words of its head, Joseph Goldschmidt, about the mandatory need to learn history after the Six-Day-War:

And now – we may, we must, open our eyes and recognize with faith the exceptional chain of events of the past hundred years, when we walked or were guided in the right direction slowly and carefully but persistently and without straying ... until this moment, when the whole promised land is in the hands of Israel, and we are also the owners of the site of our Temple, saying 'Indeed, this is the beginning of our redemption?' (Bisdeh Hemed, 1968: 1).

Having struggled in the 1960s with the secular MoE, the SRE was granted a separate curriculum with added religious goals and content.

By including religious subjects, SRE wished to interpret the Zionist enterprise as the realization of a divine redemption process, thus adding a metaphysical-theological facet to the Zionist narrative (Weintraub, 2021).

Yet, there were limits to the messianic flare-up within SRE's history education. Two internal and external factors restricted it. Internally, some religious educators and historians wished to stick to the disciplinary principles and had reservations about the messianic interpretation of history. One such example was the textbook writer and the prominent historian Jacob Katz. The second factor was external: the status of the classical Zionist narrative, which continued to be the common denominator of Israeli society. Despite the weakening of the recruiting approach, the Zionist ethos was still alive, limiting the span of the religious Zionist's narrative influence. This state of affairs was about to change.

4. The Post-Zionist Attack and the Shift to Neo-liberal Pluralism

The changes embodied in the 1970s SE history education were the first harbingers of public controversies about the representation of history in the Israeli education system. While the changes of the 1970s could be mainly attributed to developments in the way significant education was perceived, history education became a much more complex matter with time. With the strengthening 1970s trends, Israeli nationality and the status of the Zionist ideology underwent fundamental changes in the following decades (Ram, 2013; Silberstein, 2013). In the past four decades, Israeli history education has consequently turned into an arena of complex and multi-dimensional controversies (Naveh, 2018; 2017).

The first cracks appeared in the previously indisputable Israeli nationalism in the 1980s, with the onset of a stormy battle around the nature of the Israeli identity and collective memory. For the first time, the historical Zionist narrative came under attack by academics, intellectuals, artists, and media figures. This trend, titled 'Post Zionism,' encompassed numerous multifaceted and often conflicting approaches that criticized and deliberated about the history and worldview of the Zionist Enterprise. At its core, the Post Zionist approach attempted to free itself from the aspirations and ideals of the Zionist Enterprise. It wished to reach a sober understanding of

the history and characteristics of the Zionist Enterprise, dispelling fundamental myths and exposing manipulations and deceptions used in structuring the national heritage (Silberstein, 2013).

Among the most influential groups to challenge the official Zionist narrative was 'The New Historians' group. A series of works published by emerging researchers in the early 1980s challenged central premises in the Israeli collective memory. They claimed that the written history of the War of Independence and the establishment of the state was tarnished by a severe ideological bias of the writers. These researchers portrayed a new picture of the war, which undercut the heroic and moral Zionist ethos, and emphasized the disasters that befell the Arabs in Israel (Naveh, 2018).

Amid the various post-Zionist approaches, a meaningful criticism emerged in the late 1980s against another national perception of the past – the Holocaust. This criticism claimed that the Holocaust memory was narrowed down to justify the establishment of a Jewish state, and a direct line connected the Holocaust victims with the Zionist ethos. Israeli policy, they said, has understated the massive weight of the Holocaust and even damaged its memory (Silberstein, 2013).

However, although the state education system has significantly amended the history curricula in the past few decades, they continue to adhere to the Zionist narrative. The MoE is still struggling to block the penetration of post-Zionist approaches into the education system. Yet it could not ignore some post-Zionist criticism, which has also impacted and transformed historical research at Israeli universities.

Moves that had sparked severe public storms and fierce criticism in the late 1990s (Naveh, 2009), currently make an integral part of the learning process. Thus, for example, the curriculum teaches Jewish nationalism in the context of modern European nationalism, all the textbooks take exception to the War of Independence myth of 'few against many' and make an effort to project a more balanced picture, and the learning materials criticize the government's discriminatory policy against the Mizrahi Jews. Moreover, in the past decade, some careful and understated recognition has been voiced of the wrongs the Jewish forces committed against the Arabs in the 1948 war, the Arab Nakba (Domke, Urbach & Goldberg 2009; Avieli-Tavivian, 2009; Naveh, Vered & Shachar, 2009). Trends such as these do not

undermine the Zionist concept, but definitely erode the classical Zionist historical narrative.

With the weakening of the Zionist narrative, historical literacy received extra attention. The MoE heads began allocating growing resources to develop high-level thinking skills in all the disciplines, overriding aspects of identity and social cohesion. This policy went hand in hand with a broader global history education context that moved away from building a patriotic identity and emphasized historical thought aspects (Seixas, 2017; Wineburg, 2001).

The curricula issued in the 2000s reflect this great change. While in the 1950s almost all the curricula aimed to cultivate the students' national identity and encourage them to make personal sacrifices for the State, the curricula of the 2000s, no longer placed the identity aspect at the center, and it covered less than 20 % of their goals. Historical thinking, disciplinary skills, tolerance for the other, and universal values won the main emphasis. No longer were patriotic values being implanted or instilled in the students. There was a visible wish to develop in them 'creative, critical, and reflective thinking about the learned topics' (MoE, 2020: 3). Thus, even the goal of fostering a national identity emphasized the pluralistic facet of Israeli society (MoE, 2020; MoE, 2003).

Of course, the new curricular trends did not spring exclusively from the erosion of the Zionist historical narrative. They also reflected changes in the Israeli secular society, which had become capitalistic and over-consumerist. It is now a society that applauds individualism and self-actualization. It has abandoned the unique historical view that necessitated the establishment of the State of Israel, and now yearns for a country that leads a normal life, similar to any other country in the world. Life outside Israel is no longer regarded as 'exile'; relocation has turned into a legitimate, often coveted, choice.

We do not argue that this society is devoid of ethos, but that this ethos now tends to be more future-oriented. It combines entrepreneurship, technological progress, and economic success befitting a 'Startup Nation.' Although this trend does not represent the entire non-religious society, it does speak for the most influential and leading force in terms of economy, media, and ideas (Senor & Singer, 2009). In the past, the MoE ideal was a coalescent and united society. In contrast, it now aspires primarily to prepare the students for a career and scientific research that would help them in their life

and contribute to the State's economy and security. In this past decade, the top priority of the MoE was increasing the number of high school students learning expanded Mathematics and English curricula (MoE, 2016).

The social objectives of the government and the MoE indicated as well the emphasis they placed on mathematics, English, and technology. Their main ambition was promoting the integration of weak social layers in high-tech and at the forefront of science through programs such as Magshimim. Designed for the geographical and social periphery, the program is unique in 'The opportunity it offers its graduates to be posted in the IDF's selected technological units, engage in fascinating and vital tasks and proceed to academia and leading high-tech companies' (Magshimim, 2021). High-tech and scientific progress have become the new Israeli ethos.

This does not mean that history no longer matters or that there is no interest in it. On the contrary, the Israeli public continues to rage over historical controversies about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Moreover, the non-religious public finds pleasure and is interested in the past, whether avidly reading Yuval Noah Harari's book that has had a dizzying success or listening to history podcasts that star high in the playing ratings. However, this interest is intellectual, reflecting a desire to acquire knowledge and better understanding rather than seeking an ethos or identity. Like in many western countries, the non-religious society regards identity as a complex, circumstance- and condition-dependent matter. The national aspect is still there but is accompanied by equally significant constituents, such as gender, community, and profession.

All the above explains the circumstances for a reform that would abolish compulsory history studies in Middle Schools and might even result in canceling the external matriculation exam. The non-religious public currently has several answers for the question 'Why history education?' Moreover, not only are numerous answers regarded as a *fait accompli* but also as an aspired-for norm. The diversity that prevents a unanimous answer, the rejection of an accepted, uniform answer, and the indifference of the non-religious public – all undermine the status of history in the MoE. The religious Zionist public has taken a different direction.

5. A Religious-Messianic Trend

Unlike the state education system, SRE has formed a definite answer to the question ‘why history education?’ in the past two decades (Naveh, 2018). It regards history as a means ‘to become acquainted with the work of God in the world of creation and doing’ (Curriculum, 2010). That is, history allows showing the students how God shapes human reality. History education is a tool meant to expose the divine control on the unique history of the Jewish people, reveal the characteristics of the miraculous revival of the State of Israel, and explain to the young generation its religious and national responsibilities.

The erosion of the Zionist narrative in Israeli society, particularly in the SE system, has motivated the SRE system to display its clear and definite value-based approach via a dialectic process. At the same time, it has weakened the non-religious ideological stands, adding prominence and strength to the religious approach (Weintraub, 2020; Weintraub & Naveh, 2020). While the state education system has avoided politically-specific educational objectives (Naveh, 2017: 265–276; Goldberg & Gerwin, 2013), SRE boldly states that history education is a tool to shape the identity and religious stance of the young generation.

For the SRE, the faith aspect is a fundamental principle underlying history education besides being an educational goal. The religious roots of the curriculum issued in 2010 are apparent already in the introduction, which opens with a biblical quote: ‘Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations’ (Deuteronomy 32, 7). This verse, the writers add, is no less than a precept (MoE, 2010: 5). Thus, the curriculum opens with the statement that remembering the past and understanding it in the context of the present is a religious commitment by which the Jewish people must abide.

At the focus of its teaching approach, the SRE places the way history teaches about the deeds of the Creator. In response to an MoE discussion that contested the need for a separate history curriculum in the SRE, its chairman, Rabbi Avi Gisser (2013: 1–2) said:

At SRE foundation lies faith in the Creator ... who chose His people, Israel, with love, from among other nations, and gave us his ... Torah of truth. ... Although these beliefs make part of religious teaching, Jewish thought, and Torah and Bible studies, for us they make a fundamental part of our history and the history of nations, and are the basis for the structure of our unique history curriculum.

This is the spirit of the only textbook series permitted in the SRE system, 'Crises and Revival.' The series was written and produced by an institute of the Har Bracha Yeshiva, the hardcore of a staunchly religious settlement by the same name located on the outskirts of Nablus.

In describing its activity, the Har Bracha Institute declared outright that 'the purpose of the books is to demonstrate the hand of God in the upheavals of history and the world's progress towards redemption' (Har Bracha, 2018).

Religious Zionism is acting to substantiate its meta-narrative in two ways. The first regards the realistic historical axis and attempts to create a post-secular historical narrative that openly undermines the modernization and progress theses (Habermas, 2008). In earlier curricula, including those of the state education, the impact of modernism on the Jewish people followed studying the process by which modernism arose in Europe. However, in the new SRE curriculum, a whole new category was added to the study of the Enlightenment and modern ideologies, titled 'The crises of modernism.'

To explain the dangers of modernism, the linear chronology is interrupted, and moves directly from the mid-19th century to WW1, Russian communism, Italian fascism, and Nazism. Only after they learn about 'the crises of modernism' and understand its duality and dangers do the students return to the 19th century and the Jewish people's coping with the challenges of the modern age (MoE, 2010). While in postmodern stands the crises of modernism lead to 'the end of ideologies' (Bell, 2000; Lyotard, 1984), the religious Zionist doctrine sees those crises as a decisive link in a broader process of historical progress, based on the vision of the Jewish prophets rather than on the values of the Enlightenment. This meta-narrative has certain modern aspects but also points to the limitations and dangers of modernism. Abandoning Judaism and assimilation processes on the one hand and colossal horrors on the other left the Jewish people

with no choice but to return to their country. The return to Zion, where the Jewish people will be able to accomplish its spiritual responsibility stands, therefore, for progress (Weintraub, 2019). These teachings are significant since they argue against the secularization trends and see progress as undermining the world of religion. However, they only constitute part of the Religious Zionist narrative.

In the second way, which is interwoven into the realistic historical axis, the SRE acts to establish its new meta-narrative, creating a theological-metaphysical dimension that explains how God shapes human reality (Weintraub & Naveh, 2020). This dimension sometimes lies within the learned content, but it is mostly transmitted via a meta-historical envelope that abandons the rational principles of research, replacing them with a theological-metaphysical interpretation of the historical process. This approach is manifested visually in the books of Har Bracha. While the study chapters mostly adhere to rational research explanations, the books' introductions and epilogues offer a theological framework that interprets the historical process from a religious-redemptive viewpoint. This historiosophic approach presents a historical human process dominated and motivated by divine providence. Divine providence ended the Jewish people's diaspora and led them back to the promised land, realizing the prophets' vision and bringing redemption to the world (Har Bracha, 2015).

Moreover, the shaping of historical consciousness (Seixas, 2017; Rush, 1993) in the SRE, i.e., the understanding that the past interprets the present and predicts the future, should be conceived in a broader context that transcends history as a discipline. A significant part of the theological and metaphysical interpretive aspect is instilled in the students in their Jewish Thought studies. Jewish Thought, a central topic in the SRE, includes a whole chapter dedicated to 'redemption and the messianic age,' part of which engages with the link between the State of Israel and redemption. The students learn in depth the teachings of prominent rabbis and absorb the religious Zionism worldview according to which 'The State of Israel is part of the redemption process; it stands for the onset of the redemption vision's realization' (Rudik, 2011: 215).

The SRE administration reinforces the theological interpretive aspect of the official sacred learning content by an educational envelope outlined through instructions, activities, and specific

learning content. A prominent example of this was the 2017–2018 program ‘70 years of statehood from the perspective of the prophets’ vision.’ The program intended to instill in the students that ‘the outstanding achievements of the State in various spheres’ represented ‘the realization and implementation of the prophets’ vision’ (Religious State Education Administration, 2019). The program’s principles were incorporated into various lesson plans that were part of the official schedule, and implemented in social activities in and out of the schools.

Thus, from an overall perspective, the theological-interpretative dimension in the SRE history teaching is affirmed through a variety of learning subjects and educational activities. The SRE aims to bolster this way in the students a historical consciousness that interprets the modern history of the Jewish people as a realization process of a prophetic vision and divine redemption, indicating that the young generation bears responsibility and must fulfill its missions. The inclusion of history topics in other learning subjects explains the weak objection of the SRE to the reform, despite the high importance it attaches to history. Although some religious educators fear that canceling the state exams might harm history learning, they accept the change because history education is tightly woven into other subjects, most of them religious, that do not face change. The risk to the history discipline, which many professionals have vehemently protested, does not bother the SRE. Their first and foremost goal is to use history education as a tool to deepen religious faith.

6. Summary

Within the context of global depth processes, history education has transformed worldwide in the past few decades, and Israel is no exception. In Israel, the status of the Zionist narrative has eroded. This reintroduced the question ‘Why history education?’ more emphatically than in the 1970s or even at the establishment of the state’s period. The obvious answer – ‘To foster a national Zionist identity in a modern world’ has lost its vigor, and new replies seem to be required.

Religious Zionism, with its clear-cut answers, has filled the vacuum created by the erosion of the canonical national narrative. In the SRE, history plays a double role: it highlights the crisis of

modernism asserting that the return to Zion is the only possible solution for the Jewish people, and serves as a platform to reveal the deeds of God. Namely, the primary purpose of history education does not emerge from within the discipline but from a historical consciousness that shapes a Jewish identity. Indeed, the SRE is deeply mistrustful of the developments in the history discipline in the past few decades, which underscore the contingent nature of phenomena, question constitutive ethos, doubt supreme authorities, and break gender conventions. Instead, it uses history as a tool to describe, explain, and prove the prophecy of redemption, and place the student in a non-scientific theological timeframe. This stance largely explains the weak overall objection – except for a small group of stakeholders – to the MoE reform. Obviously, the SRE does not necessarily perceive the weakening of the history discipline as problematic, since its educational objectives for history are already integrated into other subjects and will continue to be promoted either way.

Within the state education system and among the non-religious public, the answer to the question ‘why history education’ is completely different, yet it also leads to a weak objection to the reform. In the eyes of this public, the crisis of the classical Zionist narrative corresponds to current trends. These trends look to the future rather than the past, to the world rather than the state, to high-tech rather than the agricultural farm. Many people thus feel there is no particular reason to gaze back at the past, definitely not within a committing educational framework. It is possible to gratify the curiosity and fondness for past fact-based dramas in other ways, primarily via popular culture. It would appear that academizing historical education and placing research skills at its heart are not sufficient to justify the survival of this discipline in the public education sphere. Thus, except for a few stakeholders, almost no one resents the option of excluding this subject from the school system.

In the early 21st century, Israeli society has histories, rather than History. In this situation, history education in Israel cannot achieve the purpose it had in the mid-20th century. This gives rise to two central answers the Israeli education system currently gives for the question ‘why history education’: According to the SRE, history is a means to understand the divine plan for the Jewish people. The state education system sees history as heritage stories, critical thinking

(Wineburg, 2018), and drama. The meaning of both answers is that there is no real need for history education in present-day Israel.

In the absence of any solid alternatives, the erosion of the canonical narrative within massive global changes and the proposed answers create together acute discomfort and apprehension in the few who hold dear the history discipline. Against this backdrop, we call to attempt formulating a third answer to the question 'why history education.' We hope this article goes beyond the academic discourse and participates in the ongoing Israeli public and political discourse about the future of history education. The answer we propose aims to offer an alternative to eliminating this discipline and point to the crucial need of its continuation at this time. While the canonical Zionist narrative of the late 20th century can no longer justify teaching this subject in the early decades of the 21st century, it must not necessarily be replaced by a redemptional narrative or by giving up a historical narrative of any kind.

Instead, we propose that history education should be considered as the foundation for humanistic education that emphasizes human agency, while considering each individual contingent social and personal circumstances. Time obliges us to teach students about the human experience and to introduce them to their temporary place on the topographic map of humankind. History education cannot be reduced to developing thinking skills, but it must provide an existential context. Thus, we need to open up the worn-out national framework and incorporate personal, communal and human aspects into the teaching process. Such process and thinking would regard history as a process of relating and even connecting with the human condition, the local-national story, and one's inner world. While this education direction is relevant internationally, it seems especially vital in the current Israeli situation, where humanistic values are under attack from both the religious-messianic and technological-capitalist sides.

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PATRIOTISM AND THE POLITICISATION OF NATIONAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE IN ZIMBABWE'S SCHOOL CURRICULUM REFORM (2015–2022)*

Denise Bentreovato and Joshua Chakawa

This article examines the politicisation of national history and heritage education in present-day Zimbabwe in the context of a worldwide rise in nationalist rhetoric and parallel attempts at infusing history classrooms with patriotism. The study considers both the intended curriculum, analysing prescribed syllabi, and the implemented curriculum, exploring teachers' lived experiences and views on curriculum change since 2015; the backdrop to these considerations is one of contested memory and power, as often accompanies nation-building projects following colonial pasts. The analysis uncovers the workings of a curriculum which employs discursive narcissism and silences to forge a monolithic collective memory and identity while providing legitimation for the ruling party and its actions past and present, effectively to tame an increasingly government-critical youth. The selective celebration of national liberation and patriotic heroism feature strongly in these endeavours. In view of the concomitant obscuring and marginalisation of competing experiences, the study takes account of teachers' voices and finds them to uncover a chasm between policy directives and their implementation. The findings call into question a top-down curriculum reform that has controversially centred 'heritage' to the detriment of history and leaves teachers forced to navigate a politicised classroom environment.

1. Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a worldwide rise in nationalist rhetoric and revisionist histories. One striking discursive strand of this trend, which has on numerous occasions led to the taking of controversial action in the field of education, is a tendency for politicians across the traditional left-right spectrum to decry a lack of patriotism among younger generations and blame it on supposed ignorance of their

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country's history. In 2020, for instance, the then US president Trump announced the creation of a commission to promote 'patriotic education' and a 'pro-American curriculum' that would counter narratives of systemic racism. The commission decried educational institutions as 'hotbeds of anti-Americanism' whose teachings threatened to 'destroy' America instead of fostering 'honest love for our country' (NPR, 17.09.2020). Trump's successor Biden disbanded the commission on his first day in office and withdrew its report, denounced as having 'glorifie[d] the country's founders, play[ed] down America's role in slavery, [and] condemn[ed] the rise of progressive politics' (AP News, 21.01.2021). At the time of writing, Russia, the US' historical nemesis, had announced plans to make history compulsory in schools from grade 1, part of a broader campaign on 'patriotic' education in the context of the war against Ukraine; the Russian president Putin asserted that 'a respectful, thoughtful attitude to the great patriotic, spiritual and cultural heritage of the Fatherland enables us to draw correct conclusions from the past' (The Moscow Times, 19.04.2022). Next door to Russia, the Chinese Communist Party has been 'wield[ing] patriotic education to tame Hong Kong's rebellious youth' via a programme originating in the post-Tiananmen Square era of the early 1990s which sought at that time to foreground the Communist Party's recovery of national sovereignty after a 'century of humiliation' under foreign, colonial forces (Reuters, 26.11.2020). Countries across Africa have seen similar attempts at infusing history classrooms with patriotism. One instance is South Africa, whose African National Congress (ANC) government has, since 2015, been controversially moving towards making history a compulsory subject on account of a perceived need to 'shape th[e] mindset' of an increasingly government-critical youth via instruction in 'the real South African history' (Makhanya, 2014, in Wassermann, 2017: 65).

Notwithstanding calls and attempts to understand such phenomena in an international context (e.g. Carretero, 2011), scholarship on history education often neglects African experiences and perspectives (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2020). Part of this article's purpose is to help fill this gap by exploring parallel discourses and practices in Zimbabwe, a young state born of a 15-year anti-colonial armed struggle against white settler domination which culminated in the country's independence in 1980. Various studies have noted the politicisation and 'patrioticisation' of history and its

teaching that has taken place with the consecutive changes to school curricula in the country under the now protracted leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) (Barnes, 2004, 2007; Barnes et al., 2016; Bentrovato, 2018; Moyo, 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010). Building on previous research, this article examines the latest iteration of curriculum change in Zimbabwe at lower secondary school level, which took place in 2015, against the background of declining support for ZANU-PF. The timing of the writing of this article, in April 2022, coincides with the end of the current implementation cycle and the concomitant launch of a curriculum review by the Zimbabwean government (NewsDay, 5.04.2022). Focusing on the school subject of history and the new, related learning area of ‘heritage studies,’ the article considers both the intended curriculum, analysing prescribed syllabi, and the implemented curriculum, exploring the lived experiences and views of teachers. Pointing to both continuities with and changes from past practices, it illuminates the role of political considerations in shaping the study of the national past in schools, notably centring ‘heritage’ to the detriment of history with the aim of bolstering ‘patriotic’ education; it further evidences the counterproductive effects of top-down change, in the particular context of controversies around Zimbabwe’s liberation and post-independence history and the concomitant post-colonial competition for power. In doing so, the study joins broader scholarship on the use and abuse of history and heritage and their teaching in contexts of contestation around power, pasts and memories accompanying (post-colonial) nation-building projects (on recent African cases, see, e.g., Bentrovato, 2018a, b, 2021; Bentrovato & Dzikanyanga, 2022; Bentrovato & Skåras, forthcoming). More broadly, it adds to our understanding of the worldwide political and ideological uses of formal education to channel specific narratives, values and norms in the service of incumbent power and, in so doing, furthers our knowledge on the workings of that power via the creation and transmission of stories about the past – and about the present and the future.

2. Conceptual and Methodological Considerations

This study centres on Zimbabwe’s official curriculum, that is, the socially valued knowledge, skills and attitudes passed to students via

schools, which we regard as a medium of the discursive construction of the nation and the ideal citizen. In the context of the contribution of schools to ‘craft[ing], very early indeed, the cognitive and affective foundations of “imagined communities”’ (Carretero, 2011: xxvii), history teaching is often politically and emotionally charged and a prime object of high-stakes culture wars worldwide (Apple, 2013; Cajani, Lässig & Repoussi, 2018; Ferro, 1984; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Hein & Selden, 2000). As international scholarship has shown, aspects of history curricula such as the philosophy and values they embody, their objectives, learning outcomes, teaching content and strategies, materials, and modes of assessment have changed across time and space pursuant to political priorities often dictated by the interests of powerful political elites (cf. Bentrivato, 2013; Bentrivato & Dzikananga, 2022).

Embedded in literature on the relationship between knowledge and power, and education and nation, the first dimension of this study considers both the formal or declared curriculum and the hidden, implicit or silent curriculum; together, they carry powerful messages about what and who is to be remembered and valued, and what and who forgotten and/or scorned in the framework of nation-building processes. Our analysis specifically draws on Zimbabwe’s current history and heritage studies syllabi for lower secondary level (MOPSE, 2015a, b), as well as widely circulating teachers’ notes on these subjects (n.a., n.d.). It examines their ‘narrative embroidery,’ the emphases and silences they encompass, and the witness borne by these choices to power relations in the country. In so doing, it draws on Fairclough’s (1995: 132) understanding of critical discourse analysis, which he defines as seeking to uncover the influence of power relations on discourse by ‘systematically exploring [...] relationships of causality and determination’ between discourse and the ‘wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes’ it references and to identify the ‘opacity of these relationships [...] as itself a factor securing power and hegemony.’

A second dimension of this study considers the implemented curriculum through inclusion of the frequently marginalised voices of teachers. It does so via interviews conducted with ten history teachers, some of whom additionally taught heritage studies, between 2019 and 2020, and more recent in-depth informal conversations with seven teachers held in 2022. Our informants were all qualified teachers with Bachelor’s or Master’s degrees, ranging in age from late

thirties to mid-fifties, with teaching experience of between one and three decades. The sample included teachers of both sexes and members of the country's two largest ethnic communities, the Shona and Ndebele, respectively comprising approximately 70 % and 20 % of Zimbabwe's population, and of smaller communities such as the Ndau. The respondents taught in urban and rural schools across five of Zimbabwe's eight provinces: Mashonaland West, Matabeleland South, Masvingo, Manicaland and Midlands, situated respectively in the northern, southern, south-eastern, eastern and central parts of the country. The relevance of this demographic information arises from the salience of ethnic and regional identities in Zimbabwe. We complement the teachers' perspectives and experiences with the views aired by delegates at the last Zimbabwe History Teachers' Association Conference, held prior to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2019.

We collected the data used in this analysis via privately held face-to-face exchanges and via encrypted phone conversations among a purposive sample of teachers, drawn from our networks in the country, who we believed would feel comfortable sharing with us their own thoughts as opposed to socially desirable or politically correct answers for fear of repercussions. It is significant to note that the Zimbabwean context is among 'the most oppressive to media in the region' (VOA, 20.03.2022) and the world, rated 'not free' in the Freedom in the World 2022 report and globally ranked 137 out of 180 by Reporters Without Borders (2022). In various cases, journalists and members of civil society and the opposition have been detained for expressing critical views, with some instances occurring under legislation against 'undermining the president.' A most recent area of concern includes a plan to introduce a tellingly named 'Patriotic Bill' that will criminalise citizens deemed 'unpatriotic' for criticising the country to the detriment of its image abroad (BBC, 12.05.2021). Many of the questions we asked our respondents were politically sensitive in nature, relating to processes of curriculum design and implementation, the resulting state of history in schools, the extent of the politicisation which the subject and these procedures have undergone, and teachers' navigation of the related challenges. We sought to collect genuine in-depth insights into these highly sensitive matters from selected insiders; we would caution, however, that the nature of the research and its non-representative,

qualitative design prohibits any drawing of generalisations from the findings.

Finally, to help make sense of the analysis, we complement and contextualise it with relevant scholarly literature, government documents and online news articles.

3. Historical and Educational Context of the Study

Research in the area of the Zimbabwean history curriculum shows that during the first decade of the country's independence, from 1980 to 1990, schools retained a colonial-era syllabus which focused on European history and the history of European settlement in Africa. Work by Barnes – supplemented by later curriculum and textbook studies on these reforms (Bentrovato, 2018a; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014; Moyo, 2014) – notes, on the two first curriculum reforms of the post-colonial period, that '[a] nationalist, Africa-centred and Marxist-inspired history syllabus was introduced in 1991 [...and was] replaced in 2002 by one that was narrower, less comparative and with less emphasis on the development of critical reading and interpretive skills' (Barnes, 2007: 633). The 2002 syllabus transmitted what the historian Ranger (2004: 218) has described as a coercive ZANU-PF narrative, an 'increasingly simple[,] monolithic,' and divisive 'patriotic history' which aims at the party's legitimation and is 'explicitly antagonistic to academic historiography.' Revised in this direction during the tenure of Aeneas Chigwedere, a historian who served as minister of education between 2000 and 2009, history had become a compulsory subject on the basis of the assertion that Zimbabweans had forgotten the country's heritage of fighting for liberation and 'betrayed revolutionary values' (Ranger, 2004: 218). These changes came partly in response to waning support for the hitherto hegemonic ZANU-PF, particularly among young, urban populations. This found manifestation in the strong challenge presented to ZANU-PF from 1999–2000 onward by the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) against the backdrop of a deteriorating economy and the ruling party's increasing authoritarianism. The narrative transmitted inside and outside schools in this context 'glorified the current rulers as the country's patriotic liberators, contrasting them to whites, denounced as imperialist enemies of the nation, and to black government critics,

demonised as “sell-outs” and “puppets of the West” (Bentrovato, 2018a: 179).

The current curriculum, analysed here, was introduced under the auspices of Lazarus Dokora, education minister between 2013 and 2017. In 2014, Dokora declared the need to overhaul a curriculum which continued to privilege European history over learners’ own history and culture (Daily News, 23.04.2014). Unveiled in 2015, with an intended implementation period of 2015 to 2022, the new curriculum did not become operational until 2017. As with previous changes to history education, this curriculum came into being in a specific political context: the return of ZANU-PF to dominance in 2013 following Robert Mugabe’s unprecedented election defeat in 2008, amid political violence at a level new to the country, and the entry into office of a government of national unity in 2009. The curriculum’s implementation, meanwhile, occurred in the context of party factionalism that ended Mugabe’s 37-year rule via military ousting in 2017. A ‘New Dispensation’ emerged in 2018 following the re-election of ZANU-PF under the leadership of Mugabe’s former close ally Emmerson Mnangagwa; the re-election sparked protests in urban areas which have met with violent suppression (Beardsworth, Cheeseman & Simukai, 2019).

ZANU-PF party circles have attributed the 2008 defeat and the ongoing opposition to its renewed rule to lacking patriotism among the populace, particularly its younger sections – to which state officials have applied the derogatory epithet ‘born free.’ This discourse blames the supposed deficiencies in the population’s love of its country on a neglect or forgetfulness of its history, demonstrated by increasing support for the opposition party – a party which had not fought the liberation struggle. The thrust of these discursive constructions, in continuity with rhetoric that first emerged in the 2000s, is that younger people are at risk of taking independence and those who won it for granted (Oosterom & Gukurume, 2019). Under the ‘New Dispensation,’ state officials have continued to declare the need to ‘reconnect [the youth] with the ideals of the revolution’ (The Herald, 30.12.2017, citing Togarepi) asserting that parents, school teachers and the ‘anti-government mentality factories’ (Ranger, 2004: 219) of universities and colleges have failed to fulfil this task.

With this background in mind, the analysis that follows examines the use of schools in the ideologically driven remediation of these

supposed and declared ills, alongside government-controlled media and commemorative activities whose politicisation has been a subject of widespread critique (e.g. Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009; Werbner, 1998). The analysis indicates that Zimbabwe's present-day approach to formal history education is strongly marked by the political rise and employment of 'heritage.' We use the term here in its definition by Lowenthal (1998: 118) in opposition to history, as 'not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened, but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present day purpose.' Against a backdrop that has seen a revival of cultural nationalism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009; Willems, 2013), the rise of 'the heritage based doctrine' as a philosophy underlying and guiding education and national development (Midlands State University, 29.06.2019), and specifically its manifestation in school history teaching, appears as an element of various youth-focused strategies pursued by the regime (Oosterom & Gukurume, 2019). Growing disaffection and political dissent among young Zimbabweans is evidently a particular concern to those in power considering the fact that this population group constitutes the majority of the electorate.

4. The History and Heritage Studies Syllabi: Aims and Contents

4.1 The History Syllabus

The history syllabus that is the subject of this study covers the four years of lower secondary education, with intended teaching time set at five periods per week. Its author is the Curriculum Development and Technical Services department of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, that worked with a number of other actors on its production. The acknowledged contributors are the 'history subject panel' – a body of subject specialists – the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC), UNESCO and UNICEF, alongside unnamed publishers and representatives of universities and teachers' colleges (2015: i). The document outlines the syllabus' aims and objectives, key topics and their scope and sequence, and presents a matrix of competencies composed of learning objectives, content, suggested learning activities and resources, and related methods of assessment.

The syllabus sets out the intent of the subject to help learners acquire ‘an informed and critical understanding’ and ‘an objective view’ of the history of Zimbabwe and the rest of the world (p. 7) – a goal that stands in stark contrast to the findings of this study. The document outlines the syllabus as responding to three stated individual and societal needs. The first of these relates to skills development. The syllabus seeks, in line with a learner-centred, inquiry-based approach, to provide learners with problem solving and critical thinking competencies and the ability to ‘analyse historical evidence [and] points of view and make value judgements’ (p. 2). Further skills students are to acquire include decision-making, leadership, conflict resolution, (self-)management, communication, technological and entrepreneurial competencies. This focus on generic skills development appears within the context of the ruling party’s discursive emphasis on empowering young people to contribute to Zimbabwe’s economic development (ZANU-PF, 2013), a response to the discontent increasingly engendered by youth unemployment in the early 2000s. The second need relates to the promotion of responsible citizenship via engagement with issues of global and local significance, specifically ‘population, human rights, democracy, empowerment, gender sensitivity, Unhu/Ubuntu/Vumunhu (societal norms and values).’ The third need is associated with ‘ensur[ing] [the] sustenance of nationalism and patriotism,’ notably by instilling ‘an appreciation of Zimbabwe and other countries’ struggles for political and economic emancipation’ while ‘rais[ing] an awareness of the need to preserve and conserve our heritage [emphasis ours]’ (p. 1). Although patriotism comes last in this list of intended subject objectives, our analysis of the syllabus will suggest that it arguably constitutes a preeminent aim of history education in present-day Zimbabwe – a patriotism, like that Ranger described in 2004, which is synonymous with supporting the ruling ZANU-PF party and what it represents.

Of the fifteen overarching topics covering national and international history, each with their specific sub-topics, those addressing Zimbabwe’s history from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial era take up a substantial part of the syllabus, forming a prominent and repetitive part thereof. The examinations at the conclusion of lower secondary education require completion of a paper on national history and an equally weighted paper on regional and international history. The weights attached to the questions

within the papers are indicative of the importance policymakers attribute to each topic. Paper 1, on national history, allocates 60 % of the marks to questions on colonisation and the armed struggle for independence, 25 % to post-independence history, and 10 % to pre-colonial societies, the remaining 5 % being taken up by a more general topic on history as a discipline. In Paper 2, the focus is primarily on the two World Wars (45 %), followed by socialism and communism (20 %) (p. 41–45).

The teaching of national history as prescribed in the current syllabus commences with early societies and states set up by various local communities, notably the (Shona) Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa and Rozvi states and the Zulu and Ndebele states. While the syllabus provides little precise detail, the historical account of the country featuring on the official Government of Zimbabwe website proudly describes Great Zimbabwe as a ‘majestic ancient stone city’ of ‘a powerful and organised society,’ epitomising ‘the finest and highest achievement of Shona civilisation,’ and depicts the Ndebele as migrants and newcomers who later subdued Shona rulers (www.zim.gov.zw). Widely circulating teachers’ notes refer to initially ‘bad’ relations between the two communities ‘because the Ndebele wanted to dominate the Shona – the Ndebele were the invaders and the Shona resisted them [...] However with time the relations became cordial’ (p. 56). In addressing the country’s colonial history, the syllabus covers early European contacts with an emphasis on the Portuguese and missionaries. The syllabus, and the relating teachers’ notes, adhere to an anti-colonial nationalist rhetoric, taking a similar tone to the official narrative featuring on the previously mentioned government website, which, for instance, terms the missionaries ‘the earliest representatives of the imperial world that eventually violently conquered the Shona and the Ndebele’ and systematically ‘denigrat[ed] and castigat[ed] African cultural and religions [sic] beliefs/practices’ (www.zim.gov.zw). Addressing the process of British colonisation, and the ‘chicanery and deception’ underlying the treaties and land concessions signed at that time, the syllabus uses the identity marker of ‘the whites’ for the colonists, a term contrasted elsewhere in the syllabus and the underlying official narrative to ‘indigenous people’ or ‘Africans’ (p. 16). The ‘[i]nvasion/occupation of Zimbabwe’ (p. 14) as it appears in the syllabus is an event the government narrative associates with domination, segregation and

exploitation, and the 'dispossession and forcible proletarianisation of the African' (www.zim.gov.zw).

This context sets up an important place for local anti-colonial resistance. Young Zimbabweans are expected to learn about the Anglo-Ndebele War (1893–94), the First Chimurenga/Umvukela (1896–97) – respectively the Shona and the less widely used Ndebele equivalent for 'revolution,' officially described as 'heroic Ndebele-Shona Uprisings' (www.zim.gov.zw) – the rise of 'mass-nationalism' (1957–1966/7), and the transition from peaceful politics to the armed liberation struggle. The resistance narrative culminates in the Second Chimurenga/Umvukela, fought in the 1960s and 1970s against the predominantly white Rhodesian government of Ian Smith, which had unilaterally declared independence from Britain in 1965. The syllabus emphasises early recruitment and training of 'Freedom Fighters' and 'the failure' of two exile nationalist guerrilla movements – ZANLA (the China-supported military wing of the ZANU party ultimately led by Mugabe) and ZIPRA (the URSS-supported military wing of the rival Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU party) – in early battles. The syllabus refers to the ill-fated battles at Chinhoyi (1966) and at Wankie and Sipolilo (1967–68) respectively fought by these two movements, before proceeding to the more successful second phase of the struggle. The emphasis here is on the role of 'the masses' and 'war collaborators, chiefs, spirit mediums, churches, peasants,' alongside discussion of external support given by international organisations and other African countries; this narrative of popularity and consensus around the struggle evidently serves to lend it legitimacy. The syllabus centres the topic on key events, including battles and unspecified 'massacres,' and peace-making efforts, notably the 1979 Lancaster House peace talks and agreement that paved the way for the country's independence and for (black) majority rule.

The national history part of the syllabus concludes by covering post-independence developments, specifically the assessment of social, political and economic policies implemented after independence. The document references the country's post-war reconciliation policy (between the former colonisers and the once colonised) as issuing from the Lancaster House agreement. Further, it discusses the controversial policies of land reform, specifically the seizure of white-owned farms, and indigenisation, that is, the mandatory transfer of majority shares in all foreign-owned businesses to black Zimbabweans, with the largest allocations going to those

loyal to ZANU-PF, according to critics (Magure, 2012). It additionally engages with Western responses to these policies, specifically sanctions, and explores foreign policy, notably Zimbabwe's relations with China in the context of the country's Look East Policy and with the European Union. It also covers the Constitution, democracy and human rights, including an assessment of governmental efforts to promote them.

4.2 *The Heritage Studies Syllabus*

There is, in the politicised context we have outlined, an evident link between the school subject of history and that of 'heritage studies,' a curricular area newly introduced in 2015 with an expected minimum of four periods per week of classroom time. Designed on interdisciplinary lines and covering nine overarching topics, the subject teaches about socialisation, identity (family, local and national), cultural heritage, national history (with a telling emphasis on 'Sovereignty and Governance'), national heritage, the Constitution and rights and responsibilities issuing therefrom, the production and distribution of goods and services, and global issues related to the environment, health and human rights. Its approach to this set of matters combines a nationalist perspective on education which ultimately supersedes the exploration of the various layers of identity and belonging set out in the subject; a political economy approach focusing on land, capital and labour as factors of production alongside a decolonial perspective encompassing, *inter alia*, 'indigenous crafts and food heritage;' and an alignment with the international sustainable development agenda. In a manner similar to, yet more pronounced than, that used in the history syllabus, the nationalist perspective predominates. As well as teaching generic skills such as those listed in the history syllabus, the heritage studies syllabus ultimately aims to 'foster patriotism, national identity and a sense of pride and ownership of factors of production such as natural resources such as land' and to raise citizens with 'a collective responsibility for protecting and investing in their cultural, natural and liberation heritage and wealth creation for posterity' (p. 1). Reiterating this expectation, the syllabus outlines citizens' responsibilities as encompassing 'safe guarding [sic] heritage – defend[ing] sovereignty – upholding values;' one such value might include respect for authority, in view of the syllabus' identification of

its encouragement as a part of schools' remit. The subject has emerged in a political climate of a push for 'heritage' in a sense of national conservation, accompanied by media stories noting government assertions that 'Zimbabwe heritage studies should take centre stage in school curriculum to preserve the country's culture' (Daily News, 23.04.2014).

The pursuit of a nationalist agenda undertaken by the heritage studies syllabus involves centring the Zimbabwean people's history, which entails significant overlap with the subject of history. The syllabus covers pre-colonial societies and their contributions to modern society, alongside colonialism and its agents. There is a prominent focus on 'the gains' of the liberation struggle and on 'the heroes and heroines' of the 'wars of resistance' in the first Chimurenga/Umvukela. A narrative is apparent here that posits ancestral spirituality as central to the anti-colonial resistance; the syllabus accords particular attention to the Shona spirit mediums Nehanda and Kaguvi, regarded as the guiding spirits of the liberation war, and the Ndebele Mkwati, Somabulana, Sibolo, Nyamande. The role of spirit mediums likewise finds mention in reference to the second Chimurenga/Umvukela; further, the syllabus explores the contribution of the 'masses, freedom fighters, mujibhas [and] Zvimbwindos [male and female civilian 'war collaborators' who, for instance, provided the guerrillas with intelligence and food supplies]. Suggested learning activities include singing, dancing and reciting poems in honour of these figures and undertaking educational trips to sites of history and memory. In relation to the post-colonial period, the focus is on the 'gains' of independence, key policies, notably land reform and the Unity Accord of 1987 (the effective merger of Mugabe's ZANU, largely supported by the Shona majority, and Nkomo's ZAPU, mostly backed by members of the Ndebele minority, to create ZANU-PF). Alongside these, the syllabus mentions the challenges faced by the government, which it reduces to externally imposed sanctions and natural disasters. It further covers government structures and functions, presenting the government as a service provider, and Zimbabwe as a member of the international community.

The heritage focus of the syllabus, in keeping with the subject's name, is evident in its discussion of Zimbabwean national symbols such as the flag, the national anthem – 'prais[ing] our heroes' sacrifice, and vow[ing] to keep our land from foes' – and the

National Pledge, officially launched in 2016 and similarly including a commitment to ‘respecting the brave fathers and mothers who lost lives in the Chimurenga/Umvukela and national liberation struggles.’ The education ministry expects Zimbabwean children to sing the anthem and recite the pledge every morning at school ‘to instil patriotism and commitment to the national interest’ (MOPSE, no date). The teaching of these symbolic gestures of allegiance shows an investment in what Carretero (2011: xxvii) has called ‘patriotic performances,’ to which category the teaching and marking of commemorative national holidays – notably Independence Day, Heroes Day, coinciding with the 1976 ‘Nyadzonya [ZANLA base] Massacre,’ and Unity Day, officially commemorating the signing of the 1987 Unity Accord – may also belong. The syllabus also teaches about national monuments such as Great Zimbabwe, and ‘national shrines,’ in addition to world heritage sites such as Victoria Falls. ‘National shrines,’ in this context, include Heroes Acres, the burial ground of ‘selfless’ patriotic heroes of whom most had allegiance to ZANU-PF; Njelele, a prominent rainmaking shrine in Matabeleland South, variously appropriated by different ethnic and political actors; and liberation war heritage sites in neighbouring countries such as those at Chimoio and Nyadzonya, ZANLA’s headquarters in Mozambique, and Freedom Camp, ZIPRA headquarters in Zambia. The syllabus, again, accords another prominent place to issues around land, referencing colonial land laws, their impact on indigenous people, and recent government land reform programmes. In terms of cultural heritage, the syllabus contrasts the values of Unhu/Ubuntu/Vumunhu, encompassing ‘tolerance, integrity, oneness, respect and humility,’ to foreign norms and values, and notes the threats allegedly posed to ‘indigenous’ cultures and practices by ‘foreign’ influences, the media, and urbanisation.

5. The Intended Curriculum: A Site of ‘Discursive Narcissism’ and Pervasive Silences

Scholarship on contemporary Zimbabwe suggests that ZANU(-PF) has responded to the ‘language of rights’ espoused by the MDC, with its young, urban base, by discursively centring ‘the armed struggle, race and land’ (Alexander, 2021: 776). The discussion of the syllabi thus far bears out these observations, with the discourse of ‘rights’ perhaps entering the syllabus in an attempt to meet the discursive

preferences of international donors. What Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 22) has described as a ‘skewed and highly partisan and sanitised version of history and memory of [the] national liberation struggle’ sets educational emphases in accordance with their capacity to further a specific political agenda, notably via practices of discursive narcissism and pervasive silence.

5.1 *Owning the Territory of Liberation: ‘Patriots’ versus ‘Sell-Outs’*

One key element of the sanitised, politicised history and memory characterising the intended curriculum is a form of discursive narcissism manifest in a narrative that glorifies the ruling party and reinforces this attributed status by downplaying or erasing the historical contribution of rival nationalist movements and leaders – a characteristic it shares with other post-liberation contexts on the African continent (Bentrovato, 2022; Bentrovato & Skåras, forthcoming; Dorman, 2006; Southall, 2013). The curriculum, as such, serves as a channel for what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 22) terms a foundational ‘myth [...] with ZANU-PF leaders [...] at the epicentre.’ Part of this mythmaking, and marking of ownership over the liberation war, entails the discursive construction, underlaid by state-driven memorialisation, of hierarchies of contributions to the struggle by individuals, organisations and ethnic communities, coupled with specific and controversial criteria for national hero status. The discursive sub-division of Zimbabwean nationals into ‘patriots’ who fought against foreign imperialism until the bitter end and ‘sell-outs’ willing to renounce the struggle’s hard-won gains (e.g. Kriger, 2006; Tendi, 2010), which the intended curriculum echoes, is a powerful trope that has effectively found use in the undermining of opposition politics.

Among those officially remembered as ‘sell-outs’ are Bishop Abel Muzorewa’s United African National Congress (UANC) and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole’s ZANU Ndonga, on account of their signing of the 1979 Internal Settlement with Smith, an agreement whose signatories widely used teachers’ notes dismiss as having been ‘nick named [sic] “the three black Smiths”’ (p. 121). More controversially, official (school) history has proceeded to trivialise the contribution of ZANU’s rival ZAPU and its military wing ZIPRA to Zimbabwe’s independence. ZAPU, which had faced growing repression in the wake of ZANU’s electoral victory in 1980, has found itself

discursively dismissed as arguably less committed to the liberation struggle than ZANU, willing to negotiate with Smith and when that failed, making plans to overthrow the legitimately elected ZANU-PF government. Teachers' notes refer to 'political division between ZANU and ZAPU' and 'inter party fighting' (p. 114) as being among the causes of the liberation struggle's initial failures. They further assert that 'ZAPU wanted negotiations not war' (p. 114) and '[its military wing] ZIPRA did not fight harder since their leader Nkomo was negotiating with Smith' (p. 119). In the context of the struggle's ultimate glorification, these hints effectively place ZAPU on the wrong side of history, a position reinforced by the claim that 'ZAPU did not build a strong army as ZANU did' and a suggestion of lacking efficiency on the former's part: 'By June 1977 ZANU was creating liberated zones but ZAPU was still concentrating on sabotage' (p. 123). More recently, the discourse has seen the labelling of the MDC – joined in 2000 by numerous former members of ZAPU – and its leader Morgan Tsvangirai as non-participants in the liberation struggle, willing to take the retrograde historical step of 'turning Zimbabwe into a British and American overseas territory' (Ranger, 2004: 219, citing Chikowore, 2001); the associated warning in this context was that the MDC's electoral victory would cause 'the end of history' to triumph and therefore frustrate the irresistible progression of history towards liberation that is a trope of revolutionary discourse (Ranger, 2004: 220). There is a potential tendency in another direction observable in the return of Russian history to the curriculum, after the exclusion of the Russian Revolution from the previous Ordinary Level syllabus in favour of Chinese history in an evident attempt to consolidate China's close ties with ZANU-PF. Russia's reappearance, and the first-time inclusion of the history of Cuba, may constitute an act of conciliation in the name of national unity, in view of the support of the USSR and Cuba for ZANU's rival ZAPU.

5.2 *The Asserted Triumph of National Unity over Ethnic Identity*

A strand of the official historical narrative that intertwines, in schools and elsewhere, with the 'heritage' of struggle and liberation is the supposed supersession of ethnic identities and rifts through a discourse of unified nationhood. This narrative contrasts strikingly with the societal and political salience of ethnicity in a society that

remains ethnically polarised. In today's Zimbabwe, ethnic identity is a key determinant of political allegiance and privilege, with some claiming the existence of 'Shona colonisation' and the marginalisation of Ndebele (Alexander, 2021: 778). The discourse of unity overlooks the internecine ethnic tensions within ZANU, as manifest in the Nhari rebellion (Sithole, 1979); it also fails to take note of the ethnic dynamics underlying ZANU-ZAPU antagonism during the liberation struggle, which had resulted in the country's fracturing into ZANLA-controlled Shona-speaking and ZIPRA-controlled Ndebele-speaking territories in the 1970s and in the outbreak of post-independence violence in Matabeleland and the Midlands in the 1980s. These issues are absent from the syllabus; teachers' notes, however, pinpoint, without further detail, 'disunity' and 'tribalism especially between Shona and Ndebele' as among the 'difficulties faced by nationalists [sic] movements or guerrillas,' while also mentioning the Nhari rebellion (p. 125). The same notes had previously discussed a gradual rapprochement between these communities and their shared struggle against white 'invaders' in the first Chimurenga/Umvukela of the late 1800s.

Of significance in this context are perceptions of Zimbabwe's official history as one biased in favour of the politically dominant Shona. Minority groups, such as the Ndebele, Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Nambya and Hlengwe, are absent from, or at best underrepresented in, the syllabus' official history of the country. The affirming acknowledgement of the distinct (Shona and Ndebele) political entities that have historically existed on the territory of today's Zimbabwe finds itself effectively undermined in the syllabus. As one of our interviewees noted (R7), the history of the Ndebele, for instance, as recounted in the syllabus and in school textbooks, 'ends with the first Chimurenga/Umvukela in 1897; when they appear in the context of the liberation struggle, they are denigrated by ZANU.' Contrastingly, for example, the Shona spirit medium Mbuya Nehanda has gained the status of a medium for the whole country, bearing the mantle of ZANU's guiding spirit during and even after the war. A particularly striking instance of silencing has occurred against the narrative of the liberation struggle from the perspective of the people of Matabeleland, a region whose history 'silence has surrounded [...] and [...] produced a profound sense of exclusion from national memory' (Alexander, McGregor & Ranger, 2000: book cover). The fact that state universities in Matabeleland provinces do not teach

history has suppressed the transmission of knowledge about critical historical issues on minority groups and, as an interviewee observed, ‘silenced potentially explosive research by students’ (R7), leaving history teachers who qualify in the region without adequate awareness of these issues.

5.3 *Obscured Abuses: Guerrilla Violence in the ‘Liberation War’ and State Repression After Independence*

The syllabus, in its embodiment of official historical discourse, keeps silence on the historical human rights record of the ruling party and its leadership. A key silence in this regard relates to the guerrilla violence perpetrated against the population that Kriger eloquently exposed in her examination of ‘peasant voices’ in Zimbabwe’s Guerrilla War (1992). While the syllabus emphasises the massive support and popularity of the war, the teachers’ notes hint at this obscured past: having identified the ‘problem of sellouts’ and a ‘[l]ack of co-operation from local people’ as difficulties faced during the liberation war (p. 126), they list, among the ‘strategies used by guerrillas to win mass support in Rhodesia,’ the ‘killing of sellouts as a lesson to others’ and ‘intimidating people’ (p. 116). It is also the case that the official government website acknowledges the ‘serious atrocities’ perpetrated by the guerrillas and the use of ‘coercion and press-ganging’ (www.zim.gov.zw).

Silence likewise prevails on the state-orchestrated murder and torture of thousands of civilians in a post-independence episode of targeted mass violence, both notorious and long subject to taboo. Labelled by some as ‘genocide,’ these atrocities took place during the ‘Gukurahundi’ military operation, which Alexander (2021: 763) describes as ‘the most terrible period of state repression in Zimbabwe’s post-independence history’ which ‘indelibly marked the foundational years of the Zimbabwean nation.’ In this operation, in response to questioning of Mugabe’s legitimacy among ZAPU soon after independence, Mugabe and Mnangagwa (Mugabe’s security minister at the time) directly commanded the use of state terror against ZAPU ‘dissidents’ in the Ndebele homeland of Matabeleland and the Midlands between 1982 and 1987. The ZANU(-PF) narrative, which long remained dominant in the discursively controlled public space, figured it as a justified ‘war against dissidents’ intent [to] destroy [...] the new nation;’ it saw ‘dissidents, ZAPU,

ZPRA and the Ndebele [...] discursively linked and identified as enemies of “the sovereignty of the people” [...] [with] “dissident” serv[ing] as the metonym suturing them together’ (Alexander, 2021: 768–9). The Unity Accord, that ended the violence and co-opted ZAPU leaders – including Nkomo, the previous ‘father of dissidents’ (Alexander, 2021: 771) – into the ruling party, and is the subject of study and commemoration in the syllabus, reinforced the official silence. The ‘unofficial truth’ contained in the groundbreaking NGO-commissioned report on the episode, *Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace* (1997), was dismissed by Mugabe, with the support of Nkomo, as ‘decidedly meant to divide us and go into the past, to go into conflict again, to wreck our national unity’ (Alexander, 2021: 774). At Nkomo’s funeral at the National Heroes Acre in 1999, Mugabe referred to Gukurahundi as ‘a moment of madness,’ thus somewhat acknowledging its injustice; however, he immediately reclosed any space for discussion by asserting that talking about it would dangerously reopen ‘old wounds’ and, in encouraging tribalism, drive wedges into the nation. The creation in 2019 of a contested National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) under Mnangagwa’s ‘New Dispensation’ has not, in the accounts of observers, ameliorated the ‘perpetual failure of public recognition of the violent past’ amid ‘irreconcilable narratives’ that have produced ‘noisy silence’ at the edges of the nation (Alexander, 2021: 763) and the ongoing hostile environment as regards attempts to speak publicly of the violence or memorialise it.

6. The Implemented Curriculum: Teachers’ Voices

Our interviews and conversations with teachers give us a further and illuminating perspective on the politicisation of national history and of the concept of ‘heritage’ in the service of legitimising the incumbent Zimbabwean administration. This exploration of the implemented curriculum and the challenges it has encountered, via the insights emerging from the interviews, highlights the pitfalls of top-down, exclusionary, politicised curriculum change in the context of Zimbabwean authorities’ use of patriotism to shore up political power.

6.1 *Mismatches between Top-Down Processes and Teachers' Realities*

Our field research revealed substantial dissatisfaction among teachers with the top-down, largely non-inclusive nature of the curriculum development process that preceded its implementation. Most interviewees cited a lack of broad and effective consultation, leaving many relevant stakeholders unheard and numerous teachers, technocratically cast as 'end users,' feeling 'ambushed' (R1). They saw these failings as consistent with a tradition of politicians in Zimbabwe leading on history curriculum matters, reducing teachers and learners to passive recipients of policy; one respondent asserted that 'the state agents infiltrat[ed] the consultation process to twist the minds of the participants towards a certain political orientation' (R1). Teachers did, however, place hope for change in the recently launched curriculum review and the associated 'wide consultations' reportedly planned (NewsDay, 5.04.2022).

Most respondents also felt left behind by poor preparation ahead of implementation. While they all reported having received some form of training on syllabus interpretation from the Ministry of Education between 2015 and 2017, most lamented a 'rushed' approach that, in their view, pointed to a primary concern with achieving curriculum implementation before the end of the then minister's tenure in 2017, and therefore once again a prioritisation of the political over the educational. At the time of writing this article, newspapers were reporting on a review by the Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) which had found teachers to be 'clueless' about the current curriculum and related syllabi five years into their implementation (NewsDay, 2.04.2022). Delays in delivery of the syllabus and of the often vital resource of textbooks further aggrieved teachers, affecting implementation.

Accordingly, the findings from the fieldwork pointed to a chasm between that implementation and the policy directives around it, one which emerged particularly clearly and acutely at the level of pedagogy. The current curriculum calls upon teachers to develop learners' critical thinking skills and active classroom participation; the history syllabus demands learner-centred and multi-sensory approaches that draw on a variety of sources and incorporate active, participatory pedagogical approaches including debates, research, and educational visits to historical sites, archives and museums at a recommended minimum frequency of three times a year. Related

practical tasks are prescribed in the form of Continuous Assessment Learning Activities (CALAs). These stipulations notwithstanding, teachers often continue to rely on the chalk-and-talk approach (see also Chimbi & Jita, 2021; Sibanda & Blignaut, 2020). Our history teacher interviewees cited congested school timetables and a bulky curriculum as reasons for this recourse to rote-style pedagogy and as prompting them to select topics they were comfortable with teaching while skipping new topics in the syllabus. Further, they noted the effect of a lack of resources, particularly in poverty-stricken rural areas, which forced them to dictate notes, and a lack of specific training which acted as an inhibitor in their fulfilment of the curriculum's expectations; they struggled, for instance, to guide learners in doing research, having often not received training in this area themselves. Working conditions likewise played their part; severe underpayment, and consequent widespread disillusion and demotivation, led to instances of teachers earning additional cash by writing students' research projects for them. A significant issue in this context was the politically charged environment in which teachers worked, making many feel compelled to use rote learning to teach uncritical, propagandistic patriotic history, as further outlined in the next section.

6.2 *A Politicised Curriculum, in Content and Context*

Elaborating on the challenges they faced in curriculum implementation, the majority of our respondents denounced the largely 'compromised,' 'partisan' nature of the 'history of the Big Man' and 'of the victors' they found themselves teaching; they described it as lacking in objectivity and inclusivity and being geared towards nurturing a particular political consciousness among young Zimbabweans via indoctrination as opposed – despite the demands made of teachers implementing it – to promoting critical thinking. In the process, observed one of our interlocutors, 'the experiences of the subalterns have been undermined, especially the history of women, children and the minority groups. Their unique contributions to the being of Zimbabwe have suffered at the altar of patriotic histories [and political expedience]' (R1). Two respondents referred to a 'biased, pro-Shona' (R4) national history and heritage, marginalising minority groups, such as Matabeleland, Ndau, Tonga, Xangani, Manyika and Venda communities. In this context, they

pointed in particular to the centring and glorification of those currently in power in the official history of the armed struggle and the post-independence period, contrasting its emphasis on the contribution made by the ruling ZANU-PF with its tendency to 'turn [...] blind' to opposition parties such as ZAPU and, more recently, the MDC. The syllabus, in one respondent's view, downplays the contribution of ZIPRA to the liberation struggle and of the 'great achievements made by [the] MDC during the unity government' (R4). Silences noted by the teachers included that on the historical roles played by opposition political leaders such as Ndabaningi Sithole, Edgar Tekere and Morgan Tsvangirai, and the political tension between ZANU and ZAPU during the struggle and between ZANU-PF and MDC in the post-independence era.

Our respondents indicated the challenges involved in teaching such sensitive topics as 'nationalism,' in which context, according to one teacher, the 'contributions of nationalists to the struggle are not clearly laid out' (R6) and therefore not easy to teach in a manner certain to be acceptable to the current political dispensation. In relation to this component of national history, most teachers indicated their reluctance to invite war veterans into lessons as resource persons – who are an integral part of various activities – 'for fear of a biased narration of the history and [of] politicisation of the classroom environment' (R3), as 'most of them are politically inclined and cannot de-role' (R1). Only one respondent saw the value of using war veterans' testimonies to inspire in learners an appreciation of these actors' contributions to the liberation struggle. For most respondents, the greatest discomfort resided in the teaching of post-independence history, especially political developments in the new millennium, and in teaching about human rights and democracy. The wider context, since the 2000s, has been one of serious difficulties in the delivery of state services, corruption, economic mismanagement and violations of human rights, including killings of individuals working in the political opposition.

Respondents highlighted the particular sensitivities and 'taboos' surrounding what they variously referred to as the Gukurahundi 'issue' or 'episode,' 'tribal conflict,' 'civil war,' or 'atrocities' in Matabeleland, with one respondent noting of this matter that a lack of discussion presented particular problems 'considering that some families were victims of the onslaught' (R1). Further matters of potential contention noted by the interviewees were those associated

with Zimbabwe's political history, especially constitutional issues around democracy and the making of a state, including opposition politics and electoral processes. Teachers reported that learners questioned the legitimacy of ZANU-PF's political hegemony in light of allegations of violence and electoral corruption. In one instance, they 'protested my reference to Zimbabwe with regards to the existence of markers of democracy such as regular, free and fair elections' (R2). Another noted a need to equivocate in the context of the situation of teachers in Zimbabwe: 'when issues of human rights and democracy are raised by students, we always use the word "alleged"' (R6). One respondent shared his experience of having 'taught the political history of Zimbabwe in the post-independence period uncomfortably, not emphasising on the Gukurahundi issues [and] opposition politics [...] among others,' adding that 'towards elections I would skip a whole section for fear of being exposed by the students and for fear of being victimised [by ruling party supporters]' (R3). Any attempt by teachers to initiate debate on such sensitive issues had the potential to degenerate into name-calling by learners, spill out of the classroom and lead teachers into trouble in a context where they know that they 'are being watched' (R7; see also Gukurume, 2019). More generally, the potential consequences of perceived political missteps loom large for teachers, as one informant remembered: 'When I was teaching in rural areas some 20 years ago, I got into serious trouble for teaching history which was said to be biased towards the opposition. It also means I am not appointable for a serious post in government because such records are clinically kept' (R7). The same respondent related a disturbing anecdote encapsulating the extent of surveillance and the effect of conforming, or recanting, on careers: 'My fellow history teacher was forced to retrieve an opposition T-shirt he had thrown in a pit latrine. He was then compelled to wash it, bring it to a rally, surrender it and ask for forgiveness. He did that. Today he is a history lecturer.'

The ways in which teachers handled these pressures around sensitive areas of history and heritage sat on a spectrum, one of whose extremes entailed giving students 'ample time to debate and explore grey areas provided that their arguments are constructive' (R4); notably, this respondent continued: 'Our curriculum is now learner-centred provided that [students'] views are in line with patriotism' – a highly particular conception of practises with democratising intent, which resonates with the observation of

another interviewee that ‘learners are free but with teachers’ guidance’ (R5). These attempts to simultaneously serve ‘romantic’ and ‘enlightened’ cognitive aims of education (Carretero, 2011: xxiv) end, it seems, with the latter giving way to the former where required. The other end point of the spectrum, and the place at which most of our respondents reported being located, brought a highly restrictive approach to bear: ‘I would not allow any students debate in the classroom besides just telling them to read the content from books’ (R3). The same respondent stated: ‘Normally I don’t dig deeper, I only mention what students are supposed to know as syllabus requirement[s] and then direct them to some texts to read. I only mention these issues on the surface.’ Student questions appear a potential flashpoint, subject to distinct avoidance: ‘such topics are taught hurriedly and learners are not afforded time to ask questions’ (R1); ‘questions [–] usually I don’t tolerate them’ (R6). There was consensus among our respondents on learners’ similar lack of freedom to express their views on sensitive historical issues, both as a result of ‘the teacher censor[ing] what to teach them and the depth of the content,’ (R2) and for a ‘fear [of] victimization’ like that held by their teachers (R3).

One development to note in this context relates to the fall of Mugabe, with which the new curriculum’s implementation coincided. Mugabe is a controversial historical figure, lionised during decades of strict censorship, whose role in the making of Zimbabwe has now been called into question. The taboo around him and his role has now lifted, and teachers reported the possibility of freely expressing criticism of him within the confines of the classroom.

6.3 *How the Rise of ‘Heritage Studies’ Has Eclipsed History*

Teachers expressed concerns about the introduction of the curricular subject of heritage studies and the emphasis afforded to it in governmental discourse; among their concerns was the equation of ‘history’ to ‘heritage,’ with the result that the former was finding itself ‘sidelined,’ ‘overtaken,’ ‘displaced’ and ‘sacrificed’ to pave the way for what one teacher decried as an ‘indoctrination tool.’ This same informant reported the ubiquitous presence of ‘members from the Office of the President,’ that is, of intelligence services, at training events and similar venues when ‘the controversies and debates on the inclusion of heritage studies in the curriculum’ arose (R1). Resistance

by some history teachers to the introduction of heritage studies resulted in admonitions from ministry officials, urging history educators to enforce the ministry's directives. One respondent referred to a meeting, called by education officials in 2019, at which teachers were instructed to ensure that the new subject was put on the school timetable and that failure to comply would lead to disciplinary action against teachers and school leaders. Other interviewees noted instances of headteachers being subject to directives from the Ministry of Education to ensure the inclusion of heritage studies in the school timetable and being under the impression that heritage studies was replacing history. This situation, in our interviewees' accounts, led to unilateral decisions, in the light of congested timetables and resource issues, to discontinue the teaching of history in some classes and even entire schools. Respondents gave accounts of teachers being made to reduce history teaching loads to accommodate heritage studies and of reallocations of resources meant for history, including staff, to the new subject. At times, any teacher with a low teaching load, regardless of their qualification, has taken on the subject; in most schools, however, it was assigned to history teachers, with no specific training or textbooks, leading one respondent to decry 'history teachers [...] being de-skilled by being forced to take up heritage studies and abandon their area of specialisation in the process' (R4). The future of the history teaching profession has been further undermined by the government's failure to recruit new teachers, particularly in subjects deemed of little economic relevance, since 2014. Teachers observed a fall in numbers of students taking formal exams in history, compounded, in their account, by a rising popularity of heritage studies as an 'easier' subject involving less critical thinking than rote learning. The use of structured questions for assessment in history contrasts with the multiple-choice questions alongside short-answer and essay questions employed to assess students in heritage studies. Together, these shifts present a picture of heritage studies effectively edging history out of its previous curricular place.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

Our analysis of the centrality of national 'heritage' to a politicised teaching of history in Zimbabwe, and its relationship to curriculum change in the country, is indicative of the continuous and revived

relevance and potency of the ‘nation,’ and of the discourses on patriotism that often surround the concept’s use, in a global context of heightened identity politics and neo-nationalism. The specifically Zimbabwean form of ‘patriotic education’ that emerges in the study’s findings reflects the resurgence of uncritical nationalisms in other parts of the world, outlined at the outset of this article, while retaining a distinct character related to the particular circumstances of Zimbabwe’s past and present. The analysis set out in this article has uncovered the exemplary emergence and implementation of a ‘narcissistic [national] narrative destined to arouse emotional adherence to what is “ours”’ (Álvarez Junco, 2011: xiv) in the particular context of a direct relationship between curriculum revision and political expediency. Our use of discourse analysis, in its capacity to uncover the workings of power in textual productions, enables the comprehension of textual formats of official education policy as instruments of power and its legitimization and has therefore allowed us to access these insights.

In the Zimbabwean context, the syllabi we have examined evidence the use of history and heritage education as a vehicle for narratives that seek to legitimise power via an emphasis on ‘patriotism’ and emotionally harness the experience of anti-colonial war and liberation to compel adherence to these narratives and effect the repudiation of dissenting ones. This ‘praise-history’ of the heroism and progress depicted as emanating from the ruling party and its actions serves to obscure the internecine violence that was part of the nation’s foundational process. These observations lead us to conclude that the knowledge, values and norms foregrounded in Zimbabwe’s history and, in particular, heritage studies classrooms find themselves employed as tools for the induction of a specific form of political consciousness in young Zimbabweans whose intent is to quell the ongoing rise in popular dissatisfaction and critique of incumbent power in that country. The increasing tendency of heritage studies to eclipse traditional history classes in a number of settings embodies the use of a commemorative, identitarian and supposedly cohesive set of narratives and discourses that aim to forge a singular, monolithic collective memory and identity undergirded by a moral imperative. The centrality to this project of state-scripted, selective commemoration and celebration around national liberation elevates and glorifies the contribution of the ruling party and its designated heroes to the national cause, with the corollary of

silencing and marginalisation effected against competing experiences and voices. In this context, selective remembrance and condemnation to oblivion serve as two sides of the same coin; acts which competing narratives have problematised remain omitted or sidelined. As such, formal history and heritage education in Zimbabwe is part of – to speak in Gramscian terms – a broader ‘hegemonic’ cultural project through which the state aims to orient society both politically and morally, through a double-pronged tactic of persuasion and coercion, towards supporting the maintenance of the status quo.

The interviews and conversations we held with teachers indicate the cracks in this imposed monolith through the inevitably pressure points that arise during the process of implementing the curriculum. In accordance with research conducted in other repressive political contexts (e.g. Bentrovato, 2020, 2021), our fieldwork indicates that teachers, largely excluded from curriculum decision-making and subjected to scapegoating when policies do not work, generally seem to avoid confronting, challenging and contesting the official narrative, largely for fear of severe repercussions. Accordingly, we found evidence of our respondents employing strategic narrative accommodation and silence or avoidance in adherence to political correctness as they navigated the politicised environment of their everyday classroom practice. The impossibility of genuinely uniting ‘romantic’ with ‘enlightened’ curricular aims emerged vividly from the interviews and conversations. Our interlocutors gave some indications of hope for the future development of the curriculum under a changed political dispensation, which we note in the wider context of entrenched structures of politicisation and the guarding of a ‘heritage’ of liberation that may prove resilient to all but radical renewal.

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**‘SOMETIMES, IT IS ENOUGH TO LOOK BACK
TO SEE THE FUTURE CLEARLY.’
DEALING WITH MEMORY CULTURES
TO LEARN ABOUT THE PAST
... AND THE FUTURE***

Georg Marschnig

It makes sense in many respects to deal with cultures of remembrance in History lessons. Students do not only learn a lot about the past, but much more about the present. They realize that the answers and perspectives on the past always depend on what questions are asked of them, and that these questions link the past with their present. In the following, a school project will be used to show the many opportunities for historical learning that arise when dealing with the changes in cultures of remembrance. In this way, the question of why history education is still so relevant should be pursued, both theory-based and experience-driven.

1. Introduction

The sentence quoted in this title has been taken from the reflections of then 17-year-old student Anna Bartens, in which she looks back on a two-year long school project renewing a memorial honouring US pilots murdered in Graz in 1945. In her reflections, she examines what she learned during this time. With her short text, Anna succeeds in creating a precise and clever reformulation of one of the most fundamental ideas of history didactics: historical learning happens when the interpretative narration of the past generates concrete points of orientation for present and future actions (Rüsen, 2008: 61–62).

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The past is part of our present, writes Anna. For us humans, there is no ‘zero hour,’ no reset button, no wiping out of the past, no turning back time. If a glass slips out of our hands and breaks, we cannot put it back together without tools. ... The prerequisite to avoid making a mistake again is to recognize the mistake in the first place’ (Bartens, 2017: 97).

That is exactly why remembering, commemorating and, also, constantly rethinking, is so important. By looking back and looking for the causes of problems, we can prevent them in the future (Bartens, 2017: 97). Through this process of observing, learners can gain Humboldt’s so-called sense of reality or, in Rösen’s words, the ‘ability to perceive the historicity of one’s own world and one’s own self and to recognize educational opportunities’ (2008: 68).

Anna and her twenty-one classmates have honed their sense of reality over the course of an almost two-year learning-process focusing on the redesign of the ‘Fliegermorddenkmal’ (‘Memorial for the Murdered Pilots’) in Graz-Strassgang, Austria. As part of the research project ‘Remembering the Bombing Campaign,’ which sought to combine historical research and in-school education, the young people learned far more than just mere facts about the aerial attacks against Graz (Dick, Goll & Hoffmann, 2017). They came to understand what it meant to deal with literal and figurative open wounds (Assmann, 2006: 184–185) in the collective memory (Erll, 2011), which the allied bombing campaigns and, in particular, the so-called ‘pilots lynch justice’ (Hoffmann, 2015) undoubtedly are. In the course of this understanding, they not only pieced together the story(s) of the air raids on Graz and learned about some of the people involved, but rather developed the ability to recognize the ways in which history is not always left in the past. Their learning processes showed them how innately tied the past is to the present and how quickly it can become virulent if you ask it the right questions. ‘The past is part of our present,’ summarizes Anna (Bartens, 2017: 97). Her statement calls Klaus Bergmann’s (1993: 209) quote to mind in which he explains that, ‘there has never been as much history as today.’ This always reminds us of the ways in which the past has a process of ‘reaching in’ to the present (Bergmann, 1993:209).

Based on internal class discussions about the memorial stone, Anna and the young people from her class also became aware of how

closely history is tied to a specific location and the perspectives associated with it (Bergmann, 2000: 40–41). In contact with contemporary witnesses, they learned how strongly the results of a research process depends on the method(s) chosen. In addition, they became aware of the historical-cultural and socio-political significance of their own actions in the course of a public intervention at a memorial site (Pandel, 2017; Schönemann, 2000). And last but not least, they experienced – somewhat painfully – the historical-political possibilities and limitations of local political structures and came to understand how complex socio-political negotiation processes can be (Pandel, 2021: 13).

This following text will trace this project, discuss its theoretical foundations from the perspective of history didactics, and question the historical-political learning related to it. For this purpose, the written reflections of the students will be contrasted with selected theoretical considerations, which will allow conclusions about the relevance of remembrance projects in school settings. In doing so, this article raises the key question of this edition: why history education? Why should Austrian teenagers learn about memorial stones and bomber pilots? What can they learn from it? Where is the benefit for their future lives?

2. Between 'Surface Level' and 'Deep Structure'? Theoretical Perspectives on the Relationship Between Cultures of Remembrance and Historical Learning

2.1 Terminological Inaccuracies

Since the 1990s, research in the field of history didactics has been discussing the importance of the term cultures of remembrance for historical learning. The term can be seen as controversial, and many researchers are hesitant to dig deeper into this 'strange mixture of phenomena' (Demantowsky, 2005: 15). One aspect of this debate revolves around the precise definition of what is actually meant by the term. From the point of view of history didactics, the central question of cultures of remembrance focuses on how the conceptions of memory can be reconciled with one's own theoretical knowledge structures, which have been informed by both historical consciousness and historical culture. After a 'comparison of the two concepts in terms of their internal systematics and consistency, as

well as their research-pragmatic development [...],’ Marko Demantowsky (2005: 18) settled on the term historical culture to describe this combination of historical consciousness and historical culture. The openness and simultaneous depth of the term historical culture are undoubtedly responsible for its rise as the dominant theoretical concept (over cultures of remembrance) of historical didactic research in the past decades.

Questions within historical culture deal with practices of collective memory, as well as the institutionalized (museums, exhibitions or schools), commercial (series, computer games) and event-related (memorial days, reenactments) ways of creating ‘representation[s] of the past’ (Oswald & Pandel, 2021: 10). It is a broad term that can be used in many fields within didactic research. In contrast, the term cultures of remembrance is treated much more cautiously by history didactics. Beatrice Ziegler, for example, criticizes the vagueness of this terminology when she branded the term ‘cultures of remembrance as ‘unhelpful’ and labels the equation of the terms ‘collective memory’ and ‘remembrance’ as a ‘dangerous development,’ especially for the scientific investigation of public forms dealing with the past (Ziegler, 2014: 86). According to Ziegler, these practices can be described in a much more meaningful way with the term historical culture.

More benevolent is Christine Pfluger (2014: 59), who argues that the term cultures of remembrance satisfies a central concern of history didactics with regard to the ‘research into places of memory as highly symbolically-charged crystallization points of collective memory.’ Michele Barricelli (2013: 92), on the other hand, is critical of the term, explaining that this term inspires talk of a ‘collective memory,’ which is both restrictive and ‘secretly normative.’ Our multicultural societies, Barricelli (2013: 92) asserts, are better served by an investigation of ‘collected memories,’ as the acknowledge of the plurality of experiences would promote the development of ‘humanity, which is the actual goal of historical learning in the migration society.’

In 2014, Bodo von Borries approached the term cultures of remembrance in a similarly reserved manner. In his text, ‘History Lessons and Memory Cultures,’ he meticulously examines the relationship between the two terms and castigates ‘heritage education’ as a problematic term (von Borries, 2014: 56–57). He also complains

about the 'unwieldy nature of the relationship' of his two title terms (von Borries, 2014: 47). Nevertheless, he finds a way to combine the two – but only under certain circumstances. Furthermore, both terms are given a rather one-dimensional character: 'the' history lesson is described, almost dogmatically – and thus probably quite idealistically – as an institution that is responsible for the 'promotion of historical competence,' though, 'not only cognitively' (von Borries, 2014: 49). Cultures of remembrance (his so-called 'memory cultures'), on the other hand, are described as 'situational and currently structured' (von Borries, 2014: 48) that occur 'in more informal forms' (von Borries, 2014: 64). For this reason, it can be argued that von Borries sees history lessons as promoting important higher order thinking within students, whereas memory cultures are almost too fickle to be handled seriously. Indeed, he makes his judgement of the two phenomena rather clear: "memory cultures" – in the respective present forms – can perhaps be described as 'surface level.' 'History teaching' has to consider its "deep structure." (2014: 48). Von Borries therefore sees these two terms as existing hierarchically with one another. He asserts the injection of history lessons with memory cultures as a dilution of the depth that lessons provide, although he has nothing to criticize about their critical reflection in the school context. 'In the interest of [building] historical competence [and] the thought processes of the learners, both must occur, allegedly canonical, secure, important [historical knowledge] on the one hand and apparently confusing, controversial, current [remembering] on the other' (von Borries, 2014: 49). Von Borries therefore agrees to the negotiation of cultures of remembrance, as long as it allows for the acquirement of historical competence and promotion of historical awareness. However, the project described in the following text will show, that there is no need to divide or even hierarchize the two phenomena. Rather, by integrating cultures of remembrance into the classroom, the main goals of both can be achieved: engagement and analysis.

2.2 *Approaching the 'Raw Material of History'*

The following section will attempt to break down von Borries' hierarchies of learning, as indicated by his use of the terms, 'surface level' and 'deep structure.' The project already mentioned will aid in deconstructing these two ideas. Additionally, it is important to

recognize the two phenomena in their own quality and to recognize their potential for historical learning. For this reason, this section will also examine the phenomena from another theoretical perspective and consider how they are related to each other.

Christian Heuer, who identifies both history lessons and cultures of remembrance as parts of a multi-layered historical culture, also describes the former as a ‘historical-cultural place of learning’ (2019: 148). Lessons do not exist outside of historical culture, but rather as a part of it. As early as 2005, Heuer enunciated the potential that cultures of remembrance offer to historical-political learning, as, ‘the students’ present-day experiences always refer to a culture of history and remembrance that is surrounding them, [one] which is not dominated by researchers who are committed to the historical method of acquiring knowledge, but by historical amateurs, laymen and other “remembrance virtuosos”’ (Heuer, 2005: 172). They engage with this culture in their everyday lives; it shapes the prior knowledge they bring with them into lessons. In his investigation of these ‘stories and their different memory discourses,’ Heuer (2005: 173) articulates the actual task of history teaching to be the analysis of the ‘objectifications (fiction, film, commemorations, museums, monuments, games, comics, etc.) of everyday historical consciousness.’ Indeed, he underlines the importance of memory culture in the students’ own lives and its potential within the history classroom.

Christoph Kühberger also sees great benefits in negotiating cultures of remembrance. He defines the term ‘culture of remembrance’ broadly and understands it as ‘all those cultural memory achievements by different support groups [...] that make sense of a present through references to the past and thus offer orientation’ (Kühberger, 2010: 39). Historical meaning, he argues, can also be created within the framework of cultures of remembrance, just as it can be in history lessons, albeit in a completely different form. Above all, Kühberger (2010: 39) emphasizes the ‘group-shaped confrontation with the past,’ which [has been] shaped by ‘emotional acts and symbolic practices in order to keep segments of the past in public and private awareness.’ The learning potential of cultures of remembrance is evident for Kühberger (2010: 40–41) and he primarily emphasizes the potential of pluralistic formation of

meaning, of the differentiated formation of judgments, and the interweaving of historical and political learning.

Indeed, there have been many highly successful projects interfacing school, science, and a culture of remembrance. From the wealth of relevant teaching projects, there are two Austria-based projects worth mentioning: The Institute for Jewish History in Lower Austria's 'Closed Institution' (Gasser, 2018) and 'The Grazer Heilandskirche 1938 bis 1945' (Halbrainer & Lamprecht, 2010) at the Center for Jewish Studies in Graz. Both of these projects investigated historical contexts that had been widely neglected or silenced and attracted broad public interest. Another thrilling digital example for the far-reaching possibilities of historical learning with cultures of remembrance is the recent Austrian public history project, 'Digital Landscape of Remembrance,' which operated at the junction of contemporary historical research and public cultures of remembrance.

Christoph Cornelißen is yet another researcher who advocates for bringing cultures of remembrance into the classroom. He speaks of the 'broad fields of activity' inspired by the investigation of the historicity of cultures of remembrance and labels the learning potential within reflecting on cultures of remembrance at school as particularly fruitful (Cornelißen, 2014: 33). So, according to Cornelißen, it is precisely the openness of content, its ever-changing dynamics, and the inherent creativity of public and collective practices of remembrance that render cultures of remembrance a type of a deep structure that needs to be discovered and explored. Indeed, an in-depth analysis of these cultures has become inevitable, especially as current trends have inspired ideologically-motivated reinterpretations of the past, and especially of cultures of remembrance (Assmann, 2013).

Sadly, such an intensive negotiation of individual and collective memories as the 'raw material of history' (LeGoff, 1999: 12), which is turned to historical knowledge by the historian, very quickly seems to reach the extend beyond the content and methodological borders of everyday history lessons (Heuer, 2005: 172; Spieß, 2015: 166–167). This, however, suggests more about the inadequacies of school structures than about the need to leave out current cultures of remembrance. Against this background, von Borries' image of the superficiality of cultures of remembrance and the inherent depth of

history lessons should be reversed. The profound and multi-layered didactic potential that an investigation of cultures of remembrance offers will now be demonstrated with an analysis of the project ‘Remembering the Bombing Campaign.’

3. The Project ‘Remembering the Bombing Campaign’

3.1 Project Outline

Cornelißen’s exploration of the historicity of cultures of remembrance, as well as past and present practices of remembering (and forgetting) and their analysis and classification, was the core of this school project. Within the projects, students focused on the redesign of the Fliegermorddenkmal (‘Memorial for the Murdered Pilots’) in Graz-Strassgang. It demanded a great deal of commitment and motivation from the young learners, as the project required them to work outside of regular classes, break up their tight timetable, and think historically outside of everyday school life.

The work process, which lasted almost two years, came to its formal end in March 2018. The product created by the students was an artistically manufactured model of their redesign of the memorial, which they handed over to the House of Austrian History. One of the participants, a soon-to-be graduate, outlined her class’s long-term fascination with the ‘bombing campaign topic’ as a special and integral feature of the project. It’s truly rare, in the hustle and bustle of everyday school life, to delve so deeply into a topic over such a long period of time, she summarized almost sentimentally.

In the early summer of 2016, at the end of the participants’ tenth year, the class encountered the topic of aerial warfare in Graz for the first time. Over the course of workshops lasting several hours, they received information about the aerial war, including the military campaigns involved and their effects on the civilian population. This first step allowed for comparisons about the bombing war, as the students heard from eye witnesses who had experienced it, as well as from researchers explaining the current scientific knowledge surrounding the bombing campaigns. In the next phase, the young people analyzed memory discourses centered on this aerial war and the associated changes in collective memory surrounding the events. Based on the history of remembering – or not remembering – these bombing campaigns, the students quickly became aware of the ways

in which memory of this warfare changed in the Austrian memory throughout the Second Republic (Uhl, 2005a; 2005b). This understanding allowed the students to move toward the historical core of the project, which was to investigate the murder of six US pilots who had parachuted over Graz-Strassgang in March 1945.

The reactions of the class to the murder of the American pilots on March 4, 1945 on present-day Kärntnerstraße were both varied and controversial. The students were given only a short amount of time to formulate their opinions, and they ranged from justification of the murders ('the pilots should not have been surprised, it was war') to outrage at the violation of international humanitarian law ('just because it is war, does not mean that one is allowed to kill at will'). This laid the foundation for the critical and extensive examination of the murders, as well as of their commemoration.

In further working steps, the young people researched the crew members of the crashed plane, had a touching and exciting interview with Alois Krautstorfer, a witness of the crash, and asked former aviators from America questions that were answered via video messages. These conversations represented an important step along the course of the project, as they offered students the rare opportunity to hold dialogues with members of the generation that experienced World War Two. It allowed the students to witness the cross-generation process through which events move from the communicative to cultural memory (Assmann, 2002: 21–22). The young people reveled in this occasion, allowing for the development of exciting discussions.

3.2 *The Redesign of a Memorial Site as a Historical-Political Learning Opportunity*

The lack of public debate about the so-called *Fliegerlynchjustiz* ('pilot-lynching'), as well as the lack of commemoration, was encouragement for students to become involved in the revival of the event's memorial. Indeed, this neglect appears in the state of the memorial stone before the project's start, which had been weather-beaten and gone more or less unnoticed for more than seventy years. The students dealt extensively with the question of how to bring back a historical event that had been suppressed for decades into the memory of a society. Why is remembering it so difficult? What is at the heart of this 'pilot-lynching'? What does this have to do with me

today? The young people asked themselves these questions almost contemplatively and engaged in heated discussions about them.

The new concept presented the class with many questions, as one of the participants reports in his reflective text:

After we had dealt intensively with the topic, we naturally asked ourselves what the monument should look like. At first, no one in the class had a suitable answer to this question. We also had to take some general conditions into account: the location of the monument, for example, is not ideal – being right next to the road leaves little room for design. ... So, we had to find a way to make the stone visible, to make it stand out from the environment without moving it. Our most important and biggest task was to find an idea that not only fit the topic, but also honored the fallen pilots. Because we had so many factors to consider, it took a long time for a concrete idea to crystallize. (Darvishzadeh, 2017: 95)

From this report, you can easily read the commitment these students had to the project, as well as the honest effort behind their thoughts. After initial discussions, texts and first drafts redesigning the existing memorial, the students created a model that represented their ideas. They underwent time-consuming and emotional debates surrounding the existing monument as well, in order to establish guidelines for their restoration/redesign. These were based on three pillars:

1. The integration of the existing memorial stone from 1945
2. The clarification of the publicity of the murders
3. The involvement of today's visitors in the memorial

The existing memorial stone was to remain the center of the memorial site even after the redesign – on one hand, to draw attention to continuities and disruptions in remembrance since 1945 and on the other hand, to include the problems associated with that memorial stone. The stone, and also its inscription, externalizes the murder in the style of its time and ascribes it to 'Nazi fascists.' This soon became the focus of considerations and also the concept of the redesign, as Aram Darvishzadeh further describes:

The basic idea was to place human-sized statues, who have no facial features but should be easily recognizable as humans, in a circle around the stone. It should appear as if they are reading the inscription. What excited most of the students

about this idea was the fact that the statues could be interpreted in different ways. First, it can be read as people passing by, remembering the atrocities committed on that spot. But, of course, you could also see them as spectators of the murders in 1945. (Darvishzadeh, 2017: 95).

This passage also makes it clear how strongly the young people were involved in the project. Aram explains the many thoughts that the students had during the working phases and also describes the enthusiasm that many had developed throughout the project. This ultimately seemed to turn into anger surrounding the intense debate about a crouching victim figure positioned centrally in front of the memorial stone:

Some wanted to see a sacrificial figure kneeling in front of the stone to symbolize the murdered pilots; others did not want this. Some were of the opinion that the ambiguity of the monument would disappear with the erection of a symbolic victim figure, ... others argued that, without the depiction of the victim, the historical aspect would not be taken into account at all (Darvishzadeh, 2017: 95).

Eventually the version with the symbolic victim prevailed. The inclusion of this symbolic victim allows for a greater amount of ambiguity in the memorial: on the one hand, the statues look onto the scene itself, doing nothing to help the victim. This calls to mind the reaction of the contemporary public to the initial event. Yet the circle of statues surrounding the victim also showcases the culture of memory and the way that the public has remembered the event. In this way, the young people articulated the multitude of roles present at the site: the perpetrators, living in Strassgang before and after 1945, the bystanders, who remained passively nearby, and the victims, who had at least already been represented by the original memorial stone. These pluralities, all of which are present in the collective memory, are integrated into the memorial site. Today's visitors are guided to the memorial by red footprints from the nearby bus and train stops. These end at the circle of statues, which one can enter and thus become part of the community of remembrance surrounding the murders.

With their work, the young people have succeeded in what Holger Thünemann describes as returning the 'mission to remember' to the viewer (Thünemann, 2011: 108). The students observed something

similar at Jochen Gerz's Memorial for the Victims of National Socialist Rule at the Graz Castle. They wanted to involve viewers into their memorial design. Through this element, it becomes clear that we are all part of this story, in one way or another.

3.3 Seeing Learning About Cultures of Remembrance As Historical-Political Learning About Society

As the teacher of this class, I moderated all the discussions about the redesign of the memorial. At the same time, as a researcher, I was fascinated by the development that the young people went through. The solution to their many differences was, of course, far less important than the intensive discussions about the redesign of the memorial itself. The resulting learning outcomes will be addressed here.

Thünemann identifies three ways in which monuments create possibilities for historical learning. 'Opportunities arise firstly,' Thünemann (2006: 204) writes, 'with regard to the emotional connection to the history subject, secondly, in the area of historical-methodological skills and thirdly, for the acquisition of historical knowledge.' These possibilities for historical learning are present in the project described. The learners did amazing things in all three areas. They attained remarkable expertise in aerial warfare, further developed their skills of debate and historical analysis, and, above all, showed a great deal of commitment through their countless hours of voluntary service. It became clear, however, at the presentation of the memorial site, that their learning was not limited to history, despite the fact that the project was linked to the subject.

The initial concept for the memorial site, which was executed visually through both drawings and a model, was presented to the public on March 6, 2017. This presentation included both a discussion panel, as well as a wider commemoration event. The students' thoughts and monument designs were presented to participants from the US Embassy in Austria, representatives from Karl Franzens University and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, politicians from the city of Graz, artists and contemporary witnesses. Two of the students also took part in the panel discussion that followed and discussed the (non-)feasibility of their draft with the representatives from politics and science who were present.

Although it must have been a very sobering experience for the young people to hear from conservative municipal politicians that their idea was 'simply not feasible' for one reason or another, the amount they learned from the event was enormous. This afternoon provided the students the ability to work on their political skills. As explained by Reinhard Krammer's (2008) model of political learning, the students honed their general political competences (through the organization and implementation of the event), their political-methodological competences (through the media representation of their political ideas) and, of course, political judgment competences (by elaborating and defending their views and stances on the redesign). The political representatives, who simply 'didn't want to have any wind' about the unpleasant topic, actually ran out of arguments in the end. They ultimately had to withdraw their assertion that this initiative would mean that 'that everyone could come and want to redesign their monument,' which they had labeled a major drawback of the project.

For the young people dealing with city officials and the interest groups associated with them, it became crystal clear that cultures of remembrance are always linked to questions of power. Their public nature and field of discourse renders participation both a task and a challenge for active, responsible citizens. This project gave students their first authentic dive into the field of political participation and it is not surprising that some of the young people are actively involved in politics today.

The (temporary) erection of the new-designed monument itself, which took place at the same time, aroused great public interest. The design called for life-size figures wearing red suits to be positioned around the monument. It aimed to take into account the students' thoughts and questions about the redesign. The young people also glued the red footprints to the pavement before the event. During the panel discussion and project presentation at an event hall directly opposite the memorial site, many cars slowed down to observe what was going on, and many pedestrians stopped to read the inscription or simply looked around uncertainly. Indeed, the students had intended to bring this long-forgotten event to the forefront of local Austrians; this goal manifested itself during the project presentation. Witnessing the effects of their intervention, coupled with the

knowledge that this came solely from their own actions, was an impressive and important realization for the students.

4. Conclusion: Why History Education Through a Forgotten Memorial Stone?

Finally, one last detail from this exciting final day of the project. During the concluding wreath-laying ceremony on the memorial stone, the following incident occurred: an eye-witness who, according to his own statement, had seen the plane being shot down and the pilots murdered as a child, interrupted the event to pose a question. He asked those present how they could memorialize the US pilots, the very airmen who had brought so much suffering to the Austrian civilian population. The students were somewhat shocked, as this question directly showcased the painful memories and perceptions of the aerial war, as well as its difficult legacy. The query made it clear, once again, how differently the past is communicated and conveyed locally, within families and societies, and how varied positions, interpretations and coping strategies can be. The eye-witness had asked the young people exactly the type of question that they had been grappling with throughout the project. Anna describes it as follows:

What's the point for all this now?', we were asked more than once. 'They're dead anyway!' Well, 'they' might be dead, but we're not. ... Why is it something that happened so long ago affecting us now? Well, I think it affects us because we are living today and our present and future are built on this very past, which, we often wonder, what it has to do with us. (Bartens, 2017: 98)

The 'ability to perceive the historicity of one's own world and oneself and to recognize it as an opportunity for action and (self-)education' was already mentioned at the beginning of this article (Rüsen, 2008: 68). The concluding sentences in Anna's reflection make it perfectly clear that she has gained this ability in a highly developed way. However, Anna and her classmates have not only learned about history, but also about the society that they are living in and engaging with. They can answer the question, 'Why history education?', very well, as they've seen the impacts that the past has had on their present lives. They have come to understand that every present has its past. They have been made to see that

society is constructed discursively and therefore, is open to interpretation. The stories you engage with and the questions you ask, present different aspects of society to you. The ability to think about which questions to ask and the understanding for the fact that there is always a plurality of voices, was the answer they got to the question, why history education is still relevant.

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UNITY IN DIVERSITY? THE PERCEIVED SENSE(S) OF HISTORY EDUCATION IN POLAND AS REVEALED IN REGIONAL HISTORY COMPETITIONS*

Piotr Podemski

History education is clearly a key point in the public debate in Poland. While the ruling conservatives stress the need to use it as a vehicle for promoting national pride and identity, the liberal opposition's view is that the country needs a more critical approach to its own past. This paper investigates how these political conflicts translate into the practice of history education in Poland's 16 regions through an analysis of question papers locally developed for the regional history competitions, sponsored by local education authorities. An analysis of these enables the author to draw conclusions concerning the prescribed canon of knowledge and the locally perceived sense(s) of history education in Poland ('Why history education?').

1. Background: History Education in Poland's 'House Divided'

It is a well-established concept that contemporary Poland is a 'house divided' or a country deeply polarized in political, economic and cultural terms (Król, 2000). This, once rather concealed, pattern of division between the more liberal and prosperous North West (or 'German Poland,' a part of Germany until 1918 if not 1945) and the conservative and poorer South East ('Russian' and 'Austrian' Poland, ruled by these empires till 1918), had resurfaced in the context of the second rounds of the two recent presidential elections in 2015 and 2020. While the candidate of the now ruling Law and Justice Party (PiS), the current president, Andrzej Duda, gathered a vast majority of the popular vote in the South-East, his opposition counter-candidates (the then incumbent president, Bronisław Komorowski, in 2015, and the mayor of the city of Warsaw, Rafał Trzaskowski, in

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2020, respectively) maintained the support of most of the voters coming from the North West, with the national results amounting to 51,55 % to 48,45 % in 2015 (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza 2015) and 51,03 % to 48,97 % (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza 2020) (see maps below). Thus, even though the national government has remained in the hands of the ruling conservative party ever since, one should not overlook that their policies are not necessarily wholeheartedly supported and implemented throughout the country's 16 regions (or 'voivodships,' województwa), which have retained a margin of autonomy in a number of fields, e.g. educational policies.

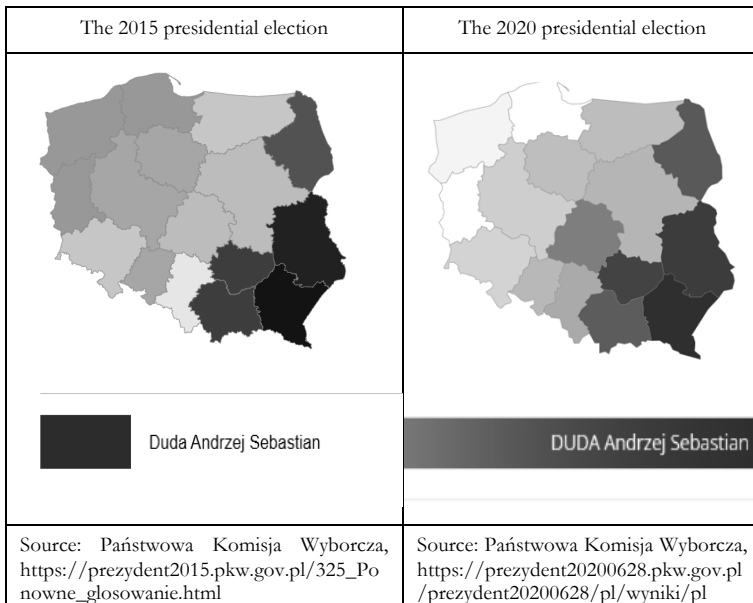


Figure 1. Presidential Election Results in Poland, 2015 and 2020.

This political geography of Poland has important consequences in the realm of history education since the latter has become somewhat of a fulcrum of the public debate between the ruling conservatives and the liberals in opposition. The Minister of Education and Science, Professor Przemysław Czarnek of the Catholic University of Lublin (South East of the country, to be sure), while declaring his goal is to increase the number of history lessons in schools, has also made unequivocal statements on the issue on many occasions:

We need to finally abandon the pedagogy of shame and opt directly and ultimately for the pedagogy of pride, just like every normal country in Europe and the world. [...] We, Poles, have given so much to Europe, in many ways. Knowledge of this is scarce, it seems that it should be much greater, so that we can feel proud to be Poles. We won't feel proud if we don't know our own history (Czarnek, 2021).

Law and Justice politicians thus openly make it their priority to promote history education amongst Polish youth but also to spread the awareness of Poland's contribution to Europe's heritage among foreigners. In their eyes, history should undoubtedly be a matter of national pride, positive identity and nation-building, with each Polish pupil memorizing the same facts testifying to their fatherland's greatness. These beliefs can be defined as representative of the conservative concept of history education in Poland, i.e. one aiming at embracing tradition and fatherland as its supreme values.

A good example of an alternative view is presented by a wide coalition of liberal forces opposing the ruling party's educational policies, within the 'Free School' movement (Wolna Szkoła). While criticizing the Ministry's ambition to 'simply push into young learners' heads masses of information pertaining to more than 10 school subjects in order for them to memorize, pass and forget,' instead of 'learning to understand the world,' 'learning to co-operate,' allowing space for 'meaningful conversations, experiments, creativity, relation-building and caring for pupils' well-being,' they formulate proposals of their own, which might be regarded as a manifesto of the liberal concept of education in Poland, or one allowing for a diversity of views and perspectives in a complex postmodern world: 'In our school, we want to teach respect for different views and choices. [...] Our school teaches how to distinguish opinion from fact, how emotions and stereotypes influence the perception of reality. It teaches how to check if something is true. [...] [We] teach critical thinking and make one immune to ideological brainwashing. Our school teaches that we live in a world where people are different and encourages us to get to know them, showing that being different does not threaten our identity' (Wolna Szkoła, 2021).

Two conclusions can be drawn from this comparison of the conservative and liberal views on (history) education in Poland. Firstly, while history is undoubtedly a primary focus for the country's current decision-makers, it is not regarded as such by the liberal opposition that presents a far more holistic view of the school as an

institution with history education never meant to play a prominent role. Secondly, opposition liberals draw their line of division more in terms of conservative and innovative pedagogies, wherein the government supposedly favours the orthodox approach of nationalizing all learners countrywide through memorising the same common body of facts in order to develop a sense of shared identity. Their alternative proposal is described as an attempt to build students' critical thinking and creative skills. Thus two approaches to the sense of history education clearly emerge, largely in line with the dichotomy suggested by Carmel Gallagher (1996: 21) in her already classic essay *History Teaching And The Promotion Of Democratic Values And Tolerance*, dating back to 1996. Importantly, this dispute between the advocates of 'monumental' and 'critical' approach itself has a long history in contemporary Poland, dating back at least to the Jedwabne debate related to Polish role in the Shoah (Machcewicz, 2012), if not to the internal strife within the Polish anti-communist opposition (Lipski, 1981[1992]: 14).

In a recent study a group of Polish sociologists have left little doubt over which of the two paradigms – monumental or critical history – they find dominant throughout the country at present. According to their findings, based upon a series of interviews with history teachers, in Poland teaching history de facto equals celebrating nationalism:

We show that many teachers aim to teach history not so much as an academic discipline as to impose on the pupils a canonical historical narrative focused on the homogeneous Polish nation. In their understanding, school history should primarily have an identitary function: the pupils are to identify them-selves with the Polish nation, the beginnings of which are projected into the distant past. By learning the canonical story of the national past, pupils are to 'discover' who they really are. According to this logic, schools do not teach about nationalism but impose nationalism, which is treated as an unquestionable framework for the interpretation of the past. Moreover, it is often an exclusionary, uncritical, and militant nationalism (Jaskulowski, Majewski & Surmiak, 2021: ix).

However, the authors have hardly found (or perhaps sought) any traces of a diversity (or at least ambiguity) of views on a regional basis, except for the feeling of local history being generally neglected in the Warsaw-imposed perspective of national history textbooks, at

least in the eyes of the teachers living and working far from the Polish capital (Jaskulowski, Majewski & Surmiak 2021: 69–70).

2. Research Method: Regional History Competitions as Sources

As stated above, the rationale of this paper is to find out whether or not the nationalist approach to history education aiming at constructing a proud sense of a shared national identity, often deemed utterly dominant throughout the country (as indicated by both government policies and teachers' testimonies cited above), is actually meticulously reproduced in Poland's regions within the limits of their autonomy in the field of history education. Thus it is another attempt, not totally remote from that undertaken by the abovementioned group of sociologists, to embrace a grassroots level perspective through an analysis of the history competitions developed independently by the educational authorities in each of the 16 Polish regions (even if their heads, the 'curators,' are appointed by the Ministry and the same national history curriculum applies in each region). These are prestigious contests meant for 'the best and the brightest' students in the final years of their elementary school education (normally aged 13–15), granting the winners access without the otherwise stressful entry examination procedures to any state-run secondary school of their choice. As it happens, it is almost impossible to successfully apply to some of the best and most competitive public schools in the country without being a national contest winner in any subject (they are organized for every academic school subject, not only history) as there are simply no more places left after the contest winners have claimed their priority access. Since this is the case these regional history competitions may be perceived as very influential since their question papers are thoroughly analysed by both teachers and students in an attempt to 'learn to the test' and increase their chances for the much desired prize. One might thus be tempted into an unverifiable conclusion that these competitions may have the potential to shape teachers' work in the classroom, at least with regard to their best and most motivated students.

In order to find out whether these competitions reflect more of a unity or diversity relating to our overarching question of 'Why history education?,' or what is/are the perceived sense(s) of history education in contemporary Poland, I have decided to carry out the

following analysis: 1) a comparative study of the declared objectives ('perceived senses') of the competitions as stated by the regional authorities; 2) an inquiry into the question papers in order to check what exactly students are expected to do to be granted their official status of 'the best and the brightest' by the standards of Poland's history education. Within the second point of analysis a clear question typology was developed to distinguish between questions referring to a) Polish vs. world history; b) political and military vs. cultural and socio-economic history; c) students' memorized factual knowledge vs. critical thinking and historical skills; and d) closed vs. open-ended questions. My assumption was that a focus on Polish, political and military history in terms of factual knowledge and closed questions would be an indication of the conservative approach whereas favouring world, cultural and socio-economic history through an appraisal of students' skills in the form of open-ended questions would demonstrate the local community's inclination towards a more innovative, liberal pedagogy of history.

The research material sample was taken from 5 carefully selected Polish regions: 2 notoriously conservative (Subcarpathia and Lesser Poland), 2 markedly liberal (Pomerania and Greater Poland) and 1 'swing region' of Masovia (classified as such since the capital city of Warsaw's liberal voting patterns differ greatly from those of the adjacent conservative-minded countryside areas. Within this framework question papers from the 3 recent editions of the contests available were analysed (school years 2018/2019, 2019/2020, 2020/2021), with regard to the first stages of each competition, i.e. the ones with by far the largest number of participants and so the most likely to have a broad impact on a wider community of students and teachers (e.g. if 3144 students took part in the Masovia 2020/2021 competition's first stage, this number was down to 233 and only 63 in the second and third stage respectively) (MazKO, 2021).

With these research tools in hand, I commenced my analysis of the regional history competitions documentation, as produced, published and archived by the 5 chosen regional education authorities.



Figure 2. Poland's Regions Selected for Research Samples. Source: Author's own elaboration on a public domain map: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/aa/Poland_adm_location_map.svg/400px-Poland_adm_location_map.svg.png

3. Research Outcomes: Self-Declared Aims of History Education

Judging by the official declarations of the organizers of the regional history competitions, history education's aims would seem largely coherent and universally shared, if not identical, throughout the country, irrespective of the region in question. Contrary to the findings published in the book *Teaching History, Celebrating Nationalism* the self-declared perceived sense(s) of the competitions would sound very ecumenical and conciliatory, meeting the demands

of both conservatives and liberals. Perhaps the most eloquent example is that provided by the Lesser Poland (conservative) education authority, in whose words elementary school history contests are organized in order to:

- *promote historical knowledge,*
- *foster critical thinking, source analysis and making sense of historical writing,*
- *inspire attitudes of patriotism and respect for Polish national heritage,*
- *build respect for the Polish State, as well as for other nations' cultures or ethnic and religious minorities* (MlpKO, 2021).

If liberals may be dismayed by the concepts of instilling 'respect for the Polish State' and 'Polish national heritage' in young learners striving to win their priority pass to the country's best secondary schools, this moderately conservative element seems well-balanced with the declared intentions to 'foster critical thinking' and 'source analysis,' as well as the clearly expressed desire to promote respect for other nations and minorities.

In a somewhat different way, the Subcarpathian competition's aims are subdivided into three categories describing pupils' desired knowledge, competences and attitudes. Whereas the first category (e.g. students 'address in detail questions relating to the causes, course and results of the prescribed curriculum content') may be dearer to the hearts of conservatives, the second one (students 'are capable of skillfully using their knowledge in practice, solving problems, [...] assessing historical events, providing arguments to the point') reflect the wishes of innovators. Additionally, the 'attitudes' section features points as diverse as 'developing students' tolerance and criticism' as well as 'deepen their patriotism' and 'respect for their fatherland's history' (PdkKO, 2021) wherein both sides of the Polish political spectrum may find elements they would deem indispensable.

In the case of the two supposedly more liberal regions (Pomerania and Greater Poland) one must infer that little attention is devoted to the aims of the history competitions, at least as reflected in the official documents. While in Pomerania it is deemed sufficient to say that the aims of the undertaking are to 'develop students' skills to apply their historical knowledge in practice' (PomKO, 2021), in Greater Poland (where the 2022 edition was analysed as no archive is available for 2021) the very same wording is used, accompanied by

yet another declaration as to ‘inspiring creative thinking’ (WlpKO, 2022). In either case there is to be found no mention of nation-building, patriotism or respect for the Polish State, which might be considered as a powerful argumentum ex silentio (elements absent from the documents are intentionally omitted since they are unwished for, against the directives of the nationalist government) or simply taken lightly as a proof of lacking awareness of the educational and cultural implications of these undertakings.

Whichever angle one might be inclined to embrace, it stands clear that on the whole there is far less openly declared nationalism in the self-perceived aims of the regional history competitions than might be expected from both the inflammatory expositions of the Minister of Education on the one hand and the alarming conclusions drawn by sociologists from their interviews with a group of Polish teachers, on the other. Even the two most conservative, or if you wish potentially nationalistic, Polish regions balance their ambitions to forge the Polish nation through history education with, at least lip service, invitations for teachers to preach tolerance and critical thinking in history lessons. This last element is, as expected, emulated by the supposedly liberal regions, which however for some reasons avoid discussing the matter at length in their respective publications.

As far as the self-declarations are concerned, Poland’s history education might thus seem a sound mixture of conservative and liberal tendencies, with mild interregional contrasts. Let us now delve into the actual question papers to find out if these declarations are consistent with what is really expected in terms of history education of Polish pupils striving to demonstrate their special interests and achievements in the field of history.

4. Research Outcomes: Regional Realities Behind the Question Papers

The amalgamated results of the analysis of question papers from all five regions and three school years – PDK (2019), PDK (2020), PDK (2021), MLP (2019), MLP (2020), MLP (2021), MAZ (2019), MAZ (2020), MAZ (2021), WLP (2019), WLP (2020), WLP (2021), POM (2019), POM (2020), POM (2021) – are presented in Table 1.

	POLISH	WORLD	POLIT.	CULT.	SOC-ECON	FACTS	SKILLS	CLOSED	OPEN
PDK1819	55,0	45,0	45,0	35,0	20,0	75,0	25,0	35,0	65,0
PDK1920	55,6	44,4	44,4	38,9	16,7	83,3	16,7	50,0	50,0
PDK2021	33,3	66,7	33,3	44,4	22,2	72,2	27,8	44,4	55,6
PDK	48,0	52,0	40,9	39,4	19,6	76,9	23,1	43,1	56,9
MLP1819	61,8	38,2	76,5	17,6	5,9	64,7	35,3	52,9	47,1
MLP1920	88,2	11,8	82,4	2,9	14,7	88,2	11,8	58,8	41,2
MLP2021	90,3	9,7	74,2	6,5	19,4	80,6	19,4	71,0	29,0
MLP	80,1	19,9	77,7	9,0	13,3	77,9	22,1	60,9	39,1
MAZ1819	62,5	37,5	66,7	12,5	20,8	20,8	79,2	50,0	50,0
MAZ1920	57,7	42,3	42,3	34,6	23,1	11,5	88,5	100,0	0,0
MAZ2021	61,5	38,5	50,0	42,3	7,7	30,8	69,2	100,0	0,0
MAZ	60,6	39,4	53,0	29,8	17,2	21,0	79,0	83,3	16,7
WLP1819	70,4	29,6	59,3	33,3	7,4	7,4	92,6	70,4	29,6
WLP1920	61,5	38,5	57,7	42,3	0,0	7,7	92,3	26,9	73,1
WLP2021	44,7	55,3	34,2	55,3	10,5	13,2	86,8	36,8	63,2
WLP	58,9	41,1	50,4	43,6	6,0	9,4	90,6	44,7	55,3
POM1819	38,5	61,5	46,2	38,5	15,4	61,5	38,5	15,4	84,6
POM1920	46,7	53,3	46,7	40,0	13,3	53,3	46,7	33,3	66,7
POM2021	41,7	58,3	25,0	41,7	33,3	50,0	50,0	33,3	66,7
POM	42,3	57,7	39,3	40,0	20,7	55,0	45,0	27,4	72,6
POLAND	58,0	42,0	52,3	32,4	15,4	48,0	52,0	51,9	48,1
CONSERV.	64,0	36,0	59,3	24,2	16,5	77,4	22,6	52,0	48,0
LIBERAL.	50,6	49,4	44,8	41,8	13,3	32,2	67,8	36,0	64,0

Table 1. Amalgamated Results of the Study. Source: Author's own elaboration. In the left column the origin of the analysed data is presented, indicating the specific region: PDK for Subcarpathia (Podkarpackie in Polish), MLP for Lesser Poland (Malopolska), MAZ for Masovia (Mazowieckie), WLP for Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) and POM for Pomerania (Pomorze), as well as the school year in question: 2018/2019, 2019/2020 or 2020/2021. The POLISH/WORLD column provides data on proportions in Polish and world history, as represented in the question papers. The POLIT./CULT./SOC-ECON column discusses the questions' focus on political, cultural and socio-economic aspects of history. Further on, the FACTS/SKILLS column introduces a distinction between questions requiring students to come up with a memorized factual answer or – alternatively – to carry out some form of historical reasoning. The last column, CLOSED/OPEN, summarizes the types of questions asked through splitting them into closed and open-ended questions. There are then comprehensive results for each region (the lines containing no indication of schoolyear e.g. PDK, MLP etc.) as well as the average figures for all 5 regions (labelled as POLAND) and mean values for the two conservative regions (CONSERV) and the two liberal ones (LIBERAL).

A number of conclusions might be drawn from these findings:

Firstly, Polish history generally seems to prevail over world history throughout the country (58 % to 42 %) with some minor exceptions: in addition to Pomerania consistently favouring world history, it comes as a surprise that this is also the case with Subcarpathia, be it solely in the school year 2020/2021. This notwithstanding, it is still fair to admit that from this standpoint it looks as if the point of the authors of *Teaching History, Celebrating Nationalism* is further confirmed since history education can be defined as at least fairly 'Polonocentric' (focused on Poland, with lesser regard to the outside world). Nevertheless, this tendency is on the whole conspicuously stronger in conservative regions (64 %) than in the liberal ones (50,6 %), which implies that local political and cultural sympathies continue to play a role.

Secondly, history education in Poland remains visibly centred around the political aspects (52,3 %) of the past (history of the ruling, rather than the ruled), which may be indicative of its ambition to instil the typically rightist ideas of (unitary) state and nation prevailing over those typically leftist of (diverse) society and individuals. The relatively strong presence of cultural topics (32,4 %) can be interpreted in terms of their potential uses for both conservative (e.g. Catholic heritage) and liberal (e.g. minority and world cultures) actors in the process. Economic history is confined to a distant third order of importance throughout the country, perhaps due to its scarce capacity for either side in the raging Polish ideological struggle. Yet again, however, with the abovementioned exception of economic history, one may make out a sort of regional pattern to what kind of history is taught and required of students in Polish elementary schools: conservative regions value political history (59,3 %) in a way even stronger than the country's average (52,3 %) and the liberal regions (44,8 %). Even if Subcarpathia evades this trend, it is – as mentioned above – due to the fact that cultural history is treated as a vehicle for promoting Catholic identity.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, there seems to be a healthy balance between requiring of Polish students facts and skills within their history education (48 % to 52 %), yet this comprehensive image of the nationwide system is an instance of general statistics obscuring the true nature of a complex phenomenon. The conservative regions stress the weight of memorised facts over historical skills in a rather imposing way (77,4 %), which places them, one might say, streets

behind the country's mean value (48 %), not to mention the liberal regions (32,2 %), the latter ones evidently focusing on testing their students' applied skills. If compelled to point to one eloquent indicator of the contrast between the regional cultures of history education in Poland's conservative and liberal regions, one should bring up this truly impressive gap between the traditional pedagogy of verifying young learner's factual knowledge in the South East and the modern Western concept of building pupils' historical competences.

Fourthly, when considering the dichotomy between closed and open-ended questions, we may conclude that, despite certain irregularities, it does further confirm a difference in history educators' mindsets between the South East and the North West of Poland. If a predilection towards closed questions is to be regarded as a sign of didactic conservatism, this is perceptible in the conservative regions (52 %) to a degree visibly greater than in the liberal ones (36 %). The figure for the South East is, however, almost identical with the mean data for all of Poland, as from the school year 2019/2020 on in the region of Masovia it has been decided to include closed questions only (100 %), which distorts this factor within our collected data. Nevertheless, it is still safe to argue that conservative educators tend to expect pupils to simply bring up the correct answer to be chosen from a restricted range of options, while those liberally-minded encourage them to voice their opinions and make sense of the historical reality they are confronted within the question in their own words.

5. Conclusions: Unity in Diversity

Therefore, how much unity and diversity is there in Poland's history education and to what extent does it reflect the well-established political sympathies of the selected regions studied?

This short analysis, as shown in a number of places above, has revealed that while the paper's main concept of distinguishing between the conservative regions in the South East of Poland and the liberal ones in the North West has functioned rather well throughout, at times individual regions have failed to play the role they had been hypothetically assigned. Apparently Subcarpathia has turned out to be far less conservative than expected and on certain occasions revealed data not dissimilar from those of the supposedly far more liberal

regions. On the other hand, it was the regions of Pomerania and Lesser Poland whose statistics accurately reflected the author's initial preconceptions and solidified his research hypothesis on a correlation between the regions' political voting patterns and the predominant approach applied in the field of history education.

At a first glance it would be tempting to conclude that the political cultures of Poland's regions are directly reflected in their respective educational policies, including history teaching, since local communities simply tend to pass on their own ideas to the younger generations, be it in line with or against the wishes of the national government (the often criticised 'Warsaw perspective'). In this respect it seems rather surprising that despite the government's declared prioritisation of teaching history along strict nationalistic guidelines throughout the nation, the regional realities appear far from eagerly following these imposed rules. This may reveal either the government's lack of interest in frontline classroom history teaching (i.e. history remains an important theme of political propaganda but not of actual policies being implemented) or its inability to influence the real course of events in the realm of history education, despite its sincere ambition to do so.

However, at least two more nuanced remarks need to be made in the conclusion. In spite of the interregional differences being conspicuous between the conservative and liberal regions (typically amounting to around 15 % in mean numbers in a variety of aspects studied), it is still reasonable to claim that throughout the country there remains a certain common core of what can be described as a fairly conservative framework of history education (considered 'patriotic' rather than 'nationalistic'). Namely, all figures combined, a majority of the questions young Polish historians need to successfully deal with will be closed questions referring to national history and its political events. The second final remark stems from the apparent discrepancies between the allegedly conservative nature of a region and the statistics occasionally indicating its surprisingly innovative approach to history teaching (e.g. Subcarpathia in 2021). Even in the most conservative regions, teachers and local education experts are not democratically elected and thus their actions do not necessarily reflect the region's majority political sympathies while at times they seem to reveal the more liberal convictions of the local education communities. As a result, while liberal regions tend to promote liberal

concepts of history education, the opposite does not inevitably happen in the conservative regions.

All in all, also in terms of history education Poland remains a house divided and it is further confirmed by the analysis of its school history competition question papers. However, despite the regional differences, roughly between the conservative South East and the liberal North West of the country, a relatively conservative (by Western European standards) political culture generates a consensus built upon a façade of declared tolerance and respect for ‘the other’ mitigating the otherwise predominant patriotic values (deemed ‘healthy’ and ‘reasonable,’ as opposed to evil ‘nationalism’). Fierce and bitter as Polish history education debates might be, from a Western perspective they could be defined as a minor feud in the family between moderate and radical nationalists, since the idea of a nation is universally regarded as a solid fact and not a historically developed cultural construct. Paradoxically, there is a great deal of unity in Poland’s diversity as far as history education is concerned.

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THE ROLE OF MEMORY DISCOURSES AND HISTORY EDUCATION IN FOSTERING YOUTH CIVIC IDENTITY IN UKRAINE: DIFFERENT APPROACHES AND PRACTICES*

Polina Verbytska

The article considers the role of history education in fostering youth civic identity in Ukraine. The study, supported by the data based on an interdisciplinary literature review and documentary analysis explores the different approaches of representation of historical, cultural memory in history and heritage education. It demonstrates that the transformation of the official memory discourse has had an impact on history education and commemoration practices of students. Moreover, it has an influence on fostering students' civic identity. The article also covers several examples of youth historical research works aimed at reinterpreting historical narratives and the Soviet heritage. It is found that the critical rethinking of the Soviet past is an important factor in shaping civic identity of a young generation.

1. Relationship of History Education, Memory, Culture and Identity

The definition of the past affects the perception of the future, as well as the formation of identity. With the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, there was a need to form its historical memory as one of the leading factors in the consolidation of society. However, this process has not acquired systematic and purposeful forms, so for more than a quarter of a century of the existence of the Ukrainian state, researchers point out that the state of historical memory is influenced by the following factors: 'distinctions in the historical fate of different regions, a lack of awareness of the facts of their history, the viability of Soviet worldview stereotypes ...' (Chuprij, 2017: par. 3).

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In the last decades, there has been an active search for a relationship between the representation of the past and identity in the process of social transformation for the years of the independence of Ukraine. It needs to define the mission of history education and its relationship with memory, historical culture and identity. The article aims to explore how the different approaches to representing memory discourses of Soviet past in history education in Ukraine influence students' identity process.

Memory is a social tool for the formation of collective and individual identity. A new generation is passed on not only a certain image of the past but moral values and patterns of behavior. Jan Assmann (2008: 110) distinguishes between communicative and cultural memory in the concept of collective memory. Cultural memory is a 'form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by many people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity.' In contrast to cultural memory, communicative memory is non-institutional. It is not bounded to any institution, 'it lives in everyday interaction and communication' and has only a limited period that is limited to not more than eight years (Assmann, 2008: 111).

Cultural memory encompasses a set of representations, constructs, and forms of the past that connect history, culture, and society (Assmann, 2008). According to Macdonald, such a representation of the historical past through a set of public memories aims to form an identity, a sense of belonging to a particular community and its historical past, which is actualized owing to a historical narrative in the places of memory (Macdonald, 2013: 6).

With this view occurs the cultivation of the 'culture of remembrance' as 'historical and cultural manifestations of collective memories' (Erl 2008: 176). It provides the assets of reused texts, illustrations, and customs that are specific to a certain society or epoch (Assmann, 1992).

Researchers emphasize that generational change is an important factor in the transformation and introduction of new social ideas. 'With the transition from one generation to another, we not only see a change of guard in the public sphere, but we can also see a shift in the frames of relevance and reference.' (Assmann & Shortt, 2012: 7). Young people selectively learn the experience of the older generation, so the implementation of a younger generation in the public sphere

can influence changes in the politics of memory, which was supported by the older generation.

As stated by Liakos and Bilalis (2017) the influence of historical consciousness on identity is strengthened by the capacities of citizens for learning and interpreting the past and combining the individual and group forms of identity with historical learning. Therefore, a certain interpretation of the past is a symbolic resource used by elites and other interested groups to cultivate patriotism, the national identity of a young generation and the whole of society, and to develop certain social patterns.

In the process of formation of the identity of an individual, it is important to connect the historical culture of the individual on fostering the individual and civic identity. Rüsen (1989: 38) characterizes the concept of 'historical culture' as actions, meanings, forms, and expressions through which a particular society exercises its understanding of the past, from academic historiography to all possible forms of the popularization of historical knowledge and 'historical consciousness functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality to grasp present actuality.'

2. Two Views on One Event. Different Approaches to Historical Memory in Memory Politics, History Education and Commemoration Practices

After 1989–1991, an active memorial policy was pursued in Eastern Europe as a means of ensuring the recognition of mass violations of human rights and guaranteeing a failure to return to the totalitarian past (UN Human Rights, n.d.). The peculiarity of the formation of 'historical memory' in Ukraine is the fact, as noted by the historian Yakovenko (2008: 114), that in 'a community which is a people of one country, there are several different in content, or potentially conflicting, canons of historical memory.' As Zhurzhenko (2011: 102) claims, the leading theme in the conflict of memories in Ukraine is the attitude to the Soviet past and its legacy. The significance of the memory of the Soviet regime is one of the most important elements of modern Ukrainian identity. So, the Soviet heritage still has a strong connection to everyday life, economy, and political culture. While one part of society condemns the Soviet past in every possible way, the other one is in favour of it. The interpretation of the history of World War II and assessment of its significance for Ukraine are

directly related to the postcolonial search for national identity and a geopolitical choice between Russia and the West (Zhurzhenko, 2011: 102).

The differences in the commemorative practices of the Ukrainian government can be traced to the example of the politics of memory to commemorate the anniversary of the end of World War II and its events in Ukraine, which had an impact on school history education. The situation around textbooks on history and the role of the Institute of History of Ukraine in their creation and examination in connection with the preparation and celebration of the 60th anniversary of the victory in World War II became especially acute. This historic date has long been an integral part of the official politics of memory in the Russian Federation and a means of influencing the so-called 'Ruskii mir,' to which Moscow's politicians also include Ukraine. In April 2005, 10 professors of history issued an open letter to the President of Ukraine, noting that Ukraine's integration into the world community should be accompanied by a civilized scientific view of its past.

Numerous examples were given in the appeal of how veteran organizations led by communists from year to year raised the question of 'a true reflection of the events of the Great Patriotic War in history textbooks,' a moratorium on the publication of works by domestic historians until the concept is fully agreed with the Russian and Belarusian parties. Attacks on history textbooks spoke of their 'anti-Soviet nature' and the anti-pedagogical plans to return to a 'single state' textbook (such as the memorable of the 'Short Course in the History of the CPSU') were thought over. The appeal stressed that all political forces must be aware of and accountable to future generations (Hurzhij et al., 2005).

In 2012, the historic event of the end of World War II during the cadence of pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich was interpreted in the style of pro-Russian historiographical tradition as 'the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Ukraine from fascist invaders and the 70th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945' (Decree of Ukrainian President, No. 872, 2012).

As a result of the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, a policy of decommunization and 'leninopad' began in Ukraine, which aimed to break a symbolic connection with the heritage of the USSR. Thus, on April 9, 2015, parliament passed a law condemning the communist

and National Socialist totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and banning the propaganda of their symbols (Law of Ukraine, No. 317–VIII, 2015). Already in 2015, a change in terminology according to the positions of European historical vision could be seen: ‘the 70th anniversary of the Victory over Nazism in Europe and the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II’ (Decree of Ukrainian President, No. 169, 2015).

Crimea’s annexation and the military events in the East of Ukraine since 2014 have had an impact on history education and remembrance culture in schools in the direction of the patriotic education of youth. Based on the Presidential decrees, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine issued instructional and methodological recommendations on the study of social sciences and humanities (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, No. 1/9–212, 2016), which guided history teachers in their work. Therefore, in 2016, the guidelines also deviated from the Soviet scheme of a heroic narrative. A new symbol has been used – the red poppy and the slogan – ‘1939–1945. Never again’ for the events timed to these dates at the state level since 2014. Consolidating the memorial canon ‘we do not celebrate, but honour’ with an emphasis on the history of people, during this year’s events, special attention will be paid to the fate of women in the war.’

The themes of recommended measures are changing and ‘humanizing’: ‘The Memory of the War as a Warning Against its Recurrence,’ ‘Bloody Price of Peace in Europe in 1945 and Today,’ ‘Women’s Stories of War: They fought for the Ukrainian Land,’ ‘Understanding for the Future of Ukraine.’

After the Revolution of Dignity, the idea of generation succession in the heroic struggle for independence was actively cultivated in Ukrainian schools, as evidenced by a symbolic series: a knight of Kievan Rus, a Zaporozhian Cossack, a UPA (UIA – Ukrainian Insurgent Army) soldier, an ATO (Anti-Terrorist Operation) participant. The glorification of the image of a defender of the Motherland was facilitated by the Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine ‘About conducting Lessons of courage’ (Letter to the Ministry of Science and Education in Ukraine, No. 1–9/412, 2014). It was assumed that ‘the topics of these lessons should be the courage of the Ukrainian military men and volunteers ... the heroism of average Ukrainians, who since the first days of the anti-terrorist operation have been helping provide troops with protective

equipment, medicine, food ...' (Letter to the Ministry of Science and Education in Ukraine, No. 1–9/412, 2014).

Interestingly, the patriotic initiative was not only 'from upstairs,' but rather an official recognition of the events that took place in all educational institutions of Ukraine in the wake of the rise of a national movement: meetings with combatants, volunteers, visits to servicemen who were injured as part of the anti-terrorist operation and are undergoing rehabilitation, performances by children's creative groups, writing letters to soldiers as part of the All-Ukrainian action 'Letter to the Wounded' (Letter to the Ministry of Science and Education in Ukraine, No. 1–9/412, 2014).

There was a process of self-identification of the nation and the 'humanization' of the national pantheon of heroics. The moral guidelines of civic education of young people became contemporaries of the same age, who show civic consciousness and uphold state values in extreme conditions.

In the conditions of the country's life in a state of war in the East of Ukraine, the authorities express their intention to take control and correct the military sentiments of society, and especially the young. Back in 2018, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the All-Ukrainian Children's and Youth Military-Patriotic Game 'Falcon' ('Dzhura') stated that the Purpose of the Game is implemented through the formation of new values necessary to defend the state independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, national and patriotic centers of self-education of children and youth in educational institutions (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, No. 845, 2018). Since 2019, this game ('Falcon' ('Dzhura')) has become a tradition and is held in several stages: from regional to All-Ukrainian.

Horschelmann (2016: 31) argues that militaristic practices encountered in everyday life can also provoke a critical questioning of state power and militaristic cultures. In this connection, researchers underline that the patriotic dimension in education should be directed at fostering civic identity based on the practical implementation of responsible citizenship and democratic values (Verbytska, Guyver & Kendzor, 2019).

The culture of remembrance should provide all members of the community with the space they need to formulate their narratives, and memorial practices should stimulate and encourage civic participation, critical thinking about the past, and public debate.

These humanistic approaches have found a wide response in the field of non-formal historical and heritage education in Ukraine, which creates favourable conditions and opportunities for youth critical thinking.

3. How to Make history Interesting for Students? Assets of History and Heritage Education

Youth awareness about the past can be raised with history and heritage education. Research pointed out that heritage has to be an element of cohesion, through education. ‘Knowing and valuing heritage can serve as a way out of the teaching of history by memory, by encouraging participation, inquiry, and questioning who we are and where we are going’ (Felices-De la Fuente, Chaparro-Sainz & Rodríguez-Pérez, 2020: 2).

The heritage education approach engages learners in an interactive exploration of the actual evidence of history and culture, ‘such as the natural and built environment, material culture, practices, oral history, music and folkways,’ inviting students to discover the community’s history and culture and to develop a sense of civic responsibility for protecting the sites that reflect the community’s heritage (Hunter, 1993: 1)

According to Pinto and Exheberria (2018: 342) teaching about heritage provides students with opportunities ‘to learn how to deal with different, contrasting, difficult and controversial interpretations of heritage topics and sites in their historical contexts’ through ‘pedagogic activities and tasks that challenge students’ preconceptions about their local heritage history in its national historical context,’ enhancing students’ interpretation of historical sources about local heritage history involves both historical contextualization and a depth of related historical knowledge and understanding.

To achieve reconciliation and social integration, people’s alternative memories, the cultural memory of society must be presented in history and heritage education. To do this, it is important to examine how representatives of different, political, ethnic-confessional, social communities or generations remember or refer to past experiences, including the traumatic experience of living under a totalitarian regime.

A national competition for secondary school and high school students ‘Soviet Past: (Re) Understanding of History’ is defining in

the field of historical and heritage education, which was held in 2019–2020 by the Representation of German People’s Universities DVV International in Ukraine together with the All-Ukrainian Association Teachers of History and Civics ‘Nova Doba’ in partnership with the Koerber Foundation and the European network EUSTORY with the financial support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The competition aimed to comprehend the complicated and contradictory Soviet experience of Ukrainians, as well as to approach the Soviet heritage from the aspects still unusual for the Ukrainian historical science – in terms of memory and cultural heritage studies, everyday history, micro-history, oral history, and, therefore, through a combination of these approaches to see a complex and sometimes contradictory picture of the life of that era and thus understand various sentiments and stereotypes existing in modern Ukrainian society (Shlichta et al., 2020).

The methodology of the competition was built based on maximum transparency and convenience for the participants: from the creation of a competition site with necessary methodical materials and a scale of evaluation of the works at the beginning of the project to the publication of all the works on the same site at the end of the competition.

The driving force of the competition was teachers, who were consultants of student teams. The competition organizers held a series of training seminars for them. The programs of the seminars included the familiarization of history teachers with the methods of organizing search work: how to work with verbal and visual sources, create short thematic narratives as well as to research various objects that bear the memory of the Soviet past, critically analyze the information collected, and understand the challenges of decommunization. Therefore, teachers could effectively use the obtained tools of work with the historical environment in practical work with student search teams.

The scope of the competition is evidenced by both the quantitative dimension (1727 participants and 290 studies presented from all regions of Ukraine) and qualitative: unique evidence of the oral history of the Soviet era recorded and published by the young researchers. Even being over the competition is alive, because its results were used to create an online guide (Shlichta et al., 2020), which contains the most interesting primary sources: extracts from

the competition work and field material collected by the contestants (video interviews, photos, films, memoirs, archival documents). This is a kind of textbook that contains authentic diverse evidence of the Soviet era, and therefore an important methodological opportunity to supplement the lessons of history with a selection of primary sources. It is a resource that encourages research, the creation of a local, objective chronicle of the era that is still remembered, and thus helps to identify the community at a particular historical time.

The familiarization with the research work of students gives an understanding of the power of the influence of the competition on the formation of remembrance culture and a critical rethinking of the Soviet past. The students were involved in the innovative process of history and heritage education, using the local historical environment: the sacred buildings of the neighborhood, grandmothers' stories about their youth, diaries and photos of peers from the last century as resources for the research. In the following text we will present several student projects.

3.1 *Mykolaiv: Collection of Comics*

Sometimes unusual events were the impetus for the beginning of the research, as for the team from Mykolaiv. The research found the information that the photo exhibition 'Carved in Smalto: Ukrainian Monumental Art of 1960–1980,' prepared by the photographer Yevhen Nikiforov, opened at the UN headquarters in New York (Tsarujk et al., 2020). Thus, a logical question arose – why people even abroad know about the development of the Ukrainian monumental art, and we, Mykolaiv residents, don't guess about the cultural value of the mosaics which have left in our city inherited from the Soviet times – the young historians reasoned and in the end organized a search expedition around Mykolaiv to study the monumental mosaic panels of the Soviet period of the second half of the 20th century.

The result of the research was an original product: an illustrated, informative, and interesting collection of comics. 'This comic is not purely entertaining. Its developers tried to convey the main message to their readers through the forms of visualization – KNOW YOUR HISTORY, BE INTERESTED IN YOUR PAST. The comic carries a lot of scientific and historical information about the artistic

proclamations, letters, samples of art, and memoirs of dissidents, a set of documents created by security and repressive structures of the Soviet regime: criminal cases against participants of the dissident movement (including those who did not go to court), court verdicts, the materials of prosecutorial supervision of the investigation in the KGB, the information provided by the KGB Office for the Sumy region of the CPU regional committee, ... articles and letters in newspapers, the minutes of Communist party and Komsomol, as well as staff meetings' (Zinchenko et al., 2020). Such a thorough approach to working with sources testifies to the high motivation of young historians, and the level of scientific power of the competition.

While the state successfully fought against the creation of underground organizations, it was almost powerless against the manifestations of purely moral protest, which, moreover, was directed against the state's failure to comply with its laws or norms of the constitution. Therefore, with the alienation of the intelligentsia from the state ideology and the return to the traditions of Ukrainian's, the so-called movement 'return to sources' becomes the dominant feature of the study. It is valuable for students to realize the importance of the civic position of each person and to study the history of individual resistance to the state (Zinchenko et al., 2020).

3.3 Cherkasy: Video on Local Monuments

Young people from Cherkasy also studied the culture of the totalitarian era of 1960–1980 through the prism of local monuments of monumental architecture, the sculpture and landscape art of that era (But et al., 2020). A video was made, which, in addition to the presentation at the school, was broadcast on regional television and became a resonant event in the local community. 'Our video is also of great social importance, as it draws attention to the serious problem of Ukrainian modernity – contempt for the past, especially the Soviet, which is reflected in the destruction of the historic face of Ukrainian cities to please commercial projects' – say the project participants (But et al., 2020).

A significant feature for the understanding of the 'research nitty-gritty' of project work is the description of teamwork stages:

Time	Activities
13–14.12.2019	Training of student project consultants in Kyiv: a change in guidelines and topics.
16.12.2019	Distinguishing a local, narrow topic of the project ‘Soviet Monumental Art of Cherkasy’ Distribution of work in groups: researchers of objects and designers of the film. Determination of the research objects and terms of the readiness of video subjects.
01.2020	Object research, information analysis, and video creation.
3–5.02.2020	Accumulation of video materials, development of the film concept.
6–22.02.2020	Shooting of the introductory and final subjects, editing of the film.
24–25.02.2020	Presentation of the film at secondary schools, No. 5 and 15 (popularization of the project on Cherkasy TV channel ‘Vika’ and YouTube).

Table 1. Teamwork Stages

Reflecting on the project results, the team conclude: ‘We believe that the project was of great educational significance: because researching history, we not only consume a historical product but also participate directly in its formation, learn to “feel” history.’ It turns out that inanimate objects can speak when you explore their history in detail. It includes both excessive desires for greatness and provision of comfort to man and bureaucracy and a love of unification’ (But et al., 2020).

3.4 *Pyriatyn School of the Poltava Region: Soviet School Register*

The team of Pyriatyn School of the Poltava region in their project investigated what the educational system of the Soviet school was like: the environment of intellectual food for the mind or a means of planting Soviet ideological stamps (Buslo et al., 2020). People wonder how children understood the source base and learned to see the hidden meaning of documents. Analyzing the class register of the 10th form in 1969–70 they compared the content of lessons in Ukrainian and Russian literature and saw differences in the ideological accents of teaching: ‘in the lessons of Russian literature

they studied the lyrics of free thought, and in Ukrainian literature – mostly poetry glorifying the existing communist system’ (Buslo et al., 2020). Young researchers were interested in simple and important questions: ‘What were their peers like in Soviet times – happy or zombied?’, subtly noting: on the collected photo documents Zhovtenyatas, pioneers, Komsomol members – everybody with a view to the ‘bright future’ and in turn ‘they are looked at by the leader, whose portrait was an essential attribute of every classroom’ (Buslo et al., 2020).

Finally, children reflect on what elements of the Soviet-style upbringing and education remain in Ukraine’s education system, and what to do with all the ‘liniikas’ (all-school assembly), educational hours, grades for behaviour that have been traveling in schools for decades (Buslo et al., 2020).

3.5 *Kharkiv Regional Medical College Jeans in the USSR*

The topic ‘Jeans in the USSR,’ which is simple and significant for understanding the living conditions, life, and thinking of the Soviet man, was revealed by a research group of students of the Kharkiv Regional Medical College. Why did such a common and ordinary thing for us become a symbol of fashion, bourgeois propaganda, and even free thought in the Soviet Union? What is the value of the phrase from the 80s: ‘Those who wear Adidas jeans will sell the homeland tomorrow’ (Osetrova et al., 2020).

Researchers were trying to understand the imposed Soviet philosophy of confronting the ‘dandy in jeans’ vs. the ‘right’ Soviet man, having come to the logical conclusion: for ordinary people, shortages, queues, and domestic crises made life difficult, humiliated dignity, and caused disapproval of socialist reality. The economic crisis was compounded by an ideological one. The USSR also lost this ideological war. The fight against jeans is a clear manifestation of it. Such a state was doomed. The end of the USSR in 1991 became natural (Osetrova et al., 2020).

3.6 *Popasna Secondary School: ‘(Un) Honoured Memory’ Website*

The searchers from Popasna Secondary School, now on the brink of an armed Russian and Ukrainian conflict, drew attention to the problem of children – victims of World War II and tried to

understand why it was not a very ‘convenient’ topic in Soviet times (Anufrieva et al., 2020).

The young historians presented their search materials on the website ‘(Un) Honoured Memory,’ inviting the local community and all concerned people to discuss painful issues: ‘Why were no monuments to civilians erected under the Soviet rule? Why were there not any memorials honouring the deaths of civilians?’ (Anufrieva et al., 2020). One of the reflections presents the following vision: ‘Monuments to the victims of the war of that time were not erected at all, because the experience of the war was, first of all, a tragedy. But it was rewritten in Stalin’s time. Stalin did not want to talk about suffering. It was primarily about the victory of the army. Estimating the number of military men whose deaths were not officially established they were considered to be missing. It becomes obvious that the price of victory is too high. Therefore, the civilian population with its suffering, and victims did not meet the needs of Soviet ideology ...’ (Anufrieva et al., 2020).

4. Conclusions

The project ‘Soviet Past: (Re)Thinking of History,’ which began as a competition for researchers of local history, somehow casually and organically became a space of cooperation and interactive communication, bringing together teams of researchers from different regions of Ukraine.

The academic research of the Soviet era, which most young people have already encountered in history lessons were organically supplemented and ‘humanized’ by local observations based on non-standard approaches to ‘oral history.’ The younger generation are trying to understand the past by exploring history in a new way: through quests, Web interactions, historical reconstructions, and even screenplays. Through such an interactive, young people not only learn history but also learn to identify their family, themselves in their community (or their local space). Therefore, public presentations of projects in their communities have become a way to restore dialogue and understanding between generations that were artificially severed during the Soviet era.

This observation allows formulating conclusions about the important role of history education in fostering youth civic identity, critical thinking, and remembrance culture in democratic society.

Historical and cultural heritage, reproducing the past of a particular socio-cultural environment, is an important source of historical experience, containing diverse information about the development of society in the past and present.

The representation of historical memory discourses in official history education narrative and school commemoration in Ukraine demonstrates that the transformation of the official memory policy in Ukraine has had an impact on fostering students' civic identity.

The students research project 'Soviet Past: (Re)Thinking of History' results demonstrate the innovative approach of the presentation of a historical pluralistic narrative and remembrance culture in society. Such a comprehensive methodological approach of teaching history and Soviet heritage to students contributes to the formation of competencies that help to understand what moved people who created the past era to look at tragic events in a new way, learn to empathize, not to condemn. How to (re) comprehend the epoch that no longer exists, but which still chases and does not let go? This requires a lot of new research and new forms and methods of history and heritage education.

The critical rethinking of the Soviet past is an important factor in shaping the identity (national, local, cultural) of a young person, influencing the present. At the same time, the organization of historical research activity of young people in the socio-cultural environment of the local community provides an opportunity for them to realize a direct connection with the local community, its history, and cultural heritage. This contributes to the formation of an active civic position of an individual, the ability to responsibly implement their rights and responsibilities, to establish a social partnership in the process of solving socio-cultural problems.

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VOICES FROM A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY ON WHY A HISTORY ‘ALL AROUND US’ EDUCATION MATTERS*

Knysna Motumi, Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich

The research project foregrounded in this paper, played itself out in the Fezile Dabi region of which the town of Parys, and the other nearby townships of Tumahole and Schonkenville form part of. All are in the Free State Province of South Africa. Two goals, emanating from the original research for post graduate degree purposes was to get a gist of these community’s understanding of the histories around them. Furthermore, how History teaching and learning can become a frequent conscious experiential engagement inside and outside the classroom. Some considerable attention on a ‘doing History’ approach by using the ‘history-is-all-around-us’ concept, had been the broader emphasis of a PhD study by KT Motumi (2021). A part of this intensive study is shared in this paper discussion in which some of the South African community voices are shared on their awareness about the local history and heritage as part of their reasoning towards why history education matters. Apart from the theoretical foundation that is covered to contextualise the scholarly and historical basis of the research of ‘history-is-all-around-us,’ the accent will mostly fall on the voices of the community (educators, advisors, principals, community leaders) though fieldwork information had also been obtained from the learners themselves (directly and indirectly) on their awareness and experience of histories in their local surrounds will not be discussed though, due to space limitations.

1. Introduction

Whether history education ‘matters’ in South Africa has made the proverbial frontpage news on a regular basis since 1994, when the country embarked on the transition from one political dispensation to another. Since this transition, each system has had its critics and proponents and its own ideologies and thought processes on how the country’s History should be taught to young South Africans across

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the country. However, it remains the educators, with advice from the academic historians, who are leading the understanding and vision of tomorrow's leaders and the education of communities at grassroots level. In South Africa, sources are not lacking when it comes to how History can be made more practical in the classroom; how contemporary events should feed into the past as displayed in curricula (Van Eeden 2010a,b) and how curricula should speak more coherently to all young South Africans (Van Eeden, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017).

Some histories of unique African communities and their experiences at a local and regional level are being written (Cf. Quinn, 2013). But in most cases these are not directed towards community experiences and events, nor are they utilised in a formal teaching context. Adapting the focus of the way History is being taught could contribute to the strengthening of the curriculum by making it more applicable in an African context (Tosh, 2008). Searching for what may not yet be recorded or issues that have been neglected about the histories of local African communities in South Africa, allows for a more robust engagement with teaching South African history in schools than is currently the case (Williams, 2017).

Global thoughts on the importance of the learner's immediate environment as a valued practical 'classroom,' were first expressed by the evergreen pragmatist and social reformer John Dewey as far back as 1902 (Dewey 1902: 472; cf. Dewey, 1956: 34). Dewey refers to this practical 'classroom' as a form of 'place-based education (PBE)' in which teaching should 'move' from the familiar experience of the child out into the curriculum or organised bodies of knowledge as a process of reconstruction' (Cf. Van Eeden, 2010b).

In line with Dewey and many other voices on the value of PBE, the focus of this discussion paper is to share research on some of the voices of communities in South Africa (Motumi, 2021), on why history education matters. Secondly, we highlight why it is necessary to make practical the teaching and learning of History in and outside of the classroom as a 'history-is-all-around-us' principle, with more emphasis on a 'doing History' approach. Lastly, the paper deliberates on the significance of local and regional people's histories, (tangible and intangible legacies and events as footprints).

The research findings to follow focus on the professional community voices, in the Parys region of Fezile Dabi District. They

include the views of the people in positions such as teachers, History subject advisors, principals, and community leaders. Of the total of seventeen respondents, (five teachers, two subject advisors, five principals and two community leaders responded. They were asked to share their awareness and experiences about the surrounding histories they are exposed to daily, and importantly, they were also led into an open-ended qualitative interview questionnaire on why they think history education ‘matters.’ However, before embarking on a discussion of the findings of the research, a concise theoretical and methodological underpinning is provided on the context, research method and thoughts behind the project.

2. The Scholarly Debate That Guided the Research

Several decades ago, local historians, van Eeden among them, held lively debates on writing local history and how best to progress to regional histories. However, in South Africa regional histories have been, ‘and still are, non-existent’ (van Eeden, 2012; du Bruyn & Oelofse, 2012; Cleophas, 2014; Schoeman & Visagie, 2014). According to these scholars, there is an absence of knowledge and no established method to record ‘peoples’ history’ in regional, local, urban, and rural histories. This is very true, ‘particularly in previously neglected township public primary and secondary schools’ such as those of Parrys, South Africa.

The South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU, 2014) makes a similar point. It claims that South Africa is behind other countries in terms of robust methods of teaching and learning History as a subject that helps learners to celebrate the heritage, culture and values that made South Africa what it is today. The country, it is said, is relying on fragmented teaching and learning of History at primary school level and then becomes optional subject at secondary level. Finally, as a ‘choice’ discipline it is quickly fading away at tertiary level. This being so, News 24 tells us that to assist history learners to appreciate and debate their diverse and rich heritage, South Africa is about to embark on making the teaching and learning of History in schools ‘compulsory for all learners in Grades 10–12 as from 2023.’¹

It is suggested that under these circumstances, the teaching of local and regional history will be a ‘breath of fresh air.’ It is history that is familiar to the learners and might well awaken their historical

consciousness and give them the freedom to make choices about their future – decisions informed by past histories which have shaped their present. The aim of Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)² for History is to ‘create an interest in the past ... understanding and appreciation of the past and [of the] forces that shaped it, an understanding of historical enquiry, sources and evidence of history’ (Department of Basic Education, 2011). For the purposes of this article, oral history is likewise a vehicle that could be used to provide a voice to the voiceless, and compatibility with the ‘doing History’ approach and skills-based learning as outlined by the report of the History and Archaeology Panel, 2002.

Again, CAPS Grade 3 social sciences³ also provides for specific stories and experiences of older family and community members that are historical in nature, which can encourage history learners to appreciate and embrace the notion why history education matters. One typical experience is recorded by a Grade 4 learner’s visit to the landmark Samora Machel Monument and Museum⁴ in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. The young learner, we are told, was ‘moved by her experience and explanation of the monument’s design and symbolism’. Experiential learning is a strategic, active engagement of learners in opportunities to learn through ‘doing’. Reflection on those activities will in turn empower learners to apply their theoretical knowledge to practical endeavours in a multitude of settings inside and outside of the classroom.

In a valuable study by Schoeman and Visagie (2014) on local history teaching in the Western Cape, the authors argue that if Grade 8 learners can ‘relate what they are studying in the classroom to their everyday lives, they will show more interest in the subject.’ They further add that learners’ indifference towards school History is due, among other reasons, to ‘sitting in rows and listening to the teacher’s voice ... and the sole use of learner’s textbooks, while the good, interesting and relevant stuff is often outside the classroom.’

Therefore, history teachers in all schools need to involve and engage learners actively in the history narratives of their own town such as Parys and its nearby townships of Tumahole and Schonkenville. This gives them a taste of local and regional history. The ‘doing History’ teaching and learning approach as suggested in this article will spur the learners’ interest in local history, improve their historical consciousness and add to their historical conceptual, contextual knowledge and understanding of the region. From a front-

loaded, system-driven educational structure dominated by classroom learning, South Africa, like other countries, should be in the process of transitioning to a new reality where individual learners are becoming more responsible for the direction of their own learning in a multitude of learning environments that span their lifetime.

Until recently, research on the feelings and connections that people develop toward the places where they were born and raised, and the function that those places fulfil in their lives, has been neglected in education. One such less-used and neglected teaching and learning approach that could possibly enhance learners' interest and understanding of History is the extent to which history teachers practise 'a pedagogy of place' (Ontong & Le Grange, 2015) or what Gruenewald (2003) refers to as, a 'critical pedagogy of place, or place-based education (PBE)' (cf. Sobel, 1996). According to Woodhouse and Knapp (2000), PBE is inherently 'multidisciplinary; ... inherently experiential; ... and it connects place with the self (learner) and the community.'

Although the CAPS Curriculum does provide some opportunities for PBE across different subjects, e.g., in English Home Language for Grades 7–9, learners are expected to write 'a poetry text based on observations and experiences of human beings, nature and social issues' (Department of Basic Education, 2011). In the social sciences, both History and Geography provide opportunities for PBE (Department of Basic Education, 2011). However, the practical part of a pedagogy of place remains a neglected approach in many South African schools due to many factors. Chief among these is a lack of empowerment in understanding of the multidimensionality of the concept of 'place' and PBE. Some history teachers are not yet able to take advantage of this critical, crucial, and transformative educational tool.

Many historians recommend the need to 'decolonise' and 'Africanise' the curriculum, with less emphasis on the influence of Western culture and more credence given to traditional African ideas and political systems. They suggest initiating an epistemological project to deconstruct dominant approaches to History. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017), a 'decolonising methodology entails unmasking its role and purpose in research.' Of course, for the purposes of this article the aim is not only to decolonise research. The emphasis is also to 'practicalise,' put into practice, re-think, re-fresh, re-organise, re-create research by Africanising it in the

classroom. In other words, renew it appropriately. Nkoane (2002) argues that an Africanised curriculum fosters *African awareness of the social order, it fosters the understanding of African consciousness, it facilitates a critical emancipatory approach to solve the problems of their lives, and it produces the material and capacities for Africans to determine their own future(s)*.

In the same vein, Makgoba (1998: 49) defines Afrocentric or Africanised curriculum, as a 'process or vehicle for defining, interpreting, promoting and transmitting African thought, philosophy, identity and culture.' In line with the understanding of both authors of a decolonised and/or an Africanised or Afrocentric view of the curriculum, it will provide an opportunity to use visuals and oral testimonies to embrace collective and micro individual memories and confirm why History matters. Once the teaching and learning of History focuses on decolonising and/or Africanising, a learner-centred pedagogy will in turn provide learners with an opportunity to use their diverse unofficial knowledges to understand and make appropriate connections with global historical themes.

Giroux's (1992: 49) 'cultural border crossing pedagogy' is also relevant to this discussion. It suggests that history teachers should assist learners to reconstruct and demystify the tension between official 'Western knowledge and unofficial indigenous African knowledge in History teaching and learning.' This pedagogy calls upon global history teachers, especially those in South Africa who strive for equality, respect, and tolerance to defy that which undermines the 'others' narratives and teach histories that are liberating and focus on community narratives.

Lastly, this article is informed by Seixas (1996) as cited by Von Heyking (2004), who argues that children in early childhood experience 'traces of the past in the natural and built landscapes of their everyday lives, in the remnants of the past, in the language and symbols of their sociocultural histories.' Therefore, the value of structures such as the HF Verwoerd Primary School (1928) and AM Lembede Primary School (1950), are both relevant, tangible, artefacts for history learners. They must hear and learn about both. Both are names that can be used to 'supplement, and support what is done in the classroom' and it is not a case of forgetting either one or vilifying another. Both are part of our history, for better or worse (Cf Moreeng & Twala, 2014).

The views and recommendations of the scholars cited above are relevant in as far as the modern and constructivist learner-centred teaching and learning of History is concerned. They directed my fieldwork research into local and regional history which will be discussed in the next section.

3. Research Method

An interpretivist paradigm was used as a theoretical framework. Interpretive research is primarily exploratory and descriptive in purpose and is designed to 'discover what can be learned about the area of interest' (Maree, 2007: 52). A qualitative research design was adopted as qualitative research is more descriptive and does not require statistics to reach a hypothetical conclusion. It deals with the experiences of participants on a more personal, subjective level and uses a narrative to explain findings.

The method of investigation for this research study is embedded in a phenomenological approach which 'entails the experiences of individuals regarding a specific phenomenon' (Creswell, 2012: 14), namely, the teaching and learning of local and regional history in the town of Parys, South Africa. Phenomenological studies explore the living experiences of individuals regarding a particular phenomenon and provides a greater understanding and awareness of the meaning such individuals attribute to their experiences. As an approach it will help in surfacing deep rooted issues about the teaching and learning of local and regional history in schools, and make the voices of teachers, subject advisors, principals, and even the school community to be heard.

To hear their voices, participants were requested to complete an open-ended questionnaire using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' and were also invited to add 'any additional comments' to each question if they wished to elaborate on their experiences or express an opinion about the value, they attach on History as a school subject. Qualitative, also known as intensive or in-depth interviews were selected as they offer a more flexible approach. Semi-structured interviews allow for unanticipated responses and issues to emerge using open-ended questionnaires. The individual or face-to-face interview was also used as a valuable method of gaining insight into people's perceptions, understandings and experiences of teaching and learning of local history to

contribute to in-depth data collection. It was also used as it offers an opportunity to interpret non-verbal cues through observation of body language, facial expression and eye contact which is seen to enhance the interviews understanding.

Qualitative interviews were also conducted using mostly the semi-structured interviews with various participants. The participants were drawn from five public schools selected specifically because of their rich history as offering a sound education to learners,⁵ and being situated in the vicinity of Parys and its adjacent townships of Tumahole and Schonkenville, in the province of the Free State, South Africa.

In total, participants comprised of 50 learners from Grade 7–10 who study social sciences and History (Motumi, 2021: 203–243). In addition, part of the research population was made of several education professionals: 5 social sciences and 2 history teachers; 5 school principals; 2 History subject advisors and 3 community leaders. The teachers' questionnaire focused on, for example, 'teachers' awareness of the availability resources for teaching and learning of local and regional history in and around the Ngwathe Municipality'; 'The significance of teaching and learning history in and outside the classroom to teachers and learners'; and 'Importance of oral history in the teaching and learning of local and regional history to the learners' (Motumi, 2021: 225–226).

With regard to principals, the focus was on – 'their role in the provision of relevant resources to enhance the 'history-is-all-around-us' approach in the teaching and learning of history in schools, and why?'; 'In your opinion, are regular visits of the local cultural heritage sites important for history learners, if Yes motivate, and if No also motivate' (Motumi, 2021: 230). History subject advisors were requested to respond on 'What is the value of using an active and learner-centred approach in the teaching and learning of history?'; 'What is the role of history PLCs as incubators of the "history-is-all-around-us" approach in the teaching and learning of history in schools?' (Motumi, 2021: 232–233).

In this article, an inductive approach which involves analysing data with little or no predetermined theory, structure, or framework, but uses the actual data itself to derive the structure of analysis was used. While a variety inductive approaches to analyse qualitative data are available, for this article the thematic content analysis which is the

most common method (Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2004) used in qualitative work is used.

The main purpose of this discussion is to determine the thoughts of educators, advisors, principals, community leaders in the fieldwork research on local historical awareness, and their view of its practical experience possibilities in the History classroom.

4. What Local Professional Communities Say About History and Local Histories

In essence, the questionnaire that has been developed and utilised for different groups (refer section 3 earlier) captures most of the voices from the community of Parys region on why History education matters. Indeed, one may argue that the concepts of awareness of people appreciating their home and family histories (tangible and intangible) all matters. By zooming into the voices of teachers, History subject advisors, principals of schools and community leaders, some valued responses emanated. History teachers recommend the teaching and learning of history outside the classroom approach, such as, PBE, cultural heritage education (CHE) and museum-based education (MBE) as more important to learners, because this method of teaching will encourage them to learn more and explore history on their own.⁶

The idea of encouraging curriculum-based excursions and visits to heritage sites by History learners was welcomed by the school principals who participated in the research project. They made the point that such visits would increase learners' knowledge about different cultures and traditions of the South African rainbow nation. The principals added that learners would experience their local and regional histories in a more practical and first-hand manner and this interaction with the past outside the classroom would engender a sense of pride and ownership in the local and regional history of the area.⁷

Similarly, the subject advisors for history were enthusiastic about 'outside' the classroom excursions. They also felt that local people should be encouraged to document and write their own urban 'stories' of a historical nature. In addition, they sensed that teachers should highlight the role of primary sources (tangible and intangible) most of which are found outside the classroom, to enhance the teaching and learning experience of History more often. They

endorsed the existing debate of the time of decolonisation towards Africanising practises for history and suggested that history teachers should participate in this quest with learners on a local level.

Community leader voices was definite on their view that history is not simply a matter of pages in a textbook. They made the valid point that the teaching and learning of History is about ‘events and people’⁸ who were once as real as the learners themselves, and that this reality should be locally practicalised.

A bit of what was suggested by the local educators, History subject advisors, principals and community leaders of the Parys region displayed well in the learner responses, gained from the fieldwork (Motumi, 2021: 203–243).

4.1 *Broader Reality Experiences in The Local*

An awareness experience of where certain cultural traditions may have rooted or come from, is an aspect the education leadership pointed to. For example, ‘*Setapa*,’ a popular traditional song and dance of the Setswana-speaking people associated with the Bangwaketse tribe of Botswana⁹ is also part of the family histories of the people of Parys. On the political history front names familiar to the Tumahole Township community of the Parys region are Anton Lembede, Fezile Dabi, Barnard Molokoane and others (cf. Danbom, 2003). These political activists in their time have played an overturning in the apartheid government years. In so doing they have influenced the political landscape of South Africa (cf. Lodge, 1983: 21; Seekings, 1989).

4.2 *Town and Township Histories: Promoting Community Interests and the Larger Role of Local Leaders*

From the PhD study the level of interaction with the local and regional history of a town or township also surfaced. From the township of Tumahole, street names such as Mtimkulu and Makgoe were recognised as being named after heroes and legends of the township.¹⁰ Mtimkulu was one of the pioneers who played a vital role in the provision of transport in Tumahole using his horse cart, while Makgoe was one of the first teachers at the Parys United Native School which opened in the 1920s. Experiences of conditions in the post-colonial era and some people’s hardships of life under apartheid,

probably made one learner to remark that Brown Street had been 'changed to Father Lewis Balink Street in 2017'.¹¹

Initially, Brown Street was named after the first superintendent of Tumahole township of the apartheid era, but after the first democratic elections in 1994 the street was renamed Father Balink in honour of the Roman Catholic priest who gave his support to the peoples' struggles. To another learner, streets such as Schilbach, named after a German surveyor who played a role in the emerging years of Parys in 1876, was important because it speaks of 'our history and [tells us about] what happened in the past'.¹²

Another learner attending at AM Lembede Primary School observed that the school had been named after a 'brave, strong man from Natal',¹³ while another struggle hero in Tumahole township is Fezile Dabi, who 'fought for us' also featured. The learner added that his (Fezile Dabi) 'memory is always celebrated every year, on the 15th of July under the banner of Tumahole Day'.¹⁴ The value experienced by learners from natural and manmade features are evident in and around Tumahole and Schonkenville townships. The challenge remained for teachers of History to practicalise these tangible and intangible legacies in the History classroom as 'history is all around us' (Motumi, 2021: 39–93).

The teacher voices on the importance of monuments such as HF Verwoerd Primary School buildings of 1928 (in Parys), the AM Lembede Primary School buildings of 1950, and other tangible artefacts, made it clear that these can be used to supplement and support what is done via the curriculum for History in the classroom. Teachers also expressed a strong voice and support for the utilisation of an oral history approach saying, 'oral history method could help learners to know their origin and it encourages them to preserve their culture and traditions'.¹⁵

Most principals were vocal about the value of well-organised curriculum-based excursions, saying that learners would be able to 'understand more when they see and touch things,' and that organised visits to heritage sites 'enlarge learners' knowledge about different cultures, and traditions.¹⁶ Also that: 'seeing, and experiencing is far better than hearing'.¹⁷ The views of subject advisors resonated well with that of school principals and the History teachers. One subject advisor was vocal about the transformation to an Africanised history. She referenced the famous saying of the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe,¹⁸ namely that: '... until the lions

have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.¹⁹ The subject advisors' voice infers that until the locals tell and write their own history, the current history ... of this country will always be questionable.

The revival of professional learning communities (PLCs) for history teachers was also viewed by subject advisors as a forum that could afford teachers an opportunity to share best practices, common challenges and strategies to overcome and improve their day-to-day teaching and learning practices.²⁰

In reply to which people, events, and days in the community leaders' opinion should be celebrated from their various residential areas, and why, one community leader cited 'Tumahole Day and Fezile Dabi Day as two days that need to be celebrated.'²¹ Other events, such as the establishment of 'Phehellang Secondary School in 1971, and well-known personalities, like Fezile Dabi, Sam Magashule (brother of Ace Magashule) and Master Nakedi²² should also be commemorated. In the other hand the Vredefort Dome, the Father Balink road and monument, together with Stompie Seipei's legacy (Ebrahim, 2018) and the Milo Ngalo gravesites, Rasekepe Mospidi Hall, as well as Barnard Molokoane School are some of examples of heritage sites found in and around Tumahole Township.²³

Although fieldwork information had also been obtained from them learners themselves and their parents (directly and indirectly) on why history education matters, only the voices of teachers, subject advisors, principals and community leaders were analysed for this discussion. The voices of all educational leaders in the vicinity of Parys, South Africa, confirms what historians, particularly those in the field of didactics, have long suggested, namely that a local awareness experience in History teaching and learning should be a natural part of the school curriculum (Cf. Kitson, 2011: 318; van Eeden, 2010b; van Eeden, 2018: 66).

5. Interpretation and analysis

The discussion above is a brief reflection on the local voices from the community of Parys and its adjacent townships of Tumahole and Schonkenville in the province of the Free State, South Africa, on why the experience of a history 'all around us' or close-by can serve to provide meaning to other broader events with which the local is

infused with and which also in unique ways provides pride to the local legacy (Cf. Edinger, 2000: viii; Schoeman & Visagie, 2014). The research accentuated (and confirmed) that teachers and principals agree that History learners should undertake well-organised curriculum-based excursions on a frequent basis as part of a practical experience. Such visits will help learners to understand more when they see and touch things, and visits to heritage sites will increase their knowledge about different cultures, and traditions. Experiential engagement with curriculum is a prominent value in African societies (McPherson-Geyser, de Villiers & Kawai, 2020; Woods, 2018). Such learning is also echoed by the voices of community leaders who insist that learners should be made aware that the teaching and learning of History is not simply a matter of rote learning from a textbook. Instead, learners should realise that the teaching and learning of History is about real events and real people found in their local areas.

The currently applied Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) Curriculum of South Africa does not appear to provide enough space for community-based history and appreciating a community's own peculiarities and special circumstances – as set out in indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) – to surface in the rhythms of teaching and learning History. The quest is for learners to have a more social and local history experience to understand the micro-level events better, and only then to relate these histories to the national context. Change in the teaching and learning of History in the country is certainly necessary for the improvement of an understanding for History and not to benefit political parties. The feeling is that History teaching and learning in South Africa should be decolonised through an Africanised process.

6. Conclusion

By unlocking some voices of a community from the Parys region in South Africa the authors have pointed out conclusively that there is enduring value in upscaling the methods and strategies of the teaching and learning of History in South African classrooms from mainly textbook content to also, practically, deploy 'history-is-all-around-us' knowledge, awareness and experience. Even in related broader national and global contexts.

Considering the diverse expressions in the fieldwork by history teachers, subject advisers, school principals, and community leaders, there appears to be an upsurge in the teaching and learning of History, especially local and regional history in South Africa. Among the many reasons for this momentum is that for a long time the historiography of this country did not reflect the reality of all South Africans, especially the rural and township African communities. However, since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the interest and focus has been the documentation of the history and histories of the previously marginalised communities from rural and township areas (e.g. van Rensburg, 2012; Twala, 2012; Moloji, 2018).

The main reason behind this emerging historiography in South Africa is an attempt to explore deeper the reality of the lives of ordinary people and instil a history teaching practise, guided by scholarly research, that people's awareness about history, are firstly and foremostly shaped by their livelihoods and local places as 'history-is-all-around-us.' In the history teaching environment this reality and value should be embraced much more proactively than what might be currently catered for in curricula or afforded for financially. A study of local and regional history is precisely to capture and document the everyday struggles and triumphs of ordinary people that learners become aware of in curricula of other places and spaces, but never also their own in a related context. The teaching and learning of local and regional history can be used as an instrument to instil learners with the knowledge and understanding that 'history-is-all-around-us' to serve as an awareness practise within itself and a valuable point of departure to get some understanding of the many histories elsewhere to which close-by experience might vaguely or clearly relate to (van Eeden, 2010b; van Eeden, 2008). From the fieldwork done, it appears that history teaching and learning for the community in broad is an important means of creating a just and tolerant future 'rainbow nation' in South Africa.

The face of history in South Africa and Africa at large must be transformed. It must become less politically engrained and explored against the grain. History should not be used as a weapon to fight political battles between different political parties. Instead, History education should be transformed to include more diverse voices, views, and ideas as creations from a micro history towards a macro, more inclusive history.

Notes

¹ *News 24*, 'Make history a compulsory subject in South African schools,' 2.06.2014.

² A National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) is a single, comprehensive, and concise document introduced by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) for all subjects Grades R-12.

³ Social Sciences comprise of History and Geography and is compulsory until Grade 9, and from Grade 10–12 History is an elective.

⁴ The History Portal, www.thehistoryportal.ca.za (31.08.2021).

⁵ For example, HF Verwoerd Primary School is named after Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who was a South African politician, a scholar of applied psychology and sociology, and chief editor of *Die Transvaler* newspaper. He is commonly regarded as the architect of apartheid; AM Lembede Primary School is named after Anton Muziwakhe Lembede who was a South African activist and founding president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944. He has been described as the 'principal architect of South Africa's first full-fledged ideology of African nationalism' and was a teacher at the same school in the township of Tumahole in the late 1930s; Barnard Molokoane Secondary School is named after Barnard Kgasitsiwe Molokoane who was an Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operative who was shot dead near Secunda while attempting to sabotage the Sasol petroleum plant in November 1985; Schonkenville Intermediate School is named after Pienaar Schonken the first town clerk of Parys who donated the land for the establishment of the Coloured township in accordance with the policy of separate residential areas in apartheid South Africa. The neighbourhood took his name in 1980.

⁶ KTM Private Collection, School C Respondent, Schonkenville Township, 9.05.2017.

⁷ KTM Private Collection, Principal of school E Respondent, Tumahole Township, 12.05.2017.

⁸ KTM Private Collection, School B Parent Respondent, Parys, 10.05.2017.

⁹ Taste of Southern Africa, "'Setapa' a traditional dance from Botswana", 03.2019, <https://www.tasteofsouthernafrica.com/blog/2019/3/5/setapa-traditional-dance-from-botswana> (7.09.2021).

¹⁰ KTM Private Collection, AM Lembede Primary School Respondent A, Tumahole Township, 8.05.2017.

¹¹ Project Questionnaire, KTM Private Collection, HF Verwoerd Primary School, Respondent B, Parys, 10.05.2017. Cf. Scheepers, 2017.

¹² Project Questionnaire, KTM Private Collection, HF Verwoerd Primary School, Respondent C, Parys, 10.05.2017; Schilbach was a land surveyor by profession from Germany who played a major role in the naming of the new town of Parys in 1876, which was formerly a farm called Klipspruit belonging to the Van Coller brothers. Cf. Horn, 1927 (8, 15, 22 & 29.03; 5, 12. & 19.04); Brown, 2010.

¹³ Project Questionnaire, KTM Private Collection, AM Lembede Primary School, Respondent A, Tumahole Township, 8.05.2017. Cf. Lodge, 1983.

¹⁴ KTM Private Collection, AM Lembede Primary School, respondent B, Tumahole Township, 8.05.2017; cf. Seekings, 1989; Martins, 2007. *Tumahole, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* is a compilation of the oral history of the township of Tumahole mostly by school teachers and other local community leaders in preparation of 'Tumahole Day celebrations,' 15.07.2007.

¹⁵ KTM Private Collection, Schonkenville Intermediate School, Respondent A, Schonkenville Township, 9.05.2017. Cf. Thompson, 1988: 28; Wahlberg, 2008.

¹⁶ KTM Private Collection, Principal A School Respondent, Tumahole Township, 8.05.2017.

¹⁷ KTM Private Collection, Principal E School Respondent, Tumahole Township, 12.05.2017.

¹⁸ Achebe's (1994) argument was that, if Africans did not write their own history, they would live on as rebuttals to the colonial narratives of Joseph Conrad and other European writers.

¹⁹ KTM Private Collection, GET band Subject Advisor Respondent, 16.05.2017.

²⁰ KTM Private Collection, FET band Subject Advisor Respondent, 16.05.2017.

²¹ KTM Private Collection, Community Leader Area B Respondent, Parys, 23.05.2017.

²² KTM Private Collection, Community Leader Area B Respondent, Parys, 23.05.2017; Cf. S.A. Government Communications, Free State Sport, Arts, Culture & Recreation Opens Master Nakedi Indoor Sport Centre, Tumahole Township, Parys, 15.07.2016.

²³ KTM Private Collection, Community Leader area B Respondent, Parys, 23.05.2017.

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WHY HISTORY EDUCATION? EXPLORING YOUTUBE EXPLANATORY VIDEOS – THE GERMAN EXAMPLE OF ‘MRWISSEN2GO GESCHICHTE’*

Dennis Röder and Susanne Popp

Explanatory videos have gained strong significance among students when preparing for exams etc., a trend being observed before the start of the Covid pandemic. Research in the field of history didactics on typical features, historical narratives, and the use of these explanatory videos in the History classroom, however, is still relatively young. This contribution takes a closer look at the German example of the channel ‘MrWissen2go Geschichte’, introducing crucial characteristics of these videos that deal with historical topics and putting them into the context of public history and curricula research. Furthermore, it aims at analysing the inherent positivist concept of history in these videos and looking at possible consequences these findings have for history education in the digital age.

1. Introduction and Guiding Questions

German students currently give the best marks for good history teaching to the explanatory videos by ‘Youtuber’ and journalist Mirko Drotschmann (born 1986),¹ a German ‘edutuber’ who publishes a new video on a history teaching topic on the public service channel *MrWissen2go Geschichte* every week.² The spectrum of topics corresponds to the traditional contents of German history curricula.³ They range from ancient history to the Middle Ages, the early modern period, the 19th and 20th centuries and recent contemporary history. Some of the clips of that channel have now been viewed more than a million times. This is true not only for the most popular ones dealing with Hitler and National Socialism,⁴ but also, for example, for topics of minor importance in history teaching such as the Thirty Years’ War⁵ in the 17th century. The extremely numerous comments from students⁶ – we assume that they are more or less

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authentic – generally praise these videos claiming to be much better in explaining difficult topics in such a short time and comprehensive way than the history lessons they experience in school, and with even making them achieve good grades at school.

Explanatory videos have become an integral part of German public history, history culture, and – last, but not least – history education at school. Online teaching during the COVID-19-related closure of schools has reinforced this trend.⁷ This paper can also be put in this context. It is based on a presentation delivered at the conference of the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD) hosted by the Teacher University in Lucerne (Switzerland) in autumn 2021.⁸ Our contribution tries to give some concrete answers to the conference’s main guiding question ‘Why History Education?’, focusing the growing influence of explanatory videos on this school subject. Firstly, we will provide some general information on the channel *MrWissen2go Geschichte* and its host, Mirko Drotschmann. Then the concept of history that Drotschmann’s explanatory videos represent will be examined. Thirdly, we ask whether and how these tutorials teach students about the importance and value of history education. Finally, we turn to the explanatory videos as part of the students’ everyday encounter with history and draw conclusions that directly relate to the question ‘Why History Education?’

2. Explanatory Videos, History Education and *MrWissen2go Geschichte*: General Features and Popularity

Explanatory videos are a digital educational tool that structurally resemble a teacher’s lecture in the classroom: an online presenter, who either shows himself in the picture or speaks off-camera, creates a fairly brief audiovisual factual presentation (rarely lasting longer than 12 minutes), usually accompanied by text, infographic elements, animated maps, or illustrative pictures of primary and secondary sources.⁹ In addition, *MrWissen2go Geschichte* offers a short information text on the historical issue on the website, but – like most other history-related explanatory videos – does not provide any references to professional literature and primary sources on the respective topic. Members of YouTube and other platforms can upload their own videos free of charge and can like and comment on other videos. Non-members can view the clips and find out about the number of subscriptions and views, as well as ratings and comments.

The initial promise of Web 2.0 video platforms was the idea of unrestricted democratic participation and interaction: users produce for users, connect with each other, and learn from each other. However, especially in the case of historical topics, the removal of traditional gatekeeping regulations was soon viewed with concern.¹⁰ The political, ideological, and even manipulative potential of the misuse of history in social media had quickly become evident. In addition, there was the rise of the popular culture of ‘post-factual truth’¹¹ within social media, meaning that a lot of people are less guided by factual information and logical arguments than by their emotions or pre-existing beliefs. In any case, it was recognized that the abolition of traditional monitoring mechanisms in public culture required an increased level of historical competences necessary for the critical evaluation of the quality of the content presented and the messages transmitted as well as the professionalism and ‘authority’ of the presenter (Mackey & Jacobson, 2019).

The rapidly growing popularity of this online genre has led to two major changes: Firstly, many video platforms and channels now serve commercial purposes by joining the online advertising market and submitting to its terms for monetary success. Secondly, in parallel to user-generated clips and channels, a lot of professionally generated channels have become established. For example, many public institutions, such as universities, museums, memorial sites, or political associations, now operate their own channels to reach their target groups.

The most successful history-related YouTube channel in German language is *MrWissen2go Geschichte*, which has been operated by ‘funk’ since 2017.¹² ‘Funk’ is a joint project of the two big German public broadcasters ARD and ZDF as part of their online media offering and independent of advertising revenues.¹³ According to its own information, this channel targets the group of 14- to 30-year-olds,¹⁴ but one may assume that older people also use it – especially history teachers.

The channel’s most prominent trademark is the online presenter and ‘fronrunner’ Mirko Drotschmann, who is always in the center of the show as *MrWissen2go*. His personal appeal and radiance are the source of his popularity. The students – according to their comments – appreciate him equally for his factual and teaching skills as well as for his ‘cool’ appearance. He comes across as youthful and relaxed, which creates social and emotional closeness to the young users.

Drotschmann, a trained historian, manages both the general YouTube channel *MrWissen2go* (founded in 2012), which deals with current political and social topics (over 1.84 million subscribers, February 2022), and the history channel *MrWissen2go Geschichte* (founded in 2016) with nearly a million of subscribers in February 2022. Both channels together have published more than 700 videos at the end of 2021. The number of views is over 230,000,000 for *MrWissen2go* and over 110,000,000 for *MrWissen2go Geschichte*.¹⁵ Drotschmann's clips differ from other explanatory videos in that they explicitly recommend themselves as a supplement to school lessons dealing with typical classroom topics.¹⁶ The popularity of the channel suggests that the videos are indeed successful in teaching students the historical knowledge needed for good grades. Therefore, one could say that here the term 'explanatory video' has a double meaning: it is not only about presenting a topic in a comprehensive way, but also about 'explaining' which elements of historical knowledge are most relevant to school performance.

Due to their popularity, Drotschmann's history-related explanatory videos form the point of reference in our paper. An example of the degree of popularity is that currently, when searching German Google for the term 'Völkerwanderung' (migration of peoples), the Drotschmann video appears at the top of the list.¹⁷ But the general importance of explainer videos for students can also be summarized statistically. According to a representative German study, the JIM study 2019 (mpfs, 2019), around 90 per cent of the 14- to 19-year-olds surveyed said they regularly consume videos on YouTube (mpfs, 2019: 38). About one in five of them (18 %) said that they also use educational videos for school or training purposes (mpfs, 2019: 39–40). The YouTube channel *MrWissen2go* was named by two percent of the young people surveyed as one of their most popular channels (mpfs, 2019: 38). In view of the vast number of entertainment channels this is a very remarkable popularity for a 'knowledge channel' in general. The study also found that students prefer three options for seeking information: search engines, e.g., 'googling' for terms (87 %), YouTube (54 %) and online encyclopaedias such as Wikipedia (approx. 30 %) (mpfs, 2019: 41).

Other German research projects point in the same direction (Körper-Stiftung, 2019; Rat 2019). According to the study 'Youth/YouTube/ Cultural Education. Horizon 2019,' 47 % of the surveyed 12- to 19-year-old students rated the Youtube videos as

‘important’ or ‘very important’ in relation to school issues (Rat, 2019: 8, 28). When comparing Youtube videos and school lessons, most pupils rated YouTube videos as ‘more understandable’ than lessons and the learning atmosphere as ‘more relaxed’ (Rat, 2019: 29–32).

In contrast, research in German-language history didactics on history-related explanatory videos is still in its early stages (Bunnenberg & Steffen, 2019; Popp, 2021). Beyond the criticism of lacks and errors in historical content, it is particularly emphasized that most explanatory videos teach history without paying attention towards historical competences and fundamental principles of history teaching such as analysis and interpretation of primary and secondary sources, multi-perspectivity or reference to the present (cf. John, 2017; Steffen & Bunnenberg, 2019; Uebing, 2019).¹⁸ Empirical research in German history didactics has also hardly progressed beyond initial heuristic studies to clarify the question of whether and how teachers and students use history-related explanatory videos.¹⁹ At the university of Augsburg, since 2019, a long-term questionnaire study is running asking history student teachers on their experiences with history-related explanation videos as well as on their didactic understanding of this didactic genre and their assessment of its potential and challenges for their own future history teaching (Stadlmayr, 2020). Meanwhile, over 250 students have been surveyed. Even though the study is not yet completed we can already see that almost all respondents are very positive about history-related explanatory videos as didactic tools of their future history teaching. At the same time, they can clearly recognize the didactic weaknesses of concrete cases and in general. Interesting also, appears to be the following aspect: In the eyes of the interviewees, the greatest challenge is by no means to integrate the videos into history lessons in such a way that the didactic deficiencies are compensated for. Rather, the main difficulty is seen when it comes to verifying the historical correctness of the contents and visuals presented. They believe in the need of ‘fact checking’ but feel lost at how to carry this out when it comes to analyzing explanatory videos.

3. A Closer Look at *MrWissen2go Geschichte* and Its Concept of Representation of History

In terms of content, the multimedia genre of history-related explanatory videos resembles encyclopaedia entries, conveying basic

information to a specific audience in a highly structured way. This means that declarative content knowledge is at the core, and no or only marginal effort is made by the videos to train historical thinking skills and competences.

However, in contrast to encyclopaedia entries, Drotschmann's explanatory videos – as well as many other history-related videos – use a generally understandable, lively, often youth-specific language, addressing the audience directly and opening themselves to (limited) interactive participation, and always employ didactic means, such as preparatory outlining ('advance organizer' (Ausubel, 1960: 267–72)), and supportive graphic and other tools. But the most significant difference is that the videos strive for edutainment, i.e., they aim at instructing and entertaining at the same time in the sense of 'prodesse et delectare' (Horace, *Ars poetica*, verse 333).

In a linguistic sense, the explanatory video can be seen as an informative speech act that has the function of explaining. 'Explaining' here means less 'interpreting' or 'justifying' (like explaining something from a cause), but – often with the inclusion of definitions – making complex issues understandable in their essential details, inner structure, and meaning. So, the videos do not just list names, dates, and facts, as some critics claim, but create coherence in content and moreover unfold a narrative structure that follows historical processes in their temporal dimension. The problem is rather, as will be explained later, the prevailing concept of history.

Characteristically, the explanatory videos of Drotschmann make two major promises to their users. Firstly, they claim to provide accurate, reliable, and above all relevant historical knowledge that students can rely on in performing situations in the classroom. Secondly, they claim to provide the history explanation as a very comfortable ready-to-use solution that requires neither much time nor intellectual effort: the students, so the promise goes, only must watch the video, and then master the topic – no further research or reflection is necessary. Tellingly, many students write in the comments that they were preparing for a school exam 'at the very last minute' and that the video helped them to succeed.

The promise of offering valid historical knowledge cannot work without gaining credibility with the audience. This is even more necessary because the videos of *MrWissen2go* usually do not inform about the scholarly background of the knowledge presented and practice the loose, non-academic style of edutainment. In

Drotschmann's videos, a threefold strategy of authentication or gaining credibility can be identified: Firstly, the staging of the speaker's credibility as a competent expert plays a central role. Significantly, the channel's name is not 'Knowledge2go' but *MrWiszen2go*, which is to emphasize the historical expertise of the host. Secondly, a high degree of credibility can be drawn from the fact that the channel is under the responsibility and control of the public service. Finally, the channel's authenticity claim benefits from its explicit reference to school history curricula. This link to school knowledge suggests to many users that the knowledge presented is generally trustworthy and highly 'valid.'

Basically, the declarative style shared by most history-related explanatory videos, could be categorized as a positivist concept of history in the sense of Leopold Ranke (1795–1886) (Nipperdey, 1988). The latter saw it as the highest task of the learned historian to show the reader as objectively and truthfully as possible 'how things [in the past] actually were' ('wie es eigentlich gewesen,' Ranke, 1874 [1824]: VII). The positivist concept – as we understand it here – is based on the idea that knowledge about the past 'maps' the past more or less one-to-one: 'how things actually were.' Thus, it ignores the constructional nature of 'history' as a narrative – in contrast to the 'past' as past reality. The videos point in this direction by not providing any information about the author's focus and point of view, the time-bound frame and limits of the historical knowledge presented, or about alternative narratives – scientifically validated or not – on the same topic. Users should perceive the representation provided as the only relevant one, which is true and objective. This strategy is further reinforced by other factors. Usually, there is no information available about the author(s) of the lecture (the host is not identical with the author(s)), about different grades of certainty/uncertainty of the historical statements, or about possible research controversies. Likewise, information about the provenance of the visual material is usually missing, thus blurring the distinction between visual primary and secondary sources used in the video. Finally, beyond the assertion that the issue is part of school knowledge, the criteria for the selection and relevance of the chosen topics and approaches are not made transparent to the users, a phenomenon also thoroughly discussed by Sam Wineburg (2018: 78).

From the perspective of history didactics, the concept of history represented by the popular explanatory videos is in strong opposition

to the concept of history that modern, i.e., competence-oriented history teaching, seeks to convey to students. In contrast, the videos fit perfectly into the complexities-reducing and simplifying understanding of history that prevails in popular historical culture in society. Here, the positivist approach is widely appreciated because it gives the lay public the welcome illusion of receiving unequivocally true 'hard facts,' and fixed knowledge about the past. Students are very familiar with that approach from their everyday experience. They encounter this concept in their non-fiction and fictional books, in popular history magazines (Popp & Schumann, 2016: 27–52) and especially in the numerous film formats from fiction to documentaries. But even in competence-oriented history lessons they come across that positivist concept of history. Examples of this are author's texts in schoolbooks, instructional teacher lectures, encyclopedia entries used for historical information, or exam study guides providing special 'exam knowledge' (Göbel, 2011) for the subject of history. In all these cases, too, the constructive character of the historical narrative is usually not made transparent.

In summary, the availability of history related explainer videos and their use by students is growing rapidly globally. The videos are a significant element of historical learning in the digital age. Students check the internet when they are looking for historical information. There, as in public history culture in general, they encounter above all a positivist view of history. The explanatory videos they like so much not only represent an outdated idea of the nature of history, but also use a teaching technique, which in modern history didactics is often understood as the opposite of student-centered and activating classroom methodology. Therefore, the popularity of videos among pupils raises many didactic questions that future research urgently needs to clarify, for example: Does the high popularity of these videos mean that the students appreciate purely 'declarative' history lessons more than working with sources and other competency-based tasks? Or does history teaching neglect the tasks of a good teacher's lecture, namely, to introduce a topic comprehensively in terms of content and to give the pupils a well-structured overview of the most important aspects of the current topic? Does it perhaps mean that competence-based teaching underestimates the challenge of building up declarative historical knowledge for students, or that students overestimate the role of this kind of knowledge, or that teachers do? At present, we know too little about it.

However, we can conclude quite reliably from the popularity of the online tutorials and from the students' comments on them that declarative knowledge apparently still plays a very large role in the history classroom, especially in performance assessment. Certainly, historical knowledge is indispensable in competence-oriented history education. The questions are, however, whether the development of other historical competences really plays the role it deserves, and whether its importance is understood and estimated by the students.

4. Explanatory Videos and the Value of History

In this short section, we approach the relationship between explainer videos and history education by asking what online tutorials teach their users about the value of history and the goals of history education. The answer is unambiguous: The explanatory videos of the channel *MrWissen2go Geschichte* do not even consider declarative knowledge as a value in itself, but as a mere means to cope with school requirements. The study of history, according to the message of the tutorials, has no intrinsic educational value.

The students' comments on the videos reflect this instrumental attitude. While students in the classroom sometimes critically discuss the relevance of historical issues to their own lives, this dimension is completely absent in the comment sections of the videos. Furthermore, the students very rarely ask questions about the content or discuss it in their comments. On the part of the providers, this may be understood as a sign of the high quality of the instruction. From the perspective of history didactics, however, this situation could also be understood as a sign that the students follow the definition of the learning situation proclaimed by the channel: History is only 'learning stuff' – and not an object of enquiry and reflection.

Nevertheless, Mirko Drotschmann's videos sometimes show content that could indirectly be understood as a justification for teaching history. In a few videos the host invokes human and civil rights or the principles of parliamentary, liberal democracy to illustrate historical change by highlighting the difference between the past and the present. In doing so, he regularly addresses the superiority of today's political-social values in terms of historical progress. Of course, the appreciation of the given political-social

values is a general goal of history teaching, but here it serves more the political than the genuinely historical dimension of education.

But in general, the instrumental approach of Drotschmann's 'edutube' clips misses the fundamental goals of history education, which is, for example, to help students understand the interrelation between past, present, and future for orienting themselves in the world they live in (Rüsen, 2005), appreciate the value of (critical) historical thinking and acquire the competences to deal independently with the history culture that surrounds them.

5. Explanatory Videos and the Question 'Why History Education?'

The explanatory videos vividly represent the changing conditions under which history education takes place today and in the future. They point out that school-based face-to-face teaching has lost its monopoly on imparting school-relevant knowledge. Students take advantage of the opportunities for informal and self-directed learning on the Internet, especially when the multimedia information is ready-to-use, entertaining, and does not require methodological or reflective skills.

The success story of Youtube videos implies that history education at school faces strong competition from 'edu-products' that students like very much. Does this mean that the justification for history education in schools is weakened or dissolves? On the contrary: First, since the 'edutube' offers are usually neither created by trained historians nor history teachers nor checked by the traditional gatekeepers, the professional teaching of history at school must take on the task to build up the students' skills to evaluate the substantive quality of these tutorials and other edutaining online formats, which are accessible anywhere and at any time.

Second, the concept of history, which the 'edutuber' videos represent and propagate, neglects fundamental areas of history education. The positivist approach focuses upon declarative knowledge with a clear right or wrong classification. Thus, Drotschmann's tutorials, like many others, do not, for example, deal with the difference between primary and secondary sources and the methods for dealing with them properly. The same is true for subject-specific principles and terms, like multi-perspectivity, the fundamentals of forming historical judgements or the criteria for

distinguishing between the use and misuse of history. Since students mostly receive these videos without meta-reflection, history education at school is indispensable to maintain history – beyond declarative knowledge – as a discursive subject in which methodological investigation, joint reflections, the discussion of points of view, and a change of perspective are necessary for the narrative construction of meaning.

Third, professional history education is also needed to help students understand the interaction of the popular appeal of the videos with the intellectual shortcomings of the positivist approach, which dominates the history culture within the entertainment or edutainment sector. This includes, for example, the ability to recognize and critically evaluate narrative strategies of historical representations, to recognize and evaluate different strategies of authentication in historical representations, and – last not least – to independently fact-check, i.e., to actively verify statements of historical accounts based on scholarly information.

To sum up, in the digital age, history education as a professional institution is just as indispensable as before but is getting one more focus of work, namely a history-related media literacy, focusing the critical evaluation of popular explainer videos and other forms of popular history edutainment the students use. In this situation, a new division of labour could be considered. Explanatory videos, if the information they provide is accurate and appropriate, could support the transmission and appropriation of declarative historical knowledge. In return, however, the time that has been freed up in the classroom could be used to promote history-related media literacy.

Conversely, the subject of history has become indispensable for general media education in schools. This is because no other school subject has a comparable didactic potential for gaining insights into the narrative construction of meaning in media representations of socially and politically relevant issues. For the subject of history focusses the complex and challenging relationship between scientifically verifiable statements and arguments, and the epistemological connectedness to subjectivity, perspective, and narrative structure. Public discourse in democratic and pluralistic societies requires the competence of citizens to combine and balance factual clarification with transparency of diverse positions, interests, identities and normative claims.

6. Conclusion

The history-related ‘edutube’ videos have become an integral part of the pupils’ lives and learning behaviour. The examination of this media format – using the example of the very popular German channel *MrWissen2go Geschichte* – showed that professional history teaching at school is needed in the digital age just as much or even more than before. But it is all the more urgent that history lessons address the popular positivist historical concept of those videos and provide students with the necessary prerequisites for using online edutainment offerings competently and critically. Conversely, in view of the enormous popularity of media formats that rely purely on declarative knowledge, one has to ask whether the implementation of competence-oriented teaching is really perfected in the history lessons. Perhaps the didactically reflected integration of videos into declarative knowledge transfer could offer a chance to give more time to the task of mediating historical skills and competences. Last but not least, this paper showed that the popularity of explainer videos raises many questions for history didactics research that need to be clarified in order to better understand the meaning of this phenomenon for history education in the digital age.

Notes

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCsVWpmoRsNAWZb59b6Pt9Kg/> videos (15.02.2022).

² <https://www.youtube.com/c/MrWissen2goGeschichte/about> (15.02.2022).

³ In Germany, the 16 federal states decide independently on their school curricula. Nevertheless, they share many common historical themes.

⁴ For example, the video ‘Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship I National Socialism’ (uploaded in 2019; 11:25 min): 1.4 million views. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CB7kYw60M1M&t=2s> (15.02.2022).

⁵ The tutorial ‘Der 30jährige Krieg’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJ7FX0A3yTU> (15.02.2022) (11:07 min) was uploaded in 2018 and has been accessed 1.6 million times so far. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJ7FX0A3yTU> (15.02.2022)

⁶ For example, the new video ‘Cuba-crisis: the world facing nuclear war’ (13:02 min) not only recorded 627,458 views after just one week, but also 1,352 comments. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=92TdmKEJeaM> (15.02.2022).

⁷ This is confirmed by the study of the JIM study 2020 (mpfs, 2020), which examined the use of explanatory videos during the pandemic-related school

closures in 2020. 80 % of the pupils surveyed stated that they watched more YouTube videos than before (mpfs, 2020, 12).

⁸ <https://ishd.co/index.php/ishd-conferences/past-conferences/> (15.02.2022).

⁹ The terminology of German history didactics (and historical studies) distinguishes between ‘historical sources’ (created in the past) and ‘historical representations’ (created later about the past); the latter are based on historical sources. In Anglo-American terminology, the same issue is referred to as ‘primary sources’ and ‘secondary sources.’

¹⁰ The problems of deprofessionalization and the rise of alternative ‘sources of knowledge’ that come with Web 2.0 are closely connected to ‘post-factual truth.’ This is discussed among others e.g., by Keen, 2008, or Nichols, 2018.

¹¹ The term was named ‘Word of the Year’ in 2016 by the Oxford Dictionary where it is defined as ‘Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief,’ <https://languages.oup.com/word-of-the-year/2016/> (15.02.2022).

¹² <https://www.youtube.com/c/MrWissen2go/about> (15.02.2022).

¹³ A predecessor was the channel ‘musstewissen [*all what you need to know*] Geschichte,’ which was merged into ‘MrWissen2go – Geschichte’ in 2019.

¹⁴ Cf. the funk introduction page: <https://www.funk.net/funk> (15.02.2022).

¹⁵ Cf. to the given numerical data https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirko_Drotschmann (15.02.2022).

¹⁶ Cf. the information on the channel: ‘Are you a history nerd or do you need some info on what you are currently discussing in class? Then subscribe to my channel and I, MrWissen2go (Mirko Drotschmann), will explain a history topic to you every Thursday.’ <https://www.youtube.com/c/MrWissen2goGeschichte/about> (15.02.2022)

¹⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3abQF6tWylk> (15.02.2022).

¹⁸ It should be added that the German history didactic handbooks, even in the 2017 or 2019 updated editions, only marginally address the new genre of explainer videos. The disregard of the genre is also true for English-language handbooks, like Gardner & Hamilton (2017); Carretero, Berger & Grever (2017); Berger, Brauch & Lorenz (2021).

¹⁹ Cf. Neubert, 2019. Lawson & Bodle Houlette (2006) demonstrated that students who followed guiding questions while watching an explanatory video achieved better results than the control group who watched the same video without guiding questions.

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FORUM

THE SICK BODY: REVISITING HISTORY EDUCATION THROUGH THE HISTORY OF DISEASE AND ART HISTORY*

Giorgos Kokkinos, Eugenia Alexaki, Panayotis Gatsotis
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Ignorance about infectious diseases and the vulnerability of human life is one of the characteristics of contemporary societies, closely linked to the illusory perception of time as an unbindered progress and the alienation of the Western world from the 'dark' aspects of the past. However, the COVID-19 pandemic provides us once again with an opportunity to critically reassess the consequences of infectious diseases over time, their cultural interpretations, and the ineffectiveness of the ethnocentric model of historical education. In fact, as our pilot survey, which included 104 pre-service primary education student-teachers, revealed, there is a willingness to seize this opportunity. In this respect, we argue that a critical and inclusive art historical approach may provide an alternative educational pathway to contextualize and historicize diseases and illness experiences, given the fact that artworks about the sick, suffering, and disabled body convey visual stories of the manifold ways illness has been and is being experienced and socially perceived.

1. History of Disease and Illness Experience. An Introduction

The history of illness is not the history of medicine-it is the history of the world
(Boyer, 2013: 30)

Both our research and teaching proposal have a strong interdisciplinary aspect. They are informed by the intersection of history education with art history and the rapidly evolving field of medical humanities. Nevertheless, our focus is on history teaching in primary and secondary public school, not in the university. For this reason, the history curricula we comparatively took into account concern only the first two levels of education. We certainly know that

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the history of medicine and the history of disease concepts (which are also aspects of the new cultural history) are taught par excellence in medical schools and biology departments. However, our proposal aims to overcome these boundaries and to include such courses or selected units in history departments and – more generally - in schools educating future teachers who will be called upon to teach the history subject in the first two levels of the educational system. This is the reason why our pilot study focuses on the perceptions of 104 students of the Department of Primary Education at the University of Aegean (Rhodes).

We believe that ignorance on subjects such as disease, suffering, and particularly the sick body, is undoubtedly a facet of the regime of historicity of post-modern presentism (Hartog, 2013). However, the knowledge about illness, diseases and epidemics depends on factors such as the dichotomy between cities and their countryside, the different levels of education, the student age, the gender, and social inequalities (Farmer, 2001; Wang et al., 2018).

After reviewing the relevant literature, we concluded that until recently there were few and even older works on children's perceptions and attitudes towards illness (of natural or infectious aetiology). Campbell (1975) demonstrates in his research that the children's family background itself and their lived experiences (when largely interrupted by the disease) decisively influence the conceptualization of the 'health/illness' dichotomy, but always in combination with age (Campbell, 1975: 100); i.e., the older the children get, the more meaningful is their conceptualization of illness; the older they get, the more capable they become – especially during adolescence – to organize and reconstruct their experiences, knowledge and thoughts. Additionally, the study of Kister and Patterson (1980) about children's conceptions on the causes of illness showed that understanding of the actual causes of illness increases with age, while many children accepted 'immanent justice' explanations for illness. This feeling of 'immanent justice' was inversely related to their understanding of contagion. Thus, the authors conclude that young children, when faced with illness, have some kinds of confusion, while helping children to understand the physical causes of illness may help them to alleviate some of the fear and guilt they experience when they are ill. Armed with coherent explanations for illness and knowledge of diseases, children may become less dependent upon 'immanent justice' explanations.

According to Azevedo et al. (2022: 165) the COVID-19 pandemic provided a context favourable to curricular approaches addressing students' lack of knowledge and misconceptions regarding the new disease, while 'previous studies revealed that the interest of students on health subjects can increase significantly if teachers are involved and when appropriate methodologies are used' (Azevedo et al., 2022: 165).

More generally, the presentist illusion of unobstructed progress and impossible regression into suffering has caused among the people of the Western World an attitude of defamiliarization against the 'dark' sides of the past. Annalisa Quinn (2021) quotes Thomas Macho, a cultural historian, ex-member of the German's Hygiene Museum advisory board: 'Why do we forget these things? Why will we know a lot about 1969 and 1970, but nothing about the Hong Kong flu, which was very important during those years? We would remember Woodstock and maybe Charles Manson ..., but not a pandemic that killed millions around the world.'

However, the rift created by the COVID-19 pandemic within the semantic network and the self-image of post-modern societies, along with the associated fear for the future, can, under certain conditions, lay the foundations for historicizing the present anew. This, in turn, will be a positive channel for practices of historicizing the 'invisible zones' of the past (e.g., diseases and the standards of living in vulnerable social classes, the connection between class and disease, etc.). The COVID-19 pandemic has once again confronted us with the vulnerability of human life, which we investigate in this paper within the framework of a 'powerful' (Chapman, 2021) historical education. Thus, it can be easily linked to themes such as public health and its ecological preconditions, health crisis and its relationship with climate crisis, the unsanitary – or even dire – living conditions of certain social groups, the vulnerability of victims of natural and man-made disasters, as well as other traumatic experiences of the past that occasionally affected or threatened to affect the entire human species. We must not forget that, as humanity enters the third decade of the 21st century, according to the estimates of medical experts on infectious diseases, every minute a child still dies from the 'primordial' disease of malaria, making it, together with tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS, the three main scourges, especially for populations in sub-Saharan Africa and the tropics and making it the world's leading public health emergency.

Acknowledging our human fragility as a species throughout the course of History should be an essential aspect of contemporary historical education, culture, and conscience. Understanding this vulnerability can protect children, adolescents, and young adults from the following risks: Firstly, from a persistent faith in the omnipotence of the human race and a rigid progressivism. Secondly, conversely, from a tendency towards historical pessimism, conspiracy theories and fear, all currently accentuated by the pandemic and the destabilization experienced globally.

Social and cultural history, by definition, study the population's morbidity, the consequences of diseases, methods of nursing and treatment, and patients' representations. Moreover, they belong to the New History spectrum, which has a holistic, interdisciplinary, and cross-thematic character. Nevertheless, a systematic approach towards the different facets of historical nosology has thus far not been one of the main concern for those who develop history curricula or edit history textbooks. Although the history of biomedical sciences and the history of diseases and epidemics has been developed significantly (Cartwright, 2004; Jackson, 2017; Snowden, 2019), it has nevertheless not yet become a systematic subject in primary and secondary history education, since such topics are either ignored or selectively cited.

So far as ethnocentric patterns prevail, school history curricula and textbooks ignore or degrade, more or less, the historicity of diseases, their outbreak, treatment, medical perceptions, and social representation. They also disregard the historical trend that pathologizes/biologizes/psychiatrizes certain attitudes; a trend that has been growing over the last few centuries.

The medicalization and the use of biology within the social and political field (such as the representation of communism by making use of biological and medical references) was accelerated by the fear caused by the Russian Revolution, as well as by the demographic crisis caused by infectious or contagious diseases before the end of the 19th century, creating serious problems in public health and undermining the biological capital of nation-states. More specifically, we can argue that in conventional academic and school historiography people are depicted as if lacking a heart, stomach, and genitals. If we exclude occasional references or the importance given to epidemics (e.g. the plague), various categories of diseases that are linked to specific groups (men/women, rich/poor, children/youth

/old, white/non-western people, etc.) are issues that remain purposely outside school history's reach. Thus, they constitute 'invisible' zones that refer to unprocessed historical traumas or taboos (Farmer, 2001).

Disease has been used by the dominant narratives as an indication of a broader social pathogeny and, therefore, as a passport for transporting the 'degenerate' in the domain of unfamiliarity, monstrosity, risk, and waste, since their lives are considered sick, 'suspicious and rejected.' In other words, as if it is not worth mentioning.

In any case, during the 19th century, the leading authorities of the Western World had to deal with the pain of the 'Others' cynically, and as a 'facet of the necessary inevitability governing historical development.' Moreover, during the Victorian Era, people from privileged social classes and educated urban groups were worried mainly about whatever threatened the established power dynamics. At the other end of the spectrum, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud terrorized bourgeois society by radicalizing our perception of politics, ethics, and sexuality respectively. During the same period, however, the pioneers of medical and biological sciences, such as Pasteur, Virchow, Yersin, Hansen, Lister, and Koch, made the nightmares of humanity more bearable. During the Crimean war, photography was instrumental in representing pain in the battlefield and, with the help of the Press, in formulating a common public opinion that is sensitive to the image of the suffering body.

However, after the second decade of the 21st century, historians studying pain in its various facets consider it imperative to go beyond the hermeneutic framework created by the publication and the impact of Elaine Scarry's pioneering book *The Body in Pain* (1985). In this book she claims that pain exists 'outside of language'; it actually destroys language, since language cannot convey its particularity. According to the critical approach by Joanna Bourke (2014), pain is an absolutely 'personal experience,' while at the same time we 'share and communicate the other's pain.' Pain is never neutral and diatomic. It is experienced and, at the same time, can be translated into discourse via the processes of a child's socialization. The same or equivalent processes of socialization link the experience to the language thus making pain communicable. Under this lens, pain is not just a human condition or a constant factor, but also a cultural construction, as Bourke (2014) suggests.

Teaching the history of diseases and illness experiences can assume various forms. In our opinion, the use of art historical sources opens novel educational possibilities for introducing students to the social and cultural history of diseases and social responses to health challenges. A critical investigation of artistic representations of the sick and suffering, the wounded and the disabled body offers an alternative format for discussing the invisible ‘Other’ and for contextualizing and historicizing disease (Vidal et al, 2007).

Recently, historians have suggested that the lack of disease memorials contributed not only to mass amnesia around the disease but also they lead to the stereotypical opinion that medicine has prevailed morbidity (Farber & Lum, 2020). Disease memorials can be engaged in history curricula and teaching as historical thought objects. For instance, the Brighton and Hove AIDS Memorial, representing two abstracted figures intertwined at the base, moving upwards and away from each other, one male, the other genderless; the latter referencing the fact that Aids and HIV infection are not confined to a certain community. Instead, it commemorates all those affected by the disease. In such a way, it can create a focus for constructive discussion in the classroom and function as a paradigm not only for historical connections to disease outbreaks but also for gender and race.

We are not only interested in the medical and nosological parameters of epidemic diseases, as well as the economic, social and cultural ones, but mainly in highlighting the experiences and thoughts that they bear. At this point, history comes across the art as historical witness. The teaching approach we suggest in this paper is in direct contrast to dominant ideological, political and educational discourses based on technological rationalism, progressivism, presentism and the idealization of Western culture. However, we admit that in the context of Western ideals, the widening of historical culture horizons and the construction of historical consciousness are easier. This is why we are emphasizing the need for inclusivity in the school history curricula and textbooks. The main purpose of our approach is to underline the idea that human vulnerability in the course of history and, more specifically, unequal distribution resources (in the climax of race, class, gender, sexual identity etc.) for the overcoming of diseases and epidemics, can be found not only in the official morbidity tables but also in the testimonies supplied by painting and sculpture. In addition to painting and sculpture, oral testimonies also

appear as a valuable ‘good practice’ in introducing students to human vulnerability and the correlation of diseases and epidemics with the parameters of race and social class.

The theme of racial justice is especially salient, since, in 2020, the national conversation about COVID-19 ran alongside, and overlapping with, a resurgent national conversation about race. Long before the first contract tracing of COVID-19 hit American shores, the 400-year pandemic of American systemic racism rendered historically marginalized and mistreated communities vulnerable to the disease. (Vanderscoff & Reti, 2021: 2)

2. Revisiting History Education Through a Critical Art Historical Approach of the Sick Body

In the last decades of the 20th century, the so-called New Art History has offered significant epistemological shifts to the discipline of art history. Feminist art history, visual culture studies, post-colonial theories, queer studies, the global as well as the social turn, the recent concepts of socially engaged and inclusive art history and calls to decolonize art history have led to a rigorous critique of the linear Eurocentric art historical canon. In this perspective, art history and its reception are considered as social constructions expressing hegemonic power relations. The scope of art history is being broadened to examine social groups, artists and artistic practices which have traditionally been excluded from the conventional art historical canon, and novel perspectives are proposed in order to address concepts such as social and historical justice, sexuality, race, identity, decoloniality, and (dis)ability and their relation to art historical discourse. As Jari M. Martikainen (2017), commenting on the discipline’s hegemonic biases, eloquently puts it: ‘Art history can no longer be regarded as just a coherent, common practice or a uniform method or theory, rather a pluralistic field of study that includes ambivalent and even contradictory biases and practices.’

The revisions of the canon do not, however, seem to have drastically impacted upon the way the introductory survey courses in art history are being taught at university level globally, with the art history survey still privileging a linear narrative of Western artistic traditions (Kerin & Lepage, 2016). Similarly, the essential changes art history has undergone as a discipline are not yet meaningfully reflected in the way art historical sources are treated in primary and

secondary education, specifically in the history and social sciences classrooms, where the ‘great master’ canon and the chronological model are still prevailing. The discrepancy between the developments in art historical scholarship and the practice of teaching art history are linked, among others, to the fact that art history didactics at K-12 level have only recently begun to gain some scholarly attention among art historians, remaining ‘a curiosity among research topics within the discipline’ (Martikainen, 2017). In fact, the role of art history in primary and secondary education has so far been most intensively discussed within art education scholarship. It is, however, recognized that teaching history and social sciences with artworks can significantly contribute to the development of students’ core historical literacy skills (Desai, Hamlin, & Mattson 2010; Clark & Sears 2020). Yet, it is commonly agreed that visual sources alone do not equip students to think historically, to interrogate the past and the present in critical and empathetic ways. Educators need to thoughtfully reflect on how they use art to teach history in order to enhance students’ critical thinking as well as their empathetic skills. Carefully chosen artworks can turn history and social sciences classrooms into political spaces of cultural production (Suh, 2013; Aditi et al., 2016).

In this sense, we understand teaching about illness and the sick body through arts as an inclusive conceptual space, a symbolic site for social resistance and suggest that an art historical pedagogy informed by socially engaged art history, inclusive art history, critical medical humanities, decolonizing discourses, disability studies, queer and feminist approaches, can offer new perspectives and democratize the history and social studies classroom. A critical, socially engaged and inclusive art historical perspective can provide a lens through which to contextualize diseases and interrogate the iconography of the sick body historically and socially. We need art historical narratives which move beyond the masterpiece paradigm to include artistic representations of collective traumas, personal experiences and public perceptions of illness, suffering, and healing. According to Daniel Savoy (2020), inclusivity in art history should not be perceived as an ‘addition’ of new chapters, of previously understudied topics and artworks. To avoid replacing hierarchical art history by a mere additive approach, he proposes an approach that admits the ever-changing and fragmentary character of art historical narratives and the impossibility of forming a ‘complete picture’ of the past.

Accordingly, we do not argue that simply including representations of illness and/or disability questions the linear narrative and the discipline's hegemonic biases. We suggest, however, that critically incorporating such artworks into the history and social sciences classroom could help students understand illness not only as a personal experience but as a social construction as well.

Artworks about the sick, suffering, and disabled body convey visual stories of the manifold ways illness has been and is being experienced and socially perceived. Yet, it is only recently that images and in particular works of art are being investigated as tools of visually constructing the 'otherness' and more specifically the illness, the 'sick,' and 'disability.' Regarding, in particular, representations of the disabled body, Millett-Gallant and Howie (2017: 3) suggest that 'disability as a social and historical construct and as a vital element of human diversity has been, until very recently, largely overlooked by art historical analysis.' A socially engaged art history is primarily concerned with such lacunas, with who has been excluded from the story of art as has been written and taught so far, thus serving as a kind of remedy to the ableism and social injustice inherent in these omissions (Gachoud, 2021: 182). Likewise, the sick, dysmorphic, and/or disabled human body has been virtually excluded from art survey courses or has been presented as the 'Other.' The inclusion of contemporary artworks dealing with marginalized experiences and 'silenced' histories, such as illness, disability, social stigma and so on in the history and social sciences classroom is an act of practising a more inclusive, social engaged and decolonized art history pedagogy which can significantly promote students' critical consciousness, strengthen their empathy and respect for others, and encourage them to act as agents of positive social change, key aspects of a social justice art education (NAEA, 2018).

'Illness and how we do illness is political' wrote Lisa Dietrich in her seminal book *Treatments: Language, Politics, and the Culture of Illness* (2007), where she examined illness narratives as reflections of wider sociocultural contexts, such as race, gender, class, and sexuality. Accordingly, illness representations are visual constructions and as such they are powerful tools for constructing societal values. Thus, by critically examining illness representations we can invite students to consider how power relations impact the ways artists represent illness, health, and (dis)ability, and how socio-political dynamics shape these concepts, thus allowing students to better understand the

ways in which the perception and reception of sickness and ability are historically determined.

To this end, educators need to move beyond linear geographical and stylistic considerations to generate reflections on the culturally diverse uses and functions of art as well as on the political, social and cultural aspects reflected in illness representations; examine, also, how artworks and popular images shape, in turn, the social meaning of illness; include examples of diverse forms/media of artistic expression; use contemporary artworks, e.g. performances, public art interventions, installations, participatory art projects etc.; include works by artists from diverse sociocultural groups, such as artists who have themselves experienced illness, ‘disabled’ artists, or artists from marginalized communities; discuss issues of coloniality, gender, race, and social class in relation to illness representations. After carefully selecting artworks, educators could initiate classroom discussion by asking questions such as:

- What kind of attitudes towards illness and sick people are reflected in the artworks presented?
- What sorts of ideas and stereotypes about illness and the sick/disabled body do these representations (de)construct?
- How do mass media representations of the ‘ideal’ body influence our notions of illness and of what makes life worth living?
- What kind of art works and visual culture images have been circulated in the social media during the corona pandemic? Which are the cultural, medical and political messages of these images?

It is a common place that artworks are historically and culturally mediated. As such, they are never neutral, neither is their use in the history classroom. Although obvious, we tend to ignore, that ‘painting, sculpture, medical illustration and photography never simply represent or record pain or injury: they make it meaningful and useful; they prescribe, and they normalise, but they also have the potential to reimagine and resist’ (Biernoff, 2021: 210). By asking our students to reflect on how illness, suffering, pain, and disability have been visualized by artists, we are foregrounding a more socially just education informed by a decolonizing approach, which embraces tolerance and active interrogation, instead of knowledge of facts, master narratives, and dominant certainty (Grant & Price, 2020: 62).

3. The ‘History of the Sick Body’ in Current History Curricula of Primary and Secondary Education

It is clear that history curricula of primary and secondary education mostly express educational policy intentions, expected or anticipated outcomes, proposed topics and methodology. Their exact role and status vary from country to country. Of course, they do not represent the final learning outcomes, nor what teachers opt for teaching so far as they have the choice. But to investigate learning outcomes and the teaching praxis related to them would require a different kind of research, this time on the proposed and used teaching materials, on teaching practices and on young people’s knowledge and perceptions. It would also require different research-methods, such as observation, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaires. We rather focused on the curricula as official documents and, more or less, vehicles of educational policy.

So we posed the following questions: What is the position of the ‘history of the sick body’ and, more particularly, the ‘history of epidemic disease’ in the field of current (2021) history curricula of primary and secondary education? Does it exist in the first place? Is it a distinct or degraded position? Does it involve art history in the teaching praxis? And while ‘sickness’ may be the outcome of many causes other than an epidemic disease, our social history lens – our chosen perspective – focused on public health issues. In other words, we tried to find out whether the history curricula we explored raise questions linked directly or indirectly to ‘epidemic disease’ issues, how far, and from which point of view.

Our primary motive was based on the argument that teaching the ‘sick body history’ through art history introduces significant benefits to history education:

- It contributes to the study of traumatic events.
- It facilitates the linking of past and present human suffering with the concern to prevent it by protecting public health, now and in the future.
- It facilitates global, comparative, humanistic, intercultural, interdisciplinary, and cross-curricular approaches.
- It facilitates understanding that the concepts of ‘healthy,’ ‘natural,’ ‘normal’ and their opposites (‘sick,’ ‘unhealthy,’ ‘deviant’ or ‘eccentric’) have been historically and culturally constructed.

- It highlights the vulnerability of human life and underscores the need for global cooperation to effectively confront the challenges of the Anthropocene era.
- It makes good use of the power of art to mediate diverse human experiences and provide alternative and discreet, but meaningful, modes of working through traumatic events.

This is also our suggested strategy to avoid unwanted stereotyping, victimization, and embarrassment or even shock, which could cause a ‘secondary trauma’ (Felman, 1995). We are fully aware that the use of visual material for diseases and epidemics must not cause secondary trauma to children and adolescents, and we are definitely opposed to the so-called ‘couch pornography’ deriving sadistic pleasure from the pain and suffering of others.

The sample of the school history curricula we explored is far from exhaustive or representative of a world forum, since we focused on just a few European and North American cases. Taking them into account, we concluded that the ‘history of the sick body’ and, more specifically, the ‘history of the epidemic disease’:

is totally compatible with the ‘Principles and Guidelines for a Quality History Education in the 21st Century’ of the Council of Europe (2018), especially through the history of art;

is embedded, one way or another, in the topics of the English, the Australian, and the Ontario (Canada) school history curricula;

does not appear as a separate topic – or subtopic – among the ‘thèmes’ of the French history curricula, nor among the ‘Themen’ of the history curriculum of Berlin-Brandenburg (yet, it could be raised as an issue at the level of the internal school curriculum), nor in the Dutch History Canon, or in the new Greek (2021) history curriculum.

When the ‘history of epidemic disease’ occurs in the above-mentioned history curricula, it is presented:

- as a consequence of conquest/colonisation or global inequalities in quality of life; as an aspect of people’s daily lives in relation to medical developments/achievements and social inequalities;
- as one of the challenges, which various communities (in Canada) have dealt with in different periods; [the Ontario curriculum];
- with reference to its social and economic impact; [the English curriculum, Key Stage 3];
- as a ‘thematic’ or ‘development’ study – part of the wider topic ‘health and the people’; [the English curriculum, GCSE];

- as a ‘depth study’ focusing on living conditions, medical knowledge and beliefs, causes and consequences (of the disease), similarities and differences between the responses of different societal groups; [the Australian curriculum, year 8]
- as part of an ‘overview,’ surveying – among others – public health, longevity and standard of living during the 20th century. [the Australian curriculum, year 10].

Yet, in our view, the history of epidemic disease could be further processed as an opportunity to reflect:

- on the vulnerability of human life, related to the history of pandemics and natural disasters;
- on interdisciplinary approaches between, on the one hand, history education, on the other, medicine, biology, archaeology, demography, ecology, and ethics (cf. Black, 2021: 2; Eisenberg & Mordechai, 2019);
- on the exercise of power (bio-politics) aiming at controlling specific groups of people considered as bearers of sickness, degeneration and, therefore, as a threat against the nation’s existence or against the socio-political status quo (stigmatisation and scapegoating);
- on the pathological, biological, and psychiatric treatment of certain behaviours and attitudes of people (especially of the weaker classes) in past and modern societies during public health crises.

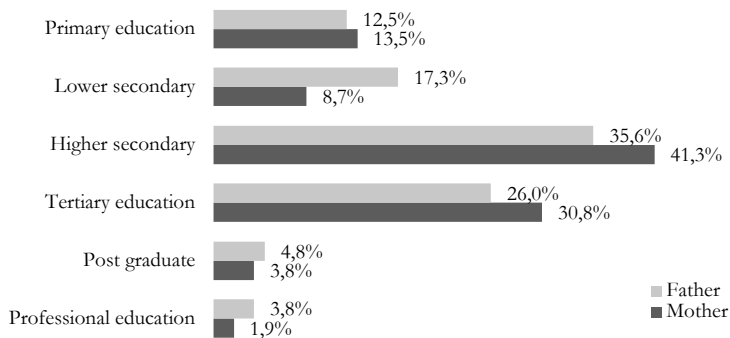
In sum, we argue that it is to the benefit of school history education if the ‘history of epidemic disease’ (a version of the ‘history of the sick body’) could be approached through the history of art as an interdisciplinary field of study, as well as an opportunity to debate on how to collectively protect human life and dignity amid their social and natural environment in the era of the Anthropocene (Nordgren, 2021; Ni Cassaithe & Chapman, 2021; Waldron, 2021).

4. Our Pilot Descriptive Survey

In light of the interdisciplinary approach, we analysed above, we proceeded to investigate the perceptions of 104 pre-service primary education student-teachers at the University of Aegean (Rhodes, Greece). We investigated whether they understand the teaching of the history of disease through art historical sources as a tool with which to historicize and question stereotypical presentations of the ‘sick body.’

The descriptive research we conducted was based on the methodological application of a survey with the aim of collecting data at a specific time, locating constants and determining relationships. The completion of a standard on-line questionnaire was chosen as a research technique for data collection. The data collection tool was constructed based on the objectives of the research and in accordance with the technical requirements and ethical coverage, as defined by the international literature (Cohen & Manion, 1997: 22; Trantas, 2006: 75–79; Isari & Pourkos, 2015). The data collected were statistically analysed through the SPSS software (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

According to their statements, the students were all future primary school teachers, 88.3 % in the last semester before their graduate degree, 85 % female, while the majority of their parents' professions ('father' 58.6 %, 'mother' 64.4 %) belong to middle-class occupations (farmers, fishermen, seamen, labourers, cleaners, craftsmen, employees, sellers, and teachers).

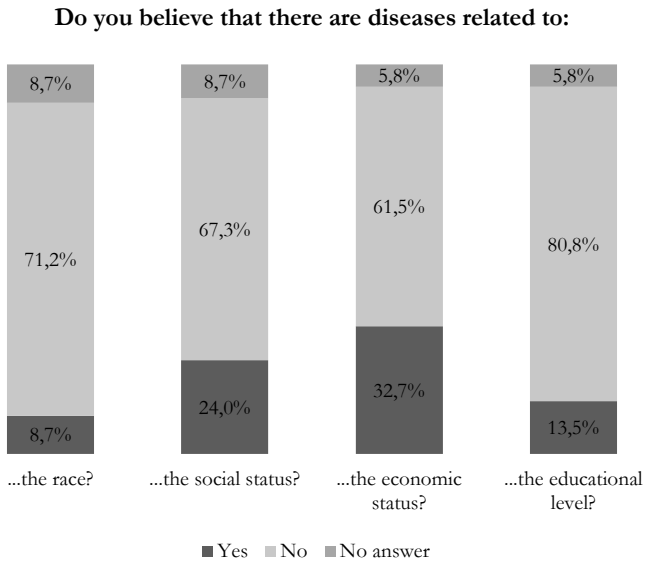


Graph 1: Parents' educational level

Regarding the educational level of their parents, graduates of high secondary education occupy the largest percentage ('mother' 41.3 %, 'father' 35.6 %), followed by graduates of the tertiary education ('mother' 30.8 %, 'father' 26.2 %), and graduates of the primary education (elementary and low secondary average) ('mother' 11.1 %, 'father' 14.55 %).

5. Main Findings

Regarding the question ‘Do you believe that there are diseases related to: a) race, b) social status, c) economic status, d) educational level?’, we collected mostly negative answers. However, the percentage of affirmative responses (‘Yes’) increased considerably, reaching almost one third of the total, when referring to the relation between ‘disease’ and ‘economic status.’



Graph 2: Percentages of answers (‘yes,’ ‘no,’ none), referring to the relation between (i) the ‘disease,’ (ii) the ‘race,’ the ‘social status,’ the ‘economic status’ or the ‘educational level’

Regarding the question ‘Do you consider the famine of the winter of 1941–1942 in occupied Greece to be a more important event than the explosion of the Gorgopotamos bridge (due to armed resistance against the Nazis on November 25, 1942)?’, the affirmative answers clearly outweighed the negative ones: 72 % ‘yes,’ versus 26 % ‘no,’ and 1.9 % ‘no answer.’ No major gender-related differences emerged. We understand that the above percentage (72 % ‘yes’) indicates the willingness of the sample’s majority to get on with social history.

Regarding the question ‘How do you feel when observing a painting depicting a sick or dying person or a diseased body?’, the students mostly stated ‘compassion,’ ‘pain,’ and ‘curiosity’ as their first-rank choices (‘too much’). Their second-rank choice (‘much’) was ‘embarrassment.’ ‘Aversion’ was the negative answer (‘not at all’) mostly chosen by the sample, to the same question.

Regarding the question ‘Do the lives of ordinary people and the masses, their standard of living and their daily lives constitute issues that should concern the science of history?’, about 95 % of the participants stated ‘fully agree’ and ‘agree.’ We also understand that the above percentage indicates the willingness of the sample’s majority to get on with social history.

To sum up, the overwhelming majority of the students of our sample stated that they are willing to support the inclusion of ‘diseases’ and ‘infectious diseases’ as topics in the subject of history (66.3 % regarding primary education, and 99 % regarding secondary education), as well as to teach the ‘history of disease’ through the history of art, mainly by using images and/or films/documentaries.

6. Conclusions

Contrary to presentist illusions of unobstructed progress and impossible regression into suffering, we firmly believe that teaching the history of disease and illness experience, i.e., teaching the history of ‘the sick body’ and human pain through a critical and inclusive art historical approach could make a significant contribution to understanding the fragility of human life and help students reflect on basic humanistic values. The time is always ripe for attempting to reaffirm these values, whether in peace or war, whether contemplating the consequences of the pandemic or trying to prevent the next one. For this reason, we advocate the inclusion of the subject in the so-called ‘canon’ of school history curricula and textbooks, of course in an age-appropriate way. This kind of history teaching should not only be part of the history curricula of medical schools but should become part of the teaching of history for the ‘common good.’ Moreover, the highly interdisciplinary and cross-curricular nature of such an approach – linked to the pursuits of social and cultural history, including the New History and New Art History perspectives – can make things easier at school. Especially for teachers who will teach history at school, such an adjustment, as

the one we propose, must be considered necessary and urgent in the light of the repeated pandemics in today's globalised environment.

In this sense, we understand teaching about the history of diseases and illness experiences through arts as an inclusive conceptual space, a symbolic site for social resistance. By critically incorporating – we suggest – carefully chosen artistic representations of illness and the sick body, the history and social sciences classrooms can become an important site wherein stereotypes, stigmatizing and shaming narratives, social invisibility and discrimination could be challenged. In such discursive spaces students could feel free to ask questions, interrogate normative historical narratives, and reflect on illness and suffering as personal and social experiences as well as historical events.

As, indeed, our pilot survey has demonstrated, the overwhelming majority of the pre-service primary education student teachers expressed a strong willingness to support the inclusion of 'diseases' and 'infectious diseases' as topics in the history and social sciences classrooms, as well as to teach the 'history of disease' through artworks, films, and documentaries. However, according to the same survey, most of the respondents do not sufficiently associate diseases with issues of class, gender, and race, which means that they do not sufficiently recognize the social dimensions of diseases and the fact that illness experiences are historically determined. Precisely for this reason, we believe that the critical use of artworks depicting various ways in which diseases have been experienced throughout history, could help students better understand the historical and societal aspects of diseases, thus offering to history education new perspectives beyond the ethnocentric model, and democratizing the history and social sciences classrooms.

Given that one aspect of the 'history of the sick body' and, more specifically, the 'history of epidemic diseases' is already addressed, more or less, in many of the primary and secondary school history curricula we examined, we believe that it is possible to introduce the above proposed teaching approaches into the context of official educational policy. However, there is no doubt that the final learning outcomes depend on many other factors related to the specifics of each case, such as the time allocated to the subject, the teaching materials available and, most importantly, the choices made by teachers.

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ON THE REFLECTION OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA'S COLONIAL PERIOD IN ESTONIAN TEXTBOOKS OF THE 19TH–21ST CENTURIES*

Karin Veski and Anu Raudsepp

The teaching of history to a younger generation is essential. History teaches us to appreciate the values created by mankind, to understand the connection of today's problems with the past, to help shape a person with a broad mind, tolerant to differences and avoiding of violence. The teaching of the history of Africa in schools is one of the most important topics. The treatment of the topic of colonialism at school today enables us to condemn injustice and sufferings that befell to colonised peoples as well as to better understand the need of recognizing their cultural achievements. Across times, textbooks have influenced the formation of value judgments and attitudes of the young. Proceeding from this, this article aims to analyse the presentation of the image of sub-Saharan Africa in the textbooks of Estonia as a minor state in Europe. Different textbooks (mother tongue, history, geography) offer information about African nature, culture and states of the colonial period. The research addresses the appearance of stereotypes and racist expressions related to the image of sub-Saharan Africa in Estonian textbooks in the 19th century until their disappearance in the present-day Estonian democratic society. Estonian experience is interesting and first-hand in the sense that Estonia has been colonised by superpowers before now but has never colonised anyone.

1. Introduction

Colonialism is one of the stigmas of the history of humankind with its impact stretching into the present day. Colonialism is a policy aimed at extending the power of one country beyond its borders. The treatment of colonialism is of crucial importance for education as the learning from the past experience of different nations would help better appreciate the nations and their cultures. It is not easy to define the concept of colonialism. Traditionally, colonialism has been dealt with only in connection with the overseas expansion of

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European colonial powers (Great Britain, Belgium, France, Germany et al). Colonialism has been associated with mainly Africa since the 19th century when European countries divided it into territories of influence.

In the recent decade, history didactics has treated of the colonialism topic more and more consistently. In 2014, a conference of the International Society for History Didactics on ‘Colonialism, Decolonisation and Post-Colonial Historical Perspectives – Challenges for History Didactics and History Teaching in Globalising World’ took place, followed by the ISHD Yearbook (2014) focused on the respective topic.

European colonialism in Africa has been explicitly addressed in the Yearbooks of the International Society of History Didactics, firstly in the context of Germany’s colonial policy in East Africa, where Germany subjugated large areas of East Africa in the second half of the 19th century. Katja Gorbahn has conducted a comparative analysis of current lower secondary education textbooks in Germany and Tanzania (Gorbahn, 2014). Secondly, Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse has examined Belgian-Congolese colonial history in Belgian secondary history education, curricula and textbooks from 1945 to 1989 (Van Nieuwenhuysse, 2014) and from 1990 to the present day (Van Nieuwenhuysse, 2015). In 2013–2015 the same topic was dealt with in the EU Lifelong Learning Programme ‘Colonialism and Decolonisation in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective.’ As a result of the project, modules for history lessons of the treatment of the topic were published in English, German, and French (Fenske et al., 2015).

Observing colonialism more broadly, simply as a ‘system of domination,’ a minor European country like Estonia has also a long-term experience of colonialism. Estonians never colonised anyone but were colonised by Germany and Denmark in the 13th–16th centuries, then by Sweden till the end of the 17th century and by Russia in the 18th century up to the first decades of the 20th century, in the years 1940–1991 by Germany and the Soviet Union. Estonia has enjoyed its independence only for over 50 years: after gaining independence in 1918–1940 and since restoring its independence in 1991. The authors of this article published a research paper ‘Colonialism and decolonisation in Estonian history textbooks’ in 2016, with an aim to find out how the concepts of colonisation and decolonisation had changed in Estonian history textbooks within the

last decade (Raudsepp & Veski, 2016). Karin Veski defended her PhD degree on the topic 'The Reception of Africa in Estonian Printed Word (until 1917)' in Tartu University in 2006.

This article mainly seeks to clarify how the image of sub-Saharan Africa's peoples, cultures and colonised countries of the colonial era are reflected in Estonian school beginning with the Africa's colonial period in 19th Century until the independent Republic of Estonia (1918–1940 and 1991–present). The image of colonial Africa in the textbooks of the period of the Estonian occupations of the 20th century (German occupations of 1918 and 1941–1944, Soviet occupation of 1944–1991) is a very extensive topic on its own and is therefore not covered in this current study.

Proceeding from Estonia's historical experience, the article aims to find out whether the treatments in Estonian textbooks on Africa have expressed any criticism about colonialism and activities of colonial powers. Similarly, more widely spread stereotypes about sub-Saharan Africa, its population and changes of stereotypes in different historical periods as reflected in textbooks are studied.

2. Textbooks, Methodology and Terminology

The selection of textbooks is limited to primary and lower secondary education textbooks, in order to allow a better comparison of textbooks from different historical periods. In the 19th century, education in the Estonian language was only made possible in primary schools. In terms of time, textbooks from three historical periods are examined. The first is the period of African colonialism, when Estonia was part of the Russian Empire and the Estonian authors of the textbooks had to take into account the censorship of the Russian colonial power. The following two periods are of the time of Estonia's independence in 1918 until 1940 and 1991 until the present, when Estonians were able to write their own country's education policy.

A selection of history and geography textbooks that have been published within two hundred years are under observation because it is mainly in these textbooks that the subject of Africa has been discussed. Also, an analysis based on the reading books of Estonian literature related to the 19th century is carried out because only at the beginning of the 19th century the image of colonial Africa first

appeared in those reading books as the original single-subject textbooks in Estonian.

Textbook analyses are based on the didactic recommendations of Falk Pingel. (Pingel, 2010). He stresses that ‘The international textbook analysis, with the aim of promoting international understanding deals mainly with history, geography and civics schoolbooks’ (Pingel, 2010: 67). Pingel also mentions that ‘Language textbooks and readers also contribute considerably to what students know and how they think about others’ (Pingel, 2010: 67).

Pingel’s practical advice for textbook analysis is firstly connected to quantitative methods like frequency and space analysis that measures the text. For this current study, the authors looked at lower secondary education history and textbooks by various authors that talk about Africa. For reprints, the textbooks were used only if they had changed something in their coverage of Africa. In the 19th century, Africa was introduced in Estonian reading books, which is why the Estonian reading books from that time period are also examined. In total, the authors found information to address research questions of the article in 26 different textbooks, although more textbooks were reviewed during the process.

It must be kept in mind that the earlier textbooks from the first half of the 19th century were often multifunctional in their format – they served both as a body of work as well as a textbook for other subjects. The first geography textbook in Estonian was published in 1849 (Gildenmann, 1849), the first history textbook in 1858 (Schwartz, 1858–1861). From 1849 until the beginning of Russification in the 1880s, few textbooks were published and for the most part they were based on translations from German and Russian. From the beginning of the 20th century and especially during the interwar period, the contents of the textbooks became more modern and original. Among other things, foreign textbooks were presumably used as an example when writing these books. Today Estonian textbooks are based on the values and attitudes recognised by the European Union.

Pingel’s practical advice for textbook analysis is secondly connected to qualitative methods such as hermeneutic analysis with underlying assumptions that cannot be measured: What does the text tell us, what messages does it transmit? In what context are the terms of people placed? (Pingel, 2010: 68) In the case of tasks for students, Pingel asks whether these questions will also help the

students: 'Go beyond stereotypes to offer genuine insight into the other racial/ethnic groups; examine racial/ethnic stereotypes critically?' (Pingel, 2010: 69).

Methodologically, the point of departure is qualitative content analysis for studying attitudes, possible stereotypes, and definitions of notions etc., related to the presentation of the current topic. The study of stereotypes and images of sub-Saharan Africa focuses primarily on text from textbooks. The image of this study refers to a picture, a perception (often illusory) that arises after observing something or someone. This generated image carries information about the world around us. At the same time, the message from the image may not match reality. The image can have a curved mirror effect, as the message usually passes through several social filters, eventually creating a pseudo-reality, the reality being a quality that has the inherent phenomenon of existing independently of our will (Berger et al., 1991: 13).

The less that is known about another nationality or race, the more the people rely on previously established stereotypes. Stereotypes are biased generalisations about a particular group of people which in their nature are generally negative, exaggerated and simplified. However, stereotypes are not always negative in nature. For example, according to Yale University historian Piotr S. Wandycz, stereotypes can be broadly divided into negative, neutral, or positive (Wandycz, 1995: 5). Unfortunately, negative stereotypes are more widespread and influential. This article focuses on the presence of negative stereotypes in school textbooks.

The myths and stereotypes associated with Africa and Africans have a long and drawn out historical burden that did not start in the 19th century, in the so-called classical era of colonialism, but goes back to the period of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade or even earlier, thus first and foremost, reflecting Western history (see more closely e.g. Nederveen Pietersee, 1992). Despite the fact that modern times favour racial and cultural tolerance, the racist myths supporting the views of Western elitism are amazingly vital. When speaking about Africa, why do our views still prevalingly reflect, up to now, patterns and thought models of the colonial era? May it be so that the way of association of ideas and images as legacy of the colonial era, carried down from generation to generation and thus related to collective sub-consciousness and our everyday life, is actually the final and most complicated stage in the process of decolonisation? The fact that the

given process is still incomplete is well proved in recent years by the movement of Black Lives Matter.

3. The colonial Period from the 19th Century to the Early 20th Century – Estonian School textbooks of the Colonial Era as Creators of Stereotypes

Estonia, although incorporated into the Russian Empire, was actively developing Estonian-language education in unison with compiling Estonian-language textbooks since the 19th century, in particular. Paradoxically, at first the authors of Estonian-based textbooks were mostly Lutheran clergymen of German origin. In the 19th century, school and printed text were the most essential keywords and determinants in the formation of ideas about the rest of the world. The views on Africa obtained from the school textbooks at the period under observation were not just primary but often the only integral contact for Estonians with the far-away continent. The material issued about Tropical and South Africa was fairly scarce: the knowledge was often drawn from obsolete information, thus in many cases forming the basis for atypically simplified clichés.

The first school textbooks which dealt with sub-Saharan Africa were textbooks by Baltic-German pastors G. G. Marpurg and K. E. von Berg (Marpurg, 1811) – the predecessors for the would-be geography textbooks to be published in the middle of the 19th century (Klaassen, 1995: 112). The first textbooks which presented their understanding of Africa laid the basis for later perceptions and stereotypes. Racist prejudices proceeding from biological determinism, characteristic of the era and the social hierarchy depending on it, can clearly be observed. According to G. G. Marpurg (Aus, 1993: 32) Europeans were at the very top of the hierarchy: ‘The cleverest people live in Europe and they all are mostly Christians.’ Africans (‘black people or Mora-people’) were characterised as ‘stupid and insensitive, all of them mostly pagans’ (Marpurg, 1811: 36–37). In comparison with Marpurg, Berg remains more neutral in characterising black Africans, avoiding connecting race and individual qualities and confining his focus on descriptions. As is known, this is the textbook that first introduced the term ‘negro’ (Berg, 1811: 98).

When depicting Africans, the first Estonian textbook authors also followed the example of German authors. For instance, schoolmaster

Jakob Kunder wrote about Africans in his textbook on natural history, published in 1878: 'They have no great mental faculties as they were created for menial work and slavery. They are the only ones on Earth who let themselves be sold and obey the enslaver' (Kunder, 1878: 69–70).

The second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century introduced not only social-economical changes into Estonia but also essential positive developments in the formation of Estonian national identity (Jansen, 1993). The determination of national self-consciousness was closely connected with the placement of 'self' into a more global context to find one's place in the world through identification and confrontation. The defining of the other was indispensable for the defining of oneself, but for an Estonian of the period (who, historically, was confined to a rather narrow and conservative world view in general) it was a priority to define oneself in the local context (in comparison with Baltic-Germans, Russians, close neighbours). But as the time passed by, the more the rest of the world needed to be defined.

3.1 *The Image of African Nature*

By the mid-19th century, African interior areas were in many ways still unexplored by Europeans. It had a strong impact on the texts in schoolbooks. Thus, a Reader from 1811 introduced Africa as follows: 'This part of the world is a little smaller than Asia but even so it is three times larger than Europe. Africa is mostly sandy, and it contains the largest sand deserts on Earth. Heat and drought are extreme and therefore the land is very dry, and many areas do not grow grain or bear fruit. Beasts, lions, tigers and leopards, panthers, crocodiles, and others are ferocious there' (Berg, 1811: 97–98).

Along with the colonisation of Africa by European powers, mainly in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the situation radically changed as to the general knowledge of geography, but the Estonian textbooks did not yet offer any updated information. An emphasis was still laid on exotica and risks offered by fauna and flora of an alien continent, its unfriendly nature was combined with a hostile human factor (Kauzmann, 1854: 79). Even if the so-called exotic area is beautiful by its nature and Ethiopia (in textbooks: Abyssinia) is called 'African Helvetia,' there

are numerous pitfalls in the wild nature: ‘Abyssinian low clearings are like that – beautiful yet scary’ (Kampmann, 1907: 229–230).

Concurrent with the rise of Europeans’ interest in Africa, more and more assessments were given about its climate and numerous statements argued that in general the continent was unsuitable for Europeans as a place of residence (with the exception of a few areas) (Jakobson, 1868: 75; Kentmann, 1875: 55). At the beginning of the 20th century, J. L. Jürgens and K. Tasak published a textbook (Jürgens & Tasak, 1907) which excelled by its matter of fact, concrete presentation of modern scientific facts. The animal wealth of Africa was pointed out but it is noteworthy that the myth of Africa as an animal paradise is contested (Bastian, 1999: 219; Daddieh, 1999: 204–205) at the same time European immigrants were made responsible for the reduction in the number of animals: ‘European immigrants to Africa have killed very many big wild game, elephants in particular, whose tusks or the so called ‘ivory’ is a very important trade article. [...] Even at the beginning of the 19th century there were antelopes, rhinos, elephants and ostriches in great numbers in South Africa but by now the animals here were almost all killed. Central Africa is still rich in animals although they are brutally hunted and killed, too’ (Jürgens & Tasak, 1907: 97–98). Similar critical views expressed in textbooks in the colonial era context are not quite conventional but among other reasons it can be explained by the lack of direct colonial interests in Africa by the Russian Empire, whose part Estonia was at that time.

3.2 *The Image of African Nations and Culture in Textbooks*

Since up to the 19th century, German clergymen were the authors of numerous textbooks then understandably the values of Christian cultural space of the time, including racist attitudes, caused by missionary literature, also exerted a considerable influence on the textbooks. The stabilisation of stereotypes is illustrated by the following textbook texts.

In 1854 Africans were described as follows: ‘filthy and uneducated peoples, full of superstition, they sacrifice their enemies to idols and eat their meat’ (Kauzmann & Schultz, 1854: 79). The history textbooks of the 1860s emphasize the necessity of missionary work in Africa: ‘In the southernmost Africa – among the people of the heathen Herero – the Gospel was spread by one of our missionaries

from Riga (Hahn) who was once giving a talk to 70 pastors in the city of Valka at an annual convention of pastors in August, and he told us how he had taken the blessings of the Almighty God to the people there and made the blessings grow in their fields where earlier only the evil spirit had planted its infidel superstition' (Körber, 1860: 191). In 1871, Africans were introduced as a very uneducated people; obvious heathens, ruled by fist rights, killing people, plundering and leading a filthy life' (Schneider, 1871). In 1875, Africans were characterised as follows: 'There is godless darkness (filthy life, violent acts and murders) in Africa, very horrible and the people have no spiritual guidance, belief or skills to see. They have no proper housing or fields, no secure towns or common law' (Kentmann, 1875: 55). It is evident that the generalizations about Africans remained unchanged within a half-century.

The treatment of African traditional religions in the 19th-century Estonian textbooks was also shown in the context of Christian cultural space whereas the influence of European missionary literature is strongly represented. A stress was laid on primitive pagan customs which needed to be uprooted by Europeans. An emphasis on paganism coupled with cannibalism (Kauzmann & Schultz, 1875: 108, 109) left no doubt to the reader about the urgency of missionary work and introducing European culture.

The necessity of uprooting pagan customs was never doubted by one-time well-known Estonian public figure C. R. Jakobson, but he also denounced the hypocritical side of Christianity: 'The majority of the people's communities stand very low as to their spiritual guidance. Serving their cruel idols, they are subjected under the rule of blood-thirsty princes. Many terrible things happen in the world but as much innocent blood as was shed by the African pagans never happened elsewhere. Continuous bloody wars, princes celebrating their feasts of the throne accompanied by major human sacrifices, and a Negro princess who was said to have living children crushed to pieces by a pestle in the mortar. Eventually, the hard-hearted princes were approached by ever more hard-hearted merchants who bought from the former their people as cattle and sold them into slavery in America. Around 50 million Negroes were taken from Africa to America where they were kept even worse than cattle' (Jakobson, 1868, 77–78).

Exceptionally, a viewpoint in textbooks stressed that the European colonial policy presented an obstacle to missionary work: 'Very often

indigenous Africans had to suffer a lot under the oppression of Europeans. Partly due to that fact the missionary activity attempting to disseminate Christianity had no results worth mentioning there' (Jürgens & Tasak, 1907: 99). Actually, the turning of mission into a pawn on the chessboard of colonial policy led to the situation where the attendance of missionaries inevitably reminded Africans of the presence of Europe. Therefore, they regarded with some caution or even hostility everything that missionaries could offer – religion, medical aid or education.

Since the beginning of the 20th century a certain positive shift towards the Africans' image can be noticed. When the 19th-century textbooks one after the other pointed out their illiteracy, superstition, indecency, violence and cannibalistic habits, then as an influence of the colonial period, the 20th century textbooks indicated their shrewdness, talent for music, however, in the context of immaturity. Allegedly, the Africans' moodiness was also based on their primitive nature. Such an emphasis exposed Africans as childish and therefore their further development required Europeans' paternal care and guidance. So, for instance, a geography textbook had it in 1907: 'Just like all the Negroes, the natives of Sudan like music, singsong and dancing. By their nature the Negroes are lively, vivacious, spiritual but very light-minded. Their joyfulness may easily turn into sadness. By such fast changes of the state of mind they remind us of children' (Jürgens & Tasak, 1907: 120).

On the whole, textbooks have attempted to characterise also single peoples on the basis of a simplified principle of 'good and bad,' resulting in questionable generalisations. The descriptions of peoples of Central, East and North-Eastern Africa in the observed textbooks stand out by their negative assessments. This is due to the effects of Europe's evolving colonial policy – the peoples who are more problematic to Europeans have been given a more negative assessment. For instance, in the case of East Africa, an essential factor facing Europeans is the fact that in the 19th century they had little control over nomads or cattle raising population (Maasai, Oromo et al.), in particular over the Maasais who presented a serious obstacle for colonists in penetrating the interior regions of East Africa (Hiiemaa 2006: 88–89) Christian Ethiopians were given a surprisingly negative assessment (Kauzmann & Schultz 1854: 79) which can primarily be explained by the lack of closer contacts between Ethiopia and European countries, in general, or the contacts in

foreign policy were negative. The characterisation of peoples in West Africa and those living in the territory of contemporary Republic of South Africa varied yet appeared rather positive, generally speaking. It can be explained by a number of factors. First, Europeans had a long-term experience in the named African regions: trade contacts since the 15th century (including slave trade) with West Africa, Europeans' strongholds and later the setting up colonies as in West Africa (British crown colonies: Sierra Leone 1808, Gambia 1843) as well as in South Africa (1652). In describing Africans, a scheme suggests itself by which a more positive opinion prevailed in the cases when the Africans had had contacts with Christianity already, particularly concerning those among whom active missionary work was taking place. However, the disposition to Christianity was not the main criterion – African peoples met apparent racist attitudes expressed in setting up hierarchical gradation among the peoples by Europeans (cf. Curtin: 1964, 413). For instance, descriptions in textbooks depicted South African cattle breeders of the Khoikhoi ('Hottentot' as in the text) and hunters-gatherers of the San ('Bushmen' as in the text) in a more negative key than the Bantu peoples living in the same region.

3.3 *The Image of African States*

The treatment of African history is practically lacking in the 19th-century Estonian school textbooks. One of the reasons here is the Hegelian approach to Africa as to non-historical continent – a point of view which was prevailing in Europe in the 19th century and even at the beginning of the 20th century. Africa was mainly mentioned in the context of the history of the Western world. The reason is in the past sketchy data concerning the history of Africa.

When the first Estonian-language history textbooks focused primarily on the histories of Christianity and Church (Schwartz, 1858–1861; Körber, 1860). Africa was mentioned only in the context of the Bible (the genesis of the peoples of the world: the curse of Noah, and Ham as the forefather of African peoples), also in connection with missionary work and the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Likewise, in more recent textbooks (Bergmann, 1885) the treatment of Africa followed the same principle – when the history of Ancient Egypt as a state found its definite niche in the textbooks then Tropical and South Africa were mentioned only as part of the frame

of reference for the Western history (Sitska, 1908–1911). This period was characterised by a Euro-centrist approach to the topic of Africa alongside of episodic and static treatments in history textbooks. Even earlier geography textbooks offered more about the history of Africa than did actual history textbooks. Thus, for instance, in his geography textbook C. R. Jakobson dwelt upon the emergence of the Republic of Liberia in West Africa (Jakobson, 1868: 82) he also mentioned the ‘Negro states’ in Inland Africa, the history of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), wars waged among the peoples and the history of the slave trade (Kauzmann & Schultz, 1875: 80; Kentmann, 1875: 66; Kentmann, 1892: 63; Lebedev & Puzöikowitsch, 1892: 69; Jürgens & Tasak, 1907: 120).

4. Estonia During Independence from 1918 to 1940 and 1991 to the Present Day

4.1 The image of African States

At the prime of the colonial era in Africa, in the interwar period, a larger part of the continent was under Europeans’ colonial rule, only Liberia and Ethiopia (with certain concessions) remained independent. Despite that, a geography textbook issued in 1921 stated the following: ‘There are numerous Negro states in Inland Africa, usually with violent governments and state order’ (Jürgens & Tasak, 1921: 307). It went on to assert that the whole of Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, was under European supremacy and the former quote certainly justified the colonisation of Africa. Similarly, a textbook from the year 1932 justified European colonial policy: ‘Indigenous peoples could not set up any strong states. Europeans conquered Africa and divided it among themselves’ (Markus, 1932: 67). Africa together with the peoples inhabiting the continent is portrayed as homogenous and static. The history of Africa is unfortunately presented only in the context of European colonial policy.

The textbooks of the period 1918–1939 however, offered some criticism about the colonial policy of European powers which was not regular in the textbooks of those colonial states (cf. Schuermans, 2013): ‘Despite a small number of Europeans living in Africa they have divided the large continent among themselves. Europeans get huge profits from their colonies: they export various valuable natural riches from Africa and sell their own industrial products there. Very

often the indigenous peoples of Africa suffer a lot under Europeans' oppression. Partly because of that the activity of missionaries who try to disseminate Christianity here is not very successful' (Jürgens & Tasak, 1907: 123). Generally, Estonian textbooks of the 1920s and 1930s were not so critical about the colonial policy of European powers. Except for a remark mentioning that the Boers and the British pushed the indigenous inhabitants to poorer places to live (Markus, 1932: 65).

Speaking about South Africa, where a European community had settled in 1652 already, an overview in textbooks covered primarily the history of Dutch settlers (the Boers), mutual relationships between two white communities (the Boers and the British), the establishment of two Boer states, the Orange Free State and Transvaal, and the Anglo-Boer war (1899–1902). Sympathy for the Boers is evident. An example given in a history textbook of the year 1918: 'For strengthening the influence of their own country, the British began to bully two states in South Africa – those were the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. In the bounds of Transvaal, rich gold deposits had been discovered and those aroused the appetite of British businessmen. That is why Britain started the war in 1899. It took the world completely by surprise that the mighty Britain was time and again defeated by the small Boer people. The Boers had been aware of the threat of war and were well prepared. Their wise Presidents Paul Krüger and Steyn and their Chief Commander Joubert were skilled in using the armies in mountains and brushwood with no roads, also in clearings and thick forests. The whole intelligent world watched excitedly how they skilfully managed their rifles, strategically deceived the enemy, and how the captured enemy soldiers were decently treated. However, when British outstanding military leaders Lord Roberts and Kitchener with their army, ten times larger than that of the Boers, began offensives, the Boers' fortune of war turned. But still the Boers were fighting bravely under the leadership of Dewet, Delarey, Botha et al. Volunteer soldiers all over the world joined the Boer army which enjoyed the sympathy of almost all the countries but all in vain. No country risked to go and help as they all feared powerful British naval forces. In 1902 the Boers had to surrender to the British and lost their independence' (Sitska, 1918: 196).

Similar to the years of independence in the 1920s–1930s, today's history textbooks also mainly focus on this historic event in the

history of South Africa. The most recent textbook on contemporary history, issued in 2019, points out: ‘The descendants of the Dutch colonists who arrived in South Africa in the 17th century developed into communities which did not regard themselves as the Dutch any longer but as an independent Afrikaans nation. Their language also turned from Dutch into an independent African language. In the 19th century they set up the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. Great Britain, on the other hand, wanted to gain an upper hand over the rich South African lands with their diamond mines. When in the years 1880–1881 the First Boer War was waged, Afrikaners were victorious. They were fighting desperately against the British also in the Second Boer War (1899–1902), yet Great Britain succeeded in conquering the Afrikaans republics. Thereby, the war waged against the Boers was extremely brutal. Captured Boers were imprisoned in concentration camps where tens of thousands of them perished’ (Raudsepp & Kann, 2019: 121).

In historiography, it has been pointed out that the concept of ‘anti-imperialist war’ in the given context is not appropriate, (See Boahen, 1990: 155) since the Dutch settlers having become established in the area as early as the mid-17th century already, were active promoters of colonial policy themselves. Thus, paradoxical as it may be, the war was substantially a struggle between two white communities for their own future and one of the most important political events introducing South Africa to 19th century and early 20th century Estonian textbooks, which conclusively shaped the image of Africa – a continent as a huge colony of Europe whose independent historical existence was inconceivable. Or the continent was seen as a child, requiring parental care and guidance. In the future, modern Estonian textbooks would probably also need somewhat more critical and thorough analysis of the Anglo-Boer War, including more attention to the ambivalence of the concept of imperialism.

4.2 *The image of African Nations and Culture in Textbooks*

The textbooks from the period of Estonian statehood (1918–1940) are relatively neutral in describing Africans in comparison to earlier descriptions, despite the popularity of theory of races in Europe. One of the most stereotypical and racist descriptions to be found is about the Bantu peoples in a geography textbook issued in 1935: ‘They are

lively by nature, strongly built but do not care about a steady job. When the drums sound in the village, they all leave their chores and gather to have a good time. By nature Negroes are immature, and trivial matters may seem a good joke. In childhood they are talented, learning easily to read and write and obtain foreign languages without much difficulty. But later their development will slow down' (Leht & Martinson 1935: 113.115). A similar description may be found in a textbook, issued earlier, in 1930: 'In their youth, Negroes are very talented. They obtain foreign languages easily and fast and learn to read and write but later their development becomes very slow. They are not persistent' (Sütt & Koppel, 1930: 155–156).

Hereby one can see that eugenic ideology, appearing quite popular also in Estonia in the interwar period, had a negative impact on the treatment of Africans' mental development: they are immature, capable of development only up to a certain limit. In comparison with Asian nations, for instance, there are many more negative stereotypes about black Africans (infantile, incapacitated, unstable, light-minded etc.) and similar generalisations can mostly be found in earlier textbooks of the given period (1918–1923) (Ausmees, 2020: 46).

Racist-based skull measurements (impacts of craniology and phrenology) influenced a task given in the textbook of the year 1932: 'Your fellow student is standing in front of you. There is a picture of a Negro in your textbook (figure 37). Compare the Negro to your fellow student. Compare the Negro's forehead with that of your fellow student. Which of the two has a high and which has a low forehead? Look at the nose, lips, shape of the skull of the Negro. Look for persons with long and short skulls among yourselves' (Markus, 1932: 118). A textbook task this clearly racist is exceptional for Estonian school textbooks.

Present-day Estonia's textbooks touch upon the 19th-century African culture and nations very sporadically but there are no racist attitudes. An emphasis is mainly laid on the special merits of David Livingstone in introducing African culture. An example from a history textbook from 1995: 'David Livingstone is the most famous explorer of Africa. He determined the coordinates of more than a thousand geographical points, discovered the watershed between Zambezi and Congo, several rivers, and described African fauna and flora. 'I made a lot of discoveries,' he wrote, 'but the most important among them was that I discovered good qualities in those who

civilised people believed to be at a low cultural level. ‘Special merits of Livingstone and other missionaries include getting to know and introducing languages, cultures and everyday life of African peoples in Europe and elsewhere. To better and more successfully disseminate Christian doctrine, the missionaries worked out written languages for the peoples who up to then had had none, they wrote it down and recorded folklore of local peoples for future generations’ (Espenberg et al., 1995: 84–85).

5. Summary

School literature as a bearer of social values in a learner’s process of socialisation cannot be underestimated. Through disseminating knowledge learners are inevitably introduced to the standards of values inherent to the given society. In the context of emphasizing modern European democratic values, it is intrinsic by way of school education to establish anti-colonialism attitudes in the youth. The more so as in the 19th century Europeans colonised a large part of Africa. The Republic of Estonia, after gaining independence at the end of WW I as one of the minor European states, has never colonised any other country. Thus, an analysis of Estonian textbooks helps better understand stereotypes and problematic points in the image of colonial Africa, beginning with the 19th-century colonial era to date.

The formation of the image of Africa as presented in the 19th-century Estonian-language textbooks in Estonia, being under rule of the Russian Empire at the time, was considerably influenced by opinions and attitudes of German Christian authors about Africa. The image of Africa rather appeared negative here. Exotica of African nature was causing a sense of danger, climatic conditions were hard and unsuitable for Europeans, in general. Unfriendly nature was coupled with a hostile human factor. Africans were characterised as barbaric and primitive pagans who needed to become civilized by Europeans. However, the indigenous peoples who responded better to Christian missionary work were also described in a more positive key. Hierarchies of local peoples were established according to the racial theory prevailing in Europe and based on the racist characteristics found in Africans, followed by the determination of African indigenous inhabitants’ nature and mental aptitude. By the end of the period under observation the stereotype

of a savage was noticed to recede only to be replaced by a childish/infantile one. When a savage needed to be subdued, the depiction of indigenous peoples as immature creatures emphasizes Africans' inability of development and thus a constant need for paternal guidance and dominance. The impact of school textbooks of the period under observation is hard to overestimate. The treatments of Africa in the textbooks were for the majority of Estonians not just the first but often the only systematic contact with the far-away continent. Euro-centric over-generalised clichés about Africa were also found in Estonian textbooks. The wish to belong to European Christian cultural space led to acceptance of value judgments in force in Europe. A role in uncritical acceptance of such alien assessments consisted in the complicated formation of self-opinion about distal cultures.

At the same time original Estonian-language textbooks, surprisingly, directed some criticism towards the topics of Europe's colonial policy. The introduction of critical viewpoints into Estonian-language textbooks in the context of European colonial powers is not quite conventional, being explained by the lack of direct colonial interests of the Russian Empire in Africa. The Hegelian approach to African history as a non-historical area of the world was reflected in Estonian textbooks substantially owing to the lack of historical treatments of the area. Africa, along with the peoples who settled the continent, was described as homogenous and static. African history in Estonian textbooks up to the gaining of its independence was presented only in the context European colonial policy.

Although the Republic of Estonia has celebrated its centenary, it has enjoyed independence for only 50 years. During the interwar period, for more than 20 years of independence, the changes in the textbooks concerning the image of Africa did not particularly stand out as compared to the beginning of the 20th century. Attitudes in the textbooks were mainly influenced by the ideologies spreading in Western society at the time: social Darwinism, eugenics, theory of progress, theory of races. In comparison with peoples of other continents, the textbooks offered rather more negative stereotypes about Africans: childish/immature, incapable of development, inconsistent, light-minded etc. Certain positive shifts took place in describing African nature. Compared to the textbooks of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the focus was rather on serious scientific facts than on emotional assessments. Thus the

development of natural sciences considerably influenced the contents of the textbooks. At the same time the descriptions of indigenous peoples of the African continent remained under the influence of colonial era and clear racist hierarchies in presenting the nations of the world were prevailing.

Great changes in value judgments have taken place during the past thirty years in the society of the Republic of Estonia after having regained its independence. Both universal values (honesty, consideration, awe for life, justice, human dignity, respect for oneself and others) and social values (liberty, democracy, respect for the native language and culture, patriotism, cultural diversity, tolerance, sustainability of environment, rule of law, solidarity, responsibility and gender equality) are emphasized as core values in gymnasium education in Estonia (Upper Secondary School Curriculum). The national requirements for textbooks emphasise, among other things, that 'Textbooks should be based on the fundamental values set out in the general part of the curriculum, including the principle of multiculturalism, and should avoid stereotypes that encourage gender, national, religious, cultural or racial prejudice' (Requirements for textbooks, workbooks, workbooks and other learning materials, requirements for marking and the form of the assessment marks, 2009). Regrettably, within the past 20 years the treatment of colonialism and decolonisation in the curriculum has noticeably decreased. However, wider recognition is deserved by the textbooks which do not contain racist expressions and more objectively and neutrally present the image of African cultures and image of states while attempting to bring out more positive results of African history. However, there is still room for improvement in the current textbooks: too much emphasis in history textbooks is still placed on the colonial period and on the activities of Europeans in Africa, more attention should be paid to the pre-colonial history of indigenous peoples and the cultural heritage of Africans should be more widely introduced.

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THE PLANUNGSMATRIX: A DIGITAL TOOL FOR DESIGNING HISTORY LESSONS AND HISTORY COURSES*

Alois Ecker

This paper introduces an innovative digital tool for designing history lessons at school and/or history courses at university, namely the 'Planungsmatrix.' The matrix is in use at universities, pedagogical universities and secondary schools in Austria, and has gained growing attention in various European countries. The matrix is actually supporting the process of designing case-studies for modules of history teacher education in the European TEEM-project¹, a collaboration between the Universities of Graz, Wrocław, Augsburg, Budapest, Lucerne and Valladolid. The 'Planungsmatrix' provides design features for the planning and observation of concrete communications of historical learning in the history classroom/course. It may be used as a template for designing learning units in subject 'history' but is also adaptable to other subjects such as 'social studies,' 'civic/citizenship education' or 'cultural studies.' The matrix is based on the theory of process-oriented history didactics with the focus on the learning processes in a history lesson. Emphasis is also placed for linking substantive (first order) concepts to procedural (second-order) concepts. The function of the matrix is to provide a visualization of the complex composition of a process of historical learning in its central elements such as organization, aims, content, communicative structure, interpretation and transfer, back-coupling and reflection. Additional functions allow collaborative work on the matrix, receiving written feedback from the supervisor (e.g. instructor), along with saving the planned design for further work on it or for entering it into a research database.

1. The History Course as a Social System

1.1 *The Communicative Approach to Historical Learning*

In the sense of the social systems theory (Luhmann, 1984: 191–240), both, teacher and students are regarded as 'social subjects' who are part of the same social system of 'historical learning.' This system of

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historical learning, as Luhmann would say, is constituted by communications about history, i.e. communications on the understanding and analysis of historical narratives, the contextualization and interpretation of historical sources, the comparison and negotiation of different perspectives and thus the discussion of possible variations of interpretation of a given piece of historical evidence.

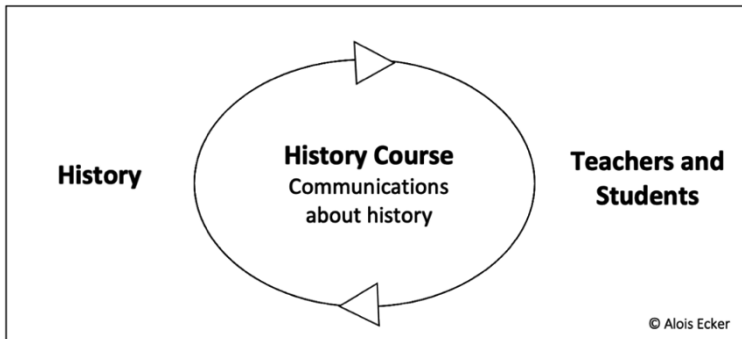


Figure 1: The Systemic Model of the History Course (Ecker, 2022: 2090)

1.2 *The Circular Model of Historical Learning*

As described by Paul Watzlawick et al. (2014: 11), communicative processes – and thus understanding of information given by ‘the other,’ namely, the partners of communication – do not develop in a linear process of acquiring information and/or accumulating knowledge. This was the misunderstanding of educators and didacticians who relied – or still rely worldwide – on the taxonomy of Benjamin Bloom (1956; see also Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001).

In contrast to this linear and hierarchic conception and progress of learning, the systemic approach to communication enforces the idea, that understanding, in general, and learning in particular, develops in a circular process. The circularity of understanding and learning reflects the dynamic processes of communication in daily-life conversation, whether this concerns the conversations in the family, at work, in peer-conversation or at school and university. Following the systemic approach learning and understanding develops as a co-construction of meaning in the process of communication and

interaction with all the partners of communication involved (Ecker, 2022).

The communication on a specialised subject, such as history, has some specifics, which can be illustrated by the following ‘circular model of historical learning.’ The model discerns between seven distinctive indicators for the observation, description, analysis, and reflection of these complex communication processes in the history course.

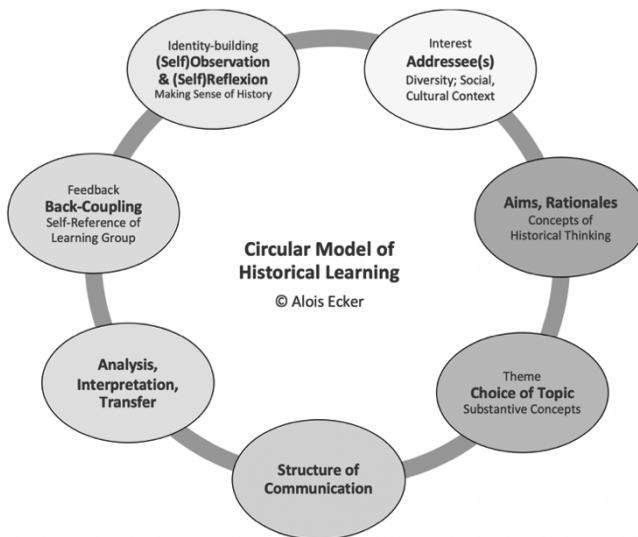


Figure 2. The Circular Model of Historical Learning (Ecker, 2022: 2696)

Communication in the history course develops as a dynamic process of interaction between these seven factors. All seven factors are regarded as dynamic and interdependent fields in the process of historical learning (Ecker, 2015: 508; Ecker, 2022: 2691). The factors are relevant for all persons involved in the communicative process. They can be regarded from the perspective of the teacher who plans or steers the learning process, but are equally relevant for the student who contributes to the working process, asks questions, presents the results of group work or sets any intervention in the communications of the history course.

For our purposes of planning and designing the history course, we take the perspective of the teacher who plans the history course. He/she will ask questions such as:

- Who are my *addressees*? What are their interests as concerns the (work, debate on the) topic? What information about the addressees is relevant for successful work on the topic?
- What are my *aims* for this course? What is the rationale behind the design of the course? What aspects of historical thinking could be best elaborated on the example of the historical topic under discussion?
- What *topic* could be chosen to reach the aims? What substantive historical concepts can be illustrated? What theme(s) emerge in the process of discussion? Which historical sources are appropriate to work on the topic?
- Which *structure of communication* would be appropriate for developing a learning process for working on this topic and for attaining the chosen goal? (e.g. presentation, team-based work, project work, case study?)
- What forms of *analysis, interpretation* and (methodological) *transfer* can be chosen for further elaborating on the historical thinking concept under discussion?
- What types of *back-coupling* are essential for maintaining a coherent communication process (at the cognitive, emotional, and affective levels)?
- What types of *reflection* will be helpful for fostering identity-building at the personal and cultural level and for making sense of history in the learning process?

2. The Matrix for Designing the History Course

Built on the circular model of historical learning, the ‘Planungsmatrix’ is now available in digitalized form. It can thus be filled in, saved, copied, communicated to the trainer and/or to peers who are collaborating in a working group. The matrix can also be saved and archived for research purposes. Access to the online-version of the tool is available via the platform of CITRA – The Center for Intercultural and Transnational Research in History Didactics, Social Studies and Citizenship Education, or directly via the TEEM-Website (<https://teem.geschichtsdidaktik.eu>; or <https://matrix.geschichtsdidaktik.eu>). After registration with their user name, email-address and

password, a new user gets full access to all features of the 'Planungsmatrix.'



Figure 3. Screen capture of the Planungsmatrix website

As for the exact description, the head of the matrix gives general information about the historical topic which will be designed for in this unit, about the temporal framework, and – as far as relevant – about the framework of the curriculum for the concrete target group.

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Name of this Planungsmatrix	
Topic	
Course Nr. / Module Nr.	?
Author(s) / Teacher(s)	
Stage / Level	?
Temporal Framework	<input type="checkbox"/> 45 / 50 min <input type="checkbox"/> 90 / 100 min <input type="checkbox"/> Block (from - to) <input type="checkbox"/> Other

Figure 4. Planungsmatrix – General Information screen

Emphasis is then given to indicating the substantive (first-order) concept(s) which are planned to be elaborated during this course in coherence with the topic of the course, e.g. the concept of 'power,' 'domain,' 'democracy,' 'fascism,' 'feudal system,' 'industrialization,' 'distribution of resources,' 'social stratification,' 'conflict,' 'identity,' 'gender,' 'culture,' et al. Equal emphasis is given to work on the

procedural (second order) concepts which are in the focus of the specific design for the concrete history lesson (Historical Association, 2020). The ‘second order concepts’ comprise theoretical and/or methodological approaches to historical thinking such as ‘evidence,’ ‘historical empathy,’ ‘perspective’ (Lee & Ashby, 2001), ‘cause and consequence’ (Lee & Shemilt, 2009), ‘significance,’ ‘continuity and change’ et al. In our conception we mainly work with the ‘Historical thinking concepts’ as described by Peter Seixas (2015): ‘significance,’ ‘evidence,’ ‘cause and consequence,’ ‘continuity and change,’ ‘taking a historical perspective,’ ‘the ethical dimension.’ When filling in the matrix we recommend to mainly focus only on one or maximal two concepts so that there will be a clear thematic focus of the lessons.

EMPHASIS ON SUBSTANTIVE CONCEPT(S)

Use this field to indicate the substantive concept(s) which should be elaborated / strengthened during this course:

For example:

- concept of power, domain, democracy, dictatorship, revolution, fascism...
- feudal-system, industrialisation, distribution of resources...
- social stratification, diversity, gender, conflict...
- culture, renaissance, age of enlightenment, modernity...

Selected Concept (incl. reasons for decision of this concept)

EMPHASIS ON HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPT(S)

Use this field to indicate concepts(s) of historical thinking [the second-order concept(s)] which should be elaborated / strengthened during this course:

For example:

- Concepts of historical sense-making: traditional, exemplary, critical, genetic (J. Rüsen); identity, historical consciousness
- Historical thinking concepts: evidence, significance, perspective, cause and effect, continuity and change, ethical aspect (Seixas)
- Competences of historical learning: narrative c., interpretative c., methodological c., (H.-J. Pandel, P. Gautschi, C. van Boxtel...)
- other

Selected Concept (incl. reasons for decision of this concept)

Figure 5. First- and second-order concepts in Planungsmatrix

Strong emphasis is also placed on collecting information in advance about the *composition of the target group*, e.g. the size of the learning group, the gender distribution, the social and/or cultural background, but only as far as such information might be relevant for working on the concrete planned topic. Additional information goes to the

expected subject/content knowledge of the target group and to its methodological knowledge.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENT AND TARGET GROUP

Please describe empirically comprehensible aspects about the target group (as far as available) which will help you to plan the concrete university course by referring to the substantive concepts and historical thinking concepts identified and described above.

Male Participants	Female Participants	Divers Participants
0	0	0

Composition of the target group ?

Expected subject knowledge following the status in the curriculum

Methodological Knowledge

Figure 6. Focus on the learners in Planungsmatrix

In parallel, teachers are encouraged to describe their pre-concepts and 'beliefs' about the target group, the expectations about their knowledge, along with their methodological skills.

Finally, teachers are invited to formulate criteria which they will take as indicators for the success of the learning process which they are going to initiate and steer.

TEACHER'S BELIEFS, EXPECTATIONS, CRITERIA FOR SUCCESSFUL WORK
 Please describe relevant aspects of your beliefs about the target group, your expectations and criteria for successful work during this course.

Expected quality of the learning process when looking at the composition of the target group

Expected subject specific knowledge following your experiences with TE courses of this type

Expected methodological knowledge following your experiences with TE courses of this type

Please describe 3 (min) to 5 (max) criteria for the success when working on this topic with this group

Figure 7. Focus on teachers in Planungsmatrix.

The *principal part of the matrix* is then dedicated to the organisation and the *detailed planning* of the lesson/course *in smaller sequences*. These sequences should be filled in a row from left to right each, and should give basic information about:

- the organisational structure of the course, such as time space, function in the learning process (e.g. opening, introduction to the topic, elaboration of questions on the topic, presentation of results from group work, etc.). The next columns are expected to be filled by indicating
- the detailed aims and rationales for this sequence, where the planning teacher can also exemplify more in detail some interlinks to the concept of historical thinking, which he/she has chosen for this concrete lesson,
- aspects of the topic to be elaborated in this sequence, including the substantive concepts to be highlighted,
- the structure of the communication which is selected to support the learning process (hierarchic, team-oriented, process-oriented),

- the ways of analysis and interpretation of historical narratives and/or historical sources, as well as the forms of transfer,
- the forms of back-coupling/feedback with special emphasis to the self-reference of the learning group, and
- the forms of reflection and self-reflection which are planned for initiating the learning and working process of this course, either for the entire learning group or for individual reflection (including self-reflection of the teacher).

In contrast to many other tools for the planning of lessons, special emphasis is placed with the ‘Planungsmatrix’ on the communicative aspects of organizing and steering the learning process. These elements are supposed to help raise awareness for empowering self-reflection, identity-building and making sense of history by communicating about differences in historical narratives, by comparing, analysing and negotiating (variations in) historical narratives – and thus contributing to critical reflection of the construction of such narratives.

In the overview, the matrix will contribute to a visualization of the learning process planned. White spots in the matrix should help the teacher/trainee to critically reflect on the planned design and thereupon eventually improve on the planning accordingly.

MATRIX FOR DESIGNING THE COURSE IN DETAILED SEQUENCES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Organisational Structure Time, Function in learning process, settings	Aims, Rationales Historical Thinking Concept	Topics Sub-Themes Substantive Concept	Structure of Communication / Learning Organisation Methods, Media	Analysis, Interpretation, Transfer Competence-building, Orientation	Back-Coupling Forms of Feedback, Reference to Learning Group	Reflection In Group and Self-Reflection
e.g. introduction						
e.g. group work						
e.g. webquest						
e.g. presentations of group work and web quest						
e.g. interpretations and final discussion						

ADD SEQUENCE

Figure 8. Principal part of the matrix – designing the history course in detailed sequences

At every single workspace of the matrix, it is possible to implement direct URLs, digitalized historical sources, pictures or videos, so that the matrix can serve as a concrete ‘script’ for the teacher when teaching in the classroom. Larger sources for the work in classroom can also be attached at the bottom of the matrix (Matrix attachments).

The online version further allows written feedback to every single workspace of the matrix from the side of the trainer (teacher educator) or invited reviewer. This allows the teacher educator to enter in detailed explication and communication with the student(s) also in phases of distance learning or blended learning. The students/teacher trainees can also invite colleagues to collaborate on the same matrix via the ‘share’-button and/or invite any supervising person for review.

MATRIX SHARED WITH USERS

EDITORS

Name:	Joanna Wojdon	USER INFO
Email Address:	joanna.wojdon@uwr.edu.pl	REMOVE

REVIEWERS

Name:	Bettina Paireder	USER INFO
Email Address:	bettina.paireder@uni-graz.at	REMOVE

SAVE SHARE SET STATUS PDF DELETE

Figure 9. Review panel of Planungsmatrix.

Questions for the analysis of a completed matrix go to the overall construction of the learning process, to the interrelationship between substantive and procedural concepts, and to the structures of communication in the history course. Results of such analysis will be primordially used as feedback to the trainee students, but will also help the history teacher to improve in daily planning. The analysis can also generate new research questions to be investigated in empirical research on communicative processes in the history course. Questions for the analysis can further go to identity building (reflection on differences as well as links between the narratives about the individual living environment of students and the professional historical narratives of e.g. social history, of childhood, of youth culture, family structures, of labour conditions, of leisure culture, gender history etc.), to tensions between individual narratives

and national narratives (Carretero et al., 2017: 511 ff), or to aspects of making sense of history (structures of communication in relation to forms of transfer, of back-coupling and of reflection, when working on sensitive historical topics such as race, genocide, post-war narratives, migration).

3. Conclusion

The process of historical learning in the history course is regarded in this paper as a social system in its own right. The social subject in the sense of social systems theory is understood as an interactive and communicative person who analyzes, invests, adopts, negotiates, reflects and decides on historical narratives in a process of co-construction with other persons. In this approach, historical consciousness is conceptualized as a form of social construction: it develops in the 'here and now' of communication with others.

The 'matrix for designing the history course' helps raise awareness on the part of the teacher/trainees about conscientiously using first and second-order concepts when planning and steering the learning process. It furthermore puts emphasis on empirical observation and analysis of historical learning in the classroom (Paireder, 2021) and therein puts the learning 'social subject' in the focus of the research. The use of the matrix will contribute to establishing a culture of history teaching and learning which places stronger emphasis on theory-driven planning and observation of the learning process. It can furthermore contribute to change the paradigm from normative discussion about historical education towards rational planning, empirical observation and analysis of the processes of communication of historical learning in the history classroom/course.

Notes

¹ The Erasmus+ project 'TEEM' provides modules for teacher education in subjects 'history' and 'citizenship education,' including contextualized historical sources, case-studies and proposals for course design. See <https://teem.geschichtsdidaktik.eu> (3.07.2022)

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ABSTRACTS
ZUSSAMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Denise Bentrovato and Joshua Chakawa

Patriotism and the Politicisation of National History and Heritage in Zimbabwe's School Curriculum Reform (2015–2022)

This article examines the politicisation of national history and heritage education in present-day Zimbabwe in the context of a worldwide rise in nationalist rhetoric and parallel attempts at infusing history classrooms with patriotism. The study considers both the intended curriculum, analysing prescribed syllabi, and the implemented curriculum, exploring teachers' lived experiences and views on curriculum change since 2015; the backdrop to these considerations is one of contested memory and power, as often accompanies nation-building projects following colonial pasts. The analysis uncovers the workings of a curriculum which employs discursive narcissism and silences to forge a monolithic collective memory and identity while providing legitimisation for the ruling party and its actions past and present, effectively to tame an increasingly government-critical youth. The selective celebration of national liberation and patriotic heroism feature strongly in these endeavours. In view of the concomitant obscuring and marginalisation of competing experiences, the study takes account of teachers' voices and finds them to uncover a chasm between policy directives and their implementation. The findings call into question a top-down curriculum reform that has controversially centred 'heritage' to the detriment of history and leaves teachers forced to navigate a politicised classroom environment.

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Politisierung der nationalen Geschichte und der Erziehung zum kulturellen Erbe im heutigen Simbabwe im Kontext einer weltweiten Zunahme nationalistischer Rhetorik und paralleler Versuche, den Geschichtsunterricht mit Patriotismus zu durchdringen. Die Studie betrachtet beides, den intendierten Lehrplan, indem sie die vorgeschriebenen Unterrichtsinhalte analysiert und den praktizierten Lehrplan, indem sie die Erfahrungen der Lehrkräfte und ihre Ansichten zum Lehrplanwechsel seit 2015 untersucht; der Hintergrund für diese Überlegungen ist ein Kampf um Erinnerung und Macht, wie dies häufig mit Nation-building Projekten nach kolonialer Vergangenheit einhergeht. Die Analyse deckt die Funktionsweise eines Lehrplans auf, der diskursiven Narzissmus und Schweigen einsetzt, um ein monolithisches kollektives Gedächtnis zu formen und gleichzeitig die herrschende Partei und ihre Handlungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zu legitimieren, um eine zunehmend regierungskritische Jugend zu zähmen. Die selektive Feier der nationalen Befreiung und des patriotischen Heldentums spielen bei diesen Bemühungen eine große Rolle. Angesichts der damit einhergehenden Verschleierung und Marginalisierung konkurrierender Erfahrungen, berücksichtigt die Studie die Stimmen von Lehrpersonen und stellt fest, dass diese eine Kluft zwischen den politischen Richtlinien und ihrer Umsetzung aufdecken. Die Ergebnisse stellen eine von oben verordnete Lehrplanreform in Frage, die das ‚kulturelle Erbe‘ zum Nachteil der Geschichte in den Mittelpunkt gestellt hat und die Lehrkräfte dazu zwingt, sich in einem politisierten Unterrichtsumfeld zurechtzufinden.

Cet article examine la politisation de l'enseignement de l'histoire et du patrimoine national dans le Zimbabwe d'aujourd'hui, dans le contexte d'une montée mondiale de la rhétorique nationaliste et de tentatives simultanées d'insuffler le patriotisme au sein des classes d'histoire. L'étude considère à la fois le programme scolaire attendu, en analysant les programmes prescrits, et le programme mis en œuvre, en parcourant l'expérience vécue des enseignants et leurs points de vue sur les changements apportés au programme depuis 2015. Ces considérations s'inscrivent dans le contexte d'une mémoire et d'un pouvoir contestés, qui accompagnent souvent les projets de construction nationale après un passé colonial. L'analyse dévoile les rouages d'un programme scolaire qui utilise le narcissisme discursif et les silences pour forger une mémoire et une identité collectives monolithiques, tout en fournissant une légitimation au parti au pouvoir et à ses actions passées et présentes, afin de maîtriser efficacement une jeunesse de plus en plus critique envers le gouvernement. La célébration sélective de la libération nationale et de l'héroïsme patriotique occupe une place importante dans ces efforts. Étant donné à la fois l'occultation et la marginalisation des expériences concurrentes, l'étude prend en compte la voix des enseignants et constate l'existence d'un gouffre entre les directives politiques et leur mise en œuvre. Les résultats remettent en question cette réforme du programme scolaire menée par le haut, qui met l'accent sur le « patrimoine » au détriment de l'histoire, et qui oblige les enseignants à évoluer dans un environnement pédagogique politisé.

Alois Ecker

The Planungsmatrix: A Digital Tool for Designing History Lessons and History Courses

This paper introduces an innovative digital tool for designing history lessons at school and/or history courses at university, namely the 'Planungsmatrix.' The matrix is in use at universities, pedagogical universities and secondary schools in Austria, and has gained growing attention in various European countries. The matrix is actually supporting the process of designing case-studies for modules of history teacher education in the European TEEM-project, a collaboration between the Universities of Graz, Wrocław, Augsburg, Budapest, Lucerne and Valladolid. The 'Planungsmatrix' provides design features for the planning and observation of concrete communications of historical learning in the history classroom/course. It may be used as a template for designing learning units in subject 'history' but is also adaptable to other subjects such as 'social studies,' 'civic/citizenship education' or 'cultural studies.' The matrix is based on the theory of process-oriented history didactics with the focus on the learning processes in a history lesson. Emphasis is also placed for linking substantive (first order) concepts to procedural (second-order) concepts. The function of the matrix is to provide a visualization of the complex composition of a process of historical learning in its central elements such as organization, aims, content, communicative structure, interpretation and transfer, back-coupling and reflection. Additional functions allow collaborative work on the matrix, receiving written feedback from the supervisor (e.g. instructor), along with saving the planned design for further work on it or for entering it into a research database.

In diesem Beitrag wird ein innovatives digitales Werkzeug für die Gestaltung des Geschichtsunterrichts in der Schule und/oder von Geschichtskursen an der Universität

vorgestellt, nämlich die ‚Planungsmatrix.‘ Die Matrix wird an Universitäten, Pädagogischen Hochschulen und weiterführenden Schulen in Österreich eingesetzt und hat in verschiedenen europäischen Ländern wachsende Aufmerksamkeit erlangt. Die Matrix unterstützt derzeit den Prozess der Entwicklung von Fallstudien für Module der Ausbildung von Geschichtslehrpersonen im Rahmen des europäischen TEEM-Projekts, einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Universitäten Graz, Wrocław, Augsburg, Budapest, Luzern und Valladolid. ‚Die Planungsmatrix‘ bietet Design-Merkmale für die Planung und Beobachtung konkreter Kommunikationen des historischen Lernens im Geschichtsunterricht. Sie kann als Vorlage für die Gestaltung von Lerneinheiten im Fach ‚Geschichte‘ verwendet werden, ist aber auch auf andere Fächer wie ‚Sozialkunde‘, ‚Politische Bildung‘ oder ‚Kulturstudien‘ übertragbar. Die Matrix basiert auf der Theorie der prozessorientierten Geschichtsdidaktik, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf den Lernprozessen im Geschichtsunterricht liegt. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Verknüpfung von inhaltlichen Konzepten (erster Ordnung) mit prozessualen Konzepten (zweiter Ordnung). Die Funktion der Matrix ist die Visualisierung der komplexen Zusammensetzung eines historischen Lernprozesses in seinen zentralen Elementen wie Organisation, Ziele, Inhalte, kommunikative Struktur, Interpretation und Transfer, Rückkopplung und Reflexion. Zusätzliche Funktionen ermöglichen das kollaborative Arbeiten an der Matrix, das Einholen von schriftlichem Feedback durch Betreuende (z.B. Dozierende) sowie das Speichern des geplanten Entwurfs zur weiteren Bearbeitung oder zur Eingabe in eine Forschungsdatenbank.

Cet article présente un outil numérique innovant pour concevoir des leçons scolaires et/ou des cours universitaires en histoire, à savoir la « Matrice de planification » ou « Planungsmatrix ». La matrice est utilisée au sein des universités, universités pédagogiques et écoles secondaires en Autriche, et suscite un intérêt croissant dans plusieurs pays européens. La matrice soutient actuellement les processus de conception d'études de cas pour des modules de formation des enseignants en histoire dans le cadre du projet européen TEEM, une collaboration entre les universités de Graz, Wrocław, Augsburg, Budapest, Lucerne et Valladolid. La « Planungsmatrix » offre des fonctionnalités de conception pour planifier et observer des actions concrètes de communication d'apprentissage historique dans une classe/un cours d'histoire. Elle peut être utilisée comme modèle pour la conception d'unités d'apprentissage en « histoire », mais elle peut également être adaptée à d'autres matières telles que les « sciences sociales », l'« éducation civique/citoyenne » ou les « études culturelles ». La matrice est basée sur une théorie didactique qui oriente l'apprentissage de l'histoire vers les processus, c'est-à-dire qui dans une leçon d'histoire, met l'accent sur les processus d'apprentissage. L'accent est également mis sur le lien entre les concepts de fond (de premier ordre) et les concepts de procédure (de second ordre). La matrice a pour fonction de fournir une visualisation de la composition complexe d'un processus d'apprentissage en histoire dans ses éléments essentiels comme l'organisation, les objectifs, le contenu, la structure communicative, l'interprétation et le transfert, la rétroaction et la réflexion. Des fonctions supplémentaires permettent de travailler collaborativement sur la matrice, de recevoir un commentaire écrit de la part du superviseur (par exemple, de l'instructeur), ainsi que de sauvegarder une conception planifiée pour y travailler ultérieurement ou pour l'introduire dans une base de données de recherche.

Giorgos Kokkinos, Eugenia Alexaki, Panayotis Gatsotis and Petros Trantas

The Sick Body: Revisiting History Education Through the History of Disease and Art History

Ignorance about infectious diseases and the vulnerability of human life is one of the characteristics of contemporary societies, closely linked to the illusory perception of time as an unhindered progress and the alienation of the Western world from the 'dark' aspects of the past. However, the COVID-19 pandemic provides us once again with an opportunity to critically reassess the consequences of infectious diseases over time, their cultural interpretations, and the ineffectiveness of the ethnocentric model of historical education. In fact, as our pilot survey, which included 104 pre-service primary education student-teachers, revealed, there is a willingness to seize this opportunity. In this respect, we argue that a critical and inclusive art historical approach may provide an alternative educational pathway to contextualize and historicize diseases and illness experiences, given the fact that artworks about the sick, suffering, and disabled body convey visual stories of the manifold ways illness has been and is being experienced and socially perceived.

Die Unkenntnis über Infektionskrankheiten und die Verwundbarkeit menschlicher Existenz ist eines der Merkmale heutiger Gesellschaften, das eng mit der illusorischen Wahrnehmung der Zeit als ungehindertem Fortschritt und der Entfremdung der westlichen Welt von den 'dunklen' Aspekten der Vergangenheit verbunden ist. Die COVID-19-Pandemie bietet uns jedoch einmal mehr die Gelegenheit, die Folgen von Infektionskrankheiten im Laufe der Zeit, ihre kulturellen Interpretationen und die Unwirksamkeit des ethnozentrischen Modells der historischen Bildung kritisch zu hinterfragen. Wie unsere Pilotumfrage, an der 104 angehende Grundschullehrerinnen und -lehrer teilnahmen, gezeigt hat, ist die Bereitschaft vorhanden, diese Chance zu nutzen. In dieser Hinsicht argumentieren wir, dass ein kritischer und inklusiver kunsthistorischer Ansatz einen alternativen Bildungsweg zur Kontextualisierung und Historisierung von Krankheiten und Krankheitserfahrungen bieten kann, da Kunstwerke über den kranken, leidenden und behinderten Körper visuelle Geschichten über die vielfältigen Arten Krankheit erfahrbar machen, die sozial wahrgenommen und vermittelt werden.

L'ignorance des maladies infectieuses et de la vulnérabilité de la vie humaine est un des traits caractéristiques des sociétés contemporaines, ce qui est étroitement lié à une perception illusoire du temps comme un progrès irrésistible et au détachement du monde occidental vis-à-vis des aspects « sombres » du passé. Cependant, la pandémie de COVID-19 nous donne une fois de plus l'occasion de réévaluer de manière critique les conséquences des maladies infectieuses dans le temps, leurs interprétations culturelles et l'inefficacité du modèle ethnocentrique de l'enseignement historique. En fait, comme l'a révélé notre enquête-pilote, réalisée auprès de 104 étudiants-enseignants en formation initiale dans l'enseignement primaire, il existe une volonté de saisir cette opportunité. À cet égard, nous soutenons qu'une approche critique et inclusive de l'histoire de l'art peut fournir une alternative éducative pour contextualiser et historiciser les maladies et les expériences liées à la maladie, étant donné que les œuvres d'art portant sur le corps malade, souffrant et handicapé véhiculent des témoignages visuels sur les multiples façons dont la maladie a été et est vécue et socialement perçue.

Georg Marschnig

‘Sometimes, It Is Enough to Look Back to See the Future Clearly.’
Dealing with Memory Cultures to Learn About the Past ... and the Future

It makes sense in many respects to deal with cultures of remembrance in History lessons. Students do not only learn a lot about the past, but much more about the present. They realize that the answers and perspectives on the past always depend on what questions are asked of them, and that these questions link the past with their present. In the following, a school project will be used to show the many opportunities for historical learning that arise when dealing with the changes in cultures of remembrance. In this way, the question of why history education is still so relevant should be pursued, both theory-based and experience-driven.

Es ist in vielerlei Hinsicht sinnvoll, Erinnerungskulturen im Geschichtsunterricht zu behandeln. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler lernen nicht nur viel über die Vergangenheit, sondern viel mehr über die Gegenwart. Sie erkennen, dass die Antworten und Perspektiven Sichtweisen auf die Vergangenheit immer davon abhängen, welche Fragen an sie gestellt werden, und dass diese Fragen die Vergangenheit mit ihrer Gegenwart verbinden. Im Folgenden soll anhand eines Schulprojekts gezeigt werden, welche vielfältigen Möglichkeiten des historischen Lernens sich im Umgang mit dem Wandel der Erinnerungskulturen ergeben. Auf diese Weise soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, warum Geschichtsunterricht immer noch so relevant ist, sowohl theoriegeleitet als auch erfahrungsorientiert.

À bien des égards, il est tout à fait logique de traiter des cultures de la mémoire en cours d'histoire. Les élèves apprennent non seulement beaucoup sur le passé, mais encore plus sur le présent. Ils se rendent compte que les réponses et les perspectives sur le passé dépendent toujours des questions qui leur sont posées, et que ces questions relient le passé à leur présent. Par la suite, un projet scolaire sera utilisé pour montrer les nombreuses possibilités d'apprentissage historique apportées par l'étude des changements dans les cultures de la mémoire. De cette manière, on pourra continuer à se demander pourquoi l'enseignement de l'histoire est toujours aussi pertinent, en se basant à la fois sur la théorie et sur l'expérience.

Knysna Motumi, Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich

Voices from a South African Community on Why a History ‘All Around Us’ Education Matters

The research project foregrounded in this paper, played itself out in the Fezile Dabi region of which the town of Parys, and the other nearby townships of Tumbahole and Schonkenville form part of. All are in the Free State Province of South Africa. Two goals, emanating from the original research for post graduate degree purposes was to get a gist of these community's understanding of the histories around them. Furthermore, how History teaching and learning can become a frequent conscious experiential engagement inside and outside the classroom. Some considerable attention on a ‘doing History’ approach by using the ‘history-is-all-around-us’ concept, had been the broader emphasis of a PhD study by KT Motumi. A part of this

intensive study is shared in this paper discussion in which some of the South African community voices are shared on their awareness about the local history and heritage as part of their reasoning towards why history education matters. Apart from the theoretical foundation that is covered to contextualise the scholarly and historical basis of the research of 'history-is-all-around-us,' the accent will mostly fall on the voices of the community (educators, advisors, principals, community leaders) though fieldwork information had also been obtained from the learners themselves (directly and indirectly) on their awareness and experience of histories in their local surrounds will not be discussed though, due to space limitations.

Das Forschungsprojekt, um das es in diesem Beitrag geht, fand in der Region Fezile Dabi statt, zu der die Stadt Parys und die anderen nahe gelegenen Gemeinden Tumahole und Schonkenville gehören. Sie alle liegen in der südafrikanischen Provinz Free State. Zwei Ziele, die sich aus der ursprünglichen Forschung für die Zwecke des Postgraduiertenstudiums ergaben, waren, einen Überblick über das Verständnis dieser Gemeinden für die Geschichte ihrer Umgebung zu erhalten. Darüber hinaus sollte untersucht werden, wie das Lehren und Lernen von Geschichte zu einer häufigen bewussten Erfahrung innerhalb und außerhalb des Klassenzimmers werden kann. Ein beträchtliches Augenmerk auf den Ansatz ‚Doing History‘ unter Verwendung des Konzepts ‚history-is-all-around-us‘ (Geschichte ist überall um uns herum) war der breitere Schwerpunkt einer Doktorandenstudie von KT Motumi (2021). Ein Teil dieser intensiven Studie wird in diesem Papier diskutiert, in dem einige Stimmen aus der südafrikanischen Gemeinschaft über ihr Bewusstsein für die lokale Geschichte und das kulturelle Erbe als Teil ihrer Argumentation, warum Geschichtsunterricht wichtig ist, wiedergegeben werden. Abgesehen von der theoretischen Grundlage, die zur Kontextualisierung der wissenschaftlichen und historischen Basis der Untersuchung ‚Geschichte ist überall‘ herangezogen wird, liegt der Akzent hauptsächlich auf den Stimmen der Gemeinschaft (Lehrkräfte, Beauftragte, Schulleitungen, Verantwortliche der Gemeinden), obwohl die Feldforschung auch Informationen von den Lernenden selbst (direkt und indirekt) über ihr Bewusstsein und ihre Erfahrungen mit der Geschichte in ihrer lokalen Umgebung erhalten hat, die jedoch aus Platzgründen nicht diskutiert werden.

Le projet de recherche présenté dans cet article a été mené dans la région de Fezile Dabi, qui comprend la ville de Parys et les cantons voisins de Tumahole et Schonkenville. Tous se trouvent dans la province de l'État libre d'Afrique du Sud. Le projet poursuit deux objectifs, issus d'une première recherche réalisée en vue de l'obtention d'un diplôme d'études supérieures. Le premier consiste à se faire une idée de la compréhension que se font ces communautés de l'histoire qui les entoure. Le second vise à déterminer comment l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'histoire peuvent devenir un engagement expérientiel conscient et fréquent, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la salle de classe. La recherche de doctorat de KT Motumi (2021) met l'accent sur une approche pratique de l'histoire, en utilisant le concept selon lequel « l'histoire est tout autour de nous » (« history-is-all-around-us »). Cet article de discussion expose une partie de cette vaste étude, dans laquelle certaines communautés sud-africaines s'expriment sur leur conscience de l'histoire et du patrimoine local, en tant que partie intégrante de leur raisonnement sur l'importance de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Le texte présente le fondement théorique de ce domaine de recherche history-is-all-around-us pour le contextualiser académiquement et historiquement, mais l'accent est principalement mis sur les voix de la communauté (éducateurs, conseillers, directeurs, chefs de communauté). Lors du travail de terrain, on a également obtenu des informations des

apprenants eux-mêmes (directement et indirectement) sur leur conscience et leur expérience de l'histoire dans leur environnement local, mais elles ne seront pas discutées en raison du manque de place.

Piotr Podemski

Unity in Diversity? The Perceived Sense(s) of History Education in Poland as Revealed in Regional History Competitions

History education is clearly a key point in the public debate in Poland. While the ruling conservatives stress the need to use it as a vehicle for promoting national pride and identity, the liberal opposition's view is that the country needs a more critical approach to its own past. This paper investigates how these political conflicts translate into the practice of history education in Poland's 16 regions through an analysis of question papers locally developed for the regional history competitions, sponsored by local education authorities. An analysis of these enables the author to draw conclusions concerning the prescribed canon of knowledge and the locally perceived sense(s) of history education in Poland ('Why history education?').

Der Geschichtsunterricht ist eindeutig ein zentraler Punkt in der öffentlichen Debatte in Polen. Während die regierenden Konservativen die Notwendigkeit betonen, den Geschichtsunterricht als Mittel zur Förderung des Nationalstolzes und der Identität zu nutzen, vertritt die liberale Opposition die Ansicht, dass das Land einen kritischeren Umgang mit seiner eigenen Vergangenheit braucht. In diesem Beitrag wird untersucht, wie sich diese politischen Konflikte in der Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts in den 16 Regionen Polens niederschlagen, und zwar durch eine Analyse der vor Ort entwickelten Fragebögen für die regionalen Geschichtswettbewerbe, die von den lokalen Bildungsbehörden gefördert werden. Die Analyse dieser Fragen ermöglicht es dem, Schlussfolgerungen über den vorgeschriebenen Wissenskanon und den lokal wahrgenommenen Sinn des Geschichtsunterrichts in Polen zu ziehen ('Warum Geschichtsunterricht?').

L'enseignement de l'histoire est clairement un point-clé du débat public en Pologne. Alors que les conservateurs au pouvoir soulignent la nécessité de l'utiliser comme un moyen de promouvoir la fierté et l'identité nationales, l'opposition libérale estime que le pays a besoin d'une approche plus critique envers son propre passé. Cet article étudie la manière dont ces conflits politiques se traduisent dans la pratique de l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les 16 régions de Pologne, à travers une analyse des questionnaires élaborés localement pour les concours historiques régionaux, parrainés par les autorités éducatives locales. L'analyse de ces questions permet à l'auteur de tirer des conclusions concernant le canon des connaissances prescrit et le(s) sens donné(s) localement à l'enseignement de l'histoire en Pologne (« Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire ? »).

Dennis Röder and Susanne Popp

Why History Education? Exploring YouTube Explanatory Videos – The German Example of ‘Mrwissen2go Geschichte’

Explanatory videos have gained strong significance among students when preparing for exams etc., a trend being observed before the start of the Covid pandemic. Research in the field of history didactics on typical features, historical narratives, and the use of these explanatory videos in the History classroom, however, is still relatively young. This contribution takes a closer look at the German example of the channel ‘MrWissen2go Geschichte,’ introducing crucial characteristics of these videos that deal with historical topics and putting them into the context of public history and curricula research. Furthermore, it aims at analysing the inherent positivist concept of history in these videos and looking at possible consequences these findings have for history education in the digital age.

Lern- und Erklärvideos haben nicht erst durch die Coronapandemie an Bedeutung für Jugendliche und Studierende für ihre Vorbereitung für Prüfungen etc. gewonnen. Die geschichtsdidaktische Forschung zu typischen Merkmalen und historischen Narrativen sowie zur Rolle dieser Videos im Geschichtsunterricht steht noch ganz am Anfang. Am Beispiel des im deutschsprachigen Raum sehr populären Kanals ‚MrWissen2go Geschichte‘ werden in diesem Aufsatz relevante Merkmale von Erklärvideos mit historischen Themen vorgestellt und in den Kontext von public history und Lehrplanentwicklung eingeordnet. Darüber hinaus wird das in den Videos vorherrschende positivistische Geschichtsbild näher analysiert und die Rolle der Tutorials für den Geschichtsunterricht im digitalen Zeitalter reflektiert.

Les vidéos explicatives ont gagné en importance auprès des étudiants dans leur préparation aux examens, etc., et cette tendance ne date pas seulement du début de la pandémie du coronavirus. En revanche, les recherches en didactique de l’histoire sur les caractéristiques et les récits historiques ainsi que sur le rôle de ces vidéos dans l’enseignement de l’histoire en sont encore à leurs débuts. Cette contribution examine de plus près l’exemple de la chaîne allemande Mrwissen2go Geschichte, très populaire dans les pays germanophones, en présentant les caractéristiques essentielles de ces vidéos qui traitent de sujets historiques, et en les plaçant dans le contexte de l’histoire publique (Public History) et de la recherche sur les programmes d’études. En outre, l’article vise à analyser les conceptions positivistes de l’histoire qui prédominent dans ces vidéos et à examiner les éventuelles conséquences de ces résultats sur l’enseignement de l’histoire à l’ère du numérique.

Polina Verbytska

The Role of Memory Discourses and History Education in Fostering Youth Civic Identity in Ukraine: Different Approaches and Practices

The article considers the role of history education in fostering youth civic identity in Ukraine. The study, supported by the data based on an interdisciplinary literature review and documentary analysis explores the different approaches of representation of historical, cultural memory in history and heritage education. It demonstrates that the transformation of the official

memory discourse has had an impact on history education and commemoration practices of students. Moreover, it has an influence on fostering students' civic identity. The article also covers several examples of youth historical research works aimed at reinterpreting historical narratives and the Soviet heritage. It is found that the critical rethinking of the Soviet past is an important factor in shaping civic identity of a young generation.

Der Artikel befasst sich mit der Rolle des Geschichtsunterrichts bei der Förderung staatsbürgerlicher Identität bei jungen Menschen in der Ukraine. Die Studie stützt sich auf Daten, die auf einer interdisziplinären Literaturrecherche und Dokumentenanalyse beruhen, und untersucht die verschiedenen Ansätze der Darstellung des historischen und kulturellen Gedächtnisses in der Geschichts- und Kulturvermittlung. Sie zeigt, dass der Wandel des offiziellen Erinnerungsdiskurses Auswirkungen auf den Geschichtsunterricht und die Gedenkpraktiken von Schülerinnen und Schülern hat. Darüber hinaus hat er Einfluss auf die Förderung der staatsbürgerlichen Identität der Schülerinnen und Schüler. Im Artikel werden auch mehrere Beispiele historischer Forschungsarbeiten von Jugendlichen vorgestellt, die auf eine Neuinterpretation historischer Narrative und des sowjetischen Erbes abzielen. Es wird festgestellt, dass das kritische Überdenken der sowjetischen Vergangenheit ein wichtiger Faktor für die Herausbildung der staatsbürgerlichen Identität einer jungen Generation ist.

L'article examine le rôle de l'enseignement de l'histoire dans la formation de l'identité civique des jeunes en Ukraine. L'étude, qui s'appuie sur une revue bibliographique et une analyse documentaire interdisciplinaires, explore les différentes approches de représentation de la mémoire historique et culturelle dans l'enseignement de l'histoire et du patrimoine. Elle démontre que la transformation du discours officiel sur la mémoire a eu un impact sur l'enseignement de l'histoire et les pratiques de commémoration des étudiants. De plus, elle a une influence sur le développement de leur identité civique. L'article couvre également plusieurs exemples de travaux de recherche historique de jeunes visant à réinterpréter les récits historiques et l'héritage soviétique. Il s'avère que la reconsidération critique du passé soviétique est un facteur important dans la formation de l'identité civique de la nouvelle génération.

Karin Veski and Anu Raudsepp

On the Reflection of Sub-Saharan Africa's Colonial Period in Estonian Textbooks of the 19th–21st Centuries

The teaching of history to a younger generation is essential. History teaches us to appreciate the values created by mankind, to understand the connection of today's problems with the past, to help shape a person with a broad mind, tolerant to differences and avoiding of violence. The teaching of the history of Africa in schools is one of the most important topics. The treatment of the topic of colonialism at school today enables us to condemn injustice and sufferings that befell to colonised peoples as well as to better understand the need of recognizing their cultural achievements. Across times, textbooks have influenced the formation of value judgments and attitudes of the young. Proceeding from this, this article aims to analyse the presentation of the image of sub-Saharan Africa in the textbooks of Estonia as a minor state in Europe. Different textbooks (mother tongue, history, geography) offer information about African nature,

culture and states of the colonial period. The research addresses the appearance of stereotypes and racist expressions related to the image of sub-Saharan Africa in Estonian textbooks in the 19th century until their disappearance in the present-day Estonian democratic society. Estonian experience is interesting and first-hand in the sense that Estonia has been colonised by superpowers before now but has never colonised anyone.

Der Geschichtsunterricht für die jüngere Generation ist unerlässlich. Die Geschichte lehrt uns, die von der Menschheit geschaffenen Werte zu schätzen, den Zusammenhang zwischen den heutigen Problemen und der Vergangenheit zu verstehen und einen Menschen mit einem weiten Horizont zu formen, der tolerant gegenüber Unterschieden ist und Gewalt vermeidet. Der Unterricht zur Geschichte Afrikas in den Schulen ist eines der wichtigsten Themen. Die Behandlung des Themas Kolonialismus in der Schule ermöglicht es uns heute, die Ungerechtigkeit und das Leid, das den kolonisierten Völkern widerfahren ist, zu verurteilen und die Notwendigkeit der Anerkennung ihrer kulturellen Leistungen besser zu verstehen. Im Laufe der Zeit haben Schulbücher die Bildung von Werturteilen und Haltungen junger Menschen beeinflusst. Davon ausgehend, soll in diesem Artikel die Darstellung des Bildes von Afrika südlich der Sahara in den Schulbüchern von Estland, als einem kleinen Staat in Europa, analysiert werden. Verschiedene Schulbücher (Muttersprache, Geschichte, Geografie) bieten Informationen über die Natur, die Kultur und die Staaten Afrikas in der Kolonialzeit. Die Untersuchung befasst sich mit dem Auftreten von Stereotypen und rassistischen Ausdrücken im Zusammenhang mit dem Bild des subsaharischen Afrikas in estnischen Schulbüchern im 19. Jahrhundert bis zu ihrer Auflösung in der gegenwärtigen estnischen demokratischen Gesellschaft. Die estnische Erfahrung ist insofern interessant und aus erster Hand, da Estland auch von Großmächten kolonisiert wurde, aber noch nie jemanden kolonisiert hat.

L'enseignement de l'histoire aux jeunes générations est essentiel. L'histoire nous apprend à apprécier les valeurs créées par l'humanité, à comprendre le lien entre les problèmes d'aujourd'hui et le passé, à former des personnes dotées d'un esprit large, tolérantes envers les différences et qui évitent la violence. L'enseignement de l'histoire de l'Afrique dans les écoles est l'un des sujets les plus importants. Traiter le thème du colonialisme à l'école nous permet aujourd'hui de condamner l'injustice et les souffrances qui ont frappé les peuples colonisés et de mieux comprendre la nécessité de reconnaître leurs apports culturels. De tout temps, les manuels scolaires ont influencé et formé les jugements de valeur et les attitudes des jeunes. Partant de ce constat, cet article vise à analyser l'image de l'Afrique subsaharienne dans les manuels scolaires de l'Estonie en tant qu'État mineur en Europe. Différents manuels (langue, histoire, géographie) offrent des informations sur la nature, la culture et les États africains de la période coloniale. La recherche porte sur l'apparition de stéréotypes et d'expressions racistes liés à l'image de l'Afrique subsaharienne dans les manuels scolaires estoniens au XIX^e siècle, jusqu'à leur disparition dans la société démocratique estonienne actuelle. L'expérience estonienne est intéressante et de première importance dans la mesure où par le passé, l'Estonie a été colonisée par des superpuissances mais elle n'a jamais colonisé personne.

Roy Weintraub, Nimrod Tal and Eyal Naveh**History Education in Israel: Between the Silicon Valley and the Third Temple**

This article uses the dramatic education reforms that taking place in the Israel to explore the question of 'Why History Education?' in the Israeli context. Using a wide variety of sources – from official curricula through matriculation tests to lesson plans – the article conducts a diachronic analysis spanning eight decades, from the establishment of the State of Israel to the present day. It places the changes in Israeli history education in a broader international context within which the great historical canons and national identity goals were undermined. The analysis shows that in recent decades Israel's history education has undergone a twofold trend. On the one hand, the secular public sought to move away from the narrow national narrative, focusing instead on the development of historical thinking skills and other useful tools in the twenty-first-century economy. Religious Zionist education, on the other hand, wished to take advantage of the ideological space that created by the erosion of the classic Zionist narrative, to establish a new narrative based on the principles of the Torah of Israel and its prophets.

Dieser Artikel nutzt die dramatischen Bildungsreformen, die in Israel stattfinden, um die Frage ‚Warum Geschichtsunterricht?‘ im israelischen Kontext zu untersuchen. Unter Verwendung einer Vielzahl von Quellen – von offiziellen Lehrplänen über Reifeprüfungen bis hin zu Unterrichtsplänen – führt der Artikel eine diachrone Analyse durch, die sich über acht Jahrzehnte erstreckt, von der Gründung des Staates Israel bis zum heutigen Tag. Er stellt die Veränderungen im israelischen Geschichtsunterricht in einen breiteren internationalen Kontext, in dem die großen historischen Kanons und die Ziele der nationalen Identität unterminiert wurden. Die Analyse zeigt, dass der israelische Geschichtsunterricht in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine zweifache Entwicklung durchlaufen hat. Einerseits versuchte die säkulare Öffentlichkeit, sich von der engen nationalen Erzählung zu lösen und sich stattdessen auf die Entwicklung historischer Denkfähigkeiten und anderer nützlicher Werkzeuge für die Wirtschaft des einundzwanzigsten Jahrhunderts zu konzentrieren. Andererseits wollte die religiös-zionistische Bildung den ideologischen Raum nutzen, der durch die Erosion der klassischen zionistischen Erzählung entstanden war, um eine neue Erzählung zu etablieren, die auf den Prinzipien der Tora Israels und seiner Propheten beruht.

Cet article examine les profondes réformes de l'éducation en Israël pour réfléchir à la question « Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire ? » dans le contexte israélien. À l'aide d'une grande variété de sources – des programmes officiels aux plans de cours en passant par les épreuves du baccalauréat – l'article procède à une analyse diachronique couvrant huit décennies, de la création de l'État d'Israël à aujourd'hui. Il replace les changements intervenus dans l'enseignement de l'histoire israélienne dans un contexte international plus large, au sein duquel les grands canons historiques et les objectifs d'identité nationale ont été fragilisés. L'analyse montre qu'au cours des dernières décennies, l'enseignement de l'histoire en Israël a connu une double évolution. D'une part, le public laïc cherche à s'éloigner de l'étroitesse du récit national, se concentrant plutôt sur le développement de compétences de réflexion historique et sur d'autres outils utiles dans l'économie du XXI^e siècle. D'autre part, l'éducation sioniste religieuse souhaite profiter de l'espace idéologique créé par l'érosion du récit sioniste classique, pour établir un nouveau récit basé sur les principes de la Torah d'Israël et de ses prophètes.

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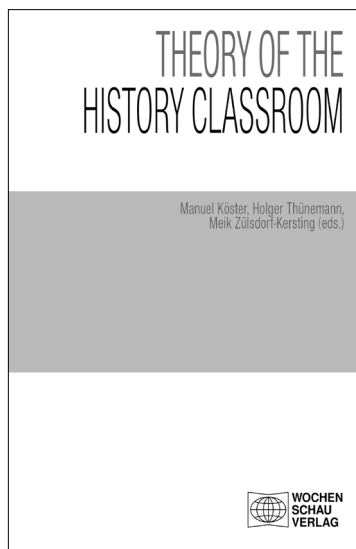
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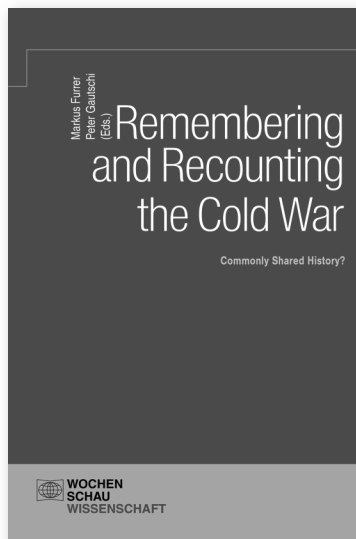
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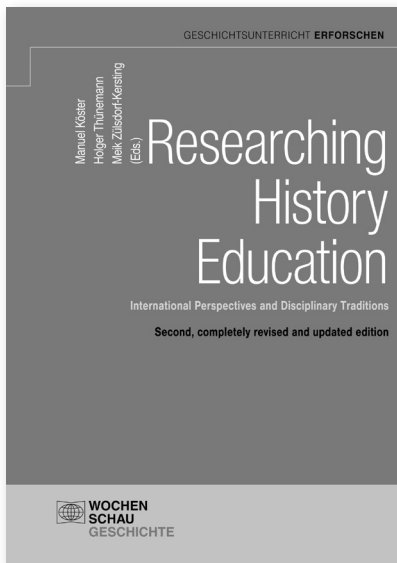
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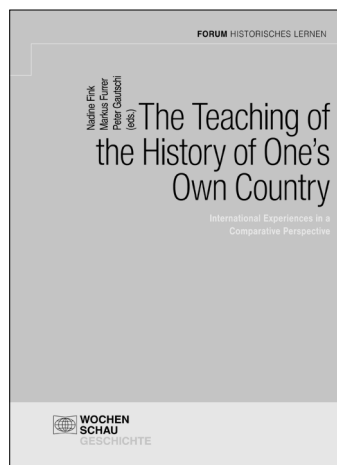
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