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The Anthropocene
and History Education



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MANAGING EDITOR · REDAKTION · RÉDACTRICE EN CHEF
Dorota WIŚNIEWSKA
Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Historyczny, ul. Szewska 49, 50-139 Wrocław, Poland
Tel: +48713752520, -2541 Fax: +48713436542
e-mail: dorota.wisniewska@uwr.edu.pl

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PREFACE

The current issue of the *International Journal of History Education and Culture* (IJHEC) delves into the critical role of history education in the face of the Anthropocene, an era defined by human activity's profound impact on the planet and its ecosystems. The issue builds upon a selection of papers presented at the ISHD conference that took place within the framework of the 23rd Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (CISH/ICHS) in Poznań, Poland, on 21–27 August 2022. In addition, several papers were submitted by researchers who had not participated in the conference.

This issue begins with the retrospective address on ISHD 'heritage,' followed by reflection on present and future challenges that the Society and educators in general have to face. The speech was delivered by the distinguished and long-serving president of the ISHD Susanne Popp at the ISHD conference held in August 2023 at the Tallinn University, Estonia.

The main section of this issue presents a range of thought-provoking articles that explore the multifaceted connections between the Anthropocene and history education. The authors emphasise the need for a transition from a national to a planetary perspective in history teaching, advocating for a holistic understanding of the past that acknowledges the interconnectedness of global systems and shared responsibility for the planet's future. They highlight the importance of curricula that foster an ecological consciousness among students and consequently opt for incorporating this issue not only to the teaching practice by individual teachers, but also to the historical narratives presented in the textbooks. This will allow students to gain a better understanding of the past and to address contemporary environmental challenges.

The Forum section comprises a diverse collection of articles that explore a wide range of topics: pupils' memory about the Franco regime in Spain; narratives of Danish history textbooks in relation to democracy; the potential of Open Educational Resources (OER); political transitions in contemporary Ukraine and their impact on history education. Evangelia Kalogirou, Georgia Kouser, Niki Nikonanou and Marina Sounoglou describe how oral testimonies

about the German occupation of Greece during World War II can be used to teach effectively. Their text ties in with the main theme of the above-mentioned ISHD conference held at the Tallinn University: *Heritage in History Education*, which will also be the focus of the planned 2024 issue of the IJHEC. 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 also be greatly appreciated as it will increase the visibility and outreach of the publications in the times of their increasing dependence on automated search engines.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, I wish to express my gratitude to all the contributors, peer reviewers, supporters, and readers for their invaluable contributions to this issue of IJHEC. Special thanks are due to Terry Haydn for the English language proofreading of the articles and to Teresa Malinowski and Markus Furrer for the French and German translations respectively. I am deeply grateful to the former Board of the ISHD for entrusting me the role of the managing editor of this issue and to Joanna Wojdon, the former managing editor of the IJHEC and newly elected president of the Society, who patiently supported me along the way. Lastly, I thank Wochenschau Verlag for their dedication throughout the publication process.

Dorota Wiśniewska

VORWORT

Die aktuelle Ausgabe des International Journal of History Education and Culture (IJHEC) befasst sich mit der kritischen Rolle des Geschichtsunterrichts angesichts des Anthropozäns, einer Ära, die durch die tiefgreifenden Auswirkungen menschlicher Aktivitäten auf den Planeten und seine Ökosysteme definiert ist. Die Ausgabe stützt sich auf eine Auswahl von Beiträgen, die auf der ISHD-Konferenz im Rahmen des 23. Kongresses des Internationalen Komitees für Geschichtswissenschaften (CISH/ICHS) vom 21. bis 27. August 2022 in Poznań, Polen, vorgestellt wurden. Darüber hinaus wurden mehrere Beiträge von Forschenden eingereicht, die nicht an der Konferenz teilgenommen hatten.

Diese Ausgabe beginnt mit einem Rückblick auf das "Erbe" der ISHD, gefolgt von Überlegungen zu den gegenwärtigen und künftigen Herausforderungen, denen sich die Gesellschaft und die Pädagogik im Allgemeinen stellen müssen. Die Rede wurde von der angesehenen und langjährigen Präsidentin der ISHD, Susanne Popp, auf der ISHD-Konferenz im August 2023 an der Universität Tallinn, Estland, gehalten.

Der Hauptteil dieser Ausgabe enthält eine Reihe von Beiträgen, die zum Nachdenken anregen und die vielfältigen Verbindungen zwischen dem Anthropozän und dem Geschichtsunterricht untersuchen. Die Autorinnen und Autoren betonen die Notwendigkeit eines Übergangs von einer nationalen zu einer planetarischen Perspektive im Geschichtsunterricht und plädieren für ein ganzheitliches Verständnis der Vergangenheit, das die Verflechtung globaler Systeme und die gemeinsame Verantwortung für die Zukunft des Planeten anerkennt. Sie betonen die Bedeutung von Lehrplänen, die ein ökologisches Bewusstsein bei den Schülerinnen und Schülern fördern, und sprechen sich daher dafür aus, dieses Thema nicht nur in die Unterrichtspraxis der einzelnen Lehrkräfte, sondern auch in die historischen Erzählungen in den Schulbüchern einzubeziehen. Auf diese Weise können die Schülerinnen und Schüler ein besseres Verständnis für die Vergangenheit erlangen und sich mit den heutigen ökologischen Herausforderungen auseinandersetzen.

Die Rubrik "Forum" umfasst eine vielfältige Sammlung von Artikeln, die ein breites Spektrum von Themen erforschen: die Erinnerung von Schülerinnen und Schülern an das Franco-Regime in Spanien; die Narrative dänischer Geschichtsschulbücher in Bezug auf Demokratie; das Potenzial offener Bildungsressourcen (OER); politische Veränderungen in der heutigen Ukraine und ihre Auswirkungen auf den Geschichtsunterricht. Evangelia Kalogirou, Georgia Kouser, Niki Nikonanou und Marina Sounoglou beschreiben, wie mündliche Zeugnisse über die deutsche Besetzung Griechenlands während des Zweiten Weltkriegs für einen effektiven Unterricht genutzt werden können. Ihr Text knüpft an das Hauptthema der oben erwähnten ISHD-Konferenz an der Universität Tallinn an: *Heritage in History Education*, das auch im Mittelpunkt der für 2024 geplanten Ausgabe des *IJHEC* stehen wird. Einzelheiten entnehmen Sie bitte dem Call for Papers im Schlussteil des Bandes und den Einreichungsrichtlinien auf der Website ishd.co. Die Einhaltung der Zitierrichtlinien, die in der ersten Fußnote auf der Titelseite jedes Artikels aufgeführt sind, wird ebenfalls sehr geschätzt, da dies die Sichtbarkeit und Reichweite der Publikationen in Zeiten zunehmender Abhängigkeit von automatisierten Suchmaschinen erhöht.

Im Namen des Redaktionskomitees möchte ich allen Autorinnen und Autoren, Gutachterinnen und Gutachtern sowie weiteren unterstützenden Personen und Ihnen, liebe und Leserinnen und Leser, für ihre unschätzbaren Beiträge zu dieser Ausgabe des *IJHEC* meinen Dank aussprechen. Besonderer Dank gebührt Terry Haydn für das Korrekturlesen der Artikel in englischer Sprache sowie Teresa Malinowski und Markus Furrer für die Übersetzungen ins Französische bzw. Deutsche. Ich bin dem ehemaligen Vorstand der ISHD zutiefst dankbar, dass er mir die Rolle der leitenden Redakteurin dieser Ausgabe anvertraut hat, und Joanna Wojdon, der ehemaligen leitenden Redakteurin der *JHEC* und neu gewählten Präsidentin der Gesellschaft, die mich auf diesem Weg geduldig unterstützt hat. Und schließlich danke ich dem Wochenschau Verlag für seine Unterstützung während des gesamten Publikationsprozesses.

Dorota Wiśniewska

PRÉFACE

Le numéro actuel de la Revue internationale IJHEC (*International Journal of History Education and Culture*), consacrée à la recherche en didactique, enseignement et culture de l'histoire, explore l'importance cruciale de l'enseignement de l'histoire face à l'Anthropocène, une ère définie par l'impact profond qu'exerce l'activité humaine sur la planète et ses écosystèmes. Ce numéro s'appuie sur une sélection d'articles présentés lors de la conférence de l'ISHD qui s'est déroulée dans le cadre du 23^e Congrès du Comité international des sciences historiques (CISH/ICHHS) à Poznań, Pologne, du 21 au 27 août 2022. En outre, plusieurs articles ont été soumis par des chercheurs qui n'ont pas participé à la conférence.

Ce numéro commence par une allocution qui dresse un bilan retrospectif sur le « patrimoine » de l'ISHD, suivi d'une réflexion sur les défis actuels et futurs auxquels la société et les éducateurs en général sont confrontés. Le discours a été prononcé par Susanne Popp, présidente éminente de l'ISHD depuis 2011, lors de la conférence de l'ISHD qui s'est tenue en août 2023 à l'Université de Tallinn, en Estonie.

La section principale rassemble une série d'articles qui explorent de façon stimulante les multiples connexions entre l'Anthropocène et l'enseignement de l'histoire. Les auteurs soulignent la nécessité de passer, dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, d'une perspective nationale à une perspective planétaire, plaidant en faveur d'une compréhension holistique du passé qui reconnaît l'interconnexion des systèmes mondiaux et la responsabilité partagée des États pour l'avenir de la planète. Ils mettent en avant l'importance des programmes d'études qui favorisent une conscience écologique chez les étudiants, et qui, par conséquent, intègrent cette question non seulement dans la pratique pédagogique des enseignants individuels, mais aussi dans les récits historiques présentés dans les manuels scolaires. Cela permettra aux étudiants d'acquérir une meilleure compréhension du passé et de relever les défis environnementaux contemporains.

La section *Forum* comprend une collection diversifiée d'articles qui abordent un large éventail de sujets : la mémoire des élèves à propos du régime franquiste en Espagne ; les récits des manuels d'histoire

danois en lien avec la démocratie ; le potentiel des Ressources Éducatives Libres (REL) ; les transitions politiques dans l'Ukraine contemporaine et leur impact sur l'enseignement de l'histoire. Evangelia Kalogirou, Georgia Kouseri, Niki Nikonanou et Marina Sounoglou décrivent comment les témoignages oraux sur l'occupation allemande de la Grèce pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale peuvent être efficacement utilisés dans un cadre pédagogique. Leur texte s'inscrit dans le thème principal de la conférence de l'ISHD mentionnée ci-dessus, qui s'est tenue à l'Université de Tallinn : *Le Patrimoine dans l'éducation à l'histoire*. Cette problématique se trouvera également au cœur du numéro de la revue IJHEC prévue pour 2024. 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.

Au nom du Comité de rédaction, je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude à tous les contributeurs, évaluateurs, collaborateurs et lecteurs pour leurs contributions inestimables à ce numéro de la revue IJHEC. Je remercie tout spécialement Terry Haydn pour la relecture en anglais des articles, ainsi que Teresa Malinowski et Markus Furrer pour les traductions en français et en allemand, respectivement. Je suis profondément reconnaissante envers l'ancien Comité de l'ISHD de m'avoir confié le rôle de rédacteur en chef de ce numéro, et envers Joanna Wojdon, ancienne rédactrice en chef de la revue IJHEC et présidente nouvellement élue de la Société, qui m'a soutenue patiemment tout au long du processus. Enfin, je remercie Wochenschau Verlag pour leur dévouement tout au long de ce projet de publication.

Dorota Wiśniewska

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE – A LOOK BACK
AT THE ISHD IN 2023:
INTRODUCTION TO ISHD CONFERENCE
AT TALLINN UNIVERSITY ON ‘HERITAGE
IN HISTORY EDUCATION’***

Susanne Popp

As the outgoing president of the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD), I would like to welcome all ISHD members and participants at this international conference on the highly topical subject of ‘Heritage in History Education’ (2023) at the University of Tallinn. Seventeen years ago, this university was the host of the ISHD conference for the first time. In 2006, as some of the participants may recall, our focus was on historical consciousness and history culture. For its generous and continued support of the work of ISHD, I am deeply indebted to the University of Tallinn. I would also like to express my gratitude to the organiser of the conference, our board member Mare Oja, and her team for their outstanding efforts and the enormous amount of overtime they have put in. They have created the best conditions for the success of this conference. Last but not least, I would like to extend a warm welcome to the many history teachers attending and contributing to this conference. It is of fundamental and crucial interest for our society to work together with history teachers.

The ISHD Board is pleased that the theme of the conference has attracted such interest and that an international community of both experienced and young researchers has come together. Broad international exchange is something we all need and benefit from. For our academic discipline, which is essentially shaped by national perspectives, conventions and academic traditions, this exchange is essential. And this was one of the two main motivations for the founding of the Society 43 years ago, almost half a century ago. With

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regard to the theme of our conference, it would not be wrong to say that our society itself has become a cultural heritage, at least for those working in the field.

Much has changed since then, but international exchange remains essential. Compared to 1980, we now have a productive international network that is the basis for a vibrant discourse on research questions about the theory of history didactics, the practice of good history education and the role of history in society. We know a great deal more today than we did then about the different approaches of international academic research, about its particular national backgrounds, and about its major developments. This is an invaluable asset for all of us doing research in our own countries. The ISHD, as the oldest international scholarly association in the field of history didactics, has made a major contribution to this encouraging development through its annual conferences and its scholarly journal *IJHEC*. Thanks are due to all who have been and will be part of ISHD's work in the future.

History is what people do with the past. It can be used for good or for evil. And the past as well as the present provides us with many examples of both uses. This brings us to the second motivation that the founders of the ISHD – including Walter Fürnrohr (1925–2021), the first president – sought to realize. In the context of the Cold War, their vision was of a history education dedicated to tolerance, changing perspectives, and overcoming the limitations of nationalist history in order to promote mutual understanding and peace. They imagined an international scholarly association of experts in the field of history didactics that would contribute to researching and finding ways to overcome the pervasive enemy images, stereotypes, and discrimination in the curricula, textbooks and teaching history in schools as well as in discourses in the public sphere. Regular international scholarly exchange is an essential step in promoting shared knowledge, productive dialogue, and even prospects for peace in the enormously important field of history education, history culture and public history.

A very important step in the scholarly development of the ISHD over the last four decades has been the gradual international establishment of some central principles of history didactics and history education, such as critical historical thinking, change of perspective, the role of controversy, multi-causal analysis of

processes and events, relation to the present, and, above all, competent analysis of historical sources and representations of history, up to and including the deconstruction of narratives. Such concepts are necessary to enable students to critically engage with the historical narratives offered to them in school and in the public sphere, especially through the (new) media. Another very important step has been to include the study of history culture and cultural heritage in the teaching of history. One of the most compelling reasons for this is that history culture undoubtedly has a powerful and lasting influence on everyone's historical consciousness, from early childhood throughout their adult lives.

To some extent these principles have become the normative status quo in the international community of specialists in history didactics and in the history teaching in schools and the public sphere.¹ Most examinations and evaluations of curricula, textbooks, narratives, and other representations of history use these or similar criteria for the analysis. Together with frameworks of historical skills and competencies, those principles and themes have found their way into the curricula of many countries around the world. However, what remains is the question of implementation. In many countries, history education is still (or again) a matter of reproducing one-sided knowledge that conforms exclusively to the politically dominant narrative. Rigid performance assessments ensure that students learn mainly declarative knowledge by rote. And for teachers, exams create so much time pressure that there is no opportunity for a different, more reflective, and problem-centred approach to teaching. It should also be noted that throughout the world, history is often taught by teachers who have not studied the subject. And there are still many countries where prospective history teachers have a degree in history but little or no academic training in the discipline of history didactics. This makes the work of academic societies such as the ISHD all the more important for the future.

Looking back at 1980 from today's perspective, there are both similarities and differences. With Russia's criminal war of aggression against Ukraine, global military, and nuclear rearmament as well as growing friction between the US and the new superpower China, international tensions have reached levels that many of us who lived through the end of the Cold War could not have imagined. It is often said that truth is the first to die in war – and indeed, it has been a long time since we have seen such a highly charged ideological

struggle for political control over the interpretation of history, in the public and in schools, accompanied, as it has always been, by the gross manipulation of historical facts. Once again, history is being used as a weapon of (culture) war and struggle for supremacy. This is also reflected in the history culture, including history education. The number of demolitions of old and construction of new monuments, renaming of streets, new national museums with biased ideological-political messages, provoking revisionist historical approaches and heated public-political controversies about interpreting the past, as well as the internationally growing number of national laws bindingly prohibiting or prescribing certain versions of history, has increased rapidly in recent years – on a global scale. (If this development were not so alarming, one could rejoice: this period will provide plenty of material for future history lessons on past history culture.)

With the global weakening of liberal democratic societies, anti-liberal culture wars have gained momentum – aided significantly by social media. The interpretation of history will be a central battleground in these political culture wars in the future. The horrific murder of the French history teacher Samuel Paty (2020) speaks for itself in this disturbing context.

In contrast to the situation in the 1980s, international history didactics today faces a lot of new and very complex challenges. In the meantime, the postcolonial perspective and anti-racist history education have become firmly established in the discourse of international history didactics. They are today integral to heritage education in history classrooms. These issues have gained relevance in international history didactics, due in part to growing public awareness of historical injustices against ethnic and racial minorities in the past, which have long been silenced, but also because many countries are transforming themselves into immigrant societies with polyphonic and multidirectional (M. Rothberg²) memories and more diverse and complex historical identities than before. History didactics, as well as teaching history, must respond to both, based on the principles of diversity and inclusion, critical thinking and well-considered historical judgment, and – last but not least – honest reflection on (one's) historical responsibility. We all need to learn from each other to find the best way forward.

Another is the global climate crisis, which is opening up new perspectives on traditional political-historical national narratives and on the traditional historical understanding of the relationship

between humans and nature. The keyword ‘Anthropocene’ should suffice here. It is important that history didactics do not leave this topic to the sciences alone. There are so many important questions about the history of climate and the ecological basis of the human interaction with the environment since the Holocene or Neolithic that need to be considered and taught in a truly historical way. As an example, I would like to highlight the work of the eminent historian John McNeill,³ who has developed a new and inspiring version of the Cold War period from the perspective of global environmental history, focusing on the Anthropocene. It is truly worthy of inclusion in the classroom as a complement and contrast to the traditional narrative of the political history of this period.

But digitization, the World Wide Web, the spread of the Social Web, and the advent of AI have undoubtedly been one of the most significant changes since 1980. Many historians predict that the changes associated with artificial intelligence could be more profound than the Industrial Revolution. I will not go into these issues in detail, except to say this. On the one hand, it is clear that digitisation and the World Wide Web have been an enormous multiplier and accelerator of global exchange and innovation in the field of history didactics and history education. They have also provided endlessly inspiring material for the teaching of history. Moreover, digitisation is making cultural heritage accessible to the history classroom in ways never before possible. On the other hand, there is a rapidly growing need to critically assess the quality of what is being labelled as history and offered for the teaching of history online, and to promote critical information and media literacy in the history teacher training and the history lessons. For the traditional gatekeeper functions of the Gutenberg galaxy are largely in abeyance. And social media, most of which are designed to influence rather than educate and inform, have become a powerful and dangerous global repository for denigrating, distorting, and misusing history for many purposes. These issues are generally very complex and challenging; they are likely to be the subject of research in History Didactics and lively discussion at ISHD conferences for a long time to come.

Finally, as the outgoing president of the ISHD, I would like to make a few additional remarks. First of all, I would like to emphasise that our scientific community, the history didactics and the ISHD, should be very intensively engaged in the promotion of (historical) information and media literacy. The paradigmatic proximity of

historical research in general and the history didactics to the critical methods of analysing primary sources and historical narratives in various fields – from academic texts, history culture and public history to history marketing and historical entertainment – represents the epistemological core of (critical) information and media literacy.

Furthermore, given the unchecked treatment of historical issues by the (social) media in the digital age, it seems to be essential that the teaching and learning of history strongly emphasise the basic rule that historical statements that claim any intersubjective validity must always be substantiated by primary sources, or at least by precise citation of the sources of knowledge. Many of the OER (open educational resources) offered to history teachers, and most of the instructional (explanatory) videos on social media channels, do not do this, and thus disregard the most elementary responsibility of quality management in mediating history in science-based democratic societies.

Even if many of our colleagues follow the ‘narrative turn’ in history didactics (e.g. in the wake of Jörn Rüsen and Hayden White), history didactics and history teaching must never lose sight of the fundamental and inviolable distinction between fact and fiction. Even if fact and fiction often overlap, so that the relationship has to be determined on a gradual scale, the ‘factual’ is an epistemological principle defined by intersubjective verifiability. This, in turn, forms the basis of any notion of historical truth (not in an absolute sense, but as a binding regulative idea) and of any notion of the professional ethos and social responsibility of historians, history teachers and specialists in our academic discipline.

On the one hand, students need to learn that there is a wide range between source analysis and historical interpretation or narrative. Two historians working to the same high scholarly standards may reach very different conclusions. On the other hand, students need to know that no claim about the past is tenable if it is not supported by primary sources, or if the sources contradict it (the ‘veto’ of primary sources). What has come to be known as the art of historical ‘fact-checking’ has become one of the central goals of teaching history in the age of digitisation. In addition, students should realize that ‘fact-checking’ does not end controversy over historical interpretations and narratives. The crucial point is to be able to critically examine, compare and evaluate the conflicting positions on the basis of a critical analysis of primary and secondary sources in order to reach a

balanced and well-founded argumentative judgement on the historical quality and persuasiveness of the different stances.

Finally, I would like to express my hope that the ISHD will continue to follow the general direction to which it was dedicated when it was founded 40 years ago during the Cold War: To combine the collaborative promotion of high-quality international scholarly research and exchange in the field of history didactics to improve the quality of historical education and public historical discourse with a strong contribution towards international efforts aimed at preventing history from being misused as a weapon of hate and vengeance, but as a key for mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence.

Now is the time to extend my warmest congratulations and best wishes to the new board and the new President, Joanna Wojdon, for their success in their many challenging tasks. My sincere thanks go to the members of the ‘old’ board who have worked so constructively and amicably with me over the past 12 years – and especially to the members of ISHD who have trusted and encouraged me throughout these years.

I am very grateful for the many positive experiences during my presidency and will continue to serve the ISHD faithfully as a member. ISHD’s 40-year track record is worthy of our commitment to its future.

Notes

¹ This is confirmed, for example, by the recent study of the Council of Europe (CoE): OHTE (ed.) (2023): ‘General Report on the State of History Teaching in Europe,’ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/observatory-history-teaching/general-report> (27.10.2023).

² Rothberg, M. (2009) *Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

³ McNeill, John. R. (with Engelke, P.) (2014) *The Great Acceleration. An Environmental History of the Anthropocene since 1945*, Cambridge/Mass.: Belknap Press Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

THE ANTHROPOCENE
AND HISTORY EDUCATION

ANTHROPOZÄN
UND GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT

L'ANTHROPOCÈNE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT
DE L'HISTOIRE

FROM THE NATIONAL TO THE PLANETARY LEVEL. HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE ANTHROPOCENE*

Philipp Bernhard and Susanne Popp

The debate about the impact of the Anthropocene has in recent years also reached the field of history didactics. This paper summarizes key discussions the Anthropocene has triggered in the historical sciences including the criticism of the Anthropocene. Furthermore, the article analyses and evaluates the existing discussion about key challenges for integrating the Anthropocene into history education. The conclusion makes the case for the long overdue integration of global perspectives into traditional curricula focused on national history as an adequate history education in the Anthropocene.

1. Introduction

Twenty-five years ago the climate scientists Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer in several essays made the startling suggestion to declare the geological era of the Holocene to be over and to announce a new era – the Anthropocene (e.g. Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000). They were convinced that by the end of the 20th century the effects of collective human activities had gone beyond the planetary threshold and had started affecting the entire ecological system of the Earth. Thus, they stated, the history of humankind had inscribed itself into the geological history of the planet. At once this game-changing statement of the convergence of human and geologic history triggered many and fierce debates, to which soon also the humanities and the social sciences started to contribute. Their goal was to discuss the appropriateness of this new concept as well as its possible theoretical implications from the points of view of the respective disciplines. This holds also for the historical sciences (e.g. Westermann & Höhler, 2020) and – with a certain delay – for the discipline of history didactics (e.g., Cairríona & Chapman, 2021; Hübner et al., 2022; Hübner, 2022; McGregor et al., 2021; Nordgren, 2021, 2023; Retz, 2021, 2022) which felt challenged by this shift to

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2021, 2023; Retz, 2021, 2022) which felt challenged by this shift to reconsider fundamental historical assumptions, in particular anthropocentric historical thought, in the light of the Anthropocene.

Our article is a theoretical exploration of the impact of the Anthropocene for history didactics and history education. After an introduction into the new concept (1.), the article will summarize key discussions the Anthropocene has triggered in the historical sciences (2.). Then we will analyse and classify different criticisms of the discourse around the concept by social scientists and historians (3.). This is the frame for the following analysis and evaluation of the existing discussion within history didactics about key challenges for dealing with the Anthropocene in the history classroom (4.). The article comes to the conclusion that key features of the Anthropocene – e.g., the criticism of anthropocentrism, a new emphasis on global environmental history and the use of different time scales – make a compelling argument for the long overdue integration of global horizons and perspectives (e.g., Bernhard & Popp, 2024; forthcoming) into traditional history curricula still focused on national history (5.).

2. Key Discussions on the Anthropocene in the Historical Sciences

So far, the geology experts of the ICS¹ have not yet decided if the existing anthropogenic traces, such as nuclear fall-out, plastic waste or soil erosion are enough for justifying the introduction of a new *geochronological* era. However, this does not at all reduce the risks posed by the Anthropocene (e.g., Zalasiewicz et al., 2019). The reason is that in the meantime, as far as humanities scholars can tell, there is no doubt anymore that irreversible anthropogenic influences² on the planetary system affect physical, chemical and biological interaction processes, thus changing the state of Planet Earth and posing considerable threats for the future of humankind and life on Earth.³ These influences are changing the future prospects of mankind.

That human activities intervene into the Earth system at the planetary level is a novelty, both for the history of Planet Earth and for the history of humankind. This way, ‘socio-natural entanglement’ (e.g., Arias-Maldonado, 2015) has reached a new level, both in qualitative and in quantitative terms. Already at a very early stage (2009) the historian Dipesh Chakrabarty (e.g., 2009; 2018; 2021) dealt

fundamental consequences of the Anthropocene for historical thought. He believes that it is indispensable for the historical sciences from now on to consider the climate as an essential actor of historical change and to achieve an integration of climate and social history, which geographically includes the whole planet and chronologically adopts a deep history perspective.⁴ Furthermore, in his opinion we need a new understanding of the nature of what is 'human.' Apart from the familiar 'humanistic' history (Chakrabarty, 2021: 3) which pursues goals and interacts with the environment, there is, as Chakrabarty says, another kind of 'human,' 'the human as a geological agent, whose history cannot be recounted from within purely humanocentric views (as most narratives of capitalism and globalization are)' (ibid.). However, this change of perspective is by no means meant to replace the familiar 'humanistic' history – neither in historical research and scholarship nor in teaching at schools and universities. Rather, Chakrabarty's goal is to critically reflect on and – as far as possible – correct the traditional – and often completely unwitting – anthropocentrism of historical thought.

In the course of its long history the Earth system has experienced multiple phenomena of climate change, of changes of the average temperature of the Earth, of the sea level as well as several mass extinction events. What is new in the Anthropocene, however, is the anthropogenic influence on these processes and the ensuing hazards for the future prospects of this extremely densely populated planet. Similarly, humans have frequently interfered with their environment throughout their history, yet until a few decades ago these interventions have not been to the extent which is now expressed by the concept of the Anthropocene.

The question of the beginning of the new era has been and still is heavily disputed.⁵ If we use the actual manifestations of man-made influences on the geosphere as the crucial criterion, then the so called 'Great Acceleration' marks the beginning of the era. Its immediate pre-history starts with the fossil-fuel economy of the Industrial Age which, however, is not meant to say that influential factors from longer ago, such as the 'Columbian exchange' (e.g., Mann, 2012), should be ignored.

Crucial for the *conditio humana* in the age of the Anthropocene are above all the following two aspects. The first one concerns the significance of the atmospheric and climatic conditions of the Holocene for the development of human civilisation thus far as well

as in the future. Although school textbooks do not mention it, the mostly stable climate of the Holocene – from the point of view of geology, a vanishingly short period of the history of the Earth – is the precondition for the development of settled and increasingly bigger communities of humans, which are at the heart of traditional historiography. The extremely complex and hyper-technological societies of the globalised present depend on these framework conditions, however, they contribute considerably to destabilising them. If until not long ago the history of humankind was accompanied by the fear of an overly powerful and hostile nature, meanwhile humankind with its ambition to subdue and exploit the non-human environment ('nature') has become its own enemy (e.g., Haff, 2014).

The second aspect concerns the yet only rudimentarily understood complexity of the interactions of the Earth system. The experts describe the risk of an abrupt, irreversible and catastrophic change of the climate which – via cumulative effects and feedback loops – may be triggered by individual elements of the system. If these go beyond some – unpredictable – 'tipping points' (e.g., Lenton et al., 2019) and start 'tipping cascades,' that might rapidly change the overall state of the Earth system. This has frequently happened in the history of the Earth system. One prominent example of a possible 'tipping point' – apart from the melting of the Greenland ice shield – is the degree of global warming: although we do not know when global warming will go beyond the stress limits of the planet, we know we have to expect spontaneous changes of the Earth system, which might result in dramatic changes of the climate that would threaten all life on Earth.

The new relation of the human sphere and the planetary Earth system, as expressed in the Anthropocene concept, also changes our previous concept of 'environment,' which now gains a planet-wide dimension. At the same time, the familiar frame of historical thought is extended not only through the reference to the immense geological eras of the past, an extension which is inaccessible to the human experience of time, but also through the reference to the future.⁷ This is on the one hand about the irreversibility of past changes, which set the frame for the future history of humankind and motivate the ethical responsibility of the current generations for the living conditions of future generations. In this sense, the report by the Brundtland Commission on behalf of the UN (1987) defined 'sustainability' as meeting 'the needs of the present without

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (United Nations, 1987: section 27). On the other hand, it is about a new quality of uncertainty about the future of human societies. Some historians expect the new 'conditio humana Anthropoceanica' to be a fundamental break with the continuity of human experience. The argument goes as follows. If so far a central goal of dealing with the past (in an anthropocentric way) was to be able to orient oneself in the present and to develop historically plausible prospects for the future, the extent and complexity of the upcoming change might tear apart this connection and require new patterns of orientation. Key concepts for this argument are 'unprecedented change' (e.g., Simon, 2019; 2021) and 'epochal event' (e.g., Simon, 2020; see also Hamilton et al., 2015). If these assumptions are well-founded, however, remains to be seen. But in any case, the current historical sciences – as well as history didactics – will have to elucidate the socio-economic, political, mental, and ideological connections which led to the Anthropocene.

3. Objections to the Discourse Around the Anthropocene by Historians and Social Scientists

The compound 'anthropos' of the term 'Anthropocene' refers to humans as a species within the biosphere of the planet, whose activities have come to affect processes of the Earth system. The question of the distribution of responsibilities for these processes within the species does not play any role at the abstract level of this system. This way of seeing things is also reflected by the 'icons' of the Anthropocene, 24 charts – resembling hockey sticks. The charts illustrate 12 socio-economic and 12 Earth-system trends since 1750, which have decisively contributed to reach the Anthropocene (e.g., Steffen et al., 2015). These charts, which are meant to show global trends and thus do without any historical, regional, and socio-economic differentiation, have been and still are an important visual vehicle for popularising the concept of the Anthropocene. In this context, any superficial, visual impression may indeed support the misunderstanding that the current global environmental crisis has been caused by 'man as such' or even by the 'nature of man.' It is not only, but primarily this danger of inappropriate generalisations which makes many critics turn against the concept of the 'Anthropocene' (e.g., Malm & Hornborg, 2014). Despite major differences, the whole

plethora of neologisms⁸ – for example Capitalocene (e.g., Moore, 2017), Chthulucene (Haraway, 2015), Technocene (e.g., Hornborg, 2015), or Plastocene (e.g., Reed, 2015) – which are suggested as alternatives, aim at naming concrete causes and responsibilities for the grave damage and degradation of the environment. In the following, two prominent positions will be outlined.

For a large group of critics, the aspect of global justice is crucial. Their objection is that the concept of the Anthropocene levels and veils the highly unjust distribution of historical and current responsibility (in the sense of causation) for the current ecological crisis. They emphasize the effects of the ongoing exploitation of humans and nature by colonialism and capitalism or – with a more particular focus (sometimes contradicting the generalisations of the criticism of capitalism) – the ongoing suppression and exploitation of women as well as of racially discriminated and indigenous groups. Indeed, the challenges posed by the Anthropocene meet a highly asymmetrical global society where wealth and educational opportunities, but also economic and political power, are distributed very unequally. At the same time, we know that the poorest countries or groups of people and the Global South on the whole have least contributed to the Anthropocene, while in many cases they are most affected or threatened by the negative consequences of climate change, not least because of a blatant lack of sufficient know-how and financial means to prevent and fight climate-induced damage. However, the connection between a low socioeconomic status and vulnerability is not only true for the Global South. It also concerns – as the example of Hurricane Katrina in the Southeast of the US in 2005 clearly showed (e.g., Adeola & Picou, 2017) – underprivileged social groups in wealthy states.

These objections against the concept of the Anthropocene have been effective. Over the years, the experts of the Anthropocene working group of the ICS⁹ have emphasized ever more emphatically the necessity to historically and socio-economically differentiate the concept of the ‘anthropos’ from a historical perspective. Will Steffen, for example, who was in charge of the research programmes which identified and defined the Anthropocene, stated in a publication from 2019 explicitly that ‘industrial capitalists of the wealthy countries, not “humankind as a whole,” are largely responsible for the Anthropocene, as seen in the Great Acceleration¹⁰ patterns’ (Steffen, 2019: 259). This way, the Anthropocene debate is in line with

positions of the global environmental policy of the United Nations. As early as at the first UN environmental conference in Stockholm in 1972 the representatives of what was then called the ‘Third World’ had insisted on the impossibility of any kind of environmental policy without at the same time fighting global poverty and inequality. As one of the consequences, the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ (Rio de Janeiro 1992) was passed as the binding guideline for the cooperation of the wealthy OECD states with other states when it comes to fighting and avoiding environmental damage. The current UN strategy of ‘sustainable development’ as well as the 17 sustainability goals of the Agenda 2030 are based on this principle (United Nations, 2015). However, the accusations of ‘eco-imperialism’ or ‘eco-colonialism’ against the environmental policy strategies of the rich states, which have been brought forward since the 1970s and have been raised primarily – but not exclusively – by actors from the Global South, have not fallen silent (e.g., Bergesen, 1988; Bali Swain, 2018; Frame, 2022).

Issues of the global economic structures¹¹ and especially ‘degrowth’ ideas (e.g., Kallis et al., 2020) and demands for a fundamental change of values are also important for the second of the critical positions to be mentioned here. Their representatives criticize the concept of the Anthropocene from the point of view of the human-environment relation. By emphasizing ‘anthropos’ as the crucial actor of the Earth system, as is their accusation, this new concept from the natural sciences is still in line with traditional anthropocentric thought – frequently attributed to the West – which is here considered as the main cause of the ecological crisis. Frequently there is the suspicion that behind the concept of the Anthropocene there is an attitude striving for – by way of scientific-technological means such as geoengineering – an increased ‘geocratic’ rule of man over nature and the environment. The range of positions in this camp is indeed very wide, however they share the categorical rejection of scientocratic and technocratic strategies of protecting humans against the negative consequences of their harmful behaviour instead of fundamentally correcting the attitude of ‘modern’ humans towards their environment and of understanding that humans are only a minor element in a broader ‘more-than-human-network.’ As long as humans, in the sense of a man-nature dualism, consider themselves ‘the’ superior species, which is entitled to rule over nature

and to exploit it ruthlessly, as is the thesis, the ecological crisis will become worse and finally result in a catastrophe.

To conclude this section, it can be stated that from the points of view of geology and the Earth System sciences the classification of humans as a species makes sense. But it is as plausible that humanities scholars (in a wide sense) determinedly oppose such a formal abstraction and for this purpose refer to the particular perspectives and schools of thought of their disciplines. The critical positions sketched above have in common that they firmly oppose any more 'business as usual' and demand fundamental changes that limit the risks of environmentally harmful behaviour. Their demand, in contrast to this, is to accept the planetary boundaries and to start a far-reaching ideological, economic, and political transformation.

4. Challenges of the Anthropocene for History Didactics and the Teaching of History

Like in the historical sciences, the debate on the Anthropocene within history didactics emphasises the novelty of the convergence of human and planetary history, the role of the natural sciences when it comes to identifying and defining the Anthropocene as well as the necessity to reformulate the relation of humans and nature/environment. From these aspects experts in history didactics¹² derive important theoretical questions for the discipline. The discussions concern the vastly extended temporal structures in comparison to the familiar chronological scales of history, the changed meaning of future prospects for historical thought, the concept of 'unprecedented change,' the question of the continuity and discontinuity of the historical experience, the anthropocentrism of historical thought, as well as the inclusion of the concept of man into overarching ecological contexts of 'non-human' actors ('more-than-human'; e.g., Hübner et al., 2022). Also, the possible future of traditional (national-historical) history and the significance of historical sources in the 'era of the Anthropocene' are discussed (e.g., Nordgren, 2023; McNeill, 2020).

At a concrete level, the experts of history didactics highlight two major challenges. Firstly, they ask if and how the Anthropocene as a perspective and topic can be taught by the current ways of teaching history, how the new concept relates to the established concepts of history didactics, and if after all it could cause a return to the old idea

of a history education founded on a single master narrative. Secondly, there is a broad consensus concerning the conclusion that the Anthropocene fundamentally questions the still dominant Eurocentric master narrative of most history curricula. This holds most of all for the teleological idea of a progress which would take human history towards achieving its goals of a Western-style modernisation ever more successfully. This optimism about the future is, among others, based on the very impressive – however globally unequally distributed – achievements in the fields of the sciences, technology, medicine, and material prosperity since the 19th century and particularly since 1945. All this seemed to justify the belief in ongoing economic growth and unlimited scientific-technological progress, against any concerns. Now, the Anthropocene does not only show the ‘limits to growth’ (Meadows et al., 1972) but also the limits of the planet and the irreversible negative ‘side effects’ of the Western-capitalist victory over State Socialism since 1989.

Apart from these two theoretical challenges, we are going to discuss challenges teachers encounter when they try to integrate the Anthropocene when they teach history according to existing curricula focused on national history. We will focus on the following four points: temporal structures and multiple chronological scales (3.1), the relation of humans and nature/environment, the progress narrative, and the anthropocentrism of historical thought (3.2), the ethical dimension of historical judgements (cf. Retz, 2021; 2022) (3.3), and the relevance of selected didactic concepts (3.4).

Ad 3.1: Almost all contributions by history didactics emphasize that, given the convergence of planetary (= geological) and traditional human (= historical) chronological structures, the teaching of history can no longer exclusively focus on the temporal structure of the national ‘master narrative.’ In Fernand Braudel’s concept national history is the same as the ‘history of events,’ the ‘history of short, swift and nervous volatility’¹³ in the fields of political, social, and economic history as well as in the histories of technology and mentalities. Braudel then makes a distinction between the ‘history of events’ and so called ‘cycles’ (in French: ‘conjonctures’), i.e., chronological periods of medium range, which last over many generations (e.g., socio-economic structures), as well as the so called ‘longue durée.’ By this Braudel means the ‘geo-historical foundations’ of historical development, in the sense of a ‘history almost beyond

time' (ibid.). Given the state of those sciences, which today make the Earth system sciences, in the year 1941 Braudel was neither capable of considering today's planetary point of view nor of including the extreme acceleration of change at the level of 'geo-historical history' after 1945. However, the reference to Braudel demonstrates that the distinction and combination of multiple chronological structures and time scales is nothing new for historical thinking, even though these concepts must be readjusted in the Anthropocene.

The Anthropocene fundamentally changes the idea of the future in historical thinking, too. Here it could be theoretically fruitful for history didactics to discuss, whether François Hartog's 'regime of presentism' (Hartog, 2015)¹⁴ could be expanded towards a 'regime of future orientation.'

In any case, however, history didactics in the age of the Anthropocene is able to communicate the insight to the students that – seen from the point of view of current knowledge – human history is located within a frame of multiple chronological structures which now also includes the deep history and the deep future. Here it is not necessary to discuss the details of the history of the Earth in the history classroom.¹⁵ Rather, the goal can only be a basic introduction into the significance of historical time scales of very different sizes for historical thinking and of the change of perspective between the levels of the individual (in the sense of communicative memory¹⁶), the national (in the sense of cultural memory¹⁷) the global (history of humankind), and the planetary (history of the Earth system). In this context, students should recognize the fact, significant for their own historical orientation, that we have no equivalents for communicative and cultural memory on a global and planetary scale.

From a pragmatic standpoint, the topic of multiple chronological scales can be explored by connecting it to suitable topics of the traditional curriculum, such as in the cases of the Neolithic Age, of industrialisation, or also of the Cold War. The topics can be contextualised in different temporal frameworks. They can be related to each other by 'zooming' (cf. Hughes-Warrington, 2019) between the macro- and the micro-level in order to show 'big pictures.' Concerning the Cold War, for example, it is very instructive to contrast the political narrative, which emphasizes the struggle for global influence, to the narrative of global environmental history, which emphasizes what the two opposing blocs have in common. In this context – for example by referring to John R. McNeill's and

Peter Engelke's 'The Great Acceleration. An environmental history of the Anthropocene since 1945' (2014) – one may very illustratively point out the connection between the temporal structure of the 'history of events' (Braudel) and long-term perspectives of the Holocene (and beyond).

Another example for 'zooming' between the macro- and micro scale is a simplified comparison of the energy regimes of the Neolithic Age and the Industrial Age – the most outstanding turning points of human environmental history. It leads to a big picture which will deepen the historical understanding of the Anthropocene. In this context, however, one must be careful to avoid the impression of a determinist development from the 'invention' of agriculture to the Anthropocene. This approach from environmental history focuses on the extent and the use of natural resources by societies of the past and on interventions into the environment which are connected to the 'energy economy.' The students are supposed to recognize that even though agrarian societies reshaped the environment and exploited natural resources much more than nomadic cultures, at a *global* scale (and in comparison, to the Industrial Age) their ecological footprint was rather low, due to limitations set by the available energy sources (e.g. wind, water, fire, wood). Only with the systematic use of fossil fuels (at first coal, then also oil and natural gas) those historical developments started to accelerate which led to the Anthropocene. In close interaction with scientific and technological innovations, the fossil fuel energy regime allowed both for an unprecedented increase of the *global* economic-political power of the technologically dominant regions of the world (keywords: imperialism, (post-)colonialism) and for an 'unprecedented' exponential growth of material wealth. For the fields of political and social history a final aspect is highly relevant: the uneven distribution of coal, oil, and natural gas resources within regions, which has led to the structural political instability of the global fossil age. In this context, history education might point out that the great conflicts and wars of the 20th century (e.g., WWI: Glied, 2015) were often influenced by the availability of fossil fuel resources.

Two further aspects are also linked to the challenges for history teaching in the Age of the Anthropocene posed by the extended temporal structures. On the one hand, the historical significance of the Holocene as a geological era has to be pointed out. For a period

of more than 10,000 years the Holocene provided the stable climate which is considered one of the fundamental preconditions for the historical development of sedentary and urban civilisations until the present. If we speak about the risks of climate change, then this refers to the dangers of a destabilisation of the climate equilibrium of the Holocene. On the other hand, however – and this is emphatically emphasized by John R. McNeill – the students should be made aware of the particular signature of the present: in the extremely short period of time of just three or four generations (since 1945) the effects of human activities in the fields of science, economy and technology, in connection with e.g., population growth and urbanisation, started to influence the planetary system. Equally short is the period of time which remains – according to the predictions of the Earth system scientists (cf. the most recent IPCC Report 2023 (IPCC, 2023)) – to limit or reduce the risks of catastrophic ‘tipping points.’ John R. McNeill pointed out the fact that the ‘exceptionality’ of this historical situation is not present in the historical experience of the contemporaries: ‘Only one in twelve persons now alive can remember anything before 1945. The entire life experience of almost everyone has taken place within the eccentric historical moment of the Great Acceleration, during what is certainly the most anomalous and unrepresentative period in the 200,000-year-long history of relations between our species and the biosphere’ (McNeill & Engelke, 2014: 4).

Ad 3.2: Another contribution which may be made by history education with a traditional focus on national history is discussing peoples’ historical and current understanding of themselves concerning their relation to nature or the environment surrounding them. This is – also as comparisons between different eras – possible for all epochs covered in the curricula. In particular the modern understanding of ‘nature’ is a very influential factor for the global developments that lead towards the Anthropocene. Here the exploitation of nature was (and still is) in most cases closely connected to the exploitation of humans (e.g., colonialism). Since the Enlightenment, Western thought has been dominated by a dualism which understands the ‘human’ (for a long time this indeed implicitly referred to men) as the sovereign ruler of nature and makes ‘nature’ his subject as the ‘other.’ In this context, also the metaphorical transfer of the concept of nature to the field of society is of significance. The ideological attribution to the realm of ‘nature’

played a significant role not only for justifying the suppression of and paternalism towards women and, partially, also towards underprivileged classes and indigenous communities but also for the construction of the racial theories of colonialism whose basic patterns are found still in our times.

This opposition between culture and nature is crucial for the identity construction of modern, enlightened, and secular man/male. At the heart of it is the ideal of a sovereign, rational and self-conscious actor who, due to his intelligence and ingenuity, is entitled to autonomously shape the world around him according to his needs and desires. Typical features of this attitude towards nature/environment are a secular belief in progress, based on scientific and technological innovation, and – particularly after 1945 – the belief in permanent economic growth. This guiding principle has also been reflected by historiography, particularly by traditional national history, and by the background narrative of history education. In stark contrast to this belief in the future, the diagnosis of the Anthropocene shows how blatantly ‘homo faber’ has underestimated the complexity of the ecology of the planetary system into which he is included and on which he depends. The fantasy of a ‘human supremacy,’ which is deeply rooted in the traditions of religions of revelation (e.g., The Holy Bible) and is in many cases effective still today, finds itself confronted with the insight that humans are a minor and dependent element in an extensive ‘web of life’ to whose boundaries they are subjected to. As Retz repeatedly points out (Retz, 2021; 2022), Chakrabarty’s image of the ‘human as a geological agent’ (Chakrabarty, 2021: 3) illustrates the dramatic change from the suppression of nature to an immense loss of control given the threatening consequences of human behaviour.

It seems as if the Anthropocene adds another humiliation to the ‘three [narcissistic] humiliations of humankind’ (Freud, 1917: 3) – the Copernican turn (the Earth is not the centre of the universe), the theory of evolution (humankind has developed from apelike ancestors), and the theory of the unconscious (man is no longer ‘master in his own house’) (Freud, 1917: 5). Now man has to face his incapability to master the enormous complexity of the Earth system and – in his own interest – is forced to adjust to the conditions of this system as far as he is capable of identifying them.

Ad 3.3: Some scholars in the field of history didactics discuss if and in how far the Anthropocene touches the ethical dimension of

historical thinking (e.g., Retz, 2022). Of course, the interactions of the Earth system – even if anthropogenic factors are involved – are as inaccessible to any moral judgment as the physical power of gravitation, as none of them are human actions. However, the historical developments which resulted in the Anthropocene should be made the subjects of historical judgements. The debate on climate justice, which is a crucial topic for the development of global strategies of environmental policy, can illustrate this point. Its starting point is a differentiated consideration, going back as far as to the 19th century, of the accumulated shares which can be attributed to the various states and world regions as having caused the current climate crisis. Then, a historically informed skill of making ethical judgements is required for the debate about which conclusions can be drawn from considering the unequally distributed responsibility for the present and the future.

Ad 3.4: In the debates on history teaching in the Anthropocene, sometimes the concern is expressed that historical primary sources might lose their value. However, this would only be the case if history teaching moves exclusively to the abstract macro-level, as in the case of ‘Big History’ (Christian, 2014). This model, however, explicitly pursues the goal of providing a ‘big picture’ of the planetary macro-scale, to depict the role of homo sapiens in the widest possible context and to deepen the understanding of the change coming along with the Anthropocene. For given history teaching, however, it is still true that it cannot do without *also* communicating traditional ‘humanistic history’ (Chakrabarty, 2009; 2018; 2021) at the level of the ‘history of events’ (Braudel), because this is indispensable for providing the students with historical orientation in their respective present. In the Anthropocene, the ‘humanistic history’ must be critically examined for its anthropocentrism, but in no way loses its fundamental importance and relevance for the teaching of history and for society. However, in the future the concept of ‘primary sources’ – beyond archaeology – will have to be extended by the ‘evidence’ provided by the natural sciences, which the research of the ‘deep time’ of Earth history rests on. Here it is crucial to introduce the students, in an interdisciplinary cooperation with the science teachers, into the epistemological methods of the Earth system sciences.

Furthermore, it becomes ever more important that history teaching in the Anthropocene strengthens a specific kind of media

literacy. In this context it is most of all about the skill to distinguish reliable from unreliable information about the Anthropocene (as well as related topics from the sciences, which are present with the current social media discourse), by way of suitable and well-founded quality criteria. Tracy Sullivan, the head of the didactics department of the Big History Institute (Macquarie University), furthermore emphasizes an aspect which seems to be important also for history teaching in the Anthropocene in general, beyond Big History. She demands the strengthening of the skill of so called ‘claim testing,’ in which students reflect on which metacognitive tools they use when examining statements and formulating their own arguments (e.g., intuition, authority, logic, evidence) (Sullivan, 2020: 57).

Repeatedly there has been the objection against Big History that it represents a closed master narrative and does not allow for any change of perspective. This may be true for the ‘big picture’ of the history of Planet Earth and humankind. However, it is not at all meant to say that the same is necessarily true also for a kind of history teaching that communicates the Anthropocene as a topic of history and as a historical perspective. On the contrary, to give just *one* example, there exist several narratives on the Anthropocene, reaching from apocalyptic scenarios to visions of a ‘bright future’ of ‘human enhancement’ from a trans-humanist perspective and of humans emigrating to other planets. Much more important, however, is the fact that different narratives and multiple perspectives are always present if teaching remains connected to ‘humanistic history.’ If human action and suffering are discussed, and if by different approaches (e.g., political, social, cultural, environmental, and economic) light is shed on historical change, then there are always spaces for the construction of historical meaning from multiple perspectives. One example is the time of the Cold War. As mentioned above, the Cold War can be told from a political history point of view (which all too often is ‘environmentally blind’) or as a period within a global environmental history, thus much neglecting the tensions and challenges of the world order of the Cold War. The students can compare these narratives – both from a historical point of view and concerning their relevance for the present.

5. Outlook: The Anthropocene and a ‘Globally Conceptualized National History’

The paper so far has been meant to demonstrate that, firstly, it is necessary that history didactics and history teaching react to the Anthropocene and that, secondly – contrary to some concerns expressed by experts of history didactics – even in the context of given national history teaching it is possible to communicate the historical significance of the Anthropocene by using informative examples. A globally conceptualized national history, which systematically connects national history to transregional and global contexts, may both adjust national history to the changed conditions of the world the students live in and provide the necessary foundation to deal with the Anthropocene in the history classroom. The change of perspective between the local, national, and global, the construction of overviews from a macro-perspective and the zooming in specific cases between the micro- and the macro-level enable the analysis of complex systems and even the critical reflection of Eurocentric ways of historical thinking. This is the precondition for dealing with key issues of the Anthropocene: the criticism of anthropocentrism, the importance of global environmental history and the interdisciplinary dialogue between historical and natural-scientific thought.

Notes

¹ The International Commission on Stratigraphy (ICS) as part of the International Union of Geological Sciences (IUGS) is the institution which decides the question if the Anthropocene qualifies as a new geological era.

² These include, for example, deforestation, fossil energy use (oil, coal, natural gas), urbanisation, land use, drinking water consumption, overfishing, or waste production.

³ See also the UN Decade for Ecosystem Restoration 2021–2030: <https://www.decadeonrestoration.org> (01.02.2023).

⁴ See also Winiwarter et al., 2016 for the long-term perspective.

⁵ This is another important topic for teaching about the Anthropocene in history education. See the discussion of these issues in Steffen, 2007, and McNeill, 2019.

⁶ ‘Nature’ is a relative term whose meaning depends on the respective counter term (e.g., nature vs. technology, nature vs. culture).

⁷ The issue of periodisation is crucial for history didactics and history education but cannot be further elaborated here.

⁸ See the overview of the various labels in Chwałczyk, 2020.

⁹ See footnote 1.

¹⁰ This refers to the patterns of acceleration shown by the 24 above mentioned trends since 1945. Cf., e.g., Steffen, 2015: 4 and 6.

¹¹ See here e.g., the very successful Japanese book of Saitō, 2023.

¹² Cf. e.g., Cairtória & Chapman, 2021, Hübner et al., 2022, Hübner, 2022, McGregor et al., 2021, Nordgren, 2021, 2023, Retz, 2021, 2022.

¹³ Braudel, Fernand (1990 [1949]): *Das Mittelmeer und die mediterrane Welt in der Epoche Philipps II.*, Vol. I, Frankfurt/M., p. 21, quoted after Maillard, 2005: 200.

¹⁴ Regarding a rethinking of the present, cf. also Adamson et al., 2018.

¹⁵ Didactic support may be found in selected units of the ‘Big History Project,’ cf. the OER Project, 2011.

¹⁶ Cf. Assmann, 2008.

¹⁷ Ibid.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A HUMAN BEING AND NATURE: HOW THIS ASPECT IS PROVIDED BY HISTORY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN UKRAINE*

Olga Dudar, Svitlana Savchenko and Nataliia Petroschchuk

The article analyses how educational syllabi and textbooks on the history of Ukraine represent topics related to the most important events and phenomena defined by David Christian in his book 'The Great History of Everything' (Christian, 2018). Also, the authors analyse environmental issues in general to draw the attention of colleagues to changing approaches to the study of history at school. For Ukraine, the preservation of statehood, concerning the Russian-Ukrainian war, is currently important, but the environmental consequences of Russia's aggression should not be overlooked by educators. According to the authors' opinion, it should be considered in the context of the environmental policy of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Another important aspect with which the article deals is the analysis of history education reforms. On the one hand, the concept of the New Ukrainian School provides the development of environmental competencies using civic and historical education. On the other hand, an anthropocentric approach with an emphasis on political history prevails in the programs and on the pages of textbooks. Therefore, it is necessary to involve researchers and educators in broader discussions that would lead to faster and better changes in history education, considering current global challenges.

1. Introduction

We were inspired to write this article by the publication of colleagues from Canada, who proposed joining the discussion on the involvement of history education in solving global issues of humanity (McGregor et al., 2021). The challenges mentioned in their research are relevant for Ukraine as well. It is worth analysing how the history of our past can help modern students understand undergoing global changes and become more resilient to new, less predictable

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challenges. Which learning approaches will best help students make connections between the past, present, and future, and make the right decisions when responding to the threats of climate change? What are the duties and responsibilities of history teachers in fostering empathy and modelling ethical relations in the rapidly changing, and probably stratified, world? Currently, the authors of the article are attempting to analyse school history education in Ukraine, taking into account their involvement in the teacher training system and their experience in working out and creating history textbooks.

It is worth mentioning that Jonathan Lear, based on the materials of the history of the indigenous people of Canada, Plenty Coups, has already raised a problem that has recently acquired a new meaning: How can a person realise the collapse of his culture (Lear, 2006)? Under the circumstances of the Russian-Ukrainian war, historians, and educators first of all talk about the importance of physical survival. However we should also focus on the ecological consequences of hostilities, which we will have to handle in the future.

Changes in history education are inevitable. Fierce debates regarding the modernisation of approaches to the study of history and the improvement of the content of textbooks have been ongoing since the declaration of Ukraine's independence in 1991. Educators had a reliance on the reform of the New Ukrainian School (hereinafter – NUS). The concept taken as the basis for the changes provides the development of environmental literacy, in particular, the ability to use natural resources wisely and rationally within the framework of sustainable development, awareness of the role of the environment for human life and health, ability, and desire to lead a healthy lifestyle. The State standard of basic secondary education, approved in 2020, distinguishes nine educational fields, including natural, social and health-preserving, civic, and historical: eleven key competencies, including environmental (Derzhavnyi standart bazovoi serednoi osvity (2020).

In the research which is presented, we aim to investigate existing history programs and textbooks, the content of which is approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, and to suggest possible ways of implementing certain elements of environmental education into the topics that are included into the study of history at school.

2. Research Methods

Since most teachers in Ukraine use a common program for the History of Ukraine and World History (these are two separate subjects), we will analyse the text of the 2018 program with 2022 additions and model programs of the National Academy of Sciences approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine in 2021 (11 programs in total). We explored their content in terms of the most important events defined by David Christian in ‘The Big History of Everything’ (Christian, 2018). It is worth paying attention to those phenomena and events in the history of mankind and Ukraine that led to global climate changes: the Neolithic revolution, the division of labour, urbanisation, and the industrial revolution (Leinfelder, 2018). Considering the past of the Ukrainian lands, we also focus on the presence in the programs and textbooks of the analysis of the Soviet policy in the field of ecology, in particular, the non-compliance of production and household practices with the norms of law (Bowers, 1993). In our opinion, it is important to reconsider the consequences of the First and Second World Wars, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, and the consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war. When studying this issue it is necessary to analyse the texts (illustrations and tasks if available) in four groups of materials, namely:

- History programs used in Ukrainian schools;
- Model programs for grades 5–6 of the NUS (2021);
- Textbooks developed by 2021;
- Textbooks which were presented in 2022–2023.

Our goal is to objectively examine educational materials highlighting the interaction of nature and man, as well as the consequences of human activity in recently published school textbooks. It is also necessary to identify the positive achievements of historians and teachers of Ukraine, as well as the shortcomings that have been present in the educational environment of Ukraine since the time of the USSR and that have traditionally been preserved in history education.

3. Analysis of History Programs

Currently, there are two groups of programs in Ukraine: a program on the History of Ukraine and World History (their contents are determined by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine), which are used by middle and high school teachers. Since 2023, students of the 5th grade (this is the initial level of secondary school) study according to one of the eleven author programs chosen by the staff of the educational institution. These programs are significantly different, but in the matter of the relationship between man and nature, surprisingly, one can trace a lot in common.

First, the program, approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine in 2018 and changed in 2022, in connection with the full-scale aggression of Russia, contains an introductory explanatory part, which talks about the mandatory results of school history education (*Navchalni prohramy dlia zakladiv zahalnoi serednoi osvity*, 2022). In particular, students should think geospatially, comprehend the socio-historical space, and identify the interdependence of society, economy, culture, and natural environment development. All this is defined as spatial competence. Further, at different levels of the study of history, there are pivot points for understanding the historical relationship between man and nature, assessing the impact of man on nature, the consequences of economic activity for modern humans; about the impact of the Great Geographical Discoveries on the worldview, economic and social life of the population of Europe and the New World, and the consequences of the industrial revolution and industrialisation (*Navchalni prohramy dlia zakladiv zahalnoi serednoi osvity*, 2022).

For high school, the authors of the program suggest integrating the materials of history lessons and relevant concepts from ecology to form an understanding of the place of nature in the life of society; stimulate them, explore the features of interaction between society and nature; analyse the consequences of changes, transformations of natural processes and components of natural environment through anthropogenic activity. Also, in the final grade on the program on the History of Ukraine, a practical lesson is provided, dedicated to the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in 1986 (*Navchalni prohramy dlia zakladiv zahalnoi serednoi osvity*, 2022).

Accordingly, this topic should be integrated with students' research on the problem of pollution of the natural environment and

the geosystem's resistance to anthropogenic pressure. After completing the tasks, students should gain experience in distinguishing the sources and types of environmental pollution and characterising their negative impact on living organisms and human health.

In general, a detailed analysis of the programs confirms that history programs develop an anthropocentric approach to the study of this subject. The program of the integrated course of World History and the History of Ukraine for the 6th grade differs to some extent. Its first chapter is devoted to the most ancient past of humanity, therefore the topic 'Theories of the Origin of a Human. The Origin and Dispersal of Primitive People' should be included (Navchalni prohramy dlia zakladiv zahalnoi serednoi osvity, 2022). By studying the emergence and development of various civilizations, students will be able to expand their ideas about the influence of natural and geographical conditions on economic life, the organization of government, and the mythology of ancient societies.

As for the programs for the civic and historical fields which were approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture as a part of the reform of the National Academy of Sciences their author teams usually use the same wording as in the programs of the pre-reform period.

Indicatively, in the program by O. Gisem and O. Martynyuk for the 5th grade, the interaction of a human and nature is discussed only in chapter I 'Man, Nature, Society and History' (Gisem & Martynyuk, 2021: 7). The authors suggest discussing and investigating the dependence of human life on nature, and the influence of geographical location, climate, and access to natural resources on people's lifestyles and outlooks.

The writing team under the leadership of T. Bakka within the framework of the topic 'My Community and its History' suggests revealing the factors that influence people's occupations, the way of managing the economy, the social system (climate, geographical location, access to natural resources); give the examples of the influence of human activity on the environment in time and space, and the interaction of humankind and nature (Bakka et al., 2021: 12).

The writing team of I. Shchupak deems it expedient, in the 'Development of Humanity throughout History' chapter, to develop in students the ability to give examples of the impact of human activity on the environment in time and space, the interaction of a

human and nature. It also develops relevant attitudes: awareness of the need for responsible management and consumption; and understanding the importance of using specific modes and actions to conserve the environment. In our opinion, this is not an easy task, especially considering the small amount of time and the content component reserved for the topic 'Humankind and the Environment throughout History: Economy, the Problem of Resources' (Bakka et al., 2021: 6–15).

Authors O. Zheliba and O. Mokroguz in the preface claim that the program is aimed at the development of key competencies of 5th-grade students, among which the environmental one is. However, this wording is too general, so it needs meaningful disclosure directly on the pages of the textbook (Zheliba & Mokroguz, 2021).

The writing team, headed by I. Vasylykiv, presented the program designed for 2 years of study. In the 5th grade, children study the topic 'Natural Wealth of Ukraine,' 'Sustainability,' and 'Economy of the Country.' The expected outcomes identified by the developers are extensive in scope: critically think about the risks associated with environmental damage, discuss how citizens and governments can contribute to sustainable development, identify (with the teacher's help) and explain the challenges facing human society in various natural environments, and the preservation of the environment (Vasylykiv et al., 2021).

The tasks for the chapter 'Human, Nature, the World of Tangible Things in Prehistoric and Historical Times' in the program for the 6th grade are just as difficult. Teachers should explain to students such complex topics as 'Changes in Natural Conditions and Adaptation to Them by the First People in the Paleolithic and Mesolithic Eras,' 'The Invention of Fire,' 'Domestication of Animals,' 'Appropriative Economy' (Vasylykiv et al., 2021: 19–20). However, it is worth noting that the program is too vast in scope, and a teacher is unlikely to be able to devote more than 2 lessons of 45 minutes to these issues.

The materials of the team led by O. Pometun were developed according to the same principle as in the above-mentioned program. In the 5th grade, students should study the subtopic 'Economy, Entrepreneurship, Money throughout History' and analyse and synthesise the suggested information to explain the interdependence of human life, society, and natural changes, scientific and technical

inventions, and social circumstances. In the 6th grade, when studying the Ancient History of mankind, it is traditionally necessary to identify factors that influence people's occupations, the way of farming, and the social system: climate, geographical location access to natural resources (Pometun et al., 2021).

M. Kaftan's program tends towards the study of society. The relationship between man and nature is discussed when considering the following topics: 'What Kind of Human Communities Were in the past and Are Now?' 'Historical and Ethnographic Regions of Ukraine,' 'Occupations, Customs, and Traditions of Ukrainians in the past and Now,' and 'The Role of Space in Understanding the Past and the Modern World.' According to the authors of the article, even the wording of the topics is difficult to understand, but to confirm this assumption, we should analyse the textbook materials (Kaftan et al., 2021).

Three more programs are a continuation of the suggested materials for the 5th grade. The authors are also limited to the range of issues provided for consideration in other programs as well. Based on the results of the work, students should learn to think critically about the risks associated with damage to the environment; and to determine the causes and possible ways of overcoming the global problems of our time.

In general, even a brief analysis of all available history programs shows the dominance of an anthropocentric approach. One of the authors of the papers, Olga Dudar, is also the author of textbooks on the history of Ukraine in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. In 2021, she tried to present a draft textbook for the 5th grade according to the program of O. Zheliba and O. Mokroguz. The experts who reviewed the draft found one of the suggested tasks inappropriate, namely: to look at the housing of the New Guinea aborigines (an island in the western part of the Pacific Ocean) and to consider why all the buildings were simple and unpretentious before the arrival of Europeans. There were critical comments on most of the materials, which concisely (considering the content of the program) identified the features of the human economy development and their impact on the environment. To confirm that the perception of history by the authors of educational programs and school textbooks is mainly based on an anthropocentric approach and the dominance of political history, we offer a brief analysis of the textbooks currently used in Ukraine.

4. Ecological and Natural Science Topics on the Pages of Textbooks Developed by the Provisions of NUS

The ‘How History and Space are Connected’ chapter of O. Pometun’s textbook provides a brief description of the interaction between a human and wildlife. In particular, the authors note that the latter is rapidly losing its diversity. Enterprises, agriculture, and motor vehicles constantly pollute the environment with hundreds of hazardous substances. An infographic is also included to help readers understand why so many people are concerned about the condition of the environment these days (Pometun et al., 2022: 27–8). However, there is no environmental information in the chapter ‘Why Does a Person Manage and Earn Money.’ In our opinion, it would be appropriate to mention excessive consumption, alternative sources of energy, and other important issues of interest to children in this topic.

The chapter ‘Why and for What Natural Reserves Were Created’ gives a detailed explanation, but there are no tasks that would stimulate children to do real practical activities in the field of research and nature conservation, or researching the state of reserves in their regions of residence (Pometun et al., 2022: 157).

In the textbook by O. Panarin, the writing team offers an interesting task: to investigate temperature changes in the world over 1700 years. Among the questions to the corresponding diagram, there are: ‘Why did the average temperature rise sharply after 1900?’ with ‘What do you know about global warming? What is its reason?’ (Panarin et al., 2022: 28). It would be worth adding such a task or question as an incentive for students to consider what they and their parents can do in modern conditions to optimise the situation at least in their region. However, environmental content is present in only one chapter of the publication.

In the textbook by P. Moroz, two sentences summarise the damage that people cause to nature. After that, the students should look through 4 pictures and decide which of them show the harmonious coexistence of a human and nature, and which prove the negative impact of a human on the environment. After that, students must justify their answers (Pometun et al., 2022: 28). It should be mentioned that one of the illustrations is a reconstruction of irrigation agriculture in Ancient Egypt, which can hardly be called an example of harmonious coexistence. The rest of the images

demonstrate the negative impact of a human on the environment. But, as in the previous textbook, no task could inspire students to take an active part in nature conservation. In the chapter 'Economics, Entrepreneurship and Traditional Occupations of Ukrainians: Then and Now,' the authors state the negative impact of industrialisation and mention the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. But they offer standard tasks: to investigate what types of economic and entrepreneurial activities are developing in your locality/native land; and find out how it affects community life and the environment. Students traditionally act as passive observers.

In general, I. Shchupak's textbook contains many multifaceted tasks but regarding the chapter 'Geographic Space of the Earth. How Does the Environment Affect a Person?' the authors limited themselves to working with maps. The situation with the material in the paragraph 'Why Is History Necessary' is different. The authors offer to reflect on the role of accidents in history and describe the disaster of 2002 when the Prestige oil tanker sank. The text states that the crew's mistakes led to an ecological disaster, about 300,000 birds died, and financial and physical damage amounted to 5.7 billion US dollars (Shchupak, 2022: 174). In our opinion, speaking about such issues, it is worth talking not about accidents, but about people's careless attitude towards safety rules and imperfect legislation in the field of environmental protection.

In the textbook by I. Vasylyk, ecological issues are analysed in the chapter 'Economy of our Country.' Students are offered to reflect on the use of various resources, the destruction of flora and fauna, and the need for its rational use, because 'this is a question of our survival.' In addition to the infographics, we also have a quote from the Law of Ukraine 'On Environmental Protection' and some questions that encourage students to think about their behaviour: (1) What is the purpose of the concept of sustainable development? How can students be involved in its implementation? (2) Why do you think corruption harms the economy? (3) What problems do prevent sustainable development? (Vasylyk, 2022: 44–5).

The authors pay special attention to the homework: Exercise 'Sustainable development in Ukraine.' Draw a poster about sustainable development. Describe in it one of the problems of sustainable development in Ukraine. 'Bloggers' creative exercise: 'Imagine that each of you is a blogger developing an environmental

theme. Create a questionnaire for your classmates about one of the environmental problems in your area. Assess their knowledge on the topic' (Vasylykiv, 2022: 46). In our opinion, among all the analysed textbooks for the 5th grade, I. Vasyli's materials are aimed at getting students interested in environmental topics and motivating them to take specific actions. However, such work is offered in a single chapter, which is not enough for the systematic development of the environmental competence of students.

The issue of a human and nature relationship is highlighted in O. Gisem's textbook. The authors briefly describe the changes in the human economy from ancient times to the present. Students are offered to think over the statement of the famous scientist V. Vernadskyi: 'For the first time, a man understood that he is an inhabitant of the planet and can – must – think and act in a new aspect, not only in the aspect of an individual, family or clan, states or their unions but also in the planetary aspect' (Gisem & Martynyuk, 2022: 12). Relevant tasks are selected for the material of the chapter, i.e., to discuss what everyone can personally do to reduce the problem of global warming. It also mentioned the Day of Ecological Debt, July 29, 2021, worldwide and August 8 in Ukraine. Readers should consider what this information indicates and how to respond to it (Gisem & Martynyuk, 2022: 12).

Tasks with specific practical components can be found in T. Bakka's textbook 'How Can I Influence the Conservations of the Environment?' In addition to the theoretical material on the human impact on the environment, the concept of sustainable development, and advice on rational nature-preserving behaviour, the students are asked to analyse the need to sort garbage, organise the appropriate disposal of batteries, and conduct the campaign 'Help the Community – Clean Up Your Street' (create an information leaflet, place it on social networks and rally the community together) (Bakka, 2022: 154–9).

It is worth noting that authors try to use materials about ecology and global environmental problems. But in general, they are limited to 1–2 chapters and offer tasks for remembering and analysing information. This way, students will perceive history exclusively as a science of the past. We strongly believe, even the content on the history of Ukraine should focus on the ecological crises of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. The current situation has already been

outlined in a study by Peter Gautschi and Christian Bunnenberg: 'Current debates related to history do not take place or take place with a delay in the next edition' (Gautschi & Bunnenberg, 2021).

5. Environmental and Natural Science Topics in Textbooks Created before 2022

As mentioned earlier, we analyse the textbooks and, in particular, pay attention to how the authors describe at least the sixth threshold according to David Christian – the origin of *Homo sapiens*, the seventh threshold – the end of the ice age, and the eighth threshold – the modern revolution of fossil fuels. It should be mentioned that no textbook, which is designed for one academic year, includes an analysis of the period from the beginning of the Neolithic revolution to the present day.

The ancient history of humankind is analysed in the 6th grade, accordingly, all authors who developed textbooks in 2019 described the ethnogenesis of a human, the consequences of the ice age, the formation of the economic system, and the impact of humankind on nature. However, many textbooks suggest students learn specific facts. In fact, no one mentions the crisis of the appropriative economy, caused by the massive destruction of herd animals by humans, which led to the emergence of complicated gathering and resource-saving strategies, which together prepared the transition to a reproductive economy (Stratonova, 2002: 43).

There is also a lack of reinterpretation of the history of agricultural civilizations, although some (like one of the authors of the article, Olga Dudar) outline crisis phenomena in ancient China when the destructive power of stormy river flows increased due to the draining of swamps and changes in the natural environment to expand cultivated areas (Dudar & Huk, 2019: 84).

In our opinion, on the pages of 7th and 8th-grade textbooks (the period of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times), it would be worthwhile to consider the formation of the peculiarities of the economic system in the lands of modern Ukraine and the challenges that the local population faces, taking into account the consequences of the Great Geographical Discoveries.

The first mentions of ecological problems on the pages of textbooks appear in the content referring to the beginning of the 20th century when the authors describe the development of the

economy of the western regions: How the irresponsible use of forests in the Carpathians led to soil erosion, and as a result, floods became more frequent in mountainous areas (Vlasov, 2017: 248). Content about fires at oil wells is also used, but the authors do not offer tasks that would motivate students to analyse the situation and compare it with today's problems.

The analysis of the industrial development of Eastern Ukraine, where the largest enterprises of the coal mining industry, metallurgy, and mechanical engineering were concentrated, is similar. After all, the 19th century caused the most of modern environmental problems in the industrial regions of Ukraine.

Also, no textbook mentions the environmental consequences of the First and Second World Wars, although it would be worthwhile to familiarise students with J. Huepi's research on soil destruction and pollution in 1914–1918 (Hupy & Schaetzel, 2008). Also 'The Long Shadows: A Global Environmental History of the Second World War' presents the results of the analysis of the environmental history of the Second World War in different areas and different countries (Laakkonen S. et al., 2017).

Authors of textbooks for the 11th grade (describing events from 1945 to the present) had considerable space for the presentation of environmental problems. Characterising the post-war reconstruction, all authors mention the problems and extremely difficult living conditions faced by the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, who had to overcome the socio-economic consequences of the war. However, no one pays attention to the environmental problems that arose after the renovation or development of industrial giants. There are no tasks on environmental topics before analysing the Perestroika period at all.

The period of the rule of L. Brezhnev (1964–1982) and his successors was a time of aggravation of environmental problems. However, the authors of textbooks limit themselves to a few sentences, as in the work by V. Vlasov: 'Drawbacks in the management of the country's economy have had a negative impact on its ecological condition. In the 1980s, the territory of Ukraine was polluted with waste from the mineral and raw material complex ten times more intensively than the USSR as a whole' (Vlasov, 2019: 130). In the field of ecology, the Soviet government was just as limited to loud slogans as it was in the field of human rights.

Unfortunately, there are no such tasks on the pages of textbooks that would help students better understand the harmful consequences of environmental policy in the USSR.

The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant is a global issue. However, some of the authors, such as O. Gisem and O. Martyniuk, only provide general information: ‘The accident at the Chornobyl NPP that occurred on the night of April 25–26, 1986, caused irreparable damage to the environment. The cause was an explosion at the 4th power unit, because of which the roof and walls of the upper part of the building collapsed. At the time of the accident, there were 200 tons of radioactive uranium and plutonium in the reactor. About 3 % of radioactive substances entered the environment. The radioactive cloud covered an area of 155,000 square kilometres. The explosion caused a large fire. Only thanks to the feat of firefighters, at the cost of their lives, a greater tragedy was avoided’ (Gisem & Martyniuk, 2019: 134–5). Tasks for this topic also mainly direct students to memorise factual material. V. Vlasov’s textbook emphasises the political impact of the events in the spring of 1986.

Students are invited to consider: (1) Why was the KGB’s information from April 29 aimed not at informing the population about minimising the risks from radiation, but at creating conditions for state security during the preparation and celebrations of ‘May 1 – the Day of International Workers’ Solidarity?’ (2) Why did the authorities in the USSR in general and the Ukrainian SSR in particular try to hide the truth about the events at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant both from their citizens and from Western countries? How was it consistent with the policy of glasnost? (Gisem & Martyniuk, 2019: 134–135). As a result, the task does not connect the events of 1986 with the systematic neglect of environmental problems in the USSR.

Unfortunately, we could not find a comprehensive analysis of the environmental policy of the Soviet government and independent Ukraine in any modern textbook.

5. Conclusions

Isabella Jackson and Siyi Du, researching textbooks in China, noted that ‘History textbooks are the only history books that the majority of people read in their lives’ (Jackson & Du, 2022). Although the educational system of Ukraine is significantly different from that of

China, they are common in the determining role of textbooks in the educational process, because students are guided by their content, and teachers use texts, tasks, and illustrative materials for class work and organizing independent work at home. Therefore, the presence of environmental topics and an interdisciplinary approach are important markers that would indicate the relevance of several issues, such as the impact of global warming, analysis of a complex environmental situation, and the development of environmental awareness, which are of interest to young people. Instead, history textbooks remain rigidly anthropocentric. The discussion continues on a different level, taking into account the post-Soviet legacy. Thus, a researcher from Romania S. Musteata (Musteata, 2017: 114) expressed the opinion that ‘Ukraine needs to develop historical education based on tolerance.’ After all, the political history that dominates the pages of Ukrainian textbooks in some places forms the image of ‘enemies’ from representatives of neighbouring nations. We would like to note that it is a political history that is of most interest to researchers from other countries who after 2000, analysed school textbooks in Ukraine.

Among Ukrainian educators, discussions about the content of programs and school textbooks have not subsided since 1991. However, the vast majority of researchers pay attention to the development of critical thinking, work with texts and documents, and the development of political culture. Recommendations offered by teachers for working with ecological material, namely: task-based learning, which can be attributed to: audits (self-examination of one’s way of life (life of the family) with the help of special questionnaires); brainstorming – a collection of thoughts and suggestions; work in pairs – discussion of small tasks with options for answers; work in groups on tasks: discussion of issues, analysis of additional information, formulation of conclusions, group drawings or tables; problem solving; video analysis according to the questions; preparing presentations and projects by students. However, textbook authors do not pay attention to such recommendations. Among the latest editions of textbooks for the 5th grade, only three of the 17 writing groups offer systematic tasks of at least one chapter. The system of work that would reflect the importance of ecological approaches and departure from the traditional politicised presentation of history, unfortunately, is not mentioned in the new programs or the

textbooks. Therefore, discussions and acquaintance with the experience of changes in approaches to history education in other countries, as we hope, will speed up the qualitative updating of the content of educational programs and school textbooks on history in Ukraine.

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THE ANTHROPOCENE QUESTION IN DANISH HISTORY EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF TEXTBOOKS' HISTORICAL NARRATIVES*

Heidi Eskelund Knudsen

This article examines a selection of textbooks for history teaching in Danish primary school. The aim of the article is to discuss how textbooks' historical narratives, affected by epochal tendencies, deal with the Anthropocene. Theoretically, the article is influenced by L. Qvortrup's conceptional idea of changing epochal tendencies in knowledge paradigms and, also, by posthumanist theory: The first inspires the article's analysis to understand textbooks' historical narrative as part of an ever-changing yet tradition-bound development. The second opens analytically the historical narratives to understand how the narratives respond to the Anthropocene challenge in the light of epochal knowledge trends. In studying five cases, in particular, the article looks for human–non-human relations and narratives of a broader 'we.'

1. Introduction

The Anthropocene is a proposed name for the geological period from the mid-20th century onwards. The proposal is based on the fact that human activities are now affecting the Earth to such a degree that it is causing global changes in the Earth's condition. Chemist P. J. Crutzen introduced the term 'Anthropocene' at a 2000 meeting of the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2021). Crutzen believes that the Anthropocene should replace the Holocene as the term for the age in which we find ourselves. He sees the term as recognising that human activities are now on such a scale that they are causing global changes to the Earth's environment and condition. For instance, concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere are now higher than they have been for the last three million years of Earth's history (Crutzen, 2006; Crutzen & Stoermer, 2021). In 2009, the Subcommittee on

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Quaternary Stratigraphy established a working group to present scientific arguments for and against the term ‘Anthropocene’ (Richardson, 2023). In 2019, the group recommended the use of the name, proposing a date in the mid-20th century as the beginning of the age or epoch of the Anthropocene (Subcommission on Quaternary Stratigraphy, 2023).

The Anthropocene as a concept has developed a range of meanings in a sort of conceptual traffic (Chakrabarty, 2018: 6) among vastly different scholarly communities. In the social sciences and humanities, it is used and discussed as a holistic framework for describing and arguing about interactions between human activities and natural systems, including their causes and consequences. In anthropology, for instance, some scholars discuss renaming ‘the Anthropocene’ ‘the Capitolocene’ (Haraway, 2015; Haraway et al., 2016; Haraway, 2016; Haraway, 2016; 2021) in order to frame the contemporary world as more than a human species act (Tsing, 2015). It is argued that the world is a situated and highly complex systematicity of situated people and their apparatuses of various kinds (Haraway et al., 2016: 539; Haraway, 2016; 2021). The vague and undifferentiated humanity via the term ‘Anthropos’ is not to be held singly responsible for bringing about the current state of the world. The system of capitalism and global economy needs to be considered as well (Chakrabarty, 2018: 6). The Anthropocene challenges us to radically rethink what nature, humans, and the historical and political relationship between the two might be (Haraway et al., 2016). I am inspired to take a deeper look into exactly how historical narratives in history textbooks (and thereby the teaching of future generations) mirror this phenomenon and thereby how historical narratives respond to current Anthropocene challenges.

Regarding history education research, revision and disciplinary rethinking seem to describe parts of the latest research dealing with the Anthropocene. Some emphasise conceptual discussions on time, timescales and temporality between Earth and world history (see discussion in Chakrabarty, 2018). Others discuss transforming historical thinking (e.g., Simon, 2021) or the general need to move beyond national historical narratives (Nordgren, 2021; 2023). According to K. Nordgren, history education research seems to accept the idea that human impacts on the climate are affecting the conditions for all life on the planet. However, traditional historiography has segregated nature and culture (Chakrabarty, 2009);

consequently, we have problems finding the critical perspective on history that we will need in order to deal with a threatening future (Nordgren, 2019: 794). I argue for such a critical perspective. The challenge is not just teaching about climate variation over time but also about recognising that the Anthropocene is a multidimensional phenomenon requiring adaptation in ways of being and understanding ourselves (McGregor et al., 2021). Nordgren suggests rethinking the rationality behind the questions that guide the historical narratives, for instance, by understanding historical consciousness as an interpretive trans-historical and trans-cultural process (Nordgren, 2019: 794). He further encourages crisis awareness as part of 'learning to live with the consequences' as a pedagogical teaching approach (Nordgren, 2021). Additionally, practitioners are encouraged to explore forms and principles for new perspectives (Nordgren, 2023: 304). Nordgren does not, however, and nor do his colleagues, investigate the actual historical narratives used in textbooks when discussing these history didactic matters. That is the interest of this article.

When researching the Anthropocene as a challenge to history education, keywords such as 'crisis,' 'trolley problem,' 'wicked problem,' 'the unprecedented' and 'tipping point' commonly appear. All of these are keywords that leave the impression of pessimism and impossibility. From a practical history didactic point of view, teaching has an ethical responsibility to the rising generation and its experience that the Anthropocene represents problems that can be overcome. The task of theoretical history didactics (research) is not to encourage pessimism but instead to cautiously (Paulsen, 2019) uncover and concretise what the Anthropocene problem to history is about and thus what the content of the teaching should be if future generations (children and young people) are to experience history teaching as a meaningful and sensemaking subject that prepares them to act and deal with Anthropocene problems. I argue that historiography and the historical narratives of textbooks form an important part of this task.

As an entry to the article's uncovering work, educational history studying the teaching of history in Denmark since the late 18th century points to the fact that textbooks and written historical narratives for teaching are marked by epochal tendencies of both traditional and constantly changing knowledge conceptions (Knudsen & Haue, 2023).

Textbooks continually develop new perspectives on the past and history as school subjects in order to respond to current societal questions, meaning there is a growing number of ideals and expectations regarding the subject. The Anthropocene is an example of this. Textbook development demonstrates how historical narratives become gradually more complex over time while also reducing their historical content regarding the handling of this complexity (Knudsen & Haue, 2023). I therefore ask the following question: where does this development leave the Anthropocene as a current challenge and, in particular, *how do textbooks' historical narratives, affected by epochal tendencies, deal with the Anthropocene?*

2. Theory

Danish educational researchers describe textbooks and learning materials as objects that mediate encounters between teachers, students, and the actual content of teaching (Hansen & Skovmand, 2011: 12). A teacher does not present a subject without using means to do so, i.e., ways of presenting and representing the content (Hansen & Skovmand, 2011: 12). Historical narratives in textbooks, analogue as well as digital, represent such means in history teaching and therefore mediate actual content. Today, textbooks serve different functions in the classroom than they have previously, although they still maintain authority in pupils' processes of learning about the past (Bjerre, 2019; Knudsen & Poulsen, 2015; Wineburg, 2001). Much history teaching is textbook based. Additionally, textbooks are historically conditioned by phenomena such as changing political interests, school reforms, curriculum changes and current societal conditions. Over time, changing interests, norms, values, intentions, and worldviews influence textbooks and thereby teaching content, and thus historical narratives in history teaching tell us not only something about the past but also reveal how narratives are written, contextualised and influenced by the historical periods and epochal trends in which they are written.

To describe epochal trends as certain tendencies of conceptualising knowledge and viewing the world (the Western world in particular), Danish professor of theoretical pedagogy L. Qvortrup suggests using theocentrism, anthropocentrism and polycentrism as optics (Qvortrup, 2001; 2003; 2004). These concepts refer to the idea that changes in societal knowledge, discourses, and worldviews from

the Middle Ages to the present are marked by three main epochal tendencies (the Middle Ages, the Enlightenment and Modernity) and by the development of gradual complexity-reducing processes in response to an ever more complex society (Qvortrup, 2001; 2003). Theocentrism represents a conception of knowledge that places God or another transcendental factor as the highest truth and the centre of the world. Traditions, faith, destiny, the past and local community (the people) are at the centre of this world perspective (Qvortrup, 2004: 57). It was not until the anthropocentric worldview became salient that the concept of universal humanity based on human rationale and science, not on faith, became the heart of knowledge optics. Through this worldview, abstract and universal human rights and ideals replaced God. This worldview prioritises individual and social emancipation (Qvortrup, 2004: 58), placing humans as free individuals at the centre of the world.

Theocentrism and anthropocentrism, as knowledge discourses, represent monocentric conceptions of knowledge and the world. Polycentrism, in contrast, operates with many centres of perspectives, self-observation and worldviews (Qvortrup, 2004: 59). In this knowledge conception, due to the increased complexity of society, it is no longer sufficient to observe and understand the world based on one universal truth. Rather, multiple perspectives are necessary, as is the possibility of questioning knowledge. Reflexive knowledge and the ability to link factual knowledge and skills in different ways in different contexts are central to understanding the world (Qvortrup, 2004: 64). In the early 2000s, Qvortrup argued for polycentric worldviews at the material, cultural and ideological societal levels but also highlighted ideals of theocentrism and anthropocentrism as continuing to be central to the expression of knowledge conceptions today. Qvortrup's description gives a reason to expect that historical narratives in textbooks express the same development of changing knowledge conceptions. The question is how the Anthropocene is framed as historical content in and from a polycentric worldview when theocentrism and anthropocentrism also continue to shape expressions of knowledge conceptions.

As stated in the introduction, a challenge to the Anthropocene is human centricity itself. The approach seems too unilateral to a current problem of far more complexity (Åsberg et al., 2012: 9–10). The human world is not only about *Anthropos*, humans themselves,

but also about human relationships created through states and societies, technology as well as nature and other non-human relationships. Relationships between these factors affect how humans perceive and define the boundaries between themselves and their surroundings. Thus, the Anthropocene cannot be observed and understood based on one (human) universal truth. Rather, multiple perspectives need to be considered, which is why Qvortrup's terminology is interesting to this article. The theory creates an opportunity to investigate the Anthropocene in an epochal tendency of polycentric knowledge conceptions. However, to do that, and in a way liberate the human as a distinctly exceptional dimension when discussing knowledge conceptions and historical narratives over time, analytical tools to guide and emphasise specific aspects of the Anthropocene challenge are needed when studying historical narratives. Recent (Nordic) feminist posthumanist theory plays a central role in this part of the article because posthumanism generally criticises that the world is primarily seen from the perspective of humans (Berg et al. 2020; Åsberg et al., 2012). A key question is how we as humans can coexist with other species (Tsing, 2015; Haraway, 2016), including perceiving a 'we' broader than just the human. Conceiving a broader 'we' involves studying what is more than just human and thinking differently about relationships between humans, technology and the borderland between nature and culture (Berg et al., 2020: 289). In other words, the posthumanist conception of knowledge is polycentric. The posthumanist approach allows for other species and materiality to have agency, which means bringing more perspectives into focus. With that comes a realisation of coexistence, cohabitation, and the need for reciprocity (Berg et al., 2020: 289). The approach does not change the fact that humans are still an important species, but humans are just one of several important species. This creates space for constructing narratives other than those in which humans are everything and non-human species are merely passive objects. The understanding of subjectivity is thus different. Nonhuman conditions, nature, must be understood as living, participatory and not essentially passive. Nature is entangled with societal structures, power, norms, and social codes (Berg et al., 2020: 289; Åsberg et al., 2012), and humans cannot therefore be assumed a priori to be exceptional, unique, and hierarchically superior to everything else.

When discussing historical narratives in history textbooks, the posthumanist approach provides a concrete opportunity to show how textbooks deal with a specific Anthropocene issue, namely the relationship between the human and the non-human (nature). Additionally, the approach provides room to discuss in what ways polycentrism expresses polycentric knowledge conceptions. The posthumanist analytical approach opens an opportunity to look beyond the human-centric aspects and point out nonhumans' perspectives in textbooks' historical narratives over time.

3. Methods

Danish educational theorist M. Paulsen suggests approaching educational questions about the Anthropocene in a *cautious* way. By this he means hesitating and becoming attentive to whom and what is included and excluded in educational activities (Paulsen, 2019: 17). Reading textbooks' historical narratives from a posthumanist perspective represents such a cautious methodological approach. My focus is on Danish history textbooks used in primary schools. I conducted the analysis based on Qvortrup's description of epochal tendencies and on criteria for focussed qualitative content analysis (Bryman, 2016; Schreier, 2012; Krippendorff, 2013; Bowen, 2009; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). A qualitative content analysis typically consists of an atheoretical and grounded coding process with categorisations and gradual theorisation of the content, described as ethnographic or data-driven content analysis (Bryman, 2016: 563; Schreier, 2012). This was partly the case here, too, at least before writing the article. However, the initial readings of the textbooks left me with a complex mass of categorisations to be dealt with, and posthumanism offered a way to organise and find patterns in the material, which was very useful. Thus, the analytical approach in this article is largely deductively guided (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1281) – more so than it originally was.

The result of the process was a selection of five of the most-used textbooks from 1916 to 2018, from which I examine excerpts. However, I emphasise recent decades due to the increased polycentric characteristics represented in these materials. The analysis is undertaken with special attention to the form and relevance of the content; I examine the general characteristics of the texts and how they relate between the human and non-human, as well as how they

portray historical narratives of a broader ‘we.’ Reviews of Danish educational history were crucial to the selection of the textbooks (e.g., Nielsen, 2002; Nielsen, 2010; Poulsen, 2023). Quotations have been translated into English, and original quotations and references are listed in the endnotes.

A central point about the concept of polycentrism, as well as the aforementioned research, is the fact that the amount of learning materials produced for Danish history teaching from the 1960s onwards is overwhelming and complex, as well as both analogue and digital. In general, textbooks from this period are characterised by many layers of information and knowledge. An exhaustive analysis is therefore not the article’s intention. Thus, the article is best described as case based. In this respect, the aim of this article is to study in detail (Swanborn, 2010) rather than to perform a historical overview of history textbooks, which can be read elsewhere. I explore micro-text situations to study in depth what the texts are doing and how they are constructed in terms of content, particularly in human-non-human relationships. The selected textbook examples hold potential related to discussions of the latter, which is why they were selected (Schwandt, 2018: 342; ref. to Ragin & Becker’s, 1992). The difficulty from a research perspective is that a case-based approach risks being too weak in relation to the findings yielded. The study can, however, be seen as the beginning of a coming series of proposals that are subsequently further developed and continued in other contexts outside of this article.

This article focusses on textbook excerpts and periods with the following characteristic features:

- 1900–1971: History teaching as a tradition without renewal, the transfer of 19th-century ideals, a long-standing anthropocentric paradigm with few but long-lasting textbooks (focus on Nikoline Helms, 1916).
- 1970–2005: Increasing individualisation of history teaching and historical narratives, relativisation of values and chronology, the takeover of book systems and marking the transition to a polycentric worldview (focus on *Into History*).
- 2005–2020: Coherent understanding in focus, history canon secures the tradition, student competences, skills and knowledge in global perspectives (focus on *Insight and Outlook*; *Ready, Steady, History!* and *On Track of History*).

After a descriptive analysis, I intend to discuss the findings by referring to the initial descriptions of the research field, especially the presented conclusions of history didactics.

4. Analysis and Discussion of How Textbooks' Historical Narratives, Affected by Epochal Tendencies, Deal with the Anthropocene

4.1 Case 1. Nikoline Helms, History of Denmark Told to Children,¹ 1916–1962

A widely used textbook from the beginning of the 20th century was Nikoline Helms' *History of Denmark Told to Children* from 1916, of which 23 editions were published up until 1962. This shows that some textbooks had a very long lifespan. More than half a million copies of Helms' textbook were published, which is a lot for a Danish textbook. The book's structure is somewhat reminiscent of other textbooks of the time. First, there are two short chapters on 'The Oldest Times and Danish Royal Legends' and a chronological review of historical periods, focussing on the exploits of great personalities and kings. However, ordinary life and social conditions are also described to a limited extent in chapters such as 'Life in Town and Castle at the Time of Frederik 2' (Helms, 1916; 1962: 104–13), 'The Conditions of the Peasants' (Helms, 1916; 1962: 153–61) and 'The Freedom Rebellion of 1848' (Helms, 1916; 1962: 181–5). The ideal for history teaching seems to reflect the anthropocentric perspective. For example, the chapter 'Denmark after 1864' (Helms, 1916; 1962: 204–12) describes how agriculture and industry developed and gradually switched to production for sale and export. Progress is the focus, and 'man,' especially the innovative and entrepreneurial human being, is emphasised, such as peasants in the countryside who formed joint agricultural associations for the purpose of producing and exporting butter and bacon (Helms 1916; 1962: 205–7). The description of nature corresponds to that of previous periods; the so-called oldest historical times (which are not precisely defined) were, according to Helms, characterised by desolate, wild, and miserable life conditions: 'it was a miserable life these people had to live' (Helms 1916; 1962: 7). Next, the increasing skill of man regarding the development of tools for the benefit of survival is placed at the centre of an optimistic description of

progress for humankind. For instance, the reader is acquainted with the engineer Dalgas, who walks the heath and mourns ‘that such large parts of our little country should be deserted’² (Helms, 1916; 1962: 208). With the help of volunteers, he therefore develops a plan for drainage, afforestation and using the land for agriculture (Helms, 1916; 1962: 208–9). Thus, the enlightened (male) human dominates nature. As Helms writes, it is thanks to schools and other educational institutions that agricultural farmers in the 1800s contributed to the development of agriculture and industry (Helms, 1916; 1962: 207). Helms’ perspective shifts away from unambiguous heroic descriptions of the exploits of kings, as was seen in earlier textbooks of the 19th century, but the historical narrative is still monocentric. The anthropocentric worldview is central. Progress is described in terms of ‘dangerous’ nature that must be tamed, and human history and success only accelerated as nature was controlled.

4.2 Case 2. *Into History*,³ 1996–2005

After the 1960s, history book systems divided by grades became widespread, and from around 1980, the book systems were expanded with teacher guides and workbooks for students. The most widely used systems also offered supplementary materials in the form of overhead posters, audio tapes, themed books, DVDs in the 1990s and, later, associated websites and digital history portals (Poulsen, 2023). Increased complexity characterises this period. The hallmark of the book systems was, and still is, their alternation between overview presentations and thematic immersions.

Into History, a book system from the Gad and Graphic publishing house, later Alinea, was published between 1996 and 2005 and is still used in some schools. Compared to textbooks from previous periods, *Into History* texts are told to children at eye-level with them as readers. For example, the textbook for third grade begins with the fictional story of the boy Thomas, who experiences the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. Children’s experiences of the world and history are clearly promoted. In terms of content, the books focus thematically on time, housing, natural disasters, livestock, defences, food, war, and death, or, as the teacher’s guide describes, ‘basic living conditions’ (Overskov 1996a, 147). Thus, natural disasters are part of everyday life. Clearly, themes such as patriotic history, royal succession and national consciousness no

longer shape the chapters the way they did previously. The textbook thus marks the characteristics of teaching materials for history at the end of the 1990s and into the 2000s. The focal points are historical consciousness; student centring and participation; gradually increased critical sense; and reflections on interactions between the students' life-worlds, everyday lives, and perceptions of history's/the subject's great narratives. Big national and little personal history are put into context.

Nature as a condition for human life also enters history teaching. Under the title 'Fall of the World',²⁴ descriptions of a severe tornado in Jutland in 1962 introduce a chronological review of the history of natural disasters and how people have handled and understood them (Overskov 1996b, 37–52). Nature is described as a destructive part of history and the world: 'Our entire world of safety and security that we have spent years building can be shattered by nature in a single minute. On top of that, without any effort at all.'²⁵ Thus, nature is given agency as a villain in the human–non-human relationship of history. Nature is something that peasants feared (Overskov 1996b, 42). The acknowledgement of animals seems to be different, though, as seen in a chapter titled 'What Were We to Do without Animals?'²⁶ (Overskov 1996b, 57). As non-human creatures, they are portrayed as worthy tools for man, and 'without a little help from animals,' humans would have had no meat, no milk, no eggs, no leather, etc. (Overskov 1996b, 57). Man is even described as 'more beautiful than animals'²⁷ in the 5th-grade book. The theme is fashion and the fashion industry, and it focusses on human vanity as a driving force of technology, politics, and economics (Overskov 1998, 37–52). Universal human qualities thus keep framing the description of how humans 'as culture' differ from nature. Man is the centre of history, and 'we' means humans.

4.3 *Cases 3 and 4. Insight and Outlook,*⁸ 2009–2010, and *Ready, Steady, History!*⁹ 2008–2021

Among well-known textbook systems are also *Insight and Outlook* from Meloni (2009–2010), as well as *Ready, Steady, History!* (2008–2021) and *On Track of History* (2017–2018) both from Alinea. *Insight and Outlook* almost represents a return to traditional textbook writing about the past, which means a chronologically organised

narrative from prehistoric times and up to 2010. Together with *Ready, Steady, History!* it was produced to support teaching of the historical canon points list introduced to the curriculum in 2009. This list consists mainly of Danish political historical events and personalities (Børne- og Undervisningsministeriet, 2019: 11).

Insight and Outlook focusses on Danish political history, with detours to European and world history. Structural conditions, actions of national populations, political leaders and powerful personalities are central. A few thematic chapters study in-depth subjects from the overview chapters, but the coherent chronological presentation of political history is the focus. The books contain extensive sections of text and illustrations with years, dates, places and even time indications, for example, ‘At 11 o’clock on 11/11/1918, the last shots of the war had sounded’¹⁰ (Rønn 2010, 6). Definitions of history and the past are based on history disciplinary outlines, meaning the student is no longer the centre of attention, nor does the book system relate to contemporary matters. The past holds the driving force or value, so to speak. Students are introduced to historical coherence, chronology, and methods. Related to this article is a short paragraph on the very last page of the 9th-grade book about the period after 2001 and climate: ‘climate became the focus of attention as one heat record after another was set’¹¹ (Rønn 2010, 119). The passage contains no further elaboration, explication, or interpretation. The narrative is brief and straightforward, without a definite agent: humans are not the cause of heat records. However, *Insight and Outlook* differs from the other book systems by addressing climate change and heat records directly.

Ready, Steady, History! contains a few more glimpses of human-non-human relationships. In a chapter on the Renaissance, the ‘skilful physician’ Paracelsus is introduced as he ‘sought out gypsies and wise women’ who knew ‘how to collect herbs in nature and use them as medicine’¹² (Hemmingsen 2008, 73). Furthermore, in a portrayal of the Italian poet Petrarch’s love for Donna Laura, the authors reproduce excerpts from poems that show how nature was used in poetry to express emotions (Hemmingsen 2008, 66). But these short glimpses of nature are rare and not used for any obvious purpose. Nature is not the point. Political history is the point, just as in *Insight and Outlook*. From a polycentric epochal view, the two textbooks stand out because of their unambiguous and holistic approach to

coherent descriptions of the past. Both book systems operate with clear anthropo- and monocentric views of the world and society.

4.4 Case 5. *On Track of History*,¹³ 2017–2018

In *On Track of History*, the student as a reader is reintroduced and directly addressed, and the book system continuously relates the content and its presentation to the student's learning process by highlighting specific learning goals and encouraging various student activities. Again, we see chronologically structured content with an overall focus on political, social, religious, and economic power relations through history. *On track of history* reflects awareness of historical canon points, but it also explicitly reflects on various matters, such as history as a discipline and history as myth or truth, based on historical sources. It introduces themes that cut across the book system's otherwise chronological structure, for example, nature and culture in relation to historical periods (e.g., the Stone Age, Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, and the Bronze Age in the 3rd-grade book). Regarding the themes of nature and culture, nature is introduced as having two forms: the pure wild and the tamed and controlled, with the tamed as 'the one which humans care and look out for'¹⁴ (Olsen & Lumholtz 2017, 36). In other words, humans are not an evil part of the relationship between humans and non-humans. The descriptions in general are not about humans being a guilty party.

Looking at the cases together, the textbook examples illustrate historical narratives primarily centred on Danish political history, with only a few cases of non-human aspects discussed. The historical narratives are male dominated and characterised by a belief in progress – a progress stemming from increasing control over nature. As mentioned previously, non-human aspects rarely figure into this narrative. And when nature does figure, it is mostly in narratives about how humans have tamed nature, how humans have used nature for personal or economic benefit or how humans regard nature as a passive, objective aspect of history. As stated previously, the selected textbook examples hold potential related to discussions of how they are constructed in terms of content regarding Anthropocene aspects. To that matter, all cases confirm the theoretical worry of Chakrabarty (2009): Historiography at the very near and close-read level of historical narratives for history teaching

segregates nature from culture/humans. And when looking at the epochal tendencies of the cases, it is clear that while the human–non-human description in Helms’ book took up several pages, descriptions in the subsequent textbooks only appear with different perspectives, in small glimpses and with a purpose that is difficult to discern. The impression is given that nature is mostly a villain, dangerous, wild, something from ancient times or a tool to be tamed and controlled. From a general perspective, the textbooks may represent the polycentric knowledge conception and worldview due to the complexity of their forms with multiple layers of content, information, and modalities (both analogue and digital), but when it comes to agency in the historical narratives, the narratives are absolutely mono- and anthropocentric. The traditional human-dominated tales of the actions and exploits of heroic kings, nobles and clergy throughout history still feature in the descriptions to a large extent – even if the stories are presented in different ways (e.g., more or less child-centred).

The narratives exude duality and with it a rather unilateral perspective: the successful, enlightened man versus wild nature; inside versus outside (Denmark versus the rest of the world); male versus all other types of humans (gypsies, wise women, children); good versus evil (the good Danes versus the evil British or Germans who attacked Denmark in the 1800s); powerful kings versus poor peasants, etc. In that sense, these historical narratives are rife with exclusions of other perspectives from humans as well as non-humans. Moreover, the perspective is very human centred. According to posthumanism, a key question when handling the Anthropocene challenge is how we as humans can coexist together with other species, including perceiving a ‘we’ broader than what is just human. In this matter, the historical narratives appear to have a considerable way to go. Reading through the textbooks raises questions about when and how the, if not Anthropocene turn then perhaps posthumanism turn in historical narratives for Danish history teaching, could take place. As already mentioned, the historical narratives are mostly concerned with human progress in history. They do not tell ‘back stories,’ i.e., they do not elaborate on the various historical consequences of human progress in history. It seems obviously logical to add historical interpretations, more perspectives, and more counter perspectives so that the narratives

become more nuanced. For instance, instead of emphasising the 'skilful physician Paracelsus' when describing the history of Renaissance medicine, the entry perspective could be nature, herbs and various human uses and experiences with nature. In that sense, a more-than-just male human perspective would be featured.

Nordgren argues for crisis awareness and learning to live with consequences; however, before even getting to that point, the construction of current textbooks' historical narratives needs to be reconsidered. The first step, I would argue, is to rewrite historical narratives from various and more inclusive perspectives, offering students the opportunity to take more nuanced perspectives on historical development in general, whether political, economic, cultural, or otherwise. Later, questions about crisis awareness and living with the consequences of development can be addressed. A *cautious* approach to the Anthropocene problem should first help children and young people acknowledge that history is about humans and non-humans' historical narratives. From a historical perspective, it should then show them how relationships between the two throughout history are multidimensional, meaning loaded with pros and cons, dilemmas, and consequences (fortune and misfortune) of actions caused by humans and non-humans in relation to one another. From there, a discussion about today's Anthropocene challenges can proceed.

5. Conclusions

The tradition of mono- and anthropocentric knowledge optics continues in Danish textbooks' historical narratives for primary school. The Anthropocene as a current challenge appears to be absent, but a posthumanism-inspired reading of the texts manages to open the issue. The textbooks' historical narratives are first and foremost human centred. If history education is to fulfil the role of teaching children how to understand and handle problems in an Anthropocene era, this article argues for the re-interpretation and rewriting of the actual historical narratives as a starting point. Despite being polycentric in knowledge optics, they generally lack polycentric perspectives when it comes to agency in historical narratives, including perspectives on inclusion versus exclusion aspects. This article concludes that a turn in the historical narratives is needed if the texts are to reflect a more posthumanist approach, thus making it

possible to understand and concretise the Anthropocene challenge from relevant historical perspectives.

Notes

¹ Danmarkshistorie fortalt for Børn.

² '[...] og han sørgede over, at så store dele af vort lille land skulle ligge øde.'

³ Ind i Historien.

⁴ Verden går under.

⁵ 'Hele vores trygge verden, som vi har brugt år på at bygge op, kan naturen knuse på et enkelt minut. Oven i løbet uden at anstrenge sig særligt.'

⁶ 'Hvad skulle vi gøre uden dyr?'

⁷ Skønnere end dyr.

⁸ Indblik og Udsyn.

⁹ Klar, parat, historie!

¹⁰ 'Kl. 11 den 11/11 1918 havde de sidste skud i krigen lydt.'

¹¹ 'Klimaet kom i fokus i takt med at man satte den ene varmere rekord efter den anden.'

¹² 'Hvordan man kunne indsamle urter ude i naturen og bruge dem som medicin.'

¹³ På sporet af historien.

¹⁴ 'Den, som mennesker passer og plejer.'

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THE ANTHROPOCENE AND NEW CHALLENGES FOR TEACHING HISTROY*

Urte Kocka

In the Anthropocene, referred to as a new epoch, research is being conducted, to show the extent to which humans, by exploiting nature for better living conditions become themselves a geological force and are changing nature in such a way that it is becoming a threat to human survival. The increasing consumption of fossil energy sources causes climate change and natural disasters. The UN Agenda 2030 calls for sustainable economic management in order to protect nature and mankind. History lessons can support these demands, declare them as important aims and show, when dealing with historical topics, the way in which human activities have damaged nature and the environment. Thereby also new thinking about new time dimensions as 'planetary time' and 'planetary thinking' are taken into account, with which history and history teaching should deal with in a new way, interdisciplinarily supported by physics, chemistry, biology. The promotion of sustainable acting can give hope for reversibility and avoidance of environmental damage and may lead to more responsibility for the globe.

1. Introduction

Much is being written and discussed about the Anthropocene, not just in the sciences and humanities but in the media as well. The term Anthropocene designates an epoch during which humans act as a geological force similar to the geological forces found in nature. Thanks to the technological capabilities that we have developed, humans are able to intervene in nature for their wellbeing, but at the same time to exploit it, repress it, and in general to change it to such an extent that the earth, outer space, even the entire universe are altered with profound and dangerous consequences, consequences that we cannot even begin to foresee. These changes can be perceived on earth in the form of increasing environmental disasters – largely ascribed to climate change – which pose an existential threat to the lives of many people and are reported in the media on an almost daily basis. Scientists have been researching environmental

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damage and environmental threats ever since the previous century, yet it is only recently that growing research in the field of earth system science has led us to acknowledge that humans, through their exploitation of nature for the purpose of extracting energy and improving their lives, have the capacity to destroy those very lives and their environment. It was Paul J. Crutzen, a Dutch atmospheric chemist, who created the term Anthropocene during a conference of the Geosphere Biosphere Program, held in Mexico in the year 2000. Crutzen, who was awarded a Nobel Prize, is considered one of the pioneers in researching environmental threats within earth system science (Müller, 2019: 11–60).

2. The Anthropocene in History Classes?

2.1 *New Findings, New Thinking*

The increasing talk of a ‘new epoch’ – the Anthropocene – is connected with new findings and new ways of thinking. Some are even asking whether we are currently facing a second ‘Copernican Revolution’ (Horn & Bergthaller, 2019: 72). Nature and humankind are no longer diametrically opposed; they cannot be regarded as distinct, as they were in the past, for example going back to the Genesis of the Bible, where humans were told to subdue the Earth. Instead, now we know, that they form a shared ‘history’ which is already being studied. This results in topics newly emphasised for teaching history classes as well as in new insights into broader temporal dimensions. The study and teaching of history can demonstrate how the geological or planetary conditions and unforeseen natural events that have intervened in human history are precisely what enabled this history in the first place, yet are also able to destroy or radically alter it.

For history classes ‘Big History’ aims to convey these concepts of a shared history. Since 2013/2014, it has been taught in history classes all over the world, in high schools, universities, and online courses. Since 2019 it has been taught in Europe as well, starting with the Netherlands.¹ Its ideas and findings are compatible with the ideas of the Anthropocene. It stresses that human history is much more embedded in cosmological and geological processes than was assumed until recently. ‘Big History’ already implements these findings in history curricula to show that human history – with all its

artifacts, events, and inventions – is both dependent upon and included in cosmological, biological, geological, anthropological evolutions and developments. Some related historical topics are already known and not new, but the awareness of entanglements between human ingenuity and preconditions of nature are given new emphasis within ‘Big History.’ For example, China used gunpowder for weapons of war starting in the eleventh century, but the discovery of gunpowder was possible only because saltpetre – a salt found on rocks – was present as a special natural resource in the region. From the fifteenth century onwards, this invention was distributed around the world and changed not only warfare but, in many respects, history itself for a great many countries and people (Toler, 2012: 192).

The interweaving of history and nature is well known with respect to the natural disasters that have destroyed cities and changed the course of human history. The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, for instance, were buried in lava from the eruption of Vesuvius. Another example is the migration of whole populations as a result of unbearable natural conditions in their home countries, conditions caused by severe drought or – on the other extreme – by catastrophic floods.

Today, more and more research is being carried out to learn about the natural preconditions for historical change. This is possible because of new scientific research methods in geology, chemistry, physics, biology, and other modern sciences, which are able to reveal new information about human illnesses, the disappearance of plant species, and good and bad climate periods in the past, whether these occurred hundreds or even millions of years ago. A very impressive historical publication by Kyle Harper (Harper, 2017) shows the impact of pandemics on the Roman Empire and its decline. It was shown that four major pandemics, which occurred between the 2nd and the 7th century, deeply impacted Roman society and the Roman state in regard to economic, social, cultural, political, and religious dimensions. Two world religions emerged during this time: Christianity and the Islam. But the pandemics contributed to the fall of the empire as they caused millions of deaths; they affected the military situations at the borders and led to conquests by migrating peoples and to social unrest.

2.2 *Humans as a Geological Force*

Nature changed human history, but now in the Anthropocene Epoch we must determine the way in which humans have changed nature themselves. A lot of these changes have benefited humans, while others have disadvantaged them. Earth system science, with all its accompanying subdisciplines, has taken the leading role when it comes to researching the human-caused, dramatically increasing deterioration of human living conditions, manifested in climate change for example, yet the humanities (particularly history and social sciences) are able – and should do so – to show the specific changes in human history alongside with natural systems. Though the reasons of deteriorating living conditions may be diverse, today the dominant cause is the consumption of fossil fuels to satisfy the constantly increasing need for energy with the goal of ever greater prosperity and a better life. What this entails is not only the burning of fossil fuels and the resultant carbon emissions but also the pollution of the oceans and the contamination of land through pesticides and toxic waste from the extraction of new raw materials and the minerals and rare earth elements which new technologies urgently demand. Entire regions are being catastrophically altered and contaminated, for a period of time that can rightly be termed ‘planetary.’ Humankind is to be regarded as a geological force.

2.3 *UN Sustainable Development Goals to Stop Deterioration*

In many states and countries, scientists and politicians are determined to fight against the increasing pollution and contamination of nature and human surroundings and to fight against the unjust manner in which natural and human goods are distributed. They are attempting to find and implement alternative energy sources, and at the same time there are many pleas around the world, especially at international climate conferences, for sustainable development in the use of energy and resources in daily life for the sake of nature and humans. In 2015 the General Assembly of the United Nations ratified its 2030 Agenda for ‘Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)’ with 17 goals to ‘transform our world.’ ‘We are resolved to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want to heal and secure our planet. We are determined to take the bold and transformative steps which are urgently needed to shift the world onto a sustainable and resilient path. As we embark on this collective journey, we pledge

that no one will be left behind. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets which we are announcing today demonstrate the scale and ambition of this new universal Agenda.’ In addition to goals of peace and justice for all the world’s people, there are five sustainability-related goals for living in accordance with nature: in cities and communities, through responsible consumption and production, with actions to combat climate change, as well as protection for life both in the water and on land.² These goals express the hope to stop pollution and climate change.

3. Teaching about the Worrying Planetary Changes in the Anthropocene

In history classes we can do more than just encourage and plead for sustainability, as is done in other disciplines as well; we can actively support it. With a multitude of views and perspectives when interpreting historical sources and events, new actors and strategies can be uncovered in revealing harmful effects on the environment which are unintended, unseen until today, or willingly disregarded: the consequences of modern technology in connection with global mobility, agriculture, urban living, and consumer tech. It concerns as well everyday life. By the same token, when humans’ harmful impact on the environment is made clear, it is possible to draw attention to the need for sustainability when discussing common topics in history classes, concerning national and global ones in every era, as well as everyday consumerism in our lifeworld.

3.1 The ‘Columbian Exchange’

When discussing the ‘Columbian Exchange,’ for example, this can be used as an example of the worrying planetary changes in the Anthropocene. The Columbian Exchange, which occurred in the period from 1492 to 1650, affected the whole globe with new technologies, domesticated animals, interchanged plants and new agricultural methods, plantations, and an increase in slavery, as well as through the spread of diseases – especially smallpox, which killed more than 50 million indigenous Americans. Rock analysis proved that during the Columbian Exchange the entire globe was ecologically changed: a homogenisation of flora and fauna occurred

because two different ecosystems were brought together (Ellis, 2020: 135–8).

It is here that the teaching of history can step in and demonstrate how the European ‘Old World’ collided with the American ‘New World,’ can show not only the means by which the human cultures present there were destroyed and altered but also how the landscape and ecosystems were changed by the mining of precious metals, by the introduction of crops among wild herbs, by plantation farming and slave labour for a growing worldwide commercial economy, and by political power grabs and greed for profits. When discussing the Columbian Exchange, we are also talking about humankind’s first global and far-reaching geopower, because none of the human interventions in nature prior to that time had ever changed the world on such a scale. This is also why some authors place the start of the Anthropocene in that period (Ellis, 2020: 135–8).

3.2 *The ‘Great Acceleration’*

However, the historical era that crucially contributed to the naming of the Anthropocene and its designation as a ‘new epoch’ by researchers was the period following the Second World War, a time known as the ‘Great Acceleration.’ This began after 1945 with a further increase in industrialisation, the resumption and growth of consumption in making up for the wartime period, an increase in travel and trade, an acceleration in world population growth, and increasing globalisation. By the end of the twentieth century there were the following calculations: ‘The human population increased from 1.5 to 6 billion, the world’s economy increased fifteenfold, energy use increased from thirteen- to fourteenfold, freshwater use increased ninefold, and the irrigation areas fivefold’ (Chakrabarty, 2022: 14). These figures have dramatically risen since 2000.

The study of history can examine this era in more detail and can show how world powers profited economically from globalisation, trade, the exploitation of natural resources for increasing energy consumption, and how they competed for international political power. During this time, these world powers also competed for what were then known as ‘developing countries’ to exploit their wealth of mineral deposits and other natural resources. Such influences have continued even under the guise of postcolonialism, for example in Africa, where the dangers posed by mineral extraction and rare earth

mining – such as in the ‘copper belt’ in the Congo – have been well documented (Larmer, 2021: 292–320).

When looking at all these ecosystem changes, it is important to keep in mind that an increase in prosperity has yielded a better and longer life for many people. This has also enabled new scientific and cultural achievements, as well as innovations and new technologies in many fields. The earth and outer space have been studied in greater detail and this has led to new findings and new knowledge. Nonetheless, the natural resources upon which humans have been relying are now nearing depletion and it is necessary for us to rethink our ways and change our behaviour. These findings can be incorporated in history classes in many topics, for example industrialisation, imperialism, wars. However, the prerequisite for this is that history be viewed in a global perspective, because only in this way can we see the ominous changes that are occurring around the world, changes pertaining not only to the environment and the climate but also to geopolitical power structures and social inequalities. Only through a global perspective can we get people to understand that humans have only one planet to live on and that fast and effective action is required.

A somehow cynical aspect is the fact that for reducing pollution in industrial countries the search for mineral deposits and other natural resources is going on not only in Africa but also in other countries of the ‘Global South’ with the result of destroying or polluting nature there: tropical rivers are polluted with mercury and cyanide, the mining of lithium to produce batteries for smartphones and electric cars is going on in the salt desert of Argentina with the result of destroying it. Indigenous people, who live there since thousands of years in harmony with nature, are protesting and demonstrating against the mining.³

3.3 *New Temporal Dimensions*

Other new and mind-boggling factors include temporal dimensions which were previously barely guessed at: the ‘planetary time’ which is being studied by geologists as well as astrophysicists (Björnerud, 2020: 16–5). These dimensions require us to change not only our ways of thinking but also our actions when it comes to locating nuclear waste dumps for example. The nuclear attacks on Japan in 1945 still have repercussions today, with illnesses, birth defects, and

contamination of human settlements – and shall continue to do so, perhaps on a planetary timeframe.

Though it is beyond the scope of history classes to delve into research in the fields of geochronology and astrophysics on a technical scale, nonetheless interdisciplinary teaching with the fields of physics, chemistry, and biology is conceivable, and this would elucidate the working methods and findings of ‘planetary time’ or ‘deep time’ (Hanusch et al., 2021: 119–3) In history classes the attention could be drawn to new temporal dimensions and the varying ‘time strata’ (Koselleck, 2000), in which human history has developed. It is not only the dimension of planetary time that has to be considered when finding long lasting environmental damages, but also the idea of ‘multiple times’ or ‘temporalities’ has to be raised in history research and history teaching. One result of this insight is the discussion of the ‘simultaneity of the non-simultaneous’ (Koselleck, 1979: 323–6). This topic is of particular relevance today due to growing awareness about the increase of diversification arising from globalisation, which helps to accept the simultaneity of different and multiple times. This way differences of a social, religious, cultural, and economic nature in the relations between countries, peoples, and continents can be appropriately considered in a global perspective and actively addressed on the political and personal level. New perspectives will be enabled by means of new temporal dimensions and by taking the concept of divergent histories and developments seriously (Landwehr, 2020: 177–208).

Geochronology can draw attention to the long-term effects of human intervention in nature and can warn us to be cautious about the use of new technologies, for example those that aim to alter the atmosphere and the globe through geoengineering.

4. Conclusion: Human History and Natural Systems as Entangled History with New Ways of Constructing the Future Responsibly

In accordance with the UN Goals, history classes may teach that sustainability is important for preserving nature and the environment from destruction for the sake of humans and their history. Historical consciousness may discover that human history and changes in nature are an entangled history, and this may give new insights for constructing the future responsibly on a global scale. Big History has

been pioneering in the way that it emphasises the interconnection and interlocking of human history and global nature, and this has been incorporated into curricula for teaching history classes. It may advise us to broaden all our mostly national history curricula with a global perspective, because the Anthropocene is not a national or regional or local phenomena alone. These new perspectives will help us to be optimistic about our capacity to change a bad Anthropocene to a good one.

Notes

¹ Especially Big History Project shows the topics and the curriculum in general; <https://bhp-public.oerproject.com> (03.10.2023). About the history of Big History and its purpose see: Exoplanet Science website; <https://www.ibhanet.org> (03.10.2023).

² Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda> (03.10.2023); from time to time, it is complemented and updated.

³ There were articles in *Der Tagesspiegel* covering this subject, 30 September 2023, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de> (15.09.2023).

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HOW SHOULD HISTORY TEACHING IN CAMEROON RESPOND TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANTHROPOCENE ERA?*

Jacques Ngong Atembone

The aim of our reflection is to define the theoretical tools that will enable the teaching of history in secondary schools in Cameroon to prepare learners to face up to the beliefs that are accelerating environmental degradation. This perspective is in line with the 17 sustainable development goals, in particular ODD4, which aims to combat poverty through inclusive, quality education. Using a qualitative, explanatory approach, we analyse data collected from history inspectors and teachers in Cameroon. The analysis shows that the aim of history teaching in Cameroon is to ensure that learners develop a cultural, civic and patriotic awareness. The integration of eco-history represents a challenge for teachers. But it will have the merit of developing a historical perspective on ecological facts that will help build empathy and remorse as structuring mechanisms for present and future human actions.

1. Introduction

The teaching of history in schools has always served the cause of ideological projects linked to the legitimisation of the nation-state, the construction of narrative and collective identities and the decolonisation of mentalities. However, since the thermo-industrial revolution marked by James Watt's design of the steam engine in 1784, and above all the consequences of the two world wars, scientists such as Crutzen (2007), Bonneuil & Fressoz (2013), Lange (2020), have announced that human activities have profoundly altered the cycle of nature, bringing it into an unprecedented state: the Anthropocene. This is the era when humanity, through the combined action of consumption, technology, and demographics, is a major environmental force. It sounds the death knell for the Holocene, which characterised a real balance in the relationship between man and nature. The Anthropocene is therefore a lively

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socio-scientific concept (Scotto, 2018) that raises a number of issues, enabling us to move from a school that aims to transmit knowledge to one that aims to develop eco-citizen skills and attitudes.

Faced with this reality, history educators and practitioners in particular, because of the discourse of history that shapes consciousness, are entrusted with a thorny and complex new mandate: that of helping to forge students' collective identity, but above all equipping them to live better in the conditions of the Anthropocene. The challenge here is to make them aware of the phenomena that have contributed to this state of affairs, and to update their approaches in a reflective logic to ensure sustainable development. With this in mind, the 17 sustainable development goals set out by the UN in 2015 can address this concern. The epistemological approach to teaching history, which considers the interplay between man and nature, should be favoured.

Moreover, this orientation was supported by Braudel (1958), who in his time encouraged history to take an interest in the study of environmental and spatial phenomena. He speaks of a global history, which is interested in everything. He opens the way to the study of history that thinks of time in space, or space and social realities: eco-history. This concept, formulated by Walter (1994), in the sense that it enables the historian to interrogate historical facts from an ecological temporality, to restore the social uses of nature, taking care to move from macro-history to micro-history, is better taken up by Moniot (1991), considered the father of history didactics in France, when he speaks of renewing the profession of history teacher. But it was David Christian (1991) who laid the foundations of eco-history through his theory of big history. In his conception, history is studied on an entire geographical scale, i.e., in its planetary dimension. He maintains that the time of history goes back to the beginning of the universe, to the big bang. The study devotes the totality of time, i.e., explores the past on many different time scales, right up to that of the universe. A scale of 10 to 20 billion years. The big story therefore begins when the universe measured a single point the size of an atom and ends with a 21st-century planet inhabited by billions of people.

2. Materials and Methods

The aim of our approach is to shed light on the theoretical tools to be mobilised for the teaching of history in secondary schools in

Cameroon, in order to construct a discourse of empathy and remorse as structuring mechanisms in the fight against the ecological crises shaking our planet. This state of affairs is rooted in an analysis of history curricula in Cameroon's secondary schools, which only point to cultural rootedness, identity development, a strengthening of bonds of solidarity and patriotism, intellectual awakening, a sense of logic and criticism, etc. It is therefore a matter for us to propose an epistemological approach based on the theory of big history, which can be summed up in the concept of 'eco-history' developed by Walter (1994), and which highlights the different types of knowledge referred to as skills by learners that can help them respond effectively to the arrival of the Anthropocene.

Our research takes place in Cameroon and focuses on the French-speaking sub-system, in particular general secondary education. We are interested in the curricula of the first cycle of general education. The idea is that these history classes, beyond forging a narrative identity, can equip learners, through the development of historical awareness, to respond effectively to the ecological, health and social crises shaking the planet. Our research method is qualitative and explanatory, in the sense that we have chosen to gather information about the history inspectors and teachers involved in this level of education. To recruit our participants, a reasoned choice was made with no objective of statistical representativeness. To guarantee a certain variability of statements, to contrast individuals and situations as much as possible, and to obtain sufficient units of analysis to be meaningful; it seemed reasonable to retain a maximum of 10 inspectors, 10 history teachers and a pedagogical animator of the history department.

To collect a large volume of data, semi-structured interviews, teacher surveys, documentary analysis grids and note-taking were designed. The final number of interviews was stopped when saturation was reached, i.e., as soon as it was felt that the informants were no longer contributing anything original to what had already been collected. This exercise lasted over two months, depending on the resources devoted to the research. Following transcription with the help of computer software, the data were entered, coded and analysed using the content analysis technique.

3. Results and Analysis

On our part, the anthropocenalisation of history teaching in schools reflects a process aimed at introducing the eco-history paradigm through the inclusion of the 17 sustainable development goals in history curricula in Cameroon. This approach aims to integrate history classes into the dynamics of the fight against climate change and health crises. The aim is to reconcile human activities with balanced development.

3.1 *Insights from Cameroon's History Inspectors*

From the data collected, the people involved believe that teaching history in secondary schools is part of an area of life destined to play a specific role in the education of students. To understand the meaning of the study of history in secondary schools in Cameroon, we need to refer to a set of parameters, namely the definition and aims assigned to the teaching of history, the sense of competence in the study of history, the reading of curricula and, above all, the procedures for implementing APC/ESV in Cameroon. History is seen as a science that studies past events through a variety of sources. Its aim is to build a social memory for learners, but also to develop their ability to understand the world they live in today, and to project themselves into the future. Specifically, competence in history translates into the development of skills, disciplinary and intellectual capacities that come in the form of knowledge, know-how and interpersonal skills for solving life's problems. The meaning of the study of history is further defined through the curricula implemented since 2014. It is an education that is based on two areas of life, namely citizenship and family and social life. These areas of life highlight families of situations, i.e., challenges that touch on the crisis of African identity, religious life, leadership, openness to others and national integration. Based on these orientations, the practitioner defines problem situations that invite learners to propose remedial actions: we speak of competent action or lesson justification. Moreover, the practitioner accompanies his actions with a set of instrumental and procedural devices, and never loses sight of the fact that the aim of his action is to build competencies. He favours the use of living methods and techniques and ensures the consolidation of his learning through the implementation of integration activities.

The study of history, then, is what ensures the transmission of past heritage to younger generations. It provides cultural references for younger generations in search of meaning and direction in life. It is also a tool for awakening and emancipating consciences, and for building patriotic and civic attitudes. This sense of the study of history in schools is structured in curricula, newsletters and, above all, in the consciences of those involved in education. In other words, the study of history in Cameroon's junior and senior high schools aims to train citizens to meet the challenges of their identity, religious life, leadership, national integration, and openness to others. To this end, the curricula have been enriched with new content and themes focusing on the history of Africa in general and Cameroon in particular. The designers of these programs taking into account a set of aspirations namely the political will to offer citizens a quality education, the challenges of emergence consigned in strategic documents, the pedagogical paradigm notably the APC, the will to define other purposes to the study of history in school, the length and duration of history curricula, etc. have made available to the educational community a new history curricula progressively since 2014. However, when cross-referencing these curricula with the realities of the Anthropocene, notably ecological crises such as climate change, the designers feel that they were not written with the intention of preparing learners to deal with these ecological crises. For them, this task is reserved for geography, a school discipline whose object of study is devoted to man in his living environment. The reasons given are linked to a lack of understanding of eco-history, a limited conception of the notion of history, which for them is confined to political, cultural, economic and social subjects, a certain relativity of the ecological threats facing the planet, the fact that for them, the study of ecological themes is the domain of geography, the length of the history syllabus, and so on.

3.2 Overview of History Teachers in Cameroon

From the data collected, history teachers generally trained in higher teacher training colleges are responsible for implementing the new history curricula enacted since 2014 by the relevant academic authorities. Their pedagogical interventions are based on a set of regulatory tools such as curricula, evaluation grids, capacity-building seminars, guidance notes, academic training, etc. The reason for

including them in our study is that they are the intermediary body between inspectors and students. They are better placed to really perceive the spirit of the curricula, their issues and challenges, describe their classroom practices and, above all, take up the challenges that come with teaching history in the 21st century. That said, they believe that the social universe of learners is littered with challenges that are not just political, economic or socio-cultural. One major challenge threatening the survival of the human species on the planet is that of the Anthropocene, ecological disruption, notably climate change. Until now, history curricula have not formally addressed this issue, leaving it to geography. According to the research participants, introducing the study of eco-history into history classroom practice would be a repetition, since it already seems to be covered in geography. But if we are to justify the study of eco-history in Cameroon's secondary schools, we need to consider the fact that it would help develop both historical and ecological awareness. It has the particularity of fostering an understanding of current realities and phenomena, based on ecological rhythms. If we are to rectify the situation and approach the future with greater serenity, we understand that ecological variations must be limited and stabilised by means of consequential actions, especially eco-gestures. Learners gain a better understanding of environmental influences on the trajectory of their various societies and peoples. This augurs well for the development of both ecological and patriotic sentiments, cultural rootedness, the integration of peoples, and so on. In addition, disciplinary skills such as open-mindedness, a sense of commitment, taking part in debate, creativity, critical thinking, a sense of stepping back in judgment, civic awareness, etc. enable learners to be actors, to embody positive change, above all to take part in the chapter of the fight against the Anthropocene.

3. Discussion

The empirical results relating to the research objective on the meaning of history teaching in the Anthropocene era, indicate that the purpose of history is to build learners' social memory, but also to enable them to understand the world they live in today, and to project themselves into the future. It provides cultural references for young people in search of meaning and direction in life. It is also a tool for awakening and emancipating consciences, and for building

patriotic and civic attitudes. However, history classes devote less attention to anthropocenic realities, notably the study of the inter influences that exist between man's natural and cultural conditions. The designers believe that these issues do not fall within the remit of history, but of geography, a school discipline whose subject matter is devoted to man in his living environment. As a result, history classes in the first general cycle do not provide training in the Anthropocene, i.e., they do not equip learners to combat the ecological crises that threaten the planet's survival. Yet the theories of total history and big history provide a framework for teaching eco-history in schools. History is seen as the sum of all possible histories, a collection of professions and points of view, from yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Their implications for history classes in the Anthropocene era is the reading of contemporary realities under the prism of ecological trajectories, and therefore a better understanding of the mechanisms of transformation undergone between man and the environment, and certainly a better adaptation, if not, a transformation of man's living environments. In this sense, the study of eco-history offers the dual advantage of developing both historical skills and eco-gestures that help limit the action of the Anthropocene. Learners draw inspiration from ancient civilizations, from the strategies and rituals put in place in various pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial societies, from the social uses of the environment, etc., to develop mechanisms and implement actions that will help stabilise the ecology and initiate sustainable development.

Introducing the study of eco-history through the expansion of current history curricula would therefore enable learners to be better equipped and armed to take action to consolidate ecological balance.

4. Conceptualising History Teaching around the 17 Sustainable Development Goals

History, as a discipline of debate, presupposes reflexive judgments, which can be substituted for the idea of a community of inquiry developed by Lipman (1995), quoted by Lange (2020), and which makes it possible to study problems and solicit students so that they themselves become researchers who act in a reasoned way in society. History classes thus nurture the development of skills and attitudes in learners, furnished by an understanding of facts, the reshaping of actions, a posture of awakening, awareness, and eco-citizen

commitment. These goals, nurtured by training schemes, are inspired by the challenges and issues of the context. Conceptualising the teaching of history in the Anthropocene era requires us to re-appropriate the concepts associated with environmental education, which can be broken down into knowledge, action, skills, and attitudes.

4.1 *Knowledge*

Theoretical knowledge or generalities help us to understand the phenomenon under study. They generate a mode of acquisition linked to elaboration and organisation. Understanding the meaning of the Anthropocene in history classes involves bringing out the generic or conceptual knowledge that strengthens this paradigm. In this case, the 17 Sustainable Development Goals issued by the UN in 2015 address the missions of education, the meaning of policies and the vision of the world. They relate to the challenges of the Anthropocene in the sense that they aim to transform lives while preserving the planet through the eradication of extreme poverty, the fight against social inequalities, access to water and quality education, the rollback of major pandemics and the preservation of the planet (Caron & Châtaigner, 2017). This amounts to saying that the Anthropocene drains a set of concepts that relate to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals enacted by the UN in 2015 including: ecosystem, ecological tensions, climate change, global warming, interactions, social crises, pollution, environmental degradation, anthropocentrism, plant and animal species, genetic variety, epidemic, deforestation, global warming, extreme poverty, species extinction, atmospheric disturbances, overexploitation, overgrazing, disparity, social inequalities, pandemics, artificialisation of plant and animal species, overpopulation, underdevelopment, industrialisation, etc.

The conceptualisation of these notions in history curricula consists in studying them from a perspective of historical thought and awareness, whose underlying notions may relate to historical temporality, civilization, industrialisation, the World Wars, globalisation, underdevelopment, international relations, governance and so on. Conceptualisation thus enables anthropocenic notions to be seen as historical perspectives that facilitate understanding of present-day reality and structure learners' imaginations and

representations for balanced development. In classroom practice, practitioners set up activities that encourage learners to manipulate didactic resources that help them understand the concept under study. As Lange (2020) sees it, it's interesting to examine issues of scale (temporality, space, and complexity), relationships with others (present, past and future humans, non-humans) and those including health in the curriculum, in order to think of the future not as disconnected from the present and the past, but as a continuum. The aim is to situate human consciousness within the actions of a sustainable perspective.

4.2 *Expertise*

Know-how integrates the dimension of how to proceed, how to do, and translates a set of technical and intellectual skills and cognitive strategies involved in carrying out a task (Martineau, 2012). It generates a mode of acquisition linked to proceduralisation and composition. In other words, historical thinking and awareness are generated following a set of intellectual operations, and are translated into everyday action, commitment, and behaviour in the face of a given problem or situation.

As things currently stand, stemming or minimising the crises brought about by the Anthropocene requires a respondent (resources) that translates into effective action on the ground. This means identifying the human activities that have contributed to this state of affairs. But above all, in a historical perspective, the knowledge of action is translated not only by eco-gestures, but above all by aptitudes that consist of a critical, competent, creative and committed citizenship, which intends to participate in other words, the know-how dimension is the royal road to training eco-citizens who are concerned with the practices necessary for environmental protection, debate and decision-making. It plays an important role in society, particularly in structuring and building both individual and collective identities. These values are well established in history classes. To this end, in their classroom practices, practitioners favour the constructive-critical model, based on the logic of autonomous and authentic exercise of the historical method. In this approach, didactic resources, particularly documents, encourage problematisation, criticism and analysis, and should lead to the production of new historical knowledge by the learner (Boutonnet,

2013). The teacher's narrative, the textbook and techno-cultural devices help learners to construct their imaginations of reality. Knowledge of action, expressed in terms of awareness, helps learners commit to transforming their modes of production and consumption in society. They can search for solutions and eco-social innovation through debates (Sauvé, 2013) quoted by (Naoufal, 2016).

The conceptualisation of the Anthropocene in history classes develops a higher dimension in learners than environmental preservation, in the sense that it aims to establish an analogy between similarities, between past ecological crises and those of the present, to place situations in their social temporal specificity by reasoning about different durations, to divide time into different durations in order to apprehend what has happened over time, to articulate human time with that of nature (Walter, 1994), etc. It equips learners to become effective actors in transforming the beliefs that contribute to accelerating ecological degradation. It thus provides training in eco-citizenship, which also translates into participatory democracy. Committed citizens take an interest in a range of ecological issues and offer a critical viewpoint on the stratagems used by public authorities. This exercise in eco-citizenship develops their skills, individual and collective skills in data analysis, synthesis and evaluation, information research and processing, argument building, debate, strategic action planning, communication (Naoufal, 2016).

4.3 *Know-How*

Knowing when and why to use declarative and procedural knowledge means knowing how to be competent. This knowledge generates a mode of acquisition linked to generalisation and discrimination. In other words, the conceptualisation of the Anthropocene in history classes generates attitudes linked to the spirit of listening, empathy, remorse, behavioural change, curiosity, values of justice, cooperation, criticality, participation, living together, solidarity, diversity, interdependence, the sense of recycling, economy, discipline, integrity, critical judgment, etc. It challenges, encourages debate, encourages a sense of responsibility and a sense of responsibility. It challenges, encourages debate, action and, above all, advocacy.

5. Conclusion

The arrival of the Anthropocene era represents a new challenge for history classrooms, one that is reflected in the theoretical, procedural, and instrumental foundations of history teaching/learning. Introducing the subject into history curricula is a laudable and compelling prospect, since it would enable learners to construct a memory of ecological and social pathways i.e. a representation of the movements of societies and peoples driven by the rhythms of the environment. The learner would gain a better understanding of the meaning of rites dedicated to nature, the place of climate and ecology in the evolution of societies, the construction of civilizations, African identity, the social uses of the environment, conflicts and struggles related to climate and ecology, and so on. In addition, this study would develop skills of understanding and analysis. Skills would be expressed in terms of building ecological referents, attachment to ecological values, identification, safeguarding heritage, creativity, innovation, eco-citizenship and so on. We might therefore expect to see the development of skills that foster the construction of an identity, an ecological and social memory, and eco-social roots.

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NUCLEAR WAR AS A GLOBAL PROBLEM IN POST-COLD WAR ESTONIAN HISTORY AND CIVICS TEXTBOOKS*

Anu Raudsepp and Andres Andresen

Global problems occupy an important place in a globalising world – they are worldwide threats to humankind, the overcoming of which requires collective efforts of either all humanity or of the populations of large regions. Global problems are mostly divided up into two categories as social problems (including the threat of nuclear war and terrorism, population issues) and environmental problems. The threat of nuclear war as a global problem was very topical at the time of the acute confrontation between East and West during the Cold War. This threat disappeared for some time after the Cold War in the 1990s but has returned in connection with 21st century terrorism and the intensification of a new East-West confrontation due to Russia's aggressive foreign policy. Education in history and civics can shape the kinds of value judgements that citizens and future new politicians and leaders formulate. This would help to secure peace and freedom, and to protect life. Both subjects expand upon similar topics in the past and the present. The destructive effect of the use of nuclear weapons for our planet and all of humanity is therefore a very important topic that demands greater attention. The threat of nuclear war is a global problem. Its discussion in history and civics textbooks contributes to international cooperation based on the experiences of various countries.

1. Introduction

In 1968, 36 reputable scientists and economic leaders gathered in Rome (the so-called Club of Rome). They modelled and evaluated tendencies in human development on the planet based on 5 criteria: population size, food production, industrialisation, pollution, and the consumption of non-renewable natural resources. From that point onward, the concept of the global problem was brought into circulation – a worldwide threat to humankind, which has arisen from the accumulation and coeffect of various kinds of factors. The

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Club of Rome propagated the idea that lasting efforts on the part of all humankind or the populations of large regions are required to overcome such global problems. For the most part, global problems are categorised as social problems (including the threat of nuclear war and terrorism, population issues) and environmental problems.

Alongside local and national themes, global themes are ever more important nowadays in teaching history due to globalisation (JHEC, 2016). Urte Kocka stresses that: ‘one cannot teach topics of history, especially industrialisation, without discussing problems of worldwide pollution, climate change, energy production, the risk of nuclear incidents, and the threat of exhausting natural resources. Consequently, the local, national, and global dimensions of history should be supplemented with the ecological-cosmological dimensions of Big History.’ (Kocka, 2016: 112–3).

The Cold War is one of the key global themes in teaching history. The ISHD (International Society for History Didactics) has also drawn attention to this. The 22nd International Congress of Historical Sciences (ICHS) held in Jinan, China in 2017 organised the ISHD session ‘Remembering and Recounting the Cold War – Commonly Shared History.’ (22nd International Congress, 2015: 108–9). A book based on presentations from this session was also published in 2017 (Furrer & Gautschi, 2017). The key issue regarding the Cold War has been the arms race and ownership of nuclear weapons in connection with the confrontation between the East (led by the USSR) and the West (led by the USA). The end of the Cold War in 1991 that followed from successful arms reduction agreements and the collapse of the USSR ended the acute confrontation between East and West.

The teaching of history and civics can help develop anti-war attitudes amongst young people, as well as the ability to discuss ways of avoiding wars and conflicts. In the case of the current issues, the role of textbooks should be emphasised in addressing relevant issues and drawing attention to potential conflict risks. During the XIII International Congress of History Didactics, that was held in Poznan/Poland on August 21–27 2022, Anu Raudsepp (University of Tartu) gave a presentation in the history didactics session ‘Challenges of history education in the 21st century’ titled ‘Dealing with Nuclear War as a Global Problem in Post-cold War Estonian History Textbooks.’ The topic choice was largely influenced by Russia’s

aggressive foreign policy and the current warfare in the first decades on the 21st century. After Russia attacked Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the threat of nuclear war and nuclear catastrophe has once again become topical, and this is continuously written about in the media. Previously, the threat of nuclear war as a global problem had not been addressed in the Post-cold War history and civics textbooks.

For that reason, the primary objective of this article is to study how the question of potential nuclear threat as a global problem has been treated in Estonian national curricula (Estonian National Curriculum for Basic School and Secondary Education from 1996 & 2002, Estonian National Curriculum for Basic School from 2011, Estonian National Curriculum for Secondary Education) and in the Post-cold War history and civics textbooks published from 1991 until the present that corresponded to those curricula. While the points of emphasis in history textbooks are more on connections between the past and the present, civics textbooks focus exclusively on current problems. A historical overview of questions regarding security guarantees and the threat of nuclear weapons covering the period from the Cold War until the present is also provided to facilitate a better understanding of this topic.

The methodology used here to analyse textbooks is content analysis 'that examines the text itself: what does the text tell us, is it in accordance with academic research, does it sufficiently cover the topic in question?' as recommended by Falk Pingel (Pingel, 2010: 31). The primary questions in this article regarding the qualitative comparison of Estonian history and civics textbooks published from 1991 until the present are: the wording and treatment of global problems (including the threat of nuclear war), and the theme of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war after the end of the Cold War from 1991 to 2007 and starting from the new Cold War (from 2008 until the present). The analysis covers 11 basic school and secondary school contemporary history textbooks and 5 secondary school civics textbooks published from 1991 until the present. The reprints that have been issued of several of these textbooks do not include significant changes in their content.

2. The Threat of Nuclear War as a Global Problem in History from the Cold War until the Present

The possibility of nuclear war as a global problem has been tied first and foremost to the Cold War era. As is well known, the rivalry called the Cold War developed between the world's two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and their respective allies after the Second World War (The relevant historiography is immense. For an introduction, see for example: Fink, 2014). The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States in August of 1945 marked the use of nuclear weapons in war, exposing the truly horrifying outcomes of such an attack. Four years later, the Soviet Union successfully tested its first nuclear bomb, followed by the United Kingdom, France, and China, and then later by some others. Over the following decades, the nuclear stockpiles of the competing superpowers reached insane extents, with the development of increasingly powerful bomb designs. Some real efforts were made to control and limit the nuclear arsenals on both sides, but for most of the Cold War, this did not significantly limit the general destructive potential of the nuclear arms race (Holloway, 2013).

The struggle and rivalry between the superpowers, which took different forms over time, never led to a real war thanks to nuclear deterrence, i.e., the general understanding that a nuclear war cannot be won, and that it would lead to mutually assured destruction. Technically, nuclear deterrence was based on the nuclear triad, which consisted of land-launched nuclear missiles, nuclear-missile-armed submarines, and strategic aircraft with nuclear bombs and missiles. These kinds of nuclear weapons, operated from land, sea, and air, were meant to provide the best level of deterrence from attack, as they would have enabled the launch of a retaliatory strike even after the inevitable losses caused by the adversary's first strike (see for example: Time Magazine, 1985). Thus, the era of the Cold War posed a serious threat to the existence of mankind. The world came closest to nuclear conflict during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, as Washington and Moscow confronted each other over the presence of Soviet nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba (Scott & Hughes, 2013; Plokhy, 2021). In addition to deliberate provocations, some kind of mistake could have been disastrous on an enormous scale.

The end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the hitherto existing rivalry in global politics brought about a very significant

decrease in the danger of nuclear war. Many authors agree regarding the general nature of the Cold War, but the question of when it ended has been open for scholarly discussion. Whereas scholars in the West generally tend to treat the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union by December of 1991 as separate processes, in Estonia and other Baltic countries, the thesis prevails that the Cold War could not end before the restoration of the independence of the Baltic states, or alternatively before the withdrawal of the last Russian soldier from the soil of the Baltic states (Piiirimäe, 2014: 239).

In 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, as did the whole Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, the formation of which had been a cause of the beginning of the Cold War in the first place. This has brought substantial consequences for the power balance of democratic Europe, as reunified Germany has emerged as a major economic force (See for example: Weidenfeld & Korte, 1999).

In December of 1989, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who had launched a domestic reform program after his accession to power in 1985, and the American president George Bush met each other at the Malta Summit. They issued statements which hinted that the Cold War could be coming to a close (Baker & DeFrank, 1995: 169). Indeed, Gorbachev had already introduced a major shift in Soviet foreign policy a year earlier. At a session of the United Nations General Assembly, he had basically declared an end to the East-West ideological confrontation, as well as major cuts to the Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe, besides announcing further wide-scale domestic reforms (Gorbachev, 1988). Bush and Gorbachev signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in Moscow in July of 1991, which eventually removed about 80 % of all strategic nuclear weapons then in existence (Krepon, 2021).

The unexpectedly rapid collapse of the Soviet Union brought about a new grave concern for the NATO countries (Pravda, 2010). The Soviet nuclear arsenal had been spread out in the territories of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. What if NATO's former major adversary splits into states with extremist governments and one or even more of them get hold of the nuclear weapons? What if nuclear warheads should fall out of control, into the international arms bazaar (Allison et al., 1992)? Fortunately, these concerns did not materialise.

Together with Latvia and Lithuania, Estonia had been an exception among the Soviet republics, for all three had the internationally recognised status of having been illegally occupied and annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940 and then again in 1944. For the Baltic countries, the Cold War period had been the one when crimes against humanity were committed, resulting from the policies of the Soviet Union's leadership (Saueauk & Hiio, 2018). After Stalin's death in 1953, there was some general relaxation in Soviet policies, but these still retained their inherently repressive character later on. As soon as the Estonian people detected the winds of change introduced by Gorbachev, and some weakening of the Soviet repressive apparatus, popular movements broke out on a massive scale, first regarding environmental issues but then very quickly turning to politics. Various forms of political action then irrevocably steered the country back to independence by 1991. The last Russian troops left Estonian territory in 1994 (Püürimäe & Mertelsmann, 2018).

In the late 1990s, it might have appeared to the casual observer as if Russia were on the path of becoming a 'normal' state. Communist ideas had mostly vanished. Some significant steps were taken to move towards a market economy, including extensive Western investments. In 1999, NATO's defensive umbrella was extended to cover Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, followed by the rest of the former Eastern Bloc and states from the Baltic region. Similarly, the European Union embraced new members from the 'East.' Hence, democracy and freedom triumphed. But while the Western world generally seemed to be optimistic about Francis Fukuyama's ideas on 'the end of history,' i.e., the ultimate domination of liberal democracy, Estonia's President Lennart Meri pointed out (in 1999) that the collapse of the Soviet Union was no safeguard against the return of the Cold War (Meri, 2001). Cautious scepticism regarding Russia's ability to really adopt democratic principles to a significant degree characterised the greater part of the Baltic states' and Poland's foreign policy, which often gave rise to criticism from 'old European' politicians; Germany in particular was happy to maintain friendly relations with Russia, as it made its economy dependent on cheap Russian gas.

After a few years, it became clear that the tide had already turned again, but only a minority took notice. Yet those with direct experience of the Russian mentality and with a clearer view on

Russian matters had no illusions. The threat posed to the Western world by a lawless and nationalist Russia was formidable enough to give rise to a new concept, the new Cold War. This has been revealed by many, perhaps with the best comprehension of the 'Russian soul' by Edward Lucas in his various writings (the major book is Lucas, 2008). There are differing views regarding the beginning of the new Cold War. Robert Legvold sees it as a phased process since 1991, tracing the qualitative shift back to the Russian annexation of Crimea (2014) and Russia's direct support for separatism in the Donbas (Legvold, 2016).

The Russian leader Vladimir Putin, who famously called the collapse of the Soviet Union the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century, launched a military attack on Georgia in August of 2008. This was the first major aggression in Europe after 1945. What should have been a wake-up call for the international community met a generally slow and weak international response, definitely encouraging Putin on his path to the attempted restoration of the Russian Empire (Dickinson, 2021). Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014, resulting in the openly revanchist annexation of Crimea and the brutal proxy war in the Donbas region, did not stop the German Chancellor Angela Merkel from proceeding with the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline project which, if it were finalised successfully, would have increased German energy dependence on Russia even further. To push the problem aside, Merkel and the French President François Hollande brokered a peace settlement for Donbas, the Minsk Agreements, which would have limited Ukraine's sovereignty if fully implemented. Putin launched a new phase aimed at achieving his distorted imperialist dreams with the full-scale, unprovoked, and unjustified land, sea, and air invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022. This was also an assault on the existing global order, violating the United Nations Charter and fundamental principles of international law by attacking an independent state that had been recognised by all members of the international community, including Russia itself, for more than 30 years. This war, which has caused the Ukrainian people indescribable suffering, has also once again brought up the wider threat of nuclear apocalypse.

Putin has repeatedly reminded the world of his country's nuclear arsenal in an effort to discourage other countries from helping Ukraine. His nuclear threats have not succeeded in stopping outside military assistance, but they have induced significant restraint in the

extent and pace of that support (Stelzenmüller et al., 2023; for a summary of the current nuclear confrontation between NATO and Russia, see Masters & Merrow, 2023).

3. Nuclear War as a Global Problem in History and Civics Textbooks after Cold War from 1991 until 2001

At the beginning of the 1990s, the threat of nuclear war was still very well remembered as a serious global problem during the Cold War. Global problems were written about with particular thoroughness in the first Estonian secondary school contemporary history textbook of the era after the restoration of Estonian independence, which was published in 1994. Global problems were first divided up into potential global problems, in other words nuclear catastrophe (meaning the consequences of nuclear war), which was under relatively effective control. Secondly, actual global problems (environmental pollution, demographic explosion, and food crisis) that are currently unregulated were mentioned in the textbook. It was noted in this textbook that since the world's superpowers had started liquidating their nuclear arsenals, the threat of global nuclear war decreased even further. At the same time, in connection with growth in the number of countries with nuclear capabilities, the textbook maintained that the possibility of local nuclear conflicts and nuclear wars would continue to exist and that their likelihood could even increase (Jaanson, 1994: 394).

In the 1996 Estonian National Curriculum for basic school and secondary education, familiarity with global problems was mentioned in the learning objectives of three secondary school programmes of study (history, civics, geography). The content of global problems was expanded upon in the civics programme: population problems, environmental problems, and social problems. The threat of nuclear war was not mentioned as a global problem in the curriculum.

Although the issue of global problems was not included in the basic school curriculum, they were discussed in the basic school history textbook. The threat of nuclear war, environmental pollution, population growth, and food crisis were defined as contemporary global problems in the basic school history textbook that was published in 1999 (Värä et al., 1999: 254–7). Global problems were not yet discussed in civics textbooks in the 1990s (Peep & Kama, 1996; Möldre & Toots, 1999).

Estonian textbooks started discussing the spread of nuclear weapons as a threat to security in the world in at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. The fate of nuclear weapons left in the territory of new countries that came into being with the collapse of the Soviet Union was discussed in a basic school history textbook from 1999: ‘The collapse of the USSR at the start of the 1990s admittedly ended the great confrontation, yet at the same time, fear arose regarding the nuclear arsenal of the former superpower. There was concern regarding who would start controlling the so-called nuclear briefcase in Russia, who would guarantee safety, and to whom the ABC [atomic, biological, chemical] weapons in the territories of newly independent countries would belong. These questions emerged especially acutely in connection with Ukraine since that country initially did not want to relinquish the nuclear bombs and rockets located in its territory’ (Värä et al., 1999: 255).

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty signed in July of 1991 by the USA (President George Bush) and Russia (President Mikhail Gorbachev) and its fate after the collapse of the Soviet Union was explained more thoroughly in the secondary school history textbook that was published in the following year. The textbook states: ‘The problem arose of who should be responsible under the new conditions for the obligations that the Soviet Union had taken upon itself. Furthermore, four former Soviet republics – Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan – proved to be nuclear countries after they gained independence. All four of these countries ratified the above-named treaty in 1992 and started destroying their existing armaments’ (Adamson et al., 2000: 200). None of the textbooks wrote about the fact that on 5 December 1994, the USA, Great Britain, and Russia signed a memorandum promising to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state in return for the commitment on the part of Ukraine to surrender the nuclear weapons in its territory to Russia in 1994–1996.

The analysis of the textbooks shows that the positive expectations of the peaceful foreign policy of the Cold War leading superpowers, Russia, and the United States, were reflected in the treatment of the nuclear weapons in the Estonian textbooks. The perception of Russia as a military threat decreased as a result of the expansion and renewal of NATO’s operational areas in the second half of the 1990s, which also included the invitation of the former Eastern Bloc countries – Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary – to join the alliance.

In Estonian history textbooks, the threat of nuclear war was seen starting from the beginning of the 21st century primarily in connection with the activation of the Islamic world and its variances with the West. Nuclear arms tests conducted in India and Pakistan in 1998 were seen as the first sign that the threat of nuclear war was not past (Värä et al., 1999: 255).

4. Nuclear War as a Global Problem in History and Civics Textbooks from 2001 until the Beginning of New Cold War in 2008

The terrorist attack allegedly carried out by Islamic extremists in New York on 11 September 2001 doubtlessly also affected the writing of textbooks. The possibility of weapons of mass destruction falling into the hands of terrorists was already seen as a serious sign of danger in a history textbook from 2002 (Fjodorov, 2002: 152). Concern regarding nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction possibly falling into the hands of terrorists also found its way into the basic school textbook of 2004 (Värä & Tannberg, 2004: 144). Nuclear weapons tests conducted by North Korea emerge on the agenda as a third nuclear threat in one secondary school history textbook (Laar & Vahtre, 2007: 182). The fact that Libya, Egypt, and Iraq have abandoned development of nuclear programmes in response to international public pressure is mentioned as a positive tendency (Laar & Vahtre, 2007: 182).

Fear of Russia's nuclear weapons was expressed in only one textbook: 'Violation of the prevailing balance of power is also possible nowadays. The war in the Balkans between the former republics of Yugoslavia can be treated as a small-scale model of the catastrophe that can take place in the territories of the former Soviet Union. Suppose that like in Serbia, nationalist-patriotic forces come to power in Russia – communists and extremist nationalists. First, they will try to restore the Soviet Union by force or to separate territories settled by Russians from neighbouring countries. Considering Russia's nuclear potential, we can imagine how the Balkan scenario would unfold in the territory of the former Soviet Union' (Fjodorov, 2002: 151–2).

Such a sense of danger was exceptional because even according to Estonia's security policy conception of that time (2001), the end of the Cold War had reduced the possibility of the outbreak of armed

conflict affecting all of Europe. At the same time, it was mentioned that ‘the region’s only nuclear state, the Russian Federation, has adopted a new security policy conception and military doctrine, and reduced its armed forces in North-western Russia in the immediate vicinity of Estonia’ (approval of the security policy of the Republic of Estonia).

In the 2002 Estonian National Curriculum for basic school and secondary education, secondary school level general competence required knowledge of global problems and of one’s co-responsibility for solving those problems. Unlike the previous curriculum, global problems (population, environmental, and social problems) remained part of the teaching content of only one subject – civics. As an innovation in the curriculum of 2002, global problems were now also referred to in the basic school curriculum as natural scientific competence in social subjects (ability to discern global problems, including environmental problems) and as social and citizen competence in natural subjects (familiarity with global problems, including environmental problems). The threat of nuclear war is not highlighted separately as a global problem in this curriculum.

Similarly, to the 1990s, global problems were still written about only in history textbooks and not yet in civics textbooks in the first decade of the 2000s. In 2004, worldwide problems (famine, epidemics, environmental pollution, the threat of nuclear war, and other such problems) were discussed in the basic school history textbook under the theme ‘The Start of the 21st Century. What Threatens the World?’ (Värä & Tannberg, 2004: 140). In the 2007 secondary school history textbook, the statement ‘the most acute global problem is nevertheless not the globalising economy, but rather the sudden sharp deterioration in the condition of the world environment resulting from the effect of human activity’ was included under the theme ‘The World Economy and Globalization.’ Assignments to ‘name the more important global problems’ and to answer the question ‘which global problem is the most acute in your opinion?’ are included under the same theme (Laar & Vahtre, 2007: 169–70).

Nuclear weapons were not seen as a problem in civics textbooks. In 2005, for instance, it was noted that compared to the Cold War period, the importance of nuclear arms and the size of armed forces have decreased. It was believed that technological inventions in and of themselves do not threaten the world’s security, and the role of the

International Atomic Energy Agency in guaranteeing security was recognised (Olenko & Toots, 2005: 197). It was not until 2010 that environmental problems and social problems were highlighted as global problems for the first time in civics after the end of the Cold War. It was added that terrorist organisations, which cooperate among themselves internationally (for instance Al-Qaeda), have risen in the 21st century to become an important global problem (Raudla et al., 2010: 58–61).

5. Nuclear War as a Global Problem in History and Civics Textbooks in New Cold War from 2008 until Today

Unfortunately, a new Cold War began again. The historian and former Prime Minister of Estonia Mart Laar has written in a history textbook that the new Cold War began when Russia attacked Georgia on 8 August 2008: ‘The war in Georgia opened the eyes of NATO’s leaders: they had previously believed that after all, present-day Russia would not attack its neighbours. Now they no longer believe that. Some analysts thereafter started talking about the outbreak of a new Cold War’ (Laar, 2017: 116). Thereat, Russia’s politicians started talking about a new Cold War in 2008 as well. That tendency intensified in 2014 in connection with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine (Khodnev, 2017: 90–91).

In the 2011 curriculum, ‘capability to comprehend global problems, to assume co-responsibility for solving them’ was repeated from the preceding curriculum as a criterion of secondary school general competence. Global problems were separate components of teaching content in Civics and Physics, and they were among the learning objectives in Geography (Estonian National Curriculum for Secondary Education, 2011). Unlike the previous curriculum, global problems (including discerning environmental problems) were retained only as a criterion of natural scientific competence in social subjects in the national curriculum for basic schools (Estonian National Curriculum for Basic School, 2011). As with preceding curricula, the threat of nuclear war was also not noted in 2011 as a separate global problem. Textbook authors were left to decide this issue independently.

The 2016 basic school history textbook was the only history textbook that discussed the threat of nuclear war as a global problem. In its discussion of the theme ‘Present Day Global Problems,’ the

textbook asked: 'Why should Estonia worry about global problems?' The answer in the textbook is as follows: 'After the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, hope emerged that the peoples of the world would start fighting global problems together and would overcome them. Yet quite soon it became clear that these hopes will not come to fruition anytime soon. A large portion of global problems are associated with the Third World: explosive population growth, food crisis, diseases. Yet some problems also directly affect developed countries: terrorism, the threat of nuclear war, international crime, and environmental pollution' (Värä & Tannberg, 2016: 102). Environmental, population, and cyber problems, violence, terrorism, and refugees were named as global problems in the 2017 secondary school history textbook (Laar, 2017: 116).

It was not until 2014 that the spread of weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, radioactive, and nuclear weapons) was mentioned in civics textbooks for the first time after the Cold War as an important present-day global military threat (Lauri et al., 2014: 146). The concept of nuclear war was also defined for the first time in this textbook under the theme 'International Conflict and its Resolution': 'Nuclear war is a conflict that sets as its objective the destruction of an adversary through the use of nuclear weapons. Although the availability of nuclear weapons means that the threat of nuclear war always exists, these weapons are primarily used as deterrents' (Lauri et al., 2014: 165). At the same time, the potentially disastrous consequences of nuclear war in the present day were discussed for the first time: 'One fateful wrong decision can lead to nuclear war, which in turn can destroy a large portion of the world's population.' The textbook's authors optimistically hoped that international agreements limiting the spread of weapons of mass destruction, agreements which have been created in large quantities, will help to reduce the nuclear threat. It was considered possible that weapons of mass destruction could end up in the wrong hands because all countries have not ratified these agreements (Lauri et al., 2014: 147). That which was previously stated was repeated word for word in the second edition of this textbook, which was published five years later (Lauri et al., 2019).

In the era of the new Cold War as well, nuclear weapons are written about in textbooks that have been published since 2008 only in connection with new nuclear countries and terrorists. A basic school history textbook states: 'Although the collapse of the Eastern

Bloc ended the great East-West confrontation, nuclear arms have not disappeared from the world. Hence, the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war also remains. The spread of nuclear weapons in the world is a cause for great concern. In addition to the 'old' nuclear countries (USA, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China), several other countries (for instance India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Iran) have or had their own nuclear programmes. Some countries have abandoned plans to develop nuclear weapons of their own accord, but in other cases the international community has intervened. For instance, sanctions were imposed on Iran in 2005. The government in Teheran announced that it was abandoning its nuclear programme in 2015. In 2016, North Korea's announcement of a successful thermonuclear bomb test caused great anxiety in the world. It is feared that nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction can end up in the hands of terrorists, who will resort to putting them into operation without hesitation (Värä & Tannberg, 2016: 102).

6. Conclusions

The East-West confrontation that disappeared with the end of the Cold War (1947–1991) meant removing the threat of nuclear war from the agenda. It follows from the preceding analysis that the 'threat of nuclear war' is absent from Estonian curricula in the present-day context. This concept has persisted stably in Estonian basic school textbooks and has disappeared by now from secondary school contemporary history textbooks. Weapons of mass destruction as a global military threat have not been discussed in Estonian civics textbooks until 2014.

The possible development of nuclear weapons in another 10 countries (India, Israel, the Republic of South Africa, Brazil, Iraq, North Korea, Libya, Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan) alongside the five so-called official nuclear countries (USA, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China) has been discussed in Estonian history textbooks that have been published from 1991 to 2007. Nine nuclear countries (Russia, USA, France, China, Great Britain, Pakistan, India, Israel, and North Korea) are mentioned in the history textbooks that have been published since 2008.

In Estonian history textbooks, variances between the West and the Islamic world are primarily discussed in connection with nuclear weapons. Iran is mentioned primarily as an example of the nuclear

programmes of Islamic countries. The threat of nuclear war was added starting from the beginning of the 21st century in connection with terrorists and the actions of North Korea as a new nuclear country. After the Cold War until the present, the countries with the world's largest stockpiles of nuclear weapons have not been considered as possible sources of the threat of nuclear war.

It is very difficult for history teachers to teach contemporary history and it is very difficult to write contemporary history textbooks. Objective information and the capacity to analyse that information in its historical context are needed in order to comprehend topical events. The kinds of value judgements that help to safeguard peace and freedom while protecting life can be shaped through education in history among citizens of the new generation and new future politicians and leaders. The current Russian-Ukrainian war has once again convincingly shown that under the conditions of a war of aggression, the ideal of peace has to be temporarily abandoned and the aggressor has to be resolutely resisted for the defence of freedom.

By now, an altogether more serious confrontation between East and West has taken shape in the era of the new Cold War compared to the first Cold War. The destructive effect of the use of nuclear weapons on our planet and all humanity is a very important theme for this reason and it needs to be discussed more extensively. International cooperation based on the experiences of various countries contributes to the discussion of the threat of nuclear war as a global problem in history and civics textbooks.

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FORUM

THE OBLIVION OF DEMOCRATIC HISTORICAL MEMORIES IN SPANISH EDUCATION: THE VISION OF STUDENTS FROM CASTILLA Y LEÓN*

Enrique-Javier Díez-Gutiérrez, José Sarrión-Andaluz
and Katherine Gajardo Espinoza

This article will present the findings of an investigation into the knowledge that young people have acquired by the end of their secondary education in Spain concerning the repression suffered under the Francoist dictatorship and the anti-Francoist struggle. The investigation involved a mixed methods approach, triangulating qualitative and quantitative instruments and using both convenience and purposive sampling. Results show that students do not always cover the themes in question or, only cover them superficially and the topics looked at, although they appear to be presented from a neutral or clinical viewpoint contain serious lacuna concerning certain important issues and even omissions. The conclusion is that historical memory must be recovered, as it forms the fundamental basis for democratic citizenship, and indeed, the process of remembering is a test of the quality of our democracy.

1. Introduction

The importance of history is recognised in Spanish education legislation because it is considered to be a fundamental part of schooling due to its educational value. As the Organic Law of Education (LOE, 2007) outlines, history has a role in developing students' knowledge about their personal and collective heritage. The past shapes current knowledge frameworks and our interpretation of reality precisely because it is present in our everyday lives, as individuals and in society. Indeed, learning history can provide

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relevant insights into the way past phenomena and processes influence our collective view of the present.

Francoism silenced the memory of those who were defeated in the Spanish Civil War to consolidate a new collective remembrance more aligned with the regime's purposes (Castillejo, 2008). After Franco's death, during the so-called transition phase, little effort was made to re-establish the recognition and dignity of those who had fought to defend the democratic order of the 2nd Republic and who were therefore persecuted, victimised, or executed during and after the Spanish Civil War (De la Cuesta & Odriozola-Gurrutxaga, 2018).

In this way, what has been termed the politics of forgetting became the established order and this has been an ongoing obstacle to true democracy in Spain (Barreiro, 2017; Rina, 2019). Even in 2007, the Law of Historical Memory was only approved with numerous limitations and omissions. This could be interpreted as a sign that the recognition of victims and the recovery of democratic historical memory is still an area of 'unfinished business' (Díez-Gutiérrez, 2020) regarding the current political system. As Reyes Mate (2008: 45) has pointed out: 'Models based on forgetting are no use in repairing the past.'

On 17 April 1998, the United Nations Commission for Human Rights stated that the right to know, as a collective right, implies an unalienable right to know the truth of events that have occurred and, indeed, that there is a duty to remember. In this way, assuming that the whole of society has the right to know, then the inclusion of historical memory in education would satisfy this right (Pagès, 2008) and, while this may be the only time the majority of the population is exposed directly to the academic study of history (Marina, 2015), in Spain, themes of historical memory are explored through the subject of Spanish History (taught in the fourth year of secondary education and the second of the Baccalaureate in Spain) in school.

In general terms, in the new education law LOMLOE (2020), the contents of democratic historical memory exist, but they are reduced to the 'history of democracy and its contribution to strengthening the democratic principles and values defined in the Spanish Constitution,' in its forty-first additional provision. It is surprising, in this sense, that the LOMLOE expressly establishes that all students must know and study the Jewish Holocaust, but not the Spanish Holocaust, as P. Preston called it (Díez-Gutiérrez, 2023).

According to the Royal Decree on Competences for Compulsory Secondary Education (2022), ‘The Jewish Holocaust’ (: 196) appears as basic knowledge; however, there are no paragraphs explaining concepts such as dictatorship, Francoism, repression, and the anti-Franco struggle. At this point, when reading the law, we can find that the term ‘democratic memory’ (: 72) is only referred to generically in specific skills, without specifying specific content on Francoism.

In the new Decree on Minimum Teaching for the 2nd Year of Baccalaureate (2022), basic knowledge is introduced:

The ‘Coup d’état’ of 1936; the Civil War and Francoism: an approach to the historiography on the conflict and the conceptual framework of totalitarian and authoritarian systems. Ideological foundations of the Franco regime, international relations, and political and economic stages. Repression, resistance, exile, and protest movements against the dictatorship for the recovery of democratic values, rights, and freedoms (: 184).

However, we consider its impact on students to be insufficient, especially as the baccalaureate is non-compulsory education. Authors such as Sonlleve et al. (2023) and Barriga-Ubed and Sabido-Codina (2020) confirm that students’ knowledge and learning about events such as Franco’s regime stems more from a heterogeneous mixture of elements of diverse origins, inheritance from family experience, anecdotes, prejudices, and unverified information than from their learning during formal education.

One of the co-directors of the documentary *The Silence of the Others*, suggests that the comments left by young people on their website after watching the film tell another story. The film, which won the Goya prize for best documentary, concerns the repression that occurred during the years of Franco’s dictatorship, and among the comments from young viewers we find: ‘After seeing your film I asked my parents and finally, I understand who my grandpa was.’ The film’s director has said that, for young people, this film is something of an epiphany, saying: ‘If you see their faces after they’ve watched the film, ... they come out filled with indignation. They say things like, “They’ve robbed me of my history”’ (Gutiérrez, 2019).

Based on the evidence and theories developed in the previous paragraphs, we have designed qualitative and quantitative research with a local focus, which aims to understand the knowledge of Spanish education graduates about the Spanish Civil War, Franco’s

repression and the anti-Franco struggle throughout their educational career and to examine whether the politics of oblivion is still present in the Spanish reality.

Our study takes place in the Autonomous Community of Castilla y León, which seeks to exemplify the educational reality of the national context.

2. Methodology

The complexity of the social reality under investigation requires the use of complementary qualitative and quantitative methods (Álvarez Méndez, 1986; Cadena-Iñiguez et al., 2017; Fernández Sierra & Santos Guerra, 1992; Padua, 2018; Taylor & Bodgan, 1992). In this approach, known as triangulation (Cook & Reichardt, 1986; Stromquist, 1993), results obtained from different methods mutually strengthen one another affording points of view and insights beyond those that might be revealed using any single method alone (Beltrán & San Martín, 1993). Further, contrasting results from several methods might highlight the need to re-evaluate or refine initial ideas (Páramo, 2018). Thus, two instruments were used to gather data for this research: discussion groups which are more qualitative in nature and a questionnaire, which would be classed as a quantitative instrument (Chaverri, 2017).

Initially, five discussion groups were held. The purpose of these discussion groups (Frey & Fontana, 1991) was to hold a debate (Watts & Ebbut, 1987) that would allow us to understand and explore the knowledge and attitudes of students surrounding the historical period of interest here.

Between four and five students participated in each discussion group, each of which was two and a half hours in length (Maxera & Álvarez, 2019). The debate generated in these discussion groups provided the key categories and items (Ulloa & Mardones, 2017) used to produce our second research instrument: the questionnaire (Fernández Sierra & Santos Guerra, 1992). In this way, to paraphrase Goetz & LeCompte (1988, 135), our questionnaire 'is based on information gathered previously using less formal, less structured methods.'

The questionnaire also included several items from the most recent survey by the Spanish Sociology Research Centre (SSRC) completed on 16 April 2008 (study number 2760) which focused on

historical memory, specifically, ‘the attention given to the Spanish civil war and Francoism during the primary and secondary phases of education in Spain.’

Initially, the questionnaire was given to a small pilot group of students in order to assess its comprehensibility and the level of thoroughness of answers possible for each item. We also used the Delphi technique (Reguant-Álvarez & Torrado-Fonseca, 2016), subjecting the questionnaire to a process of evaluation by specialists and experts in the fields of both history and education. Once we had received all the feedback from our expert panel, we revised the questionnaire to produce the final version used in our research.

The sample population (Rositas, 2017) for this work was school leavers, that is, students who had recently finished the 2nd year of the Spanish Baccalaureate (García, 2018). Due to the large size of the investigation’s object population, we decided to use non-probabilistic rather than random sampling, in order to avoid the larger costs associated with the latter. Thus, we used both convenience and purposive sampling to assemble our corpus (Scharager & Reyes, 2001; Miras, 2006). Convenience sampling was done as a function of accessibility and availability of participants, with selection made through informal mechanisms. There were 672, 524 Spanish baccalaureate students in the academic year 2019–2020 according to the Ministry of Education (MEEP, 2019). There is no year-group disaggregated data available thus we were not able to verify specifically how many 2nd year students there were. In light of this, our corpus is not necessarily a representative sample of the population (López, 2004) which implies that our results cannot be generalised.

However, sampling was also purposive (Alaminos & Castejón, 2006), since student participants were selected based on their potential to offer detailed information with the aim of not simply measuring phenomena but understanding and assessing their level of social perception. In this way results might be considered transferable (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003; Minayo et al., 2003), but due to the rich contextual description of the phenomenon under investigation rather than as a result of the size of the study sample (Martínez-Salgado, 2012).

The whole sample comprised 22 students involved in the discussion groups plus a further 368 students who completed the

questionnaire. While the majority of students in our corpus were from Castilla y León (64 %), there were participants from all the Autonomous Communities. The sample contained 53 % female students and 47 % male students.

The research framework combines analytic induction (Znaniecki, 1934; Robison, 1951), category coding (Taylor & Bogdan, 1992) and constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) throughout the whole process (Goetz & LeCompte, 1988). Analytic induction involves examining the data to identify different categories and then exploring the relationships between them. Constant comparison combines the coding of categories with a simultaneous process of comparison and contrast between these coded groups and existing findings, such that new dimensions and relationships are revealed (Rodríguez et al., 1996).

Finally, after analysis, triangulation of the data from discussion groups and from questionnaire responses enabled us to formulate our conclusions.

3. Results

In what follows, we shall describe the principal findings obtained from the questionnaire. Results from the discussion groups were used primarily to produce the questionnaire items, however, certain key findings from these groups will be discussed in the final section of this article to add nuance and clarify the conclusions of our research.

The first topic area our participants were questioned about is that of the 2nd Republic and the Spanish Civil War. 59,8 % of students surveyed responded that they had spent time on these subjects and that they had been taught thoroughly. However, what is of interest here is the remaining 40,2 % of students who either stated that they had spent very little time on these themes or that they had been taught superficially (33,7 %) or those who said they had not reached that part of the curriculum, although this was a tiny percentage (4,3 %).

Above all, the most striking finding is that in this area of the curriculum students mostly focused on content directly related to the 2nd Republic and the Spanish Civil War and there was little awareness of the repression of the Francoist era (only 23 % of those surveyed mentioned this subject) or the anti-Franco struggle (only 2,3

% of participants mentioned this as being among the themes they studied).

Concerning teaching about the events leading up to the Spanish Civil War, 13 % of students surveyed state that this was explained clearly as a 'coup d'état' against a democratically elected government. The majority of participants (45,7 %), however, said that it had been presented as a 'military strike,' without any further explanation, while 32,6 % of participants said it had been described as a 'fight between two factions.'

This agrees with findings concerning students' recollections of the terms most frequently used to characterise the Spanish Civil War. The majority of students said the conflict had been described as the result of a coup d'état against the Republic. However, there appears to be a continuing persistence of descriptions such as a 'fratricidal war between brothers' (6,5 %) and assertions that it 'involved two sides, both as guilty as the other' (15,2 %).

Concerning the topic of Francoist repression, only 12 % stated that they knew the meaning of the term *paseo* in this context (it refers to the practice whereby people who had been detained for political reasons were taken from jail by armed militia and taken on a *paseo* or 'promenade' out of town where they were summarily executed). Half (50 %) of those questioned said that they had never heard mention of the term; 34,8 % said they had heard it but couldn't recall what it meant; and the rest (15,2 %) did not remember it being discussed at all. Thus, more than half of the students in this study were unaware of the meaning hidden behind this euphemism.

Similar findings emerged when students were asked about the mass graves where more than 100,000 victims of Francoist repression are buried (Etxeberria & Solé, 2019; Muñoz, 2019). Only 29,3 % of participants responded that they had been told about this subject and that it was covered in their school's curriculum. In contrast, 43,5 % said that the subject had been touched upon but that there had been only limited discussion of what happened, who was involved or why it had happened.

This pattern is repeated in a similar form with regard to other aspects of Francoist repression. Only 20,7 % of participants felt that the systematic, organised repression experienced under Franco was a subject that had been taught in class. In contrast, 40,4 % of respondents said that it had not been talked about in lessons

whatsoever and 38 % stated that while it had been mentioned no explanations had been given.

Concerning the role of the Catholic church, specifically its collusion with and justification of the coup d'état and the dictatorship this ushered in, 52,2 % remember this issue being addressed in class. However, 17,4 % stated that it was never covered in class while 30,4 % said that it had been talked about, but only superficially.

Another area addressed concerns students' understanding of the laws of forfeiture of goods. These laws were enacted as part of the reprisals against Republican sympathisers and included the confiscation of property from their families and are purported to have resulted in the accumulation of several large fortunes in certain quarters of Spanish society (Dueñas, 2012). Of those surveyed, 33,7 % said that they had covered this topic in class. However, 38 % said that this had not been covered in lessons at all, and 26,1 % said that although it was mentioned, it had not been explained.

Concerning the third thematic area, that of the anti-Francoist struggle, 39,1 % stated that they had talked about and analysed this aspect of history in class. The same percentage of respondents (39,1 %) said that although it had been mentioned it had not been explained or dealt with in-depth, and a further 19,6 % said that they had not covered the theme. With respect to the Spanish Maquis (anti-Francoist guerrilla fighters), 45,7 % of participants said that their role in the resistance and the fight they waged had been fully explained. However, 26,1 % stated that the movement had been named but that the role of this group in the fight against the dictatorship was not explained. Finally, 21,7 % stated that the questionnaire represented the first time they had heard the term.

In the section of the questionnaire dedicated to the topic of historical memory, 44,6 % of respondents said that they had talked about the concept of historical memory in class. 27,3 % said: 'something was said about it, but it was very superficial,' and 28,3 % said that it had not been mentioned at all. A small percentage of students (9,8 %) stated that the work of the Associations for Recovery of Historical Memory had been explained, while 13 % said that it had been mentioned but had been given little emphasis. In contrast, 77,2 % said that they had received no explanation about these organisations and their role. Concerning the work of these organisations in the exhumation of remains from the mass graves of those who fought against Franco, only 18,5 % said they had dealt

with this topic, while 31,5 % said it had been mentioned only in passing and 48,9 % maintained they had not heard about it whatsoever.

Only 15,2 % said that they had been taken on an educational visit to a site of historical memory. The remaining 83,7 % had not done so. Nevertheless, one student said: 'We went to a talk about historical memory where they explained the whole process and the efforts still being made by some people to find relatives and friends who disappeared.'

Of the students we surveyed, 91,3 % stated that they had done no activities related to learning about Francoist repression or historical memory. Only 8,7 % remembered completing any such activity and were able to give examples: 'Our teacher invited two of her colleagues in and they brought visual evidence from their excavations and they gave us a talk'; 'We asked our grandparents and relatives to explain what the war was like for them, we just did a little interview to hear what they had to say'; 'we went to a museum about Francoist repression'; 'we did a research project and talked about what we discovered in groups in class'; 'we went to the Civil War monument in the cemetery'; 'we went on some excursions along routes of historical memory, where there were bunkers and things left behind by the maquis.'

One of the main findings of this work is that the majority of students surveyed expressed the desire for this area of history to be given more space in the school curriculum and textbooks (91,3 %). Their arguments included: 'Only human beings are capable of tripping on the same stone twice, and a people who neglect their history are destined to repeat it'; and 'these themes are things that help us understand some of the conflicts in modern society and we need to have a deep knowledge about them to become critical citizens and make a more democratic society'; and even 'normally, history is written by the people who win the wars and it ignores the experiences of the defeated side.' One student commented that: 'what I know comes from what I've been told at home or what I've searched for on the internet,' while another said: 'It's an important period in our history and it would be good for us to know what happened, although we might not be proud of it and books only mention it in passing and do not go into enough detail,' and even: 'because even today there are mass graves with unidentified bodies in them – the disappeared, the assassinated.'

However, it should be noted that 8,7 % of our participants felt that it was not necessary to go into greater depth regarding this element of the curriculum. One of the most interesting comments in this regard came from a student who said, very directly: ‘There are more important things to study, sometimes teachers seem to want to dig up this conflict between brothers, teaching it to their classes, I mean, “no” to indoctrination and “yes” to genuine knowledge.’

Finally, students were asked to rate their level of agreement with specific statements to assess their personal views. The vast majority considered that the memory of the dictatorship and the Spanish Civil War was very much alive. Only 12,1 % felt that the 2nd Republic was responsible for the civil war and only 11 % agreed that there had been more order and peace under Franco compared to now. Concerning monuments dedicated to historical memory, we asked our participants three very similar questions, each with a slightly different meaning and orientation. There is almost complete unanimity in support of having monuments dedicated to all the victims of the civil war (90,1 % agreed with this). The level of agreement diminishes when asked about whether there should be monuments dedicated to all the victims of Franco’s dictatorship (78 % in agreement). Levels of agreement drop further, to 64,8 %, when participants were asked if there should be monuments dedicated to all the victims of the civil war regardless of their affiliation, ignoring or forgetting, perhaps that there are already monuments to the supporters of Franco, and these can be seen still, in every geographical region of Spain.

Asked whether democracy should annul the political decisions that were taken under the Francoist regime, 50 % of participants agreed. There is an even greater agreement regarding the assertion that the victims of the dictatorship have not received the recognition they deserve (75,7 % agreed). A similar level of agreement was found regarding the statement: the authorities that violated human rights under the dictatorship should be brought to justice (78 % in agreement). Finally, 80 % agreed with removing from public places all symbols glorifying Francoism.

4. Conclusions and Discussion

The principal conclusion of this research is that the topics of Francoist repression and the anti-Francoist struggle are not always covered in school and are sometimes only dealt with superficially. In the discussion groups, some of the most frequent comments included things like: ‘The topic is so broad there is not time to cover it’; ‘They need to prepare students for [university] entrance exams and there is no time to do it all.’ This type of sentiment is supported by the 38 % of those surveyed who responded either that the topic had only been covered superficially, or that little time had been spent on it, or that they hadn’t even reached that point in the curriculum – although this last response represents a very small percentage of students. It is also important to highlight another kind of response that was voiced in the discussion groups to the effect that: ‘Certain topics do not get talked about because they are still too controversial.’

A second conclusion is that the content covered by students in school, while it is supposedly presented from a neutral or clinical perspective, contains serious gaps and, indeed, omissions. Topics surrounding Francoist repression, and in particular the anti-Francoist struggle continue to be largely absent from classroom discussions (only 2,3 % said they had covered these topics). As pointed out by Mancha (2019, 11), these ‘omissions could be understood as a narrative (of omission) that legitimises the dictatorship, minimises its consequences and means that, by the end of their education, students have adopted a non-critical viewpoint on the subject.’

Furthermore, it appears that when discussing this period of history and the reasons for the Spanish Civil War there is still a tendency to present it in terms of theories of shared responsibility (Erice, 2009), in which the war is presented as a confrontation between two factions, a fratricidal war between brothers, in which both factions were equally to blame. However, as the historian Moreno (2014) has pointed out, a democratically elected government can never be held responsible for a coup d’état, nor can it ever be considered a faction.

With respect to the theme of Francoist repression and its extreme nature, it appears that this too is often forgotten or, if it is covered, it is minimised. Only 20,7 % of respondents realised that year 2 of the baccalaureate includes content concerned with this repression. Nor are they aware that this repression, which began in the civil war, continued for another 40 years during which time the lust for

vengeance against sympathisers and defenders of the Republican cause was orchestrated legally and exacted retrospectively (Aróstegui, 2012; Casanova, 2002; Fuertes & Ibáñez, 2019; Rodrigo, 2008).

Half of the students surveyed stated that they did not know the meaning of the term *paseo*. In addition, concerning the mass graves of Francoism's victims, only one in three respondents said that they had addressed this topic in sufficient detail.

Only 20,7 % of participants knew that Francoist repression touched all sectors of society, naming specific groups that were targeted, such as officials of the government administration and teachers (Berzal et al., 2010; Baldó, 2015; Durán, 2016). An aspect that emerged from the discussion groups was the 'hidden effects' of the repression, such as living in fear, or the traumas and humiliations suffered by not only those who were directly targeted but also their families and social circle (Gómez, 2009). Interestingly, while the discussion groups were taking place, news broke concerning the traffic in 'stolen babies' (Vanyó, 2019) and this sparked several comments from participants to the effect that: 'we knew nothing about this "atrocious"?' Students were incredulous upon learning about this practice which took place in the aftermath of the civil war and involved babies being taken from their Republican mothers to be given to 'households of the regime' that would educate them in the proper ways of religion and patriotism as seen by the dictatorship (Barranquero, 2017).

Two notable themes continue to be tabu and therefore largely unknown among the student body. The first of these is the role of the church in whipping up a 'rebellion in the form of a patriotic, religious crusade against the atheist Republic' (Casanova, 2011) thereby legitimising the military uprising. Almost half of the students surveyed had not covered this topic or had only looked at it in passing. The second of these tabu themes is the large confiscation of property suffered by more than 200,000 families (Álvaro, 2009; Prada, 2017), who, according to those responsible for the coup d'état, had not been 'assets to the regime.' With respect to this second theme, while 33,7 % remembered covering it explicitly in class, it became apparent in the discussion groups that barely any students knew that this process was the origin of the wealth funds that now control our economy and form part of the IBEX 35 (Maestre, 2019). Only one participant said that they knew about this phenomenon, but that they had learned of it via sources outside school.

About the anti-Francoist struggle, the results of our analysis reflect the same patterns as those seen in the other areas studied. Only 39,1 % stated that they had covered the history of the anti-Francoist resistance movement and 45,7 % said they knew about the role of the maquis and the fight they waged. This is even though, over the last few decades, there has been a large amount of research into the anti-Francoist movement and numerous publications on this very subject (Abad, 2015; Andrés, 2019; Domingo, 2002; Marín, 2002; Moreno, 2014; Sánchez, 2019; Serrano, 2001; Yusta, 2018). Furthermore, in the discussion groups, it was noticeable that participants had little knowledge about the women who joined the anti-Francoist guerrillas (López, 2011). These women have suffered not only the imposed silence of repression – something they shared with their male comrades – but also from being erased almost completely from the official historical record (Barranquero, 2017; Ferrer, 2019; García, 2016; López, 2017; Ranz, 2019).

Another section of history that continues to be very clearly absent from school curricula concerns the movement for the recovery of historical memory and the work of associations and collectives to ensure that the principles of truth, justice and reparation are adhered to in this process. A paltry 9,8 % of our participants stated that the work of these groups had been explained to them, while 18,5 % said that they had been told about the exhumation of remains from mass graves during their history lessons. Only 15,2 % had been taken to visit a place of historical memory and 91,3 % stated that they had not taken part in any activities or tasks focused on understanding Francoist repression and historical memory. This is surprising, particularly as one student put it: ‘They talk more about Nazi repression than about the repression under the Francoist dictatorship’; some students knew more about or had ‘visited more Nazi concentration camps,’ some 3,000 km further away than the numerous Francoist concentration camps in Spain (Rubio, 2016).

The ‘normalisation of forgetting’ (Fuentes, 2018) can be explained in large part by the erasing or minimising of the struggles of those who rebelled and fought the dictatorship and the double tragedy represented by the deaths of those who were executed by firing squad or thrown over cliffs or precipices, and the lives of those who survived as the ‘defeated’ and their descendants (Guerrero, 2016). It must be recognised, of course, that things have moved on. The forgetting, minimising, or demotion of historical memory in school

curricula used to be far worse than it is today (Solá, 2019). Indeed, it is almost certainly the case that generations of school children have reached adulthood without even the most minimal education in the implications of the Francoist dictatorship and the anti-Francoist resistance (Álvarez Osés et al., 2000). However, the changes made thus far have not been sufficient, as we have verified here and as others have attested (Cano & Navarro-Medina, 2019).

Recovering democratic historical memory in education requires the rebalancing of a historical narrative which has been misrepresented for far too long (Vinyes, 2004). It also requires the creation of a shared vision in defence of truth, justice, and restitution as fundamental democratic values. We feel that this investigation represents a contribution to that project. Of course, we should not forget that our study does have limitations, specifically that the corpus was selected based on both convenience and purposive sampling. This means that it is not possible to generalise the results and conclusions obtained here although they are transferrable to other similar contexts.

Other contexts where our findings might be relevant include those Autonomous Communities (ACs) where legal regulations have been introduced to ensure that historical memory has a more prominent place in school curriculums (Chaves, 2019; García, 2019), for instance in Andalucía, Aragón, Asturias, and Castilla y León. However, it must be pointed out, that the laws passed in various ACs concerning historical memory are little more than intentions or declarations (Galiana I Cano, 2018) and in certain ACs even these timid initiatives are being stripped back as the far-right gains increasing leverage in parliamentary institutions (De la Cuesta & Odriozola-Gurrutxaga, 2018).

Thus, it is more necessary than ever to recover historical memory as the basis for democratic citizenship, indeed, its recovery affirms the quality of our democracy itself (Anxo, 2020). Furthermore, this process is an investment in the future and for new generations since it must not be forgotten that collective identity is, in large part, built on remembrance (Molinero, 2004; Vinyes, 2009). Without knowledge, historical memory cannot exist, truth cannot exist, nor justice nor restitution (Delgado, 2019).

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NARRATIVES OF PROGRESS OR CRISIS? DEMOCRACY BETWEEN THE NATION, THE EUROPEAN AND THE GLOBAL*

Katja Gorbahn

This article explores the analysis of narratives of progress and crisis using digital text analysis, allowing quantitative and qualitative approaches to inform each other. The study specifically focuses on the narrative portrayal of 'democracy' in a Danish history textbook series, examining the ways in which different modes of narrative employment are associated with the national, European, and global dimensions. The findings suggest that a narrative of democratic progress is located at the national level, while crisis narratives are associated with the European and global levels.

1. Introduction

The idea of progress has often been described as crucial to modern thought since the Enlightenment. It has not only been debated in the philosophy of history, but is also deeply ingrained in historiography (Iggers, 2020). While it has been argued that the idea of progress is constitutive of concepts of universal history and deeply intertwined with Eurocentric or Western civilization discourses (Bowden, 2021: 162), it is also strongly linked to the nation-state: Berger and Lorenz, for example, argue that most 'national histories relied on narrative construction of national progress using notions of 'modernisation' and identifying the nation-state as the carrier of progress in history.' (Berger & Lorenz, 2006: 24).

'Crisis' has been described as one of today's 'most – if not the most – overused media words' (Patrona, 2018: 2), and mediated constructions of crisis may propagate discourses of fear (Patrona, 2018: 3), which may seem opposed to the notion of progress. However, discourses on the crisis of modernity reach far back in time (Ossewaarde, 2018), and developments in technology and democratic

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participation have been interpreted within the framework of progress and linked to the notion of crisis.

In this article, I will argue that the concept of democracy has been associated with both progress and crisis. It has been portrayed as the culmination of progress, as articulated by Fukuyama in 1992 (Fukuyama, 1992), and particularly in recent years, it has been characterised as encountering challenges and being in crisis (e.g., Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). This ambiguity also extends to contemporary discussions outside the academic sphere: An examination of two Danish web corpora sheds light on the dominant associations with the terms ‘progress’ (Danish: ‘fremskridt’) and ‘crisis’ (Danish: ‘krise’) in a large collection of Danish texts from the internet.¹ The analysis reveals that ‘progress’ is often described in terms of technology, engineering, science or civilisation. In contrast, ‘crisis,’ a more frequently used term, is often modified by adjectives such as economic, financial, humanitarian, diplomatic or global. However, the comparison also reveals similarities: Phrases like ‘crisis for democracy’ and ‘progress for democracy’ regularly appear in the corpora, suggesting that ‘democracy’ is a concept closely associated with both.

Given the importance of the concept of democracy for history education, important questions arise: How is democracy embedded in narratives of progress and crisis? To which groups do such narratives refer, or in other words, how do such narratives contribute to identity construction? In this article, I will address these questions by analysing how the history of ‘democracy’ is narrated in a Danish history textbook series. In doing so, I will introduce an innovative approach to textbook analysis that utilises digital text analysis methods to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis.

First, I will present some theoretical considerations on the notion of narrative and its relation to identity. Subsequently, I will discuss the potential of textbook research for the study of narratives and propose digital approaches to the analysis of educational media. Next, I will present the textbook series that I have analysed for the purposes of this study and will examine the usage of the terms ‘progress’ and ‘crisis’ in the seven books in the series, along with the narratives associated with the history of democracy within national, European, and global contexts. Finally, I will discuss the findings, drawing on the modes of narrative employment introduced by Frye.

2. Narratives and Identity

Narratives mediate change with a sense of permanence, potentially contributing to the establishment, maintenance, contestation, or transformation of individual and group identities (Ricœur, 1990: 244–9; Wodak et al., 2009). Consequently, historical narratives hold a pivotal role in shaping identities within modern societies. Their significance is not solely derived from the facts presented but also from the manner in which these facts are narratively emplotted. As Frye noted in 1960:

We notice that when a historian's scheme gets to a certain point of comprehensiveness it becomes mythical in shape, and so approaches the poetic in its structure. There are romantic historical myths based on a quest or pilgrimage to a City of God or a classless society; there are comic historical myths of progress through evolution or revolution; there are tragic myths of decline and fall, like the works of Gibbon and Spengler; there are ironic myths of recurrence or casual catastrophe (Frye, 2006: 309).

Since then, numerous scholars have drawn upon Frye's four archetypal story forms, or modes of emplotment – romance, tragedy, comedy, and irony – although variations in interpretation may exist (White, 1973; Forchtner, 2016; Forchtner & Eder, 2017). Nonetheless, this classification has proved valuable in exploring the structure of historical narratives, particularly when employed as a heuristic conceptual tool rather than rigidly applied.

Although history education in today's nation-states still largely centres on the nation, other group categories also come into focus. Various national and supranational narratives may compete, be juxtaposed, or become intertwined in complex ways. For instance, the 'we' within a narrative may refer not only to the nation but also encompass other 'levels' of belonging, such as Europe or even humanity. In other contexts, however, Europe or the global sphere may serve as the 'other' for the nation. In Denmark, history teachers enjoy a relatively high degree of freedom, although curricula define core content and objectives. Nonetheless, at the primary and lower secondary levels, the focus leans more towards national history, while at the upper secondary level, European and world history assume greater importance. Since the curriculum reform of 2009, 29 so-called 'canon points' have become mandatory for primary and lower

secondary schools, where students study history from grades 3 to 9. This history canon has faced criticism as an attempt to ‘revitalize a chronologically structured master narrative about the historical origins of the ethnic Danes’ (Haas, 2018: 190) and as an expression of ‘national identity politics’ (Haas, 2018: 181).

3. Analysing Textbook Narratives between the Nation, the European and the Global

Developments in media and technology in recent decades have fundamentally altered the status of the textbook in the classroom. In today’s history education, various materials from different origins may be utilised in diverse learning contexts and in various ways. Nevertheless, textbook research may still yield significant insights as textbooks represent condensed social knowledge with authoritative status (Dreesen, 2015). They are not equivalent to classroom practice but are part of a network of discursive practices and contribute to the ongoing debate concerning which elements of historical knowledge should be conveyed to the next generation. Furthermore, while media and learning platforms may contain a vast array of diverse materials, authors of traditional textbooks, whether in print or electronic form, must make challenging choices about what to include and what to omit. Additionally, they must organise the content in a specific sequence. As a result, textbooks may serve as valuable subjects of research for identifying narratives and their structures, as they are advanced by relevant discourse actors.

This article explores the narratives within the Danish textbook series ‘Historie’ (Poulsen et al., 2009–2014), targeting grades 3 to 9. ‘Historie’ is a relatively older yet still used textbook series, published by one of Denmark’s major publishing houses and available both in print and in a digital version. While textbooks in Denmark do not require state or educational authority approval, ‘Historie’ has been developed and authored by experts in history education. There is a strong focus on the author’s text – a characteristic more common in Danish history textbooks than in, for example, the German textbook market. However, ‘Historie’ also incorporates sources, working materials, and student tasks. The series comprises seven books, covering the canon points as well as other historical topics, encompassing 37 chapters distributed across the seven books or years. While many chapters focus on specific historical periods and

follow a roughly chronological order, others adopt a longitudinal structure.²

Although textbooks present a small selection of historical knowledge, the amount of text of a whole textbook series remains substantial. Core concepts may be addressed in various thematic contexts throughout a textbook series, and narratives may be fragmented, posing a challenge for qualitative and in-depth analysis. Methods developed in the digital humanities, which have recently received increased attention in textbook research (Nieländer & De Luca, 2018), hold significant potential for addressing this challenge. This paper draws on the results of an international research network that has explored the interconnectedness of European and national identity construction in educational media using innovative methodological approaches (Gorbahn et al., 2023), including digital text analysis (see e.g., Bick et al., 2023).

It is a fundamental premise of this paper that quantitative and qualitative analyses can mutually enrich one another, thereby offering new potential for educational media research. Quantitative approaches have the capacity to reveal patterns that might otherwise remain unnoticed or taken for granted, while qualitative analysis is essential for interpreting these findings. Digital analysis tools can support both approaches, for example, by helping to quickly identify passages that may be interesting for further analysis, particularly for topics that are strongly dispersed in a text. For this study, I employed the relatively user-friendly, freely available corpus analysis tool AntConc (Anthony, 2022), which allows for an easy switch between analysis results and original documents, a feature that is essential for incorporating qualitative analysis.³

It is important to note that modern history education and textbooks do not provide a coherent narrative. Rather, fragments of narratives are placed in a particular order. As a result, certain groups appear in the flow of time only to disappear in the next chapter. To investigate this, it is possible to calculate the relative frequency of search terms that refer to the most important groups. An analysis of the references to Denmark (search term 'danmark*', 913 hits), Europe (search term 'europa*', 275 hits) and the world (search term 'verden*', 551 hits) in the 37 chapters shows how often these spatial units are addressed in the different chapters.⁴ The numbers of hits provide valuable initial insights and starting points for further analysis, but, as with all quantitative results, they must be interpreted

with caution. For example, the European dimension may be referred to by mentioning other European nation-states without explicitly naming them as European. Also, the reference to the nation may be so obvious in a chapter that it does not need to be made linguistically explicit.⁵ Nevertheless, a closer look at the results shows that although Denmark is by far the most frequently mentioned nation, it is more dominant in some chapters than in others, while there are also chapters with a more European or global orientation. There is no clear structure to the interplay between the categories – they appear in different combinations and strengths, depending on the topic and the choice of the authors. For example, the chapter on colonialism focuses almost exclusively on Denmark as a colonial power, while Europe or other colonising nations do not seem to play an important role. This reflects the critical debates about Denmark's colonial role in recent decades, as well as the strong national focus of the textbook series.

Spatial references play a crucial role in the construction of identity, as pointed out by Wodak et al. (Wodak et al., 2009: 35), but their frequencies do not reveal their significance, their position in the narrative, or their relevance to 'identity.' One way to gain a somewhat deeper understanding is to examine the use of the word 'we,' which indicates sameness and is highly relevant to the discursive construction of group identities (Wodak et al., 2009: 45–8). To delve into this further, we can employ AntConc's collocate tool to generate a list of all words that appear within five words to the left and right of the search term 'we' (Danish 'vi'), considering all words regardless of statistical relevance. If this list is sorted alphabetically, it becomes easy to identify all passages in the seven books where 'we' is used in explicit connection with the nation, Europe, or the world/humanity. A qualitative analysis of these passages reveals that a Danish 'we' is referred to not only in the sources but also in the author's text, as in the following passage from the chapter on the Bronze Age: 'Bronze is made of copper and tin. We don't have it in Denmark. We got it from other countries in Europe. Before we had bronze, tools were made of wood and flint' (vol. 3: 68). Such passages are not very frequent, but they appear regularly in the books and strongly denote a timeless national identity shared by the author and the book's addressees. This national 'we' is certainly at the core of the textbook series' narrative and can be flexibly constructed as part of Europe (as

indicated in the quotation about Denmark in the Bronze Age) or as outside of Europe (as is evident in the formula ‘outside in Europe’/‘ude i Europa’). In other examples, the meaning of ‘we’ between the nation, Europe, the West, and the world remains opaque, as in the following example from the chapter on slavery: ‘Can we remove slavery? Maybe it is possible. But to succeed, we must continue to do everything we can to fight poverty in the world. If we eliminate the worst poverty, people will not be forced to sell themselves or their children into slave labour or sexual slavery. And for the first time in history, we will be able to live in a world without slavery’ (vol. 7: 119).

4. Democracy between Progress and Crisis

The use of ‘progress’ and ‘crisis’ in the books, while to some extent reflecting the Danish discourse characterised in the introduction, also exhibits specific characteristics. A search for the letter string ‘*fremskridt*’ (*‘progress*’) yields only 16 hits, revealing that progress is not often mentioned explicitly, while a search for ‘*krise*’ (*‘crisis*’) yields 80 hits. A qualitative analysis of the results shows that ‘progress’ is most often associated with technological and medical innovation, improvements in living conditions, and peace and social equality (and thus democracy). ‘Crisis’ is clearly linked to the economy and is particularly relevant in the context of specific historical situations, such as the Cuban missile crisis and the 1973 energy crisis, the latter being a compulsory topic in the history canon. The chapter that mentions ‘crisis’ most often is ‘Crisis and Chaos – Denmark in the 1930s’ for grade 8. Here, crisis refers not only to the economic crisis, but also to the crisis of democracy. However, although the explicit use of the words ‘progress’ and ‘crisis’ can certainly provide interesting insights, it is important to note that the associated concepts are often not realised on the linguistic surface, but through narrative patterns. In order to uncover these, a qualitative analysis is necessary, as I will now demonstrate with regard to the topic of ‘democracy,’ which is obviously linked to both progress and crisis.

‘Democracy’ is an important theme in the books, and a search for ‘demokrati*’ yields 161 hits in 13 chapters. Most of these appear in the five chapters where the word ‘democracy’ or ‘democratic’ is mentioned more than five times. As the table below shows, these

chapters refer to different extents and in different combinations to the nation, the European and the global. In the following, I will explore how ‘democracy’ is narrated within national, European and global frameworks.

Textbook chapter	Search string			
	demokrati*	danmark* (finding: Danmark) / dansk* (finding: Danish, Danes)	europ* (finding: Europe, European, European)	verden* (finding: world)/ global*
Democracy and Equality	58	19/12	6	4/0
Crisis and Chaos – Denmark in the 1930s	31	73/34	9	12/0
The Cold War	24	54/31	36	45/0
A Whole World	16	6/5	11	74/13
Africa, Europe’s Neighbour	15	20/12	80	56/1

Table 1. References to the National, the European and the Global Dimensions in Chapters Where ‘Democracy’ is Mentioned More than Five Times. Source: Author’s own elaboration.

The chapter ‘Democracy and Equality’ does not mention the Danish perspective as often and explicitly as other chapters, because this would be superfluous: the chapter deals with the history of democracy in an almost exclusively national framework. It begins with a Danish example of the struggle against social injustice in the early 20th century, briefly explains the emergence of direct democracy in ancient Greece as well as general features of modern representative democracies, and then strongly associates the history of Danish democracy with living conditions of, for example, peasants and workers, as well as with gender equality. The chapter primarily focuses on the 19th and early 20th centuries and concludes with a brief discussion of subsequent developments. While it does touch

upon the question of potential limitations to Danish democracy towards the end, the history of Danish democracy is clearly presented as a narrative of progress, with only partial integration into transnational developments.

Other chapters explore democracy in a European context, focusing in particular on the challenges faced by European democracies in the 1930s and during the Cold War. In the chapter 'Crisis and Chaos – Denmark in the 1930s,' the author explains how numerous democracies in Europe succumbed to pressure from both the left and right, while Danish democracy endured:

DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS

Economic problems and high unemployment were not the only problems in Europe in the 1930s. Democracy was also under threat. Many doubted that democratic governments were able to overcome the crisis. After all, countries that had abolished democracy in favour of one-man rule seemed to fare much better. During the 1920s and 1930s, most countries in Europe became dictatorships.

THE EXTREMISTS

Denmark retained a democratic form of government. The Chancellery Street Agreement had shown that, despite major disagreements, the major parties could work together to find a solution to the crisis. This strengthened Danes' confidence in democracy. In Denmark, there were also parties and organisations that wanted to abolish democracy (vol. 8: 118).

Although the text later emphasises that the end of the Cold War marked the (re-)establishment of democracy in Europe, the result is presented as somewhat fragile:

OPTIMISM

In the early years after the end of the Cold War, there was a mood of optimism among the leaders and peoples of Europe. Democracy would prevail everywhere, and war and the threat of war would be over, it was believed. Henceforth, the world would be characterised by international cooperation and greater prosperity, and military and military spending could be cut. Democracy did indeed emerge in many of the former communist countries, and in Eastern European countries in particular, although political interest is not as high as it was in the immediate aftermath of the fall of communism.

NEW PESSIMISM

There were also disappointments after the upheavals. ... Despite the problems and uncertainties, few would wish for a return to the old system. Many may complain about democracy and how it works, but very few want to do without it, and no one complains that the threat of nuclear war has diminished (vol. 8: 232–3).

Democracy is discussed within a global context in the chapters ‘Africa, Europe’s Neighbour,’ which delves into colonialism, decolonisation, and subsequent developments up to the present day, and ‘A Whole World,’ which explores themes such as human rights, globalisation, and terrorism. When democracy is addressed on a global scale, it is often portrayed as a European or Western concept, while non-European countries or regions, with the exception of the United States, are primarily mentioned in this context due to challenges to democracy. This is notably illustrated in the case of Africa, where the following passage is illustrated by an image of a shanty area in Nigeria:

DEMOCRACY AND THE AFRICAN REALITY

The new African countries were poor, and the majority of the population was employed in agriculture. There was virtually no industry. And if there were any significant exports, it was typically a single commodity such as cocoa, coffee, oil, or a mineral such as copper. The population was divided into many different peoples who did not speak the same language and did not feel they belonged to the same community. It was therefore almost impossible to make a European democracy work in the new African states. Most of the time, a party took power with a strongman at its head (vol. 9, 128).

At the end of the chapter ‘A Whole World’ and, thus, at the conclusion of the book series, the author’s text presents Fukuyama’s thesis on the victory of liberal democracy as the ‘end of history’ and contrasts it with developments after 1990. The text discusses the Yugoslav Wars, the Rwandan genocide, Islamist terrorism, and the Guantanamo prison, accompanied by very negative and sometimes shocking images.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

As a result, there is not only one single narrative of democracy. Instead, several sub-narratives can be identified that are linked to different chapters, different historical periods and different frameworks in relation to the national, the European and the global. And although the text certainly strives for differentiation, for example by discussing the limits of democratisation at the national or European level, the textbook series' presentation of the history of democracy also invokes various archetypal story forms or modes of emplotment, as introduced by Frye. However, different modes of emplotment are linked to specific periods and spatial entities.

If romance is being understood as 'drama of the triumph of good over evil, of virtue over vice, of light over darkness' (White, 1973: 9), then the history of the development of Danish democracy in the 19th and early 20th centuries corresponds most closely to this mode. Through the commitment of individuals and associations, democracy is established against oppression and exploitation and improves the lives of peasants, workers, women and children. A clear threat to democracy is addressed within a European framework: In the 1930s, democracy is under pressure throughout Europe, but it prevails in Denmark despite external and internal pressure and is (re)established in the rest of Europe over time. This mode of emplotment corresponds to some extent to the comedy, which, according to Forchtner, 'has as its theme (re)integration and rebirth. Comedies are thus not (primarily) about laughter but about obstacles which are ultimately overcome' (Forchtner, 2016: 34). However, on a global scale, democracy is failing. This is reminiscent of the story form of the tragedy, which 'depicts a world of failure and suffering' (Forchtner, 2016: 33). At the same time, the text challenges Fukuyama's narrative of the global victory of democracy. This would correspond to the mode of irony or satire, according to Hayden White:

The archetypal theme of Satire is the precise opposite of this Romantic drama of redemption; it is, in fact, a drama of diremption, a drama dominated by the apprehension that man is ultimately a captive of the world rather than its master, and by the recognition that, in the final analysis, human consciousness and will are always inadequate to the task of overcoming definitively the dark force of death, which is man's unremitting enemy (White, 1973: 9).

As a result, a narrative of crisis is associated with the European and especially the global level, while a narrative of democratic progress is located at the national level. In such a structure, globalisation represents a threat to a national ‘we,’ echoing discourses of fear.

The results pose a significant question for history education: How can we achieve a more balanced narrative that fosters a deeper conceptual understanding of democracy and supports students in systematically analysing democratic developments and challenges? One possible approach is to explore different understandings of ‘democracy.’ Similarly, it would be important to systematically present the national, European, and global dimensions of relevant phenomena within specific time frames. It is important to note, however, that this task cannot be accomplished by textbook writers alone; it requires a collaborative effort involving not only researchers in the field of history education and history didactics, but also history teachers and historians.

Notes

¹ For this analysis, the tool Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2014) was used. The tool offers ready-to-use text corpora in many languages, among them web corpora that were compiled from Danish texts. The results described above are generated from the corpora daTenTen20 (crawled in 2020, 4,127,362,161 tokens) and daTenTen17 (crawled in 2017, 2,306,837,669 tokens). Sketch Engine enables a wide range of digital analyses and visualizations and generates so-called word sketches, which provide an analysis of a word’s surroundings organised after grammatical relations.

² The chapters are as follows: Third Grade: The Stone Age; That’s What We Played; Ancient Egypt; That’s How We Lived; The Bronze Age. Fourth grade: The Roman Empire; Health and Disease; The Vikings; Child Labour; Absalon and His Time; Child Upbringing. Fifth grade: The Middle Ages and Margaret I; The Maya; The Reformation; Discovery Expeditions; Energy, Transport and Communication; Penalty. Sixth Grade: The Renaissance; Denmark as a Colonial Power; Pirates; The Ottoman Empire; World War I; Children and Adolescents. Seventh Grade: Country of Farmers; Revolution and Upheaval; Slavery – in the Past and Today; Democracy and Equality; Denmark – the Country and the People. Eighth Grade: The Dream of a Good Life/Emigration to America in the 19th Century; The Deviators; Crisis and Chaos – Denmark in the 1930s; Denmark Occupied; The Cold War. Ninth grade: The Good Life; Israel and Palestine; Africa, Europe’s Neighbour; A Whole World.

³ For a detailed description of the methodical approach and corpus compilation, see Gorbahn et al. 2023, in particular Bick et al. 2023. In the context of this

study, the textbook series underwent digitization. While acknowledging certain limitations in the corpus resulting from OCR quality, some corrections were made to enhance data quality. Additionally, the robustness of the findings was assessed through qualitative verification. Further information on corpus creation can be found in Bick et al. 2023.

⁴ The search did not differentiate between capitalised and non-capitalised letters. The three chapters with the highest relative frequency for the search strings are as follows: ‘danmark*’: 1. Denmark as a Colonial Power, 2. Denmark – the Country and the People, 3. The Vikings; ‘europa*’: 1. The Ottoman Empire, 2. The Cold War, 3. Revolution and Upheaval; ‘verden*’: 1. Discovery Expeditions, 2. A Whole World, 3. Energy, Transport and Communication.

⁵ This is, for example, the case in the chapter ‘Democracy and Equality,’ which clearly has a national focus. Denmark might be mentioned more explicitly and frequently in chapters that deal with other states or transnational interconnections.

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ORAL TESTIMONIES ENHANCING HISTORICAL THINKING ON THE GERMAN OCCUPATION PERIOD: KOSTARAZI, GREECE*

Evangelia Kalogirou, Georgia Kouseri, Niki Nikonanou
and Marina Sounoglou

The current study is a contribution to the discussion of oral history as a source that deepens historical understanding and historical thinking. The research set out to shed light on aspects of the lives of people who experienced reprisals from the German occupation authorities in Greece and is not intended to fill gaps in the official historical narrative. A key research question at the first level was 'how do memories from traumatic events interpret the past and present' of the inhabitants of the mountain village of Kostarazi Kastoria, which was set on fire by the Germans in 1944. Qualitative research methodology was used for data collection and analysis. At the second level, the research findings were linked to education through an educational design. Thus, we define the parameters of an educational framework that utilises accumulated oral testimonies to develop historical thinking skills.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the recognition and utilisation of oral history as a historical source and as a research method has been of interest to historical researchers and educators (Nakou, 2015: 169; Palikidis, 2020: 19). The works of scholars such as Passerini, Portelli, Thompson and Abrams, are milestones in the shift of historical research towards a more socio-cultural orientation. In their output, the voices of individuals and social groups, such as the working-class and women, who remained long in obscurity are illuminated and offer another dimension to history (Tsiolis, 2012). History is nowadays written not only by heroes and politicians but also by taking into account the lives of ordinary people.

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This paper focuses on the collection of oral testimonies from residents of the village of Kostarazi in Kastoria, Greece, who experienced the burning of their village, Paleo Kostarazi on 13 April 1944 by the German occupation authorities, and on how the oral history findings can be used in the classroom. The village was largely destroyed that day in an act of retaliation, as the Germans had information about the frequent appearance of rebels there and the support they received from Dimitrios Gavros, the miller of the village (Dordanas, 2007).

Relevant archival research was conducted on this reprisal in Macedonia, scrutinising the period before and after the burning of the village within the general historical context of the time (Dordanas, 2007). Among the archival documents used as sources, the oral testimony of a resident of the village is also reported. The present work does not aim to fill gaps in the official historical narrative but to offer an in-depth analysis of ordinary people's testimonies, how they experienced that traumatic event, and how it affected their lives then and now.

During the burning down of the village, 263 houses were destroyed and 14 were saved (Dordanas, 2007: 442). However, many people continued to reside there, repairing their houses as far as their resources allowed, staying in other relatives' houses that had been saved, or if they were lucky enough, in their own. The inhabitants of the village, which is now called Paleo Kostarazi, were mainly engaged in animal husbandry as the area was mountainous. However, crops were cultivated, but they were situated a little way off from the village in the area where Neo Kostarazi is located today.

In the period of the civil war, the inhabitants were forced to leave their homes permanently in 1947 and move to Argos Orestikon or neighbouring villages. In 1950 the creation of a new village, Neo Kostarazi, was officially decided upon. It was located in a semi-mountainous position, 3–4 kilometers away from the old village. Nowadays the younger generations have developed strong ties to the old village, where they return for recreation, camping, concerts or to attend an annual religious custom on 8 September. The old village, therefore 'lives again' through the care and love of the younger generations and is strongly linked to the inhabitants' daily life today.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 *The Concept of Oral History*

The widespread use of the term oral history today is as recent a phenomenon as the existence of the tape recorder, but that does not mean that it has no past. In 1978, Thompson wrote about it in his book entitled 'Voices from the Past' which was particularly important for the development of studies in oral history. The term captures the idea of the recent past, today and yesterday, and reflects the change in the attitude of the scientific community towards such historical sources with their widespread acceptance and practice now. The key point enabling this change and its agent is the modern development of technology, especially recording and communication media. The value now given to the spoken word of ordinary people is a phenomenon that contrasts completely with what historians accepted as reliable research methodologies until then, since they had no access to such. The voice of ordinary everyday people has thus come to the fore gaining the importance it deserves.

In his book 'Oral History Theory' (2014: 12) Abrams defines the concept of oral history as follows:

The term oral history is a broad term that refers to the process of conducting and recording interviews to gather information about the past. But oral history is also the product of these interviews, the narration of past events. oral history, then, is both the research methodology (the way of conducting research) and its result, in other words, it is both the act of recording and the recorded product.

The oral history researcher has a dual role to play as he both influences the findings of his research through the questions he asks the informants and then in how he analyses and interprets them. The research process is very different from that followed by the historian dealing with evidence such as written sources or photographs. The oral historian 'co-creates' the product of the interview, while the historian has his findings presented to him fully formed (Claire, 2004). Oral history is then a research method. The memories and words of people who have something interesting to say are recorded and then analysed and interpreted. The practice and interpretation of oral history are intertwined. This actuality enables the researcher to investigate not only what has been said but also the way it has been

said, as well as teasing out their causes and meanings (Abrams, 2014: 11).

Moreover, as Frisch (2003) argues, ‘oral history can be understood as a way of bypassing historical interpretation itself, avoiding all the attendant elitist and contextual dangers’ providing a direct way of communicating with the past.

2.2 Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity

The subjectivity of oral sources is an issue of dispute, as historians are often sceptical about the reliability of oral testimonies claiming that the oral narrative is not the experience itself but a construction of memory (Kiriakidou-Nestoros, 1988). Oral testimonies do indeed involve interpretation within themselves but are not made ‘false’ thereby. ‘Oral testimonies look like “a lie,” but they do not cease to represent an, even if subjective, truth’ as is stressed by Boeschoten (2002).

The informant reveals memories, experiences, feelings, and political opinions that represent his own identity, his truth, at the given moment in time. The researcher may find themselves confronted with different versions of the past, one that contradicts the accepted historical narrative if the informants themselves so interpret the historical context of their time. In this case, if the goal is the reconstruction of the experience, which includes elements of collective representations, then the researcher is presented with a wealth of possibilities for analysis and interpretation (Bueschoten, 2002).

Subjectivity in Oral History is a factor that is emphasised (Thompson, 2008: 39). The researcher asks questions such as ‘how did you feel or how do you think now’ encouraging the informants to talk and reflect on their experiences. From the ‘reading’ of the oral testimony, evidence emerges on events that the informant remembers but also what the informant wants to forget (Portelli, 1991). As Smith (2010) mentions, oral history investigates how people understand the past not only in what they did but also in what they wanted to do, what they believed, and what they now believe they did. Passerini refers to a window open to subjective truth, where the reconstruction of history passes beyond the framework of traditional historiography. As Apostolidou (2016) argues, there are two periods in the development of oral history. During the first, oral history

methodology is in defence against traditional historiography, while in the second, oral historians are conscious of the issue of subjectivity and new subjects, themes and approaches arise.

In oral history the key element is, obviously, the interview. Conceptually defining the interview, is a process related to the dynamic interaction of subjectivities (Abrams, 2014). What we call intersubjectivity. The interviewer and the informant come to the meeting bringing thoughts, opinions, and perspectives that may well define two different frames of reference.

During their meeting, the questions posed shape the subjectivity and the image that the informant wants to 'reveal.' Yow (1994: 2) makes an important point when he writes that both the interviewer and the informant bring to the interview knowledge but also shortfalls of understanding. The position of the first is based on the research he has previously done at an academic level, whilst for the second it relies on his knowledge and his experience. Often these two can be different but equally reliable.

2.3 Oral History and Historical Interpretation

In literature, sources are the way to rescue testimonies from the 'trash of history' (Smith, 2010; Thomson, 2000). Both written sources and oral testimonies contribute to this. However, as oral history constitutes a separate, special kind of historical practice and research, it is worth mentioning the following points that need attention. Oral testimonies are different from any other kind of historical source in that they are not found ready-made (Smith, 2010; Abrams, 2014). The researcher through the interactive process of the interview co-constructs the testimony by being actively involved and bringing his own personal political, and social beliefs to the front (Claire, 2004). Finally, as for the construction of meaning, the analytical skills of the researcher determine the interpretive framework and the depth to which the research can be taken.

Another point referred to is the opinion that oral testimonies are constructed to answer historical research questions. Given that such questions may be historical matters for which written sources are few, oral testimonies can function as supplements and aid in 'filling in the gaps' (Smith, 2010). However, the pivotal texts of Portelli and Passerini discuss in depth how oral testimonies do not speak for themselves, nor do they simply fill in gaps. Highlighting stories

unheard in the official historical narrative, stories ‘from below’ of ordinary people serve to delineate historical oral history research in the present (Bueschoten, 2003).

2.4 Oral History as a Dynamic Process in the Educational Context

Oral history in education creates a context for students to dynamically approach historical knowledge. Students are actively engaged in their attempt to perceive past events. The history lesson no longer requires rote memorisation, nor does it rely on the educational authority of the educator or the textbook, it takes on a new dimension (Nakou, 2012; Edwards, 2006). Activities such as collecting or listening to oral testimonies, create mental representations of the past. Students interpret and understand this, thereby developing historical thinking strategies. By actively participating, they improve their understanding of what constitutes a historical source, and what evidence can advance their research and contribute to the reconstruction of the past (Vervenioti & Chronopoulou, 2020).

A point that must be highlighted here is that oral history in education does not concern a distant and dead past, but the memories of families, relatives, and friends (Vervenioti & Chronopoulou, 2020; Edwards, 2006). The subjects examined by the students are less likely to seem remote, existing somewhere in the sphere of a glorious distant history. Rather they are connected to the present and shed light on areas that may have been kept silent until now, such as family history, neighbourhood relationships, social gender roles (man, woman) and racial counterparts, and the struggle of young people for independence (Repousi & Andreadou, 2010). At the same time, by focusing on groups of people who until then were ignored and silent, by regarding them as an important research resource, history becomes more democratic and at the same time strengthens the student’s ability and willingness to express themselves (Repousi & Andreadou, 2010; Nakou, 2015). Everyone’s voice matters and this perspective deepens and enriches historical interpretation by giving it a social dimension.

The implementation of oral history in educational settings can follow two methodological paths. The first is to engage students with oral sources and to regard these as archives, historical sources. The second is to follow the course of the historical oral history researcher

by themselves planning and conducting interviews and then proceeding with their processing, analysis, and interpretation (Claire, 2004; Edwards, 2006). Both approaches, though different, are equally interesting; they offer students experiences and knowledge in the field of historical research and its procedures, rather than dealing only with ready-made, content knowledge.

More specifically, the inclusion of oral testimonies in the teaching of history is possible nowadays as there is an abundance of digitised testimonies on the internet. The teacher can therefore involve the students in research and experiential activities without having to conduct interviews (Smith, 2010). Characteristic examples of good practices mentioned in the bibliography are the creation of a museum in the classroom, role-playing games, forums, mapping testimonies, creating podcasts, etc. (Redfern, 1999; Moore & Ashcroft, 2010).

When regarding oral testimonies as archival historical sources, the ‘scientific approach’ is the theoretical framework that can serve as a basis for the practice of historical thinking. This particular viewpoint holds that students can be taught to investigate the past by using historical sources and that based on this study they can formulate and express arguments about it. This approach aims to motivate children to become familiar with the work of the historian and in this way to acquire metacognitive skills, challenging unsubstantiated opinions that they will encounter around them about the past (and indeed life in general) and express their interpretive reasoning about it (Kouser, 2019).

A basic research tool is what are termed the secondary historical concepts (procedural) that explain the events and lead to interpretation and deeper historical understanding (COE, 2016; Kouser, 2019). ‘Historical knowledge, as well as intellectual development, is related to the understanding of historical concepts,’ which if cultivated from infancy can lay the foundations for a personality that will act critically and proceed with a sound analysis and interpretation of events (Repousi, 2000; Cooper, 2011). The secondary historical concepts, as found in the literature, are the following a) the historical source (evidence), b) causes and consequences, c) historical empathy, d) change over time, and finally, e) historical significance. The first two will form the core of the present educational proposal.

3. Research Methodology

The initial aim of the research was to explore how memories of traumatic events interpret the past and give meaning to the present concerning the inhabitants of the mountain village of Kostarazi Kastoria which was set on fire by the Germans in 1944 as a reprisal.

In particular, the following sub-questions are investigated:

- How did the people experience the burning of their village that day?
- How do they remember the events of those days today?
- How do they connect that traumatic event with the subsequent development of their lives and the relocation of their village?

The methodology of the research was based on a qualitative approach. The data analysis was carried out following the thematic analysis and content analysis methods. The methodological tool of the semi-structured interview was chosen to record oral testimonies (Cohen et al., 2007: 477).

The researcher's aim is not the reconstruction of historical events in any linear order but rather understanding them within the spectrum of the past and present of everyday people.

Personal information

Name
Gender
Age

Memories of the traumatic event

1. How old were you when the event of the burning occurred?
2. What do you remember from that day?
3. Was someone you knew or someone from your family in danger?
4. What you describe is your memory or was it told to you?
5. Why did the Germans take this action?
6. Did you ever find out if compensation was given to the people who lost their homes?
7. How did the building of the new village start?

Memories acquiring meaning in the present

8. Do you often visit Paleo Kostarazi?
9. How do you feel when you do this?
10. How do you think about this event after so many years?

Table 1. Interview Guide. Source: Authors' own elaboration.

The sample of the present study addresses four residents of the village, survivors of the burning of Paleo Kostarazi. For the purposes of the research, criterion sampling was undertaken (Tsiolis, 2014).

	Gender	Date of birth
Informant 1 G.V.	Male	1930
Informant 2 D.V.	Male	1934
Informant 3 A.T.	Male	1928
Informant 4 T.B.	Female	1930

Table 2. Sampling Criteria. Source: Authors’ own elaboration.

4. Critical Analysis – Findings

This section presents the findings from the data analysis on which the educational design will be based. Information and facts that appear repeatedly in the informants’ testimonies are interconnected. Thus, individual memory is affected and intertwined with the collective memory of the traumatic event of the village’s burning down. The following themes have emerged from the thematic analysis of interviews and serve as the main axes of the research interpretation and educational proposal:

1. Before the traumatic event.
2. The cause of the village’s burning down.
3. After the village’s burning down.
4. What do people think about that event today?

4.1 Before the Traumatic Event

To begin with, regarding the events before the traumatic event, we trace what the inhabitants did when they were informed, each in a different way, that the German soldiers were coming. All the informants describe clearly that the residents with their families ran away in disorder, following a downhill route on difficult paths. Such was the case of T.B., who describes in detail how she managed, along with her mother and little brother, to leave the village and reach the church of Agia Anna.

... then, they informed the village that a crowd of people was coming, but nobody knew who they were. And when they came ... people started running ... those who were in the village ... each in a different direction, you know, and they all left the village, as we did.

The testimony of A.T., age 16 at the time when the events took place, though, tells how his father and himself, the night before, along with 50 men of the village, sought shelter in the mountain caves on the northern side of the village. The informant refers to the timely information shared by the Greek rebels to protect them.

The rebels had come the night before and they had informed us that the German soldiers were coming the next morning ... they knew, the rebels... there were spies ... And at night, my dad took me and we left and went over there to Agios-Nicola's place, where there are some caves. And there was a cave in front called 'Kolokotronis' hole; it is a big one but there were 50 men.

The testimonies of D.V. and G.V. illustrate that women and children, who due to their families' husbandry occupation were not in the village, remained in their position cautiously hidden and observing the movements from afar, given that the village is sited in a natural amphitheatre on the mountain's flank. Moreover, the testimonies all agree that the men ran away to neighbouring villages.

4.2 *The Cause of the Village's Burning Down*

Additionally, the informants were asked why they believed that the German soldiers were acting in this way. We find evidence that indicates a reluctance to clearly state the cause of the village's being burnt down. The silence in the narratives and hesitations surround the presence of the rebels in the village. In the narration of D.V., this hesitation is obvious along with his attempt to provide an explanation referring to his young age at the time. We notice a similar difficulty in the testimony of G.V. as well. On the contrary, A.T. is the first of our informants who speaks clearly about the activity of the rebels and their constant presence in the village as well as about the geographical location of the village which made it an ideal place for this type of activity.

Because the rebels were many, there came lots of rebels ... and now and then the rebels were in our village ... it was like a rebels' village over there ... it was far away ... there was no road for cars.

4.3 *After the Village's Burning Down*

The destruction was almost complete. The data obtained from the interviews depict the residents' effort to continue living in the village but also their final escape in 1947 during the civil war. In addition, the long-term consequences of this event on the life and future of the inhabitants can be distinguished. The following excerpts from G.V.' interview are indicative:

As children, we lived ten years of war, we never lived a carefree childhood, going to school, learning good things, fear was always in our hearts. How could we finish school, get a job, have shoes, have clothes?

We had not suffered any damage ... We stayed in the village, we did not go anywhere, where could we go, where could we go. We went to the village, but my uncle's house was burnt down, it was burnt down, my cousins gathered in the night, where could they go, they had no clothes, the family gathered, each with his relative. There was no bread, everything was burnt, what could you eat?

D.V. describes how their life changed when their house was destroyed. In the excerpt that follows, the difficulties and the new conditions created in their family life are depicted:

Our mother was in the house ... they burnt the house and [he speaks emotionally] she took a wooden basin, grabbed some clothes and she sat out in the yard, and she was crying ... That is when the German soldiers left, we found her there [he is very emotional at this point]. And my father tells her don't be afraid don't cry... I am deeply moved.

4.4 *What Do They Think about That Event Today?*

Additionally, we locate what the informants think about that traumatic event in the present. Emotions are dominant in the narratives and appear as a reoccurring theme in the interviews. At the same time, the informants consider that traumatic event as a starting point for the difficulties they faced in their lives afterwards. The following excerpts from the interviews of D.V. and G.V. are

characteristic. They refer to the enormous financial difficulties that arose and the lack of education:

I don't want to remember that [that is the traumatic event], I don't want to remember that, children, elderly people, all of them have suffered when the German soldiers told us to get out and that they were going to burn our houses ... where could we go, where could we go?

Tragedy ... tragedy and crying. Although the village was in the mountains, and it faced a lot of difficulties ... people didn't manage to educate themselves.

5. Co-constructing Meaning Processes Using Oral Testimonies in Education

The concept of historical education is a disputed field, where consensus on the recognition of its basic elements by researchers is seldom achieved with ease (Kokkinos, 1998; Lee, 2005: 38). The kind of knowledge that students should acquire in school and the goals of historical education remain two persistent questions in the field as well (Apostolidou, 2022).

However, two points are recognised as pivotal for the deployment of historical concepts in schools:

1. An educational framework of the past that is easily usable by the students and that promotes the connection with their present and future.
2. A set of intellectual tools to enable students to deal with historical issues (Lee, 2005: 65).

School textbooks are structural elements of Greek primary school. In the Greek study programs for history teaching of 2018 (Voglis et al., 2018), school textbooks are viewed as historical information bases and useful tools for understanding and interpreting historical issues without however monopolising the teaching process. Various historical sources are suggested (written, audio, oral, visual, material remains) to function as a basis for the research and discovery approach to learning by students. The aforementioned study programs were withdrawn in 2020 before actually being implemented in the classroom, however, it appears that 'the seed has been sown.' In Britain, the corresponding study programs, implemented since 1999, are oriented to exploratory learning. It is intended for students

to become familiar with the scientific method of discovering knowledge, where asking questions, doing research in different kinds of historical sources, and tracing the changes over time, the similarities and differences between then and now, contribute to the interpretation of past (Cooper, 2011; COE, 2016).

Taking all the above into consideration, we are aiming in this paper to propose an educational design that constitutes a non-common source offering students the opportunity to immerse themselves in the feelings and experiences of the people in the past, bringing to the fore evidence as regards specific events of the II World War in Greece. Thus, it will contribute to the history of the period, both as regards the events and the experience of the events by the people in the past. For that reason, we utilise the theoretical framework of the disciplinary approach, encouraging pupils to explore the historical topic through their own investigation of sources and to express their ideas about the past, pose questions and seek answers (Lee, 2005). The pupils are introduced to the concept that different historical questions can lead to very different narratives of the past. Moreover, they are encouraged to understand history through historical concepts such as evidence and cause and consequence (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

Concentrating on a particular topic or subject helps the students to ask the appropriate specific historical questions and research the educational material to answer them. The oral testimonies, available as audio material, include rich evidence in this area. The selected photographic material further promotes the synthesis, comparison, and meaningful association between the historical sources to be undertaken so that the students can draw conclusions. The proposed bibliography offers archival research information primarily, contributing to the entire learning process. Additionally, the organization of further oral history activities, looking for oral testimonies of the corresponding period in the students' own family and social environment, extends the research.

The design of an educational resource file is suggested. The educational material includes the following sources:

1. An audio file is included with digitised oral testimonies in addition to the aforementioned research.
2. Photographic material depicting life in Paleo Kostarazi as well as in Neo Kostarazi in the early 1950s, when the new

village was first built. This is archival material collected by the Cultural Association of Women of Kostarazi ‘Diamantonyfes.’ Also, photographic material concerning the reconstruction of the school in our days, and places of historical interest in the Paleo Kostarazi area, such as the location of ‘Trani strata’ and the chapel of Agia Anna mentioned in the oral testimonies.

3. Appropriate bibliography.
4. Teacher’s guide which includes indicative teaching designs for utilising the educational material.

Teaching design 1	How did the people experience the burning of their village that day?
Duration: 45 minutes	Historical sources
Historical concept	Written historical sources of the Second World War period.
Materials	Oral testimonies from the first thematic axe of the research ‘Before the village’s burning down,’ and the third ‘After the village’s burning down.’
	Photographs
Activity 1	Students study written historical sources in groups about the historical context of the period and discuss: The key question is ‘What these sources can and cannot tell us about the burning of the village.’
Activity 2	Students are asked to work in groups and compare and contrast photographs of the village before and after the events. The key question is ‘What these sources can and cannot tell them.’
	Report to the class their findings.
Activity 3	They are asked to work in their groups, listen to the oral testimonies and relate them to the photographs from the previous activity.
Activity 4	They discuss and make a concept map about the possibilities and limitations of oral testimonies.

Table 3. Teaching design on the ‘historical sources’ concept. Source: Authors’ own elaboration.

Teaching design 2 Duration: 45 minutes	How do people connect that traumatic event with the subsequent development of their lives and the relocation of their village?
Historical concept	Causes and consequences
Materials	Oral testimonies from the second thematic axe of the research ‘The cause of the village’s burning down.’ Oral testimonies from the fourth thematic axe ‘What do they think about that event today?’
Activity 1	Students are encouraged to work in teams, listen to the oral testimonies of the thematic axes and create concept maps with keywords, depicting the causes and consequences of the event. Discussion in class.
Activity 2	Students work in groups and create maps where people’s movements are depicted. Discussion in class.
Activity 3	Using dramatisation techniques students are asked to give voice to the people. Why did they run away, why did the women remain hidden and what were their thoughts at those moments?
Activity 4	As a follow-up activity, they make an interview guide with their own questions to extend the research to a local history level. It would be possible to ask younger people, for example, about the civil war and why they were not allowed to occupy houses that still existed from 1947 onwards and how the decision to build a new village, Neo Kostarazi, in 1950, was received by those affected.

Table 4 Teaching design on the ‘causes and consequences’ concept. Source: Authors’ own elaboration.

It is argued that the educational material so presented may serve a double purpose: it addresses the needs of local history and the understanding of the historical context of the period in general. Exploring oral history will help students make the connection between local and world history – a necessary process for developing critical thinking (Vlachaki & Kouseri, 2020). The connection of local, regional, national, European, and global contexts is at the centre of meaningful projects in history education (Jansen, 2010; Harnett, 2009; Kouseri, 2023).

7. Discussion

In this context, we approach the events of 1944 in the village of Paleo Kostarazi by utilising the methodology of oral history to address two goals.

First, by attempting to answer the original research question of how memories of traumatic events interpret the past and give meaning to the present, we illuminate the impact of these events on the lives of the residents. Then, we aim to utilise these testimonies within the educational context so that they contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the historical events by students today.

As we consider the research findings, memory and silence emerged as interrelated concepts where descriptions of events are interrupted by pauses and hesitations when the informant is searching for the causes of the disaster. The research captures what the informants say but also what they hesitate or fear even today to reveal and concern the intense resistance activity in the area which worked as a catalyst for the burning of the village by the German occupational authorities. The presence of the rebels, their actions and their collaboration with the residents are highlighted or hidden, but in both cases, they reveal what the person wants to forget, as a traumatic experience but also as an idea that contradicts what was acceptable in that period (Liakos, 2007: 97; Passerini, 2007: 15). However, the conflicting perceptions regarding the presence of the rebels in the village aptly and correctly outline the individual and collective beliefs of the period.

At the same time, the investigation of the collective identity of the inhabitants as it was formed over the years and as concerns the exact incidents of those critical days contributes to the historical understanding and interpretation. The narrative is described with many elements appearing regularly and in common and the individual memory seems to function and confirm the collective contexts (Passerini, 2007: 8; Halbwachs, 2013: 14). The informants fill in the gaps of their own experiences with what their collective memory has to say. In this way, it can often be seen in the testimonies that reference is made to points and events that the informants themselves did not see or experience, and indeed in a relatively correct chronological order.

Additionally, memory in the present research works not so much to simply recall the events as with the attempt to give them meaning and amplify the voices of ordinary people. The informants highlight the traumatic event as a pivotal point in the development of their later life. Economic hardship, lack of education and basic food and clothing, underpin the feelings of frustration and fear that can be seen in all the testimonies.

The educational design is expected to contribute towards the perspective of researching the collected oral testimonies in the context of cultivating critical and exploratory learning. It is argued that it is important to add to the monologue of school textbooks so that students are urged to appreciate the plurality of sources and learn to manage the possibly conflicting elements that they may encounter when seeking to extract meaning through research. Further elaboration and actual implementation of the educational design, within different contexts, are expected to offer insight into the range of implications and possibilities that the process offers.

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OPEN EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES IN HISTORY EDUCATION: AN EXAMPLE OF A QUALITY ASSESSMENT FROM HISTORY DIDACTICS POINT OF VIEW*

Oliver Mayer-Simmet

This article is devoted to a special category of teaching and learning resources that has received more attention from the research community in the last years: It is about ‘Open Educational Resources’ (OER). The article explores the question of which criteria are decisive from the perspective of history didactics in order to be able to evaluate an OER as ‘good.’ It presents a quality grid to support history teachers in analysing and evaluating open educational resources taken from the internet that can be discussed in the discipline. In terms of methodology the aim is here to divide central and consensual findings from the history didactic research literature for the target group of history teachers.

1. Introduction

Since the introduction of digitalisation in schools, non-commercial teaching and learning resources from the World Wide Web play an important role in teachers’ lesson preparation – especially in history education, which depends to a large extent on the use of media. This article is devoted to a special category of teaching and learning resources that has received more attention from the research community in the last years: It is about ‘Open Educational Resources’ (OER). These are characterised by the fact that they can be used, modified and passed on by teachers in a legally protected way. The idea of the concept of OER is also accompanied by the hope that the cooperation of many people in their development will raise their overall quality and thus the quality of educational processes within and outside institutionalised forms.

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In order for this hope to be fulfilled, users and authors must be able to check OER for their subject-specific and subject-didactic quality. They need to be able to recognise the strengths and weaknesses of OER in order to compensate for the weaknesses of the resources. Of course the assessment of OER for ideology-prone subjects such as history education faces special demands. But when can OER be considered to be of high quality for the didactics of history discipline? What are the crucial criteria? Starting out from these questions, the aim of this article is to present a proposal for an analysis and evaluation tool to help history teachers to examine the didactic quality of OER taken from the Internet in a subject-specific, guided and practical manner by formulating normative history didactic demands on OER that can be discussed in the discipline.

This quality grid is based on scientific criteria derived from the discourses of historical science, history didactics and general didactics in Germany. It can be viewed in detail online at <https://aer.zlib.uni-augsburg.de/history-grid.pdf>. The grid has already undergone an initial evaluation process, nevertheless an in-depth empirical study on the benefits of the grid for the teachers is still pending.

2. The General Idea of Open Educational Resources (OER)

The term ‘Open Educational Resources’ goes back to UNESCO, which defined them as ‘the open provision of educational resources, enabled by information and communication technologies, for consultation, use and adaptation by a community of users for non-commercial purposes’ at the Forum on the Impact of Open Courseware for Higher Education in Developing Countries initiated in 2002 (UNESCO, 2002). The aim of this declaration was to provide developing countries with educational materials in a simple and cost-effective way in order to promote their primarily economic development. Alternative terms such as ‘open courseware,’ ‘open learning resource,’ or ‘open teaching/learning resources’ were discarded by UNESCO but nevertheless characterised the first years of international involvement with open educational media. Today, the term ‘Open Educational Resources’ or ‘OER’ for short has become widely accepted internationally, even though it cannot be considered to be conclusively defined.

It is its ‘openness’ that separates OER from other kinds of ‘Educational Resources.’ This openness is understood as openness in the legal sense: the users of OER receive certain rights of use from the authors. According to David Wiley, the following five points must be present in order to speak of open educational resources: (1) Retain: The right to make, possess, and control copies of content; (2) Reuse: The right to use the content in different contexts (e.g. in the classroom, in a learning group, on a website, in a video); (3) Revise (Process): The right to adapt, edit, modify, or change the content (e.g. including translation into another language); (4) Remix (Mixing): The right to combine the original or modified content with other open content to create something new (e.g. incorporating images and music into a video); (5) Redistribute: The right to share copies of an original content, the edits, the remix with others (e.g. by analogous distribution to third parties or by online publication) (Wiley, 2014). In order for all these kinds of use to be permitted to third parties in a legally impeccable way, the authors of the ‘material’ must grant these rights to everyone. They do so through appropriate licences. With regard to OER, the Creative Commons (CC) licensing model has been developed since 2011, although other licensing models from other providers also exist but hardly play any role in practice.¹

The OER market partially overlaps with the much larger market of free teaching resources from the Internet. These educational resources can also be available without ‘openness.’ The OER concept is not limited to specific kinds of teaching tools. OER are conceivable as macro teaching resources (e.g. textbooks) and as micro teaching resources (e.g. worksheets), they can be used online by the teachers/students or analogously as printed copies (for an overview of the German market, see Mayer-Simmet, 2021: 51–100). For Open Educational Resources there is no established quality control mechanism, so it is in the hands of the teachers to evaluate them. For this, quality grids are very helpful.

3. Quality Grids for the Evaluation of Educational Resources: The Augsburg Approach

Quality grids are a scientifically recognised possibility to support teachers with indicating the strengths and weaknesses of educational resources. They are intended to help their users to analyse and evaluate the resources to be examined as closely as possible to the

material. The grids are applied to educational resources in order to carry out an evaluation on the basis of an evaluation scale. Criteria catalogues without scaling options represent a simpler variant. They merely list the individual criteria in a relatively unconnected and usually very brief manner. Teaching material analysis grids play a role not only for teachers, but also in scientific work and in state licensing procedures. The grids are usually published – if at all – by the responsible institutes or directly by the ministries of education or culture. They are usually available in conjunction with school laws and administrative regulations. The orientation of the grids at a specific target group also affects the form, density and scope of the grids or catalogues.

The grid to be presented here is based on a tool developed at the University of Augsburg, Germany from a general didactics point of view by Carl-Christian Fey. The connection to this tool allows for making use of its potential. Since 2017, the grid has been available in an elementary form compared to the original version of 2015, which was created with regard to the now explicitly named target group ‘teachers’ (Fey, 2015; 2017). The Augsburg grid falls into the category of interdisciplinary quality grids; it is not designed for any specific subject or any specific subject group. At the same time, however, it is explicitly meant to be meaningfully supplemented, differentiated and interpreted in relation to individual subjects. In the Augsburg context, this domain-specific further development has for quite some time already been implemented in varying depth by representatives of the subjects of Geography, English, German, Romance Studies, Mathematics, Political Education and Religious Education, and also in relation to Open Educational Resources. In view of this wide range of disciplines, it is assumed here that the Augsburg grid is in principle also capable of subjecting (open) educational resources for history lessons to appropriate analysis and evaluation. At the same time, however, it requires of course a history didactic focus.

In contrast to most other grids, the structure of the Augsburg grid is clearly divided into the elements ‘description,’ ‘item’ and ‘indicators’ for each assessment criterion, which allows for a step-by-step approach, supporting the assessment as a pedagogical-didactical-analytical process. This structure is certainly helpful for teachers. First, the respective criterion is briefly described and thus explained, so that the focus on the content of the criterion is supported when

assessing an educational resource. Then an item formulated as a statement is evaluated on a four-point scale from '1. not applicable' to '4. fully applicable.' In addition, there is the answer option 'not assessable.' The 'indicators for a positive evaluation' describe individual characteristics that can be considered indications for a positive performance. These indicators are intended to support the teacher with classifying the scale.

Multiperspectivity				
The principle of multiperspectivity is based on the fundamental history-theoretical conviction that no insight into the past reality (the past) is possible which would be independent of the observer, because any statement on an event, a date, or a connection is only possible from a certain social, cultural, religious, national, political, economic or other point of view. This is already true for statements by contemporaries which become manifest by historical sources. Thus, in the subject of history the students shall be confronted with sources referring to one and the same situation but coming from different involved or concerned contemporary witnesses. By temporarily adopting perspectives, by getting an understanding of the positions of others, and by way of empathy, as well as by way of the method of comparison they learn that one and the same fact may be perceived 'in different light' by the contemporaries.				
<u>Item:</u> This educational resource allows for different 'views' at the historical event or situation taken by different actors or concerned persons of that time.				
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
-- Does not apply	- Applies less	+ Applies somewhat	++ Applies perfectly	Not appraisable
<u>Indicators for judging positively on this item:</u> This educational resource includes two or more sources of involved or concerned contemporaries, representing different 'views' at the historical event or situation. According to the knowledge acquired by the students thus far, the media, exercises and methods are made for investigating the causes of the different points of view and for comparing them. Positions of certain actors or concerned persons which have not been handed down are not excluded, however they are also not faked as 'quasi-sources' but are discussed.				

Figure 1. Criterion 'Multiperspectivity' in the Augsburg grid. Source: <https://aer.zlib.uni-augsburg.de/history-grid.pdf>.

Another special feature of the Augsburg grid is the division into eight dimensions to which the individual quality criteria are linked. Each individual dimension represents a didactic or instructional value in

itself. This quality is then manifested and concretised in the form of several items assigned to the dimensions. At the same time, the dimensions are also interlinked in the grid, so that the individual items also repeatedly refer to items of other dimensions or take them up and concretise, expand, deepen and refine them in relation to the dimension to be addressed. Furthermore, during the development of the tool care was taken to use an appropriate language with regard to the target group ‘teachers.’

4. Quality Criteria for History Educational Resources: Reflecting Discipline Discourses

With regard to history teaching, quality criteria for OER can be derived primarily from the discourse on the quality of schools, teaching and teaching materials in history didactics in recent years. First and foremost, one should think of studies that explicitly deal with discussing and defining the characteristics of ‘good’ historical teaching. This includes theoretical, normative, practical and empirical work. Central to this are the (teaching) principles of history didactics, which are widely reflected in the discipline. Also, some publications already bear the question of ‘good’ history teaching in their titles (see for example Barricelli & Sauer, 2006; Gautschi, 2009; Meyer-Hamme et al., 2012). Although there is still a certain emphasis on the ‘classical’ analogous history textbook, there are also studies on various digital kinds of teaching resources. Conceptions of individual teaching or teaching material elements should also be consulted. Last but not least, projects with a more empirical orientation can also prove helpful (Trautwein et al., 2017). Studies that deal with the question of which competences future history teachers need to acquire in their university education can also contain valuable suggestions (Popp et al., 2013).

All these recent studies cannot be seen in isolation from earlier discussions. From a German perspective, the intensive debates on ‘historical consciousness,’ shaped above all by Karl-Ernst Jeismann, Jörn Rüsen, Hans-Jürgen Pandel, but also by Bodo von Borries, are formative for the developments. These debates led to a shift away from history teaching that focused exclusively on historical content, in which positivist encyclopedia knowledge in the form of historical data, events and developments was at the heart of attention, towards teaching that aims to sustainably promote concrete historical thinking

processes and competences.² If we are to be more specific, we must bear in mind that the discussions among history didacticists about historical consciousness, subject-specific guidelines for teaching and the competencies of historical thinking continue to be characterised by a broad diversity. Overall, in terms of methodology the aim here is to divide crucial and consensual findings from the history didactic research literature for the target group of history teachers. This corresponds to a generally accepted scientific procedure for science-based quality grids. For the development of the following grid, the literature of history didactics in the German-speaking world was primarily consulted.

The grid, which is described below, has already undergone an initial evaluation process. This resulted in the number of criteria being reduced to a user-friendly level by merging very similar items. The various criteria derived from the history didactic literature are presented in the dimensions developed by Fey. It is assumed that these dimensions are also the decisive ones for teaching resources for history lessons. In the first place, there is the reference to the curriculum. In the second place there comes the dimension ‘normative-discursive positioning,’ followed by the ‘macro-didactic foundation’ (teaching principles). Here, for example, the aspect of factual justice is also found. After the dimension ‘micro-didactic implementation’ (media and methods) the discussion turns to the individual elements of teaching resources, the tasks, the general texts and images. This is rounded up by the dimension ‘cognitive structuring’ (Mayer-Simmet, 2021: 157–262). In total, the grid consists of 25 items which are assigned to the seven dimensions. This scope is considered to be appropriate for the broad range of possible resource forms. At the same time, the grid is not intended to be applied by teachers to every new teaching resource. Rather, it is about teachers internalising the criteria, for example in in-service teacher trainings.

5. Explanation of the Seven Dimension Quality Grid for History Educational Resources

5.1 Dimension I: Alignment with the Curriculum

The first dimension is about the conformity of the educational resource to be evaluated with central statements of the curriculum. With these, the state exercises its regulatory and control function

over the public educational system. At the same time, curricula can be used as indicators of which scientific positions have already reached the sphere of school policy. For the quality of history educational resources it is decisive whether by their learning objectives, topics and working methods they are oriented towards the curricula for the subject of history. In this sense, at least three aspects are taken up here for the first dimension of the grid.

The first focuses on the fostering of reflective historical consciousness as far as this objective is reflected by the concrete curriculum.³ Included here is participation in historical culture as an essential element of historical consciousness. The grid's reference to the theories of the German-speaking world becomes particularly clear here. On the content level, the educational resource should focus on different dimensions of historical consciousness (Pandel, 1987). On the level of consciousness processes (according to Rösen: narration process), narration and reconstruction are the focus. 'Good' educational resources allow students to become narration and reconstruction agents according to their level of skills. Accordingly, 'good' educational resources are oriented towards the operative sequence of factual analysis, factual judgement and value judgement.

The second criterion addresses the development of one or more competencies of historical thinking. These days most curricula understand learning objectives in this sense. It is the historical competences that should enable students to develop a reflective historical consciousness. Despite the variety of competency models under discussion in the discipline and reflected by the curricula, the following competencies can be considered to be essential: The competence to access historical sources and representations, to deal critically with perspectivity in history, to distinguish between factual and value judgements, to perceive changes in history, to make references to the present, to make one's own interpretations of history.

The last aspect deals with the conformity of the educational resource with the content fields outlined in the respective curriculum. The crucial question is which content is of such an importance as to be identity-forming in the sense of historical consciousness and is thus relevant for the present and future of society. The answer to this question may vary from country to country and be reflected differently in the curricula. It has to be asked whether the assigned content field can be fully covered by the current educational

resource. Also the relation to the content-specific structuring concepts of history (e.g. longitudinal section, cross-section) given in the curriculum has to be checked.

5.2 *Dimension II: Normative-Discursive Positioning*

In the dimension ‘normative-discursive positioning’ it should be examined to what extent certain current or past positions are to be explicitly or implicitly conveyed to the students through the educational resource. This includes the teaching of topics in a one-sided way, with the aim of steering the students’ interpretation in certain directions. This can also affect the social discourse in the sense of deliberately influencing opinions on a social and political level. Overall, this dimension is of great importance for history education, since it has often been misused for the ideological manipulation of young people. From the perspective of history didactics, at least two important points should here be formulated in the grid.

One is the separation of historical (factual) information on the one hand and its interpretation on the other (item 1). If the educational resource obscures this difference, then the teaching texts in particular often appear as ‘master narratives’ about the past, which are perceived by the students as ‘facts’ (‘that’s how it really was’). There is then no separation of factual information about historical events and phenomena on the one hand and individual judgements and evaluations on the other (factual and value judgements). In this sense, ‘good’ educational resources do not only deal with their own perspectives in a way which is comprehensible and transparent for the students but also leave room for other interpretations. They encourage the students to make their own judgements.

Furthermore, this dimension is about images of history that conform with the constitution and are anti-discriminatory. It must be examined whether the educational resource runs the risk of conveying or supporting not only one-sided but also dangerous images of history that run counter to a modern, pluralistic, liberal-democratic set of values. In extreme cases, these can be not only discriminatory but also racist or anti-semitic. This item focuses both on the juxtaposition of the history of ‘great, victorious of white men’ with views of supposedly ‘silent’ women, minorities, inferiors, etc. as well as a ‘history of interconnections’ linked to other world regions,

which is opposed to a Western-dominated, Eurocentric image of history.

5.3 *Dimension III: Macro-Didactic Foundation*

In the third dimension, the question is to what extent the educational resource shows a fundamental orientation towards principles of history education. These principles are guidelines and principles that should be the basis of teaching history in the long term. They are understood as general rules of action for teaching and are therefore often called 'teaching principles.' In the course of time, history didactics has discussed a series of subject-didactic principles, i.e. principles that are specifically relevant to history teaching. Even though the concepts and terms partly overlap and the canon of principles varies, the following have proven to be indisputable and authoritative.

The first principle is science orientation. The educational resource should reflect the current state of historical research. It should be factually correct. The gap between the content of the educational resource and the progress of scientific research should not be too large. Furthermore, students should be able to identify what is controversial, open, unresolved and disputed in research. This requires that the relevant scientific literature is named. Source and method orientation is the topic of the second point. The educational resource can be rated as good if it makes clear that history is an interpretation of the past based on historical sources. The methods involve different genres of historical sources and representations with their respective specifics, whereby the methods of analysis and interpretation also vary.

The next three points are closely connected: They are about the principle of 'multiperspectivity.' The educational resource should enable for different perspectives on the perceptions of different historical actors and people concerned by dealing with different historical sources (item 3). The educational resource can also be classified as good if it conveys different perspectives on the interpretation of the past through different representations (item 4). This includes the examination of research controversies as well as the participation in historical culture. Furthermore, it is demanded that the educational resource also invites students to actively discuss their own interpretations of the past (item 5). The question is whether the

resource is designed in such a way that the reasonable interpretations of other history learners can be understood and respected.

Present and future orientation is the final aspect of this dimension. Good educational resources for history lessons always make clear that history is an interpretation from a present perspective. They link historical references to the present and the foreseeable future and thus give the students an orientation to life. The educational resource does not only show general references to the personal lives of the students and the whole society but concretises them, e.g. by taking up real elements, materials, statements of current contemporary history, which ideally can show a closeness to the students.

5.4 Dimension IV: Micro-Didactic Implementation

In this dimension the focus is not on teaching content or overarching teaching theories or principles but on concrete mediation and support strategies through which the educational resource accompanies the course of the lesson. The dimension aims at the requirements for the concrete design of learning processes in the sense of selecting suitable methods and media. Both play a crucial role with planning 'good' history lessons, since history as a retrospective narrative construction cannot be experienced directly or experimentally.

The educational resource should primarily contain historical sources and/or representations and distinguish between these two forms (of history) in a way that is comprehensible for the students (1st item). This is not only about the temporal proximity to the depicted historical event but above all about the questions addressed to the media that classify them as historical sources or representations. Furthermore, it must be made clear to the learners of history that the teaching text, which is often an essential component of an educational resource, can also be a form of representation. A certain breadth of genre must be ensured for both historical sources and representations. The representations are scientific, science-oriented, but also historical-cultural forms.

Care should be taken that the media do not lose their character as historical sources or representations (items 2 and 3). Where editing is unavoidable, the authors of the educational resource should make this clear. Contextual information appropriate for students and adequate comprehension aids are also aspects advocated by these two

items. Only with their help is an independent analysis and interpretation of sources or representations by the students possible at all. Sources as well as representations must be marked as such in a scientifically compliant manner, by means of annotations, source references, bibliographical references, etc.

The second group of items in this dimension (items 4 and 5) deals with the methods to be applied to the sources and representations. The fourth item refers to the method of reconstructing the past on the basis of sources. Item 5 deals with the counterpart, the method of deconstruction of already existing narratives/representations. The decisive factor here is learning the basics of the historical method, i.e. the method of reconstructing the past on the basis of historical sources, with the aim of constructing a narrative. Comparison is also crucial for this. Good educational resources do not omit the no less important steps preceding the actual interpretation (questioning, heuristics, criticism). The students do not necessarily have to go through all these steps themselves, but the educational resource must establish links to the steps that cannot be worked out explicitly with the students via the resource itself.

5.5 *Dimension V: Task Design*

The fifth dimension is the quality of the tasks. They have been a natural part of educational resources at least since moving away from teacher-centred, lecture-based teaching. They significantly structure teaching sequences and learning paths. In history didactics, too, task formats and a changed task culture have been increasingly taken into account for some years. Behind this there is the insight that historical thinking in the sense of historical competences cannot simply be taught but must be actively learned through the accomplishment of suitable tasks. The objective for history teaching is therefore: 'Good' tasks trigger historical thinking processes and guide them systematically. The educational resource to be evaluated should meet at least the following three criteria.

The starting point of all tasks in an educational resource should be an activating, historical guiding question. This should link all tasks in the sense of problem-oriented history teaching (item 1). It is helpful if the question is taken from current life and is anchored in the (also future) reality of the students, i.e. if it has a comprehensible relevance for the present and the future. Ideally, the historical guiding question

should not simply be prescribed by the resource itself. Rather, the resource should provide sufficient stimulation for the students to work out the central question on their own. This is then 'solved' step by step in the course of the educational resource via the individual tasks.

The second item of this dimension deals with the sequencing of the task setting. The tasks are not limited exclusively to the reproduction of historical factual knowledge but guide the historical learner to appropriate, higher procedural and metacognitive historical thinking processes. It is about forming factual and value judgements. In this sense, the structure of the learning settings, the assistance and the individual operators control the requirement level of the tasks. The individual tasks as well as the task setting as a whole are coordinated with the already existing knowledge and competences in historical thinking the students have acquired.

The third item looks at the material and methodological reference of the task design. It focuses on historical sources and representations and on historical cognitive processes (construction, deconstruction, comparison). This item is closely intertwined with the previous dimension. The task design is such that the students can actively and critically deal with the materials provided by the educational resource and are guided towards learning, practicing, applying, consolidating and extending subject-specific methods.

5.6 Dimension VI: Visual and Textual Composition

This dimension deals with very fundamental aspects of the design of educational resources: The focus is on texts and images as essential elements. As carriers of the information or the messages to be conveyed by the educational resources, they are the ones that communicate with the target group of learners. The intended learning success depends decisively on their comprehensibility and clarity of content. The following applies to history teaching: history is language. Only with the help of language we can communicate about a past reality and form history as a narrative. The challenge for the authors of educational resources is not only the linguistic design of the tasks (cf. Dimension V) but also of the teaching texts.

The latter must be written narratively, i.e. be narrative (item 1). This is about the linguistic representation of the temporal and qualitative difference between the past and the future, not in the

form of a description of a state but as a process that meaningfully connects the before and after. This also means that the teaching text to be conceived by the authors must not only be geared to the target group in terms of content but also in terms of language, which – by the correct reproduction of the state of research and one's own location-boundness – also necessitates a certain vividness. The narrative structure must be connected to the students' existing narratives. It must not presuppose narratives that will only be dealt with later (in the curriculum).

All this can only be implemented if the educational resource also trains the ability to deal with historical terms and subject-specific language (item 2). Especially for history lessons it is important to bear in mind that the content of certain terms changes or has changed with changing historical contexts. 'Good' educational resources also take into account that the semantics of historical terms can also be subject to cultural differences. Likewise, one-sided, historically pejorative, stereotype-promoting terms for certain groups of people, such as geopolitical ascriptions based on location, should not only be avoided for good history educational resources, but ideally their historical conditionality should also be explored. The technical terms and foreign words are used or explained within the necessary framework.

The third item deals with the function of images and their 'visual language.' In this context, it is of particular importance that visual media can be grasped by the students by their subject-specific intrinsic value in the sense of a 'visual history' as historical sources or representations. In this sense, the educational resource should not be about using visual media only to illustrate or confirm the author's text or the textual sources and representations. The tasks should be designed with these pictorial functions in mind and, in combination with methodological support, encourage an active engagement with the pictures. The pictures must also be presented in an appropriate way, so that the symbols, codes, written elements and colours can be perceived and interpreted by the students.

The fourth item refers to the fact that in addition to the actual materials the students should actively engage with, the educational resource should also contain elements that promote understanding, structuring and explaining the materials. These elements can be in the form of texts and pictures. Prefaces, timelines, info boxes,

encyclopedia boxes and glossaries are helpful here. The ‘structuring-organising’ units include elements such as headings, icons and text markers. These are mainly elements that help with making historical information accessible or with reconstructing the structure of the historical narrative. Elaboration-supporting elements serve for weighing and evaluating text statements and for integrating them into existing knowledge structures.

5.7 Dimension VII: Cognitive Structuring

The seventh and last dimension of the presented grid proposal refers to the cognitive structuring of teaching supported by an educational resource as a quality feature. It refers to the methods used by the teacher but also to the decision which phases should be part of the teaching and how they should be designed and linked to each other, so that different cognitive operations and knowledge structures can be achieved. In doing so, the educational resource must link to existing knowledge structures and competences of the learners.

Good educational resources are arranged as a processual accumulation of historical knowledge dimensions (item 1). The knowledge dimensions are understood as cognitive learning goal levels that build on each other and activate prior knowledge. The first level is declarative knowledge, which includes, for example, technical terms, names, dates and places. At the second level the students put the individual ‘facts’ into a context that is narrative and discussable. One level higher is procedural knowledge, subject-specific skills and abilities (methods). At the highest level the educational resource should convey metacognitive knowledge. This means that the authors have placed the individual elements of the resource in a coherent relationship to each other in terms of didactics, content, concepts and language (coherence).

The 2nd point of this dimension looks beyond the actual educational resource. The teaching-learning materials must be linked to existing knowledge structures and competences of the students. This presupposes that the authors also deal with what (presumably) happens before and after the use of the resource in class. The curriculum can be an indicator here. In this context, the question must also be asked to what extent the educational resource is designed in such a way that it can be used as an example to learn subject-specific methods and working techniques, cognitive

procedures and patterns of interpretation of historical thinking, which can then also be applied to other – even more difficult – historical subject topics, historical sources or representations as well as other school subjects and, prospectively, also outside school and thus relevant for the present and the future.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The basic outline of the grid was developed with the aim of supporting history teachers in assessing educational resource offered by third parties in the World Wide Web especially OER, and also with examining resources they have designed themselves. The attempt was made to take in as broad a base as possible of history didactics literature on the quality of schools, teaching and teaching materials and to identify common elements. Reference to the specific literature consulted could only be made here in a rudimentary way. Although the research was extensive, the grid does not claim to be complete. Rather, the aim was to elicit overarching criteria from the broad body of literature that can be used for an analysis and evaluation of educational resources for history teaching. The focus was on central findings of history didactics in the German-speaking world. It was also challenging to translate the often complex systems of our discipline into a user-friendly, precise form that is accessible and helpful for history teachers in terms of depth and scope.

Even though every effort has been made to elementarise the complex interrelationships in the form of item descriptions for history teachers, it cannot be ruled out that the design of the history didactic grid is still too complex at least for some history teachers. Ultimately, however, only an empirical study can provide reliable findings on this. It will be interesting to see what criticisms and suggestions history teachers will make in order to perfect the design of the grid and increase its practical suitability. In view of these perspectives, in the future it will be especially important to think about those teachers who have not studied history or have not studied it in its entirety.

Overall, only a continuous exchange with all potential user groups (students, trainee teachers, teachers, history didacticists, etc.) can lead towards perfecting the grid outlined here for use in school practice. This exchange was envisaged from the very beginning in the conception of the grid. The presented grid proposal is thus to be

understood as a ‘work in process.’ In this sense, this article is also meant as a contribution to discussing the grid at an international level and to taking up suggestions.⁴ This process is considered to be permanent. It will be interesting to see which quality criteria are accepted in the discipline, but also which items need to be adapted country-specifically according to other theories and/or curricula. It is pleasing to note that the grid, which was primarily designed for ‘Open Educational Resources,’ can certainly also be applied to non-open forms of educational media used in history lessons.

Notes

¹ Creative Commons is a non-profit organisation founded in the USA in 2001. Its sole purpose is to publish the so-called CC license agreements. The so-called GNU licenses are mainly used for software, see the 2008 version of Free Software Foundation; GNU Free Documentation License, *GNU Operating System*, <http://www.gnu.org/licenses/fdl-1.3.html> (15.11.2023).

² An early transfer of these theories to educational resources combined with the development of concrete quality criteria can be found with reference to the school history textbook in Rösen, J. (1992). What is remarkable about this essay is that it not only reflects the positions of its time of origin but also anticipates later developments concerning competence orientation.

³ Even if it is not part of the curriculum, following the theories of many German history didacticists, it is an important goal of history teaching. It is then to be assigned to the dimension of ‘macro-didactic foundation.’

⁴ The author is not aware of any comparable grids in the international context that attempt to make the quality of Open Educational Resources specifically for history education measurable, that are based on a cross-curricular tool as well as being targeted directly at teachers.

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HISTORY EDUCATION IN UKRAINE IN POLITICAL TRANSITION*

Polina Verbytska

This study provides an analysis of the transformations unfolding in Ukraine between 1991 and the present, specifically focusing on how politics shape the teaching of history. The paper devotes considerable attention to exploring the memory wars, which reveal shifts in history education. The discourse surrounding post-Soviet and Ukrainian national historical narratives, which function as unique components of memory policy throughout the country's years of independence, has been analysed in the article through the lens of history education development. This perspective enables a better understanding of how the dynamically changing political situation in the nation has impacted history education over the last decades. A particular focus is placed on the democratic advancements in education following the Revolution of Dignity, as well as the challenges facing history education during the Russian-Ukrainian war. The article defines the key factors that sustain the continuous democratic development of history education in Ukraine, despite political influences. It is based on an interdisciplinary literature review, curriculum analysis, and textbook examination that illustrate the evolution of history education approaches in the country. The author's observations are supplemented with evidence from Ukrainian educators, reflecting their perceptions and experiences over the past few decades.

1. Introduction

School history education serves as a crucial social channel for constructing a national narrative and imposing a particular image upon society. This is why it is a subject of debate not only among educators but also within public discourse, being a tool in realpolitik. Post-Soviet political elites consider historical memory an instrument for achieving their political agenda. As Ahonen (2014: 77) stated, despite the reforms, history lessons are continuously a politically sensitive domain of education, and 'political leaders in many post-

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Soviet countries appealed to history educators for support in bolstering group identity.⁷

Throughout its years of independence, Ukraine has seen discussions about its political, scientific, and socio-cultural discourse. These discussions revolve around the legacy of the Soviet past in the country and the prospects for developing Ukrainian civic identity.

In general, over the years of independence of Ukraine, there have been many cases when the contents of history education represented in textbooks and curricula were influenced by the ruling political elites. It led to a scenario where varying and controversial historical narratives within the public sphere also found their way into history education.

Ukrainian researchers on history education development in the period of independence showed an increasing interest in this study issue and attempts to reinterpret the official discourse critically (Shapoval, 2000; Yakovenko, 2008; Bakhanov, 2009; Mogoryta, 2018). The research by Mogoryta (2018) contains a general analysis of trends in the transformation of school history education content in the years of independence (until 2012), which are reflected in curricula and textbooks.

The historical and retrospective analysis conducted by Ignatenko and Moskalyuk (2022) characterises state policy in the field of historical education in 1991–2010 as a multi-vector subsystem of national policy. The authors claim that the process of constructing the national historical narrative and its consolidation in the public consciousness involved overcoming the restrictions imposed on historical knowledge by first the Soviet and then the national paradigms, preferring to fill the established content with a new ideological meaning rather than systematically transforming the sphere to ensure a new quality.

The system of historical education as an important component of public memory policy in the first decade of the XXI century is analysed in the research by Chupriy (2011). The works of historians Honcharenko and Radziwill are of particular interest for the topic of our study. In the article, Honcharenko (2019) reveals how Ukrainian school history textbooks have transformed their interpretation of the events of 1939–1945 since 1991. This transformation involves a gradual departure from the ‘Great Patriotic War’ concept inherited from Soviet historiography, and the introduction of the concept of

the ‘Ukrainian dimension of the World War II.’ In her research on the culture of historical memory, Radziwill (2013: 402–4) emphasises the persistence and rootedness of Soviet stereotypes inherited by Ukrainian textbooks, especially in the history of the twentieth century, in particular, the history of the World War II.

However, the majority of studies focus either on examining the methodological principles and mechanisms used to implement the state policy in history education in Ukraine or on delving into the historical didactic issues. Until the present time, a noticeable scarcity of holistic research into the memory policy influence on the continuity of history education in the country has been evident.

In this article, I am going to examine the impact of changing political power and memory policies on history education throughout the period of independence. To illustrate the influence of Ukraine’s evolving political landscape on history education I reference the five stages of the development of attitude towards historical memory proposed by Alla Kyrydon (2015). Extending the approach, I introduce a significant sixth stage, ongoing to the present day. Special attention is dedicated to the challenges facing history education after the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014 and 2022.

The paper addresses the key question of to what extent history education was influenced by memory policy in the process of political transition from post-Soviet to democratic society in Ukraine. What are the main factors influencing democratic school history development despite political influence in the last decades?

The analysis is based on exploring the ways that interpretations and representations of the past are framed in history school curricula and textbooks. Conducting this research, I aimed to share personal experiences gathered through conversations with history teachers as well as capture educators’ diverse perspectives on the role of school history during times of war.

2. History Wars and School History Education Transition (1991–2013)

The analysis of school history development during the political transition over the years of independence places it within a broader framework that encompasses shifts in political power and memory policy.

Researchers emphasise that history serves as a path that contributes to the formation of collective character and affiliation with other social groups. To achieve this, a social group turns to a narrative that communicates its origins and identity. In this way, members of the group determine themselves as representatives of the group that shaped an outlook of itself in line with collectively lived experiences and agreement on common values (Barreiro et al., 2017: 374). Haste and Bermudez (2017: 439) define narratives as a ‘cultural resource of information that acts as a mediator between past and present and can project the future events and influence the present conditions. Horschelmann (2016: 41) pointed out the governing of childhood is an important sphere of state politics that is realised in a wide range of activities and techniques through governing at a distance. The mechanisms of memory policy include commemoration practices, museum exhibits, and state and social activities.

Political transitions launched in Ukraine in 1991 have influenced history education and its narrative. A new generation passed on not only a certain image of the past but also moral values and patterns of behaviour. ‘History education today is understood through post-colonial, multi-perspectival studies, which in a post-conflict society contribute to reconciliation by fostering critical thinking, being inclusive concerning different social groups, and recognizing the local, vernacular history culture’ (Ahonen, 2014: 75).

During the years of independence, Ukraine passed through the processes of Soviet ideology decolonisation and national identity formation. The processes of civic identity shaping and historical memory reconstructing have been in progress in the country after the Revolution of Dignity and Russian aggression since 2014.

Ukrainian researcher Kyrydon (2015: 247), who specialises in memory issues, identifies five stages of memory policy functioning in Ukraine, based on the periods of Ukrainian presidential power. Each of these periods had its characteristics regarding the impact on school history education – curricula and history textbooks.

The first period (the late 1980s–1994) was characterised by an active interest in the problems of Ukrainian history, which were taboo in the Soviet Union (Kyrydon, 2015: 247). Also, the first stage of the memory policy was marked by the attempt to displace the Soviet legacy. According to Zashkilnyak (2004: 5), the development

of Ukrainian historical science of the time had two sides: on the one hand, a rapid process of accumulating facts from the perspective of the national idea and statehood, and on the other, filling the gaps created by previous historiography in the coverage of the past.

A distinctive aspect of this stage was the competition between different types of memory. In the textbooks of the first half of the 1990s, a romanticisation and heroisation of the Ukrainian national movement can be traced, and a line of continuous struggle for the creation of a national state is built throughout the 20th century.

The second stage of memory policy (1994–2004) as the period of ambivalent politics was pursued by President Leonid Kuchma (Kyrydon, 2015: 248). That state of affairs led to the conservation of the post-Soviet transitional stage and historical memory and laid the foundations for shaping several opposed identities, which dominated different regions of Ukraine. In this context, Zashkilnyak noted the role of the fundamental Soviet myth of the ‘Great Patriotic War’ and the ‘Great Victory,’ which was a core component of ideological colonialism towards Ukraine and aimed at denying the Ukrainian dimension of the war. This communist construct, together with a set of its components about the ‘feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War,’ the ‘decisive role of the Communist Party,’ the ‘moral and political unity of the Soviet people,’ the ‘powerful partisan movement behind enemy lines,’ ‘traitors and collaborators’ and many others, still faithfully serves to justify the existence of imperial Russia and its colonies under the guise of the USSR and the Soviet people (Zashkilnyak, 2013).

The mechanical combination of the paradigms of national and Soviet history has become characteristic of this period. Similar metamorphoses can be traced in school textbooks of this period. In the 2001 textbook of the history of Ukraine by Turchenko et al. (2001) the authors do not use the previously accepted term ‘Great Patriotic War’ but change it to the broader ‘World War II. Ukraine during the World War II (1939–1945),’ but in the textbook by Kulchytskyi and Shapoval (2005) the authors do not avoid the term ‘Great Patriotic War’ as the most important part of the World War II, and also use the term ‘Soviet-German war.’

The new textbooks sparked heated discussions in society around the coverage of the World War II in history textbooks. The public debate also had an impact on state policy when official veterans’

organisations lobbied for the adoption of the Law of Ukraine ‘On Perpetuation of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945,’ which stipulated that the history of the Great Patriotic War should not be falsified in research, educational literature, textbooks, and the media (Honcharenko, 2019: 48).

The politicisation of historical problems for obtaining dividends brought about an increase in the degree of tension in the ‘war of memories’ during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko after the Orange Revolution of 2004 in a new stage of memory policy (2005–2010) (Kyrydon, 2015: 248). The driving force behind the state policy of memory was the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, established in 2006 and modelled after similar institutions in Eastern and Southern European countries in the 1990s and 2000s. At the state level, a course was taken to a sharp rejection of the Soviet model of historical memory and the activation of the study of historical problems, primarily the Holodomor of 1932–1933. The Law of Ukraine ‘On the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine’ was adopted by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2006. Educational institutions actively participated in nationwide symbolic actions, and students were encouraged to collect witnesses’ memories and write research papers and essays.

In this period, the detailed analysis of school history textbooks on the history of Ukraine by experts and professionals was initiated by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory in 2008. It was caused by a growing sense of dissatisfaction with the quality of general history education in Ukraine and started a scholarly discussion, highly relevant up to the present time (Yakovenko, 2008a).

The existing school history textbooks were analysed to the following aspects: their relationship to current social and cultural contexts of Ukrainian society, their approach to humanising history and being open to perspectives from outside the students’ community, and the inclusion and nature of exercises aimed at developing critical thinking. The results of textbook monitoring showed a paradoxical disparity between their content, design, and societal challenges. Most existing history textbooks stress an ethnocentric vision of history, leaving aside the principles of multi-ethnicity and a plural, multicultural, and multi-religious society, which are the primary values modern school didactics in open societies seeks to transmit (Yakovenko, 2008b).

Considering history education, Vasyl Dyakiv, a history teacher at Zalishchyky State Gymnasium in Ternopil region and winner of the Global Teacher Prize Ukraine-2020, pointed out that the periods of V. Yushchenko's presidency 'became the brightest periods of nation-building activity in the study of Ukrainian history. They emphasised history as a key basis for the formation of Ukrainian identity and therefore paid great attention to the Cossack period, the period of national liberation struggles, and the crimes of the totalitarian regime. Therefore, in the lessons, there was an opportunity to think about it, analyse it, draw conclusions, and historical parallels, and look for a new understanding of the creation of history' (V. Dyakiv, personal communication, July 15, 2022).

In terms of presenting the World War II, the textbooks of that time featured an extended chronology of the war, offered detailed accounts of events within Ukraine, explored various aspects of the Resistance movement, and delved into the lives of the population in the occupied territories. Scholars and textbook authors referred to this approach as the formation of the 'Ukrainian dimension of the World War II.' It aimed to distinguish Ukraine's educational context from the prevailing mythology of the Great Patriotic War and the cult of Victory, which were gaining renewed popularity in Russia (Honcharenko, 2019: 48). At the same time, as Honcharenko claims, it was quite difficult to do so, given Russia's significant political, media, and cultural influence on the Ukrainian population (Honcharenko, 2019: 48).

The rematch in the presidential elections of Viktor Yanukovich marked the beginning of the fourth stage of the memory policy (2010–2014). It was characterised by a revision of the policies of the previous set of Viktor Yushchenko's presidency. In particular, the perception of the Holodomor and World War II issues underwent reassessment. The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory reoriented the direction of activity and shifted its focus towards less contentious historical matters.

This period was distinguished by a 'shift in emphasis from a nationally oriented paradigm to an 'internationalist' and Russian-centric one.' (Kyrydon, 2015: 248). After 2010, when V. Yanukovich returned to power, the period of 'red restoration' began. In Zaporizhzhia, the communists erected a monument to Y. Stalin. In Dnipropetrovsk, a monument was built to honour the 90th

anniversary of the creation of the Komsomol. In Kyiv, a memorial plaque was unveiled in honour of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, V. Shcherbytskyi (Babka, 2015: 176–7).

School history was being rewritten during the tenure of pro-Russian President V. Yanukovich, receiving increasing attention from society. In 2011, changes were introduced to textbooks for the 5th and 11th grades to return to Soviet historiography patterns, including the reinstatement of the term ‘Great Patriotic War’ by the Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk’s order (under the pro-Russian President Yanukovich) (Istorychna Pravda, 2011). In the 2011 textbook written by Pometun and Hupan (2011), the whole topic was entitled ‘Ukraine during the World War II (1939–1945), Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)’ (Pometun & Hupan, 2011). During this period, the use of an alternative textbook on the history of Ukraine, which presented the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as genocide and included historical events not found in the textbook recommended by the Ministry of Education, was prohibited in schools.

In particular, the authors paid primary attention to the Soviet myth of the ‘Great Patriotic War’ and the sacrifice of the Soviet people without mentioning the resistance to the Communist Party-Soviet government (Pometun et al., 2013). Due to Tabachnyk’s pro-Moscow vision of history teaching, in 2014, a paradox occurred in 10th- and 11th-grade history textbooks when nearly the entire interwar period was lost, and the topics deemed sensitive to the pro-Russian authorities were intentionally omitted, namely, the Holodomor, the Great Terror, and the formation of the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

Such an effort to ‘manually regulate’ the study of history provoked a powerful pro-Ukrainian civil campaign, ‘Antitabachnyk history lessons’ (nation-centred coverage of history to schoolchildren in the form of a mix of slides and film-anime, filmed and distributed by history teachers) (Lupenko, 2011). Also the Ukrainian Internet reacted to the changes in the History of Ukraine programme initiated by the Minister of Education and Science, Dmytro Tabachnyk, in 2010.

It should be noted that during the presidency of V. Yanukovich, there was an active effort to impose the opinion on society and promote the idea of creating a joint Ukrainian-Russian textbook to develop a shared memory policy; the resistance movement on the territory of the USSR was supposed to reflect only its Soviet component (the activities of partisan units and the Soviet underground). Instead, anti-Soviet national armed formations were to be criticised. In May 2010, Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk informed the mass media about the agreement between Russian and Ukrainian government officials to create a joint textbook for teachers of the history of Ukraine and Russia. The project turned out to be unviable due to the irreconcilable ideological orientations of both countries (Istorychna Pravda, 2010).

In the opinion of Vasyl Dyakiv, a history teacher at Zalishchyky State Gymnasium in Ternopil region, ‘the period of V. Yanukovich’s presidency was the most shameful for teaching history at school. The persistent return of the paradigm of victory, Victory Day, and the Great Patriotic War, along with the downplaying of Ukrainians’ role in the World War II, the desire to shift the emphasis from 1939 (the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact) to 1941 (the beginning of the German-Soviet war) according to Soviet paradigm, withdrawing from the programme of practices of any mentions of bright representatives of the dissident movement, reduction of the value understanding of the Holodomor and repressions – these ‘innovations’ were introduced slowly but persistently’ (V. Dyakiv, personal communication, July 15, 2022).

Despite significant pressure in this period, political influence on history education was limited by several factors: professional networking on European and national levels and the possibility of open professional discussions on the challenges of school history education. The innovative approaches to history education were introduced by Ukrainian scholars and teachers who united in All Ukrainian Association of History Teachers ‘Nova Doba’ within the framework of close cooperation with the Council of Europe, EUROCLIO (European Association of History Educators), Georg Eckert Institute and International Society for History Didactics (ISHD). Their fruitful cooperation resulted in the professional training of teachers, as well as the publication of alternative history textbooks and manuals (Eidelman, Verbytska & Even-Zohar, 2016).

For instance, some of them – the textbooks ‘History of the Epoch through the Eyes of an Individual’ (Komarov et al., 2004) and ‘Multicultural History of Ukraine’ (Nova Doba, 2012), developed by the author teams of teachers-members of the ‘Nova Doba’ Association, have become important guidelines for the authors of textbooks of the next generations. The results of several scholarly discussions organised by the ‘Nova Doba’ Association with the participation of Ukrainian and foreign historians on the coverage and teaching of the events of World War II were published in the collection ‘Contemporary Discussions on World War II.’

In the different periods of political turbulence and memory wars, the role of the responsible teacher community remained crucial. In this context, Lyudmyla Makhun, a history teacher in the Dubechne Lyceum in Volyn region, noted: ‘A lot depends on the teacher who organises the educational activity, the environment in which the students are, and family upbringing. Explaining these processes – a set of related events – is an exclusively teacher’s prerogative. Even when the odious Dmytro Tabachnyk was the Minister of Science and Education of Ukraine (2010–2014), I always focused students’ attention on these and other state-building topics. I tried to involve them in the analysis from the standpoint of a representative of the modern Ukrainian nation’ (L. Mahun, personal communication, July 10, 2022).

3. History Education Transformation after the Revolution of Dignity and the First Russian Aggression against Ukraine in 2014

Crucial changes in political power after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 initiated the fifth stage of the memory policy (2014–2018). President Petro Poroshenko initiated significant transformations: condemnation of the Soviet past; decommunization of the symbolic space (changing the names of cities and streets); and the fall of monuments to Lenin (Kyrydon, 2015: 248). The decommunization process was supposed to manifest strong disapproval and criticism of the communist regime for mass violations of human rights and to break the symbolic link with the USSR legacy. The Parliament of Ukraine adopted the Law on condemning communist and national-socialist totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and prohibiting propaganda

of their symbols (Law of Ukraine No. 317-VIII, 2015) and the Law of Ukraine on the perpetuation of the victory over Nazism in the World War II of 1939–1945 (Law of Ukraine No. 315-VIII, 2015). The adoption of the abovementioned laws testified to the rejection of the ‘Great Patriotic War’ mythology on the state level (Honcharenko, 2019: 48).

Thus, the processes of decommunization have significantly transformed the symbolic landscape of Ukraine. Through the following Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine (2016) ‘On approval of curricula for grades 10–11 of general educational institutions’ dated July 17, 2016, the curriculum on the History of Ukraine also underwent an update procedure.

In the new curriculum, the topic of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 was divided into separate ones. The period of mass repressions and great terror in Ukraine has acquired the name of ‘Establishment and confirmation of the Soviet totalitarian regime (1921–1939).’ In particular, the curriculum highlights and expands on the following events, concepts, facts, and terms: the Soviet occupation of Ukraine; administrative and territorial changes of Ukrainian lands throughout the 20th century; the Act of Restoration of the Ukrainian State; the contribution of the Ukrainian people to the victory over Nazism in the World War II; Ukrainians in the military formations of the states of the United Nations; the introduction of the concept of ‘deportation’ (including the deportation of Crimean Tatars and other peoples from Crimea, as well as mass deportations of ethnic Ukrainians from Poland in 1944–1946); the Ukrainian Helsinki group and others (as per Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 826, 2016).

The new generation textbooks of 2018 offer a more comprehensive periodisation of the World War II (from 1939 to 1945); show the true cost of the ‘Great Victory’; put an equal sign between crimes ‘committed by both regimes on the territory of Ukraine’; describe all the resistance movements to the Nazis and national tragedies – the Holocaust, deportations on ethnic grounds, and war crimes.

The new textbooks present the topic ‘Ukraine during the World War II’ without Soviet clichés: ‘Great Patriotic War,’ ‘German-fascist troops,’ and ‘liberation of Ukraine by Soviet troops’ (Strukevych, 2018). In the opinion of history teacher Mahun, ‘History textbooks

changed in 2018 showed a shift in emphasis in the context of personalities and events and their interpretation, harsher condemnation of the Soviet regime. In the latest generation of textbooks, new topics have been introduced, including the Ukrainian national struggle, religious aspects, Holocaust remembrance, the Russian annexation of Crimea, and the 2014 military conflict in Donbas. The emphasis remained on highlighting politicians' key role in the state's social development. Although it is cultural workers, scientists create the intellectual face of the country and drive progress' (L. Mahun, personal communication, July 10, 2022).

The priorities of the reform of general secondary education in Ukraine determined by the Concept of the New Ukrainian School are reflected in the State Standard of Basic Secondary Education, approved by the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine in 2020 (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 898, 2020). One of the fields that the New Ukrainian School Standard for Basic Secondary Education encompasses is a civic and historical area. The purpose of civic and historical education is to develop the student's personality through the understanding of the past, present, and the relations between them, awareness of the interaction between global, all-Ukrainian, and local processes building a Ukrainian citizen's identity, active civic viewpoint based on the principles of democracy, patriotism, respect for human rights and freedoms, recognition of the importance of the rule of law and intolerance for corruption (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 898, 2020).

The Standard frames the requirements for the mandatory learning outcomes of students in civic and history education, as well as civic and social competencies. The list of social competencies covers the following range: identification of oneself as a member of different communities and a citizen of Ukraine; expressing and defending one's points of view and beliefs in disputes and discussions, communicating constructively on various topical issues of history and society; providing historical examples of resolving contradictions and conflicts; working as part of a team, using one's own as well as other people's experience in trying to reach understanding and establish cooperation with other people who hold contradictory ideas and values taking into account the cases of historical practices (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 898, 2020).

In order to implement the State Standard, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine approved the 'Typical educational programme for grades 5–9 of general secondary education institutions' (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 235, 2021). To implement the civic and historical educational field of the State Standard from the list of names of educational subjects and integrated courses determined by the Standard Educational Programme, various author collectives have created 11 model educational curricula. Model educational curriculum of the civic and historical field offers three options for the presentation and implementation of subjects and integrated history of Ukraine, World History, and Civic Education courses in 5–6 grades.

We found it interesting, in light of our research, to explore the factors influencing the development of history education as expressed by the younger generation of history teachers. In particular, Mykola Popadyuk, a history teacher at Lyceum #10 in Chernivtsi, noted:

The period of my teaching began in 2016 during the presidency of P. Poroshenko and continues during the presidency of V. Zelensky. During this period, the reform of New Ukrainian School started and continues, which made significant changes in school education, including history. The reform is based on European approaches and, among other things, pays special attention to the autonomy of teachers, which is why more powers have passed into the hands of teachers themselves. In such conditions, the influence of individual ministers or presidents on a specific 'history lesson in 11-B,' in my opinion, has somewhat decreased. As for the content aspect, I often think that my generation has developed a particular (subjective) attitude towards the national patriotic organisations of the OUN, UPA, and other national forces. Although historical education was mainly devoid of Soviet mythologists during our studies, nevertheless, for many, this topic remained less discussed, 'difficult,' 'ambiguous,' etc. (Mykola Popadyuk, personal communication, July 22, 2022).

4. History Education in the Conditions of Russian-Ukrainian War in 2022–2023

In 2022, after the new scale of Russian aggression and war in Ukraine, a new period of the memory policy in the direction of decolonisation and decommunization started in Ukraine. In response to the aggression of the Putin regime, taking into account its

ideological component of the falsification of history and the propaganda of the 'Ruskyi mir' (Russian world) in April 2022 the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine created an expert working group to review the curriculum and work out methodological recommendations for teachers (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The curriculum of the subjects 'History of Ukraine,' 'World History,' and the integrated course 'History: Ukraine and the World' were revised and updated with the active participation of a wide range of scientists and educators. Significant changes were introduced in response to new historiographic research, as well as political, economic, social and cultural challenges stemming from the full-scale armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. The document emphasised the importance of studying the history of the World War II and the post-war world, the role of Ukraine in the system of international relations, and a special event in national history – Ukraine's independence in 1991 (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The curriculum in modern history has undergone substantial alterations in recent times, primarily regarding the events related to the Russian armed aggression against Ukraine. The emphasis has been made on the Revolution of Dignity, the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2014, and the new stage of Russia's aggression – the beginning of a full-scale war in February 2022 and the struggle of society for the Ukrainian state's independence. The improved curriculum includes a view of the Soviet Union as a totalitarian state of the imperial type. This view opens up additional possibilities for understanding the condition and status of Ukraine within the Soviet Union and explains Russian-Ukrainian relations in the post-Soviet period. The genocidal nature of the Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine employed by the communist authority as a political tool is emphasised in the curriculum. The imperial way of state power in the USSR was combined with a totalitarian communist regime. At the same time, the updated programmes focus on studying the instruments of violence that Ukrainians experienced in the 20th century and their resistance to it. In the process of studying the history of the Holocaust, students should understand the essence of genocide and its main characteristics. It is especially relevant given the modern racist concept of 'denazification' of Ukraine, the content

of which is the genocide of the Ukrainian people and the denial of their right to statehood and to existence itself (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The updated curriculum focuses on the concept of a ‘Ukrainian political nation.’ It is noted that the history of Ukraine should be considered not only as the history of ethnic Ukrainians but also as the history of the lands and people of Ukraine who inhabited them and made an essential contribution to Ukrainian history and culture. The history of various religious communities on Ukrainian territory should also be covered in a balanced manner (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The curriculum has been improved regarding the lists of terms/concepts that the students should know/understand. The newly introduced concepts include the following: ‘genocide,’ ‘geopolitics,’ ‘democracy,’ ‘expansion,’ ‘ideology,’ ‘empire,’ ‘colonialism,’ ‘xenophobia,’ ‘nationalism,’ ‘nation-state,’ ‘nation,’ ‘political nation,’ ‘reparations,’ ‘republic,’ ‘separatist movement,’ ‘totalitarianism.’ The curriculum places emphasis on the need to understand the ideology of the ‘Russian world,’ the imperial nature of racism, its references to ‘Eurasianism,’ and opposition to democratic Western civilisation with its values, etc. (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The Recommendations developed by the expert working group highlight the necessity of problematical and chronological synchronisation with the world and European history, of which the history of Ukraine is an integral part. They also suggest that special attention in history lessons should be paid to studying the past of neighbouring countries closely connected to Ukrainian history, such as Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022).

The improvements in the history curriculum caused by sociopolitical changes in the war period stimulated an intensive discussion in the Ukrainian professional environment about significant transformations in history education. Let us present some of the issues, which are crucial for understanding the current debate revolving around the role of history education in the professional community of Ukraine.

Is history possible outside of politics? How should history unite the nation? Why is it necessary to update the curriculum? These questions were discussed during the roundtable ‘School History

Education in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War' held at the Lviv Regional Institute of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education on June 30, 2022 (Varianty, 2022).

According to Ihor Tanchyn (2022), Deputy Director of the Lviv Regional Institute of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education, 'History should not and cannot be depoliticised. The political significance of historical science is to form the historical, and thus, the national consciousness of the people, their identity and attitude to the state and the government in power.'

On the contrary, Roman Pastushenko (2022), a specialist at the Department of Education and Science of the Lviv Regional State Administration, noted, 'I'm not ready to agree with the thesis that history is meant to unite the nation by creating a common past and creating common heroes. I believe that school history should serve neither the state (no matter how dear it may be to us) nor the nation (despite the importance of national interests). School history should serve students. What does a student need? To answer if history helps children find answers to questions "Who am I?" "Who am I with?" and "Why am I here?" I would say that it does a service to the child, the nation, and the state.'

In the opinion of Marian Mudryi (2022), Associate Professor at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 'The school history course should be aimed at understanding the past and at the same time developing young people's skills and attitudes that will be needed not only in the next few years but for several decades. I think that the life perspective in Ukraine is connected with the concepts of freedom, democracy, and the opportunity for each person to realise themselves in their profession and social activities. Therefore, the school history course should foster the spirit of this freedom, including intellectual freedom, and the willingness to defend it.'

Taking into account the results of a broad public discussion of the need to reform school historical education in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, in December 2022, a working group of scholars, teachers, and textbook authors was created to develop a draft Conceptual Framework for Reforming Historical Education in the General Secondary Education System (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2023a).

In assessing the current state of school history education, the authors emphasise the discrepancy between teaching time, the amount of educational materials, and the expected results of

educational and cognitive activities. This imbalance is primarily due to the practice of presenting national and world history as separate chronologically structured detailed narratives.

To ensure correspondence between study time, the amount of educational materials, and the expected results, the following working group proposals are developed: to select the content of historical materials based on the principle of age appropriateness, to abandon the presentation of history as a non-alternative linear (chronological) process in the context of two separate subjects – world history and history of Ukraine, to move to a single general education Ukraine-centred course ‘History: Ukraine and the World,’ and to ensure course integrity and completeness.

To strengthen communication with the educational community, a questionnaire survey ‘What changes are needed in school history education in Ukraine?’ was conducted in May 2023 (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, Survey: 2023)

In June 2023, 3, 786 teachers, almost every fourth school history teacher, joined the public discussion on the key provisions of the Conceptual Framework (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2023b).

The public discussion results indicate that the educational community overwhelmingly supports the key provisions of the Conceptual Framework developed by the working group. It considers the document to be of high quality and regards the reform of school history education to be long overdue, and most importantly, to be in line with the requirements of the times. The majority of teachers support the idea of integrating school subjects (History of Ukraine and World History) into a single course. Discussion participants mostly support the transition to a system of concentrations, with some members suggesting a combined approach to the educational process: a combination of the linear principle and concentrations. During public discussion, the educational community placed significant emphasis on the development of new, high-quality curricula, textbooks, and teacher training. It was also stressed that there is an urgent need to produce high-quality textbooks for the new generation and establish a state public resource where all necessary teaching materials can be accessed. Additionally, there is a need for proper equipment in history classrooms. Almost all the letters submitted during the discussion called for an increase in the number

of hours dedicated to teaching history (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2023b).

5. Conclusions

The research results demonstrate the main tendencies across the policy of memory transformation and its influence on school history education over the years of independence of Ukraine. Historical education is a social tool for the identification process in society in transition. The controversies of post-Soviet and Ukrainian national historical narratives as the distinctive features of memory policy in Ukraine across the years of independence were reflected in history education.

A characteristic feature of social discourse was the competition between different types of memory. The co-existence of the paradigms of national and Soviet history became characteristic of the school history narrative in the first decades of independence of Ukraine. The analysis of changes in the curriculum and history textbooks revealed in the main part of the article illustrates the controversy and gradual changes of the Soviet and national paradigms in the school history narrative during the years of independence. In particular, social discussions around the issue of the World War II had an impact on state policy and received representation in history curricula and textbooks.

Crucial changes in political power and the processes of decommunization after the Revolution of Dignity and Russian aggression in 2014 have significantly transformed the symbolic and educational landscape of Ukraine. The ongoing Russian aggression against Ukraine activated the values of society and laid the foundation for creating the Ukrainian political nation. Considering the potential of school history education in developing the worldview and shaping the civic identity of young people, it is to be claimed that the reforms in the field of history education will play a key role in democratic development in Ukraine over the next decades.

The article identifies the main factors underlying the continuity of history education and democratic development despite political influence in Ukraine. They include the following: intellectual freedom and the responsibility of the professional community of historians and educators to stimulate new ideas and critical discussions in a democratic society; international networking and cooperation both

on governmental and non-governmental levels; and, finally, the gradual introduction of European innovative approaches in history education ensuring the irreversibility of democratic changes. The democratic political transition of Ukraine during the years of independence and strong civil society factors ensured the reforms in school history education.

An essential role in this process is played by history teachers, who have a unique mission of supporting students' civic identity and competencies of democratic culture. The feedback from Ukrainian educators is helpful to understand their attitudes to memory policy and their role in history education development in Ukraine over the years of independence as well as their reflections in ongoing discussions on the need for school history reforms in war times. Promoting the responsible teaching of history, which encourages critical examination and open discourse on sensitive and contentious topics, plays a critical role in the limitation of political impact on school history. This factor consequently, actively nurtures the endurance of history education reforms and the democratic process sustainability.

Research attention is directed towards the assets of the history narrative which should be actualised for supporting democratic values, integration, and freedom as the fundamental values of a democratic society. History narrative role in the conflict societies in war presents challenges to history education in approaching civic identity. The current critical demand for a history education mission to enhance young people's social competencies has emerged due to recent transformations in the country launched by the Revolution of Dignity and reforms in the field of history education.

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ABSTRACTS
ZUSSAMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Philipp Bernhard and Susanne Popp

From the National to the Planetary Level. History Education in the Anthropocene

The debate about the impact of the Anthropocene has in recent years also reached the field of history didactics. This paper summarises key discussions the Anthropocene has triggered in the historical sciences including the criticism of the Anthropocene. Furthermore, the article analyses and evaluates the existing discussion about key challenges for integrating the Anthropocene into history education. The conclusion makes the case for the long overdue integration of global perspectives into traditional curricula focused on national history as an adequate history education in the Anthropocene.

Die Diskussion um die Bedeutung des Anthropozäns hat mittlerweile auch die Geschichtsdidaktik erreicht. Der vorliegende Beitrag fasst zunächst die wichtigsten Debatten zusammen, die das Anthropozän in der Geschichtswissenschaft ausgelöst hat, einschließlich der Kritik an diesem Konzept. Daran schließt sich eine Analyse und Bewertung zentraler geschichtsdidaktischer Überlegungen zu wesentlichen Herausforderungen für die Integration des Anthropozäns in den Geschichtsunterricht an. Den Abschluss bildet ein Plädoyer für die längst überfällige Integration globaler Perspektiven in traditionelle, nationalgeschichtlich orientierte Curricula als Schritt zu einer adäquaten historischen Bildung im Anthropozän.

Ces dernières années, le débat sur l'impact de l'Anthropocène a atteint le domaine de la didactique de l'histoire. Cet article résume les principales discussions que l'Anthropocène a déclenchées dans les sciences historiques, y compris la critique de l'Anthropocène. En outre, l'article analyse et évalue les principaux défis identifiés liés à l'intégration de l'Anthropocène dans l'enseignement de l'histoire. Sa conclusion plaide en faveur de l'intégration, attendue depuis longtemps, de perspectives mondiales dans les programmes traditionnels axés sur l'histoire nationale, en tant qu'enseignement adéquat de l'histoire à l'ère de l'Anthropocène.

**Enrique-Javier Díez-Gutiérrez, José Sarrión-Andaluz
and Katherine Gajardo Espinoza**

The Oblivion of Democratic Historical Memories in Spanish Education: The Vision of Students from Castilla Y León

This article will present the findings of an investigation into the knowledge that young people have acquired by the end of their secondary education in Spain concerning the repression suffered under the Francoist dictatorship and the anti-Francoist struggle. The investigation involved a mixed methods approach, triangulating qualitative and quantitative instruments and using both convenience and purposive sampling. Results show that students do not always cover the themes in question or, only cover them superficially and the topics looked at, although they appear to be

presented from a neutral or clinical viewpoint contain serious lacuna concerning certain important issues and even omissions. The conclusion is that historical memory must be recovered, as it forms the fundamental basis for democratic citizenship, and indeed, the process of remembering is a test of the quality of our democracy.

In diesem Artikel werden die Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung vorgestellt, die sich mit dem Kenntnisstand befasst, den junge Menschen bis zum Ende ihrer Sekundarschulzeit in Spanien über die Repression während der Franco-Diktatur und den antifranquistischen Kampf erworben haben. Die Untersuchung umfasste einen Mixed-Methods-Ansatz, bei dem qualitative und quantitative Instrumente miteinander kombiniert und sowohl Zufalls- als auch Zweckstichproben verwendet wurden. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Studierenden die betreffenden Themen nicht immer oder nur oberflächlich angehen und dass die untersuchten Themen, auch wenn sie scheinbar von einem neutralen oder «klinischen» Standpunkt aus dargestellt werden, in Bezug auf bestimmte wichtige Fragen gravierende Lücken aufweisen und sogar absichtlich ausgelassen werden. Die Schlussfolgerung ist, dass das historische Gedächtnis wiederhergestellt werden muss, da es die grundlegende Basis für eine demokratische Staatsbürgerschaft bildet und der Prozess des Erinnerns in der Tat ein Test für die Qualität unserer Demokratie ist.

Cet article présente les résultats d'une enquête, menée en Espagne auprès de jeunes à la fin de leurs études secondaires, pour évaluer les connaissances que ceux-ci ont acquises au sujet de la répression subie sous la dictature franquiste et la lutte antifranquiste. Cette enquête s'est appuyée sur une approche mixte, triangulant des instruments qualitatifs et quantitatifs et utilisant un échantillonnage de convenance et un échantillonnage intentionnel. Les résultats montrent que durant leur cursus, les étudiants n'abordent pas toujours les thèmes en question ou qu'ils ne les abordent que superficiellement, et que les sujets étudiés, bien qu'ils semblent être présentés d'un point de vue neutre ou clinique, présentent de sérieuses lacunes, voire des omissions délibérées, sur certaines questions importantes. La conclusion est que la mémoire historique doit être récupérée, parce qu'elle constitue le fondement de la citoyenneté démocratique, et que le processus de mémoire constitue un test de la qualité de notre démocratie.

Olga Dudar, Svitlana Savchenko, Nataliia Petroschchuk

The Relationship Between a Human Being and Nature: How This Aspect Is Provided by History School Education in Ukraine

The article analyses how educational syllabi and textbooks on the history of Ukraine represent topics related to the most important events and phenomena defined by David Christian in his book 'The Great History of Everything' (Christian, 2018). Also, the authors analyse environmental issues in general to draw the attention of colleagues to changing approaches to the study of history at school. For Ukraine, the preservation of statehood, concerning the Russian-Ukrainian war, is currently important, but the environmental consequences of Russia's aggression should not be overlooked by educators. According to the authors' opinion, it should be considered in the context of the environmental policy of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Another important aspect with which the article deals is the analysis of history education reforms. On the one hand, the concept of the New Ukrainian School provides the development of environmental competencies using civic and historical education. On the other

hand, an anthropocentric approach with an emphasis on political history prevails in the programs and on the pages of textbooks. Therefore, it is necessary to involve researchers and educators in broader discussions that would lead to faster and better changes in history education, considering current global challenges.

Der Artikel analysiert, wie Lehrpläne und Lehrbücher zur Geschichte der Ukraine Themen im Zusammenhang mit den wichtigsten Ereignissen und Phänomenen darstellen, die von David Christian in seinem Buch 'The Great History of Everything' (Christian, 2018) definiert wurden. Außerdem analysieren die Autorinnen die Umweltthemen im Allgemeinen, um so die Aufmerksamkeit der Kolleginnen und Kollegen auf veränderte Ansätze im Geschichtsunterricht zu lenken. Für die Ukraine ist derzeit der Erhalt der Staatlichkeit im Hinblick auf den russisch-ukrainischen Krieg wichtig, aber auch die ökologischen Folgen der russischen Aggression sollten von Lehrenden nicht übersehen werden. Nach Meinung der Autorinnen sollte dies im Kontext der Umweltpolitik des Russischen Reiches und der Sowjetunion gesehen werden. Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt, mit dem sich der Artikel befasst, ist die Analyse der historischen Bildungsreform. Das Konzept der Neuen Ukrainischen Schule sieht einerseits die Entwicklung von Umweltkompetenzen durch staatsbürgerliche und historische Bildung vor. Andererseits überwiegt in den Programmen und auf den Seiten der Schulbücher ein anthropozentrischer Ansatz mit Schwerpunkt auf der politischen Geschichte. Dabei ist es notwendig, die Forschenden und Lehrenden in breitere Diskussionen einzubeziehen, die zu schnelleren und besseren Veränderungen in der historischen Bildung angesichts aktueller globaler Herausforderungen führen.

*L'article analyse la manière dont les programmes d'études et les manuels d'histoire en Ukraine présentent des questions liées aux principaux événements et phénomènes identifiés par David Christian dans son livre *Origin Story : « A Big History of Everything »* (Christian, 2018). De plus, les auteurs analysent les questions environnementales pour attirer l'attention des pairs sur l'évolution des approches de l'étude de l'histoire à l'école. Compte tenu de la guerre russo-ukrainienne, la préservation du statut d'État est désormais centrale pour l'Ukraine, mais les conséquences environnementales de l'agression russe ne doivent pas pour autant être négligées par les éducateurs. Selon les auteurs, dans la réforme de l'enseignement de l'histoire, il est nécessaire de prendre en compte tant les concepts les plus récents que les problèmes environnementaux actuels, en analysant principalement, dans les supports pédagogiques, la politique environnementale de l'Empire russe et de l'Union soviétique. Un aspect important de l'article est l'examen de la réforme de l'éducation de l'histoire. En effet, le concept de la nouvelle école ukrainienne envisage le développement de compétences environnementales à travers l'éducation civique et historique. Au lieu de cela, dans les programmes et dans les manuels, c'est une approche anthropocentrique mettant l'accent sur l'histoire politique qui prévaut. Par conséquent, il est nécessaire d'impliquer les scientifiques et les éducateurs dans des discussions plus larges, qui conduiraient à des changements plus marquants et plus rapides dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, en tenant compte des défis mondiaux modernes.*

Katja Gorbahn

Narratives of Progress or Crisis? Democracy Between the Nation, the European and the Global

This article explores the analysis of narratives of progress and crisis using digital text analysis, allowing quantitative and qualitative approaches to inform each other. The study specifically focuses on the narrative portrayal of 'democracy' in a Danish history textbook series, examining the ways in which different modes of narrative employment are associated with the national, European, and global dimensions. The findings suggest that a narrative of democratic progress is located at the national level, while crisis narratives are associated with the European and global levels.

Der Beitrag analysiert Fortschritts- und Krisennarrative mithilfe digitaler Textanalyse, die eine Kombination quantitativer und qualitativer Verfahren ermöglicht. Die Studie konzentriert sich insbesondere auf die narrative Modellierung von ‚Demokratie‘ in einem dänischen Geschichtslehrwerk und untersucht die Art und Weise, in der verschiedene Erzählweisen mit der nationalen, europäischen und globalen Dimension verknüpft sind. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass ein demokratisches Fortschrittsnarrativ auf der nationalen Ebene angesiedelt ist, während Krisennarrative stärker mit der europäischen und der globalen Ebene in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Cet article explore des récits de progrès et de crise à l'aide de l'analyse de textes numériques, permettant aux approches quantitative et qualitative de s'enrichir mutuellement. L'étude se concentre spécifiquement sur la représentation narrative de la « démocratie » dans une série de manuels d'histoire danois, en examinant la façon dont les différents modes de représentation narrative sont associés aux dimensions nationale, européenne et mondiale. Les résultats suggèrent que les récits de progrès démocratique se situent au niveau national, tandis que les récits de crise sont associés aux niveaux européen et mondial.

Evangelia Kalogirou, Georgia Kouseri, Niki Nikonanou, Marina Sounoglou

Oral Testimonies Enhancing Historical Thinking on the German Occupation Period: Kostarazi, Greece

The current study is a contribution to the discussion of oral history as a source that deepens historical understanding and historical thinking. The research set out to shed light on aspects of the lives of people who experienced reprisals from the German Occupation authorities in Greece and is not intended to fill gaps in the official historical narrative. A key research question at the first level was 'how do memories from traumatic events interpret the past and present' of the inhabitants of the mountain village of Kostarazi Kastoria, which was set on fire by the Germans in 1944. Qualitative research methodology was used for data collection and analysis. At the second level, the research findings were linked to education through an educational design. Thus, we define the parameters of an educational framework that utilises accumulated oral testimonies to develop historical thinking skills.

Die vorliegende Studie trägt zur Diskussion über die mündliche Überlieferung als Quelle bei, die das historische Verständnis und das historische Denken vertieft. Ziel der Untersuchung war es, Aspekte des Lebens der Menschen zu beleuchten, die die Repressalien der deutschen Besatzungsbehörden in Griechenland erlebten, wobei es nicht darum ging, Lücken in der offiziellen Geschichtsdarstellung zu füllen. Eine zentrale Forschungsfrage auf der ersten Ebene lautete: Wie wird in Erinnerungen an traumatische Ereignisse die Vergangenheit interpretiert und welchen Sinn ziehen daraus in der Gegenwart des Bewohner der Bergdorfs Kastarasi in Kastoria, das 1944 von den Deutschen als Vergeltung niedergebrannt worden ist. Für die Datenerhebung und -analyse wurde die Methode der qualitativen Forschung angewandt. Auf der zweiten Ebene wurden die Forschungsergebnisse durch ein pädagogisches Konzept mit der Ausbildung verbunden. Auf diese Weise wird ein pädagogischer Rahmen definiert, in dem mündliche Zeugnisse genutzt werden, um die historischen Denkfähigkeiten zu fördern.

La présente étude se veut une contribution au débat sur l'histoire orale comme source d'approfondissement de la compréhension et de la pensée historique. Cette recherche vise à éclaircir les aspects de la vie des personnes qui ont subi des représailles de la part des autorités d'occupation allemandes en Grèce, sans avoir l'intention de combler les lacunes du récit historique officiel. Au premier niveau, se pose une question clé de recherche: « Comment les souvenirs d'événements traumatisants influencent-ils l'interprétation du passé et du présent ? », ceci appliqué aux habitants du village montagneux de Kastarasi Kastoria, incendié par les Allemands en 1944. Des outils de recherche qualitative ont été utilisés pour la collecte et l'analyse des données. Au deuxième niveau, les résultats de la recherche ont été appliqués à l'éducation à travers une conception pédagogique. En effet, il s'agit de fixer les critères qui permettront d'utiliser les témoignages oraux collectés pour favoriser le développement de capacités de réflexion historique dans un cadre pédagogique.

Heidi Eskelund Knudsen

The Anthropocene Question in Danish History Education: A Case Study of Textbooks' Historical Narratives

This article examines a selection of textbooks for history teaching in Danish primary school. The aim of the article is to discuss how textbooks' historical narratives, affected by epochal tendencies, deal with the Anthropocene. Theoretically, the article is influenced by L. Qvortrup's conceptual idea of changing epochal tendencies in knowledge paradigms and, also, by posthumanist theory: The first inspires the article's analysis to understand textbooks' historical narrative as part of an ever-changing yet tradition-bound development. The second opens analytically the historical narratives to understand how the narratives respond to the Anthropocene challenge in the light of epochal knowledge trends. In studying five cases, in particular, the article looks for human–non-human relations and narratives of a broader 'we.'

In diesem Artikel wird eine Auswahl von Schulbüchern für den Geschichtsunterricht in der dänischen Grundschule untersucht. Ziel des Artikels ist zu erörtern, wie die von epochalen Tendenzen geprägten historischen Narrative der Schulbücher mit dem Anthropozän umgehen. Theoretisch ist der Artikel von L. Qvortrups konzeptioneller Idee sich verändernder epochaler Tendenzen in Wissensparadigmen und auch von der posthumanistischen Theorie beeinflusst:

Die erste inspiriert die Analyse des Artikels, um die historische Erzählung von Schulbüchern als Teil einer sich ständig verändernden und doch traditionsgebundenen Entwicklung zu verstehen. Die zweite öffnet analytisch die historische Narrative, um zu verstehen, wie die Narrative auf die Herausforderung des Anthropozäns im Lichte der epochalen Wissenstrends reagieren. In der Untersuchung von fünf Fällen sucht der Artikel insbesondere nach menschlichen und nicht-menschlichen Beziehungen und Erzählungen von einem breiteren 'Wir'.

Cet article examine une sélection de manuels pour l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles primaires danoises. L'objectif est de discuter la manière dont les récits historiques, affectés par des tendances d'époque, traitent de l'Anthropocène. D'un point de vue théorique, l'article est influencé par l'idée conceptuelle de L. Qvortrup sur le changement des tendances d'époque dans les paradigmes de la connaissance, ainsi que par la théorie post-humaniste. La première inspire l'analyse de l'article pour appréhender le récit historique comme faisant partie d'un développement en constante évolution et pourtant lié à la tradition. La seconde présente analytiquement les récits historiques afin de comprendre comment ils répondent au défi de l'Anthropocène à la lumière des tendances d'époque en matière de connaissances. En étudiant cinq cas particuliers, l'article se met à la recherche des relations entre humains et non-humains et des récits d'un « nous » plus large.

Urte Kocka

The Anthropocene and New Challenges for Teaching History

In the Anthropocene, referred to as a new epoch, research is being conducted, to show the extent to which humans, by exploiting nature for better living conditions become themselves a geological force and are changing nature in such a way that it is becoming a threat to human survival. The increasing consumption of fossil energy sources causes climate change and natural disasters. The UN Agenda 2030 calls for sustainable economic management in order to protect nature and mankind. History lessons can support these demands, declare them as important aims and show, when dealing with historical topics, the way in which human activities have damaged nature and the environment. Thereby also new thinking about new time dimensions as 'planetary time' and 'planetary thinking' are taken into account, with which history and history teaching should deal with in a new way, interdisciplinarily supported by physics, chemistry, biology. The promotion of sustainable acting can give hope for reversibility and avoidance of environmental damage and may support more responsibility for the globe.

Im Anthropozän, als neue Epoche bezeichnet, wird erforscht, wie sehr der Mensch durch die Ausbeutung der Natur zwecks besseren Lebens selbst zu einer geologischen Macht wird und die Natur in einer Weise verändert, dass sie zu einer Bedrohung für die menschlichen Lebensbedingungen wird. Der steigende Verbrauch fossiler Energiequellen bewirkt Klimawandel und Naturkatastrophen. Durch die UN-Agenda 2030 wird nachhaltiges Wirtschaften zum Schutz von Natur und Mensch gefordert. Der Geschichtsunterricht kann diese Forderungen unterstützen, sie als wichtiges Ziel deklarieren und bei der Behandlung historischer Themen zeigen, in welcher Weise menschliches Handeln Natur und Umwelt geschädigt hat. Dabei ist ein neues Denken zu betonen, denn neue Zeitdimensionen sind zu berücksichtigen, planetares Denken' und 'planetarische Zeiten', mit denen Geschichte und Geschichtsunterricht neu umgehen sollten, interdisziplinär unterstützt durch Physik, Chemie,

Biologie. Die Förderung von neuen Einsichten und nachhaltigem Handeln kann Hoffnung auf Reversibilität und Vermeidung von Umweltschäden machen.

L'Anthropocène, appelé nouvelle ère, démontre dans quelle mesure l'homme, en exploitant la nature pour mieux vivre, devient lui-même une puissance géologique et modifie son environnement naturel de sorte que celui-ci devient une menace pour les conditions de la vie humaine. L'utilisation croissante de sources d'énergie fossile provoque des changements climatiques et des catastrophes naturelles. L'Agenda 2030 des Nations unies appelle à une gestion durable pour protéger la nature et l'homme. L'enseignement de l'histoire peut soutenir ces exigences en montrant, lors du traitement de thèmes historiques, de quelle manière l'action humaine a endommagé la nature et l'environnement. De nouvelles dimensions temporelles sont également prises en compte, comme la « pensée planétaire », que l'histoire et l'enseignement de l'histoire devraient aborder de manière nouvelle, avec le soutien interdisciplinaire de la physique, de la chimie et de la biologie. La promotion d'un comportement durable peut donner l'espoir d'une réversibilité et d'une prévention des dommages environnementaux.

Oliver Mayer-Simmert

Open Educational Resources in History Education: An Example of a Quality Assessment From History Didactics Point of View

This article is devoted to a special category of teaching and learning resources that has received more attention from the research community in the last years: It is about 'Open Educational Resources' (OER). The article explores the question of which criteria are decisive from the perspective of history didactics in order to be able to evaluate an OER as 'good.' It presents a quality grid to support history teachers in analysing and evaluating open educational resources taken from the internet that can be discussed in the discipline. In terms of methodology the aim is here to divide central and consensual findings from the history didactic research literature for the target group of history teachers.

Dieser Artikel ist einer speziellen Kategorie von Lehr- und Lernmittel gewidmet, die in den letzten Jahren mehr Aufmerksamkeit von der Forschung erhalten hat: Es geht um 'Open Educational Resources' (OER). Der Artikel geht der Frage nach, welche Kriterien aus Sicht der Geschichtsdidaktik entscheidend sind, um eine OER als 'gut' bewerten zu können. Er stellt ein Qualitätsraster vor, das Geschichtslehrerinnen und -lehrer bei der Analyse und Bewertung von offenen Bildungsressourcen aus dem Internet unterstützt. Methodisch geht es hier darum, zentrale und konsensfähige Erkenntnisse aus der geschichtsdidaktischen Forschungsliteratur für die Zielgruppe der Geschichtslehrerinnen und -lehrer abzuleiten.

Cet article est consacré à une catégorie particulière de ressources d'enseignement et d'apprentissage qui a fait l'objet d'une attention accrue de la part de la communauté des chercheurs au cours des dernières années : les Open Educational Resources (OER), ou Ressources Éducatives Libres (REL) en français. L'article explore la question des critères décisifs permettant d'évaluer une REL comme étant « bonne » du point de vue de la didactique de l'histoire. Il présente une grille de qualité afin d'aider les enseignants d'histoire à analyser et à évaluer les ressources éducatives libres tirées d'Internet. En termes de méthodologie, l'objectif

est ici de traduire les résultats centraux et consensuels de la littérature de recherche en didactique de l'histoire, pour le groupe cible des enseignants d'histoire.

Jacques Ngong Atembone

How Should History Teaching in Cameroon Respond to the Arrival of the Anthropocene Era?

The aim of our reflection is to define the theoretical tools that will enable the teaching of history in secondary schools in Cameroon to prepare learners to face up to the beliefs that are accelerating environmental degradation. This perspective is in line with the 17 sustainable development goals, in particular ODD4, which aims to combat poverty through inclusive, quality education. Using a qualitative, explanatory approach, we analyse data collected from history inspectors and teachers in Cameroon. The analysis shows that the aim of history teaching in Cameroon is to ensure that learners develop a cultural, civic and patriotic awareness. The integration of eco-history represents a challenge for teachers. But it will have the merit of developing a historical perspective on ecological facts that will help build empathy and remorse as structuring mechanisms for present and future human actions.

Ziel unserer Überlegungen ist es, theoretische Instrumente zu definieren, die es dem Geschichtsunterricht an weiterführenden Schulen in Kamerun ermöglichen, die Lernenden darauf vorzubereiten, sich mit Anschauungen auseinanderzusetzen, die die Umweltzerstörung beschleunigen. Diese Perspektive steht im Einklang mit den 17 Zielen für nachhaltige Entwicklung, insbesondere mit ODD4, das darauf abzielt, Armut durch inklusive, hochwertige Bildung zu bekämpfen. Mit einem qualitativen, erklärenden Ansatz analysieren wir die von Geschichtsinspektoren und -lehrpersonen in Kamerun erhobenen Daten. Die Analyse zeigt, dass das Ziel des Geschichtsunterrichts in Kamerun darin besteht, sicherzustellen, dass die Lernenden ein kulturelles, staatsbürgerliches und patriotisches Bewusstsein entwickeln. Die Integration der Öko-Geschichte stellt eine Herausforderung für Lehrende dar. Sie hat jedoch den Vorteil, dass sie ökologische Fakten mit einer historischen Perspektive deutet, was dazu beiträgt, Empathie und Schuldbewusstsein als Strukturierungsmechanismen für gegenwärtige und zukünftige menschliche Handlungen zu entwickeln.

L'objectif de notre réflexion est de définir les outils théoriques qui permettent à l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école secondaire au Cameroun de préparer les apprenants à faire face aux croyances qui accélèrent la dégradation de l'environnement. Cette perspective cadre avec les 17 objectifs de développement durable de l'ONU, notamment l'ODD4 qui entend lutter contre la pauvreté à travers une éducation de qualité et inclusive. Par une approche qualitative de type explicatif, nous analysons les données recueillies auprès des inspecteurs et des enseignants d'histoire au Cameroun. Il en ressort que le sens de l'enseignement de l'histoire au Cameroun vise à assurer une construction culturelle, civique, patriotique et d'éveil chez les apprenants. L'intégration de l'éco-histoire représente un challenge pour les enseignants. Mais elle aura le mérite de développer une perspective historique des faits écologiques qui permettrait de construire l'empathie et le remords comme mécanismes structurants des actions humaines présentes et futures.

Anu Raudsepp, Andres Andresen

Nuclear War as a Global Problem in Post-cold War Estonian History and Civics Textbooks

Global problems occupy an important place in a globalising world – they are worldwide threats to humankind, the overcoming of which requires collective efforts of either all humanity or of the populations of large regions. Global problems are mostly divided up into two categories as social problems (including the threat of nuclear war and terrorism, population issues) and environmental problems. The threat of nuclear war as a global problem was very topical at the time of the acute confrontation between East and West during the Cold War. This threat disappeared for some time after the Cold War in the 1990s but has returned in connection with 21st century terrorism and the intensification of a new East-West confrontation due to Russia's aggressive foreign policy. Education in history and civics can shape the kinds of value judgements that citizens and future new politicians and leaders formulate. This would help to secure peace and freedom, and to protect life. Both subjects expand upon similar topics in the past and the present. The destructive effect of the use of nuclear weapons for our planet and all of humanity is therefore a very important topic that demands greater attention. The threat of nuclear war is a global problem. Its discussion in history and civics textbooks contributes to international cooperation based on the experiences of various countries.

In einer sich globalisierenden Welt stehen globale Herausforderungen im Mittelpunkt - globale Bedrohungen für die Menschheit, die gemeinsame Anstrengungen der gesamten Menschheit oder der Bevölkerung großer Regionen erfordern. Globale Herausforderungen werden in der Regel in soziale (einschließlich der Bedrohung durch Atomkrieg und Terrorismus, Bevölkerungsfragen) und ökologische Herausforderungen unterteilt. Die Bedrohung durch einen Atomkrieg als globales Thema war während der Ära des Kalten Krieges und der Ost-West-Konfrontation äußerst relevant. Sie verschwand in den 1990er Jahren nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges vorübergehend aus dem Blickfeld, ist jedoch im 21. Jahrhundert im Zusammenhang mit dem Terrorismus und der neuen Eskalation der Ost-West-Konfrontation aufgrund der aggressiven Außenpolitik Russlands wieder aufgetaucht. Durch Geschichts- und Sozialkundeunterricht kann eine neue Generation von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern und zukünftigen politischen Führungskräften solche Werte entwickeln, die dazu beitragen, Frieden und Freiheit zu sichern und das Leben zu schützen. Beide Fächer befassen sich mit ähnlichen Themen in der Vergangenheit und heute. Die verheerenden Auswirkungen von Atomwaffen auf unseren Planeten und auf die gesamte Menschheit sind daher ein sehr wichtiges Thema, über das mehr gesprochen werden sollte. Die Gefahr eines Atomkriegs ist ein globales Problem, dessen Behandlung in Geschichts- und Sozialkunde-Lehrbüchern durch internationale Zusammenarbeit unter Berücksichtigung der Erfahrungen verschiedener Länder unterstützt werden kann.

Le monde globalisant a mis en avant l'existence de problèmes mondiaux, c'est-à-dire de problèmes qui affectent l'humanité entière et dont les solutions nécessitent des efforts communs de la part de l'ensemble des êtres humains ou des populations de vastes régions. Les problèmes mondiaux sont généralement divisés en problèmes sociaux (y compris le risque de guerre nucléaire ou les questions de population) et environnementaux. Le risque de guerre nucléaire occupait une place centrale parmi les problèmes mondiaux lors de la confrontation des blocs de

l'Est et de l'Ouest à l'époque de la guerre froide. Il s'est estompé dans les années 1990, avec la fin de la guerre froide, pour réapparaître au XXI^e siècle, avec le développement du terrorisme international et l'intensification de la confrontation Est-Ouest à la suite de la politique extérieure agressive de la Russie. L'histoire et l'éducation civique en tant que matières scolaires permettent de modeler les jugements de valeur des citoyens de la nouvelle génération et des futurs dirigeants et hommes politiques, contribuant ainsi à assurer la paix et la liberté et à protéger la vie sur Terre. Les deux disciplines traitent de sujets semblables dans le passé et dans le présent. L'effet destructif de l'arme nucléaire sur notre planète et sur l'humanité est donc un sujet crucial qui devrait recevoir plus d'attention. Le danger d'une guerre nucléaire est un problème mondial ; une coopération internationale basée sur les expériences de différents pays contribuerait au traitement de ce problème dans les manuels d'histoire et d'éducation civique.

Polina Verbytska

History Education in Ukraine in Political Transition

This study provides an analysis of the transformations unfolding in Ukraine between 1991 and the present, specifically focusing on how politics shape the teaching of history. The paper devotes considerable attention to exploring the memory wars, which reveal shifts in history education. The discourse surrounding post-Soviet and Ukrainian national historical narratives, which function as unique components of memory policy throughout the country's years of independence, has been analysed in the article through the lens of history education development. This perspective enables a better understanding of how the dynamically changing political situation in the nation has impacted history education over the last decades. A particular focus is placed on the democratic advancements in education following the Revolution of Dignity, as well as the challenges facing history education during the Russian-Ukrainian war. The article defines the key factors that sustain the continuous democratic development of history education in Ukraine, despite political influences. It is based on an interdisciplinary literature review, curriculum analysis, and textbook examination that illustrate the evolution of history education approaches in the country. The author's observations are supplemented with evidence from Ukrainian educators, reflecting their perceptions and experiences over the past few decades.

Diese Studie analysiert die Veränderungen, die sich in der Ukraine zwischen 1991 und heute vollzogen haben, und konzentriert sich insbesondere darauf, wie die Politik den Geschichtsunterricht prägt. Die Studie widmet sich intensiv der Erforschung der Erinnerungskriege, die Veränderungen im Geschichtsunterricht offenbaren. Der Diskurs um die postsojetischen und ukrainischen nationalen Geschichtsnarrative, die in den Jahren der Unabhängigkeit des Landes als einzigartige Komponenten der Erinnerungspolitik fungieren, wird im Artikel durch die Brille der Entwicklung des Geschichtsunterrichts analysiert. Diese Perspektive ermöglicht ein besseres Verständnis dafür, wie die sich dynamisch verändernde politische Situation des Landes den Geschichtsunterricht in den letzten Jahrzehnten beeinflusst hat. Ein besonderer Schwerpunkt liegt auf den demokratischen Fortschritten im Bildungswesen nach der Maidan Revolution sowie auf den Herausforderungen, denen sich der Geschichtsunterricht während des russisch-ukrainischen Krieges gegenüber sah. Der Artikel definiert die Schlüsselfaktoren, die die kontinuierliche demokratische Entwicklung des Geschichtsunterrichts in der Ukraine trotz politischer Einflüsse aufrechterhalten. Er basiert auf einer interdisziplinären Literaturrecherche, einer Analyse der Lehrpläne und einer

Untersuchung von Schulbüchern, die die Entwicklung der Ansätze des Geschichtsunterrichts in der Ukraine veranschaulichen. Die Beobachtungen der Autorin werden durch Aussagen ukrainischer Lehrender ergänzt, die deren Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen der letzten Jahrzehnte widerspiegeln.

Cette étude analyse les transformations survenues en Ukraine entre 1991 et aujourd'hui, en se concentrant plus particulièrement sur la manière dont la politique façonne l'enseignement de l'histoire. L'article consacre une attention considérable à l'exploration des guerres de mémoire, qui révèlent des changements dans l'enseignement de l'histoire. Le discours entourant les récits historiques nationaux post-soviétiques et ukrainiens, qui fonctionnent comme des composantes uniques de la politique de la mémoire tout au long des années d'indépendance du pays, a été analysé dans l'article sous l'angle du développement de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Cette perspective permet de mieux comprendre l'impact de l'évolution dynamique de la situation politique du pays sur l'enseignement de l'histoire au cours des dernières décennies. L'accent est mis sur les avancées démocratiques dans l'enseignement après la révolution de la dignité, ainsi que sur les défis auxquels l'enseignement de l'histoire a été confronté pendant la guerre russo-ukrainienne. L'article définit les facteurs clés qui soutiennent le développement démocratique continu de l'enseignement de l'histoire en Ukraine, malgré les influences politiques. Il s'appuie sur une analyse documentaire interdisciplinaire, une analyse des programmes scolaires et un examen des manuels qui illustrent l'évolution des approches de l'enseignement de l'histoire dans le pays. Les observations des auteurs sont complétées par des témoignages d'éducateurs ukrainiens, qui rapportent leurs perceptions et leurs expériences au cours des dernières décennies.

AUTHORS' INDEX

Andres Andresen, PhD, associate professor of Estonian history at the Institute of History and Archaeology, University of Tartu, Estonia. *Main research interests:* political, institutional, legal and ecclesiastical history of the early modern and modern Baltic region, as well as history of Baltic historiography, history of ideas, and history didactics; *e-mail:* andres.andresen@ut.ee

Philipp Bernhard, PhD, research assistant at the Centre for Commemorative Culture, University of Regensburg, Germany. *Main research interests:* postcolonial theory and history education, global history and globally conceptualized national history, Big History and the Anthropocene, history, memory and remembrance cultures; *e-mail:* philipp.bernhard@ur.de

Enrique-Javier Díez-Gutiérrez, PhD in educational sciences, full professor at the University of León's Education Faculty, educational organization specialist. *Main research interests:* intercultural education, gender, and education policy; *e-mail:* enrique.diez@unileon.es

Olga Dudar, PhD, assistant professor at the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University. *Main research interests:* history of Ukraine in 19th and early 20th centuries, methodology of teaching history, biographical materials, gender studies and development of museums in Ukraine; *e-mail:* o.dudar@kubg.edu.ua

Evangelia Kalogirou, PhD candidate on pedagogy at the Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Thessaly, Greece. *Main research interests:* citizenship in education, oral history methodology; *email:* evkalogirou@uth.gr

Heidi Eskelund Knudsen, PhD, Associate Professor, Head of HistoryLab, Centre for Applied School Research and lecturer at the Teacher Education Department, both UCL University College Denmark. *Main research interests:* history didactic ethnographic classroom research; curriculum analysis and historical concept learning; contested topics in history education; history teaching material analysis; *e-mail:* hekn@ucl.dk

Georgia Kouseri, adjunct lecturer in history didactics, School of Primary Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. *Main research interests:* history didactics, local and oral history and the use of the past in formal and informal education venues; *email:* kouseri@eled.auth.gr

Katherine Gajardo Espinoza, PhD in education transdisciplinary research, substitute professor at the University of Valladolid and inclusive education specialist. *Main research interests:* education for social justice; *e-mail:* katherine.gajardo@uva.es

Katja Gorbahn, PhD, associate professor at the School of Communication and Culture at Aarhus University, Denmark. *Main research interests:* textbook analysis, history didactics and second language acquisition, identity constructions in historical narratives, digital analysis methods; *e-mail:* katja.gorbahn@cc.au.dk

Urte Kocka, PhD, taught philosophy and history at the Gymnasium as well history didactics at the Free University in Berlin. *Main research interests:* global perspective for history teaching, Anthropocene in history classes, historical consciousness as time consciousness; *e-mail:* ukocka@zedat.fu-berlin.de

Oliver Mayer-Simmet, PhD, academic assistant in history didactics at the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Augsburg, Germany. *Main research interests:* use and analysis of analogue and digital (educational) media, open education resources in history teaching, multi-perspective and intercultural historical learning; *e-mail:* oliver.simmet@philhist.uni-augsburg.de

Jacques Ngong Atembone, PhD in History Didactics, assistant lecturer, Faculty of Education of the University of Yaoundé 1, Cameroon. *Main research interests:* neurodidactic and strategic of learning, technoculture and history teaching, teaching history in Africa; *e-mail:* jacques.ngong@fse-uy1.cm

Niki Nikonanou, associate professor in museum education at the Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Thessaly, Greece. *Main research interests:* theory and practice of museum education, art education in museums (visual arts, theatre, music), social dimension of museums and cultural institutions, issues of participation and inclusion in cultural education, experimental projects, curating; *e-mail:* niknik@uth.gr

Nataliia Petroschchuk, PhD, lecturer at the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University. *Main research interests:* biographical materials, teaching methods and the history of education in Ukraine; *e-mail:* n.petroshchuk@kubg.edu.ua

Anu Raudsepp, PhD, associate professor of history didactics at the Institute of History and Archaeology of the University of Tartu, Estonia. *Main research interests:* national history of education, history textbooks, Estonian contemporary history; *e-mail:* anu.raudsepp@ut.ee

Popp Susanne, PhD, professor emeritus of the University of Augsburg, Germany, where she held a position of the chair of the History Didactics Department. *Main research interests:* global history and globally conceptualised national history in relation to history education and curricula, historical literacy in connection to media and information literacy, theory of history didactics; *e-mail:* susanne.popp@philhist.uni-augsburg.de

José Sarrion-Andaluz, PhD in Philosophy, full professor at the University of Salamanca's Philosophy Faculty. *Main research interests:* political philosophy, intercultural rationality, ecological question and artificial intelligence from a philosophical perspective; *e-mail:* josesarrion@usal.es

Svitlana Savchenko, PhD, lecturer at the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University. *Main research interests:* biographical materials, gender studies and development of historical science in Ukraine; *e-mail:* s.savchenko@kubg.edu.ua

Marina Sounoglou, assistant professor at the Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Thessaly, Greece. *Main research interests*: teacher education, critical pedagogy, citizenship in education, protection and rights of vulnerable groups; *e-mail*: masounoglou@uth.gr

Polina Verbytska, PhD, professor at the Department of History, Museology and Cultural Heritage, Lviv Polytechnic National University, head of *Nova Doba*: All-Ukrainian Association of History Teachers, ambassador of EuroClio. *Main research interests*: cultural memory, museology, history and civic education; *e-mail*: polinaverbytska@gmail.com

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Theory of the History Classroom

This volume proposes a theory of history education in formal classroom settings. Specifically, it aims to outline how the particular setting of the classroom interacts with domain-specific processes of historical thinking. The theory rests on the notion that formal school education is a communicative and social system, while historical thinking occurs in the psychological system of a person's historical consciousness. In the complex interaction of these systems, historical thinking, emotions, communication, media and language are of particular importance. Drawing upon educational theory as well as the theory of history, this theory of the history classroom provides a framework as well as a solid foundation for future empirical research, both for developing research questions as well as for interpreting findings.

edited by Manuel Köster, Holger Thünemann,
Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting

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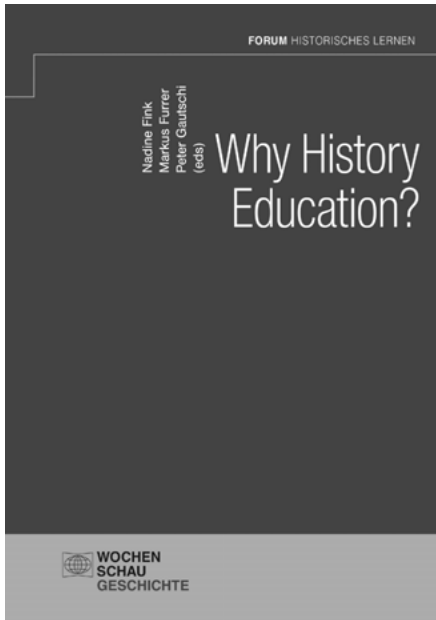
Dr. Manuel Köster, University of Münster

Dr. Holger Thünemann, Professor,
University of Münster

Dr. Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting, Professor,
University of Hannover



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Why History Education?

The anthology addresses the question of why history should be taught in schools and the public sphere from different perspectives. Firstly, the publication contains a series of theoretical reflections and models, for example on the handling of time or the question of identity and history. Secondly, authors from all over the world provide information on how this question is dealt with in everyday teaching practice, be it in curricula, educational media, in everyday teaching, in museums, exhibitions or in social media. Thirdly, new findings from research are presented, for example on teachers' history-specific beliefs. The publication presents a whole series of reasons why history must be taught today and reads as a plea for a competent approach to history in today's society.

edited by Nadine Fink, Markus Furrer, Peter Gautschi
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Dr. Nadine Fink, Professor,
University of Lausanne

Dr. Markus Furrer, Professor,
University of Teacher Education, Lucerne

Dr. Peter Gautschi, Professor,
University of Teacher Education, Lucerne



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