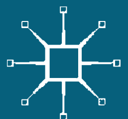
PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF RESEARCH IN HISTORICAL CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Edited by Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger
& Maria Grever



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Mario Carretero • Stefan Berger • Maria Grever
Editors

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Historical Cultures and Education in Transition

Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger, and Maria Grever

The study of the past for scientific, educational and popular purposes in diverse and increasingly hybrid forms is seen in many societies around the world as being of paramount importance. On the one hand, history is a *formal* subject taught in almost all university departments and school curricula (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015 and Köster et al., 2014 for updated international research in various countries). The various *informal* ways of learning in traditional and new popular media—from historical novels, museum exhibitions, heritage sites, to films, television shows and documentaries, websites and apps—have intensified the general attractiveness of history (De Groot, 2009). On the other hand, there have been—and still are—instrumental uses and misuses of history edu-

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cation and heritage projects by national and local governments, churches and religious groups, grassroots movements, and the tourist industry (Black, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998, 2015; Grever et al., 2012). These practices have resulted in clashes, known as "cultural wars" or "history wars" (Anderson, 1996; Ghandi, 1998; Granatstein, 1998; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Haydn, 2012; Macintyre & Clark, 2004; Taylor & Guyver, 2012; Windschuttle, 1994). Despite the variety of interventions and critiques regarding history education—that is, teaching, learning and the making of educational materials—, in countries all over the world, the idea of an eroding national framework still evokes fierce emotions and concern for politicians, policymakers and the public at large (Carretero, 2011). This is not surprising, because academic historiography and history education have always been major pillars in constructing nation-states (Berger et al., 2008).

In many countries, history education is today a highly developed field, which is receiving considerable attention not only from educators, but also from historians, philosophers of history and social scientists in general. Most of the cultural initiatives around history education have generated important debates about the meaning of historical knowledge for society. These debates are crucial for the discussions on the nature of historical knowledge and historical thinking. Nevertheless, it is striking that the research agendas of the historical discipline, the philosophy of history, history education and popular historical culture are still so separate. So far the boundaries have been blurred only in rare instances (Berger et al., 2012; see also Retz, 2015 for an analysis of the interface of academic history, school history and the philosophy of history), although these fields can learn a lot from each other. Hence, the aim of this research handbook is to stimulate interdisciplinary exchange between these fields of research about the construction of historical knowledge and its performative character inside and outside the history discipline, about new educational forms of historical thinking related to theories of history, about the risks and opportunities of the increasing uses of new media by (history) teachers and students and about the impact of the changing population of pupils and students on acquiring and understanding historical knowledge.

In this handbook we will present up-to-date and self-reflexive chapters surveying our knowledge about the current teaching and learning of history, including the production and reception of teaching materials such as history curricula, textbooks, websites and other new media, from an international and interdisciplinary perspective. In this way we aim to develop a dialogue among historians, theorists, history educators, museum experts and heritage curators, policy makers, and any other people interested in how historical knowledge is represented, transmitted, acquired and (re-)mediated among citizens and societies. We hope to arouse intellectual interactions between historians, social researchers (e.g. cognitive and social psychologists) and education scholars about the nature of historical knowledge and thinking, and how it could be better transmitted and shared by citizens and societies. Hence, this handbook offers a unique multidisciplinary discussion of the role and the functions of

historical knowledge in the globalized and pluralist societies of our present. The disciplines of History, Education, Psychology and other Social Sciences are thus brought into dialogue with each other.

In the remainder of this introduction, we will elaborate on the way in which we have structured the handbook and we will provide some comments and reflections for future research. The handbook is divided into four parts on "Historical Culture: Conceptualizing the Public Uses of History", "The Appeal of the Nation in History Education of Postcolonial Societies", "Reflections on History Learning and Teaching", and "Educational Resources: Curricula, Textbooks, Museums and New Media". All parts are characterized by a multidisciplinary approach, involving scholars from History, Education, Psychology and other Social Sciences, and a global approach, engaging scholars with expertise on a wide variety of different countries including the United States of America, Australia, Canada, China, South Korea, Russia, Ukraine, Argentina and different European countries, such as France, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom. A number of chapters deal with cases that are currently very problematic because of their recent historical conflicts. They include Israel-Palestine, South Korea, Turkey, Greece, and historical narratives from the Berbers of the Moroccan Rif region. An internationalization veering towards the global is essential in a field like history education in which various vernaculars have dominated the scholarly landscape for too long.

Historical Culture: Conceptualizing the Public Uses of History

The first part of this handbook covers historiographical debates, theoretical perspectives, historical concepts and selected historical genres. Professional historians are not necessarily the ones who "do" history education nor are they naturally the ones who set the tone in history education (on the notion of professionalism in historical writing see Torstendahl, 2015). The chapters in this volume demonstrate that many agents coming from different directions have influenced history education under historically specific conditions. However, professional historians have been setting the standards of historical knowledge production or at least they have been aiming to do this from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Stefan Berger traces the institutionalization and professionalization of the historical discipline in Europe over the last two and a half centuries. During the nineteenth century, professional history writing became closely aligned with the construction of national master narratives that, in turn, influenced national history education in many parts of Europe in a variety of different ways. Whereas Enlightenment historians were tracing the universal, in particular the idea of universal progress, through time and, to a considerable extent, through national time, the Romantic historians who followed suit thoroughly nationalized their histories by emphasizing what was authentic and specific

about national history. National history education became fashionable in an age of the aspiring nation-state, and the increasing professionalization of history writing throughout the nineteenth century only cemented the claim of (male) historians to be the only ones who could speak authoritatively about the past (Smith, 1998; Grever, 2009; Porciani & Tollebeek, 2012). The greater professionalism of late nineteenth-century historians led them to criticize their Romantic predecessors for not being rigid enough in their source criticism and for peddling in myths rather than history, but it did not prevent them from adopting and perfecting the methodological nationalism that was rooted in Herderian notions of history (on the relationship between myths and history, see also Lorenz, 2008). Historiographical nationalism peaked in the first half of the twentieth century, with the two world wars giving manifold examples of the ways in which historians could legitimate, through their writings, acts of genodice, ethnic cleansing and war. After 1945 there was, however, no immediate break with the national(ist) narratives that had dominated European history writing for so long. Rather, historians in most nations sought to stabilize traditional national master narratives in the midst of the instability and insecurity about the future in the smouldering ruins left behind by the Second World War. As Berger argues, it was only between the late 1950s and the early 1970s that a "delayed break" with those traditional national master narratives can be observed in many parts of Europe. A more critical stance, that was still very much a national stance, developed and sought to root a more (self)-critical national history. However, by the 1980s historians in a variety of different countries were again promoting forms of national history writing as a means to promote national identity. Berger concludes by arguing that today, in Europe, we are seeing two tendencies that exist side by side: on the one hand we can observe in many parts of Europe the continuing strength of national master narratives, often still used for the purposes of national legitimation, while on the other hand we also have been witnessing attempts by sections of the historical profession to overcome methodological nationalism and national tunnel vision with the help of comparative, transnational and global history writing. Arguably history education today needs both—a more self-reflexive, playful and less identity-oriented national history and a history that transcends the national by focussing on other spaces of historical development. For an extended analysis of the appeal of the nation in history education practices of postcolonial societies, see Part II.

History education has followed a multitude of different and, by and large, still national trajectories, and the chapters in this handbook put a spotlight on some of them. Yet some concepts have been of particular importance in history education. **Peter Seixas** highlights two of them—"historical consciousness", which he sees rooted in a German tradition of history didactics, and "historical thinking", which he traces to debates in the Anglo-world surrounding history education. The differences in meaning produce different consequences for history education. "Historical consciousness" aims to provide orientation in time, as it is based on the assumption of a basic rupture between past, present and

future (Rüsen, 2005). "Historical thinking", by contrast, has led to the development of a range of "second-order concepts", that is, ideas about how we go about assembling historical knowledge. Whereas historical consciousness is concerned with the broader lifeworlds of society, historical thinking is far more school-focussed and pragmatic about how history can be taught in an institutionalized setting riveted with sociocultures fissures, such as class and race. Focussed on issues of curricular reform and hands-on teaching processes in the classroom, scholars in history education operating with the concept of historical thinking have often neglected the philosophical dimensions and wider societal ramifications that are the focus of scholars working with notions of historical consciousness. Yet there are, Seixas argues, some promising examples of work that intersect the two traditions and combine a hands-on teaching focus with exploring its philosophical ramifications. He uses examples from France, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands and Canada to underline his powerful plea to continue work that seeks to combine the German and the Anglo-traditions of exploring, understanding and conceptualizing history education. Seixas finishes his chapter by formulating a set of new challenges for the discipline, including the challenge of universalism and the challenge of a different system of historicity entering the historical stage. Further developments related to "historical thinking" and "historical consciousness" can be found in Part III, particularly in the chapters by Nokes, Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee, and Van Boxtel and Van Drie. (See also Retz, 2015; Seixas, 2015a, b for a detailed overview of how German and British theories of history influence "historical thinking" and "historical consciousness").

Maria Grever and **Robbert-Jan Adriaansen** examine and revise "historical culture", a significant concept that is crucial for understanding the changing relationship of people to the past and the professionalizing historical practice, including (formal and informal) history education and popular historical culture. In their view, the concept embraces both material and immaterial culture as well as academic and popular articulations, narratives and infrastructures (Grever, 2009). Once again we delve into the world of German history and philosophy in which notions of historical culture are firmly rooted. Grever and Adriaansen trace the concept back to debates in the 1970s and 1980s when historical culture was conceptualized as a social practice of dealing with the past that went far beyond professional history writing, involving notions of temporality, reality and historicity. The rise of the concept of historical culture, Grever and Adriaansen insist, had institutional reasons associated with the emergence of German and European history didactics but also intellectual reasons, as poststructuralist ideas and the cultural turn helped the concept to achieve recognition from the 1980s onwards. Due to the popularity of constructivism and memory studies, within the field of history education and didactics of history the interest in the concept of historical culture increased in several European countries. Grever and Adriaansen argue that currently the analysis of historical culture as a dynamic and inclusive concept takes place at the intersection of narrativity and performativity within particular memoryscapes and conceptions

of history (see also Winter, 2010). From such analyses theories of historical culture can be made meaningful for history education, particularly in the context of contemporary multicultural classrooms.

Another concept that is explored in depth in the first part of this volume is that of "historical rights". **Tamar Herzog** analyses claims to territory in Latin America that are steeped in the language of historical rights. She argues that those legal claims had an important impact on the way that history was conceptualized, researched and taught. When the Latin American states emerged from colonialism, they agreed that their borders would be the ones that had existed at the time of national independence but, as Herzog shows, that regulation led to a lack of clarity which resulted in numerous contestations of borders and produced, at times, extreme forms of violence, often in the form of wars. This is where the argument about "historical rights" came in, for reference to "historical rights" sought to end contestation. History was used to clarify and make uncontested what were essentially contested spaces. The language of historical rights also found its way into the school textbooks in Latin America. The importance of that language ensured a prominent place for history as a discipline. It was lavishly supported by governments in Latin America, institutionally and financially, in return for providing historical ammunition in the manifold border conflicts of the continent. The author provides an example of how legal constructions of "rights" that were given a historical foundation produced a particular historical culture and historical practices that imprinted themselves on the Latin American historical profession. Her productive focus on the interrelationship between law and history could well be reproduced elsewhere for different territories of the world.[1]

Historians deal with space and the contestation over space, and they deal with time. However, time and history, defined as change over time, seemed for a very long time almost like natural bedfellows. Time was not much of a subject in historical studies, not even in the philosophy of history (Grever & Jansen, 2001). Things are, however, changing, and the chapter of **Chris Lorenz** focusses on the diverse ways in which historians have of late made time into a topic and conceptualized time. The historization of time conceptions is indeed timely and comes from a variety of different theoretical, disciplinary and professional presuppositions. Lorenz reviews several of those attempts commenting in particular, first, on the close link between modernity and an alleged orientation towards the future, and, secondly, on the notion that we are facing an acceleration of time as we move from the beginnings of modernity to hyper-modernity or postmodernity. Postmodern ideas had a particularly profound impact on conceptions of time in that they questioned the linear progressivity of time. The issue of periodization, acute in diverse forms of history education (Grever & Ribbens, 2004; Wilschut, 2009), necessitates thinking issues of time and space together. History, as Lorenz argues, cannot do without periodization—it is a fundamental way in which to make sense of stories in time (see also Jansen, 2010: 326–329, 357–360).[2] With the dominance of national history we have a multitude of periodizations that are

oriented towards "national time". However, all such periodizations only make sense within specific time-space frameworks that need to be contextualized with other time-space frameworks which will relativize their validity and allow the historian to ask comparative questions about the similarities and differences across time and space.

The issues surrounding questions of "historical time" and the other conceptual issues discussed in previous chapters are relevant not only to history-writing, but also to a variety of popular genres of history cultures. The following three chapters in this first section of the volume deal with three such genres—history museums, history painting and history in film. **Marisa González de Oleaga** explores the intricate relationship between museums, as places that often negotiate, represent and depict stories about identities, and democracy as a political system in which diverse sets of identities seek representation. In particular national museums have been extensively studied in Europe (Aronsson & Elgenius, 2015; Macdonald, 2013; Porciani, 2012). The formation of subjectivities through museum exhibitions is often related to the socialization and indoctrination of citizens. Identity politics, for better or worse, has often served as the basis for democratic rule in modern societies, but it has also been a weapon in the arsenal of those political forces opposed to democracy. Hence forms of representation of identity in historical culture are related to questions of democracy. Oleaga explicates her argument with a close analysis of the Museo de America in Madrid that she sees not primarily as a museum about Latin America but more as a museum about Spain. What is more, the exhibition and its organization are still derived from the Franco dictatorship. Its juxtaposition of Spain and the indigenous populations of Latin America is done in such a way as to imply the civilizing superiority of the Spanish colonizers over the colonized. Spain becomes, through the narrative inscribed into the museum, the exhibition, the architecture and the surroundings of the museum, some kind of "mother" of all Latin American nations. Conflict is silenced and differences are overwritten by the language of progress—all find their teleology in the civilizational standards set by the Spaniards. Additional issues related to historical museums as educational devices can be found in the chapter of Asensio and Pol (Part IV).

If museums help to construct national histories so does history painting. **Peter Burke** here reviews the great tradition of historical painting in nineteenth century Europe and the Americas (see also Wintle, 2009). Whereas scenes from classical antiquity originally dominated history painting, scenes from national history came increasingly to the fore as the nineteenth century progressed. What is more, whereas important leaders of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were often portrayed as though they had been ancient Greek or Roman figures, in the nineteenth century, the national leaders were portrayed as contemporaries leading to what Burke describes as a revolution in history painting. National heroes, from the worlds of politics, economics, the military, culture and the sciences, became popular subjects as were canonical events, such as battles, moments of constitutional change or the colonization of new territo-

ries. Privately and publicly commissioned history paintings were glorifying the national past, often with a view of implicating specific future horizons of expectation for the nation. Engravings and illustrations were to popularize famous history paintings, for example in school textbooks or in the increasingly popular genre of "illustrated histories" that often had an educational purpose. Burke distinguishes between six different modes of interpretation in history painting: epic, tragic, anecdotal, realist, critical and allegoric. Painting in a critical mode was, as Burke admits, extremely rare in the long nineteenth century, as most painters had apologetic motives for their paintings seeking to please those who had commissioned them. One of the most interesting modes is the anecdotal one, as it is portrayed by Burke as the forerunner of a kind of "history from below" approach in painting. Burke concludes his survey by emphasizing the power of historical painting in the nineteenth century, reminding us that an image could indeed express far more than mere text in a far more powerful way (Burke, 2001). The specific role of historical images as cultural and educational tools for history learning and teaching can be found in Part III, particularly in the chapters of Tsyrlina-Spady and Lovorn; Klein; Haydn and Ribbens.

Burke calls history painting the equivalent of television in the nineteenth century. It is hence appropriate that his chapter is followed by **Wulf Kansteiner's** contribution on history films. Kansteiner starts out by reminding us of the long-term fraught relationship between professional history writing and film. The former looked upon the latter with dismay, accusing it of falsifying history and of misleading people with regard to the historical record. Professional historians considered themselves as the only guardians of the past who could provide a reliable and authoritative account of "how it actually happened". The warriors of the holy grail were, however, stung and annoyed by the simple fact that the masses did not necessarily follow them but that they were easily seduced by the moving pictures. Only in the 1970s did professional history begin to deal with film in a more serious and less paternalist, high-handed way, as a separate sub-field of historical investigation of film became institutionalized—with their own journals, book series, professorships and other paraphernalia of professionalization. However, this sub-field hardly reached the mainstream of the historical profession, and, according to Kansteiner, until today historians still struggle with film, either reducing it to a mere historical source or quibbling over the factual correctness of representations of the past in film.

Film was often portrayed as misleading and manipulative—a danger to the nuanced historical judgement that could, of course, only be provided by professional historians. The latter's prejudices, so Kansteiner, vis-à-vis film also extend to other forms of visual media, such as video games. Yet the rejection of visual media and in particular film by historians stands in inverse relation to film's power over the collective imagination which far outweighs the influence of historical writing. History film and history as a professional practice seem to be based on mutually exclusive practices. Thus, Kansteiner argues that film experts will take advice from professional history but turn a story into an emotional rollercoaster that has the power to seduce its audiences. History experts

often start with an emotional encounter with the remnants of the past but transform this into a cerebral exercise sucking out all the emotions initially invested in their encounter with "the sources". The scepticism towards film amongst professional historians even extends, Kansteiner argues, to the field of public history. Film fares better, Kansteiner argues, in education departments where film is often enthusiastically endorsed as a teaching aide. No medium, educationalists argue, is better suited to evoke sympathy, but also engender productive controversy and bring out emotional responses than film. Film, Kansteiner argues, is interested in how the past felt like, not in why something happened. The move from why to how explains the hold of film over social memory (see also Landy, 2001). And, Kansteiner concludes provocatively, this is also the reason why the appropriate place to discuss filmic representations of the past is not the academic discipline of history but the academic discipline of memory studies.

History films are part and parcel of a wider popular historical culture that is the subject of examination in two chapters, one by **Barbara Korte** and **Sylvia Paletschek**, and the other by **Antonis Liakos** and **Mitsos Bilalis**. They conclude the first part of this handbook. Korte and Paletschek provide a helpful overview of concepts and theories with which popular representations of the past have been approached in a variety of historical disciplines, including, of late, cultural studies. They point out that "public", "applied" and "popular" history are all terms used often synonymously although they also may contain subtle differences. Whilst popular forms of history have been enjoying a wonderful run over the past 20 years or so, they have been with us for a very long time and are by no means children of the digital age. Hence Korte and Paletschek also remind us in their chapter of the long-term trajectories of popular historical representations ranging back deep into the nineteenth century. They have, again for a long time, interacted in complex and often contradictory ways with professional history writing. Using the case study of the recent centenary of the First World War, Korte and Paletschek provide a clear example of such interaction. Overall, the authors conclude that popular history should be seen as a largely distinct sphere of knowledge production about the past which is far more sensitive to the needs and desires of its audiences than professional history writing. School textbooks, they argue, also take on board more and more popular forms of history, as the latter promise a more engaging representation of the past to which school children can relate more easily than professional forms of history writing. This, they suggest, points to a wider societal function of popular history—to interest people in history that professional history writing does not reach. The chapters by Klein as well as Haydn and Ribbens in Part IV also provide related analysis about these issues.

Liakos and Bilalis in their chapter pick up the latter point and ask why certain histories and stories about the past get actualized in wider publics under historically specific conditions while others lie dormant. What is it, in other words, that brings history alive in popular culture? How are fragments of the past handled in the present? The past, Liakos and Bilalis show, has its own,

often toxic life that is difficult to control by those seeking to employ the past for their present-day concerns and campaigns. Using the metaphor of the Jurassic Park, they compare the past to the dinosaurs over whom humans lose control and who acquire a life of their own scaring and threatening those who once thought themselves masters over them. The all-pervasive presence of the past in the contemporary world is partly to blame for the sense of insecurity that arises from a lack of knowledge which part of the past will become activated in social memory at any given moment of time. Feelings and passions drive this thirst for history far more than a longing to know and a willingness to come to terms with the past. Emotion, not cognition, is the driving force of our relationship with the past. Historians, the authors argue, cannot stand aloof from the actualizations of the past in the present, but should take a stance in these debates, whilst at the same time reflecting their own positionality. Historians, in other words, need to take seriously their role as public intellectuals (Berger, 2016). Things are complicated by the fact that not all actualizations of the past are brought about by professional or lay human historians. In an increasingly digital age, objects and things take on an active role, sometimes independent of their human creators and partake in the exercise of actualizing the past—a veritable Jurassic Park indeed. Liakos and Bilalis see "virality" as the defining characteristic of contemporary historical culture which produces meaning in the digital present. Thus the "virus" rather than the "dinosaur" is the animal to watch in our contemporary Jurassic Park of historical culture.

The Appeal of the Nation in History Education of Postcolonial Societies

Both professional history and school history have been grafted onto the "spiritual body" of the nation, as presented in the chapter by Berger (Part I). From the late eighteenth century onwards, the nation was a powerful social framework that fuelled the grand *narrative* of historiography for more than two hundred years. With the challenges to the nation-state by processes of Europeanization and globalization, the practices of cultural transmission and history education based upon notions of nation have become the issue of often hot disputes (Grever, 2007). Hence, recent academic debates about history and history teaching in many parts of the world have been characterized by high levels of politicization around strongly contested calls to develop a common (often national) body of historical knowledge. Seemingly, the debates are about the control over historical contents, but their true object is to remedy the decomposition of national identity in an age of Europeanization, globalization and mass migration (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodrírguez-Moneo, 2012). Part II focuses on the continuing strong appeal of the nation in history education today. The authors analyse how even in contemporary postcolonial societies the national framework still shapes history curricula and history textbooks often without deconstructing their colonial and racial contexts. That is not surprising,

as national historiographies of Western countries for a long time have excluded colonial experiences and ignored the colonial bias of concepts such as the "free citizen" (Stoler, 1995). Several chapters deal with contested or disintegrating nations, such as Argentina, Greece, Morocco, South Korea and Quebec. In his chapter on the teaching of national history in Quebec, **Jocelyn Létourneau** argues that for many stakeholders the production of a cohesive narrative about the past, its dissemination among the population and its transfer to young people in particular appear to be an excellent way to inoculate the nation against the germs of its potential disintegration. According to **Létourneau** the challenge is to construct cohesive and recognizable national narratives that still offer openings for other perspectives and options. See also Rosa and Bresco and Carretero in Part III for debates on this issue of goals of history education.

Tina Van der Vlies, in her chapter on the persistence and change of national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks, points to the intrinsic dynamic character and the intertextuality of textbooks. In this sense, she shed new light on history textbook research. Apart from influences of national governments and academic historiography, history textbooks also incorporate fictional products such as poems and other literary genres, which perpetuate stories generated by older narrative templates (Wertsch, 2004; see also Carretero in Part III on master narratives). The chapter scrutinizes the overlooked diverse forms of "echoing" in history textbooks, and the role of fiction as a mediator in national remembrance (Rigney, 2010).

Susan Grindel subsequently argues that history textbooks form "a normative order" that structures the teaching of history. Until now, the normative order of many European textbooks is that national histories obliterate how Western nation-states are built on colonial exploitation, violence and atrocities. If textbooks do pay attention to colonialism at all, then they usually construct it in dichotomous terms of European modernity versus African tradition. One of Grindel's empirical cases is how East German and West German history textbooks have dealt with colonial and postcolonial approaches. Whereas West German textbooks focused on development aid to former colonies and other "Third World" countries, East German textbooks labelled colonialism as a fascist legacy and supported the new African nations' quest for independence. Only from the 1990s did the unified Germany start to acknowledge its own painful colonial past.

Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon analyses the history curriculum of another former—much more powerful—colonizing country: France. Traditionally French history teachers and textbook writers in secondary education avoid sensitive issues, certainly about the colonial past in North African countries. Although particularly the Algerian war of independence had an enormous impact on society, generating various political movements related to that war, it took a while before these events were somehow integrated into the French history curriculum. Since the late 1970s, the *nationalistic* narrative regarding colonization disappeared. History textbooks started to insert written documents and other sources on French or European colonization, which also presented

negative effects. Current textbooks mention that the French army used torture in dealing with Algerian patriots. Nevertheless, although the official curriculum includes topics about European and world history, the underlying focus remains on France and French discourses of universalism and human progress. In contrast to Germany, postcolonial theory has had little impact so far. But Tutiaux-Guillon shows that the relations between school history, youth identities and social memories in France are currently of key importance for deciding what to teach and how to teach it. It seems that the terrorist attacks and murders of *Charlie Hebdo* journalists and Jews in January 2015 and also the terrorist murders in Paris of November 2015 have reinforced the relevance of these relations. In her view there are opportunities for didacticians to stimulate curricular changes which introduce contested issues related to the past in a context of apparently growing diversity.

From an opposite viewpoint, that of the former colonized people in North-Africa, **Norah Karrouche** explores the construction of national narratives of "decolonized" societies. Recent developments in the Maghreb known as the "Arab Spring" have put the new national narratives high on the region's political agenda. She questions to what extent those "new" national narratives in Morocco are truly decolonized by focussing on the persistence of the "Berber issue" in national historical culture and history education in particular. After independence in 1956, the Moroccan nationalist movement and monarchy imposed a national identity that was both Arab and Muslim, but failed to incorporate Berber identity because the Berbers had become too closely associated with the colonizer's legacy, more specifically with its policy of divide-and-rule. In contemporary history and social science textbooks, the narrative about the Berbers' origins has been changed. Berbers are no longer referred to as "*Barbar*" or "*Barbarians*" but solely as *Imazighen*, as "free people", a narrative that grants them the status of indigenousness and replaces the story of the Arab origins of the Berbers.

In the following chapters, the authors elaborate how national histories and national identities are constructed in contested nations that currently experience latent or explicit violent conflicts. They propose alternative educational approaches to overcome nationalist history education that is all too often based on the exclusion of cultural and ethnic minorities **Karina V. Korostelina** analyses the role of conflicting mythic narratives in the construction of identity and power in Ukranian history education. She presents the research results of semi-structured interviews with history teachers, observation in classrooms and textbook research. In the Ukraine, mythic narratives give meaning to national identity and legitimize the power of the ingroup. The outgroup, on the other hand, is an illegitimate agent of nation building, alien to the nation, representing a narrow corrupt subculture. In her chapter Korostelina distinguishes four groups that promote different meanings of ethnic and national identity, involving different positions of power. The *dual identity group* defines national identity as comprising two ethnic groups to justify the equal status of Russians; the *pro-Soviet group* promotes Soviet identity as the most positive national

identity, justifying a return to Soviet order and paternalism; the *pro-Ukrainian group* sees national identity rooted in an authentic Ukrainian culture, justifying the power of the Ukrainians and either the exclusion of the Russians or their complete assimilation; the *multicultural group* endorses the civic meaning of national identity to validate the formation of civic society and liberal democracy. The spread of competing concepts of national identity and structures of power by history teachers and textbooks in the Ukraine contributes to the development of conflict in society and increasing structural and direct violence. However, Korostelina also convincingly argues that history education can be a powerful tool in promoting a culture of peace. It can create a meaning of national identity that is tolerant and inclusive and can support the structure of power that is based on equality and justice. In short, she offers approaches to a more reflective form of national history education.

In her chapter about history teachers in South Korea, **Sun Joo Kang** shows that the Korean public at large associated the term "colonialism" for a long time with Japanese sociocultural suppression and economic exploitation. During the Japanese occupation (1910–1945), the Korean language and the teaching of Korean history were banned. Japanese colonialists attempted to destroy Korean culture and constructed distorted images of Korean historical development. Hence, in Korean history scholarship, colonialism as a subject has primarily been explored in relation to Japanese colonial rule and its production and dissemination of distorted knowledge. In the 1960s, South Korean historians formally proclaimed the need to approach critically the Japanese colonialist historiography. Two decades later, the *minjung* historiography (historiography of the people's history of Korea) used the term "new colonialism" also to criticize the US political and economic interference. In the 1990s, postmodern and postcolonial theories challenged the construction of national history in South Korea. The history textbook system shifted from a state-controlled system to a state-approved system, resulting in the diversification of historical interpretations of events, teaching methods and learning materials. Textbook writers have revised Korean history textbooks. They included diverse analytical categories such as gender and class, and added the historical texts used in the studies of new cultural history and everyday life history. Nevertheless, according to Sun Joo Kang few alternative grand narratives or organizing themes in Korean history have been developed to challenge the "canonized" version of Korean national history. By and large, many textbooks still ignore the multifaceted and ambiguous aspects of bygone eras and in particular they avoid the issue of multiculturalism. They also do not present multiple perspectives on specific historical events thereby limiting the students' ability to analyse issues and develop a more problem-oriented learning.

Hercules Millas' chapter focusses on two countries that have co-constructed their national identities on the negative image of the "demonized" other: Greece and Turkey. Here the (post)colonial context is related to the rise and decline of an old empire. In 1830 the Greeks had rid themselves of the "Turkish yoke" and were intent on state-building using nationalism as an

ideology of integration. The Turks adopted nationalism amidst the crumbling Ottoman empire to build a powerful state in the ruins of that former empire. Despite the enormous differences in historical contexts—not the least religious differences—both countries have adopted similar practices in history teaching aimed at the construction of a strong nation-state. The similarities in the fields of historiography, history teaching and national identity result from adaptations of comparable developments in Western Europe. The emerging history narratives in both countries focussed on the supposed "historical truth". This focus on what was "real" and what was "true" could, however, neither secure a harmonious agreement about the past between the two countries nor within each country. Despite some attempts in both Greece and Turkey to make the history curricula in the 1960s and 1970s less antagonistic, the historical role of the Ottomans is to this very day an issue of fierce debate between "patriots" and "liberals". Millas proposes in his chapter several practical approaches to transcend a narrow-minded nationalist history education: do not avoid sensitive topics, challenge the discontinuity of the nations, pay attention to the differences within each nation and use the other nation as an example. The chapter by Maier (see Part IV) presents studies about the impact of common textbooks in nations with present violent conflicts.

Alicia Barreiro, José Antonio Castorina and **Floor van Alphen** focus on the portrayal of colonialism in Argentina on the basis of a historical event: the "Conquest of the Desert", a military campaign of the government that lasted from 1874 to 1885. This campaign has played a pivotal role in the construction of the official national master narrative in Argentina. However, recent scholarly insights have questioned this master narrative. Although the traditional view is still present in history textbooks, museums or monuments, it conflicts with a revisionist narrative that emphasizes the slaughtering and enslaving of indigenous people perpetrated by the Argentine State. Indeed thousands were massacred while others were sold to the new landowners. The survivors were forced to neglect their culture and to assimilate to the dominant power. To be able to understand how Argentine people deal with these contradictory representations of the past, the authors use a theoretical framework related to the social representation of history. Within this framework they discuss the contribution of the concept of "cognitive polyphasia" (the dynamic co-existence of distinct, sometimes incompatible modalities of knowledge and views in one person or collectivity) in formal and informal learning and in understanding controversial processes of the past. According to the authors, the new narrative constructed by historiography and other scientific disciplines has hardly influenced Argentine collective memory, which is built upon the traditional hegemonic narratives that, for more than a century, have been built into most school textbooks used by history teachers. They argue that academic knowledge of this violent event does not guarantee the transformation of individual and collective remembering. The authors advocate interventions in students' history learning that would transform common sense knowledge into a disciplinary knowledge of history. Becoming aware of various perspectives can

help students (and teachers) to critically reflect on the national past. Yet, the denaturalization of their national past involves a transformation of social identities. An analysis of the impact of historical concepts and narratives on these identities can also be found in chapters by Rodriguez-Moneo and Lopez as well as Carretero (see Part III).

In the last chapter of this section **Andrew Mycock** evaluates the impact of national historiography on curriculum content and textbook production, pedagogical development, and the politics of identity and memory in the current postcolonial world. A common feature amongst many postcolonial states in the immediate period after decolonization was cultural amnesia. They developed national historiographies without any critical exploration of the end and perceived failure of the "mission civilatrice" (civilizing mission) and its coercive and exploitative motivations and practices. Probably, this is the reason that national and colonial history have remained largely segregated. This compartmentalization continues to fracture the resonance of colonial past while also reproducing racialized exceptionalisms that exclude many postcolonial migrants (Bijl, 2012; Legêne, 2010). For instance, in the Netherlands, World War II is a significant element and a moral benchmark of national history, whereas colonial violence, often accompanied by racialized ideologies, is written out of nationalized historical narratives that seek to sustain liberal forms of citizenship and nationalism. Until recently, Dutch history textbooks continue to draw on a Eurocentric master narrative framed by social forgetting of slavery and scientific colonialism (Van Stipriaan, 2007; Weiner, 2014).

It is striking that history education in several postcolonizing states focusses on the transatlantic slave trade and slavery rather than colonial violence, as responsibility for the slave trade is framed in transnational rather national terms. According to Mycock, this should be seen as an exception to the rule, as most postcolonial states rejected the centrifugal framing of transnational colonial history education in favour of reductive centripetal national approaches. A "selective myopia" continues to allow postcolonial states to disseminate nostalgic and largely uncritical versions of the colonial past. The dark pages of colonial history, such as colonial violence and the origins of slavery, are overlooked in favour of perspectives that seek to nourish the proposition of civilizing, progressive colonialism and, where possible, peaceful decolonization. Particularly after WW II, the colonial past was considered a closed past.

Reflections on History Learning and Teaching

The chapters in the third part of this handbook focus on processes of historical thinking, approached from cognitive, social and educational points of view. This part is mainly motivated by the conviction that history is not only about substantive content, but also—or perhaps most of all—about historical thinking and reasoning (Seixas, 2015a; Voss & Carretero, 2000; Wineburg, 2001). The chapters range from introducing central theoretical constructs in this field, for example historical problem-solving and historical literacy, to presenting

empirical studies about key aspects of understanding history as a discipline. Special attention is paid to current research about how students and citizens in general understand historical concepts, time, images and narratives. Part III, in other words, presents studies very much related to chapters in Part I but trying to clarify how historical learning takes place within education. History has been playing an essential role in every educational system since its inception as a school discipline in the late eighteenth century. Informal learning devices such as museums have been very common and influential for the last two centuries as well. Critical analyses of that central role and new ideas and projects about how to teach history at school will be offered, specifically involving the relationship between school history and other related educational fields, such as the social sciences. The relationship between informal history learning and new forms of civic and political action will also be taken into account.

First, however, it is important to consider some classic distinctions. Educational studies have traditionally distinguished between what and how to teach. It is equally important to reflect on what for and to whom. Each of these essential questions has received important and renewed attention in the last decades. What and why to teach history in socially challenging times is considered by **Alberto Rosa** and **Ignacio Bresco** in their chapter. Their contribution stems from acknowledging that present nation-states are to some extent suffering a loss of political power due to globalization. At the same time, new political agents from diverse ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds compete amongst each other to be recognized as emergent national subjects who claim historical rights based on their collective memories. This is the case for African-Americans in the USA (Epstein, 2009), North Africans in France (see Tutiaux-Guillon in Part II) and the Muslim population all over Europe. Migration is one of the factors producing political and ideological instability in present nation-states. In sum, this is a complicated scenario for history education, because the traditional goal of this subject matter was precisely to make a significant contribution to building traditional national identities via historical master narratives, as it has been mentioned above and analysed in relation to the contents of Parts I and II (particularly chapters by Berger, Létourneau, Van der Vlies, Karrouche, Korostelina, Millas, & Barreiro et al.).

According to Rosa and Bresco, in any democratic society the social pact is based on an equilibrium among *polis* (political institutions), *cives* (the space for the exercise of citizenship), *demos* (the political agent) and *ethos* (the cultural community). Insofar as this equilibrium is getting out of balance new contradictions appear. According to Bauman (2006), the question of what kind of history to teach in these liquid times emerges as an urgent and difficult one. The answer provided by Rosa and Bresco goes in the direction of, first, criticizing the standard national myths as the main and only basis of history education, like other researchers have suggested (Berger, 2012; Grever, 2012). Secondly, the authors advocate a view looking for both a deconstruction and a reconstruction of those canonical contents. They defend the need for three kinds of history education skills: (a) a sense of belonging to a community, including an

identity related to it; (b) democratic values and moral civic commitment and (c) interpretative and argumentative tools needed to critically understand social and political transformations over time.

This kind of proposal is very much in the line with two issues playing an essential role in present debates about history education and historical culture worldwide. These issues are, on the one hand, the need to develop a profound and complex *historical consciousness* (see Seixas in Part I) and, on the other hand, the significant relation of civic and moral education to history learning and teaching (Carretero et al., 2016). Related to these two educational objectives it will be essential to develop that historical consciousness through the teaching of multiperspectivity. But multiperspectivity implies the existance of different subjects. According to Rosa and Bresco, it is extremely urgent nowadays to reflect on the definition and selection of historical subjects and problems that should be tackled in schools. To establish a broader view on diverse national historical subjects would mean to go beyond the national canons and to incorporate heterogeneous views on the national pasts which would be much more in agreement with the present situation of nation-states.

The relation of civic and moral education to the goals and methods of school history, and historical culture in general, is not easy nor straightforward. By the end of the nineteenth century, school history was a moralizing tool designed to indoctrinate national citizens via emotional narratives based on a strong loyalty to the nation-state. This state of affairs continued in most western countries until the middle of the 1970s, and it is still an important part of school history in numerous societies (Foster & Crawford, 2006) (see also chapters by Taylor and Macintyre as well as Tsyrlina-Spady and Lovorn in Part IV).

It has been argued that moral and civic identity approaches may compromise rigour and open the door for a political or ideological manipulation of the past. This manipulation could also be the result of introducing a presentist approach to historical problems and methods. This is precisely one of the main issues considered by **Helen Haste** and **Ángela Bermúdez** in their chapter. They argue that "such concern is not unwarranted, but we cannot ease our worry by simply assuming that academic rigor makes historiography politically disinterested and ideologically neutral" (p. 428). They agree with Seixas' ideas about the recognition of the "porousness between contemporary interests and our narrations of the past" (p. 69, in this volume). In this vein, the relation of moral and history education can be approached in terms of what type of civic issues should be considered. Of course the issue of what kind of pedagogical methods should be used in this approach is also essential. In this sense there is a coincidence between the chapters by Rosa and Bresco and by Haste and Bermúdez. Both of them defend the need to articulate civic issues regarding the implications of past events and historical interpretations for our lives today. In both cases these interpretations should be contextualized in the present transformations of both nation-states and their societies, mentioned above, and the new role of the civic education in agreement with these new problems.

From this point of view, Haste and Bermúdez outline the concept of "New Civics" as a new and renovated attempt to recover the role of political and social agency in present democratic and reflective societies. As it is well known, it is very difficult to maintain a democracy alive if its members do not actively participate in it. In relation to this problem of numerous democratic countries, the "New Civics" is a critical reaction to the traditional view that democratic participation and civic engagement are limited to voting every several years and acquiring a general knowledge of political institutions. On the contrary, Haste and Bermúdez argue for a contextualized take on such participation and civic engagement. Their vision of history education includes a more active role of history education in framing the discussions about social and political problems of contemporary societies through a set of activities related to universal human rights, the discrimination of minorities and the increase of agency among citizens. This conception is strongly related to the ongoing radical transformations of our societies where numerous challenges have been appearing in the last decades, for example, the crisis of the conventional Left-Right spectrum and the demands of both feminist and environmentalist movements. Taking into account these political and cultural scenarios, Haste and Bermúdez consider the need for both new historical contents and new teaching methods in a meaningful alliance of historical and civic education. They align their proposal with a call for historical inquiries based on the understanding of historical evidence using multiple sources of processes of change and continuity and of multicausality (see also the chapters by Nokes and Van Boxtel and Van Drie in Part III). But they also defend that these capacities can be translated into civic competence, fostering the capacities to engage in reflective controversy about value dimensions of public issues. Also, in both chapters dialogue is seen as a central mechanism of generating reflective historical knowledge through both dominant and resistant narratives. This dialogical view can very well give a new outlook for the teaching and learning of history (Bermúdez, 2015), based on the student not as an individual thinker but as a thinker in relation to others.

Rosa and Bresco as well as Haste and Bermúdez defend the need for an identification process with the national past as an essential component of social life. But in both cases their proposal is based on a deconstructed view of national master narratives. This is an important part of their argument, because it forms a middle ground between two antagonistic positions about the role of national identities as educational goals of history education. That is, on one hand the traditional Romantic view of the national past full of emotions and moral dictums and, on the other hand, a rational view on the teaching of school history, based on a disciplinary view of history considering national identities as invented traditions (Lopez et al., 2015).

In his chapter, **Keith Barton** defends the view that any historical analysis has many dimensions in common with social scientific inquiries. This relation and similarity between social sciences and history teaching and learning appeared on the research agenda 20 years ago (Carretero & Voss, 1994), particularly from a cognitive and instructional point of view even though it has not been

always present on history education research interests. It is important to take into account that in many countries historical contents at primary school are integrated in the subject matter of social studies and receive specific attention as history only at middle and high schools. In any case, Barton goes beyond the discussions about curriculum organization and presents a reflection on which theoretical dimensions the two subjects, social sciences and history, have in common in the context of school learning. Barton agrees with the view that historical thinking is an educational objective, defended also by other contributors to this Handbook (see, among others, the chapters by Seixas, Van Boxtel and Van Drie, Rodriguez-Moneo and Lopez). In this vein, Barton develops the dimensions of Perspective, Causation, Agency, Evidence and Concepts. These dimensions were an essential part of the innovative research programme developed at the Institute of Education in London since the 1980s (Dickinson et al., 1984; Shemilt, 1984) and since then they have been an essential part of various attempts to renew the core of history education. New in Barton's chapter is the idea of also applying these dimensions to social science teaching and learning, defending the view that both school and disciplinary social sciences and history have much in common (see the insightful work by Burke, 2005 about the mutual influence between these disciplines in contemporary thought).

Thirty years of constructivist and cognitive studies on knowledge acquisition and learning have demonstrated how important the students' prior representations are for educational purposes (Bransford & Donovan, 2005; Carretero & Lee, 2014). Students' and citizens' minds in general are not *tabula rasa* when they face historical problems in formal or informal contexts. On the contrary, they are very much influenced by their pre-existing conceptions which will be changed successfully or not depending on the quality of the teaching they will be receiving. However, this teaching will have an effect on their minds following and interacting with their initial knowledge. For this reason, attempts to determine that initial historical knowledge are essential. Otherwise, schools and informal learning environments, such as museums, exhibitions and reenactaments, risk having no effect on what people learn about history. The most promising research on these matters is being done through approaches related to Conceptual Change (Vosniadou, 2013) and Social Representations (Moscovici, 2001).

The chapter by **María Rodriguez-Moneo** and **César Lopez** follows the first approach and the chapter by **Dario Páez, Magdalena Bobowik** and **James Liu** follows the second approach. One of the main advantages of the kind of research discussed in the chapter by Páez et al. is that it is based on a quantitative methodology that allows to compare intuitive historical representations of broad samples of citizens from different countries all over the world through their answers to questionnaires. By contrast, the research analysed in the chapter by Rodriguez-Moneo and Lopez is generally based on qualitative–quantitative research focussing on the specific cognitive mechanisms of the change of historical concepts from intuitive views to ideas closer to disciplinary

historiography. Nevertheless, both chapters agree on the following important conclusions:

- Lay historical representations tend to be rather concrete and are based on specific, anecdotal and personalistic episodes. Abstract principles and processes are difficult to understand. The possible transformation and conceptual change from concrete to abstract accounts of history is difficult.
- In this vein, wars and national heroes as well as social and political leaders are seen as having had an enormous influence as initiators of historical change.
- Historical events and problems are predominantly viewed as situated in the West. That is, historical developments are seen from a colonial perspective. Postcolonial views are not that common even in countries with recent postcolonial experiences.
- Causality tends to be seen in a simple rather than complex way. In other words, historical issues are considered to depend on just one single cause instead of considering them in a multicausal way.
- Recent historical events (i.e. occurring in the last 100–150 years) tend to be seen as much more important than remote ones.

A number of specific psychosocial origins of historical representations advanced in the chapter by Paez et al. are important to consider, particularly the influence of belonging to different social groups or generations (See also chapters by Korostelina and Barreiro et al. for common psychosocial research concepts). First of all, it is quite significant that many studies have concluded that people consider historical events to be more significant if they are learnt in adolescence or early adulthood, compared to historical contents learned in some other periods of the life span. A possible reason for this is that this period is crucial for the development of social and cultural identities. Therefore, this identity formation process is affecting the way history is represented by citizens. Also, as it can be expected, different cultural and national groups have different representations of the same events depending on their diverse schooling and socialization experiences (Epstein, 2009). This is particularly important nowadays as immigration processes are intense and increasing. One final comment about the findings analysed by Paez et al. concerns the relationship between specific historical contents and the more general historiographical views. The difference between conceiving historical experiences as circular versus the continuous progress of humankind is a very crucial aspect to be considered. These two different conceptions are directly related to the perspectives on colonial experiences. Different cultural and national groups in the Americas tended to view genocides of the natives in American territories as the price to pay for progress and freedom.

The representation of concepts (see Rodriguez-Moneo and Lopez in Part III) and specific historical events (see Paez et al. in Part III) is important in relation to citizens' prior historical knowledge. Narratives are also essential

because of various factors. First because historical knowledge mostly adopts a narrative format. It is not by chance that theoretical discussions about narrativity have played a central role in historiographical debates in the last decades. Secondly, school history has traditionally found its privileged form in narrative. Most history education practices all over the world, independently of their quality and specific approach, adopt a narrative format.

In his chapter **Mario Carretero** analyses the main advantages and disadvantages of using this format in the context of constructive and cognitive research on historical contents, as well as in relation to developmental psychological theories of narrative abilities. One of the main advantages is the compatibility of the narrative format to the students' minds and narration as a form of history teaching. The main disadvantage is precisely that students frequently consider historical narratives as the past itself instead of cultural constructions about the past. Furthermore, Carretero pays special attention to national historical narratives, as they are common in many societies (see also the chapters by Van der Vlies and Karrouche in Part II). Present research has shown five key characteristics of these national narratives. First, the nation and nationals are established as the main historical subjects of these narratives. They are displayed as if they were timeless and static entities and encountered throughout history. Secondly, the actions of the national group are always judged morally positive in contrast to foreign actions. In other words, the past is presented in a nationalistically and ethnocentrically biased manner. It is also presented in a rather simple way instead of being contextualized in complex social and political scenarios. Thirdly, these national narratives contribute greatly to the process of identification with the proper nation. Fourthly, a conflict over a national territory that stresses its supposed atemporal connection to the nationals is one of the narratives' main themes (Lopez et al., 2015). Paradoxically this common national identity—constituting the subject of national narratives—that is meant to bind people in the past and the present is even included in past events in which the nation and the nationals did not exist at all. This misconnection between the past and present creates a misunderstanding of the nation and national identity. It creates beliefs based on a "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995). Finally, the way the nation is presented, as a historical concept, is essentalist instead of contextualist (see also Rodriguez-Moneo and Lopez in Part III). Carretero's chapter includes research demonstrating that when national historical narratives are not about the own nation, citizens tend to have a more disciplinary take on their content.

So far, we have reviewed the chapters related to *what* history to teach and *why* (Rosa and Bresco), and its relation to moral and civic issues (Haste & Bermúdez) and the social sciences (Barton). We have also considered the chapters about how historical representations, concepts and narratives, form a prior knowledge to be considered for the practice of teaching history in both formal and informal contexts. However, if we would like to improve history education it is also necessary to include present approaches about how to teach historical

contents. This has been analysed by the two remaining chapters of the handbook's third part.

Lis Cercadillo, Arthur Chapman and Peter Lee dedicate their chapter to "historical accounts", which is a second-order concept similar to "evidence" and "significance". Their chapter has a clear relation to the chapters by Grever and Adriaansen as well as Seixas in Part I. They present an overview of the seminal and very influential work carried out at the London Institute of Education in the last three decades, paying attention to similar work developed in other countries, such as China and Spain (see e.g. Cercadillo, 2006; Hsiao, 2005). This research has suggested that students in different cultures may share common preconceptions about how we assemble historical knowledge, even though further research is needed. For instance, students coming from different religious and sociocultural backgrounds may have different—even perhaps incompatible—conceptions of history (see also the chapter by Grever and Adriaansen).

This comparison clearly shows how students from seven to fourteen years of age progress in their ways of considering how historical knowledge is constructed. That is to say, students go from a more empiricist way of looking at the formation of historical knowledge to a hermeneutic view, in which historians' theories and interpretations play an important role. Interestingly, **Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee** introduce new concepts, such as "cognitive dispositions", in their research that is quite close to the work on epistemological viewpoints or epistemic beliefs developed in the cognitive tradition (Kienhues and Bromme, 2011). In this line of work, students beliefs about how human knowledge is constructed have been very influential because they are not just theoretical views about knowledge in general but they also influence the way students learn about specific disciplinary contents like historical ones. This is precisely the working hypothesis developed by Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee in their present work related specifically to historical issues.

The chapter by **Jeffrey Nokes** analyses most of the work carried out in the last 25 years based on the pioneering work by Wineburg (1991; Wineburg & Fournier, 1994) about historical reading and writing in classrooms. As is well known, the endeavour to promote historical thinking has been one of the most influential in our field, along with the attempt to develop historical consciousness (see Seixas in Part I). As indicated by recent reflections on their developments (Retz, 2015; Seixas, 2015a; Seixas & Morton, 2013), both attempts were influenced by the initial British efforts in the 1980s to redesign history education (see **Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee**). That influence was related to the emphasis on educational versions of historiographical methods in the classroom instead of insisting on an excessive amount of historical contents. In the case of Seixas (2004) his project was also influenced by German authors like Rüsen (2004) who developed the idea of the students need to develop historical consciousness. On the other hand, Wineburg (1991) was also influenced by cognitive studies with the expert–novice comparison as one of the main research strategies. The three heuristics commonly referred to and used in all these studies came from a comparison between historians (experts) and stu-

dents (novices). Both groups had to answer a question about what happened in Lexington Green (1775), a famous battle of the American war of independence, using different kinds of primary and secondary sources. The three heuristics are sourcing, contextualization and corroboration. The first is related to the ability of distinguishing what kind of document is being read: a textbook, a letter from the protagonists, a secondary source or any other kind of document. The second has to do with the knowledge about the historical context of the document and the third deals with its capacity of corroborating any possible conclusion about the problem being investigated. These three heuristics form the foundation of historical reading as well as historical thinking because, according to this approach, historians basically work with documents. Based on a review of studies carried out both on reading historical texts and on writing them in secondary school classrooms, **Nokes** presents a systematic and exhaustive comparison of how conventional and reconceptualized history classrooms could be approached in relation to eight different pedagogical dimensions. These are the role of the teacher, the role of the student, the role of assessments and several related dimensions. His chapter also includes a complete review of the very positive results obtained in extensive applied work carried out along these lines. Finally, **Nokes** offers some future perspectives related to the role of social interaction and learning in history classes. One important aspect of that interaction is precisely dialogical activity and this is the main topic of the following chapter.

Carla Van Boxtel and Janet Van Drie criticize the current and past situation of history education where the teacher presents verbalized information in the form of a "ready-made" narrative and students respond through predefined answers. They defend the idea of bringing historical reasoning into the class mainly through dialogical activity. However, according to these researchers this dialogue needs to use the language of the discipline, that is, the strategies and the meta-concepts used by historians. Such a dialogue would, above all, engage students in source work (Wineburg, 2001). **Van Boxtel and Van Drie** argue that dialogue greatly enriches the work in the classroom directed towards historical thinking because it promotes higher order contributions of students, including explanations, justifications and hypothesis-generation, in the context of multiple perspectives and uncertainty. They base their argument on Alexander's (2008) proposal about the critical contribution of dialogue to educational activities relying in turn on theoretical ideas from Bakhtin (1986). **Van Boxtel and Van Drie** identify six pedagogical components of dialogical reasoning for history classrooms:

1. Ask historical questions.
2. Connect events, developments and actions through a historical contextualization.
3. Use substantive historical concepts(facts, concepts and chronology).
4. Use historical meta-concepts.
5. Support claims with arguments.
6. Evidence based on evaluated sources.

The authors maintain that these components are powerful enough to trigger both historical interest in the students and to improve epistemological beliefs about history as a subject matter. They thus help students to understand that disciplinary historical problems have no closed answers already established in a definitive narrative but, on the contrary, that these problems can be investigated and interrogated as ways of inquiring about past societies and looking for different interpretations. Therefore, these efforts try to develop critical thinking and intellectual autonomy among the students using not only reading and writing activities about historical sources in the classrooms, but also an intensive dialogue about them and the conceptual problems they are associated with. These ideas are in line with some recent research (Freedman, 2015) that insists on providing more opportunities for students to develop critical thinking through the introduction of a broader variety of sources and to insert their historical evidence in the context of general interpretations or "frames".

Educational Resources: Trends in Curricula, Textbooks, Museums and New Media

In the previous part, different authors have presented their views on what history to teach, why and how. They discussed what kind of prior historical knowledge students and citizens already possess when they face historical instruction, how this prior knowledge could interact with their learning activities and ultimately modify their historical knowledge and attitudes. The focus has been on how history education evolved from a set of teaching activities based on a rather passive view of the learner to an approach increasingly focussed on higher abilities like thinking and dialogue. Part IV presents an analysis of the different cultural artefacts present in these developing modes of history education. It will cover traditional and new resources for the teaching of historical content. It includes classical topics such as history textbooks, and history curriculum organization and development, including binational initiatives of textbook production as a means for peace and reconciliation. It deals also with informal and very influential new advances in areas such as TV productions and Internet initiatives, showing the increasing influence of visual culture and ICT media. Finally, museums and exhibitions as historical learning environments will also be considered. As mentioned above, these aspects have been considered from a historiographical point of view in the chapters by Burke, Kansteiner as well as Korte and Paletschek in Part I.

This part of the handbook starts with the chapter by **Nicola Brauch** about curriculum design and teacher formation. Even though textbooks have great importance in history education, in any educational system the teachers are the most important actors. For this reason, teacher formation is central to any attempt to improve educational organizations. In general terms, some of the

best education in the world has been successful due to the great effort invested in teacher formation. For example, in some countries high school history teachers need to have a Master Degree in History, but this is not the case at all in many other societies. Also in some countries high school teachers receive an extensive pedagogical preparation, but in others this preparation is very scarce. All these factors influence the way teachers use educational materials and particularly textbooks. Moreover, it is well known that the same textbook can be used in very different ways by different teachers. Therefore, textbook contents need to be analysed in the context of their relation to curriculum design, particularly in countries where either the regional or national curriculum is decided upon by the Ministry of Education or related institutions.

In this vein, the contribution by Brauch, analysing the relationship between teacher education and curriculum design and decisions in western countries is important. The chapter provides some interesting, specific comparisons between Germany and New Zealand and also some examples from other European countries. **Brauch** defends initiatives to make future teachers more independent in how they deal with the curriculum and the textbook, through curriculum-independent specialized academic qualifications. After all, it is to be hoped that the knowledge of the epistemology of history curricula encourages future history teachers to make use of it with content-driven creativity, favouring the student's chances of becoming a reflective citizen in terms of historical consciousness (See also the chapter by Tutiaux-Guillon about the relationship between textbooks and curriculum in the case of France in Part II).

Anthony Taylor and **Stuart Macintyre** elaborate on the relationship between history textbooks and nation-states' regulations about their use and production. In their analysis, the authors compare three specific cases, Australia, the United States of America and Russia. The analysis yields illustrative differences that contribute to the understanding of how modern nation-states exerted different influences on both the textbooks and the curriculum. One of the most important issues is probably the degree of centralization of the educational systems and their curricula. For example, the United States of America curriculum regulations are the most decentralized. Therefore, the Washington administration exerts very little direct influence on history textbooks. By contrast, Russia has a highly centralized educational system, and so the influence of the centralized curriculum is very high. In this particular case, it is exerted by President Putin himself. However, some US states such as Texas have traditionally had a very conservative position on these issues. Texas' influence on historical textbooks has been and it still is considerable, enhancing very nationalistic, religious and traditional historical contents. In any case, this influence is not being exerted through a centralized curriculum but the textbooks themselves. As Taylor and Macintyre point out, this happens because of the existence of three types of textbook culture in developed nations, the pluralistic approach, the adopted textbook approach and the endorsed approach. In the first system, as in Australia, rival publishers compete to have more schools

and teachers using their books. In the second system, publishers aim at being adopted by a particular administration, as in some states in the United States. In the third, the state keeps the right of approving the publication of textbooks, as in Russia. It is important also to consider the influence of publishers as private corporations because the textbooks industry is an extensive business producing enormous profits. In this vein various analyses (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Lindaman & Ward, 2006; Shorto, 2010) have established a clear relationship between the low disciplinary and educational quality of textbooks in the USA and the influence of that business. It is important to note that as USA has a very decentralized educational system, the pressure of publisher corporations is on the local councils because they have to take the final decision on textbooks use (see e.g. www.nytimes.com/2014/11/23/us/texas-approves-disputed-history-texts-for-schools.html?_r=0). Another interesting result of the comparison of these three countries is that the more traditional, nationalist and conservative education systems tend to strongly emphasize empiricism and memory-orientation.

In relation to these conclusions, the chapter about South-Korea by **Hohwan Yang** is very relevant. It represents the new developments in history education in a country where the state had a strong control over history teaching for decades, allowing only one textbook. As a result and in the context of important political and social changes, new practices were initiated at the beginning of the 1990s. Since then, the interest to develop historical thinking has increased among history teachers. The view of historical thinking developed by Yang is close to Wineburg's approach described in the chapter by Nokes. The Korean research is also influenced by British work, for example by Peter Lee. Therefore, a number of relationships between this chapter and the chapter by Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee can have been found. In particular both see the students' historical thinking as a process of construction, in which the representations of the past should be a result of learning and cognitive activities instead of copying textbook and curriculum contents.

Side Wang, Yueqin Li, Chencheng Shen and Zhongjie Meng discuss the history education reform in China. They provide another interesting case of the relationship between curriculum development and textbook policy. These authors examine the main changes that have taken place in the nation recently. They elaborate on the six most important changes. A centralized curriculum for the whole of China has been transformed into diverse curricula in different parts of the country. Of course, this also implies the existence of other textbooks, although the State still controls their production. The historical outlook changed from an explicit and orthodox Marxist view on historical developments in China and the world to broader social and political views in which some democratic values have been included. The new emphasis is on the importance of the learner's activity through different inquiry activities instead of maintaining the traditional emphasis on the passive memorization of school content. Nevertheless, these authors mention the lack of empirical studies on the effects these changes are producing because "nationwide surveys carried

out by the Ministry of Education are still confidential" (p. 668). Finally, the authors also recognize that major unsolved problems include the construction of "an understandable framework to represent global history without patriotism, which has been the master narrative for decades … and the representation of controversial and conflicting views of historical events?" (p. 668).

Among the most important applied contributions made by history education to the current social and political problems in societies all over the world are peace and reconciliation initiatives. Particularly, the attempts made for years by the George Eckert Institute for International Textbooks Research and by NGOs as CDRSEE should be acknowledged. **Robert Maier's** chapter reviews several projects carried out in different parts of the world with the purpose of developing fruitful dialogue between conflictual representations of the past. Historical conflicts and history education have been considered also in chapters by Karrouche, Millas and Barreiro et al. in Part II. But in this case, these conflictive processes imply the work of commissions of historians and history educators for several years. The goal of these dialogues has been to produce some agreement on historical contents either in divided societies or between two nations previously engaged in armed conflict. The final products of these efforts have been joint textbooks, as in projects that centred on Poland and Germany or on Israel and Palestine, or educational materials for history teachers. Some of these materials are also appropriate for students. In his chapter, Maier admits that this work faces difficulties and resistance, mostly for political reasons. On the one hand, participating governments are not supportive enough. On the other, societies, in general, do not easily accept these educational efforts because historical stereotypes are difficult to overcome. Therefore, it is important to be extremely patient about their implementation and to have little expectation of dramatic success. In this line, it is also important to consider that flexibility and creativity might be the two essential ingredients for the success of such programmes.

Three chapters consider different matters related to the importance of images in history education. **Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady** and **Michael Lovorn**, **Stephan Klein**, and **TerryHaydn** and **Kees Ribbens** deal with history imagery but also with some other specific questions such as the use of the Internet for history education. When their ideas and results are compared a number of interesting conclusions can be made. In the contribution by **Tsyrlina-Spady** and **Lovorn**, the role of historical images in present Russian history textbooks is discussed. They examine the role of specific images as motives for moral and nationalistic identification. Their analysis is focussed on recent Russian history, from the Soviet Revolution to the present day. The Russian textbooks, they argue, are nationalist, confirming the analyses provided by the chapters of Taylor and Macintyre and Maier. For example, the figures of Stalin and Putin receive privileged attention in the Russian textbooks. Also, in general terms, the entire communist past is presented in a biased manner: episodes and issues like the Gulag receive almost no attention at all. The most popular images are patriotic ones celebrating the power of Russia and the former Soviet Union.

On balance, Russian school textbook seem far removed from academic history writing (e.g. Hein & Selden, 2000). School history develops a powerful political propaganda through texts as well as images. Twenty-five years after the collapse of the communist regime historical textbook images are not changing towards the development of critical historical thinking but to the recovery of old forms of political domination and indoctrination. Ironically, rephrasing the words of Marx and Engels it could be concluded that a *spectre* is haunting Russian history textbooks: the *spectre* of nationalism. But in this case the *spectre* is not persecuted but fueled by the Russian state.

The chapter by **Klein** makes a valuable contribution to the study of historical imagery on Internet websites, particularly those dedicated to the memory of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade in Europe. He situates the contribution by Internet websites in the context of two essential developments in history education. First, he describes the changes experienced by history education in the last decades from very traditional imagery like wall charts to the use of web pages for the development of critical thinking. Secondly, his chapter considers the change of school historical contents from nation-based grand narratives to postcolonial views, focussing on The Netherlands. From this perspective, the presence of slavery as an important educational issue related to the historical period known as the "Golden Age" is not only of great importance but constitutes a very meaningful change. This change represents the appearance of a new historical subject at the centre of the historical scene and the possibility for the students to consider the causal relationship between the economic impact and slavery on the achievements of the Golden Age. This chapter shows in a very detailed way how the topic of slavery, which was affecting up to 11 million human beings, has moved from being non-existent on the traditional wall charts to becoming an important presence in Dutch as well as British curricula. A number of websites dedicated to the historical development of slavery across time and space are analysed, including their instructional features and their relation to the development of historical thinking.

As mentioned above, **Haydn** and **Ribbens** also present a contribution about historical images. However, this analysis is carried out in the broader context of the present debates on the importance of new technologies and social media for history education. It makes a lot of sense to consider this relation because nowadays a significant amount of historical images are presented by those media and technologies. However, it is also important to consider that new technologies, compared to books and journals, not only provide images in a massive way but that they provide texts and of course the possibility of sharing all this information in the context of social interaction as well. This chapter greatly contributes to debunk a number of myths about the advantages of new technologies for learning in general and for learning history in particular. Haydn and Ribbens provide important insights into the constructive interaction between Internet-based history teaching resources and the learner. Their chapter, like the ones by Seixas, and by Cercadillo, Chapman and Lee, stresses

the importance of helping students to develop the distinction between the past and the way it is historically constructed, and how this is possible within the reflective and disciplinary teaching of historical contents.

History museums have been an essential institution for the transmission of different views on the past. They have played a principal role in the consolidation of both nations and empires in the last two centuries. However, in many cases they have lost their influence on societies for remaining very traditional in their approaches to knowledge transmission and very conservative in confronting otherness, colonial pasts, national views and related issues (see e.g. Gonzalez de Oleaga in Part I). Nevertheless, in recent decades museums in general and historical museums in particular are increasingly reconsidered (Knell et al., 2011). This has to do with new challenges as to how learning takes place and new ways of attracting citizens to museum activities. In this vein, museums are nowadays approached in the context of new and restructured environments. In these environments, very powerful informal learning activities can take place with long-lasting results, particularly in comparison to traditional and formal activities like reading and copying school history textbooks.

Mikel Asensio and **Elena Pol** consider some relevant issues in the current discussions about the past and present roles of history museums. The authors provide a critical view on how museums and exhibitions change as symbolic spaces approaching visitors with different types of discourses. First, they examine the very concept of heritage and museums as spaces of history presentation. Secondly, they elaborate on their changing role in society considering citizens as users, producers and decision-makers of such spaces. Museums are not only seen as a reservoir of historical pieces but also as cultural endeavours with economic, social, political and environmental impact. Finally, the authors provide a detailed analysis and comparison of four types of discourse, drawing specific examples from an analysis of a number of museums in different parts of the world. The four discourse models are descriptive, explanatory, narrative and participatory. The authors distinguish between a diachronic and synchronic analysis as they describe both how museums and heritage change over time and how they also possess some timeless common features. Their chapter describes the changes and innovations experienced by museum and heritage spaces as learning environments. Changes occurred from the nineteenth century's classic conceptions of these spaces, through the empiricist views on knowledge acquisition and the maintenance of pieces and collections as the museum's principal task, to a different varied perspective based on a participatory view of citizens as visitors. As research on museums has numerous relations to historical images and public history in general, the topics of this chapter are also connected to the contributions of Burke, Kansteiner as well as Korte and Paletschek in Part I.

Overall, the four parts of this Handbook demonstrate how history education operates in and impacts on diverse social, cultural, political and educational arenas. Thus history education goes well beyond mere school history, although

the latter is an important part of what constitutes history education. It is such an extended notion of history education that lies at the heart of this handbook which, through diverse disciplinary perspectives, demonstrates the fruitfulness of thinking together what is all too often kept apart, namely the history of historiography, historical theory, the philosophy of history, the study of historical culture and popular history, school history and history didactics. All these sub-fields are present in the pages of this handbook and they are being treated in relation to a variety of other sub-fields, such as gender history, the history from below, cultural history, social history and global history. In particular, the treatment of history education in a global framework moving away from Euro- and Western-centric perspectives is an important step, and although we can at present only do small steps on that direction, we think that we have made at least a beginning here. The importance of postcolonial perspectives on an analysis of history education in global scope is powerfully underlined by several chapters in this handbook, as they are the strong hold of national historical narratives over history education in many parts of the world, despite and because of processes of globalization and regional transnationalization (such as Europeanization). Furthermore, different fields of study benefit from interaction between representatives from different disciplines. The authors of the handbook include historians, philosophers, psychologists, social scientists and education scholars, and we hope that readers of this handbook will be encouraged to continue with an ongoing dialogue between these different disciplines that all have important contributions to make to history education.

Today, both the academic history profession and history education face revolutionary epistemological and cognitive challenges, not only concerning globalization but also the proliferation of new (social) media and the digitalization of historical (educational) sources. The future consequences of urging the humaniora to use “big data” in the diverse research agendas are difficult to foresee. Be it positive or negative, students, coming from different religious and sociocultural backgrounds, increasingly encounter popular articulations of the past and use new media. This raises questions about historical accuracy, documentation, representation, teaching competencies and the accessibility of historical information around the globe. Next to history textbooks, curricula, films and museum exhibitions, the new media, such as current websites, 3D historical representations and interactive video games, provide fascinating new ways of readers, exhibition visitors and gamers interacting with each other, and with academic historians, educators and game developers. However, apart from generating genre cross-overs, the new media and the agency of users may easily result in the blurring of boundaries between facts and fiction, reality and hyperreality. Hence, following and analysing these developments, that deal with multiple pasts by means of virtual representations and digital tools, in an interdisciplinary dialogue—such as we have tried to do in this handbook—is of outmost importance for the future of history education. Only then can we expect to contribute to the education of critical citizens who are able to understand historically what is going on in present-day societies.

Notes

1. The importance of considering law and history together has also been demonstrated in the field of colonialism, see Kirkby and Coleborne (2001).
2. Compare also the discussions surrounding the impact of periodization on gender history in Shepard and Walker (2009).

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PART I

Historical Culture: Conceptualizing the Public Uses of History

CHAPTER 2

History Writing and Constructions of National Space: The Long Dominance of the National in Modern European Historiographies

Stefan Berger

Learning history is an exercise that takes place in many locations and involves a multitude of organisations, institutions, scenarios, narratives, networks, media and actors. However, the huge diversity of forms of learning history very often, albeit by no means exclusively, harks back to professional history writing. The prominence of professional history-writing in other forms of historical knowledge-production and history learning has much to do with the authority that professional historians obtained during the long nineteenth century as the only ones who could speak authoritatively about the past. Professional historians gained their special status in close alliance with national states, both existing and aspiring ones, that recognised the enormous potential of national history writing for collective identity construction. In this chapter I would like to give a brief survey of the way in which processes of professionalisation of the historical discipline went hand in hand with processes of nationalisation in the period from around 1750 to the present time. The history of historiography has, of late, been a buoyant sub-discipline of historical writing and a range of new works have shed light both on the processes of professionalisation and their links with the nationalisation of the discipline's subject matter (Iggers, Wang with contributions from Berger, 2015; Carretero, 2011; Mukherjee, 2008; Raphael, 2010; Woolf, 2011).

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Finding the Universal in the National. History Writing in the Age of the Enlightenments

Following John Pocock, scholars have grown increasingly accustomed to refer to the previous "Age of the Enlightenment" as "Age of the Enlightenments"—thus indicating the diversity of a movement that nevertheless had common characteristics (Pocock, 1999: 12). For a long time one of those characteristics was supposedly its alleged lack of interest in history. The Enlightenments were supposed to be primarily about philosophy and natural sciences but not about history. This view now stands corrected, as throughout Europe we find historians who wrote history as self-proclaimed champions of enlightened values (Bödeker et al., 1986). The belief in progress was one of the strongest values in Enlightenment thinking, and it was a widely held assumption that historians had to trace the progress of mankind through history. This sometimes led to histories with universal aspirations, such as Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*), which amounted to a learned attempt to write a history of the origins of European modernity, focussing on the globalisation of commerce, economics, politics, culture, religion and warfare. The volumes aim to show how European ideas and practices were becoming global and were crucial to an understanding of the development of civilisation (Lüsebrink & Strugnell, 1995). Universal histories have a distinguished tradition of their own in Europe (Inglebert, 2014), but they were often strongly interrelated with national histories and historiographical traditions in the modern period.

Voltaire's famous *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (*Essay on the Manners and the Spirit of Nations*), is another attempt to trace the spirit of progress through diverse ages and cultures. Universal history, in other words, is the history of a succession of peoples and nations all fostering progress in history. Voltaire extends his gaze well beyond European history, including Persia, China, India and the Arab world. This focus on the non-European histories was also a way of criticising the Christian-providentialist schemes of an earlier historiography. Whilst Voltaire was capable of positively evaluating non-European peoples, his history left the reader in no doubt that human reason had its home in Europe and particularly France (Abbatista, 2012).

And Voltaire was not the exception: Enlightenment historians traced the progress of mankind through national space arguing that nations or sometimes nationalised civilisations were the prime carriers of progress. Conceptually nations and civilisations were not always clearly differentiated in Enlightenment historical discourse. If we stick with Voltaire, we find in his history of the age of Louis XIV the perfect example of such nationalisation of histories of progress, for it is in France under the reign of Louis XIV that progress finds its most recent home—a conclusion befitting the royal historiographer Voltaire (Grell, 1993: 195f.). Scottish Enlightenment historians also wrote national histories in order

to justify the progressive union of Scotland with England as the best expression of progress in Scottish history (Kidd, 1993). In the German-speaking countries Arnold Herrmann Ludwig Heeren wrote history as the development of civilisation and thus concrete proof of the Enlightenment's belief in progress. His lectures on universal history were wide-ranging in time and dealt with the period from around 500 to the end of the fifteenth century (Becker-Schaum, 1993). If history was indeed, as Peter Hanns Reill has claimed, the "key to unlock the meaning of life" for the German Enlightenment historians, and if the present could only be understood and the future could only be moulded on the understanding of the past, then that past was "the necessary prologue to meaningful reform", and the past as well as the intended reforms often carried a national frame (Reill, 1975: 214).

Many of the Enlightenment historians were not yet professional historians in the sense that they earned their living from belonging to a historical profession located at the universities and academies of Europe. There were exceptions to the rule, such as the representatives of the so-called Göttingen school of history, such as Johann Christoph Gatterer and August Ludwig von Schlözer, who were both champions of Enlightened universal history and authors of equally Enlightened national histories. Gatterer used national histories in order to structure world histories, such as his *Handbuch der Universalhistorie* (*Handbook of Universal History*, 1761). The origins of the nations, he claimed, were the true beginnings of world history (Van der Zande, 2003: 136f.). For Schlözer, world history needed "the general perspective which incorporates the whole; this powerful perspective aggregates the sum of all individual developments and constructs a system, which brings all states of the world into a unity, human kind, and it values the peoples purely in terms of their relationship to the great revolutions of the world." (Schlözer, 1772: 18f.). Schlözer's and Gatterer's histories, produced in the environment of the university, were markedly different from the more market-driven histories produced in England. As Angelika Epple has argued, the greater professionalism of the Göttingen historians and their adherence to methodological and theoretical ground rules meant that they were far less able than their Scottish models to tell a gripping tale. The more market-oriented national histories produced in the British Isles were characterised by greater "literacity" in the second half of the eighteenth century. They had to tell a good story in order to sell their volumes. The rejection of narrativity in the name of scientificity was possible in Göttingen, because the historians there did not earn their living from selling books. Instead they tried to improve on the Scots by promoting the idea of a more rigorously professional history writing (Epple, 2010). The University of Göttingen in the second half of the eighteenth century was a pioneer in the professionalisation of historical writing in Europe (Iggers, 1982). Here, a whole range of historians built on the achievements of the antiquarians and the source-collecting schools of the Maurists and Bollandists to develop a specific methodology and disciplinary self-understanding of the discipline of history (Moretti, 2010). The University of Göttingen was as much the epitomy of the

development of the early modern research university as it was the incarnation of the modern research university to be (Clark, 2006). Several of the European academies, which employed historians to write histories, were also founded in the eighteenth century, as were the first journals exclusively dedicated to history (Porciani & Raphael, 2010).

From Enlightened to Romantic Forms of History Writing

There is no sharp break between Enlightened forms of historical writing and Romantic forms. Some of those usually regarded as belonging to the Enlightenment already foreshadowed Romanticism. Thus, for example, Johannes von Müller's Swiss national history, which appeared between 1786 and 1808, idealised the Swiss people as a hearty mountain people, using many typically Romantic tropes in an otherwise Enlightened narrative of universal progress encapsulated in national history (Brice, 2007). And among those who are usually regarded as Romantic historians we still find many traces of history writing allegedly representative of Enlightenment historiography. Thus, for example, the French Romantic historians such as François Guizot, Augustin Thierry and Jules Michelet used their history writing to demonstrate how the constitutionalism of 1789 was rooted deeply in French history and therefore had a historical legitimacy. With a certain inevitability, history moved towards the realisation of progress in the form of liberal freedom. Without freedom there would be no development and hence no history (Blaas, 1978; Crossley, 1993).

The towering figure of Johann Gottfried Herder is one of the best examples of someone who is widely regarded as foundational figure of Romanticism and who was nevertheless steeped in Enlightenment thought. Herder claimed that the fundamental unit in world history was the nation. Any one individual can only become truly him- or herself by fulfilling their potential as members of a people and nation. Like an individual, a nation possesses a unique collective personality with an unchanging core but it also evolves over time. Like an individual, it has a childhood, it reaches maturity and it experiences old age, perhaps even death. Like a Christian, it can hope for resurrection. Like a true believer, it has eternal life. Nations were like Christian families, an organic community which preceded the state. Herder defined nationality primarily in cultural and linguistic terms. Languages were the keys to national characters. All nations and all peoples, Herder argued, pursued their own particular way according to their innermost traditions and customs. The individuals learnt about their collective national traditions through education, which is why national history was, according to Herder, a vital part of national education. He was very much aware that no nation develops its national culture in isolation from its surrounding national cultures; mutual influences and borrowings were part of the national story. But his strong belief in distinct national charac-

ters meant that the most natural state, for Herder, was one people speaking one language occupying one nation and preferably also one state. This idea made Herder the prophet of all nineteenth-century nationalisms which sought independence from multi-national states and empires and wanted to set up their own nation state. Herder looked critically upon the Enlightenment's desire to differentiate peoples and nations into major and minor ones according to which nations had fostered progress and civilisation. Such classificatory systems made no sense to him, as each nation had an intrinsic value; none could act as benchmark for the other. Each national culture was part and parcel of and contributed to a wider culture of humanity. Enlightenment universalism only made sense to Herder if it translated into an endorsement of the richness of its particularisms. His explicit refusal to judge and rank national cultures made him a fierce critic of feelings of national superiority. His deeply held Christian belief that all humans were God's creatures turned him against notions that some were superior to others. Instead he argued that each people (*Volk*) was equidistant from God. The world of peoples were to Herder like a heavenly tree of culture with many branches, and one finds in his writings much of this organicist, biological imagery. Overall, whilst he was one of the harshest critics of the Enlightenment's universalising impulses and its belief in unitary progress and civilisation, he also saw the age of the Enlightenment as the pinnacle of all human development (Nisbet, 1999).

Many of the Romantic historians taking their cue from Herder were still not professional in the sense that they had jobs as professors at universities or academies. The processes of the professionalisation and institutionalisation of historical writing had made only limited progress before the middle of the nineteenth century. True, a number of states in Europe had tried to modernise their systems of higher education and history had emerged at several universities as a separate discipline that had freed itself from the shackles of theology. The University of Berlin became a Europe-wide centre for professional history writing already during the first half of the nineteenth century. Academies had been established, often under royal patronage, in many European states and history was a prominent subject in many of them. Historical societies also proliferated in Europe, where gentleman scholars assembled to engage in historical research and learning (Kenyon, 1983). University historians, academicians and historical societies began publishing historical journals and editing source editions. Historical archives had, of course, existed already in pre-modern times, but it was only with the importance that national states put on national archives that they came fully into their own as institutions that also organised historical research and served as service providers for professional historians (Müller, 2009; Verschaffel, 2012).

Despite the limited progress in the professionalisation of the historical sciences, it was during the Romantic period that many foundational national histories were written in Europe. Following Herder, Romantic historiography abandoned the search for universal progress and instead sought to establish what was specific and authentic in national history. The task of the historian was

redefined as identifying the peculiar and unique characteristics of the nation—a process that threw a long shadow forward into the twentieth century. For a start, defining the territory of the nation became crucial to tell its history. Hence there was an increasing concern with physical attributes of the landscape in the nation that allegedly had an effect on the peculiar national characteristics of the people (Walter, 2004). Historical regions with their own peculiar characteristics became building blocks of nations (Leerssen, 2006; Thiesse, 1999). And historians constructed transnational, either European or imperial missions for their respective nations, be it the protection of Europe from the infidel or the civilising mission of the imperial centre vis-à-vis its peripheries. Historiographical nationalisation was particularly intense in contested borderlands, where rival historiographical traditions built-up claims over those lands and variously used ethnic, cultural or political narratives to substantiate those claims (Stobiecki, 2011). In nations with a long state-tradition, statism became a hallmark of their historiographies, whereas in nations with a long-interrupted or never-existing state tradition, historiographies oriented themselves towards culture, ethnicity and the people (Breuilly, 1997). Battles, wars and civil wars became particularly important historiographical sites, as were constitutional developments and revolutions. The latter were particularly important for the strong liberal national master narratives in the nineteenth century that portrayed national history as the inevitable progress towards the realisation of the idea of liberty. But cultural and social history also thrived in nations that had little recourse to political and military history. As the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a proliferation of new states in Europe, the state-centredness of historiographies was particularly intense in new-found nation states that routinely used history in order to stabilise its new political order (Berger & Lorenz, 2008). However, history writing could not only be legitimatory but also oppositional, and we always find historiographical contestation that is related to political choices (Berger et al., 1999).

The proliferation of Romantic national histories in the first half of the nineteenth century saw the establishment of particular patterns of structuring those histories—all of them searched for origins, and with the exceptions of Greece and Italy (that had an ancient past) they found them in the Middle Ages which explains the enormous importance of the Middle Ages to national history writing in the nineteenth century (Evans & Marchal, 2011). Many used “rise and decline” narratives—in the sense that the main structuring device was one of explaining the rise of the nation which was followed by decline and, eventually, re-birth. These cycles could repeat themselves, but they followed a pattern which was definitely cyclical and tended to end in a phase of re-birth, at least an envisioned, if not a real one. National histories also became characterised by a technique that foreshortened time in periods regarded as unimportant or stable by the historian, whereas time slowed down in periods regarded as crucial turning points for the nation. Hence centuries could be dealt with in a few pages and weeks could take whole chapters. Canons of national heroes

and national enemies were constructed that often built on earlier pre-modern national histories (Eriksonas, 2004). Class and religious narratives were often successfully nationalised, as national histories became both "classed" and sacral narratives. And national histories were comprehensively gendered, as the "separate spheres" ideology took root among historians and led them to portray a "healthy" nation in terms of a "healthy" family—with distinct roles for men and women (Smith, 1998).

The nationalisation of historical writing undoubtedly made great strides in the age of Romanticism, but it should not be ignored that Romantic historians often built on tropes, narrative patterns and ideas about national character and national identity that were already present in many of the pre-modern national histories which, in Europe, range back to the medieval period. Histories oriented towards tribes that were culturally and ethnically constructed can be found as early as the sixth century AD, if we think about authors such as the venerable Bede or Isidore of Seville (Pohl, 1998). In the medieval monasteries of St Denis near Paris and St Albans near London, dynastic forms of national history focussing on France and England were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Spiegel, 1997). During the age of humanism, historians already positioned nationality against nationality (Hirschi, 2012), and the age of the Reformation witnessed the transformation of history, in close alliance with theology, as a functional weapon either to confirm or challenge the universal claims of the Catholic church. If there was national history writing in pre-modern Europe, it was qualitatively different from modern national history in that only the latter defined the nation in terms of the totality of all people living in a given territory. Hence, through its stronger and wider audience-orientation and through its ensuing professionalisation, modern national history became a substantially different phenomenon when compared to its early modern and medieval variants (Berger, 2015: chapter 2).

Increasing Professionalisation and Nationalisation of History Writing After 1850

In many European countries the generation of Romantic historians was severely criticised by a generation of self-consciously professional historians that came of age in most regions of Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. They were usually employed at the universities and academies of Europe and, because of their professional training as historians, regarded themselves as the only authoritative interpreters of the past. What did their professional ethos consist of? Much of it was due to a notion of rigorous source criticism mixed with the rigid application of the philological-hermeneutic methods that had already been championed by the early modern source collecting schools as well as philologists and historians such as Barthold Georg Niebuhr around 1800 (Witte, 1979). Whilst much of the methodology that nineteenth-century

university historians were to use to justify their special professional status had already been in place during the Renaissance (Burke, 1969), it was nevertheless that reference to the special methodological and theoretical training that allowed university-based historians to claim greater professionalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Professional university historians invented their own myths of origin with reference to the towering figure of Leopold von Ranke and the Berlin school of history writing. Based on philology and the close familiarity with the archives and sources, Rankean forms of history writing and the training it presupposed in historical seminars located at the universities became the precondition for all "true" forms of history writing in Europe.

The professionalisation of historical writing made huge advances from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. The historical seminar was introduced everywhere and schools of history emerged within identifiable historiographical traditions that were institutionalised in the universities and academies of European states. The number of history professors increased and they also came to dominate many of the historical societies in Europe; history prizes associated with academies and societies were awarded to academy- or university-based historians by their peers. National archives, libraries and museums were professionalised with the help of university- or academy-based historians who played an influential role in the running of those institutions or on advisory boards. The teaching of history in schools was also increasingly scrutinised by professional historians, who, like Ernest Lavisse in France, wrote school books and helped supervise curricular developments (Porciani & Raphael, 2010; Porciani & Tollebeek, 2012). Transnational processes of reception and adaptation were crucial in spreading the professionalisation of history writing across Europe during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century (Den Boer, 1998; Lingelbach, 2003).

Critical as the new professional historians were of their allegedly unprofessional predecessors and contemporary amateur historians (Grever, 1997; Smith, 1998), they did not break with the strong national orientation of history writing established by the Romantic historians. Quite the contrary, historiographical nationalism increased, as professional historians realised that the national theme in emerging and existing nation states could secure them important patronage and resources from the nation state, if only they were willing to serve that nation state. Yet it was not only pure functionalism that made professional historians prophets of the nation state. In an age of nationalist movements, many historians were convinced of their national mission and followed their vocation passionately. The variants of nationalism they espoused could be quite different. Take, for example, the German historian Heinrich von Treitschke and the Ukranian historian, Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj. Both penned key national historical narratives for their respective countries. Both were formidable organisers of science, founding and editing journals, playing an important role in historical associations, influencing the edition of sources and building

and developing historical institutions. Both had a keen political influence and understood their history writing as a political act. Both, at various times, allied themselves closely to the state in pursuit of their historical and political ambitions. Yet their national historical narratives were on opposing ends of a sliding scale that marked the full span of possibilities when it came to the construction of those national historical narratives. Whereas Treitschke became increasingly a vociferous monarchist, anti-liberal, anti-parliamentarian, anti-socialist, anti-Catholic and anti-Semite historian who cultivated a whole host of national enemies, both external and internal to the German nation, Hruševs'kyj remained more Herderian in his endeavour to formulate the essential characteristics of the Ukranian nation without necessarily degrading other nations or resorting to a rabid othering of particular social, religious and ethnic groups (Langer, 1998; Plokhy, 2005). Within European national historical narratives there remained much of that tension between a cosmopolitan and a xenophobic construction of the nation through history.

The Highpoint of Historiographical Nationalism During the First Half of the Twentieth Century

It was the xenophobic nationalist variant in national historiographies that tended to prevail around 1900. Why did the European powers not pull back from the brink of a world war in the summer of 1914? High politics had a big role to play, no doubt, but surely, nationalist sentiments, including those that had been underpinned by a strongly nationalist historical profession, played a significant role in the eventual decision to jump into the abyss. Most historians of those countries fighting the war, strongly supported the war efforts of their respective countries. Many German historians signed a variety of different petitions throughout the war declaring themselves in support of the German war effort and of German war aims which were both annexationist and nationalist in orientation (Böhme, 1975). Many French historians, including experts on Prussia, such as Lavisse, now denounced the presumptuousness and arrogance of the German "national character", whilst many British historians attacked the militarism and Prussianism in Germany that they saw rooted in a peculiar "national character" moulded through history (Goebel, 2006). If Germany had eventually lost the war, it was to win the battle for the peace in the interwar period—not the least through the sustained efforts of its historians willing to act on behalf of their government for the revision of the Versailles Treaty. The German foreign ministry created a separate sub-department with a considerable number of staff whose sole responsibility it was to wage a history war in order to convince the world that Germany was not the sole guilty party in the outbreak of the First World War. Judging by the internationally dominant opinion among historians in the 1930s, this German Foreign Office department, had been very successful in their mission (Wilson, 1996).

In East Central and Eastern Europe the end of the war had seen the collapse of multi-national empires and the emergence of new nation states which were highly unstable and almost immediately sought recourse to national history as a means to stabilise their volatile territorial orders and collective national identities. One example among many is Latvia, where, following national independence in 1919, Latvian national historians concentrated very much on establishing a Latvian national master narrative and refuting in particular the claims of Baltic German historiography over their territory. They focussed on agrarian history, in order to show that the claims of Baltic Germans to the land were spurious and that redistribution of land to Latvian small-holders was historically justified. The faculty of philology and philosophy of the University of Latvia, established in Riga in 1919, was to become the generously endowed centre of historical studies in Latvia in the interwar period. In 1936 the Latvia History Institute was founded at Riga which had the explicit task, written into its foundational document, of studying "the past in the light of nationalism and truth". When Latvian politics turned more authoritarian after 1934, historiographical nationalism increased and historical institutions such as museums, like the State Historical Museum and the Latvia Open-Air Museum were generously funded. Written sources were edited and published in the twelve-volume *Latvijas vēstures avoti* (*Sources of Latvian History*) and historical journals were founded to publish the research on which the national master narrative was established, for example, the *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* (*Journal of the Institute of Latvian History*), or *Senatne un Māksla* (*The Past and Art*) (Šnē, 2010).

Fascist and far-right wing political movements challenged liberal democracies in interwar Europe and often replaced them, also making use of a nationalist historiography that was supportive of those right-wing dictactorships (Fogu, 2003; Haar & Fahlbusch 2005; Pasamar, 2010: chapter 3; Schönwälder, 1992). In Russia, the Bolshevik revolution swept away Tsarism and established the Communist Soviet Union. It completely remodelled its historical profession and produced its own Marxist-Leninist historiography that was, however, hardly less national and even nationalist than its liberal and fascist counterparts in the west, especially after it had been effectively Stalinised from the late 1920s onwards (Banerij, 2008).

In the 1930s British historians, feeling somewhat beleaguered, proudly reiterated the liberal-democratic foundations of British parliamentary democracy. In a speech written by George Macaulay Trevelyan for King George V on the occasion of the opening of the parliament in 1935, he stated: "It is to me a source of pride and thankfulness that the perfect harmony of our parliamentary system with our constitutional monarchy has survived the shocks that have in recent years destroyed other empires and other liberties … The complex forms and balanced spirit of our Constitution were not the discovery of a single era, still less of a single party or of a single person. They are the slow accretion of centuries, the outcome of patience, tradition and experience constantly finding outlets …. for the impulse toward liberty, justice and social

improvement inherent in our people down the ages." (Hernon, 1976: 86). Of course such expressions of liberal nationalism were also deeply rooted in forms of historiographical nationalism that were strongly connected to the so-called Whig perspective of history in England that saw the long constitutional non-revolutionary development of liberties through the ages deeply rooted in an alleged English national character as characteristic of Englishness (Blaas, 1978; Berger et al., 2003). Such democratic nationalism pitted itself against fascist and communist nationalisms in the interwar period—a contest of historiographical nationalisms that reached its highpoint during the Second World War, when historians of all belligerent states once again supported the war efforts of their respective countries.

Post-War: A Crisis of National History Writing in Europe?

When Europe lay in ashes in 1945 and was struggling to re-emerge from the destruction of the Second World War, national historical narratives provided an important anchor-point for national identities that had become volatile and endangered. Hence it is not really surprising that 1945 was not the time, when Europe abandoned its near-total focus on national history writing. Quite the contrary: the national theme dominated the historiographies across Europe after 1945 and national history writing became a soothing tonic among a whole host of post-war insecurities. If there was a break with national(ist) history writing it was a delayed break that really only kicked in from the late 1950s onwards, when within the more re-assured West-European nation states a more critical generation of historians began to problematize the historiographical nationalism of the past (Berger, 2005). Yet the critique of historiographical nationalism remained itself entirely national, and from the 1980s onwards, we can observe a return to national themes in history writing across both Western and Eastern Europe (Berger, 2003; Górny, 2011; Soffer, 2009).

There are, however, also some countervailing examples in historical writing, such as the rise of comparative and transnational history writing and its continuing refusal to follow the logic of national tunnel vision. By the time we reach the 1990s, the popularity of transnational forms of history writing coincided with major methodological changes in European historiographies. Comparative history, seen as a panacea to the woes of narrow national history ever since Max Weber (1864–1920) and Marc Bloch (1886–1944), increasingly captured the imagination of younger historians (Berger, 2010). At long last a growing number of historians seemed willing to practice what some of them had preached for a considerable time. The extension of comparative history to cultural transfer studies and transnational history heightened the challenge to national tunnel vision in historical writing.

During the Cold War European national historiographies were divided by ideological and spatial lines. Communist East-European national historiogra-

phies followed a different Marxist-Leninist logic, but it was not necessarily less committed to the national principle than its western counterpart. Indeed, Communist histories in Eastern Europe often only painted national histories red. Good and bad nationalism was now neatly distinguished on the basis of the class status of its proponents. People's nationalism could be progressive and was therefore frequently endorsed by the Communist historiographies of Eastern Europe. The concept of class was supposed to be the paradigm along which national history was to be rewritten. Karl Marx's historical materialism was to provide the key to historical interpretation. Revolutions were highlighted and the working classes' struggle against oppression was moved to the foreground. There were even specific national roads to socialism promulgated by communist historians, although Stalin put an end to this in 1947 and instead prescribed the idolisation of the Soviet Union and himself. History was to contribute further to the struggle against "bourgeois ideology and morality" and develop higher "Communist consciousness". If Communist national histories highlighted class perspectives, they were not necessarily less intent on constructing national histories which were meant to help produce socialist national consciousness. After all, Stalin's classical formula for historiography—'socialist in content and national in its form'—characterised all communist historiographies well beyond the Stalinist era (Mevius, 2005; Von Klimó, 2007).

The State of National History Writing After the End of the Cold War

The collapse of Communist Eastern Europe revived older traditions of historiographical nationalism across the territories that formerly belonged to the Communist world (Antohi et al., 2007; Kopeček, 2008). Behind the former Iron Curtain institutes of contemporary history blossomed for it was in the realm of contemporary history that national identities and national histories were most fiercely contested after 1990. In many post-communist countries, a new national(ist) historiography often rehabilitated historical figures that had been fighters against Communism, even if they were also anti-Semites, xenophobic nationalists and fascists. Many East-Central European and Baltic historians discovered an alleged belonging of their nations to the West, inventing an alleged function of their nations as protectors of the European civilisation against eastern and "Asian" barbarism. The Communist period was often equated with the fascist or right-wing dictatorial periods in national history and both were externalised, that is, they were described as being largely due to external and not internal political forces (Ápor, 2010). In the former Yugoslavia, historians provided the spiritual munition for ethnic cleansing, murder and genocide in the bloody civil war that engulfed the country in the 1990s (Brunnbauer, 2004).

However, historiographical nationalism was not only revived in post-Communist countries. It also raised its head in Western Europe, either as a reaction to what was perceived as the threat of Europeanization or as a

strong regionalism in which regions were constructed as nations, especially in multi-national states such as Britain, Spain and Belgium. The leader of the Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (New Flemish Coalition), the largest political party in Flanders in 2015, Bart de Wever, who has a history degree from the Catholic University of Leuven, champions the writing of an autonomous national history of Flanders rather than a history of Belgium.[1] In Catalonia, historians at the National History Museum inform its visitors on their website: "The aim of the Museum of the History of Catalonia is to put the history of Catalonia on display and make people aware of their shared heritage, and so help them identify with their national history."[2] A collection on Scottish history from 1992, aimed not just at an academic audience, starts: "Scotland's history is important. It gives us as individuals and as members of Scottish society a vital sense of where we are and how we got here" (Donnachie & Whately, 1992: 1).

Yet renationalisation was not the entire story. What returned was often simply not the same. The 1950s had been the tail end of a self-confident construction of proud national histories, which almost every national historian in a given nation state subscribed to. From the 1980s, some historians were controversially returning to national history as a possible response to a deep-seated feeling of crisis of national identity. Almost everywhere their attempted return was contested by alternative perspectives continuing the more critical approaches to national history that developed during the 1960s and 1970s. Such strong contestation was also characteristic of the post-Cold War period, even if in places strong nationalist historiographies re-emerged. Examples of self-critical and self-reflective forms of national history writing include the French desire to come to terms with the war in Algeria (Stora, 1999), the tentative beginnings of problematising the Francoist past in Spain (Sartorius & Alfaya, 1999), the New Historians' attempts to undermine the entrenched Zionist positions in Israeli historiography (Shapira & Penslar, 2003), and Swedish research into the violations of neutrality during the Second World War. (Zetterberg, 1992) Even in Eastern Europe, many of the renationalising historiographies found it difficult to produce homogenous national master narratives. Instead, plurality has emerged out of very different attempts to narrate the national history under post-Communist conditions. Amidst all the nationalist history writing of post-Communist Romania, for example, Lucian Boia's work attempted to blur the line between fact and fiction in Romanian national history, thereby calling into doubt the very scientificity of national history writing on which its authority and political influence was based. His study on the relationship between myth and Romanian national history challenged all attempts to reformulate national master narratives (Boia, 2001). Overall the picture seems indeed to resemble the one painted by Niek van Sass (2000) who argued that national history remains an important genre in academic history writing virtually everywhere but that it had become more dynamic and more self-reflexive than ever before.

Conclusion

Throughout the period of modern Europe from around 1750 onwards, the space of the nation and the nation-state (by no means the same!) were important spaces for historical writing. Historians often constructed both nations and nation states. The institutionalisation of a historical profession went hand in hand with a nationalisation of history writing that fully comes into its own with the search of Romantic historians for national authenticity and peculiarity. The high point of historiographical nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century showed the full destructiveness of attempts to construct national superiority through history. Historians became deeply embroiled in acts of warfare, genocide and ethnic cleansing. It was only through a delayed break with such historiographical nationalism, kicking in during the late 1950s that more critical forms of history writing came to the fore. However, these critical historiographies often remained as national as their apologetic counterparts and the face of historiographical nationalism resurfaced in the second half of the twentieth century, be it in the Communist national histories painted red, be in the regional histories of multi-national states wanting to reconstruct regions and nations, be it in the Yugoslav civil wars or be it in the Eurosceptic wings of virtually all states belonging the European Union.

Yet in contemporary Europe, arguably more so than ever before, professional historians are also holding the line against historiographical nationalism and championing methods and forms of history writing such as comparative and transnational history that work against a national tunnel vision in historiography, whilst others are attempting to arrive at more self-reflective and playful forms of national history writing that avoid the nationalisms of the past but retain the historiographical interest in the nation state and its development. Dutch historians, such as Maria Grever and Siep Stuurmann, problematizing the attempt of the Dutch state to formulate a prescriptive canon of history teaching for Dutch schools in the 2000s, are a good example of a far more aware historical profession regarding the pitfalls of historiographical nationalism at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Grever & Stuurmann, 2007).

National history writing has been the dominant form of history writing in Europe for a very long time, and it would be foolish to underestimate its power even in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Its strength has been related to its remarkable ability to subsume many of its potential spatial and non-spatial rivals under its remit. Thus local and regional histories were constructed as major components of national history. National histories were invested with a variety of transnational missions, be they European or imperial. Many global and universal histories were structured along national lines. And histories of class, religion, ethnicity, culture, civilisation and race were effectively nationalised over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All of this had important repercussions for history learning through a wide variety of scenarios from reading about history in national newspapers to learning history in schools and through reading historical novels, looking at history paint-

ings or listening to opera and symphonic music that adopted national themes. Professional national historians reached limited audiences, but amongst this limited audience were many multipliers of grand historical narratives who in turn popularised those narratives through diverse media and in different settings. Hence national historians were able to set the tone about national history in European societies for a very long time, and I would argue, despite an undeniable loss of status in contemporary Europe, they remain important, self-proclaimed but also wide recognised "guardians" of the past today.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Jo Tollebeek for pointing this out to me.
2. http://www.en.mhcat.net/; accessed 11 November 2015.

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CHAPTER 3

Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking

Peter Seixas

The terms *historical consciousness* and *historical thinking* are most commonly used without any reference to each other. The casual observer might be excused for assuming that they were roughly synonymous. Yet, seen through the lens of the educational project, they point to two distinct pedagogical traditions. "Historical consciousness" springs mainly from German philosophical writing, which was elaborated in the sphere of pedagogy by Jörn Rüsen, Bodo von Borries and their colleagues. Its impact, however, has spread beyond Germany, first to continental Europe and to a lesser extent, globally. "Historical thinking," on the other hand, belongs to a more pragmatic and empirical educational agenda, evolving from the British Schools History Project and, over the past quarter century through Anglo-American dialogues, in discussion with a larger Anglophone community in Australia, Canada, New Zealand among others. Of course, history education in recent decades has benefitted from contributions from other national and linguistic traditions. This chapter highlights the German and Anglo-American in the service of comparing historical consciousness and historical thinking as key concepts in history education, but then looks at synergies and overlaps, including those developed in other national contexts.

In the midst of increasing international exchange, in volumes such as this and the symposium out of which it grew, the current moment provides an opportunity to examine broad differences between the two terms, and their implications for history education. To what degree do they refer to the same processes? What, if anything, is gained in conceptual clarity by defining and

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maintaining a distinction between them? And, what theoretical and practical benefits might be realized by juxtaposing and clarifying their intersections?

Historical Consciousness

Hans-Georg Gadamer is a controversial figure, whose work is subject to widely varying interpretations. Yet he provides a useful starting point for definitions of historical consciousness: "very likely the most important revolution among those we have undergone since the beginning of the modern epoch…a burden, the like of which has never been imposed on any previous generation" (Gadamer, 1987: 89). And the burden, as he defines it, is "…the privilege of modern man to have a full awareness of historicity of everything present and the relativity of all opinions." Thus historically situated in the modern era, historical consciousness is a consequence of the pace and profundity of change flowing from the eighteenth-century European political revolutions combined with industrial and technological development. These events precipitated conscious breaks with the past and concomitant breaks with the future: the past had been radically different from the present, and the future would therefore be different from that which was currently known. In these circumstances, the task of preparing the next generation for the world they would inhabit was also radically different from a culture in which tradition is largely unchanged from one generation to the next, where the knowledge and skills of the previous generation would be sufficient to guide and train the next. Reinhart Koselleck retraces the same territory in his definition of *Neuezeit* or modernity: "What was new was that the expectations that reached out for the future became detached from all that previous experience had to offer" (Koselleck, 1985: 266–267). Koselleck (among many others) notes the centrality of "progress" and "acceleration" within the same development of modernity.

This definition of historical consciousness, as arising from the radical discontinuity between past, present and future in a modern era of accelerating change, needs to be complicated in at least two ways. First, also central to Gadamer, is the role of tradition in the understanding of historicity. That is, even in the conditions of modernity—where all that is solid melts into air, where the pace of change undermines the foundations of deeply held belief, where the mores, institutions and technologies that shaped grandparents' lives become strange relics in the eyes of the grandchildren—even here, the world that we inhabit today is a product of what came before (Grever, 2012: 81–84). More importantly, our *experiences and understandings* of this world are as conditioned and shaped by our inheritances from the past as ever: we can never think ourselves outside of our historical situation. Thus, tradition and historicity, or deep continuity and profound change, are indissolubly joined.

Second is the condition of postmodernity. The hypothesis of postmodernism is that the process of acceleration sent culture over a cliff at some point in the recent past, after which the modern triumvirate of nation, progress and history no longer provided a credible framework for understanding human life.

That point may be defined by political catastrophe or upheaval (the Holocaust, 1968, or 1989); by the cultural impact of year-over-year revolutions in digital technologies; by successful challenges to old orders of race, gender and sexuality; or by global demographic shifts associated with decolonization and economic inequality (see also Harvey, 1989). In this context, modern historical consciousness, predicated upon the distance and difference between present and past, threatens to collapse; modern regimes of national power and white, male hegemony are subject to ongoing challenge and critique; and in the reign of the present, historical crimes live on in the psyches of survivors and their descendants as "the presence of the past." Needless to say, this is a heterogeneous grouping of phenomena, and thus I leave it, for the moment, under a hypothetical category of postmodernity. We will return to it below.

"Historical consciousness," in all its complexity, poses a challenge in moving from the theoretical to an educational program. Theoretically, it appears to describe more of a historico-cultural situation than a framework that would offer guidance for developing young people's understanding. In the European context, Jörn Rüsen (2004) addressed this problem through a hierarchy of four types of historical consciousness. His scheme provides a way of understanding how young people (and cultures as a whole) use narratives of the past—and how they might progress in those uses—within the conditions of modernity, in order to make decisions in the present about the future.

What is important to note here, particularly because of its contrast with Anglo-American educational thought explored immediately below, is the use of history as an *orientation in time*. The difficulties of going beyond Rüsen's first steps, in translating this theory into a framework that is useful either for empirical studies of students' competencies or for the purposes of teaching, are widely recognized (e.g., Karlsson, 2011). Nevertheless, according to Kölbl and Konrad (2015: 23), the term "historical consciousness" currently appears in most of the 16 German state history curricula.

Historical Thinking

British thinking regarding the use of history, and therefore its shape in history education has quite different foci. Furthermore, British work has had a more visible impact on the vibrant American field of history education in the past two and a half decades. The Schools Council History Project (more recently, the Schools History Project) made the seminal contribution of "second-order concepts" in history (Shemilt, 1980). These procedural (or structural or disciplinary) concepts were described as "not what history is 'about'," but as shaping "the way we go about doing history" (Lee & Ashby, 2000: 199). Denis Shemilt, Peter Lee, Rosalyn Ashby and others included concepts such as accounts, significance, change and evidence. This conceptual breakthrough provided the basis to define students' progress in history education. Rather than simply measuring the memorization of more factual knowledge as progression in historical competency (what Peter Lee graphically labels a "sedi-

mentation" model of history learning), improvement was conceptualized in terms of increasingly powerful ways of handling and applying second-order concepts in dealing with historical topics and problems. This conceptualization gave rise to a robust research program aimed at identifying on the basis of empirical investigation, the levels of students' development and various paths to greater sophistication.

Lee and Ashby (2000: 216) summarized, "As students develop more powerful ideas about how we can make claims about the past and about the ways different kinds of claims may be substantiated or overturned, they acquire the best intellectual toolkit we have for thinking about the human world in time." In this one sentence, we can see the British emphasis on the epistemological problems of the discipline of history, and their distance from their Continental colleagues. These contrasts included not only the emphasis on historical epistemology but also the degree to which the research had an impact on school curricula (the Schools History Project had a huge impact on the British curriculum) and the relative ease with which the British conceptual framework could be empirically investigated in research.

However, for the purposes of this chapter, the most important contrast is in their respective concerns with the *uses* of the history, specifically the relationship between the disciplinary practices of historians and the lives of the rest of society around them. Jörn Rüsen's disciplinary matrix is useful in this regard (Megill, 1994). The matrix consists of a cycle, with "the historical discipline" in the upper half and "life practice" below. Historians' theories, methods and representations—form the upper semi-circle. It is connected to the lower semi-circle by feeding into the "existential orientation," and by being fed by "interests" that are part of "life practice." Rüsen was thus centrally concerned with how historical questions arise from everyday life, and, in turn, with how historical research could feed back into the larger culture. These concerns were largely outside the purview of the British history education discussion. The British would go no further than asserting that learning the operations of the discipline of history as an open and critical practice would yield educational benefits, by definition, for participation in a liberal, democratic polity (see also Lee's 2004 critique of Rusen's disciplinary matrix).

American history education research, which began to reach a critical mass in the late 1990s, followed the British precursors in many respects, but developed some themes that set it apart. The work of Sam Wineburg was central in these developments. His "On the reading of historical texts" (1991) helped to define the distinctive disciplinary character of reading in history for history education scholars. This early work was prescient in setting a "historical literacy" agenda that was perfectly attuned to the focus on improving students reading and writing that developed in national educational initiatives over the next two decades. A focus on the quartet of sourcing (a Wineburg neologism that has now become commonplace), contextualization, corroboration and close reading formed the basis of school initiatives with massive uptake. His students pushed the work further: Reisman (2012) in reading, and Monte-Sano (2011)

in writing. In much of this work, historical thinking was operationalized as historical literacy.

The other distinctive American contribution was a sociocultural lens, which led to the investigation of the impact of ethnicity, culture and gender on historical understanding. Barton and Levstik (e.g., 2004), Epstein (2008) and VanSledright (2002) were central in these developments. While this research examined the relationships of learning history to the social context in which it took place, it was informed by social psychology rather than by Continental philosophy. In its insistence on social amelioration, it had perhaps closer ties to American social studies than to either the British research or German history didactics.

The fast-growing body of empirically based, English-language research in history education has been the subject of decennial reviews in *Handbooks of Educational Psychology*, from Wineburg's (1996) initial contribution, through VanSledright and Limon (2006) to "Studying Historical Understanding" (Monte-Sano and Reisman, 2016). The latter emphasizes that the work under review was rigorous empirical research that focused on student learning. The authors purposefully exclude theoretical or philosophical discussion of history education. (p. 282).

The pragmatic Anglo-American history education community has largely left philosophical explorations to the pages of *History and Theory*, and thrown itself into curriculum reform, assessment development and empirical studies of students' ideas and learning. While these efforts have borne fruit in explicit definitions of historical thinking as goals in new national curriculum in Australia, revised provincial curricula across Canada, the Common Core Standards in the United States and the much-downloaded Stanford "Reading Like a Historian" lessons, they have largely sidestepped any direct confrontation with the philosophical challenges of plural historical cultures.

Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking: How the Traditions Intersect

In a number of recent projects, we can see the intersection of the two traditions as defined to this point. In a stunning University of Laval doctoral dissertation, Catherine Duquette (2011, 2015) not only offered extended definitions contrasting "historical thinking" with "historical consciousness," ("the understanding of the present, thanks to the interpretation of the past which allows us to consider the future") but also presented the results of an empirical study exploring the relationship between students' competencies in each area. The research is particularly important because of its location, Quebec, Canada, where curricula and assessments target both.

Historical thinking, in the Quebec curriculum as in Duquette's study, is a "series of specific cognitive operations" (2015: 52) in two categories. The first (labeled somewhat confusingly, in English) "historical perspective," comprises what the British would call second-order concepts (e.g., historical sig-

nificance). The second is "historical method," including such items as framing questions, proposing hypotheses and analyzing sources. She used Rüsen's definition of historical consciousness but rejected his four types, after an attempt to work with them empirically. The key progression, in her empirically based categorization of historical consciousness, is the move from uncritical to critical approaches.

Duquette tested the relationship between historical consciousness and historical thinking by posing contemporary problems—international economic disparity, immigration and voluntary enlistment in armed services—and examining the ways in which students invoked history (or didn't) in explaining them, both before and after explicit lessons in historical thinking. Her study not only showed a correlation between students' mastery of historical thinking and level of historical consciousness but also showed development in historical consciousness after explicit lessons in historical thinking. Her assessment instruments offer considerable promise in advancing the field.

Comparable directions are being explored in Sweden, where the national history curriculum is explicitly defined as "the development of the student's historical consciousness" (Eliasson et al., 2015: 171; see also Bjerg et al., 2011). In this case, historical consciousness includes using a historical frame of reference, critically examining sources, reflecting on the uses of history and "using historical concepts" (p. 172). Here, historical thinking does not stand as something that can be contrasted with historical consciousness: rather, the former is an integral part of the latter. Look at the third competency in the Swedish array, it

> makes students understand the function of historical narratives for individual orientation in life and shows them how different actors in society use history as a means to influence people's perception of the past, their orientation in the present and, subsequently the future. (p. 172)

Like Rüsen's, this conception makes "narrative" central to historical competence and emphasizes the use of history, but it also underscores diversity within current society and potential change in the uses of the past over time.

Similar directions are being developed in Germany by Andreas Körber and his colleagues (2011, 2015). Having existed for decades in the realm of the theoretical, German history educators have been making a concerted effort to operationalize historical consciousness in a way that it can be demonstrated in the form of students' competencies. Körber (2011: 147) defines the aim of school history as enabling students "to take part in the historical and memorial culture of their (pluralist) societies." This translates, specifically, into "all those often neglected competencies needed for actually *using* the historical information … for personal or collective orientation in the present and the future" (Körber, 2011: 148). The Historical Thinking Competencies in History ("HiTCH") Project uses four dimensions of historical competence. The first three are derived directly from Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, involv-

ing the generation of historical questions from life situations, working with historical method to answer them, and development of representations which are then useful for life orientation—a cycle integrating historical and life practices. A fourth dimension, "Sachkompetenz," is a greatly expanded version of the Swedes' fourth aspect of historical consciousness, comprising the broadest range of first and second order historical thinking concepts.

While this model grew out of the theoretical work in historical consciousness, the need to develop constructs useful for curriculum and assessment led to the formulation of competencies and, perhaps paradoxically, to calling the Project and its products, exercises in "historical thinking." In any case, like the Swedes, the Germans are actively building bridges between historical thinking and historical consciousness.

Nowhere has the diverse nature of contemporary societies in relation to historical consciousness been taken more seriously than in the work of Dutch history education researchers. As in other jurisdictions, there was no easy line of development toward the current initiatives. In the 1980s, history educators articulated and promoted methods of historical analysis and critical investigation. In the new millennium, however, the promotion of overviews of national history resurfaced using history to promote social cohesion (Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011). In 2001, an influential commission provided the history curriculum with a system of ten eras intended to provide a common frame of reference for history education in the Netherlands, covering mainly Dutch and European history (Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011: 99–101). Nevertheless, historical thinking survived as an important component of the curriculum.

Recently "heritage education" has been used in the Netherlands to describe the use of museums, historical sites and heritage objects for educational purposes, largely, but not exclusively, through the school subject of history. While this was promoted by the Dutch government starting in the 1990s, a group of educational researchers at the Centre for Historical Culture at Erasmus University took an interest in the phenomenon, building a theoretical and empirical research basis for a practice that was already under way in the schools (Grever et al., 2012). The title of their research program, "Heritage education, plurality of narratives and shared historical knowledge," targets the role of historical knowledge in settings with diverse cultural memories.

The upper-level Dutch history curriculum has recently been revised, along with the corresponding examinations, to include "the changing significance of the past for different groups of people in the past and in current societies," and "the recognition of various present motives, values, and expectations when people make moral judgments about the past" (Van Boxtel et al., 2015: 41). The school curriculum and examinations accordingly prescribe an analysis of the functions of myth and history for various contemporary groups. Like the German and Swedish examples, the Dutch are thus clearly aligned with the concerns of Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, examining the relationships, back and forth, between disciplinary historical practices and the larger historical culture(s) with which they potentially interact.

The Dutch researchers recognize the term "heritage" as being more associated with "building up historical identities…" and less with "questioning and investigating." They seek to address that imbalance without erasing historical identities: "How can heritage education contribute to some kind of *commonality* between all learners while at the same time acknowledge *multiperspectivity*?" (Van Boxtel et al., 2011: 10). This has been achieved through a "dynamic heritage approach" which rejected, "essentialist meaning" and "static identity" (p. 12). They sought out classrooms with diverse student populations, in order to set up discussions that would "create an awareness of living in a pluralist yet common world" (p. 12).

Historical Thinking and Historical Consciousness in Canada's Historical Thinking Project

A final place to look for the meeting point between historical thinking and historical consciousness arises from the Historical Thinking Project, of which the author of this chapter was director (www.historicalthinking.ca). The conceptual framework of this Canadian Project comprises six second-order concepts, linking it clearly to the British model (Seixas & Morton, 2013). But there are also clear connections between Project's framework and the approach to history education organized around historical consciousness. Here I will explore four of these.

The first comes from the concept of historical significance. The problem of historical significance arises from the question, "what is worth knowing about the past?" and the related question, "how does it become worth knowing?" Like the other concepts in the framework, "historical significance" provides a label for a problem that is unresolvable in any ultimate way, but which entails competent negotiation between equally untenable extremes. The first thing that will strike the competent historian is that what is historically significant is so only in relation to the questions and problems raised by various groups in the present, in contemporary life, which is, itself, changing over time. To ignore this is to sink into antiquarianism. In contending with the problem of historical significance, we are thus thrust into Gadamer's "full awareness of historicity of everything present and the relativity of all opinions" (1987: 89), noted above.

The second concept, primary source evidence, is equally embedded in the relationships between our present and a foreign past. We choose historical sources in order to answer historical questions that arise from contemporary concerns: why are some nations poorer than others, what is the origin of global warming, how have race relations changed and remained the same, and how was homosexuality viewed in the nineteenth century? These are not questions that would have occurred to the historical peoples who will be investigated in order to arrive at satisfactory answers for today. Moreover, we have to interpret the traces that they left behind in relation to the historical contexts in which they lived, throwing ourselves imaginatively into their worlds in order to con-

struct valid interpretations. A web of relationships between past and present is thus invoked by choosing and analyzing primary sources, bridging, at the same time, the historical discipline and everyday life, as articulated in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix.

Narrative competence is a central term in Rüsen's model of historical consciousness, as in many of the other European models. The conundrum of causation, central to narration, arises from the question of human freedom and agency. Change over time is shaped by a complex interplay of humans acting within and against the larger social organizations in which they find themselves. Humans make history, as Marx famously wrote, but they make it under circumstances not of their choosing. Explaining "causes" thus must include both the structures and conditions which were inherited from the past, and the freedom and choices which were at least apparently available in any particular historical moment. The more thoroughly and convincingly the historian (or student) explains how and why an event took place, the greater the danger that human agency will disappear into an inexorable march of impersonal, mutually determining forces. The historian's narrative achievement is to set human decision-making in context in a way that communicates choice and intention, while accounting for historical context and conditions. Moreover, one of the pedagogical benefits of historical narratives that successfully negotiate the problem of agency is that, by analogy, they position us as historical agents with responsibilities toward the future.

The "ethical dimension" of history, as articulated in the Historical Thinking Project, is one that lies outside the British models of historical thinking but is central to German historical consciousness. In the Canadian model, it includes coming to terms with the past crimes and injustices whose legacies—either benefits or deficits—we live with today, and the memorial obligations that we in the present owe to victims, heroes, or other forebears who made sacrifices from which we benefit. The connection between ourselves in the present and the historical actors in the past reaches its apogee in this aspect of historical consciousness. Moreover, this aspect of historical consciousness may be something quite new. After the Second World War, reparations, which prior to the Holocaust had been a matter of state-to-state transfers, began to involve individuals, both as perpetrators and as victims of historical crimes (Torpey, 2006). A new mode of thinking about responsibilities for the past migrated to other cases of genocide, colonialism, slavery and apartheid, potentially bringing the past into more immediate presence. And these responsibilities achieve particular urgency in newly multicultural neighborhoods, schools and classrooms.

The notion of memorial obligation as a debt to earlier generations is an old one. However, the involvement of historians is quite new, and arrives through the explosive growth of memory studies, exemplified—and stimulated—by the work of Pierre Nora (1996), forcing the examination of the relationship of memory and history. In schools, the assumption that history curriculum can serve both educational and memorial functions is under increasing threat. In Nora's words, "We no longer celebrate the nation, but we study the nation's

celebrations" (p. 7). In multicultural, multinational classrooms, it may be difficult to sustain the traditional pledges of allegiance or songs to royalty without irony and critique.

Contemporary Challenges

As they come into increasing dialogue with each other and with history education elsewhere in the world, both the German and the Anglo-American approaches to history education face a series of theoretical challenges that should transform the field.

Most insistent among these is the question of universalism. Historical consciousness, as defined by the Germans, and historical thinking, as defined by the British, are both clearly rooted in Western, European Enlightenment thought. For Rüsen, the highest "genetic" type of historical consciousness surpasses the "traditional" type in many of the same ways that contemporary, multicultural cosmopolitanism supersedes monocultural peasant or tribal life. And the British and American conceptions of the practices of history derive from the discipline as it developed in Europe: the criticism of sources, the key roles of periodization and progress, and the understanding of human agency. Are these accomplishments so rooted in Western intellectual developments that using them as universal goals and standards for history education becomes yet another colonial imposition? The concepts of "multicultural ways of knowing" (Levisohn & Phillips, 2011) and the possibly oxymoronic "aboriginal historical consciousness" (Carlson, 2010) provide direct challenges to "disciplinary practices" of history that transcend cultural divides. Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992, 2000) and other subaltern studies scholars raised these questions for historians more than two decades ago.

To state that challenge most succinctly, different cultures have different kinds of temporal orientation; different ways of dealing with the relationship among past, present and future; and different standards and methods for assessing knowledge claims. Recognition of the relativity of all values and the historicity of all traditions might appear to be an appropriate stance for contemporary cosmopolitan societies. Within the context of public educational systems, however, it will fail to satisfy the demands of fundamentalist religious movements, aboriginal activists and other antimodern tendencies. Thus, the demand to recognize "aboriginal historical consciousness" in Canada is not just about including stories of indigenous peoples in the curriculum. Rather, it is a call to entertain plural standards of truth, and to accord multiple understandings of the relationships among past, present and future (Seixas, 2012). The consequences for what Körber (2008: 63) framed as "history teaching in pluralist societies with controversial memorial cultures" is yet to be confronted.

A second set of challenges, closely related to the first, springs from the notion that we have entered a new regime of historicity (Hartog, 2003), where the relations among past, present and future are arrayed in a fundamentally different way than they were during the nineteenth-century and earlier twentieth-

century development of the discipline of history (Bevernage & Lorenz, 2013; Hartog, 2003; Runia, 2006; Bevernage and Lorenz). If this is the case, and if it can be shown, empirically (which none of these scholars has attempted) that people today actually inhabit this new regime (in other words, that it is not just a logical possibility), then the conception of what it means to become competent in historical thinking (or reading or writing) would demand revision as well. Some of that work has begun in conferences such as Erasmus University's *Tangible Pasts? Questioning Heritage Education* (Grever et al., 2013) and *Longing for the Present: The History of History Education and the Temptations of Modernity* (Grever et al., 2012; Wils, 2012).

These challenges are tied together through post-Holocaust, post-Hiroshima sensibilities, unprecedented intercultural contact driven by both migration and technology, the collapse of the notion of progress fueled by human agency, the decline of the promise of the nation in the face of globalization and the apparent imminence of ecological catastrophe on a global scale.

Conclusion: Is Historical Consciousness a Thing of the Past?

In 1969, J.H. Plumb celebrated "the death of the past" (Plumb, 1969). He was confident that academic history, with its avowed political disinterest, methodological rigor and ideological neutrality had successfully displaced parochial, provincial and faith-driven collective memory. He spoke too soon.

Of course, the entry of political interests and advocacy into school history has been a staple of education systems since the nineteenth century, changing more recently, perhaps, in the degree to which supporters of nation-building ideologies have been forced to make room for competing advocates (Taylor & Guyver, 2012). The calls for, and willingness of, historians to enter into contemporary political questions of recognition, reconciliation and restitution are a more recent phenomenon (Torpey, 2006). Both trends contribute to the porousness between contemporary interests and our narrations of the past, constituting a clear threat to the distanciation that was once a staple of the practice of modern, academic history.

The terms, "historical thinking" and "historical consciousness" have roots that can be traced to the world of ideas that Plumb extolled. Anglophone history educators have used academic history as a governing framework for articulating the practices that students should learn. Continental history didacticians following Rüsen have posited a tolerant "genetic" historical consciousness that recognizes, accepts and learns from profound change over time as the ultimate goal of history education. But times *have* changed. Diverse classrooms with students from cultures that vigorously assert the presence of the past demand a rethinking of the purposes and practices of school history. Philosophers and theorists on one side, and researchers and practitioners on the other, will have to work together if we are to contribute to meaningful temporal orientations for the next generation in profoundly unsettled times.

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CHAPTER 4

Historical Culture: A Concept Revisited

Maria Grever and Robbert-Jan Adriaansen

Around the globe, public controversies on collective memory and history canons are always a good indicator for problems and tensions within or between societies.[1] Usually, the spokespersons of these debates criticize the supposed lack of historical consciousness, referring to the selection of topics in the school history curriculum and other historical representations (e.g. Granatstein, 1998; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Macintyre & Clark, 2004; Windschuttle, 1994). But sometimes they also challenge the premises of historical thought. In Canada, for example, some educators call for an incorporation of oral traditions and cyclical conceptions of time in the history curriculum, including claims for "indigenous epistemologies" as alternatives to modern historical consciousness (Seixas, 2012). Studying the social and cultural consequences of these debates and the last mentioned developments requires a framework of analysis which also involves conceptions of history, allowing us to better understand the dynamic interaction between human agency, tradition, performance of memory and historical representations and their dissemination. The umbrella concept historical culture, broadly defined as "people's relationships to the past", offers a good opportunity to construct such a framework.

In this chapter, we start by outlining the rise of the concept of historical culture. Building on the impressive work of particularly German historians and philosophers, we will also critically assess the various changing meanings of the concept. Next, we will discuss historical culture as a concept of three mutually dependent and interactive levels of analysis: (1) historical narratives

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and performances of the past, (2) mnemonic infrastructures (3) conceptions of history. We will conclude with some reflective remarks about our approach, especially in relation to history education practices.

Historical Culture: The History of a Concept

Historical culture (*Geschichtskultur*) as a research concept originates from the field of (West-) German history didactics (*Geschichtsdidaktik*) (Demantowsky, 2005; Schönemann, 2000). The concept gradually rose to prominence in the 1970s, when history educationalists started to look deeper into the extracurricular sources of historical knowledge that influenced school children's historical thinking. Until that time, in many European countries national curricula of history education and history textbooks were based on a hermeneutic tradition, which regarded historical knowledge as the product of an "internal discourse of professional historians" (Rüsen, 1987: 278). Within this tradition, the debates on history teaching in professional journals and newspapers primarily focused on what kind of historical knowledge should be transmitted, that is, the selection of topics and periods, and the balance between national, European and global history (Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011: 302; Filser, 2011; Grever, 1998).

The rise of the concept of historical culture can be understood as a response to the traditional hermeneutic approaches to history education. In the 1970s, the renewed tendency to treat history as a social science (Kocka, 2010; Vries, 1995) fueled a critique of historicism and hermeneutics. Driven by the emancipatory and reformative potential that history as a social science promised, another generation of historians and educators now investigated the construction and transmission of historical knowledge and the possible integration of the school subjects of history and civics—issues that gave way to history didactics as an academic sub-discipline of historiography (e.g. Dalhuisen et al., 1982; Husbands, 1996; Jeismann, 1977; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Macdonald, 2000; Shemilt, 1987; Toebes, 1987). The establishment of the International Society for History Didactics in 1980 marks the institutionalization of the sub-discipline.

History didacticians then adopted a social constructivist scope, with an interest in themes that reached beyond the classroom. According to Karl-Ernst Jeismann, history didactics should henceforth focus on the "persistent reconstruction and construction of historical conceptions" (Jeismann, 1977: 12) and involve educational contexts outside the classroom. History education was now seen as only one of many fields in which historical knowledge is constructed, hence history didactics attempted to include the extracurricular engagement with the past as well (Pandel, 1987). The understanding of history was no longer regarded as an act of mind, but as a social practice, with historical consciousness as its main aptitude. At the same time, several experts in academic historiography (Blaas, 1978; Pocock, 1971) pointed to the close relationship of historical consciousness and the growth of critical historical scholarship. According to Blaas (1978: 32), historical consciousness breaks living traditionalism down and corrects it by critical reflections and analyses of traditional consciousness. Historical consciousness became generally conceived

as an awareness of the fundamentally historical character of human behavior, knowledge, institutions, events and developments in society, including one's own position (e.g. Grever & Van Boxtel, 2014: 20; Koselleck, 2004; Rüsen, 1989; Seixas, 2004: 8–9).[2]

It was within this context that the concept historical culture (*Geschichtskultur*) was first coined in 1984 as a notion that designated the historical component of political culture (Pellens et al., 1984: 7). However, it took until the 1990s before historical culture became a central category within the field of history didactics; a research concept with its own developing methodology (Schönemann, 2006: 183). The main proponent of the concept was Jörn Rüsen, who concluded in a 1990 lecture in honor of Jeismann that historical learning has an outer and an inner side. The inner side refers to historical consciousness, which is individual (personal) and cognitive, whereas the outer side—historical culture—includes the institutions and organizations that form the infrastructure of historical learning, enabling the collective instruction for the acquisition of general and specialized historical knowledge (A. Assmann, 2010: 37; Rüsen, 1991: 17). Rüsen, referring to modern, Western education, defined historical culture as "the complete range of activities of historical consciousness" (Rüsen, 1997: 38). In this way he implicitly relies on a rather universalist approach instead of considering historical consciousness as a characteristic of modern, Western, historical culture. For Rüsen, however, historical culture is a categorical concept that denoted the various ways in which historical consciousness is articulated in society. Thus, historical culture comprises schools, government guidelines and schoolbooks, but also museums, exhibitions, historically inclined cultural industries, commemorations, mass media and similar institutions can be recapitulated in the category "historical culture" (Rüsen, 1991: 17).

In this conceptual framework, academic and (semi) popular institutions that constitute historical knowledge, which are usually studied independent of each other, are analyzed in a single framework. It is in the interplay between institutions (e.g. universities, schools, museums, monuments, media) and strategies of memory and dissemination (e.g. socialization, scholarly research, political justification, appropriation) where—according to Rüsen—historical culture works as a synthesizing concept. This involves both popular and academic culture, material and immaterial articulations, linking places of memory to functions of memory. By highlighting the historical (or better: historicist) dimension of various cultural fields, it could be possible to look into the historicity of the cultural praxis as a whole. "'History' is something principally idiosyncratic; it is closely connected to almost all cultural functions and forms, but at the same time it can be identified as a special element within it" (Rüsen, 1994: 5).

The concept of historical culture caught on rather quickly after its introduction, resulting in numerous publications in Germany (Demantowsky, 2005; Hasberg, 2004; Schönemann, 2000, 2006), as well as in its neighboring countries (Aronsson, 2000; Bryld, 1991; Grever, 2009; Loew, 2003; Ribbens, 2007). In 2004, a chair of history didactics with special emphasis on historical culture has been established at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (Germany). In 2006, the Center for Historical Culture was founded at Erasmus

University Rotterdam (The Netherlands); two years later, in 2008, the center also established an endowed chair "Historical Culture and Education".

The continuing popularity of the concept can be explained in reference to a broader historiographical turn in the 1990s. Historians increasingly treated their discipline not just as part of the humanities or of the social sciences, but as a cultural study that integrated the principles and methods of these respective paradigms (Hasberg, 2002: 60). The concept of historical culture benefited from what has been dubbed the "cultural turn" in the humanities, meaning a turn away from the social sciences approach to history as practiced in the 1970s and early 1980s with its focus on structures and processes, and the application of quantifying and comparative methods. The humanities now focused on discourse and representation (Ray & Sayer, 1991) and somewhat later on performativity (Austin, 1962; Winter, 2010), regarding exactly those aspects that were previously regarded of secondary—only super-structural—value, to be constitutive elements of social organization.

There was, however, a second reason for the popularity of the concept historical culture. As postmodernist and poststructuralist thought paved the way for the cultural and performative turns, debunking national myths has become a popular activity for historians since the 1980s—leading for example to important publications on the "invention" of tradition and the imaginative character of the nation researched by, respectively, Eric Hobsbawm (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1983). Of vital importance for the development of historical culture was the publication of the multivolume *Les Lieux de Mémoire* edited by Pierre Nora (1996–1998). Nora's deconstruction of the symbolical mnemonic universe of the French nation spurred research on social or collective memory throughout Western historiography, but it also created a distinction between academic historiography on the one hand and popular history on the other—a distinction further exacerbated by the work of David Lowenthal who stressed in his classic *The Heritage Crusade* that history and memory are two different "routes to the past" (Lowenthal, 1998: x–xi).[3] In the memory wave that flooded the humanities in the wake of *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, the distinction between historiography as a reflective and critical science on the one hand, and the "irresponsible" heritage practices and "uncontrollable" social memory on the other hand was maintained (Hasberg, 2002: 61). By redefining the concept of historical culture, German history didacticians tried to overcome this rift. Henceforth, they conceived historiography as one of the institutions that co-shape society's historical imagination and that was in its turn influenced by society. Historiography and memory are therefore both regarded as intrinsic and mutually constitutive parts of historical culture.

Most historians who have resorted to the concept since the 1990s have adopted a constructivist approach, viewing historical culture from the perspective of socialization (Bryld, 1991), as a form of *histoire des mentalités* (Raulff, 1993) or simply as a form of cultural history (Sabrow, 1997). Many perspectives have been discussed, just as the general historical culture has often been subdivided into different cultural domains over the past two decades.

Rüsen (1994), for example, promoted a subdivision of historical culture into three ideal-typical dimensions in which historical consciousness creates meaningful orientations in the lifeworld: an aesthetic, a cognitive and a political one. These dimensions allude to different historical phenomena that cannot be reduced to each other; the aesthetic dimension is linked with art, the cognitive with science and the political with politics. According to Rüsen, these are the fields in which historical memory expresses itself culturally.

The weakness of this tendency to subdivide historical culture into different cultural fields is that it shifts the focus from the genesis of historical knowledge to representations of historical knowledge. These categories indicate that memory is a collective and a cultural practice, but give few clues on *how* this practice functions. We think one of the main problems of the current state of both historical culture and memory studies is the emphasis on "collectivism" in these fields of study. Ever since the popularization of Maurice Halbwachs' works (1980, 1992), his adage that all memory is collective memory, as even the most personal memories are mediated by social mnemonic patterns, has become the core axiom of memory studies (J. Assmann, 1995) and consequently of historical culture. This type of reasoning leads to a perception of cultural memory and historical knowledge that keeps floating on a collective level. This may not surprise, because Halbwachs was strongly influenced by Durkheim's interpretation of society as an organism—one might even recognize the Durkheimian idea of a *conscience collective* in the notion of collective memory. But by focusing on the rhetoric of community, Halbwachs failed to notice "how individual memories can come together to form a group memory through the medium of actual social interaction—as, for example, in the telling of stories, the exchange of recollections between individuals" (Cappelletto, 2003: 242).

Basically, the problem with memory studies is that it has become a discourse that focuses too much on the mnemonic *representations* of specific events within specific social groups, thereby disregarding the production, performance and dissemination of memories in communicative interaction between people, groups and institutions (Kansteiner, 2002; Winter, 2010: 15). For example, every historian knows what *lieux de mémoire* are, and can give plenty of examples, but the question is how these mnemonic commonplaces became commonplaces in the first place. A revised theory of historical culture could counter this narrow focus on historical representations, offering possibilities to study them within the broader cultural context in which they are generated.

Historical Culture: Three Levels of Analysis

In the most general sense, historical culture is a holistic meta-historical concept that opens the investigation of how people deal with the past. The term "historical" refers to past events, including thoughts and ideas. The term "culture" comprises shared attitudes, values and perceptions of a group of people. The concept of historical culture encompasses not only the specific contents of

collective memory and historical imagination but also the ways in which relationships to the past are established in a dynamic interaction between human agency, tradition, performance of memory, historical representations and their dissemination, including the presumptions about what constitutes history. We therefore discern three mutually connected and interactive levels of analysis in the study of historical culture:

1. Historical narratives and performances of the past
2. Mnemonic infrastructures
3. Underlying conceptions of history

Historical Narratives and Performances of the Past

Telling specific stories about the past or expressing historical experiences is both describing and (re)creating what happened, it is both narrating and performing the past (Winter, 2010: 11). This process includes the production, (re)mediation, appropriation, dissemination and transmission of substantive interpretative frameworks by people who share in the present specific human experiences of the past. These substantive interpretations are articulated in, for instance, myths, historiography, texts in history schoolbooks, travel guides, recounted memories, but also staged re-enactments and rituals that relate past and present in various configurations. The term "configuration" refers to the process of narrative emplotment.

According to Ricoeur (1991), individuals and groups create identities through narratives, by producing oral, written or audio-visual stories which confirm, alter or undermine other (grand) narratives. Narrating is therefore not a means to express an identity that already exists; rather, it is generated by arranging facts, experiences and events in the meaningful coherence of a plot. In this way, Ricoeur (1988: 246–247) tries to overcome the dilemma between the continuity of a subject identical with itself—the formal category of identity (being the same)—and sheer change, by posing the dynamic category of narrative identity (oneself as self-same). This identity consists of a constant narrative refiguration in the view of new events, knowledge and experiences (Grever, 2012).

The vast majority of representations of the past rely on a plot that makes the past meaningful to its creator and his or her audience. This is the case for autobiographies, collective memories, academic historiography, popular media, historical re-enactments and even musical pieces. The plot has a mediating function on three levels. First, a plot mediates between individual events, experiences and the story as a whole. An individual event gains meaning from the way it is configured in the plot. The plot is in its turn more than the mere sum of the recounted events, because a story as a totality contains a certain "thought". Second, emplotment ties a large range of heterogeneous actors, situations, meanings, interactions and unexpected results together. Third, the

plot mediates between the time of the clock and experienced time as it creates a temporal unity of its own (Ricoeur, 1984: 64–70).

Although the narrative analysis of historical representations has been popular for decades, a more recent trend focuses on the *performance* of memory (Dean et al., 2015; Dening, 1996; Magelssen & Justice-Malloy, 2011; Taylor, 2003). Although performances could be analyzed as narratives—stories could be conveyed through performances, or performances could itself contain a narrative structure—the act of performing memory comprises a set of acts, which may be partly embodied in speech, but also in gestures, art or the body (Winter, 2010:12). Staged performances such as rituals, dances, plays, re-enactments or political rallies, or performed identities do not simply represent, but embody, recreate and actualize the past. Not only *what* is remembered is the subject of investigation but also the agents that remember and the contexts in which this remembrance takes place (Plate & Smelik, 2013: 5–6). This is an important step to overcome the deficiencies of memory studies discussed earlier. Interactions between the individual and collective levels are crucial here. Living in communities, individuals always somehow interact with externalized representations of a collective, often resulting in the synchronization and reduction of their experiences of the past (A. Assmann, 2010: 49; Zerubavel 2003). Hence, our starting point is a *participatory* historical culture (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998), referring to the ways people are involved in a mnemonic praxis, using various audio-visual means and a range of articulations, from popular to academic. We will address the issue of participatory belonging more extensive in the next paragraph.

In the dynamic process of assigning different meanings to the past by individuals and mnemonic communities, such as families, religious communities, college fraternities or generations, they articulate (perceived) shared experiences in rituals, commemorations and reunions. Here emphasis is placed on identity formation and emotion (Cornelissen et al., 2003), acquiring a social identity and familiarizing members of a specific community with that past to assimilate them (Zerubavel, 2003: 3). These articulations assume at least some kind of organization: a mnemonic infrastructure.

Mnemonic Infrastructures

To be able to tell specific stories about the past or to express historical experiences, people create material and immaterial mnemonic infrastructures, anchored in time and space. These infrastructures include for example annual ceremonies, national calendars, mnemonic sites and landscapes, heritage organizations, museums, archives, schools and other institutions. At a given location and at certain times, people in the present commemorate events from the past. According to Zerubavel (2003: 11–12), these commemorative actions are patterned and highly structured, resulting in a mnemonic synchronization and socialization of the members of any community. In other words, mnemonic

infrastructures enable a mediation between past and present, and between personal and collective memory.

The study of, for example, the historical culture of a nation state—one of the prime frameworks of collective identity since the nineteenth century—could clarify the ways in which mnemonic infrastructures carry and define specific articulations of the past. According to Pierre Nora, the rise of modernity and industrialization have caused the demise of what he called *milieux de mémoire* (environments of memory)—social environments like the church or the peasant village in which memory was transmitted more or less naturally via living traditions and customs (Nora, 1989: 7). In contrast, as the natural transmission of memory waned under the influence of the acceleration of history, and people became increasingly aware that the past essentially differs from the present, modern societies deliberately invented infrastructures to maintain a sense of historical continuity and to preserve the past. Consequently, modern societies, and especially nation states, tend to fixate memory in certain mental or physical "sites", which Nora called *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory); to counter oblivion; and to generate collective, national, identities. The emergence of history as a compulsory school subject in the nineteenth century demonstrated the increasing need of nation states for social cohesion and justification by constructing a shared—often glorified—past (Berger & Lorenz, 2008). These modern ways of remembering resulted in the ossification of the contents of historical memory in sites of memory as well. Large-scale projects discerning these physical or mental *lieux de mémoire* of various nations have studied, for example, Charlemagne, the fairytales of the Grimm brothers and the Berlin Wall for Germany (François & Schulze, 2001); Vichy, Joan of Arc and the Cathedral for France (Nora, 1996–1998); or Garibaldi, the mafia and the eighth of September for Italy (Isnenghi, 2013).

Although Nora's distinctions between *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* and true memory and artificial history have been criticized for being dramatic simplifications (LaCapra, 1998: 19), his work was of great importance for understanding the relationship between historical representation and mnemonic infrastructures in modern society. The emphasis Nora puts on the state as the prime orchestrator of historical memory in modernity is widely shared among historians. Scholars such as Eric Hobsbawm (1983, 1990) and Benedict Anderson (1983) have emphasized the ways nation states use the past in the process of imagining the nation. Others have drawn attention to the role of professional historiography as an important mythmaker for national identity in the nineteenth century (Berger et al., 1999).

Yet, it is important to realize that even when we agree that the nation state is the most crucial actor in the establishment of modern mnemonic infrastructures, this does not imply that the appropriation of the past was a top-down process. The state is what Maurice Mandelbaum called a continuing entity (Mandelbaum, 1977: 11): "an organized community that controls a particular territory; the organization of such a community is provided by institutions that serve to define the status occupied by different individuals and ascribe to them

the roles they are expected to play in perpetuating the continuing existence of the community". Paul Ricoeur has extended the notion of a continuing entity with the element "participatory belonging" or collective participation. Collective participation implies the actions and reflections of individuals within communities or societies, according to its aims, roles and institutional rules as enforced by the state. The implicit and explicit refusal of these aims and rules belong to collective participation as well (Ricoeur, 1984: 198–199). The notion of collective participation is important when studying mnemonic infrastructures. In Germany, for example, the imagination of a national past has throughout the nineteenth century primarily been a private and local initiative (Applegate, 1990; Confino, 2006; Tacke, 1995)—a tradition that continued after the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. The establishment of the colossal Monument to the Battle of the Nations in Leipzig in 1913 was—for example—a private initiative that was regarded with suspicion by the state, which favored dynastic over national commemoration (Adriaansen, 2015: 28–29).

Whereas Mandelbaum mainly points to states and cities and emphasizes the control of territory when discussing continuing entities, Ricoeur also includes classes, social movements and (sub)cultures as examples of continuing entities (Jansen, 2015: 8; Ricoeur, 1984; 198).[4] All these entities are participants in a larger historical culture, but they also create mnemonic infrastructures—archives, commemorations, calendars—to ensure the transmission of their own memories, narratives and identities, and therefore their own transgenerational continuation. Yet, we have to realize that, although Mandelbaum's entities refer to real phenomena, they lack any ontological or universal status. Studying mnemonic infrastructures as mediating constructions has primarily heuristic value. It is important nonetheless to remain aware that in the world of a specific examined cultural community or society, these infrastructures are sometimes conceived ontologically. This is especially—but not exclusively—the case when we study how pre-modern or non-Western societies relate to the past. The ritual practices that make up the mnemonic infrastructure of what Claude Lévi-Strauss called "cold" ("primitive") societies—such as several indigenous cultures—do, for example, not mediate between present and past but aim to annul this opposition in rituals (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 237). For this reason, it is necessary to explore and to understand the underlying conceptions of history of the cultural community or society in question. That is the third level of analysis of our concept.

Underlying Conceptions of History

The two abovementioned levels of analysis—historical narratives/performances of the past and mnemonic infrastructures—are constituted by conceptions of history and can in turn alter conceptions of history. Historical cultures always presume a certain, often implicit, conception of history—an idea of what history *is* (Adriaansen, 2015: 4). A conception of history is a specific interpreta-

tion of the relationship between the three temporal dimensions past, present and future that determines on the one hand a degree of human agency and on the other the epistemological (im)possibilities to know the past. François Hartog, for example, discerns three regimes of historicity, which can be understood as articulations of conceptions of history (Hartog, 2015: 15–19).

First, there is a "passeist" regime of historicity in which the past determined the present and the future. Here, the past serves as a storehouse for moral lessons to guide future-oriented actions in the present. In this regime—which dated from Homer to Romanticism—the past functions as a guide for life, as captured in the Ciceronian dictum *historia magistra vitae*. Second, in a "futurist" regime of historicity the present is not defined by the past, but by the future. With Reinhart Koselleck (2004), Hartog states that in this conception of history, the past no longer serves as a model, but provides meaning in reference to expectations of the future. The experience of an acceleration of history during the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution resulted in the experience of a rupture between past and present. In the period 1750–1850, a new conception of history developed in the West, which was rooted in modern historical consciousness—the awareness that the past is essentially different from the present (Blaas, 1978; Gadamer, 1987).

To bridge the gap between past and present, historical narratives of progress and development were generated—narratives that tie the distant past and the unknown future together in a single explanatory framework. The future—imagined for example as liberal freedom, as the realization of a nation's special mission or as a classless society—now defined history as a progressive chain linked through rational human action conceived as development. Third, Hartog defines a "presentist" regime of historicity. In Hartog's understanding of presentism, the present defines both past and future. Hartog explicitly links the rise of presentism to the bankruptcy of grand narratives in the postmodern condition, and the consequential loss of the sense of a larger meaning in the historical process. What man is left with is memory. It is no coincidence that Hartog sees the rising popularity of heritage and memory over the last decades as indicative for the rise of a presentist regime of historicity (Hartog, 2015: 195).

We can, however, identify two weaknesses of Hartog's approach to conceptions of history, which need to be taken into account. Both somehow seem to hamper an inclusive study of historical cultures. A first weakness is that in all regimes Hartog discerns, historical narration is initiated by a narrator—be it the Homerian bard or the modern historian—who bases his narrative on expertise gained through personal experience and inquiry. Consequently, divergent narrative traditions dealing with the past can too easily be attributed to the domain of myth, rather than history. However, historian Ranajit Guha has, for example, shown in his analysis of the mnemonic practices in the Mahabharata that ancient Indian oral traditions did not start from the narrator's experience in exploring the past but rather from the demands of the audience, to which orators kept retelling and rephrasing the story to the extent that the story may seem to have lost any reference to historical 'reality' (Guha, 2003: 56). Therefore these nar-

ratives relied neither on the immediacy of experience, nor on western notions of 'truth'. Yet they do comprise an important part of Indian historical culture.

Second, in many conceptions of history, there is more to time than the three temporal dimensions of past, present and future that Hartog focuses on. A category like the "eternal" that makes little sense to contemporary scholars was and is a fundamental part of reality for many cultures and religions. One example is found in eschatological conceptions of history. The Roman Catholic church father Saint Augustine, for example, did not link time to the measurement of celestial bodies, as the philosopher Aristotle (1936) had done, but related time to Creation. For him, time could only exist as long as there were souls, that is, time was created with the world and time itself was apt to end with salvation (Löwith, 1949: 162). In this perspective, time does not flow perpetually; rather, time is closed off by something that is beyond time: eternity. For Augustine, time is a void in timeless eternity, the eternal being of God. The link between the expectation of the end of time and the end of Creation constituted the core of Augustine's eschatology. Trying to comprehend the ways in which Late Ancient Christianity related to the past without understanding the peculiarities of the conceptions of history underlying this relationship could result in naively presupposing one's own conception of history to be universal. It is therefore of utmost importance to take the possible boundaries of the three dimensions of time into account when studying conceptions of history, because they open up both the possibilities *and* the impossibilities of thinking beyond "modernity", and of trying to surpass the epistemic boundaries of one's own culture (Adriaansen, 2015: 4).

Conclusion

The concept of historical culture arose in German history didactics in the late 1970s to study the interplay between academic and (semi) popular institutions that constitute historical knowledge. Here—according to Rüsen—historical culture works as a synthesizing concept, involving extracurricular and curricular knowledge, material and immaterial articulations, linking places of memory to functions of memory. The concept gained renewed relevance in the wake of the cultural turn and the memory boom as a holistic, meta-historical concept that enables the integral study of past-relationships in societies. The rising popularity of social constructivism and memory studies has introduced its own problems. First, scholars became increasingly occupied with the issue of defining the relationship between the concept historical culture and concepts from memory studies such as memory culture (Demantowsky, 2005; Hasberg, 2004), and thus focused mainly on definition issues. Second, we noticed that the classification schemes which were devised to show which cultural domains interacted within historical cultures (Rüsen, 1994) provided few tools to study the actual genesis and perception of historical (re)presentations. Third, the perceived connection of historical culture to historical consciousness obstructed the study of pre-modern, non-Western and postcolonial relations to the past,

which may invoke other conceptions of history and often rely on other means than representation to establish past-relationships. This critique could be extended to the study of the modern-day focus on "experience" in heritage education (Grever et al., 2012).

To counter these issues, we propose an inclusive concept of historical culture which does not rely on a classification of cultural (sub)domains of historical cultures, but on three levels of analysis which—in our view—enable an inclusive study of heterogeneous and dynamic relationships to the past. First, we discerned the actual historical narratives and performances—from popular to academic—through which the past gains meaning through emplotment and affection, that is, substantive historical interpretations in the form of myths, historiography, schoolbooks, travel guides, recounted memories, but also staged re-enactments and rituals. Second, these literal or symbolic articulations of relationships with the past rely on and in turn (re)define mnemonic infrastructures. This level of analysis refers to the social and cultural structures that maintain and constitute narrative and performative articulations about the past. These structures—from material to immaterial—in turn rely on historical (re)presentations to underline their social relevance through, for example, the suggestion of its historic continuity. Third, all historical cultures depend on specific conceptions of history—axiomatic understandings of how past, present and future are related to each other, including forms of (modern) historical consciousness.

We think that historical culture as a dynamic and inclusive concept of these three, mutually dependent and interactive levels of analysis supports the theorizing of history education research. Such a conception is useful in the context of contemporary multicultural classrooms, where students come from different religious and sociocultural backgrounds and increasingly encounter popular articulations of the past and use new media. Although reflection on the three levels, particularly on the conceptions of history which students from various cultures unconsciously bring into history classes, will not resolve the difficulties of constructing a critical, coherent and inclusive history curriculum in itself, we hope it will enhance a dialogue about the possibilities and the boundaries of a cross-cultural study of historical culture.

Notes

1. We thank Peter Seixas for his valuable comments.
2. See also Seixas' chapter "Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking" in this volume.
3. Recently, Lowenthal (2015: 14–15) mitigated this distinction.
4. We thank Harry Jansen for drawing our attention to this issue.

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CHAPTER 5

Historical Rights to Land: How Latin American States Made the Past Normative and What Happened to History and Historical Education as a Result

Tamar Herzog

Historical right to land is the explanation most countries adopt to justify both their existing and/or desired territorial extension (Blum, 1965: 9–21; Hill, 1945: 81–90; Meisels, 2005: 25–46). Enumerating certain facts that allegedly point to a moral or legal right to a certain territory, their leaders, jurists, and public suggest that a previous occupation that had either continued or ceased would be the reason for their claims at the present. In these narratives, the acquisition or holding of land are presented as fundamental to both state and national affirmation. Whether economically, militarily, and politically important or not, they are deemed intrinsically linked to the formation of a national identity (Kemp & Ben-Eliezer, 2000; Murphy, 1990: 532, 544–545). As a result, struggle to affirm historical rights can sometimes include tiny pieces of land whose value—to outside observers—is not necessarily evident. In these cases, the conflict becomes extremely symbolic and serves as an occasion to dramatize questions of sovereignty that are tied in the eyes of both local and international observers also to issues of national reputation.

What happened on the territory in the past had always been relevant to the decision of who had rights to which places. Integrated into the law by privileging "ancient occupation" over newer one, nevertheless, most jurists and

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historians argue that it was only after the Peace of Westphalia celebrated in 1648 (that set the current-day European system of states) or the early nineteenth century (the Napoleonic rearrangement of the map of Europe) that the vindication of "historical rights" became so powerful. As a result of their prominence, arguments pointing at history gradually marginalized other justifications for holding or acquiring land that were previously as important, such as winning a "just war," conducting an extensive "conversion" or "civilizing" mission, discovering an unoccupied territory, and so forth. Commitment was a process that slowly restricted the legality of war, limiting it to cases, in which violence was necessary in order to defend legitimate rights or claim their restitution. Particularly pronounced in the twentieth century, these developments were also accompanied by the emergence of an international law that supported the sanctity of property and the right to defend it even by using force. This law suggested that those who possessed a territory should do so in perpetuity. Combined with the birth and the affirmation of modern nations, all these factors conjured to bring about a conviction that there was such a thing as a permanent "national sovereignty" or, differently said, that each nation or state had a historical right to a certain territory.

While these political and juridical developments had been extensively studied, what remain under-analyzed are the relations they established between history and law, the politics of national affirmation and historical culture. How did relying on the past for territorial claim-making affect the study and teaching of history? What was the role of education in ensuring that citizens acquire the "correct" understanding of their country's entitlements and support its vindications? In what follows, I will analyze some of these questions by studying the way Latin American states debated their borders. My aim would be to suggest that the adoption of legal rules that made the past normative greatly influenced the way history was instituted, researched, studied, and taught. Among other things, it created a considerable discrepancy between, on the one hand, what historians concluded and, on the other, what politicians argued and teachers instructed. While the former believed the past was complex and constantly mutating, the later suggested that it had an unequivocal meaning and a clear permanence.

Historical Rights to Land: The Latin American Case

Standard narrative tells us that, soon after their emergence in the early nineteenth century and in the midst of an enormous political, social, and economic turmoil, the representatives of the newly created Latin American republics adopted the principle of *uti possedetis*, by which they agreed that each state would conserve the territory that was its own during the colonial period (Castellino & Allen, 2003: 57–89; Kohen, 1997: 426–428; Lalonde, 2002: 24–60; Touri, 2012: 1029–1030). Marking the emergence of a new principle of international law that would thereafter be adopted by other countries and continents in order to solve their post-colonial tensions, in the

aftermath of this agreement, the new political entities—which claimed to be heirs to Spain and Portugal—strove to define their respective territories by reference to what had transpired before they were founded. Agreement on principles, however, did not guarantee consensus. As soon as the representative of the various states set out to clarify their borders, discord emerged (Baud, 2004; Egas s/f: 9; Jones Parra, 1956: 13; Marin Madrid, 1988: 79).[1] Thereafter, it became clear that, in order to identify the status quo that existed before independence and define, in precise term, who was occupying which territory at that point, multiple questions had to be addressed. Should the pre-independent situation be determined according to the treaties among the colonial powers? Or according to royal decrees? ("uti possedetis juris") or perhaps following the criteria of actual occupation? ("uti possedetis de facto"). Also asked was the question which colonial units should be adopted as the forefathers of present states: should the new republics adopt the extension of provincial (*intendencia*) divisions? Juridical districts (*audiencia*)? Vice regal territories? Ecclesiastical jurisdictions? What was, for example, the true extension of the colonial unit, which would define present-day Ecuador? (Herzog, 2002: 166–167; Lalonde, 2002: 35–36). Did it extend all the way to the Amazon Basin and included the province of Mainas because it was conquered and maintained by the Jesuit order with headquarters in Quito and because it was subjected to its tribunal (*audiencia*), or should it exclude this province because it was under the bishop and the viceroy located in Lima, Peru? This question, that had confronted both countries from their creation and until fairly recently, had no clear answer because administrative, juridical, ecclesiastical, and political borders did not coincide, granting some powers in the region to authorities in Lima and others to those located in Quito. Neither was this an interrogation only raised after independence. Already in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, local authorities were confused about the proper allegiance of Mainas and had fought over its correct classification, only to receive from Madrid confused and incoherent responses, among other things, because the logic of the Ancient Regime could peacefully accept such apparent contradictions.

But even if the answer to these queries would have been consensual (which it was not), it was still unclear how particular units should be reconstructed and who should belong to them. Returning to the discussion above, what did Mainas consist of? Certainly a few villages and towns could be identified as belonging to this province, but what was the extension of their territories? Otherwise said, where did Mainas begin and where it ended? Had there been a constant and efficient presence of government in the region, one could imagine that overtime these questions would be resolved, as the different authorities would need to define the precise geographical extension of their powers. But, in an early modern period, in which government was mostly absent, the material extension of its jurisdiction was often as blurred or as changing as were the boundaries of villages, towns, and provinces. There were hardly any official definitions that one could adopt and, when these existed, they constantly mutated

either *de iure* or de facto because the extension of territories and jurisdictions suffered frequent changes and redefinitions.

As if these complexities were insufficient, Latin American discussants also disagreed on the "critical date," in which their entitlements would be examined, as the process of independence did not happen all over the continent at the same time, and as it affected neighboring countries at different chronologies and speeds. Under these circumstances, even an agreement on a year would be insufficient, as rival states would be required to identify the day, perhaps, on occasions, even the hour, against which their entitlements should be examined.

If understanding which territories belonged to colonial powers in which point in time was difficult, there was as much debate regarding what to do with territories and peoples that were external to the colonial system, in which they were considered only as potential expansion zones (Cézar de Carvalho, 1995; Fifer, 1966: 360–364; Figallo, 2003). Agreeing in the 1810s and 1820s that such territories would no longer be open for European domination, their belonging to one Latin American state or the other nevertheless required clarification. This question was of utmost importance as some of these territories were extremely large and could include, as in the case of the future Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, the bulk of what was to become their national territory. The issue of who these territories should belong to or, rather, which of the new states would have the right to expand in their direction, thus became highly conflictual. And, although the various Latin American states described these processes of extension as "internal" rather than "external," they nevertheless required an outward rather than inward movement by projecting the newly founded states onto new areas, which were never under colonial domination. These processes of annexation brought about litigation regarding which of the new Latin American states could expand where, but they also involved attempts to either annihilate or insert the inhabitants of these marginal areas into the national commonwealth. The tactics that were adopted in order to do so were various. The new states could military conquer these territories, they could extend their jurisdiction into them more or less peacefully, more or less legally, they could transform their inhabitants—with or without their consent—into citizens, they could send immigrants to colonize them, or all of the above. Taking some 100 years to complete and, according to some, still underway today, these developments guaranteed that enormous territories whose status could *not* be determined according to *uti possedetis* would be incorporated into most (if not all) Latin American states. According to scholars who examined these processes of expansion, this enlargement involved the nationalization of both territory and people and justified on occasions of extreme violence (García Jordán & Sala I Vila, 1998). It also entailed the struggle on the one hand to convince local residents that they were already nationals and, on the other, to guarantee that their compatriots would consider them thus (Lewis, 1994). In these cases, territorial conflicts among Latin American states could be centered

on identifying the loyalties of local inhabitants, suggesting, for example, that if they were Ecuadorian, so was their land (Herzog, 2002: 170–175). Thereafter, the inclusion of individuals on electoral lists could be considered a territorial incursion even if no other hostile measures were adopted, because by making locals nationals one also pretended to annex their territory, or so did Latin American diplomats and politicians believed.

But even if all these theoretical questions (that had enormous practical consequences) could be resolved, reference to the past also required deciding how each understanding would be implemented and what would its specific, concrete results, be. This proved no less contentious. In part, interpretation was difficult due to the lack of information, the absence of accurate maps, or the constant changes in the names of locations, rivers, and mountains. Yet, more often than not, the main problem was the disagreement as to how to reconstruct the past. Otherwise said, while adopting the pre-independence status quo as a rule was consensual, understanding what it implied required an agreement, which was often lacking, regarding what the past looked like and how it could be reproduced at the present time.[2]

Border Conflicts and Historical Culture

Here as elsewhere, discussants appealed to nationalist sentiments. They justified their positions by arguing the need to defend a homeland, as if this homeland already existed rather than was in the process of being created and defined. They invoked a "territorial law," which they portrayed as the cornerstone of nationhood, suggesting that if the youth (*juventud*) would familiarize itself with the historical rights of their country, it would "wake their minds and accelerate their hearts… as with all that touches the land, the spirit and the blood" (*porque despierta la mente y acelera el corazón… con todo aquello que roza la tierra, el alma y la sangre*) (Pimentel Carbó s/f: 1). The need to defend the preexistence of a national space also led to the formation of military geographical institutes that were to map the country, translating on paper the ambitions of its elites (Dodds, 1993: 365). The fiction that there was a clear territory that one had to defend was also evident in a plethora of publications that, following a Darwinian vision of geopolitics and international relations, suggested that stronger states constantly infringed on the rights of weaker ones.

Border Conflicts and the Teaching of History

In some countries, intellectuals called to include the history of the national territorial formation in school curriculum or lamented the fact that having once been taught, it had been eliminated thereafter (Véliz Mendoza s/f: 3–4). They expressed their surprise that students are instructed in so many different disciplines but do not learn such an important topic. Responding to such

pressures, in 1991, for example, the Ecuadorian congress unanimously passed a resolution that declared the teaching of the history of the border a "necessary and urgent obligation" because there was a "national imperative" that students would familiarize themselves with the "geographical reality of the *patria*."[3] One of the books that the congress suggested could be adopted for that end subscribed to this thesis. Its author insisted on the complete continuity between an Ecuadorian space that was said to have existed in prehistory (during the pre-colonial time), continued during the conquest and colonial period and persisted (or rather should have persisted if it were not for the constant pressure by neighboring countries) after independence (Aníbal Mendoza s/f). The appendix included a phantasmagorical map that adjudicated to Ecuador not only extensive territories in the Amazon basin (currently held by other Latin American countries) but also even extended its jurisdiction to the Pacific Ocean and the Brazilian city of Belém do Pará. This map, drawn by the author, was authorized by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Foreign Relations and by the Geographic Military Institute in the capital, Quito. At around the same period, Ecuadorian children were also exposed in schools to similar maps that corresponded to the official stand regarding the extension that Ecuador should legitimately have. Inculcating in them an "imaginative geography" that propelled a sense of loss and injustice, children were also taught that the discovery of the Amazon basin in 1542 by Francisco Orellana was "a transcendental fact" of Ecuadorian nationhood (Radcliffe, 1998: 277–281). They participated in commemorations celebrating this achievement and learned that it was "the duty of present and future generations to demand our rights over the Amazon." In order to sustain this claim, school text books portrayed Peru (Ecuador's greatest territorial competitor according to this narrative) as a foreign entity and a perpetual enemy. Children were thus taught that during pre-Colombian times an independent pre-Hispanic "kingdom of Quito" fought against the constant aggression of the Inca Empire (with capital in Cuzco, in present-day Peru). The conclusion that they were to reach was simple: the confrontation between the two countries dated back to the pre-colonial period, it continued during the colonial times, and it persisted to date. School children were also encouraged to remember that even in times of peace Peru was and will always be the number one enemy. The duty of a patriot, they were told, was to "sacrifice for the territorial integrity, defense of honor, decorum and national glories," and employ a "constant vigilance for the integrity of our territory."

The Ecuadorian case was not unique. Argentinian school children were also taught a particular vision of their national territory that centered on territorial losses and vulnerabilities, while ignoring Argentina's huge territorial gains (Dodds, 1993: 368; Escudé, 1986: 225–230, 233–234; 1998). Preoccupation with loss was such that nowhere was there an admission that the territories allegedly lost might have been contested, or might have not been truly Argentinian before they were "taken away." A study of 75 text-

books used in primary and secondary schools between 1879 and 1986, for example, demonstrated that most depicted the Malvinas (Falkland) islands as having always been Argentinian (Escudé, 1987: 11–139, 145–159). Rarely was there a mention of the legal claims of the United Kingdom to these islands, or of the fact that this other country actually possessed them. In most cases, rather than portraying the Malvinas as they truly were (a marginal and fairly barren territory), these islands were presented as a terrestrial paradise. Encouraging the youth to "perpetually" demand what they would be Argentinian, most text books also suggested that the same vindication could be voiced with respect to several islands in the Beagle channel (litigated with Chile) and a segment of Antarctica (which Argentina claimed as its own). Argentina's rights to these territories, school children were taught, were founded on "geographical position, historical antecedents as well as real acts that created unquestionable" entitlements.[4] Vindications were particularly present in textbook published during periods of political or military conflict. Following such events, in 1979, for example, the ministry of education published a short pamphlet that sought to justify the Argentinian stand in the litigation with Chile over the possession of Picton, Lennox and Nueva (several islands in the eastern end of the Beagle channel that link the Pacific to the Atlantic). It appealed to the "permanent necessity to spread the principles of our national sovereignty" as part of the "integral formation of all Argentinians."[5]

This "territorial nationalism" as some have identified it, led to deeply rooted convictions. A 1985 Gallup public opinion survey carried out in Buenos Aires and several of Argentina's provincial capitals concluded that as many as 73.6 % of all individuals polled believed that their country had lost rather than won territories over time. The more educated individuals were, the more likely they were to uphold this interpretation.[6] These findings lead researchers to conclude that "the myth of Argentinian territorial losses is basically transmitted by the educational system" (Escudé, 1998: 156–157). This myth, they further suggested, was inculcated in children by annually celebrating the "Day of Argentinian Antarctic" and by showing them maps that graphically demonstrated the progressive loss of territory. Because since 1946 legally all maps produced in Argentina (and thus used in schools) had to be authorized by the *Instituto Geográfico Militar* and include the Falkland Islands (which Argentina claimed from the United Kingdom), as well as parts of the Antarctic (that Argentina considered its own), this interpretation of loss was particularly intense. After all, children who had been accustomed to consider these parts Argentinian would perhaps not rejoice if they eventually became thus, but would be extremely unhappy, and feel a loss, if they did not.

Ecuador and Argentina were not the only countries to follow such policies. A history textbook used in secondary education in Venezuela in the 1980s congratulated its president for insisting on recuperating the Essequibo, a province

of Guyana that Venezuela claimed as its own because it was "an important part of the territory that was taken away from us."[7] That the status of this province was already debated between Spain and the Netherlands and then Spain and Great Britain even before the independence of Venezuela and Guyana took place, did not matter; nor did it matter that, in the past, Venezuela's pretensions for that territory were rejected and that the independence of Guyana and the inclusion of Essequibo in its territory was (and still is) recognized by most countries. Similarly, twentieth-century Brazilian textbooks identified *Bandeirantes* (the residents of São Paulo who roamed the interior of the continent and laid basis for Portuguese and subsequently Brazilian claims for extended territories) and Jesuits (who established missions in the interior) as national symbols.[8] To support such claims, among the "principle accomplishments" of Brazil that these books enumerated were the "conquest and resettlement of the territory." As happened in other cases of territorial vindications, that *Bandeirantes* and Jesuits were mostly of foreign extraction, that is, not even Portuguese, let alone Brazilian, and that they were not necessarily interested in territorial acquisition or had achieved one, were deemed irrelevant (Vilardaga, 2010).

Back to Historical Culture

The search to justify the present by observing (and reconstructing) the past guaranteed that historians as individuals and history as a discipline would occupy an important place in the Latin American public sphere. It explained why governments financed multiple missions to foreign archives in order to search for colonial documentation and why local archives were ordered and their documentation augmented with the purchase of additional material.[9] Latin American governments also encouraged and subsidized the publication of primary sources with the aim of making them available to the wider public.

Although constantly present in the public sphere and forming part of the habitual school curricula, the instrumentalization of history was particularly noticeable in times of crisis. Each border episode and each dispute were followed by a resurge in historical studies, mainly focused on the affirmation of both nationhood and territory.[10] Thereafter, historians could be presented as national heroes because their investigations saved the country from "pernicious consequences," that is, territorial loses.[11] Or, on the contrary, they could be classified as traitors if they questioned, let alone suggested, that their country's claims were unfounded because, according to the dominant narrative, no reasonable person "could have even the most minor doubt" regarding those rights (Escudé, 1987: 132–133). The emphasis on the political role of historians led to the emergence of a particular type of historical culture that affirmed that history must serve a "useful" purpose, which could only be filled by scholars telling a certain (prewritten) story that would back particular political or legal claims. To write or suggest otherwise or to engage in other historical questions

that would be irrelevant to the affirmation of territorial rights seemed either heretical or simply a waste of time.

Questioning the Relations Between History and Law

Although, on occasions, some Latin American intellectuals and political leaders called for the adoption of solutions to territorial conflicts that would *not* depend on historical rights but instead would follow convenience or the principles of self-determination, to mention just two options, while others lamented the "militant and vindictive nationalism," which discouraged a serious dialogue and led to the "mystification" of the past, most such pleas were rejected by a public opinion that, having been brought up to believe in the sanctity of an ancient "national territory," refused to concede otherwise (Belaúnde, 1942: v.1, 355–356; Grimson 2003: 46; Nocetti & Mir, 1997: 7–8).[12] Even the admission that "documents were sometimes unclear," that "there was no authentic concept of border between nations" or that "divisions were blurred because the territory was depopulated and unused" was insufficient to cast doubts on the pretense that there was once a national territory that had been lost (or could soon be lost) to a voracious neighbor or that each country had "unequivocal rights" to certain lands (Sepúlveda, 1958/1959: 17, 20).[13] That discussions sometimes involved territories that were believed to harbor great natural and thus economic riches and that frontier conflicts frequently involved the private interests of (often international) powerful corporations, only made this insistence on safe-guarding national rights and national honor greater.[14] As a result, the vision that linked territorial arrangements to both past entitlements and national affirmation persisted in Latin America despite the conclusion of many scholars that perhaps as much as 75 % of present day borders were the results of post-independence conflicts that were resolved through bilateral negotiations, arbitration, or war (Foucher, 1986: 179–183).[15]

Nonetheless, the mere fact that the representatives of the various Latin American states all found ways to justify their radically different versions of what had transpired in the colonial period confirmed what most historians already knew, namely, that the past was open to multiple readings. At stake was not necessarily the question whether one side were lying and the other telling the truth, as many individuals involved in these conflicts argued. Instead, what the accumulation of contradictory interpretations demonstrated was the uncertainty of the past. Historians who had researched colonial borders would agree. They suggested that early modern borders were living organisms, which constantly advanced and retracted (Grimson, 2003: 43–48; Herzog, 2015; Nocetti & Mir, 1997). They demonstrated that colonial maps, which the parties sometimes used to back their claims, did not necessarily depict reality but often represented a political proposition or a cultural projection (Martínez Sierra, 1975: v.1, 159–162; Ojer, 1989: 41).[16] Rather than dependent on formal declarations, laws, and treaties, in the period that predated the emergence of sovereign states, territorial rights mainly came about as a result of the activities

undertaken by individuals living on the territory (Herzog, 2015; Prescott & Triggs, 2008: 7). These individuals took possession of the land and it was their occupation of it (as long as it lasted and to the measure that it did) that gave them *and* their monarch rights. Colonial narratives also affirmed that many different individuals and communities were involved in such dynamics and that their constant attempts to get hold of the land rarely produced the permanent monopolization of space that their successors argued for. Rather than enduring and clear, what these activities did was to generate complex situations, in which various individuals or groups could occupy the same terrain simultaneously, or they could occupy it alternatively in successive waves that came and retreated without ever taking hold of the land. Otherwise said, to determine which territory belonged to whom, it was essential to ask at what time, on which day, and who the person holding it was. It was equally crucial to understand if the inhabitants had planted a field, collected fruits, or let their animals pasture, as each one of these activities created a different pattern of occupation. The question if a certain colonial unit did or did not possess the territory, in short, required understanding what actually happened on the ground, by whom, on whose authority, for how long, and how it changed over time. Dependent on occupation, possession, and usage rather than treaties or wars, colonial territorial rights were fluid rather than permanent, conditional rather than absolute.

If, on the one hand, the past was never clear, on the other, there are good reasons to question what we can learn from it. Historians of Europe have described to us in great detail how private property on the one hand, territorial jurisdiction of states, on the other, were invented in the seventeenth century, matured in the eighteenth century, and became sacrosanct in the nineteenth century. In the process, property and territoriality were redefined. Rather than contingent and dependent on use, by the nineteenth century, they became permanent and, rather than tied to a series of requirements that limited their utilization by considerations of common good, they also became unconditional (Redclift, 2006: 27–30; Tuck, 2003: 157–158). Gone were arguments, extremely powerful in the early modern period, that sustained rights by referencing "just wars," conversion, "civilization," or even "improvement." If the legal venues for territorial acquisition had radically changed, so did actors. While current day scholars observing the past tend to assume that states were the main agents in the acquisition of rights, for those studying history, it is clear that during the early modern period, merchants, settlers, and ecclesiastics, to name just a few examples, were much more central to border dynamics than "state agents."

If insisting on states was anachronistic, so were attempts to nationalize colonial subjects by arguing that they were "proto-Ecuadorian," or "proto-Peruvian" or suggesting that their activities in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries did not benefit Spain or Portugal but instead only the limited territory that in the early nineteenth century would constitute a new state (Jones Parra, 1956: 13; Marsico & Conetti, 1984: 5–16).[17] Equally anachronistic was the pretense that colonial territories, which were shaped like

an archipelago with islands of occupation in a sea of unoccupied land, should be reconstructed as the continuous territorial space Latin American states demanded for themselves (Herzog, 2002; Santamarina, 1968: 13–15).[18]

If, internally, *uti possedetis* led to the emergence of a particular type of historical culture and historical teaching that, in order to serve the alleged interests of nation and state, resisted contextualization and historiocization, externally, it allowed observing without seeing. Thus, while Latin American scholars lamented the consequences of dependence on the past, most international scholars adopted the Latin American experience as exemplary. They argue that, while *uti possedetis* functioned well in that continent, it failed as a principle of international law elsewhere because it could only solve a post-colonial situation where the colonial entities were "natural" (as in Latin America) rather than "artificially created" (as elsewhere). These international experts thus conclude that, fit to Latin American conditions, *uti possedetis* failed to provide for peace in Africa and Asia (Castellino & Allen, 2003: 7).

If rights are entitlements, history is the study of change over time. Making the former (rights) static when the latter (history) continuously mutates necessarily involves an arbitrary act. It requires that we fossilize our understanding of what had transpired or/and prefer one moment to the other, suggesting that that had taken place before or after was irrelevant or inconsequential (Ivison, 2012: 248–258). While it is clear that the past might convey certain normative values that might legitimize certain claims, it is also evident that it cannot supply clear answers (Herrero y Rodríguez de Miñón, 1991: 29, 35, 38–40). Like law, history calls upon present-day actors to decide what they value most, what they understand to be the right reading, what they select to highlight, and what they prefer to silence.

Notes

1. For a comparative perspective see Rooke (2006: 123–139); Foucher (1986: 179–183).
2. On the difficulties, Latin American states faced understanding their entitlements and the reliance on the opinion of foreign experts and travelers see Lima (1972); Oberacker (1976). On the activities of Humboldt and his imprint in debates on borders in Latin America also see Lucena Giraldo (2002).
3. "Congreso nacional resuelve que la enseñanza de derecho territorial sea obligatoria." (The National Congress Resolves that the teaching of Territorial Law would be Obligatory). Reproduced in Anibal Mendoza (s/f: 5–6).
4. "Our country because of its geographical position, historical antecedents and real acts that create unquestionable rights, has legitimate foundations of sovereignty" (*Nuestro país, por su posición geográfica, por antecedentes históricos y por actos reales que crean derechos incuestionables,*

cuenta con legítimos fundamentos de soberanía): cited in Escudé (1987: 126).

5. "Given the necessity to spread permanently the principles that constitute our national sovereignty and considering that it is part of the integral formation of the Argentinian man; that educational action should insist permanently on the sovereign rights over our territory" (*Vista la necesidad de difundir permanentemente los principios que hacen a nuestra soberanía nacional y considerando que ello hace la formación integral del hombre argentino; que la acción educacional debe remarcar en forma permanente los derechos soberanos sobre nuestro territorio…*): cited in Escudé (1987: 123).
6. While only 61 % of those who had not finished primary school adopted this view, 86.1 % of those with a university degree did.
7. "Recuperate the important part of the territory that was stripped away from us" (*Recuperar la importante parte del territorio de que fuimos despojados*): cited in Escudé (1987: 98). Also see 96 and 100–101.
8. This was particularly evident during the Estado Novo: Nava (1998: 41, 53). Similar images continued present in the Brazilian public sphere into the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and many still persist to date: Cortesão (1958); d'Escragnolle Taunay (1924–1950); Buarque de Holanda (1975).
9. "One of the direct reasons that the newly born American republics had to initiate historical studies in national and foreign archives were the international conflicts regarding the delimitation of their frontiers" (*Una de las causas directas que las nacientes repúblicas americanas tuvieron para iniciar los estudios históricos en los archivos nacionales y extranjeros fueron los conflictos internacionales de la delimitación de sus fronteras*): Molina (1962: 20). The author also mentions "the necessity of establishing historically the territorial integrity of the American nations" (*la necesidad de fundar históricamente la integridad territorial de las naciones americanas*), making direct mention of *uti possedetis* as well as the notion of "status quo." Despite these efforts, current day historians sometimes "accuse" their compatriots for not doing enough to collect documents and organize the archives in order to make territorial claims: Marin Madrid (1988: 79). The type, origin, quantity, and variety of documents that were considered relevant to such historical reconstructions are described, for example, in Riaño (1971). Only on rare occasions did the rival parties accuse one another of falsifying documents or maps: Viteri Lafonte (1965: 52–54).
10. For a comparative perspective see Rooke (2006); Nordman (1998: 306–307, 387, 407–408).
11. Referring to a particular episode between Chile and Argentina, Molina (1962: 24) suggested that war and violence were avoided because of the "fortunate intervention by historians who, with their historical investigations, shed light on the problem, avoiding a solution so dis-

agreeable" (*oportuna intervención de los historiadores, que con sus investigaciones históricas hicieron luz sobre el problema, evitaron aquella solución tan desgraciada*). The degree by which border issues could be invoked in order to affirm, or deny, the patriotism of individuals was described briefly in Peña Batlle (1973).

12. Flores Pinal (1979), affirms on page 687 that colonial borders were unclear yet cites the foreign minister of Honduras as insisting on not ceding even "one inch of land" (*una pulgada de tierra*) because the constitution does not allow for it and because the population would disprove of it.
13. The expression "unequivocal rights" (*inequívocos derechos*) is taken from Gaviria Liévano (1989: 364).
14. Salazar (1928: 17–25 and 27–31) demonstrates the importance of both claims for private property and concessions to foreign corporations in these border dynamics. Also see Fifer (1966: 364); Figallo (2003); Lignon (2002: 68, 192–193). US intervention, for economic reasons, in Latin American border conflicts is described in Murillo Jiménez (1986).
15. According to Lalonde (2002: 56) "a comparison between maps of Latin America under Spanish rule and at the turn of the twentieth century reveals that ultimately colonial lines accounted for only 10 per cent of the new international boundaries."
16. On early modern maps as cultural and political products, see Nordman (1990: 181–184); Raggio (2001); Lacoste (2002).
17. On making Colonial subjects and expeditions national, see Pariona (2000: 55).
18. Belaúnde (1942: v. 1, 355), recognizes the composed nature of pre-republican territories, that were made of diverse distinct units, but he uses this argument only in order to stress that to decide where the new border would pass these units would have to be territorially defined. See also *Exposición de la República del Perú presentada al exmo. Gobierno argentino en el juicio de límites con la República de Bolivia conforme al tratado de arbitraje de 30 de diciembre de 1902.* (Exposition of the Republic of Peru presented to the Argentinian Government in the Litigation on the Boundaries with the Republic of Bolivia According to the Arbitrage of December 30, 1902). (1906). Barcelona: Imprenta de Henrich y Comp., v. 1, 81.

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CHAPTER 6

'The Times They Are a-Changin'. On Time, Space and Periodization in History

Chris Lorenz

Historians have long acknowledged that time is essential to historiography. Many even simply identified time with history. In his *Apologie pour l'histoire*, Marc Bloch (1992) famously called history 'the science of men in time' (p. 39). Similarly, Jacques Le Goff (1992) labels time the 'basic material' (p. xix) of historians, and Jules Michelet (n.d.) once described the relation between time and history with the words 'l'histoire, c'est. le temps' (p. 301). Professional historians from the nineteenth century onward took pride in their mastery of a whole range 'auxiliary sciences' that have allowed them to date events and objects properly—skills that distinguish them, they claimed, from 'philosophers', 'novelists' and other historical 'amateurs'. Chronological dating and arguing based on chronology—for instance, in exposing forged documents, from the 'Donatio Constantini' to Hitler's 'diaries'—in historical practice has become almost identical with what academic historians meant with 'time'. 'Ana-chronism' since then officially is regarded as the most serious of historical sins.

Many historians such as Fernand Braudel and Reinhart Koselleck have also recognized the importance of the distinction between different temporal scales and rhythms. Surprisingly, however, few historians until recently have investigated the subject of historical time in depth. Symptomatically for this situation is the circumstance that time is even missing as an entry in the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Brunner, Conze, & Koselleck, 1972–1997). The

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same goes for the more recent *Blackwell Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography* (Tucker, 2009) and *The Sage Handbook of Historical Theory* (Partner & Foot, 2013).[1]

Since the 1990s, a number of historians and philosophers have addressed the problem of historical time in an increasingly sophisticated way. Following Koselleck, several historians—in particular Lucian Hölscher (1999), François Hartog (2015), Peter Fritzsche (2004), Zachary Schiffman (2011), Achim Landwehr (2014), Jacques Le Goff (2015) and Berber Bevernage (2012)—have started historicising time conceptions that were previously taken for granted. In philosophy of history, the relationship between the past and the present also recently moved center stage in debates about 'presence', 'distance', 'trauma' and 'historical experience' (Brunner & Zajde, 2011; Den Hollander & Paul, 2011; Runia & Brouwer, 2006; Runia, 2006).

Independently, postcolonial theorists and anthropologists have added momentum to the growing interest in time by deconstructing the 'time of history' as specifically 'Western' time, thus linking time and space (Chakrabarty, 2000; Fabian, 1983; Nandy, 1995). The same trail has been followed over the last 25 years by global historians who started criticizing the dominant history writing as focused on the European nation-state and historical periodization as 'Eurocentric' (Bentley, 1996; Engel & Middell, 2005; Green, 1992, 1995; Hirschler & Savant, 2014; Osterhammel, 2006).

Another—and more recent—path to the problem of historical time originates in the discussions about the proposal to label the geological time block since the Industrial Revolution as the 'anthropocene'—because the human species has turned into a geological actor through man-made climate change. Although this discussion took off in the environmental debate, and later has been picked up by the so-called 'post humanist humanities', it has in the meantime also migrated to history because it touches on fundamental presuppositions of the historicist notion of 'history' (like the distinction between culture and nature, and the continuity between past, present and future) (Chakrabarty, 2009; Domanska, 2014; Simon, 2015).

The relatively late historical interest of historians in time and in periodization is remarkable because cultures and social groups did and do fix the boundaries between past, present and future in different ways. The cultural, spatial and social variety of times is not contradicted by the fact that since the 1870s, the (Greenwich) standardized 'world time' has gradually been adopted globally nor by the fact that the spread and the 'disciplining' effect of clock time has been extensively researched by historians (see for an overview Landwehr, 2014; Ogle, 2015a; Osterhammel, 2014: 67–77).

The relative lack of historical interest in time also translates into the relative neglect of the issue of periodization. This neglect is obviously in need of an explanation because historians inevitably construct periods when they write history, as Jürgen Osterhammel (2006, 2014) has argued. The slicing and naming of the past in terms of periods simply belongs to the basic differentiations in the writing of history: 'To the modern European mind (-) the past

appears as a succession of blocks of time' (Osterhammel, 2014: 48). Whatever their topic—politics, economics, art or environment—historians (and others) are breaking up time into specific blocs, each of which represents a continuous, coherent unity that is different from the past and future blocs of time and is separated from them by—discontinuity producing—caesura (Osterhammel, 2006). The widespread use of 'post'-labels (e.g. 'post-nationalism', 'post-communism', 'post-racism') is just one example of periodizing in practice. How time is broken up in blocs is certainly to pop up as an explicit problem during curricular reforms—and thus in schoolbook history—because changes in periodization are always questioned and thus are in need of justification. (See for the Netherlands Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011).

Next to the inevitable presence of periodization in history writing, European history as a discipline is usually differentiated institutionally on basis of the distinction between ancient, medieval and modern history—periods that are again temporally subdivided into 'early', 'middle' and 'later' parts (Osterhammel, 2006: 45–48). Therefore, periodization *as such* is an issue of fundamental professional interest for historians.

In this chapter, I will first analyze some of the recent evolutions in the study of historical time and focus on the much discussed relationship between history and modernity. In the first part, I will zoom in on Reinhart Koselleck's influential idea that 'exponential acceleration' is the core of modernity and how this idea also informs the new varieties of 'presentism' as formulated by Francois Hartog and Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht. In the second part, I will highlight the connection between the rise of modernity and the rise of history as a discipline in general and how 'modern history' as a period has created all other periods in particular. In the third part, the origins of the modern conception of linear time will be traced, including its 'relativization' in physics since Einstein and the connection of time and space. Next, the question how the rise of postmodern and postcolonial ideas have influenced historical thinking concerning time will be addressed. In the fourth and last part, I will return to the issue of periodization in history, including the interconnections between periodizing time and the construction of space and identity.

History and Modernity: The Changing Relations Between Pasts, Presents and Futures

Although since the 'birth of modernity', history presupposes the existence of the past as its object, 'the past' and the nature of the borders that separate the past, present and future have attracted little reflection. Contemporary historians did sometimes address the question how the present and the contemporary can be defined, but their reflections usually had a practical and not a philosophical character (e.g. Sabrow, 2012). Ironically, historians therefore have hardly analyzed how present phenomena turn into (or come to be perceived and experienced as) past phenomena. Actually, anthropologists like Johannes Fabian and Marshall Sahlins took the lead

in questioning the notion of 'directional' linear time. Sahlins (1985) did so by pointing out that some cultures locate the future in their past (as the inhabitants of Hawaii did around the time captain Cook arrived there). And Fabian (1983) did so by pointing out that anthropology has constructed its object by amalgamating spatial and temporal distance, leading to anthropology's 'denial of coevalness' of 'primitive' and 'modern' men. Vanessa Ogle (2015b) summarizes the nineteenth century temporal and spatial division of labor between history and anthropology as follows: 'In these years the nation was imagined not only as a national community but as a part of a global community of societies and other nations that were all positioned in historical time. Non-Western societies—either deemed "peoples without history" or people at an earlier stage of civilizational and evolutionary development—were destined to be the subject of anthropology rather than history. Time, or its absence thereof, thus became a measure for comparing different levels of evolution, historical development and position on a global scale'.[2] Therefore, Aleida Assmann undoubtedly is right in drawing the conclusion that the differentiation between present, past and future is lacking an 'ontological basis' and that this differentiation is always a cultural construction (Assmann, 2013: 273).

Temporal differentiations vary depending on the religious, legal, economical, environmental, etc., context in which this distinction is made. In the modern West, for instance, legal time functions differently from historical time—just think of the statute of limitation in law—and both are again different from economic time and religious time (see Bevernage, 2014; Gallois, 2007; Landwehr, 2014). Time and blocks of time—alias periods—vary in a sectorial sense. Time and periodization therefore only make sense *in the plural*. Since the 'founding' idea that a period derives its coherence from a 'spirit of the times' (*Zeitgeist*), conceived as a dominant 'idea', was gradually abandoned by academic historians, they now usually conceive of time and periodization *in the plural*. The Rankean belief in *one* overarching coherence in time, providing *one* solid backbone for periods, has definitely vanished.[3]

It has often been argued that cultures also have different dominant orientations in time and that the rise and fall of 'modernity' has been crucial in this respect. 'Traditional' cultures are generally characterized by a dominant (political, ethical, cultural, etc.) orientation to the past, while 'modern' cultures characteristically have a dominant future orientation (see esp. Assmann, 2013; Hartog, 2015; Koselleck, 2004; Landwehr, 2014). 'Postmodern' cultures, however, are usually characterized by a dominant orientation toward the present. Francois Hartog, building on Koselleck, thus famously formulated the thesis that Western thinking about history is basically characterized by a succession of three 'regimes of historicity'—from a dominant past orientation until the French Revolution to a dominant future orientation until the 1980s and then a dominant present orientation in the years since. Yet how these temporal orientations have changed—and whether they succeed each other or coexist or interact with each other—has only rarely been analyzed in depth, although it is

of course well-known that the dominant modern idea of progress was already challenged by the idea of decadence and the idea of the (returning) cycle in the nineteenth century.

The same lack of further analysis pertains to the thesis of Koselleck, Hartog and more recently Hartmut Rosa (2015) that since the take-off of 'modernity', the historical process *itself* is characterized by an exponentially increasing acceleration—although this idea had been stated by many authors since 1800, as Aleida Assmann (2013: 23–47) observes.[4] This lack is extra surprising given the astonishing recent exponential boom in reflections on Koselleck's ideas.[5] Koselleck (2000) emphasizes that because of the 'increasing acceleration', based on increasing differentiation especially since the Industrial Revolution, the successive periods of human history have increasingly become shorter and even calls this a 'truism' (p. 90). For Koselleck, the existence of increasing acceleration in history as the 'motor' of modernity appears to be obvious and not just one way to periodize historical time among others.[6]

Koselleck (2000) distinguishes between three phases in world history, each characterized by an 'exponential timecurve' and a typical space needed for human reproduction: each phase corresponds to a typical human 'time-space', conditioned by the state of human technology. The first phase is the period of the apes and of the hominid species that developed over the last ten million years. Within the last two million years, the hominid and human species developed into hunter-gatherers that started using stone tools. For the food of every individual, several square kilometers of space were needed.

The second phase started 30,000 years ago when both art and weapons that could kill other human beings were invented. This phase includes the development of farming and cattle breeding, starting 12,000 years ago, and the rise of organized and differentiated 'high cultures', starting 6000 years ago. It is 'the time of the great empires, each of which regarded itself as the center of the world, although they were regionally separated from each other' (Koselleck, 2000: 92). Within these empires, the relation between human time and space was stabilized, temporary 'disturbances' by wars notwithstanding. Each (sub-)phase is characterized by an increasing human control over the natural environment.

The third and present phase in world history starts some 200 years ago with the rise of science-driven technology and thus of (industrial) 'modernity'. Since then, the acceleration of all spheres of life turned into an institutionalized feature of 'modern times'—including the increasing human control of space and time with their increasing 'denaturalisation' as a result. Since then, globalization has also become a fact of modern life according to Koselleck—tearing down the walls between all empires—although not everywhere with the same speed and in the same measure because *not all humans in the present have arrived in modernity*: 'We must, rather, learn to discover the simultaneity of the nonsimultaneous in our history: it is, after all, part of our own experience to have contemporaries who live in the Stone Age' (Koselleck, 2002: 8).[7] The human past, like the geologial past, always consists of a complex totality of 'layers', corresponding to a variety of origins in time.

Therefore, the conclusion must be drawn that both Koselleck's periodization of 'human history', based on the idea of 'acceleration', and his theory of 'the simultaneity of the unsimultaneous' remain stuck in the last vestige of Europe centrism', namely, 'chronocentrism'—consisting of the claim that 'the' time of 'the West' is the most 'advanced' and the *measure* for all 'non-western' times.[8] Also Koselleck's theory of 'time layers' turns out to be fundamentally *teleological*, implicitly presenting 'the history of the West' as the model and as the *telos* for 'the rest'. Koselleck's theory shares this problem with all other theories about the 'simultaneity of the unsimultaneous', as Achim Landwehr has argued.[9]

Koselleck's idea of increasing acceleration is the foundation of another very influential characterization of 'our present time'. This is the thesis formulated by Francois Hartog (2015), Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht (2014) and Hartmut Rosa (2015) that since the 1980s, we ('Westerners') are facing a 'broadening present'. This present is characterized as broad because it is absorbing both its past and its future. Both continuous self-'historicizing' ('This is a historical moment', archivization, musealization, memorization, etc.) and permanently predicting the future (through prognoses, polls, etc.) belong to the presentist mode of being in time. Therefore, despite its unsurpassed speed of change the present is increasingly being experienced as a 'racing standstill' (Paul Virilio). The 'broad present' is basically a 'post-histoire' in which modern men's confidence has evaporated that the future can be forged by political means (Esposito, 2017; Niethammer, 1992).

A somewhat different diagnosis concerning the present has been argued by the geographer David Harvey (1990) who coined the concept of '*time-space compression*', implying an increasing irrelevance of space and time due to technological innovations since the nineteenth century. In Harvey's Marxist analysis, this development, however, is directly connected to the globalization of capitalism, especially since postmodernity. In his view, 'post-histoire' is a capitalist ideology because capitalism can in principle be transformed by political means.

For Gumbrecht, Hartog and the like, the all absorbing digital storage capacity and archives symbolize the 'presentist' condition, which boils down to what Nietzsche had criticized as one of the 'disadvantages' of 'history for life'. In Gumbrecht's eyes, Nietzsches warning concerning the debilitating effects of the 'incapacity of forgetting' on men's capability for action has become reality because all digitally stored information remains accessible and thus 'present'. [10]

In the 'presentist' view, acceleration also explains some cultural characteristics of the decades since 1980. This concerns the explosive growth of museums and historical exhibitions and the remarkable succession of nostalgic retro cultures, which is typical for the memory boom and for the connected 'identity-boom' and 'heritage industry'. Under circumstances of 'accelerated change', people simply tend to cling to their known pasts like a child to its 'teddy bear' (Odo Marquard) according to the proponents of the acceleration

theory. However this may be, it goes without saying that the memory boom that started in the 1980s fits perfectly in this view. It is probably not accidental that the French historian Pierre Nora (1989), who famously coined the notion of 'sites of memory', explains 'the age of commemoration' as a reaction to increasing acceleration and to a crisis of—national—history (Nora, 1989; van de Mieroop, 2016: 5–6).

Historians and Modern Times: Historicism and Modernity

Philosophers of history have often remarked that academic historiography fits very well with ideas of modernism and progress. Paradoxically, at first sight, scientific history flourishes in an intellectual environment that stresses the constant emergence of the new and the 'supersedure' of the past by movement toward a more advanced future. Koselleck (2004) provided his well-known clarification of the paradox: modern historical consciousness and history as an academic discipline both came into existence between 1750 and 1850—during the so-called *Sattelzeit*—when social and technological innovations and changing beliefs about the novelty of the future created a new 'horizon of expectation' that increasingly broke with the traditional 'space of experience'.[11] In modern eyes, the past and the future became increasingly different from the present.

Historicism therefore must be regarded as the twin brother of modernity (for 'modernity', see Assmann, 2013: 9–47; Cooper, 2005: 113–153; Gumbrecht, 1978). History as a discipline has been dependent on the 'modern' worldview in which 'progress' is permanently and simultaneously producing both new presents and old pasts—in one dialectical movement. The belief in progress and the belief in history thus go hand in hand.

The temporal differentiation between the past and present and the connected claim about the 'otherness' or 'foreignness' of the past characterised the beginning of modern history writing according to Michel de Certeau (1988). These two 'historiographical operations' allowed historians to present history as an autonomous discipline with its own object—the past—that required research methods of its own. Historians were thus able to use the idea of an ever-increasing temporal distance between the past and present to their advantage. They did so by presenting distance in time as the break or rupture—as a discontinuity—between the past and present that produces the past as an object of knowledge. Simultaneously they presented distance in time as an indispensable condition for attaining 'impartial' and 'objective' knowledge of the past because the progress of time enables the progress of truth-finding and truth-telling. Both Hegel and historicism therefore, hold that distance in time produces an epistemological 'surplus value' and that history is inherently superior to memory (e.g. Algazi, 2014; Lorenz, 2014). Not only Minerva's owl, but also Clio's owl starts to fly at dusk.

It is a matter of on-going controversy when exactly the modernist and progressivist worldviews came into existence—somewhere between 1500 and 1800—and whether they were ever dominant enough to legitimize claims about the existence of modernity in an epochal sense or whether this historical category simply resulted from a self-legitimizing 'politics of periodization' (Davis, 2008). As Koselleck already pointed out, modern history as a period (the '*Neuzeit*') simultaneously and retrospectively *created* the other periods, from which it claimed to differ, as contrasting relational categories—the 'Middle Ages' and 'Antiquity'—and identified them as its own pre-history. Therefore, the inherent teleology of Western periodization toward modernity is not an accidental characteristic that may eventually be tempered—by introducing 'multiple modernities'—or even eliminated—by stretching the past far backward, as 'big history' does—but its 'birthmark' and its very essence (e.g. Dirlik, 2013; Hunt, 2008). So Kathleen Davis (2008) is right that (secular) modernism needed to postulate (religious) 'medievalism' as its mirror-period (just as it opposed 'medieval feudalism' to 'modern sovereignty').[12] Ironically, twentieth century historians of Japan and India were far more conscious of the teleological connection between the 'feudal Middle Ages' and 'secular modernity' than their Western colleagues when they started looking for 'feudal' institutions in their 'medieval' past on which they could back up the claims of Japanese and Indian society to present 'modernity'.[13]

Historical Times in Postmodernity

Given the connection between modernity and historicism in general, and the Newtonian and historical time conceptions in particular, it comes as no surprise that the fundamental questioning of modernity through 'postmodernism' has had important implications for history. These implications can be fruitfully examined in connection to similar developments in the political and juridical contexts from the 1980s onward because they all signalize a fundamental change in the experience of time (Bevernage, 2014; Lorenz, 2014). Reparation politics, the outing of official apologies, and the creation of truth commissions, historical commissions and commissions of historical reconciliation all revolve around a growing conviction that the once commonsensical idea of a past automatically distancing itself from the present is fundamentally problematical. The turning point in case is formalized in the abolishment of the statute of limitation for crimes against humanity because 'with the new unique temporality of crimes against humanity, time did not go by: the criminal would remain forever contemporary with his crimes' (Hartog, 2015: 117). Since the end of the Cold War, the dominant experience of time has clearly changed: 'the distance that normally separates us from the past has been strongly challenged in favour of an insistence that the past is constantly, urgently present as part of our everyday experience'. The conviction has grown that 'the road to the future runs through the disasters of the past' (Torpey, 2006: 6, 19). It is therefore far from

accidental that in the 1980s, the notions of memory, heritage, commemoration and identity rose to dominance in conjunction, as Hartog (2015: 119) and Olick (2007: 121–139) observed.

Many academic historians have clearly sensed this trend toward a questioning of historical distance and of the 'natural' break between past and present. (Bevernage & Lorenz, 2013; Lorenz, 2010) A mere look at the frequency of expressions such as 'present pasts', 'everlasting pasts', 'pasts that do not pass' ('Vergangenheit die nicht vergehen will'), 'unexpiated pasts' and 'eternal presents' in recent academic works gives an indication of this growing preoccupation with the ontological status of the past and the relation between past and present (see e.g. Conan & Rousso, 1998; Huyssen, 2003). The paradoxical wording of these expressions reveals, moreover, the puzzlement that issues of time and temporal breaks create.

Yet puzzlement about the ontological status of time of course goes further back than the twentieth century, at least as far back as Ancient Greece, and it is still with us today. In 2008, Lynn Hunt could still begin her book *Measuring Time, Making History* by quoting the two fundamental questions about time that Aristotle asks in his *Physics*: 'First, does it belong to the class of things that exist or to that of things that do not exist? Then secondly, what is its nature?' (p. 4). Many historians probably would think that Hunt's question—'Is time historical?'—is a weird one because—as we saw earlier—they simply *identify* history with time and with temporal change. Moreover, most take it for granted that time and temporal change are somehow 'real'.

Most historians seem to assume that time is what Newtonian science, modern calendars and clocks suggest it is: (1) that time is homogeneous—meaning every second, every minute and every day is identical; (2) that time is discrete—meaning every moment in time can be conceived of as a point on a straight line; (3) that time is therefore linear; (4) that time is directional—meaning that it 'flows' without interruption from the future, through the present to the past ('the passage of time'); and (5) that time is absolute—meaning that time is not relative to space nor to other frames of reference (Landwehr, 2014). Stephen Hawking in his *A Brief History of Time* (1988) characterized absolute time as follows: 'Both Aristotle and Newton believed in absolute time. That is, they believed that one could unambiguously measure the interval of time between two events and that this time would be the same whoever measured it, provided they used a good clock. Time was completely separated from and independent of space. This is what most people would take to be the commonsense view' (p. 18).[14]

Since Einstein's theory of general relativity, physicists know that this presupposition of an absolute time is erroneous because time is relative to the spatial movement and spatial position of the observer (at least at very high speed). Since Einstein, physicists also know that time is not independent of space and work with the notion of space-time. What Newton did for space—proving against Aristotle that all spatial movement is relative to the observer's position and that therefore there are no absolute positions in space—Einstein did for

time—proving against Newton that all temporal movement is relative to the observer's position and movement in space, so there are no absolute positions in time. Relativity theory, which conceives of time as connected to and similar to space, however, has not prompted many historians to rethink their conception of absolute time. This would, among other things, require to consider the past, present and future as equally real—because distance in time is conceived as distance in space—which contradicts ingrained common sense notions of time. Relativity theory in physics therefore has as yet not been followed by a relative theory of historical time, although the postcolonial critique of linear time in history can be seen as a step in this direction (Landwehr, 2014).[15]

Since the path-breaking work of Koselleck in the 1970s, however, some important insights into the *historical* relativity of historical time have developed. Koselleck had argued that the modern—Western—notion of historical time only originated in the *Sattelzeit*. It was directly connected to the new notion of history as an objective force and unified process—with *Geschichte* as a *Kollektivsingular* (and not incidentally, the very idea of history as one unified process got fragmented in postmodern times). The time of modern history was identical to Newtonian time: empty, homogeneous, linear and directional. Outside the West—in China and Japan, for instance—(the measurement of) time often remained connected to the ruling dynasties, so 'stacked time'—each dynasty constituting an individual stack of time—and a 'stratified' chronology there held the place of linear chronology in the West, at least until universal 'Greenwich' time was adopted.[16] In the Muslim world too, time was not conceived as continuously developing—like modern Western time—but as a 'discontinuous succession of moments' (Blake, 2013; Osterhammel, 2014: 67–74). 'There is no place in the Qur'an for impersonal time: each persons destiny is in the hands of God (-)', Gerhard Böwering argues (Böwering, 1997: 58). Outside the West, time was not conceived as continuous and as flowing in one direction.[17]

It was Koselleck's student Lucian Hölscher (2009, 2014) who has taken the historization of time a step further by pointing out that the abstract and empty time and space that historians have taken for granted actually did not exist before the modern era (pp. 13–33). Notions of empty space and empty time only developed slowly between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. For people living during the Middle Ages in Europe, events and things had concrete positions *in* time and *in* space, but they did not have a *concept* of empty abstract time and space *as such*. In other words, things and events had temporal and spatial *aspects*, but abstract time and space did not exist *as realities*. Space and time referred to adjectives, not to substantives.

For Christianity, time was basically biblical time, meaning that it had a clear beginning (God's creation of the Earth) and a fixed end (Judgment Day)—just as space was limited to its framing by the Bible. Time was basically 'filled in' by the Creation plan of God. There was no time *before* nor any *after*—after Judgment Day eternity was waiting. Centuries as units of universal time were introduced and accepted in Europe only after 1700—when most Christians still

assumed that they were living in the seventh and last age. Therefore, the modern notion of an infinite history, as expressed in our calendar, which extends forward and backward *ad infinitum*, cannot be explained as a secularized version of the Christian idea of history, as Karl Löwith (1949) had suggested (for the historical role of calendars see Landwehr, 2014).

It is probably indicative for the inherent connection between conceptions of time and space—and between history and geography (Hölscher, 2014: 578–582)—that the Christian chronology was also undermined in the early modern period by the new insights concerning global *space*, produced by the discovery of the Americas, which did not fit in the Biblical story of the known world. Next to the 'anomalous' knowledge about the long dynastical pasts of Mesopotamia, Egypt and China, which was at odds with the shorter past as told by the Bible, it was the new geographical knowledge produced by the 'Great Discoveries' that fuelled the new science of chronology from the Renaissance onward. The construction of a uniform timeline from Eusebius to Scaliger therefore was increasingly based on astronomy and no longer on biblical authority (Grafton, 2003).

Since the end of the twentieth century, linear historical time has been relativized by postcolonial theorists as being implicitly connected to a specific space. They criticized this time conception as being fundamentally calibrated to the West—in its periodization, especially—and as being inherently teleological toward modernity. Dipesh Chakrabarty famously argued that Western historical time implies a 'waiting room' model of history for 'the rest' (Chakrabarty, 2000: 8). Or, as Sebastian Conrad formulates this point, 'Methodologically speaking, then, by imposing categories particular to Europe on everybody else's past, the modern disciplines rendered all other societies colonies of Europe' (Conrad, 2016: 4). As we observed earlier, this critique is well founded. The implicit teleology is, according to postcolonial critique, not only presupposed by all brands of modernization and globalization theory, including its Marxist versions (Cooper, 2005: 91–153), but by the western 'historicist' conception of history *as such*. Just as 'national history' imposes the conceptual frame of the European nation-state on the pasts of non-European political entities, so does 'history' according to Dipesh Chakrabarty: '(-) Insofar as the academic discourse of history—that is, "history" as a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university—is concerned, "Europe" remains the sovereign theoretical object of all histories, including the ones we call "Indian", "Chinese", "Kenyan" and so on' (Chakrabarty, 1992: 1). This 'imposition' takes place through the Western 'spatialization of time' that is inherent in the division of the world in regions that are ahead in time—'modern' = 'Western'—and regions that 'lag behind', waiting to 'catch up'—'pre-modern', 'feudal' or 'medieval', not to mention the infamous 'Stone Age'. The result of 'historicizing' the 'non-West' therefore is typically a narrative of the 'non yet', of 'inadequacy' or even of outright 'failure'. (Chakrabarty, 1992: 6; Conrad, 2016: 168–170). Some postcolonial critics of Chakrabarty, however, have argued that 'Europe' never was a homogeneous entity either and that the distinction

between center and periphery also holds *within* 'Europe' (Cooper, 2005: 140; Dejung & Lengwiler, 2016: 18–19).[18]

Historical Times and Periodization

Historians always periodize time because the differentation between past and present is already a form of periodization. Periodization presupposes principles of selection and ideas about coherence—about continuity and discontinuity—because periodizing is as much about what to leave out as what to keep in. Periodization therefore requires systematic *abstraction*—which may explain why most historians have avoided the topic altogether and why many tend to conflate periodization and chronology, even some of the more theoretically minded historians, like Johan Huizinga (Blaas, 2001: 35–37).[19]

Although periodization concerns the breaking up of time, historians have learned the hard way that periodization also has a spatial dimension. This has been recognized by many historians who tried to use periodization schemes based on the experiences of the West—especially the categories of ancient, medieval and modern history—for any other particular civilization and society outside Europe. Western schemes 'do a poor job of explaining the trajectories of other societies, like China, India, Africa, the Islamic world, or the Western hemisphere quite apart from the increasingly recognized fact that they do not even apply very well to European history', as Jeremy Bentley remarks (1996: 749). Therefore, periodization is confronting us with the connection between the construction of space and time in history and—given the dominant tri-partite Western periodization - with the problem of 'Eurocentrism'.

Some historians, like Lynn Hunt (2008: 123), have suggested stretching both time and space as a means to avoid the problems of 'Eurocentrism'—following recent trends in global, 'big' and 'deep' history. This suggestion, however, overlooks the fact that global history as such is not connected to any specific temporal and spatial frame because global connections can be researched on any spatial (local, regional, national, etc.) level and on any temporal (short-term, mid-term, long-term, etc.) scale (Conrad, 2016: 149). As all histories, global history is question-driven and the frames fit for use depend on the answers one is looking for. Therefore, 'stretching' time and space cannot be the solution for 'Eurocentrism' in history. Moreover, as Koselleck's periodization of human history of the last ten million years illustrated, the stretching of time *and* space may be combined with 'Eurocentrism' in the form of 'chronocentrism'.

The spatiality of periodization in itself is not surprising because most periods in history do not only identify a chunk of chronological time but simultaneously a chunk of space—as is obvious when referring to 'Victorian England', 'Hitler's Germany', 'Ming China' and 'Renaissance Italy'. Unsurprisingly, given the long hegemony of national history, most spaces in historical periodization tended to be the territories of *nation-states* (Berger & Lorenz,

2010). Now national history is a genre of history writing in which the periods typically more or less coincide with 'obvious' political and military 'turning points'. Take German history for example. Every historian working on modern German history simply assumes that 1815, 1871, 1914, 1933, 1945, 1990, etc. represent the obvious 'turning points' in the nineteenth and twentieth century (Osterhammel, 2006: 46). Similar observations apply for the national historians of France, England, Argentina, etc. This—political and historiographic—circumstance may help to explain why historical time and its periodization have so long *not* been recognized as a theoretical problem in history and why many historians kept identifying historical time with calendrical time and periodization with chronology.

Konrad Hirschler and Sarah Savant (2014) have recently elaborated this problem for Arabic historiography. They argue that 'time only exists within space' (p. 8) and that 'periodization itself is often a vehicle of power and site of contest for agents of history' (p. 17). Following Benedict Anderson, they hold that 'with temporal coincidence, simultaneity—simultaneous, separate existences—become possible, and thus the definition of a community and its identity. Several spatial reorientations have profoundly impacted how historians working on Arabic sources treat time. Each presupposes a different simultaneity and territory in which time could be experienced as a unified whole either by the population or, for analytical purposes, by historians' (p. 9). Therefore, they rightly conclude that periodization actually represents a 'politics of time' that at the same time is a 'politics of space'. This is so because the '*spatialization of time*' also answers the *question of agency*. It does so by determining which spatial units are worthy of their *own* periodization and which are simply following *other* trajectories. Conrad also suggests this point: 'Opting for a particular scale in global history requires that critical decisions be made about what will count as the primary forces and actors in the narrative. The choice of scale, in other words, always has normative implications' (-) 'Global and other spatial questions are often also normative questions' (2016: 156, 210).

The periodization of African history, for example, has often been based on the transitions in the nature of Africa's *external* contacts with Europe and not by its *internal* developments (Akyeampong, 2015: 1412). 'The Atlantic era' or the 'era of export slave trade' was followed by 'the era of post-slave trade' alias 'legitimate trade'. Then 'the colonial period' followed after the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, including the two world wars, succeeded by 'the era of nationalism' (1945–1960) and 'the postcolonial period' (1960–now). Periodizing African history from this external Western viewpoint boils down to denying Africa other (e.g. Asia-oriented) periodizations—so much is clear (Cooper, 2005: 100–104). Using Western periodization for 'the rest' therefore implies the denial of non-Western periodizations *by definition*. Periodization, we can conclude, has a fundamental *performative* and *political* character, 'always rendering its services *now*. In an important sense, we cannot periodize the past' (Davis, 2008: 5; Geppert & Kössler, 2015). This

performativity does not only pertain to the framing of time but also to the framing of space.

Given the above mentioned political implications of periodization it is no wonder that Chakrabarty's critique of the 'conceptual colonization' by 'the West' of 'the rest' is basically a critique of the Western idea of historical time. His critique, of course, does in no way imply a denial of past and present colonial and imperial realities of 'interconnectedness', which made 'Eurocentrism' true by force during centuries. To the contrary, it draws critical attention to the fact that through colonization and imperialism, Europeans have been able to spread the conceptual means by which they made and make sense of the world. One could think of the framing of global space in terms of 'the West' versus 'the East' and the framing of global history as the path from the 'feudal Middle Ages' to 'modernity'—and 'modern' history again in terms of nation-states and their 'modernization' (Dirlik, 1999, 2013). As we have observed time and again, the 'export' of these conceptual schemes outside Europe has for a long time been quite successful given the fact that they were used to make sense out of the non-European pasts. Stefan Berger therefore characterizes national history as one of the most successful 'export products' of Europe (Berger, 2015). How can this long-time acceptance of a universalistic claim, based only on the particularistic 'provincial' experience of Europe, be explained except for by the universal success of nationalism?

A part of the answer may be found in the *practice* of how historians usually dealt and still deal with periodization: either they filled in the three 'macro-epochs' (Antiquity, Middle Ages and Modernity) with 'empty' chronological periods—especially centuries, which often became identified with the term 'the age of' (Louis XIV, Victoria, etc.), and with decades[20]—or they 'filled' the 'macro-epochs' in with 'metaphorical periods' (Nipperdey, 2015: 173) and with 'structural narratives' (Hölscher, 2014: 284–285; Jansen, 2016; Maier, 2000). 'Metaphorical' periods, like the Renaissance and the Age of Totalitarianism, are defined by metaphors like 'rebirth' and 'total control', respectively. 'Structural narratives' seek to locate large-scale and long-term institutional developments in time, like 'the rise of the absolute state', 'the making of the working class', 'industrialization', 'democratization' and 'globalisation'—typically developments that cut across the neat borders of centuries. 'Structural narratives' aim to construct 'substantial' periods, following a concept and an argument of Preston King (King, 2000: 25–68). Therefore it makes good sense to distinguish '*metaphorical*' and '*substantial*' periods from purely *chronological* periods—like a year, decade and century—because chronological periods lack any content except for their fixed chronological 'stretch'. One might argue that behind the 'screen' of chronological, substantial and metaphorical periods, the inherent teleology of the Western 'macro-epochs' toward 'modernity' had disappeared out of sight for most (Western) historians—until recently.

Although chronological periods in historiographical practice derive their content from metaphorical and substantial fillings, at the same time, there has

remained a clear tension between the chronological and the non-chronological principles of periodization. This tension manifests itself in the substantive arguments that historians use in their remarkable debates about the meaningful *length of centuries* and *decades*, although centuries and decades evidently have a specific chronological length *by definition*. Now I am referring to the debates about 'long' and 'short' centuries—the sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth, for instance—which represent the best-known examples, not to mention the 'long Middle Ages'. These debates exemplify the fundamental unease of historians with *purely* chronological and thus 'empty' beginnings and endings of periods.[21] Therefore, Osterhammel (2014: 87) in his global history of the nineteenth century has made the distinction between the 'calendrical nineteenth century', stretching from 1801 to 1900, and the 'long nineteenth century', which begins in the 1770s with the American Revolution and ends in August 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War. He clearly prefers the substantial 'long' nineteenth century and even calls the division of the past in centuries 'nothing more than a necessary evil' (2014: 116).

The explanation of this fundamental unease with chronological periods obviously is that the very idea of a period presupposes its substantial *internal* coherence vis-à-vis the other periods—marked by 'turning points'—and the fact that chronology *in itself* produces neither substance nor coherence nor turning points. Therefore, the turns of centuries have not produced *historical* discussions of any significance, although they have provoked historians to write books about them and have generated publicity—at least around 1900 and 2000 (Brendecke, 2000).[22]

So on closer analysis, chronology does *not* and *can* not hold the key to periodization in history, and it is about time to get rid of the 'chronological idol' of the 'historical tribe' once and for all in a more fundamental way than Francois Simiand proposed in 1903. Simiand famously criticized historians not only for their professional preoccupation with individuals ('the individual idol') and with political events ('the political idol') but also for their preoccupation to explain present phenomena by their temporal origins in a distant past ('the chronological idol'). Nowadays the problem is no longer *only* to combat the habit of historians to lose oneself in the study of origins at the expense of the present-day functions of historical phenomena—that is, focusing exclusively on diachronicity at the expense of synchronicity—but to analyze the ultimate root of this practice, that is, the persistent habit of *identifying* chronological time with historical time and of chronological periodization with historical periodization (cf. Tanaka, 2016). To give one simple example of the 'chronological idol' and its problem: when historians deal with the explosion of 'memory wars' between China, Japan and South Korea starting in 1990, revolving around the representation of the Second World War in Japanese schoolbooks, the explanation for this 'explosion' is more likely to be found in the new international constellation of the 1990s than in the years of its supposed 'origins' between 1937 and 1945. Conrad even argues that 'the concern with synchronicity, with

the contemporaneous even if geographically distant, has become the hallmark of global approaches' (Conrad, 2016: 150–151).

All in all, the misleading identification of historical and chronological time not only helps to explain the long dominance of 'Eurocentrism' and the very late problematization of historical time but also goes a long way to explain why periodization and spatialization have almost been absent from the historical horizon for so long (Dejung & Lengwiler, 2016). In this respect, Koselleck's arguments concerning the need to develop a theory of historical times represent the *point of no return* both for history and for historical theory. This remains true even after we have reached the conclusion that the theory he developed, which has almost acquired a canonical status since, is still a product of European 'chronocentrism' (Landwehr, 2016). As often, *il faut détruire pour mieux bâtir.* This conclusion leads me back to the question of 'Eurocentrism' in periodization and how to overcome it by reflecting on the 'positionality' of periodization and its spatialization.

With Arif Dirlik, I think that 'positionality' in history boils down to a reconstruction and deconstruction of the frames of representation that are competing with each other—including the temporal and spatial frames: 'My rehearsal of the historicity, boundary instabilities, and internal differences—if not fragmentations—of nations, civilisations, and continents is intended to underline the historiographically problematic nature of [world] histories organized around such units. These entities are products of efforts to bring political or conceptual order to the world—political and conceptual strategies of containment, so to speak. This order is achieved only at the cost of suppressing alternative spatialities and temporalities, however, as well as covering over processes that went into their making. A [world] history organized around these entities itself inevitably partakes of these same suppressions and cover-ups' (Dirlik, 2005: 18–19). Dirlik argues that only through the historization of the conceptual frameworks used in the construction of temporal and spatial blocs in history can their contingency and their relationships with suppressed alternatives be restored. His position echoes Chakrabarty's: 'I ask for a history that deliberately makes visible, within the very structure of its narrative forms, its own repressive strategies and practices (-)' (2000: 45; cf. Dirlik, 1999). If there is no way out of our present 'positionist' condition, the best we can do is to face it and to reflect on its consequences for the ways in which historians and other human scientists are cutting up time and space.

Notes

1. In *Lexikon Geschichtswissenschaft. Hundert Grundbegriffe* by contrast, there is an entry on time written by Koselleck (2003) himself.
2. Also see Ogle (2015b, October 12); Bevernage (2016).
3. The classical singular conception of periodization was phrased in 1854 by Von Ranke (Von Ranke, 1854/2011) as follows: "The historian thus has to pay particular attention first of all to how people in a certain

period thought and lived. Then he will find that, apart from certain unchangeable eternal main ideas, for instance those of morality, every epoch has its own particular tendency and its own ideal. But although every epoch has its justification and its worth in itself, one still must not overlook, what came forth from it. The historian must therefore, secondly, perceive the difference between the individual epochs, in order to observe the inner necessity of the sequence. One cannot fail to recognize a certain progress here. But I would not want to say that this progress moves straight line, but more like a river which in its own way determines its course" (pp. 22–23). For the conceptual history of 'Zeitgeist', see Jung (2012).

4. Koselleck (2000): "After acceleration has become a specific temporal category of historical experience, retrospectively history as a whole transforms into one succession of increasing acceleration" (p. 200).
5. For the 'Koselleck-boom'. see e.g. Jordheim (2012); Zammito (2004). Given the fact that Koselleck has developed a periodization of history, Jordheims thesis that he was 'against periodization' remains perplexing.
6. See Koselleck (2000: 78–97, 150–177, 177–203).
7. Koselleck (2000): "There are presently still tribes that just have left the Stone Age behind while leading nations like the USA already have put a man on the moon" (p. 292).
8. See Landwehr (2012), 23: "Within a linear model of time, that implicates the idea of progress, by necessity, 'we' are superior to all others simply because 'we' are ahead of the others in time. Where 'we' are, it is up front." 'Eurocentrism' thus manifests itself as 'chronocentrism'. Also see pp. 6–7: "Who uses this term (nonsimultaneity, CL) must be able to say according to which criterion something or someone is apostrophized as 'nonsimultaneous' because a specific *norm of 'simultaneity'* is implied—if not, the word 'non simultaneous' would make no sense".
9. Also see Bevernage's critique of the idea of one 'container-time' (Bevernage, 2012: 116).
10. For a more skeptical view see, Smith Rumsey: "Oblivion can begin as soon as the next software update" (Smith Rumsey, 2016).
11. In the meantime also, the concept of *Sattelzeit* itself did not escape its 'pluralization' (Leonard, 2011; Osterhammel, 2014: 59–63).
12. Therefore, 'the Middle Ages' as a period were not an invention of 'the Renaissance', as is often stated, just as 'feudalism' was not an invention of 'the Middle Ages'. Both 'the Middle Ages' as a period and 'feudalism' were inventions of 'modernity' (Le Goff, 2015).
13. Conrad (1999); Tanaka (2013); Osterhammel (2014).
14. In Le Poidevin's (2003) words, most people—including historians—are 'objectivists', meaning that they assume that time is somehow 'objectively' real and not an entity that does not exist independent from

what clocks measure by some standard. The latter position is taken by so-called conventionalists (pp. 5–8).

15. In the metaphysics of time, the so-called B-Theory of time posits that time can be conceived of in terms of space, while the A-Theory denies that this is the case. See Sider, Hawthorne, and Zimmerman (2008: 209–239); Le Poidevin (2011).
16. See Sato (2015: 410).
17. For a recent critique of the idea of *one* 'Islam time' and a plea for 'multiple temporalities': Bashir (2014).
18. Chakrabarty (2000): 16), however, also refers to 'different Europes', dependent on the 'diversity' of the 'margins'.
19. This conflation of periodization and chronology still continues, for instance, in a recent historical lexicon in which periodization is defined as 'a tool of historical research, that allows the historian to establish the temporal order of past events' (Becker, 2003).
20. Doering-Manteufel and Raphael (2012: 25) refer to the 'dacadological method' of contemporary historians.
21. Nipperdey (2015: 174–180) argues that the unease concerning the chronological caesura between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period has led to an increasing use of the conjunction of 'late-medieval' and 'early-modern' labels.
22. 1800 was the first 'turn of a century' that was experienced as a 'turning point' by a substantial number of intellectuals—obviously in connection to the French Revolution and its consequences for the 'Old Regime'.

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CHAPTER 7

Democracy and History Museums. Museo de América

Marisa González de Oleaga

Democracy and the Museum

What is the relationship between a political system like democracy and an institution such as the museum? What does a form of government that channels the demands of citizens have to do with this space that is aimed at preserving, researching and exhibiting history and legacy? Democracy is a type of political organization, a set of rules and procedures based on popular sovereignty. In order for democracy to work, however, subjects must participate in political decision making. In the case of representative democracy, this is done by delegating power to elected officials. Thus, participation and representation are fundamental ingredients of democracy. However, in order for these subjects to be able to participate and be represented, they must adopt an identity, that is, they must be able to say who they are and state their interests. In this process, stories—narratives that construct their political identifications—become critically important. There can be no identity without stories that give them meaning (Culler, 2011). Yet not just any story is possible. Those which construct identity are always connected with notions of origin and belonging. As Stuart Hall notes, identities are "the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past," (Hall, 1990: 225). These are the stories that allow us to construct belongings in the present. Let us consider, for example, an emerging social movement, such as the indigenous movements in Latin America or any of the other move-

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ments that have appeared in the past few decades. One of the first things that these groups usually offer is a reinterpretation of the past, one that goes against official versions, in order to construct collective identifications and legitimize their positions. There is a necessary connection between the construction of subjectivity—the subjects' ability to construct themselves as such—identity and political participation. Stories of origin and belonging among others are a critical part of developing the identities that are the condition for democratic rule.

The museum is one of the many spaces where stories that nourish identities are represented and exhibited. As a public institution, its messages—organized by curators, historians, anthropologists and other specialists—can be considered messages of the state: the official version made legitimate by scientific and technical knowledge (Abt, 2011; Duncan & Wallach, 2004). Since its beginnings, the public museum has been and continues to be—in spite of the changes over the course of its history—a unique space for socialization and indoctrination. Developed in the second half of the twentieth century, the museum materializes as a place of representation for the citizens of the future. The rapid changes taking place in Europe and the associated loss of traditional identities necessitated this space to organize the new values of the Nation State and neocolonial expansion (Coombes, 2004; Heartney, 2004; Kaplan, 2011; Mitchell, 2004). National history museums, along with museums of natural history and/or ethnography, played a role in this transformation. They were much more than simply official representations constituting a document of the values to be imposed on visitors. While in their origins they were aimed at vast sectors of the population (many of whom did not received formal education), the school later utilized them as a key tool of socialization. In the twenty-first century, museums continue to attract students and teachers, but they have become emblems for a new type of citizens—tourists (Hooper Greenhill, 1994; Kirschenblatt-Glimbett, 1998). In addition, museums do not grow obsolete like other forms of information and knowledge. While few would consider a treaty written in the nineteenth century on racial difference word for word, the stories of a museum appear to have no expiration date. The museum is a period document but also a monument to that which it wishes to affirm (Lord, 2006). However, the factual nature of a written text is more easily accepted than that of museum labels. This is because the museum serves as a visual device that not only says things about the past but also shows them. It is this expanding scenography (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2011) and its dedication to material culture that differentiate it from any other type of document and make it more effective (Alpers, 1991; Bennett, 1998; Classen & Howes, 2006).

In summary, the stories that circulate in a museum, particularly in history museums, seem to be important to the construction of the individual and collective identities that are now the basis for democratic rule. Now, it is useful to note that not all stories that speak of the past and construct an identity are instrumental to democracy. To put this in another way, there may be stories that contribute to the creation of identities associated with democracy but there may be others that help create identities that go against this form of

government. Therefore, what characteristics should these stories have in order for them to be considered democratic? If we consider democracy a form of government and an ideology (a way of conceiving of politics) that attempts to channel the multiple demands of citizens in a pacific way, two key words appear. These are difference and conflict. These two notions are at the core of this system and this way of thinking. In other words, as a form of government, democracy necessitates identities and a political culture that incorporates difference and conflict. We are all different—in terms of ethnicity, religion and gender, not to mention tastes, values and positions—and these differences can ignite violence. For these reasons, democracy is a set of rules that allow us to organize and channel our preferences and interests in a peaceful way. As a form of government, democracy has no content. It does not tell us what we should want or the direction we should take but indicates how we should act and how to channel our decisions to achieve the objectives we set.

If we do a brief overview of democracy in the twentieth century and analyze the meaning of the concept, we see that democracy has advanced from homogeneity to difference and from consensus to conflict. This evolution is evident in both the outlook of citizens and in the assertions of political theorists. Since the appearance of the so-called new social movements in the 1960s, differences can no longer be reduced to the private sphere, where they had been relegated by liberal democracy. Instead, these movements demanded and continue to call for the recognition and the exercise of otherness in the public sphere as well. For example, and the example is relevant to the case we are addressing, it is useful to think about the construction of the ethnic identities that are a fundamental part of politics in many countries of Latin America today. Ethnicity and ethnic belonging (the values and interests it entails and the conflicts it generates) can no longer be silenced or overlooked in favor of a homogeneous definition of citizenry. Instead, these differences are an essential part of political debate and policy (Connolly, 2002). At the same time, classic political theory privileged consensus and harmonic interests while overlooking the way in which conflict could dissolve such consensus (Balan, 2010). This perspective has been challenged by new ones in which conflict is seen as the condition for (radical) democracy (Mouffe, 1993, 1996). We could thus say that the denial or silencing of differences or the supposed eradication of the conflict that these differences entail means undermining or overlooking an essential aspect of democracy as we currently see it. It would mean ignoring an important number of the groups that accept it as a form of collective action. Thus, if difference and conflict are critical to contemporary democracy in terms of what they represent to the idea of democracy and government, then they are also fundamental to the stories that circulate in museums. No one would hesitate to call a story non-democratic if it ignores current-day difference or conflict. The same can be said of narratives that attempt to eradicate difference or silence the conflict associated with stories about the past.

To analyze the democratic nature of the stories that circulate in the museum, I am going to use an example of a very particular case, that of Museo

de América in Madrid. Why analyze this museum? Because it is the museum of an old colonial metropolis. In Spain, there is no national history museum, a common find in all the countries of Latin America and other neighboring nations. Despite, or specifically because of, the dispute surrounding the nation in Spain, there is no museum that recreates and represents the country's history. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that historically Spain has had trouble defining "national" since its unification under the Catholic kings and queens. It might also have to do with the way in which old colonial empires "naturalized" the national. In this context, the nation is not a construction but instead is part of nature, atemporal and indestructible. In Spain, despite the lack of a national museum, the nation is built upon the history of the country's colonial expansion (Delgado, 1992; González Cuevas, 2008; González de Oleaga, 2001; Pardo Sanz, 1995). As a working hypothesis, as I will show herein, I suggest that Museo de América in Madrid attempts to represent not the Americas but Spanish national identity. Through conquest and colonization, the Americas are the excuse or the lure for recalling Spanish greatness. In other words, a colonial museum can serve as a space for national representation. This "nostalgia" for the colonial past that is associated with national identity is not in keeping with the values of democracy, at least not as it is recognized today. Based on colonial logic, millions of peoples were segregated and excluded from politics. Refusing or silencing the access to different interpretations of this past—a past overflowing with difference or conflicts—means boycotting the chance for identification in the present. This logic seems more in tune with authoritarian ideologies than with democratic ideas. In fact, the Museo de América en Madrid (MAM) was founded during Franco's regime (1939–1977), a national Catholic dictatorship that governed Spain for nearly four decades. Yet the permanent exhibition that this analysis focuses on opened in 1994, nearly two decades after the end of this regime. For this reason, it is interesting to consider how much of this heritage—the definition of the Spanish nation through its imperial heritage—has been assumed, recreated or resignified by a democratic Spain.

Through this construction of the national as a product of colonial expansion, I shall analyze difference and conflict. I consider these to be two fundamental elements of historic tales—tales of identity, narratives of origin and belonging—that can lead to the creation of democratic collective identifications and political culture. Paradoxically, even under democracy, there could be an institution such as the museum that is fostering identities and ways of understanding politics in a way that undermines the ideals it preaches. This is why an analysis of the museum's stories is important not only for Spain but for all history museums in democratic states.

The analysis that follows is the result of years of visits to Madrid's Museo de América. During different class visits I have accompanied to the museum, I have sketched an analysis of the entire exhibition (González de Oleaga, Bohoslavsky, & Di Liscia, 2011). Like an archeological dig, I have noted the layout, recorded every audiovisual and reconstructed the museum's stories.

Part of the work also involved consultations at the museum library and interviews with the curators. The purpose of "interpreting the museum as a text," in following with the analyses of Néstor García Canclini (García Canclini, 2005); the proposals of "thick description" of Clifford Geertz (1973, 1985, 1989); the ideas of "ethnographic authority" and "contact zones" of James Clifford (1997); and the narrativist approach of Mieke Bal (2004) and Roland Barthes (1994, 2013) have all been considered.

To achieve these aims, I put together a protocol of analysis that combined the museum texts with the spatial organization of the exhibits, taking into account that the place, the places, have meaning. The first point in question is *the localization and spatial semantics of the museum*: its history, the development of the institution, the characteristics and spatial organization of the building, its placement within the city and the connections that the museum establishes with neighboring buildings or with streets, public squares and green spaces in a highly detailed scheme. Secondly, *the internal semantics* are reviewed. These include the different sections of the exhibition, the names of the themes within the exhibit and the rooms as well as the connections between them, the spatial and architectural markers that border and connect each area, the spatial hierarchies imposed by the exhibition within each room (placement, illumination and explanations in museum texts) and the path that visitors are obliged to take due to the layout. In third place are *the texts*: here a narrative analysis is used to pose two questions, what history is the story telling? How is this history told? Here the aim is to examine what the museum *says* about the Americas through the markers present in all narratives. Finally, by examining *the narrative structure* of the exhibition, it becomes possible to understand what the museum *does* through its stories (the performative dimension of the story). This is about how it operates at metaphorical levels, confirming, denying or questioning certain forms of historical imagination and how these forms deal with difference and conflict.

Madrid's Museo de América: Localization and Spatial Semantics

The Museo de América [Museum of America[1]] was founded by decree under the Franco regime in 1941. A plan to construct a building exclusively for the museum was in the works, but in the meantime, it was temporarily installed on a floor of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional [National Archeological Museum], where it opened to the public in July 1944. A year earlier, the architects Luis Moya and Luis Martínez-Feduchi had begun construction on the new building, which was completed in 1954. The idea behind the museum, "in keeping with the ideology behind its founding decree," was "to promote Spain's missionary work and civilizing efforts in America. The building's architecture reflected this historicist and neocolonial style, with an arch-façade, a tower that evokes that of baroque churches of America and a layout similar to

that of a convent."[2] Although the building works were completed in 1954, the museum collections were not moved to the new site until 1962. A decision was made to wait on its inauguration until 1965 in order for it to coincide with the International Congress of Americanists. The museum closed for reforms in 1981 and reopened in 1994, after a pompous celebration of the 500 years since the discovery of America. The museum's permanent exhibition has remained the same since its last reopening.[3]

Located at an emblematic spot in Madrid on the corner of Avenida de los Reyes Católicos and Avenida del Arco de la Victoria, MAM sits atop a hill that overlooks the city. The museum entrance is kitty-corner from the arch, which was constructed between 1953 and 1956 to commemorate Franco's victory in the Civil War.[4] It is surrounded by gardens with sculptures from different periods that commemorate the heroic deeds of the colonizers.[5] During the Spanish Civil War, fighting took place near the museum's current location. When the war ended, an altar was constructed in honor of the Virgen del Asedio,[6] along with several buildings: Escuela de Ingenieros Navales [Naval Engineering School], Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (later the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana and today the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional) [first the Hispanic Culture Institute, then the Institute of Spanish-American Cooperation and now the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation] and la Plaza de Cristo Rey [Christ the King Square]. The front of the building faces Parque del Oeste [Park of the West], a green space located right across from the museum that boasts several sculptures dedicated to the Latin American founding fathers.[7]

In 1992, the year commemorating the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, a 92-meter-high tower was constructed next to the museum's building. The tower is called the "Faro de Moncloa." In this brief overview of spatial semantics, all of the elements are aimed at emphasizing Spain's role as a colonizer in the Americas. The following section will examine how the museum's permanent exhibition is organized.

The Internal Semantics

The contents of the museum are organized like chapters in a book or section headings, with five main themes or areas: *Knowledge, The Reality of America*, *Society*, *Religion* and *Communication*. The five themes are divided into subheadings, each of which corresponds to a room connecting to what comes before or after it. Each of the themes is separated from the others by some type of architectural barrier (stairs, empty spaces, etc.). Like a written text, the museum uses a sort of punctuation mark, the museum label, to establish the connections and divisions between the different themes. Similarly, the building structure and arrangement of the exhibition as a gallery are designed so that visitors follow a single path leading from the first exhibit room to the last (Basu, 2007).

Knowledge

The first theme, "Knowledge," is subdivided into "Tools of Knowledge in America," "Allegory: America, between Myth and Reality," "A Natural History Cabinet" and "Cartography." After visiting these three rooms, the goal is for "the visitor to recognize how the image of America was constructed over centuries, where information based on the observation of reality is mixed with imagination," as stated on one of the first panels. The first room, "Tools of Knowledge in America," presents the different visions of the New World that appeared in Europe around the time of the conquest. In a telling arrangement, etchings of monstrous are overlaid with narratives, some fantastical and others not so much. According to the museum, some of these narratives are the result of first-hand experiences, while others are imagined, as if "having being there," (on the part of the narrators) provided some guarantee of the veracity of the interpretation (Geertz, 1989). Yet according to the museum narrative, these initial perceptions of the Americas are transformed by the arrival of empirical science. This is depicted in the museum through cabinets of natural history from the eighteenth century and later through cartography. It is the advance of science—once again, according to the museum's narrative—which has allowed the fanciful discourse of the initial period to become the true discourse of the exhibition. In other words, science transmits a certain image of the continent, yielding the reality of America, which is the title of the next museum theme. The documentary film that used to be shown in the first segment, like the other documentaries shown, had sought to make the exhibition coherent. Topics included Columbus and the impact of the "discovery" of the New World on the Old Continent. A few years ago this documentary was replaced by another video, without a voice-over, that shows images from the museum itself. The meeting of these two worlds is represented in the accounts of sailors, missionaries, military men, government officials and scientists, who describe the marvels they witnessed in their travels. The others, the residents of the vast continents, are represented by objects—generally clay pots—as if their narratives had never existed or as if their experience could only be presented through scientific discourse, with a preference for ethnography or archeology as opposed to history (Dening, 1996).

The second room is a reproduction of a natural history cabinet from the eighteenth century. The types of classifications for objects brought back to Spain by scientific expeditions are shown here; the fundamental criterion was the formality or the uses that scientists attributed to the objects. The room is lined with glass cases displaying hats, musical instruments and metal spears. This room represents a clear transition between the mythic thought of the first travelers to America and scientific thought, as represented by the museum. Two items are particularly out of place in this transition: a bust of Cortés (later replaced by a bust of Fernando VI and now by a feather headdress with no label) and an image of the Virgen de Guadalupe. At the end of the room, as a sort of transition between this room and the next room on cartography, there is

a large-scale reproduction of an Aztec calendar engraved in stone, though until recently there was no label or explanation whatsoever. In several of my works, I have questioned this silence. A few months ago, a small label explaining the calendar was added.

The next room, which presents cartography, begins with a documentary film, complete with dramatic music, on the technical advances—ships, navigating instruments and way of representing the earth—that allowed America to be "discovered" (my quotation marks). Each glass case shows a series of maps, going from the first handmade maps to a current satellite image of the planet. The caption to the last still image of the documentary reads as follows: "At the end of the eighteenth century, all of the oceans and their coasts had essentially been outlined. The real image of the world was complete." The main idea behind this part of the exhibit is that knowledge is bound to technological progress, as if technology were the only true way of accessing reality. In contrast, it would appear that the others—the other cultures, those of America—knew nothing of geographical space and were incapable of representing it until the Europeans arrived and maps were made. The contribution of the Native Americans is reduced to ceramics, to vessels in the shape of marine animals, though the museum provides no label whatsoever for them.

The Reality of America

The Reality of America, as per the museum, is presented in a diorama that the visitor must activate. There is also a map of North and South America that can be observed from the bridge where the spectator is standing, simulating the viewpoint of someone in Spain, as if that were possible. In the diorama, the Americas are filled with grandiose landscapes, representative of all the ecosystems of the continent. A few animals can be seen in the deserts, glaciers, plains, plateaus and rain forest. There is no sign of humans, past or present. This absence is significant, and the biblical vision of creation is striking: first there was land and then oceans, later the animals, and finally, man, who will not make his appearance here until the next room.

In the second room of this unit, entitled simply "Man," the continent's population is described solely in terms of demographics. To the left and right of the doorway is the prehistory of the western hemisphere, with abundant samples of stone objects and graphics comparing the cultures of the prehistory of America with that of Europe. The central part of the room is covered with maps and graphics that present the contributions and distribution of the population over the course of history. The spread of the indigenous population at the end of the colonial period is compared with the period after the wars of independence; the room also shows the "approximate distribution of the three main ethics groups (black, white and Indians) today" in North and South America. In both comparisons, the aim is to present the drastic reduction of the indigenous population after the wars and emphasize that the original inhabitants now boast a higher population density in Latin America than in

North America, thus denying the Black Legend of the conquest. To round off this depiction, the visitor can view a sort of anachronism, the "First Europeans in America," represented by the images of San Roque, San Antonio and the Virgin Mary with Christ the child. The following glass case shows the arrival of slaves to the New World. This display, entitled "African Immigration," bears the following label: "Black slaves came mainly from the Western Coast of Africa, although growing demand and depopulation led to a search for natives from other regions." This demographic show is surrounded by a series of paintings from the period that classifies racial mixing, or as it is referred to here, the "caste society." One of the most fascinating processes of the meeting of the Old and New Worlds—*mestizaje*—is off to both sides, though originally there was no label. Today there is a small label that reads "Scenes of *mestizaje*."

The next room, "Cultural Development from One Pole to the Next," shows the development of the different cultures of America in a succession of valuable classified objects. The criterion here is geographical, comparing that which classifies and divides the world of America between large civilizations and groups of hunters/gatherers. Here the universe of objects is displayed as if the objects themselves were responsible for writing the story, not merely pieces that help shed light on parts of a narrative. Where there are no objects to show, there is no information to be conveyed.

Society

The third area or part of the museum is dedicated to *society*, or the societies of America, which constitute the main core of the visit. This theme is developed in six sections divided into two main areas: one focused on egalitarian societies (that is, to groups or tribes) and the other, on complex societies, which are in turn divided among chiefs and states. The area begins with a room dedicated to the "Life Cycle" of individuals and to certain key moments. According to the museum, these include birth, childhood, maturity and marriage, illness, old age and death. Here the visitor reads texts like the following: "The rites of marriage vary, but their mission generally involves a split between the bride and her family when she forms a new family." Another example of a text that explains puberty follows: "(...) (is) the change humans undergo from childhood to adulthood." Female puberty generally coincides with the first menstruation, while that of men coincides with certain physical changes (the appearance of facial hair, the deepening of the voice, etc.)." Four photographs have been added to this glass case to further illustrate the message: a first communion, a bar mitzvah, an indigenous initiation rite and two punk groups fighting. All four activities, according to the museum, are thus equivalent. The audiovisual presentation that opens this section establishes a clear difference between indigenous populations, whose cultures and lifestyles seem to be the topic of ethnography, and the modern societies where they are integrated, which are topics for history. The audiovisual describes an object as follows: "This basket was woven by a woman in the eighteenth century to pick berries. Today the

Chumash Indians continue using the same type of basket for the same purpose." Another explains, "The harpoon that this Inuit hunter uses today is the same as the one his ancestors used five hundred years ago. Nowadays, however, the skins of the animals he hunts will surely be sold to an industrial factory in Toronto." These are two examples of the ethnographic approach to indigenous societies, unchanged for the past 500 years and contrasted with Western societies, where rapid change, development and progress are the norm.

The museum offers a specific criterion for assessing the social panorama of America. Its social organization is noted for its complexity, though here complexity, in the words of the museum, is not synonymous with "a higher or lower degree of evolution but instead refers to the best way of adapting to the local environment." Besides the deterministic ring to the statement (is everything real necessarily rational?), the implication is that according to this logic, a more complex society is a more evolved society provided that "evolution" can be defined as "successive transformations to an initial reality... a shift from simple and homogeneous to composite and heterogeneous," according to the Real Academia Española (RAE) dictionary. The classification of the models of social organization, from groups to States, seems not to have been made entirely clear. Thus, the end of the documentary clarifies, "How to organize the economy, how to resolve conflicts, how to distribute work, how to organize community and space: problems common to all human groups that over time and across the globe have produced different answers. In the past and present, these myriad answers form a portrait of the peoples who inhabit America." Some months ago, this documentary was replaced by another one in which a young Mexican ("anthropologist by training and journalist by coincidence") comes to Madrid to discover the Spanish tortilla, gazpacho, chocolate and Panama hats.

Religion

In this room, the museum offers the public a view into "the forms of relating to the supernatural" among "these societies." "For this reason, the space dedicated to religion provides an opportunity to learn about different ways of establishing a dialogue with a deity through the divine objects that were used as offerings or which formed part of different rituals." Divided into the sections "Spirits, Sacred Chiefs, Divine Kings and Queens, and Gods"; "Sacred Places"; "Rituals" and "Sacred Objects," the entire exhibition is mixed with naturalized Catholic images, objects and relics. Catholicism here is not contextualized nor is there any explanation as to how this religion arrived and was imposed on the continent. One of the glass cases provides a reference to the ritual drugs that provided contact with local deities (the title is "Hallucinogens"). Beneath this label, there is a photograph of an indigenous man chewing coca leaves, erroneously associating the sacred leaf with psychotropic substances. In another of the room's cases, two shrunken heads are displayed with a label that simply reads "Shrunken human heads. Jivaroan Indians. Peru."

In these rooms, some of the most spectacular and valuable pieces of the museum are on display, such as the collection known as the "Treasure of the Quimbayas." The documentary that opened this section for over a decade began as follows: "Regardless of their ethnic background, culture or place of residence, men have used religion to find solutions to problems that are and have always been universal." With a functionalist perspective that is certainly questionable (Little, 1990), the documentary described the recurring themes in religious thought and its role in defending the established order. The focus then shifted to sacred spaces and the rituals associated with them. Now there is a new documentary film at the entrance to this room that recounts the sinking of the galleon Nuestra Señoa de Atocha in 1622. At this point, the two-story building forms a sort of apsis that can be accessed from the central nave. The outline of this part of the temple can be clearly seen in a view from the roof of the building. The light is very dim within the apsis—it is not clear if the dim light is essential to maintaining the collection or merely adds ambiance—and this is where the Treasure of the Quimbayas is situated. Made of solid gold, this set of burial offerings was donated to the museum by the Colombian government at the end of the nineteenth century. A legal battle is currently being waged to get the treasure repatriated to Colombia.[8] This treasure is accompanied by the Paracas mummy and other funerary objects from different pre-Columbian cultures. This surely unintended association between a treasure and a sacred place seems inopportune in an exhibit that clearly aims to avoid any conflicting interpretations and which has wagered on a very particular way of understanding political correctness. It also appears difficult to justify the exhibition of an Andean mummy that would be more at home in an old natural science museum than in modern history or ethnography museums (Alberti, Bienkowsky, Chapman, & Drew, 2009).

Communication

The last theme or section is entitled "*Communication*" and displays other tools of knowledge, including those produced by the societies of America themselves. It is divided into three parts: "The Origins of Written Communication," "Writing and Symbolic Communication" and "The Languages of America and Spanish." The room opens with the label "Communication Systems. Pictorial symbols, hieroglyphic writing, syllabic writing, music and dance and iconographic symbols" and closes with "Spanish" and "Indigenous Languages." The different systems of communication in the Americas appear on both sides of the room. In the middle of the room, the famous Madrid Codex or Troano Codex is on display. One of the four surviving Mayan codices, it dates back to the fourteenth century and was supposedly brought to Spain by Hernán Cortés himself. Writing is the standard that guides the exhibit in this room and represents the criterion used to describe other forms of communication. The distance between oral expression and writing will provide further surprises.

At the end of the exhibit, the section corresponding to "Indigenous Languages" and "Spanish," there are two separate areas of very different sizes. The first, which corresponds to native languages, is so small that only one visitor can enter at a time. A small screen shows a series of members of different indigenous groups (Quechua, Guaraní, Aymara, Maya, Pueblo, Navajo and Nahuatl), all in traditional dress, speaking about their respective myths of creation in their native languages. The projection of these images is framed on an old scroll that displays a handmade map. In the second space, the one dedicated to the common language, that is, "Spanish," "renowned figured of Hispanic literature [Carlos Fuentes, Augusto Roa Bastos, Julio Cortázar, Pablo Neruda, Uslar Pietri, Miguel Ángel Asturias, Nicolás Guillén, Mario Vargas Llosa and Gabriel García Márquez] wrote of the importance of the Spanish language," as the cohesive and definitive element of what could be called Hispanic culture or civilization. This video offers a voice-over of the most well-known male Spanish language authors (female authors are notoriously absent), with reference to the advantages of a common tongue. The accompanying images are rapid and colorful, characteristic of any large city of the Americas. A few years ago, the room showing the documentary on indigenous languages closed, and this video was moved to the main room, which also shows the video about the Spanish language. Later, both rooms were closed, and now, a series of large pictures ends of the exhibition, with portraits on "scenes of *mestizaje*."

Difference and Conflict at MAM

How does MAM organize the stories of Spain and the Americas? And how does it do so in relation to difference and conflict, two of the fundamental ingredients in the construction of identities and democratic political culture? The museum reinforces the vision and perspective of the dictatorship. And it does so through both the placement of the museum as well as the semantics of the permanent exhibit. Although it is true that the arrangement is an inheritance of Francoism, it is equally important to note that democratic administrations have accepted this placement without resignifying it and, in fact, have further emphasized it, adding a watchtower, a lighthouse that "lights the structures that rise at its feet."[9] How can this continuity between an authoritarian regime and a democratic system be explained? Perhaps there was never another way of looking at Spain's role in the Americas and thus of examining the role of America in defining Spanish national identity. From left to right, liberals to conservatives, in authoritarian regimes and under democratic systems, there have been few changes to the way in which both Spain and the Americas are viewed (the influence of religion is the only aspect that has varied noticeably). It is because of this resilience that the museum can relaunch old ideas about Spain and the Americas without visibly worrying or surprising anyone.

All of the spatial semantics of the museum coincide in a single historicist and colonial perspective. This includes the site where the museum is located, its history, the names of the streets, the monuments with which it is associated, the

gardens where sculptural groups from different periods and even the building that contains the exhibit itself. All clearly speak of a wager to create a singular image of Spain as a "Mother of Nations" and of the Americas as permanently in debt to the metropolis for its civilizing efforts. Furthermore, in the placement of the museum, there is a persisting association between the civilizing image of colonial Spain and the Francoist regime, with its self-constructed image as the continuation of the unifying efforts of the Catholic monarchy. Any sign of difference or conflict is excluded within this unity. In this refusal to incorporate these two elements, the museum stories echo the stories of the dictatorship. The museum could have chosen another perspective for approaching the Americas, for example, a contemporary perspective. It could also have opted to incorporate different visions on the colonial process, adding the complexity of this experience to the dispute. Yet in both cases, such choices would have eroded what was truly at stake: the idea of Spain as a civilizing power. For this very reason, at the very moment when some aspect of the history of the Americas, something associated with difference (in the historical interpretation, in this case) threatens to challenge the naturalized role of Spain (or the naturalized bond between Spain and the Americas), this event is left out of the museum's story. This is the case of the statues of the heroes of Latin American independence (O'Higgins, San Martín, Bolivar, and others). These statues, installed in Parque del Oeste during the dictatorship, were accepted as a lesser evil in an attempt to silence those who denounced Spanish expansionism.

It is evident that there can be no single interpretation of a historical event like the "discovery" and conquest of America. The museum could present different perspectives or only its own, but if it chooses the latter, it should indicate that it is one among many, as occurs at the exhibitions of several other museums that deal with sensitive topics. Instead, the museum organizes the exhibit in such a way that its vision of America is developed as the passage from "myth to logos." The exhibit itself, with its battery of artifacts on America, progressively consolidates the museum's position and the legitimacy of what is said: from the mythic images of America to the true image of the continent and from the false authority of the storytellers to the legitimate authority of the museum, the product of science and technology. It is no coincidence that once the exhibition constructs the so-called true image of America, the museum attempts to present "The Reality" of the continent.

But if the beginning of the exhibition is compared to the end, it becomes evident that the museum hopes to lead us from the heterogeneity (of cultures, societies and indigenous languages) to the unity of America (imposed by Spanish culture, language and religion), from the chaos of Babel to ordered community. Between these two states lies the transformational power of Spain. In the organization of the museum's areas and rooms, this tendency of overriding (interpretational) differences and of silencing conflict is evident: "Knowledge," "The Reality," "Society," "Religion" and "Communication." The emphasis on the use of the singular to represent pluralistic realities leaves little room for doubt. When difference cannot be avoided (how could it be in a

museum dedicated to the entire history of two continents?), it is acknowledged only fleetingly before being buried in an evolutionary hierarchy in which difference is but a temporary state that leads to identity. Difference is always considered transitory and clearly devalued. This is the only way to explain why the experience of the arrival of the Spanish to America is represented by the words of the colonizers and by the handicrafts of the colonized. Why refuse to allow the other protagonists of this important historical event to speak? The answer is that giving them a voice would pave the way to conflicts, historical conflict and a conflict of interpretations that could challenge the image of Spain. For this reason, the arrival of the colonizers is presented not as a collision of cultures but instead as the landing on a virginal space free of humans in "The Reality" of America. The idea of arriving to no man's land, achieved by making the original cultures invisible, is repeated not only in the vision of the colonizers but also in that of the museum, which helps perpetuate the myth of America as an empty space. In what other way could we understand that a demographical criterion is used in "Man," the room where the inhabitants of America are presented, instead of historical and cultural criteria? Why explain cultural diversity through migratory movements? The answer is that demographics allow the presence of different human groups to be acknowledged without having to speak of their interactions.

Similarly, the technical languages of archeology and anthropology could allow the museum to speak of the American cultures as units of their own, units separate from power relations. Academic language and objects are two strategies employed to represent "the others," which remain suspended in time and untouched by historical changes. For that reason, the constant "yesterday as well as today" is echoed in the different documentaries that speak of the original cultures. Because if the effects of history are considered, both developments and setbacks would have to be considered. It would become necessary to discuss the upshots of power relations, colonialism, neocolonialism, the impoverishment of local societies and the annihilation of many cultures. In short, it would mean introducing conflict.

When some aspect of reality makes reference to diversity, as in the case of *mestizaje*, the phenomenon is relegated to a peripheral place in the exhibit without any explanation. When something that occurs blurs the idyllic image of Spain's presence in America or promises to challenge this image of a community intact, the absurdity becomes evident: slavery is defined as "African immigration," (Price & Price, 1995) and the explanation offered in the glass case is emptied of any statement that would connote responsibility for what occurred. The African population "died" and "was enslaved." The same lack of public responsibility appears in the charts showing the evolution of the population of the Americas between the sixteenth and nineteenth century or those that misleadingly compare the distribution of the population in Hispanic America and North America today. Nothing is said of the density of the population in either of these locations when the colonizers arrived nor is there any

explanation of what it currently means to be Indian, black or white on these continents, where mixing has become the norm.

When forced to speak of the others, of the other cultures, the museum again implements strategies to offset the imbalance that difference provokes in order to be able to address conflict. This can be seen in the definition of "society" in which difference is acknowledged and erased in a single gesture: the phases of the life cycle are the same in America and in Germany, among the Enawené Nawé indigenous people and among young punks. Childhood and puberty are defined as universal and unalterable over time; these definitions apply as aptly to Greenland as they do to the Middle Ages. The museum takes activities it defines as universal to explain cultural differences or, to put it better, to minimize these differences. When considered in this manner, the life cycle of the American society—birth, maturity and death—could also serve to explain the life of pandas, butterflies or octopuses, classifications equally applicable to a Natural History Museum because "The issue is not whether human beings are biological organisms with intrinsic characteristics... The issue is, what are we to make of these undisputed facts as we go about explicating rituals, analyzing ecosystems (...) or comparing languages" (Geertz, 1985: 268). A drive to universalize which, when combined with an evolutionist conception of reality, wreaks havoc: the most evolved societies can (and should) decide for those in more primitive states. These societies are legitimized by their bonds to humanity.

Universalism, the denial or devaluation of difference and fear of conflict all are repeated in the museum when the topic is religion. Religion is associated with a universal feeling that is embodied in different rituals: Catholicism with its pious imagery or the shrunken heads and hallucinatory drugs of the local cultures. Civilization and barbarianism are also found in communication, in the oral expression of the indigenous cultures and the writing of the colonizers, in the tradition of the original languages and the modernity that Spanish, that driver of unity of more than 300 million speakers, represents. But even in the changes that have been made in the past few years, the basic story the museum tells has remained intact. Only this need of dealing with conflict can be explained by the incorporation of the feeble documentaries that introduce the areas of society and religion. In the first, we bear witness to the idealization of contemporary migrations. A young Mexican, a sort of prodigal son, finds signs of his land in the Motherland (Spain) while at the same time incorporating the forms of the country that has welcomed him in a fluid exchange not unlike that of a tourist visit. In the second case, the story of a galleon filled with religious silverwork is shipwrecked, and these objects are then traced to Spanish churches. Neither domination nor resistance appears in these exchanges and hybridities. All flows with a banality akin to the *Disneyfication* of culture.

This tendency of the MAM stories to override difference and silence conflict keeps a whole range of identifications at bay. In terms of the way national identities are organized through colonization, all of the colonizers' efforts are viewed as a valuable enterprise, not a past enterprise but one that extends into

the present. Why this impossibility to recognize difference and conflict? What is it about cultural differences and the collisions of the past (ever so present) that resist representation within the museum? Perhaps the Spanish national identity and its way of understanding its ties to America continues to be bound to colonial logic in a sort of paradox in which the other cannot be recognized as a radical other (if he were so different, he could never be like us, thus invalidating the goal of civilizing actions) or as part of one's own identity (if he is already like us, how can we justify such a goal?). Within this fluctuation, the former metropolis can continue maintaining its fictional role as an agent of transformation and modernization.[10] And the definition of nationality is tied to this fiction. A definition of nationality that has little to contribute to democratic perspectives precisely because of its push to override difference and conflict.

Perhaps it could be useful to posit that the quality of democracy, an important item on government agendas, also depends on the quality of the stories that circulate in a country's history museums, stories that allow citizens to consider themselves as political subjects. After all, if we are incapable of recognizing the differences and conflicts of the past, how can we possibly be prepared to do so in the present?

Notes

1. In Spanish, the singular "América" is used to refer to both North and South America, which are counted as a single continent in Spanish and Latin American geography classes as well. Here we have preserved the use of the singular "America" within the museum's narrative to refer not to the United States but to all of North and South America. As we will see, there are many cases in the museum of using singulars to refer to pluralisms. The use of the singular to refer to a continent with diverse historical and cultural traditions is Spain's way of exercising its hegemony over these territories. Another example is Spain's reticence to speak of Latin America as opposed to its more common use of Hispanic America.
2. http://www.mecd.gob.es/museodeamerica/el-museo/un-poco-de-historia2/un-museo-en-busca-de-sede.htm, 15 February 2015. All the translations of the museum texts and labels are our own.
3. Professor Manuel Gutiérrez was working on a different project for the MAM that was never finished. The Iraq War and the signing of a manifesto against Spain's involvement in the conflict led the Spanish Museums Director at the time to resign. The Gutiérrez project was subsequently canceled. González de Oleaga et al. (2011: 116–117).
4. Arco de la Victoria remains just as it was when constructed under Franco, at one of the city's most important entry points. In spite of the passage of the Ley de la memoria histórica [Historic Memory Law], No. 52/2007, on 10 December 2007, the arch continues to serve as a monument to barbarism, though no one seems to give it much thought.

Fernández Delgado, Miguel Pasamontes, and Vega González (1982: 404–408).

5. Like the monument to Hernán Cortés or the sculptural group "La hispanidad," which shows a Spanish warrior tossing an Indian woman over the back of his horse. Fernández Delgado et al. (1982: 190–191).
6. Constructed by the municipal board of Ciudad Universitaria, it has a plaque that reads: "(...) During the long and glorious siege, the red fury destroyed this refuge. The revered Virgin was destroyed by mines and gunfire, yet Franco's soldiers transformed her into a mirror of their courage. Agter Ciuded Universitaria was liberated, the people of Madrid continue to worship her. In the year of Santo Mariano, 1954, the municipal board of Ciudad Universitaria wishes to honor the saintly Virgin by erecting a monument to her revered statue." Fernández Delgado et al. (1982: 141).
7. The statues were to serve as a reminder of Spain's work in the Americas and to refute the campaigns against "Spain's expansionist policy." The comment was made by the then-mayor of Madrid, Carlos Arias Navarro, in a discussion with the government's educational delegate 1967 about the delays in the installation of the Simón Bolívar statue. Fernández Delgado et al. (1982: 109).
8. www.tesoroquimbayas.com and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/el-tesoro-quimbaya-podria-ser-repatriado-articulo-495818. 15 February 2015.
9. This comment was taken from the lighthouse's website, www.farodemoncloa.com, sponsored by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid until the end of 2010. Today this website says nothing about this, and instead of the 92 meters previously mentioned, it states that the tower stands 110 meters tall. Accessed on 6 February 2015. The following is another website that makes reference to the 500 year celebration and the 92 meters of the tower. www.factoriaurbana.com/ciudades/torres.php?id=1&ciudadd=Madrid http://elpais.com/diario/2012/01/18/madrid/1326889454_850215.html#despiece1
10. The foreign policy of Spain in the twentieth century was engulfed by this fiction of Spain as the grand empire, a paper empire, an empire on paper only, a spiritual empire that nourished the country's foreign policy.

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CHAPTER 8

Illustrating National History

Peter Burke

Where older generations studied the history of "historiography", in the sense of studies of the past written by scholars, a new and broader approach focuses on the history of "historical culture", in other words the history of different attitudes to the past or visions of the past, whether expressed in writing, speech or images (De Groot, 2008; Lowenthal, 1985; Thomas, 1983; Woolf, 2003). In similar fashion, the discipline of art history was used to focus almost exclusively on works of art produced by important artists, but in the last few years, this approach has been challenged by an alternative, Visual Studies, concerned with images of many different kinds in a variety of media. The chapter that follows is situated at the meeting point of these two relatively new approaches, concerned as it is with pictorial expressions of historical culture in an age of nationalism.

Early Modern Paintings and the Long Nineteenth Century

The great age of historical paintings in Europe and the Americas was the nineteenth century, especially a long nineteenth century running from 1789 to 1914, from a rise linked to the celebration of the French Revolution to a decline

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following the horrors of the First World War. This was not, of course, the first age in which such images were produced. From the Renaissance onward, scenes from ancient history, especially the history of ancient Rome, were frequently represented, usually as moral examples for moderns to try to imitate.

Andrea Mantegna painted Roman triumphs, for instance, while Veronese represented the clemency of Alexander the Great toward the family of his enemy King Darius. The seventeenth-century artist Charles Lebrun, working for Louis XIV, painted the same scene in a series of episodes from the life of Alexander. In the Dutch Republic, Pieter Lastman painted *Coriolanus* (1625), while Rembrandt chose as the subject for a painting intended to decorate the new town hall of Amsterdam the Batavian Claudius Civilis planning rebellion against ancient Rome (1662). At the end of the eighteenth century, Jacques-Louis David illustrated some memorable moments from Roman history, from the *Oath of the Horatii* (1785) to *The Lictors bring to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons* (1789).

Subjects taken from medieval and modern history were less common, but they can also be found in Italy and elsewhere. In Renaissance Florence, both Leonardo and Michelangelo painted battle scenes from the recent history of the city in the council chamber of the Palazzo della Signoria. Raphael decorated the Vatican with scenes from the early history of the popes. The Doge's Palace in Venice was filled with scenes of battles that the Venetians had won and other historical events in which Venice or Venetians played an important role: the visit of Pope Alexander III to Venice, for instance, or the conquest of Constantinople by Venetian forces. Less well known, but precious evidence of public interest in post-classical history, are paintings such as Caesar van Everdingen's *Duke Willem II of Holland granting privileges* (1655) or Charles-Joseph Natoire's *Clovis Besieging Bordeaux* (1737).

Despite this long tradition, it is generally agreed that the great age of history painting runs from 1789 to 1914 (Paret, 1997: 65), especially the second half of the nineteenth century, whether we define "great age" by the famous artists who specialized in the genre (Paul Delaroche in France, for instance, John Millais in England, Adolf Menzel in Prussia or Jan Matejko in Poland) or whether we define it by the sheer numbers of historical paintings produced at that time. Dissenters, like the scholar who has written of the "death" of history painting around the year 1808 (Prendergast, 1997: 197), are relatively rare. After 1900, and still more obviously after 1914, historical painting declined in importance, threatened on one side by the rise of the new media of photography and film and on the other by a reaction against the glorification of war, a glorification to which many artists had contributed.

In the case of France, Britain and Germany, historical painting has been studied in considerable detail. However, the genre was practiced much more widely in the nineteenth century from Central and Eastern Europe (Gyula Benczúr in Hungary, Theodor Aman in Romania, Ilya Repin and Vasily Surikov in Russia) to the New World (Alberto Urdaneta in Colombia, for instance, Martín Tovar in Venezuela, Felix Parra in Mexico, John Trumbull in

the USA or Pedro Américo de Melo in Brazil). Italians such as Stefano Ussi and Domenico Morelli, Spaniards such as José Maria Casado del Alisel and Antonio Gisbert Pérez, Netherlanders such as Nicolaas Pieneman, Belgians such as Louis Gallait and Swedes such as Gustaf Cederström and Carl Gustaf Hellqvist all made important contributions.

Looking at the rise of the genre from within art history, this appears to be a case of the French leading and others following. It is clear, for instance, that the work of the Frenchman Paul Delaroche made a great impact in Italy and Spain, on Ussi and Morelli, for instance, and on Casado and Gisbert (Reyero, 1989).

The Rise of Modern Subjects

There were also external reasons for this "historical turn". One way to explore these reasons is to examine the kinds of history that were painted. As in the Renaissance, scenes from ancient history continued to attract artists and their public. In England, the late Victorian painter Lawrence Alma-Tadema specialized in such scenes. What was new was the fact that modern history became much more important.

Some painters were attracted by foreign subjects. Delaroche, for instance, specialized in scenes from English history. The Scottish artist David Wilkie painted Christopher Columbus, while the German–American artist Emmanuel Leutze painted Hernán Cortés. Some historical subjects were surely selected for their pathos, as in the case of Delaroche's *Princes in the Tower* (1831) or his *Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833) or the many paintings of Mary Queen of Scots.

All the same, in the production of history painting in Europe and the Americas, national themes predominate. In France, by the later eighteenth century, for example, we find "the elevation of French national history to the same level of prestige previously enjoyed only by classical narrative" (Crow, 1985: 192). Around 700 paintings on subjects from British history were exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1904.

Paintings were part of what might be called the "nationalization of the past", so visible in the nineteenth century not only in history books, publications of documents of national interest and dictionaries of national biography but also in statues of national heroes in public places (The Cid, Dante, Jeanne d'Arc, Luther and so on), historical museums, rituals of commemoration such as centenaries, historical plays and operas, and above all, historical novels by famous writers such as Walter Scott, Alessandro Manzoni, Victor Hugo, Theodor Fontane, Jókai Mór, Henryk Sienkiewicz or Benito Pérez Galdós (notably his long series of *Episodios Nacionales*). On the principle that an image is worth a thousand words, we may surmise that images of the past on canvas or on paper, like images on screen today, remained more vivid in the mind than the words of historians, even Michelet or Macaulay.

These representations of the national past were not confined to nation-states, in fact far from it. Giuseppe Mazzini, who might be described as an

expert on nationalism, once remarked that the Italian historical painting of his time, before Italy was united, was an aid to nation-building (Mazzini, 1840: 245–332). In a similar fashion, the foundation of the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in Nuremberg in 1852 preceded German unification. Polish history painting flourished in spite (or because) of the fact that Poland had no independent existence in the nineteenth century, and so did Czech and Hungarian history painting at a time when the Czech and Hungarian lands were part of the Habsburg Empire.

National Heroes

One way for painters to represent the national past was by means of its heroes and heroines. In England, the National Portrait Gallery was founded for this purpose in 1856. Certain rulers became national symbols in the nineteenth century if not before. In Britain, one thinks of King Alfred, already represented by Benjamin West in 1779 as a kind of secular saint dividing his loaf with a pilgrim, on the model of St Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar. In Spain, there was Queen Isabel the Catholic (*The Testament of Queen Isabel* by Eduardo Rosales, 1863); in Prussia, Frederick the Great, painted several times by Menzel; in France, Henri IV (between 1804 and 1835, 122 paintings of Henri IV were exhibited in the Salons); and in Sweden, the elegiac paintings of two dead kings, Carl Gustaf Hellquist's *Gustavus Adolphus* and Gustaf Cederström's *Charles XII*, both from the age when Sweden was a great power (the so-called *stormaktstiden*).

National—and imperial—glory was associated with successful soldiers, sailors and adventurers. In Spain, Hernán Cortés was painted by Francisco Sanz y Cabot and by José Uría. In France, Napoleon was celebrated in paint (from Antoine-Lois Gros, *Bonaparte at the Pont d'Arcole*, 1801, to Ernest Meissonier in the 1860s and 1870s) and also Marshal Ney, whose execution in 1815 was represented by Jean-Léon Gérôme. In Britain, the death of Nelson at Trafalgar was painted by Benjamin West, Arthur Devis and Daniel Maclise. In the Netherlands, Nicolaas Pieneman painted The *Death of Admiral de Ruyter* (1834) and the submission of the Javanese prince Diponegoro to the Dutch general Hendrik de Kock.

Religious leaders might also symbolize the nation. The Germans had Martin Luther, whose appearance at the Reichstag in Worms was represented by Hermann Plüdemann (1864), Paul Thumann (1872), Anton von Werner (1877) and Hermann Wislicenus (1880). The French had Jeanne d'Arc, painted by both Delaroche (1824) and Ingres (1854). The Czechs had Jan Hus, whose condemnation as a heretic was painted by Václav Brožik (1883). The English had John Wycliffe (Ford Madox Brown, *The Trial of Wycliffe*, 1893) and the Protestant martyrs (George Hayter, *The Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley*, 1855). The Scots had the Protestant preacher John Knox (painted by David Wilkie, 1832), while the Poles had the Catholic preacher Piotr Skarga (by Jan Matejko, 1864).

The cultural achievements of different nations were symbolized by paintings of their writers, scientists and artists: Spain by Cervantes, for instance, Germany by Goethe, England by Hogarth, Reynolds and Chaucer (Ford Madox Brown, *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, 1868), and Italy by Dante and Galileo, Raphael and Titian. The choice of great painters of the past may have been an attempt to persuade the public of the importance of art, but the majority of these heroes were chosen because they were what Albert Boime has called "national icons" (Boime, 1998).

The many statues erected in streets and squares in the nineteenth century tell a similar story. They include national icons such as Nelson in London (dwarfing Wellington and Shakespeare), Goethe in Weimar and Frankfurt, Cervantes in Madrid, Walter Scott in Edinburgh, Jeanne d'Arc and Diderot in Paris, Carl Linnaeus and the historian Eric Gustaf Geijer in Uppsala, the poet Sándor Petőfi in Budapest, Alexander Pushkin in both Moscow and St Petersburg and his Polish equivalent Adam Mickiewicz in both Warsaw and Cracow.

Canonical Events

Major historical events, "canonical events" as we might call them, were frequently represented. Indeed, the visual representations probably contributed to this canonization. Battles continued to be popular subjects, as they had been in the Renaissance. Gros painted the Battle of Eylau, in which Napoleon defeated the Russians, while the Battle of Friedland, in which Napoleon defeated the Russians and Prussians, was painted by Ernest Meisonnier (1875). Menzel painted Frederick the Great at the battle of Hochkirch. Jan Matejko painted the Polish victory over the knights of the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 (1878). Sea battles included *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (by Philip James de Loutherbourg, 1796), *The Battle of Trafalgar* by J.M.W. Turner (1824) and *The Battle of Riachuelo* (in which Brazil defeated Paraguay) by Victor Meirelles (c. 1870).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, battles were frequently represented in the new popular genre of the panorama: the battles of Sedan, Borodino and Waterloo, for instance (Comment, 1993). National feeling explains why these panoramas drew crowds and in at least one instance why a representation could not be exhibited. Wojciech Kossak's panorama of the battle of Racławice, painted in the early 1890s, representing a major event in the Polish uprising against Russia in 1794, was taken to Wrocław (formerly Breslau) in 1945, but because it showed a victory over the Russians, it could not be viewed by the public until 1985.

Other major events chosen by historical painters included *King John delivering Magna Carta* (painted by John Mortimer, 1779); *Cromwell dissolving Parliament* and *General Monk Welcoming Charles II at Dover* (both painted by Benjamin West in 1782); *The Abdication of Charles V* by Louis Gallait (1841); *The American Declaration of Independence* by Trumbull (1818); *The Oath of the Cortés*, at Cadiz in 1810, which gave Spain a new and more democratic

constitution and was painted by José Maria Casado del Alisel (1863); and the Polish *Constitution of 3 May 1791* painted by Matejko to celebrate its centenary. In the New World, the *Signing of the Act of Independence* in Venezuela was painted by Martín Tovar, and in Brazil, the *Cry of Ipiranga* was painted by Américo de Melo. The *Cry of Ipiranga* was the equivalent of the *Grito de Dolores* by the Mexican priest Miguel Hidalgo, calling the people to arms against Spain. With it, Pedro I declared Brazilian independence from Portugal (on Colombia, cf. Aucardo Chicangana-Bayona, 2008).

A favorite subject for historical painters was the colonization of new territories: for instance, Peter Rothermel's *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1854), the arrival of the Magyars in Hungary (Mihály Munkácsy, *Taking the Land*, 1893) or Vasily Surikov's *Yermak's Conquest of Siberia* (1895). Indirect references to imperial themes include West's *Death of General Wolfe* (1770), linked to the British acquisition of Canada, and John Millais' *The Boyhood of Raleigh* (1871), in which the future explorer listens with rapt attention to the stories of a sailor. In the case of Spain, the recovery of lost territory was celebrated in Francisco Pradilla's *Surrender of Granada* (1882) and the acquisition of new territory by paintings of Columbus, Cortés and Pizarro.

Besides major or "historic" events, more or less mythologized, some artists chose to represent minor events, producing anecdotes in paint, among them Pierre Révoil's *Henri IV Playing with his Children* (1817), Menzel's *Flute Concert of Frederick the Great* (1850–52) and Seymour Lucas' *Drake playing Bowls* (1880), an allusion to the unflappability of the English sailor who insisted on finishing his game after hearing the news of the arrival of the Spanish Armada. *When did you last see your father*? (1878), a painting by William Frederick Yeames, represents a fictional event during the English Civil War: supporters of Parliament looking for a leading Royalist are questioning his son (Strong, 1978: 155–68).

Images for Whom?

Some of these works were painted for private patrons, among them rulers such as Louis Philippe and Napoleon III of France, Queen Isabel II of Spain and Maximilian II of Bavaria, but also for wealthy members of the bourgeoisie, such as the banker Gustave Delahante, who purchased Meissonier's *1814* (Hungerford, 1999: 122). Many historical paintings were public commissions. In the Palace of Westminster, for instance, Parliament commissioned paintings of the Tudor period in the Prince's Chamber, of the Stuarts in the Peers' Gallery, and of Nelson and Wellington in the Royal Gallery. In the Capitol, a series of paintings of scenes from American history runs from Columbus, through the Pilgrim Fathers, to Washington. The Hungarian Parliament, inaugurated in 1896 and inspired by the British Parliament, commissioned historical paintings that include Munkácsy's *Taking of the Land*.

In any case, many representations of the national past were and indeed are to be seen in museums and galleries, some of them converted from other

uses, as in the case of the Louvre, or newly erected to glorify the nation, as their names remind us: the Nationale Kunstgalerij in Amsterdam (1800), for instance, later renamed the Rijksmuseum; the Národni Muzeum, Prague and the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (both founded in 1819); the National Gallery, London (1824); and Nasjonal Galleriet, Christiania (1837). A few galleries specialized in historical paintings. The print publisher Robert Bowyer opened a "Historic Gallery" in London in 1793, the collector Jacob de Vos opened a "Historische Galerij" in Amsterdam in 1850, while the Nationalhistoriske Museum in Hillerød was founded in 1878, thanks to funding from J.C. Jacobsen of Carlsberg Breweries. Panoramas were displayed in their own purpose-built galleries.

Exhibited in places open to the public, often including schoolchildren, these representations should be viewed as a means of education, especially education in patriotism, a point sometimes underlined in historical works intended for young readers.

In any case, it was not necessary to visit galleries to be acquainted with some of these images, thanks to reproductions in the form of engravings, etchings or lithographs to be seen in the windows of print-shops, on the walls of homes and as illustrations in printed histories, including school textbooks and the wallcharts used in European classrooms from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, which often adapted famous history paintings.[1]

In Britain, West's famous *Death of Wolfe* was engraved by William Woollett and *Alfred Dividing his Loaf* by William Sharp; Mortimer's *Magna Carta* was engraved twice, by John Rogers and William Ryland. In the Netherlands, Pieneman's *Death of Ruyter* was engraved by Johann Wilhelm Kaiser. In the United States, Copley's *Death of Major Peirson* was engraved by James Heath and Rothermel's *Pilgrim Fathers* by Joseph Andrews. In France, Louis-Pierre Henriquel-Dupont engraved Delaroche's *Cromwell* and Louis Hersent's *Abdication of Gustavus Vasa*. Some of these reproductions sold very well. John Boydell, a print publisher, made a good deal of money from his ownership of the copyright of the engraving of West's *Wolfe*. It is reasonable to suppose that the reproductions of these famous history paintings were much better known than the originals.

Some well-known historical works were illustrated, on occasion by famous artists. Menzel produced 400 drawings to illustrate Franz Kugler's *Geschichte Friedrich des Grossen* (1839–42; Forster-Hahn, 1977), working with engravers such as Friedrich Unzelmann but supervising them closely to ensure that no changes were made. Daniel Vierge illustrated the 1876 edition of Jules Michelet's *Histoire de France*. Hume's *History of England* was republished in an illustrated edition from 1793 onward, including Edward Burney's *Death of William Rufus*, engraved by James Neagl, and Thomas Stothard's *Charles I Taking Leave of his Children*, engraved by William Bromley. The cost of the illustrations was high and the first edition is said to have lost money, but subsequent editions suggest that presenting history in this format was a success.

Illustrations in popular works of history, including school textbooks, increased their appeal, while the titles of a few of them suggest that the pictures were becoming more important than the text. In Britain, George Craik and Charles MacFarlane published a *Pictorial History of England* (1841), proudly declaring on the title page that the volumes were "illustrated with many hundred woodcuts". In the USA, Samuel Goodrich produced his *Pictorial History of France for Schools* (1842) followed by pictorial histories of England, ancient Greece, and North and South America. Edmund Ollier, a writer who worked for the firm of Cassell, produced a history of the Franco-Prussian War, a history of the Russo-Turkish War, a *History of the United States* and a *Universal History*, all of them illustrated. Cassell's *Illustrated History of England* (1856–64) was particularly successful, reaching its ninth edition by the year 1905.

Differences in the strategy of illustrations are worth noting. Cassell's *Illustrated History* concentrated on portraits, views of places and a few dramatic scenes, crude but expressive, including "Bread Riot", "Marie Antoinette in Prison" and "The Death of Nelson". The Craik-MacFarlane *Pictorial History*, on the other hand, preferred to concentrate on changes in material culture, copying examples of medieval costume from manuscripts and monuments, for instance. When portraits were included, the woodcuts reproduced paintings of the time, such as Holbein's Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour. Neither history named any of the engravers.

The rise of illustrated histories was partly driven by commercial imperatives. Robert Bowyer, who published the illustrated Hume, was a successful entrepreneur and so was the manager of Cassell. However, the concern to educate should not be forgotten. The *Pictorial History* of Craig and MacFarlane was published by Charles Knight, who was associated with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a philanthropic organization founded in 1826 to instruct ordinary people (or in the phrase used by members of the Society, the "working man").

It would of course be a mistake to argue that all the artists who took their subjects from the past were serious historians, any more than the novelists who did the same. Some painters and some novelists produced what were little more than costume pieces. In other cases, artists did little more than follow and illustrate pre-existing literary interpretations of the past by poets, novelists or dramatists. Thus Eugène Delacroix illustrated Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and his *Quentin Durward*. Both Delacroix and the Italian painter Francesco Hayez portrayed the treacherous Doge Marin Falier through the eyes of the poet Byron. English painters often viewed English history before 1600 through the eyes of Shakespeare.

On the other side, some artists did have serious historical intentions of their own. Jonathan Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725) argued that "He that Paints a History well, must be able to Write it": "to paint a History, a Man ought to have the main Qualities of a good Historian, and something more", including a knowledge of "the forms of the arms, the habits, customs, buildings etc of the age and country in which the thing was transacted"

(Richardson, 1725: 17–18). In a similar fashion, the American painter John Trumbull, embarking in 1786 on a series of paintings of the Revolutionary War, described himself as "employ'd writing, in my language, the History of our country" (Prown, 1982: 23).

The Revolution in History Painting

An illustration of this seriousness is the so-called "revolution" in history painting (Wind, 1938–39). We should remember that between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, it was common for artists to represent contemporary figures such as Louis XIV or the English politician Charles James Fox as if they were ancient Romans, wearing Roman armor or togas. It was considered inappropriate or indecorous to show them in modern dress.

It was against this convention that the "revolution" in history painting was directed. At the end of the 1760s, an expatriate American artist, Benjamin West, was appointed "historical painter" to King George III. In 1771, West exhibited his painting of *The Death of Wolfe* at Quebec. The painting caused a stir because Wolfe and his men were represented in the military uniforms of their day and not as ancient Romans. It may be worth emphasizing how shocking this idea appeared at the time. It took an artist from the New World to dare to depart from the classical tradition.

Benjamin West rejected what he called "classical fictions" because, as he wrote, "the same truth that guides the pen of the historian should govern the pencil [that is, the paintbrush] of the artist". At first, the public were shocked by this historical realism, but in time, they became accustomed to it. The new conventions fitted well into the growing movement to study the material culture of the past, especially the history of national architecture, furniture and costume. A little later, in the early nineteenth century, there was a shift to the use of accurate costume in historical plays. By contrast, in the eighteenth century, David Garrick had played the leading role in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in knee breeches and a periwig.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, historicism had triumphed. Painters of biblical scenes attempted to introduce what was known as "local colour" (Holman Hunt and Domenico Morelli both spent years in the Holy Land in order to give their paintings an air of authenticity). Some artists carried out their own research on medieval and modern history, especially the material culture of the past. Ernest Meissonier, for instance, who once remarked that if he were not a painter, he would have become a historian, was especially concerned with the history of uniforms and weapons in France from Louis XIV to Napoleon (Hungerford, 1999: 134). Adolph Menzel carried out similar research on the age of Frederick the Great (Paret, 1997: 85). So did Jan Matejko, as may be seen from his sketches and also from the collection of costumes in his house in Kraków, now a museum.

Alternatively, painters consulted historians. When the Russian painter Ilya Repin painted the seventeenth-century Tsareva Sophia, he asked for advice

from the historian Sergeo Solov'ëv as well as sketched objects in museums. When he painted the seventeenth-century Cossacks, Repin visited the region where they had lived as well as read the histories of their exploits (Valkenier, 1990: 87, 131).

Six Modes of Representation

Turning now to paintings as interpretations of history, we find a number of possibilities, modes or styles. The term "mode" is probably preferable to that of style because it includes different selections from past events as well as different visual rhetorics. In what follows, it may be useful to distinguish six such modes, remembering that the frontiers between them were not sharp (the anecdotal overlaps with the pathetic mode, for instance) and also that individual artists were not confined to just one of these possibilities.

The best-known mode, the most common and best adapted to the expression of patriotism, was the ideal of "an Epic representation", as West put it, in other words, the Renaissance tradition of the *maniera grande* or "great style", representing heroic actions and what the nineteenth-century historian and critic Franz Kugler called the "great moments" (*Hauptmomente*) in the life of a state or nation (Abrams, 1985; Gaehtgens & Fleckner, 1996: 321). Battle scenes presented from the point of view of the winning side, together with scenes of conquest, are the most obvious examples of this mode, which was quite literally "trumphalist" and had of course many parallels in nationalist historical writing of the time. It was this kind of history painting in particular, verging on propaganda (to say the least), that was threatened by a general anti-heroic reaction after the First World War.

A second mode, often chosen, was closer to tragedy than to epic. It stressed what I call the "pathetic", illustrated by a remarkable number of scenes representing dead or dying individuals (Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Philip Sidney, Queen Elizabeth, Cervantes, Cardinal Mazarin, General Wolfe, Admiral Nelson and so on), including funerals (Titian, Charles XII), executions (Delaroche's Lady Jane Grey, Gérôme's Marshal Ney, Gisbert's *Fusilamiento de Torrijos*) and assassinations (Delaroche's *Assassination of the Duke of Guise* or John Opie's *The Murder of Rizzio*, the Italian favorite of Mary Queen of Scots). Women and children were favorite subjects for artists working in this mode and appealing to the emotions of the spectator. The English Princes in the Tower were painted by Delaroche, Millais and Theodor Hildebrandt; Pradilla represented Queen Juana the Mad by the coffin of her late husband; while Mary Queen of Scots appeared no fewer than 75 times in paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1776 and 1897 (Strong, 1978: 162–3).

A third option, often chosen in the nineteenth century, was the anecdotal mode. Révoil's *Henri IV playing with his children* has already been mentioned. Menzel stressed the human side of Frederick the Great: his visit to an artist when he was Crown Prince, his flute-playing, or his taking the Austrians by surprise in *Bon Soir Messieurs*! (De Chapeaurouge, 1990). Again, Wilkie's

Chelsea Pensioners has been described as showing "the assimilation of history painting into the popular mode of genre" since it does not represent the battle of Waterloo itself but the arrival of the news of the battle in London (Johnson, 1986: 152). One might compare Wilkie to French painters such as Tony Robert-Fleury or Alexandre-Évariste Fragonard whose scenes of the Massacre of St Bartholomew presented single murders in private houses rather than the public, collective side of the event. Some anecdotes pointed a moral, following the tradition of representing exemplary lives, as in the cases, mentioned above, of the generosity of King Alfred, sharing his food; the sangfroid of Francis Drake, keeping calm and carrying on; or courage of the small boy who refused to reveal the whereabouts of his father.

Some nineteenth-century critics rejected what one of them, Kugler, called "anekdotischer Spielerei" (Gaehtgens & Fleckner, 1996: 322). However, we should perhaps pause before we follow their example. This style is surely linked to what we now call "history from below", an approach that was known at the time as the "history of the people", English, French, German and so on. The revaluation of the literary anecdote by literary critics in the 1980s (Fineman, 1989; cf. Gossman, 2003) might well be extended to images, leading us to view anecdotal paintings as representations of significant details, micro-events that illuminate a larger historical picture.

A fourth possibility may be described as "realism" and is represented by Meissonier in France, Menzel in Germany (Fried, 2002) and in Italy by Morelli, the leader of a movement of *verismo storico* and the painter of famous Renaissance figures such as Cesare Borgia and the poet Torquato Tasso. By "realism" in this context, I do not mean illusionism, since this was possible in all six modes, but rather a low-key approach, unheroic and at times even anti-heroic even when representing individuals seen at the time as heroes, including Frederick the Great and Napoleon.

Fifthly, there is the critical mode, an approach to the past that is relatively rare but extremely memorable. The Russian Vasily Surikov produced several paintings of the dark side of the reign of Peter the Great, stressing both the violence (*Execution of the Streltsy*, 1881) and the persecution of religious dissent (*Boyaryna Morozova*, 1887), representing the arrest of a seventeenth-century noblewoman who was imprisoned for joining the so-called "Old Believers", a group that opposed recent changes in Orthodox worship.

Matejko too practiced a critical as well as an epic style. His *Fall of Poland* (set in the late eighteenth century) annoyed some of the Polish aristocracy who felt that the painter was criticizing their ancestors for doing nothing to prevent the disappearance of the Polish state from the map of Europe. An even more famous example of critical history is Matejko's *Prussian Homage* (1882), which shows the royal jester Stańczyk sitting on one side, detached from the celebrations, as if foreseeing the disasters that would follow the incorporation of part of Prussia into Poland. To underline the point, the jester is given the features of the painter himself. All historical paintings are educational in the sense of informing viewers about past events (and encouraging them to interpret those

events in particular ways), but this painting is educational in a stronger sense, encouraging spectators to reflect on the tragic consequences for Poland of an event that had been greeted at the time with enthusiasm.

Finally, nineteenth-century paintings include examples of a sixth mode that I should like to call “history as allegory”, in other words, parallels between past and present or at any rate allusions to the present (in this context of hints rather than statements, it is only prudent to avoid using the term “allegory” too precisely). The tradition of painted historical allegories goes back at least as far as the Renaissance: for example, Raphael’s *Leo III crowning Charlemagne* (in which Leo III has the plump face and bulging eyes of Leo X) says something about the relations between the Papacy and the Empire in the age of Leo X and Charles V. In the nineteenth century, this tradition continued to flourish.

In Spain, for example, Isabel II collected paintings of her predecessor Isabel the Catholic, painted precisely to allude to her, while in Bavaria, Maximilian II commissioned a painting of his namesake and ancestor Maximilian I joining the Catholic League. In Germany, Carl Friedrich Lessing’s paintings of the religious reformers Jan Hus and Martin Luther, produced between the 1830s and 1860s, may be interpreted as comments on the conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in the Prussia of his day (a state that included the Catholic Rhineland). In France, François Gérard’s *Entry of Henri IV into Paris* (1817) referred to the Bourbon Restoration in 1815 (Kaufman, 1975; Wright, 1997). Delaroche’s *Princes in the Tower* (1830) and his *Cromwell and Charles I* (1831) were surely comments on the 1830 revolution from a legitimist point of view (Haskell, 1971) or at least “chimed in exactly with the widespread tendency before and after 1830 to use the great events of the completed English Revolution as a series of parallels, and warnings, in the interpretation of the course of a French revolution which appeared to be far from complete” (Bann, 1997: 114). Robert-Fleury’s painting *Le Dernier Jour de Corinthe* (1870), showing a Greek city the day before it was sacked by a Roman army, offered a critique of the suppression of the Paris Commune, disguised as a representation of ancient history.

Two examples of historical allegory from Tuscany in the years before Italy was united make a vivid contrast with each other, but both reveal the political uses of art. Before unification, Tuscany was ruled by an Austrian, Grand Duke Leopold or Leopoldo II. Giuseppe Bezzuoli’s *Charles VIII entering Florence* (1829) was commissioned by the Grand Duke, perhaps to show that a foreign ruler can bring liberty with him. Stefano Ussi’s *Expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence* (1860), painted in the year that Italy became a united nation, was a pictorial answer to Bezzuoli, referring to the expulsion of Leopoldo in 1859 and using the fourteenth century to comment on the nineteenth.

Eastern Europe, where the so-called “method of Aesop”, in other words, the habit of using the past to make comments on the present, has remained unusually strong until our own day, furnishes some vivid examples of this pictorial mode. In Russia, Ilya Repin’s *Ivan the Terrible and his son* (1885) was said by the artist himself to have been a comment on the assassination of Tsar

Alexander II (Valkenier, 1990: 120). Matejko's painting of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410, mentioned earlier, said something about Poland and Prussia in the nineteenth century. Film fans will remember Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), in which a Russian defeat of the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century was intended to trigger thoughts of Hitler and Stalin.

Art as a Means of Education

To conclude, we may return to the contribution of images to the process of education. The illustrations in historical works that were discussed earlier in this chapter, especially engravings in textbooks that were intended for use in schools, offer so many reminders of this contribution. It may be added that the educational function of images was not limited to these engravings, especially if we think of education in a broad sense of that term, in other words, outside as well as inside the classroom. For example, the few examples of the critical mode of painting history were surely intended to encourage viewers to rethink the past and to see it in a new light. The more numerous examples of the allegorical mode had a similar function.

However, other modes too may be viewed as so many means of education. After all, from the Renaissance onward, if not before, the study of history was justified on moral grounds. The past was viewed as a collection of examples, good examples to follow and bad examples to avoid. Hence, representations of heroes such as Martin Luther or heroines such as Jeanne d'Arc offered a moral education, encouraging viewers to follow these grand examples on the smaller scale of their own lives. At an academic and scholarly level, nineteenth-century historians were turning away from exemplary history, but more popular publications such as *The Children's Encyclopaedia* still presented the past as a series of "golden deeds".

Again, the epic mode, when used to represent scenes from national history, may be regarded as a means to educate viewers in what contemporaries called patriotism (even if we describe it more coolly as nationalism). Even the pathetic mode of history painting may be viewed as educational, a means of training the emotions alongside the novels and dramas of the time, some of which focused on the same figures from the past, notably Mary Queen of Scots. If it is true that "an image is worth a thousand words", it follows that historical paintings were the television of the nineteenth century, more powerful than books or lectures in shaping what ordinary people knew about the past and the lessons they drew from this knowledge.

Note

1. *Historywallcharts.eu/*. Cf Chap. 37, below.

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CHAPTER 9

Film, the Past, and a Didactic Dead End: From Teaching History to Teaching Memory

Wulf Kansteiner

Two Golden Girls and a Divorce

In 1992, one of the flagship publications of professional historiography, the *American Historical Review* (AHR), changed its editorial profile. Henceforth some issues of the journal would contain reviews of historical films and help historians come to terms with a medium that was about to celebrate its hundredth anniversary (Rosenstone, 1992). Clearly, the decision to initiate an ongoing dialogue about cinematographic ways of representing the past in the exalted pages of the *AHR* was taken with considerable delay. In fact, in 1992, the *AHR* was also almost 100 years of age. So here was one centenarian reaching out to another centenarian in an effort to improve a relationship that, as far as professional historiography was concerned, had been dominated by feelings of arrogant indifference, elitist distrust, and audience envy. For the longest time, most historians considered cinema a social institution involved in the moral corruption of the masses and the systematic falsification of the historical record (Chapman, 2013: 74; Smyth, 2012: xvii). The slow, begrudging acknowledgment of movies as a force to be reckoned with in the business of representing the past was primarily triggered by the recognition that audiences, including elite audiences, did not share the historians' reservation about the medium and happily and actively developed their historical identities through the consumption of film and television (Grainge, 2003; Monk, 2011). That realization did not prompt many historians to turn to film as a new distribution system for their stories about the past, far from it. But they gradually acknowledged the relevance of film as a cultural force in its own right and concluded that the writing of contemporary history required a better understanding of film as a tool of

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mass communication and that the analysis of the history of collective memory required a better understanding of the visions of the past propagated by film. Put differently, historians tried to get a handle on twentieth century visual culture by reducing film to the status of a historical source (e.g. O'Connor, 1987; Short, 1981). That approach produced excellent social and cultural histories but also re-establish a much-cherished hierarchical differentiation between professional and allegedly amateurish attempts of representing the past (e.g. Ross, 1999). Occasionally, historians have themselves become involved in the production of historical films but largely without having been able to transform specifically historiographical interpretations of the past into popular film fare (Burnett, 2008; Stubbs, 2014).

In 1992, the AHR editorial board could not have selected a more suitable editor for the job of establishing diplomatic relations to film. With Robert Rosenstone, they picked a well-known pioneer of historical film studies, who had made a compelling case for considering film a valuable and independent cultural arena of historical reflection that had to be assessed according to its own, as yet to be precisely determined rules of plausibility. In path-breaking publications, Rosenstone sought to understand the construction principles of historical film from a filmmaker's point of view starting from the fundamental assumption that mainstream cinema, fiction as well as non-fiction, "emotionalizes, personalizes, and dramatizes history" (Rosenstone, 1995a: 59; see also Rosenstone, 2006). Consequently, film narratives focus on famous or exceptional individuals, self-confidently depict the past as a closed narrative universe, and take on the form of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that in the act of mimetic depiction combines different historical themes and genres such as economic, political, or gender history in one grand, integrated vision of the past. Mainstream film simulates rather than analyzes history and, by fixing the look and feel of things past on celluloid, leaves no opportunities for doubt and uncertainty. Mainstream film gives us "history as triumph, anguish, joy, despair, adventure, suffering, and heroism" (Rosenstone, 1995a: 59) and is fundamentally optimistic: "no matter what the historical film, be the subject matter slavery, the Holocaust, or the Khmer Rouge, the message delivered on the screen is almost always that things are getting better" (56). From Rosenstone's post-structuralist vantage point, mainstream historical film and mainstream historiography share key characteristics, including their ideological commitments to narrative reconstruction and myths of historical authenticity. But film, with its exuberant optimism and its direct access to people's senses and emotions, excels at the job of covering its tracks and depicting its highly selective vision of the past as inevitable truth. No wonder then that historians regard film with a great deal of suspicion. As private individuals they often enjoy historical film as much as the next person, and perhaps even more so. But in their role as professional historians, they decry the unwanted competitor's sustained success in shaping and reflecting people's historical imagination which historians would like to influence according to their own narrative and analytical predilections (Schwarz, 2008: 205).

The AHR project failed. In 2006, the journal filed for divorce and canceled its historical film section because the reviews had yielded increasingly predictable and redundant results (Hughes-Warrington, 2009; Schneider, 2006). Time and again, the majority of historians chosen to explain historical films to their colleagues quibbled over inconsequential factual mistakes in film productions and failed to clarify let alone appreciate the specific accomplishments of filmic visions of history. In contrast, a minority faction of reviewers used the pages of the AHR to celebrate the extraordinary self-reflexivity of auteur history films. They embraced the legacies of the New German Cinema and the French New Wave cherishing a visual language capable of deconstructing the myth that films or any other media amount to an objective reflection of past reality (Rosenstone, 1995a: 201; see also the contributions to Rosenstone, 1995b). In the end, Rosenstone could not help solve a dilemma he had already grasped a decade earlier. The few historians who are genuinely intrigued by filmic visions of history and who often also entertain rather self-critical, post-structuralist inflected notions about the historical profession are inexorably drawn to experimental cinema which exudes aesthetic, political, and epistemological self-reflexivity but has no mass appeal. In contrast, their more numerous empirically inclined "dragnet" colleagues never developed much of an appreciation of visual historical discourse. As a result, there are hardly any advocates in professional academic historiography for big budget, Hollywood-style films and mainstream TV productions which shape the historical imaginations of millions of viewers on a daily basis. For many historians, professional history and public visual memory remain antagonistic realms of historical consciousness. Consequently, the questions of what objectives can be pursued by teaching about the past through visual media and how these objectives can be obtained responsibly requires an interdisciplinary vantage point that pays a great deal of attention to the concerns of academic historians but also looks elsewhere for inspiration for instance in the fields of public history, memory studies, media studies, cinema studies, history didactics, and pedagogy (Guynn, 2006).

Film and the Historical Profession

The high profile AHR excursion and withdrawal from the terrain of historical film is emblematic for a long and difficult relationship between the historical profession and film that has had grave consequences for the teaching of history through visual media. Siegfried Kracauer, one of the first intellectuals to explore in depth the relationship between cinema and history in the 1940s and 1950s, emphasized the structural similarities between cinematographic and academic strategies of appropriating the past. In his view, the two historical cultures offer similarly unstable and similarly attractive semantic hybrids. Filmmakers and historians seek to render a faithful representation of past events and, at the same time, integrate these events into purposeful narrative trajectories that make a great deal of sense to their respective audiences. They partake in the auras of truth and beauty (Kracauer, 1969).

In principle, the structural affinities could have given rise to intellectual companionship and collaboration but filmmakers and historians have developed different self-images and therefore often traveled at cross-purposes. Historians narrate to tell the truth while filmmakers capture reality to craft good stories. The combination of structural proximity and diverging public personae and intellectual objectives has caused a great deal of confusion and distrust (Guynn, 2006; Treacey, 2016). For most of the twentieth century, historians interested in film entertained the notion that non-fiction film might perhaps play a useful role as a historical source and therefore deserves to be archived (Ramirez, 2014: 8–9). But for the very same minority of historical film supporters feature films were simply anathema in history teaching because they combined audience appeal with gruesome misrepresentations of history and thus constituted a serious moral risk for modern societies. Historians have therefore spent considerable time correcting the mistakes of cinema history (e.g. Carnes, 1996; Custen, 1992). Consider as a case in point Charles Beard's infamous indictment of the Academy Award winning movie *The Private Life of Henry VIII* released in 1933 (Beard, 1934). In an intervention that film scholar James Chapman calls "absurdly pedantic," Beard, a scholar and public intellectual of exceptional stature, thus joined the ranks of the many uniform-button-counters in the historical profession (Chapman, 2013: 75). The situation did not improve after World War II because film was now charged with having played a decisive role in bringing to power, and keeping in power, fascist and communist dictators of all sorts. As late as 1970, the German history didactic expert Harald Witthöft wondered if it could be justified to exhibit in the classroom the carefully edited documentaries about NS history compiled by the West German Göttingen Institute for Scholarly Film. He reflected the opinion of the majority of his peers when he contemplated the "seduction factor" attributable to NS visual documents against which contemporary West German youth might not have acquired sufficient "immunity" (Witthöft, 1970: 218). With these kinds of friends historical film did not need any of its plentiful enemies in academia.

The situation slowly changed in the context of the social movement of the 1960s and 1970s when the theme of film and history developed into a bona fide academic subfield with its own conferences, professional associations, and publication venues. Important landmarks in this context include the launch of the journal *Film and History* in 1970, the publication of the influential edited volume *The Historian and Film* in 1976, and the founding of the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* in 1981 (Smith, 1976). The process of institutionalization was decisively influenced by the rapid dissemination and popular appreciation of television which gave rise to non-fiction, World War II-related media events like the *The World at War* (1973) and *Das Dritte Reich* (1970). Moreover, even historical fiction film found now vigorous academic advocates. In particular the French sociologist Pierre Sorlin and the French historian Marc Ferro argued compellingly that movies both reflect and shape contemporary ideologies and thought styles. Confirming the key insights

of the linguistic turn in the humanities, Sorlin maintained that all films, fiction and non-fiction alike, are overwhelmingly made up of fictional elements because they "reconstruct in a purely imaginary way the greater part of what they show" (Sorlin, 1980: 27). For Sorlin, both the deictic and the narrative function of film carry the unequivocal imprints of a given film's historical context. Consequently, as Ferro argues, it makes little sense to differentiate between historical and non-historical feature films. He prefers to classify movies according to their social and political function as either affirmative or critical cultural agents—recognizing full well that truly critical films are a relatively rare phenomenon (Ferro, 1988). In the end, however, the intellectual relevance of the turning point of the 1970s should not be exaggerated. The fact that film and history became an independent research field primarily reflects the expansion and differentiation of professional historiography since the 1960s; it does not mark a decisive change in attitude of the profession as whole with regard to the representation of history in visual media, as above *AHR* episode illustrates.

Historians, Film, and Classroom Didactics

The suspicion and the sense of helplessness with which historians reacted to visual culture in their roles as professional interpreters of the past has had serious consequences for the use of film and television in the classroom. Deep-seated fears persisted even after history of film and TV had been established as a respectable subfield within the historical profession in Europe and the USA. In fact, even the minority faction of historians actively advocating for the use of film and television in classroom teaching felt compelled to begin their didactic suggestions with stark words of warning about the dangerous medium film. In this vein, John O'Connor, in the quasi-official 1987 AHA guide *Teaching History with Film and Television*, warned high school teachers three times on the first page of his intervention that they "should integrate more **critical** film and television analysis in their history classes," "should perhaps use less film and video, but analyze what they do use more **critically**," and encourage students "to engage, rather than suspend, their **critical** faculties when the projector or the TV monitor is turned on" (O'Connor, 1987: 1; emphasis added by author, see also Burnett, 2008). The mantra-like invocation of the critical faculties of historiography in defense against the dark arts of film and TV provides little information about visual media and a great deal of insight into the self-definition of historians. They, unlike the visual media, can teach students "skills of critical evaluation" suited for "an open and democratic society" and "a free marketplace of ideas;" they, unlike the visual media, have acquired an aptitude "for subtle shadings of interpretation;" they, unlike the visual media, do not mislead and manipulate students; and they, unlike the visual media, are "more than a storyteller, stringing together dates and details and arbitrarily moving characters around" (O'Connor, 1987: 3–4). But O'Connor would not be an expert for film and television history if he did not have an inkling about film's special gift for helping students "feel" and

"re-experience the past" by transporting them "across space and time so that distant events and far-flung parts of the world seem more real and relevant" (O'Connor, 1987: 1–2). Therefore, he calls upon the wizard-teachers in the classrooms who can tame the beast because "when carefully integrated into the course, and when properly handled by the sensitive teacher, lessons based on film and television analysis can improve the effectiveness of history teaching" (O'Connor, 1987: 2). In the end, O'Connor is disarmingly honest about the anxieties fueling his defensive shadow-boxing against visual history. He is afraid that the "steady diet of television docudramas and pseudo-docudramas, from *Plymouth Plantation* to *Roots* and *Watergate*, from *I Claudius* to *Shogun* and the *Winds of War*, has begun to undermine whatever respect there might have been in the public mind for the work of the professional historian and history teacher" (O'Connor, 1987: 3).

There is no indication that historians have ever played the role O'Connor attributes to them—or historians have at least always managed to hide effectively the natural affinity between democratic values and professional historiographic practices and, with few exceptions, served their nationalistic, fascist, Communist, and neo-capitalist overlords with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Nor is there any indication that visual culture in general, and film or TV producers in particular, are more likely to support non-democratic regimes than other art forms and social elites, as O'Connor indirectly alleges. Finally, notice in this context the absence of the 1978 TV-miniseries *Holocaust* from O'Connor's list of indicted docudramas. Apparently, it was inopportune to highlight in 1987 the factual shortcomings and manipulative design of *Holocaust* in light of the TV series' extraordinary ability to raise awareness of the plight of the victims of the Shoah and the media event's less frequently noted side effect of highlighting how little research about the history of the "Final Solution" historians had accomplished in four post-war decades (Shandler, 1999: 155–178). Precisely because of these unreflected assessments O'Connor's intervention deserves close attention; he develops an intriguing symbolic landscape in which the visual media's seductive capacity for simulation is contrasted with the trustworthy, objective sobriety of academic scholarship. In O'Connor's distopia, the visual media draw their consumers in, unmoor them from their safe grounding in time and space, and deliver them to a fictitious world in a process of mimetic approximation that is both exciting and dangerous. O'Connor and his many predecessors appear to perceive a real risk that the morally weak and intellectually unprepared, especially children and adolescents identify with attractive yet faulty renditions of history and that this identification, forged in a maelstrom of attractive visuality, has dire lasting consequences for society. The historiographically witless viewers get stuck in the wrong past. Hence O'Connor wants to subject the consumption of visual history to the professional restraints of historical scholarship hoping that experts remain in control of subject matter and audiences. At the same time, O'Connor's consistently defensive intervention attests to the realization, shared across the discipline, that the war is lost. Historians have simply nothing they can throw into battle

that would be a match for the modern seductress film. In contrast to film, history books cannot be blamed for overwhelming the emotional defenses of their readers, but they carry the very real danger, especially the specimen designed for classroom use, of inducing feelings of utter boredom and genuine indifference in captive audiences familiar with the sensuality of film history. As a result, the theory of history didactics as designed by historians and the practice of history didactics as pursued by teachers have diverged substantially. Film is omnipresent in the history classroom for purposes of historical entertainment and simulation not historiographical disciplining (Marcus & Levine, 2007). The discrepancy is likely to induce feelings of unease in everybody familiar with historians' anti-film prejudice, including some teachers. There is something salacious about the presence of film in the history classroom.

The historians' reservations about film and television are hardly an unusual phenomenon in the context of modern media history. These kinds of misgivings develop in many dynamic media environments when historically older and historically younger media formats and paradigms interact and compete. Very similar reservations are currently entertained about digital interactive culture. In particular video games are often considered an engrossing and potentially dangerous media format alleged to produce generations of violent, socially isolated male players (Kingsepp, 2006). As yet, little research supports this assumption (Happ & Melzer, 2014) and in that regard contemporary concerns about video game culture reflect discussions during the first decades of film and television culture when social elites repeatedly railed against the corrupting influences of movies and TV on the multitudes of morally defenseless city folk. Sooner or later, however, most segments of society came to appreciate film, while historians kept their distance and even crafted a professional habitus in distinction to popular film and television culture (Tyrell, 2005: 75–80). The unusual staying power of the historians' prejudices toward visual media attests to the historians' ability to reproduce their professional practices and identities over time. At the same time, the persistence of prejudice indicates that historical film culture and historiography are indeed embroiled in a particularly intense relationship of competition and remediation. A significant segment of contemporary visual culture seems to constitute a fundamental provocation to the historians' sense of their professional mission.

Film, Historiography, and Immersion

The field of media studies offers excellent concepts to grasp the nature of this provocation. Historians appear to react particularly forcefully to the film dispositif's ability to trigger an experience of immersion and presence on the part of the movie audience. Immersion is defined as a degree of emotional and psychological involvement in a given media product that prompts media consumers to screen out other stimuli emanating from their environment, especially familiar stimuli of normal intensity. The state of immersion can lead to a veritable paradox. Given the right circumstances, viewers may temporar-

ily perceive film experience as extra-filmic reality. Put differently, the sights and sounds of the film apparatus help generate a media-induced experience of non-mediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999; McMahon, 2003). The immersive conflation of representation and reality has historically occurred in all kinds of media settings (Wolf, Bernhart, & Mahler, 2013). Immersion has also been an important element of reading cultures. But for most of the twentieth century the multi-sensory media of film and television have been particularly successful at drawing audiences into their narrative worlds. As a result, media consumers have frequently developed a sense of co-presence with objects and figures that populate these worlds. The sense of companionship with the figures on the screen can arise during the viewing process, is easily recognized as an emotional illusion after the show, but may surreptitiously return in powerful ways long after the screening has ceased because film and television, unlike historiography, play a decisive role in the construction of collective memories. Contemporaries all across the globe develop their individual and collective sense of self through participation in media routines. They imagine events of their own lifetime as well more distant history with the help of aggregate collages of personal experiences and mediated images and narratives (Garde-Hansen, 2011; Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011). It does not matter in this context that viewers might be perfectly able to distinguish between reality and representation—certainly when they are prompted on the spot to make that differentiation, for instance in the movie theater or on their living room couch. With hindsight, however, the constantly shifting perceptions of the past integrate all kinds of story elements without keeping track of the origin and epistemological status of the theme, mood, and subject matter under realignment. As a result, collective memories comprise dynamic composites of real life actors and fictitious and non-fictitious media figures creatively imagined within highly flexible standards of truth and authenticity and crafted in response to changing emotional needs and strategic goals. Film and television are structurally unsuitable for the reproduction of academic history but they offer superb platforms for the invention of social memory (cf. also Crane, 2012).

Incidentally, historians are very familiar with the experience of immersion but in professional history writing that experience takes place on the side of production not reception. There are plenty of academic historians who feel intimately related to their subject matter having spent a lifetime exploring one topic, era, or person from various angles and through extensive archival studies. They feel more at home in the past than the present. But their feelings of immersion derive from years of professionalization and research which might explain why many academics are so critical of the instantaneous immersive qualities of film and television. Academic history and media history are two radically different and incompatible ways of mimetically approaching the past and acquiring a sense of history as second nature. In historiography, immersion is an important tool of the trade and a key element of the professional ethos. Immersion into the past via authentic documents and official archives allows researchers to develop an empathetic relationship to past actors and events and

attempt to grasp what really happened from the vantage point of the past not the present (e.g. Davis, 1987; Farge, 2015). Yet, in the aftermath of the often mythologized rite of passage in the archives, historian spent a great deal of time and effort to cast their archival encounters with the past into objectifying prose that systematically reduces rather than enhances the readership's opportunity for emotionally engaging with history. As intellectual processes, film history and academic history appear to unfold in opposite directions. In film and TV culture, a highly professionalized team of experts converts a basic story idea, often gleaned from academic writing, into a mimetically seductive and sensually and emotionally engaging simulation of the past fit for popular consumption. In contrast, historiographical culture transforms a highly subjective, often passionate, and lonesome encounter with remnants of the past into an intellectually overdetermined and emotionally underdetermined product adapted to the communication habits of a miniscule, highly specialized audience of peers. Film moves from intellectual reflection to immersion; academia from immersion to intellectual reflection. No wonder then that the two cultures have problems finding common ground despite their many points of contact (Schwarz, 2008; Treacey, 2016).

Teachers using film and television in the classroom are caught in the crossfire between academic and popular culture. Moreover and more important, if they are trying to teach students about professional historiography by way of exposure to historical film they commit a significant category mistake. It makes little sense to seek to explain the anti-immersive intellectual impetus of academic history by way of the hyper-immersive cultural codes of historical film. It is also not immediately obvious why a given group of students should be introduced to the highly idiosyncratic rituals and tastes of an academic culture with which they will likely never interact. But it makes a great deal of sense to reflect self-critically about the predilections and lacunae of past and present memory cultures by way of analyzing film and other visual narratives, especially if one confronts students with competing visions of the same topic or set of events. Film is particularly useful for memory education because the heyday of cinema culture has passed. For today's students film is an outdated communication technology, both alienating and sufficiently intriguing to extract them temporarily from their social media environments and involve them in a dialogue about visual literacy, cultural immersion, and the ethics of their collective memories.

Public History

The field of public history, which has risen to prominence in recent years and should provide guidance in this matter, is not much help either. In principle, public historians agree that visual culture has been the dominant cultural platform for modern societies' encounter with the past. As public historian Faye Sayer phrased it in 2015: "Television has become the closest most people will get, or even want to get, to experiencing history" (Sayer, 2015: 166). Sayer's

words are revealing because they attest to an ambivalent attitude toward film and TV in the ranks of public historians dedicated to the cause of popular history education and adept at highlighting the disconcerting communication barriers between academic history and secondary school teaching environments. The Public History Reader published in 2013, which gives shape and purpose to the field, displays similar preferences and misgivings (Kean & Martin, 2013; see also Ashton and Kean, 2012). Kean and Martin present public history as an attractive intellectual terrain. They elegantly anchor the field in its own distinct site of memory: Ruskin College in Oxford, an institution with a long track record of offering second chances to educationally disadvantaged adults and the former academic home of public history founding father Raphael Samuel. In addition to identifying an appropriate site of memory, the editors of the Public History Reader provide the field with a similarly compelling narrative identity. In a vivid and programmatic vignette, Kean and Martin invoke the display of live rats at the heritage site of the Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney, Australia as a particularly suitable strategy of engaging visitors with public history. The rats impress upon the visitors the tough conditions under which convicts and inmates survived in Sydney. The rats are acknowledged as pests but not vilified—quite the contrary. They are recognized as accidental public history archivists since the objects they stole from the immigrants and amassed in their hiding places have allowed twentieth-century historians to reconstruct the everyday lives of immigrants in much greater detail than would have been otherwise possible. In this way, the rats helped save people from oblivion who, in the universe of public history, are particularly deserving of historical attention. Moreover, the balanced assessment of the rats' role in history nicely illustrates another guiding principle of public history: the economically and symbolically downtrodden of this earth, (wo)men as well as beast, should be treated respectfully and not pitched against one another. Public history follows in the progressive footsteps of history from below and the history workshop movement and embodies a clear ethos demanding for the victims and underdogs of history the respect they deserve but rarely receive (Green, 2000). Finally, the field of public history appears committed to embracing strategies of historical immersion. After all, the rats of Hyde Park are an immersive exhibition strategy designed to put visitors in physical proximity of history.

But the situation is more complicated. Kean and Martin effectively link their project to prominent publications in the field thus defining public history as social form of knowledge grounded in contemporary life (Samuel, 1994) and concerned with illuminating the ways in which normal people engage with the past on a personal, group, and family level (De Groot, 2009). In this context, they also declare that "history is owned by those described in the narrative" (Kean & Martin, 2013). Most likely, some professional historians would take issue with this statement and Kean and Martin thus inadvertently highlight an important fault line that repeatedly appears in their text. Public history as conceived of by Kean and Martin seems to have a conflicted relationship to academic history. On the one hand, academic historians are criticized for their

insufficient appreciation of popular forms of historical knowledge. On the other hand, the field of public history subscribes to the methods of professional academic history including its principles of source criticism and its strategies of historical narration. As a result, public history displays some anxieties about its status as a professional discipline. Vigorous advocacy for non-professional appropriations of the past and respect for the discipline of history form an unstable intellectual mixture.

The ambivalence might explain why public history delineates an interesting middle ground with regard to historical immersion. Public historians seek to extend the immersive archival experience of historians to the public at large by extending and democratizing existing arenas of public engagement with the past. In public history, many environments count as archives. Public historians feel very comfortable facilitating encounters with history through memorials, museums, material culture, family history, oral history, and reenactments. But for many years they preferred to engage with tangible, physical acts of historical interpretation and face-to-face communication and kept their distance from the powerful simulative and immersive media of film, television, and video games. The ethos of public history thrived through active engagement with people and objects and public historian seemed to think, mistakenly I would argue, that TV consumers and game players are not actively crafting their own collective memories. The situation is changing now (Cauvin, 2016; Sayer, 2015) but as a result of the agreement between public historians and their colleagues in conventional history departments, film and electronic media have had few enthusiastic advocates within the discipline of history.

From Why to How

Those advocates are found in other departments, for instance in education departments. Education experts are less concerned about the integrity of the historical record and the status of the historical profession in public discourse. They appreciate visual media as excellent teaching tools and have a good grasp of what is really going on in a history classroom. In a refreshingly practice-oriented intervention published in 2010, education expert Alan Marcus and his colleagues celebrate film as "one of the most promising teaching resources in the history classroom" precisely because "young people today are immersed in visual representations" and most of what they know about the past "comes not from textbooks or teachers but from 'Hollywood' movies" (Marcus, Metzger, Paxton, & Stoddard, 2010: loc 84). The authors dutifully acknowledge key historiographical concerns for instance regarding the differentiation between primary and secondary visual source material. But they also make perfectly clear that film and television are first and foremost exceptionally well suited to attain three important interrelated didactic goals which are not necessarily of primary concern to professional historians. First, visual media help students adopt caring attitudes toward minorities because "history movies can be particularly powerful ways to develop empathy, especially for groups of people who

have been marginalized historically" (Marcus et al.: loc 240). Second, film and television are excellent tools for raising controversial topics, especially in the treacherous political terrain of primary and secondary schools in the USA. On the one hand, "social issues, group identities, and historical experiences that people often feel most passionate about are fundamental to the social studies curriculum" (loc 2017). On the other hand, addressing these controversial issues "can be messy, demanding, and risky for teachers" (loc 2027). Here film comes in handy because it is "particularly effective at evoking emotional responses" (loc 2351) while also providing some protection for teachers since they are not "the 'source' themselves" for potentially distressing opinions when they are showing films (loc 2414). In prompting students to develop and voice their own opinion about controversial issues, visual media are simply a fantastic vehicle to teach about contemporary memory politics. Finally, film and television can take on these important roles in the classroom because they can "bring the past alive" through visualization like no text can (Marcus & Stoddard, 2007). Students get into close contact with an emotionally gripping performance of the past, might temporarily approximate the perspectives of past actors, and can develop a visceral appreciation of powerful past and present subject positions involved in the making and re-making of memory.

In their report from the classroom, replete with compelling teaching examples, Marcus et al. perform the shift from history to memory without engaging in defensive histrionics. They might not fully grasp and appropriately conceptualize that shift but their intervention acknowledges the fundamentally different notions of pastness that govern the writing and reading of academic history and the production and consumption of historical visual media. Academic history focuses on why-questions. Professional historians roam an ever-extending archival infrastructure and avidly read each other's work to determine the historical origins of constantly revised sets of events grouped into more or less abstract and flexible sets of overarching categories, for instance, war, genocide, democracy, modernity, gender, emotion and so on. In that dynamic environment with shifting intellectual priorities and resources, historians craft complex narrative artifacts interweaving various layers of historical events with accounts of different research agendas in order to determine the causes of more or less succinctly defined historical phenomena. Historical film and television serve a different purpose. There are many filmic products, especially documentaries dating back to the early decades of television, which duplicate professional historical culture and pursue why-questions, for instance by way of interviewing experts and historical eyewitnesses. These products are fairly boring and their existence is easily explained by the fact that the first generations of TV producers were unfamiliar with the medium of television and focused on intellectual concerns at their new work place that they had already pursued in their previous careers as print and radio journalists and academics. But once TV came into its own as a visual medium and assumed the role as premier social platform for cultural exchange in the 1960s and 1970s, history television increasingly engaged with a very different set of questions about past human lives that

historical film had already addressed in compelling fashion for several decades. Film and television strive to teach viewers how the past felt like. Visual media mimetically perform past worlds in order to give their audiences a visceral feeling for the radical alterity or strange familiarity and present-day relevance of past lives (Edgerton & Rollins, 2001; Kansteiner, 2013). What did it feel like to be an eyewitness to the Civil War, World War II, or the Holocaust? What does it feel like to be a victim, a bystander, or a perpetrator of war or genocide? The shift from why to how corresponds to the shift from history to memory and more specifically from academic history to film and television memory.

Didactics of Modern Memory

Until the rise of memory studies we did not have a clear conceptual framework for describing what films do with the past. For lack of imagination and conceptual alternatives we keep talking about film and history and historical film invoking at every step the world of academic scholarship. That intellectual habit does a serious disservice to both sides of the equation. With hindsight and the benefit of a memory studies vantage point (Erll, 2011; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Levy, 2011) it has become increasingly obvious that a non-visual, historically increasingly non-immersive and for many people unattractive technique for representing the past, which has not changed drastically since the times of Thukydides, has very little in common in terms of production and reception processes with mechanical/digital recording and editing devices that owe their tremendous success to their uncanny ability to perform the past as a type of instant replay. Consequently, memory studies not history is the appropriate academic framework for discussing filmic renditions of the past and, when using film and TV in the social studies classroom, we should be teaching about memory not about history in an academic sense (Guynn, 2006: 165–178).

Once we have accomplished the conceptual transition from history to memory, the extraordinary value of film and television as teaching tools becomes obvious. Film and TV mark an intriguing layer of media technology involved in intense remediation processes with both print culture and digital culture (Rippl, 2015). Film and TV are dynamic cultural environments and were the key media platforms shaping everyday lives across the globe for most of the twentieth century before they had to yield that role to digital media. The media events of film and television history have provided the rhythm of autobiographical memory and represent the cultural kernels around which generational, national, and transnational collective memories and identities have been constituted (Dayan & Katz, 1992). Throughout the long and eventful century from the decade before WWI all the way to 9/11, film and television established entertaining yet also relentless and highly centralized regimes of memory and forgetting sorting the visible and unforgettable from the invisible and negligible. Consequently, film and television represent humanity's memory of (post)modernity which we can better appreciate from the perspec-

tive of 2017 since the political project of modernity and the analog media technologies of film and television appear clearly dated today. In fact, as long as we lacking sophisticated interactive digital games and platforms for the exploration of twentieth century history, film and television offer the only opportunity for immersively exploring modernity and its media landscape featuring film in a starring role as (1) an icon of modernity like the train, the car, and the factory; (2) the arena which shaped and distributed the dynamic culture of modernity and its iconography; (3) the communicative space which taught people how to be and act modern; (4) and, last but not least, the cultural resource permitting us to feel modernity intimately yet from a once removed vantage point (Kansteiner, 2015).

At the center of those remarkable 100 years of media history, inextricably intertwined with and neatly packaged by film and television culture, stand the key ethical challenges of the twentieth century: Nazism, Communism, and the Holocaust. The memories of these events will be shifting in the twenty-first century as they continue to transition from the realm of communicative memory to the realm of cultural memory. But at the moment, Holocaust memory is still the focus of Western transnational self-reflexive memory and well worth exploring (Fogu, Kansteiner, & Presner, 2016). In fact, the key event of the history of post-WWII memory was the intense transnational encounter between the commercial Hollywood melodrama *Holocaust* and a (West) German national TV audience whose members learned for the first time on a large scale how to feel their way self-reflexively into the Nazi past and acquire a sense of empathy for the victims of the German crimes (Eder, 2016: 32–37). The media event *Holocaust* in Germany has been the gold standard of memory didactics for many decades. Ever since January 1979, film makers, television executives, and teachers of memory have strived to replicate that moment of self-reflexivity trying to match films, TV programs, and audiences in ways that help the latter acquire a critical perspective on their own collective accomplishments and shortcomings. The results have been mixed, fairly successful across Western Europe and less spectacular in the rest of the world. But the politics of regret are now a well-established tool of international politics and have led to an impressive track record of apologies and reparation agreements all across the world (Olick, 2007; Wolfe, 2014). Such developments would never have happened without years of successful memory didactics in the public sphere. Memory politics are always deployed strategically and in self-serving fashion but they also offer opportunities for empathetic unsettlement and self-reflexive learning primarily by way of exposure to visual historical culture.

Layers of Film Memory

Today's audiences are visual veterans who have seen it all. But even today's consumers can experience echoes of the powerful immersive experiences of past generations of moviegoers. Popular film culture began on the fair grounds and in vaudeville theaters of European capital cities of the 1890s. The cin-

ema of attraction, as it has been called with hindsight, featured a wide variety of visual wonders, including technological marvels of industrialization, the unfamiliar flora, fauna, and indigenous cultures of Europe's far-flung empires, scenes of contemporary European everyday life with an emphasis on the surprising and grotesque, and short clips of fiction with little narrative depth (Gaudreault, 2011; Gunning, 1986). Audiences were enthralled with the new moving images. Contemporaries report about intense immersive incidents, for instance, of film spectators stampeding out of movie theaters when confronted head on with a moving train on the screen. That sense of panic could today only be (irresponsibly) induced in an extremely inexperienced, very young audience but faint repercussions of the original dread are still noticeable in the physical reactions of die-hard horror and fantasy fans as they choose to expose themselves to scenes of great brutality in rapid succession. When properly staged even the original train footage of 1895 might still induce a twitch of empathetic unsettlement in twenty-first century teenagers and that twitch makes all the difference for the didactics of collective memory. It contains an experiential flavor and the potential for emotional bonding and future remembrance which are difficult to convey through written reports about the spectators of the cinema of attraction. In this regard scholarly texts, textbook entries, and this very paragraph all share the same fate; they remain firmly grounded on the side of history not memory, represent rather than perform the past, and therefore fail to convey to consumers a tangible trace of what modern culture felt like when it was first invented. It takes exposure to images to explore self-reflexively how images have shaped our sense of self (Landsberg, 2004).

The experiences of the first consumers of the cinema of attractions offer a particularly vivid illustration of the potential of the didactics of memory although in principle all layers of film and television history can be deployed for these ends. That applies first and foremost to the invention of the Hollywood paradigm in the 1920s which has shaped codes and rituals of visual narration for almost a century (Gaines, 1992). Hollywood has elicited very different intellectual responses over the decades. For many film critics of the 1970s who adopted a Marxist point of view Hollywood fostered rather than critically engaged with the fundamental social contradictions of capitalist modernity (McCabe, 1974). Their one-dimensional assessment of Hollywood as a purveyor of false consciousness was fundamentally revised in the 1980s when a new generation of critics concluded that a productive tension between critical and instrumental reason was inscribed into the technical apparatus film. Consequently, they appreciated Hollywood as a complex, contradictory cultural institution shaped by forces of commerce **and** enlightenment (Bordwell et al., 1985). The progressive effects of Hollywood cinema stand out more clearly if one focuses on questions of reception. Only few Hollywood productions boast decidedly self-reflexive implied audiences but many mainstream feature films have nevertheless been implicated in critical social practices. Due to its complex visual language and global commercial reach, Hollywood helped underprivileged groups like women, migrants, and workers develop non-hege-

monic transnational identities. In this way, blockbusters have had all kinds of social consequences including spawning alternative public spheres (Hansen, 1991). The cultural behemoth Hollywood has clearly never been a monolithic site of memory. It can be sliced and formed into all kinds of vectors, layers, and genre formations, especially with hindsight. Consider for instance the concept of film noir as one of many strategies of making sense of film history. Crafted after the fact in the 1970s for a series of highly stylized Hollywood crime-dramas of the 1940s and 1950s, the concept and the films ooze mourning and nostalgia. The bewildering narrative worlds of film noir visually reflect and condense an era of rapid technological innovations during the war years, post-war consumerism, and the processes of social fragmentation climaxing in the 1960s. For the historically minded viewer, the performance of chronosophical oscillation in film noir also attests to a profound sense of sadness about the unfulfilled political promises of Western modernity (Dimendberg, 2004).

In addition to the cinema of attraction and Hollywood, the field of cinema studies offers other useful frames of interpretation and remembrance. Film historians and theorists have paid a lot of attention to experimental film, both the classical Avant-garde of the 1920s and their post-1960s successors (Turvey, 2011). Experimental films undercut the narrative and perspectival conventions of popular cinema and thus constitute a visual counter-memory of Western modernity (Landy, 2015). Similar motives of resistance are attributed to the critically acclaimed yet often popularly ignored European tradition of auteur filmmaking which flourished from the 1940s to the 1970s in Italian Neo-Realism, the French New Wave, and New German Cinema. For the enthused critics, sound film modernists like Rossellini, Bergman, Truffaut, and Kluge managed to develop decelerated visual semantics which capture subjective psychological states of mind and experiences of time in ways that had previously simply not existed in visual media (Deleuze, 1992; De Baecque, 2011). The filmmakers used their unusual degree of cultural autonomy courtesy of the European welfare states to cast intellectual perceptions of life in post-fascist Europe into sensuous **and** self-reflexive film languages.

Tapping into cinema studies as a conceptual resource for teaching memory illustrates that didactics of film memory require engaging, presentist frames of interpretation. Teachers and students can only partake in self-reflexive memory practices if the visions of the past introduced in the classroom touch their selves in meaningful ways. But a presentist focus does not preclude theoretical deliberation. Quite the contrary. It makes perfect sense to use film theory to mold and lift to consciousness frames of remembrance (Halbwachs, 1992) which are grounded in contemporary social and cultural practices. In that way, academic cinema studies can play a constructive role in the didactics of visual memory and become part of a creative communicative setting involving teachers, students, and films of memory in sensual explorations of the past. Obviously, not all theoretical tools of cinema studies are equally suited for the task at hand. Marxist film theory of the 1970s, for example, would need a serious face-lift before it could serve as an appropriate sounding board

for today's didactics of memory. Other theoretical concepts, for instance the post-colonial turn in visual studies, especially in conjunction with post-colonial educational practices (Andreotti, 2011), appear ideally suited for the creation of self-reflexive memory cultures in the West where many countries are struggling with long traditions of racism in conjunction with large-scale migration.

Post-colonial perspectives on film had a tough time taking hold in Western academia. Non-Western filmmakers had already in the 1960s identified their work as belonging to a Third Cinema in provocative distinction to the First Cinema, i.e. Hollywood, and the Second Cinema, i.e. the post-war European auteur film tradition Gabriel, 1995). But a post-colonial perspective was only gradually integrated into the cinema studies canon in the 1990s—with important intellectual consequences. In addition to confirming that film had played a decisive role in maintaining European colonial empires at home and abroad, the post-colonial turn firmly established non-Western traditions and actors in the history of film and called into question many of the traditional, Western-centric narrative trajectories of cinema studies (Ponzanesi & Waller, 2012). In essence, film was rescued from the nostalgic intellectual space demarcated by the engagement with early cinema, Hollywood, experimental film, and European auteur cinema and reestablished as a vibrant cultural platform for the discussion of key contemporary global challenges.

As a result of this recalibration of the history of cinema, the medium of film can now be much better deployed as a didactic tool for crafting progressive memory strategies in response to pressing global problems like pollution and migration. Both challenges are fraught with collective memory problems. When it comes to the movements of people around the globe, Western societies systematically misremember past migrations with dire consequences for today's political decision-making processes. Some movements of people are deemed troublesome and challenging. They are remembered as "migrations" and cast in racist visual stereotypes as for example the movements of so-called "guestworkers" in Europe since the 1950s and of war refugees today. Other movements of people might have constituted severe challenges when they occurred but are (mis)remembered as "homecomings," "expulsions," or "liberations," as for instance the large-scale population transfers in the immediate post-war years. The different registers for the memory of people on the move allow contemporary Western societies to cast self-images of settled stability against perceptions of alien threats. Western societies need new memories of themselves as people on the move receiving other people with similar experiences, desires, and objectives (Glynn & Kleist, 2012).

While film and prime-time TV play a decisive role in reproducing dangerous stereotypes, they also offer excellent opportunities for crafting and deploying new collective symbols and self-reflexive memories. Consider in this context the topic of global pollution which has been subject to repeated waves of forgetfulness since it first garnered sustained international media coverage in the 1970s. Today, the topic attracts a lot of global attention in digital media which,

in a process of remediation, might help penetrate existing layers of amnesia and passivity. Consider in this context the 2015 media event *Under the* Dome, a documentary about environmental pollution in China that attracted 300 million viewers within one week before its online distribution site was shut down by Chinese authorities. Clearly, future didactics of visual memory have to be concerned with a wide range of topics in addition to classic themes such as war and genocide.

120 Celebrities and an Upcoming Funeral?

In 2009 the publishers of *Variety Magazine* assembled an impressive line-up of 120 US celebrities reporting about "the movie that changed my life." The celebrities were grouped in interesting categories for instance "the romantics," featuring among others Reese Witherspoon and Hugh Hefner, "the dreammakers," including Nicole Kidman and Jack Nicholson, and "the bloodhounds" showcasing for instance James Patterson and Michael Connelly (Hofler, 2009). The book included a section for "the historians" presenting the movie picks of such luminaries as Tom Brokaw, Gore Vidal, and Doris Kearns Goodwin but failing to consider the movie reminiscences of any real life, bona fide academic historians. *The Movie that Changed My Life* thus inadvertently attests to the limited prestige and star power potential of the historical profession while purposefully highlighting the exceptional importance of visual media for autobiographical and collective memory.

For some people, books can also play a crucial role in their lives. There are numerous publications dedicated to the theme "the book that changed my life" although they primarily seem to serve the purposes of giving writers a chance to talk about their favorite reading experiences or affording devote Christians an opportunity for Bible exegesis (e.g. Coady & Johannessen, 2007). In the meantime, we are still waiting for the Cambridge University Press compilation bestsellers *The Dissertation that Changed My Life*, *The Scholarly Article that Changed My Life*, and, especially eagerly awaited, *The Textbook that Changed My Life*. Until the emergence of an unlikely cultural setting in which history monographs, scholarly articles, and textbooks elicit the same kind of passions as films and fiction, and as long as we want people to care passionately about the past, we need to communicate to general audiences by way of immersive visual culture. The formerly widely successful formats of the prime-time documentary and the general release feature film are already anachronisms in this regard. Consumers will increasingly roam, remember, and care about the past as a result of their immersive and potentially counter-factual video game experiences (Kappell & Elliott, 2013). I suspect for instance that there is now a generation at the game consoles that will primarily remember Karl Marx as a controversial, pathetic, and killable figure in the 2015 *Assassins' Creed: Syndicate* video game which is set in the expansive and impressively interactive history-scape of Victorian London.

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CHAPTER 10

Historical Edutainment: New Forms and Practices of Popular History?

Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paletschek

New popular interest in history emerged in the final decades of the twentieth century; it has been at a peak since the second half of the 1990s. Museums, historical exhibitions and theme parks see rising numbers of visitors; re-enactment events attract players and big audiences; historical markets and city walks have become a staple of the tourist industry; historical topics permeate all media from print to digital. Images of the past are created through popular genre fiction, comics and history magazines, heritage films and documentary television, computer games and wikis on the World Wide Web. In all these forms, "popular history" employs—and mixes—fact and fiction, representation, performance and experience, instruction and entertainment. One can argue that more people encounter history as "edutainment" now than through formal education. This gives these popular forms a considerable cultural and societal impact, not only on regional and national levels: Popular history may have originated in the West, but it has spread across the globe and is now locally produced in cultures all over the world. "Global history" in academia meets popular history as a presence on the global marketplace, while the precise relation between globalised media flows and intercultural, local practices is not clear yet (De Groot, 2012: 283). An International Foundation for Public History (IFPH) was founded in 2011/12 to create international linkages between public historians and promote the development of a world-wide network of Public History practitioners.

The prominence of popular history in the early twenty-first century raises a number of questions: Is this current visibility a new phenomenon at all? How

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are popular forms and practices of history related to, and challenge, academic history? What features do the various forms of popular presentation and practice of history have in common? With what questions and disciplinary perspectives should popular history be approached? The pages to follow address these questions in four parts: First we survey the various concepts and major theoretical frameworks with which "popular" treatments of history have been approached in historical and, more recently, cultural studies. The second part views the current peak of popular history in a longer trajectory, with special attention to the nineteenth century. Part three uses the centenary of the outbreak of World War I to sketch how popular history tied in with academic reinterpretations of the war. Part IV presents a summary of findings and some theses from which the further study of popular history can depart.

Public History, Applied History, Popular History

"Public" or "popular" history has a fourfold dimension: as a (relatively) new field of (interdisciplinary) research, a subject of study programmes, an occupational area and professional field, and a form of civic engagement. The field is also highly dynamic,[1] and the concepts with which it has been approached are preliminary and fluid. Terms such as "public", "applied" or "popular" history point to the large field of historical interest and activity outside universities and schools, from the research of lay historians to the many forms of historical entertainment (for which the German language has coined the word "Histotainment"[2]). However, the borders between academic and extra-academic history are permeable (in both directions), and their practices intersect: A television documentary can draw on results from academic research; a school textbook may refer to comics like *Asterix* to make its content more "attractive" for young readers; but history "from below" can also precede academic interest. While we suggest that "popular history" is the concept that best fits such phenomena, also because it is the most encompassing, it is also the most recent one. And like the earlier concepts of "public" and "applied" history, it has specific social, political and academic implications.

Public History is a relatively established term and frequently associated with the political use of history by nations, states, institutions and political elites. It first emerged in the United States in the late 1970s and originally referred to the employment of historians and historical methodology outside academia (Kelley, 1978: 16; see also Rauthe, 2001; Zündorf, 2010). Recent definitions of Public History, for instance in course programmes of American universities, describe it as "history that is seen, heard, read, and interpreted by a popular audience" or even more generally as "history that belongs to the public" and requires historians trained to "transform their research to reach audiences outside the academy" (Evans, 2000). For the German context, Public History has been defined as "each form of public presentation of history produced outside scientific institutions, associations and publications" (Bösch & Goschler, 2009:

10, our translation), and aiming to impart historical knowledge (Zündorf, 2014: 69).

Several developments converged when Public History emerged in den United States: First, many trained historians did not find employment at university or in school and so looked for new work opportunities in the public dissemination of historical knowledge, for instance in museums and exhibitions, at memorial institutions, for business companies, in the media or institutions of political education. New study programmes in Public History were designed to provide training in such areas. Secondly, the New Social History of the 1960s helped to consolidate and promote “history from below”—social, economic and cultural history with an interest in local real-worlds—and thus the ideal of democratic and participatory forms of history (shared by the British History Workshop movement and the German *Geschichtswerkstätten)*. At the same time, the mid-1970s saw a rising interest in history on the part of national and communal institutions, individuals and families, ethnic and political groups, businesses and the media. Specialist journals (*The Public Historian*, from 1978) and associations (esp. the National Council of Public History, NCPH, from 1980[3]) helped to establish Public History as a branch of academic history in the United States. However, with its institutionalisation both inside and outside academia, the movement drifted towards consensus and the patriotic mainstream (Davison, 1991).

In Great Britain, Public History was institutionalised later than in the United States and maintained the emancipatory tradition of People’s History (Samuel 1994). It developed special interests in the tourist and heritage industries, also due to funding by the Heritage Lottery Fund (Dresser, 2010). Public History is also firmly established in Australia, where it has developed a special focus on identity issues related to Australia’s history of a settler society—as in Canada (Johnson, 2008)—and its relationship to aboriginal history (Curthoys & Hamilton, 1992).

In the German-speaking countries, Public History was a late arrival on the academic scene. Study programmes and associations were not established until the turn of the twenty-first century.[4] Outside academia, public-historical activities in Germany date back to the 1970s, with the History Workshops (*Geschichtswerkstätten)*, the historical work of feminists, and, since the 1990s, the *Historikerbüros*, which work commercially for communities, businesses, associations and private individuals. Public History in Germany is marked by a strong focus on applicability and contemporary history (Samida, 2014: 2), especially the era of National Socialism (encouraged both by official initiatives and the marketability of this period in the media) and, more recently, the post-war period. It also takes special interest in the politics of history (Wolfrum, 2010).

Overall, the boundary between history inside and outside academia seems less permeable in Germany than in the English-speaking countries. Like popular culture in general, popular forms and practices of history have long

been ignored by university scholars. When they were studied at all, this happened in individual research projects, research centres (such as the Potsdam *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung*, ZZF), or branches of historical study that used to be considered as "marginal", like didactics of history. This trend is explained by a combination of factors: Educated classes in Germany used to define themselves more rigorously against everything "popular" than in the USA or Britain, and this was supported by the rejection of mass culture promoted by leading intellectuals, most notably Adorno and Horkheimer and their Critical Theory. Furthermore, the hold of the Humboldtian ideal of "free" scholarship and pure research over the German university landscape went hand in hand with low esteem for "applied" research. As a result of this situation, Public History in Germany has often been perceived to be undertheorised (Nießer & Tomann, 2014b; Zündorf, 2014: 74), despite the fact that important theoretical input has come from didactics, notably the concept of "historical culture".

The term *Applied History* came up in the USA during the late 1970s and was "used synonymously and interchangeably with public history for a number of years" (NCPH). While it was subsequently employed more narrowly for study programmes specialised in policy advising, the two concepts still overlap: "Public history describes the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world. In this sense, it is history that is applied to real-world issues. [...] Although public history has gained ascendance in recent years as the preferred nomenclature especially in the academic world, applied history probably remains the more intuitive and self-defining term" (NCPH). However, in the academic field Public History appears to be the preferred concept, arguably because it can more easily bridge the discursive distinction between basic research and applied research. Public Historians argue that their field is regarded with too much suspicion from academic historians and claim that separating "public history" from "history" in general is problematic (Green, 2015). German representatives of *Angewandte Geschichte* have an actor-focused perspective and a special interest in uses of history. They emphasise the negotiation and reception of history through concrete agents (e.g. contemporary witnesses and clients of historical research), and the (self-)reflexive dimensions involved in these processes. Applied History in Germany aims to provide a bridge "between the social use of the past, the academic production of historical knowledge and the politically motivated consolidation of collective histories" (Tomann, Nießer, Littke, Ackermann, & Ackermann, 2011: 10, our translation).

The term *Popular History* is sometimes used interchangeably with Public and/or Applied History, for instance when it is defined as the use of history by civil society, families, groups, commercial or private associations and individuals (Black, 2005: 8). Popular History is distinguished by a focus not only on contents and functions of historical work but also the modes in which history is presented and performed, as well as their production, dissemination and consumption. While Public History tends to study forms that are tied to

official institutions of historical culture (and are often high-cultural), Popular History acknowledges that cultural production "below" the highbrow level can also have significant impact on the formation of historical consciousness and historical images. Popular culture is sensitive to the interests, needs and desires of its audiences and provides them with pleasure and entertainment. Its audiences are not passive consumers of cultural products but creative recipients (Storey, 2003). Popular History and its study emerged later in Germany than in the United States and Britain, where the divide between highbrow and low- or middlebrow culture has traditionally been more fluid. However, this situation is levelled by the speed with which media cultures and popular culture have been globalising in recent years.

Popular History, as we propose to understand the term, comprises *all* forms of historical presentation in written, audio/visual, artefactual and performative modes which address a broad, non-expert audience. It pays attention to all practices through which such presentations are produced, disseminated and received (Korte & Paletschek, 2009b: 13). In this understanding, Popular History requires a multi- and interdisciplinary approach that transcends the predominantly historical and political perspectives of Public and Applied History. Popular History has received considerable input from Cultural Studies and its long-standing interest in popular culture, as well as from literary, visual and media studies. It is in such frames of study that the pleasurable and entering elements of popular-historical presentation can be appreciated, analysed and described.

The Popular History approach is aware of how media and their various genres actively shape ideas about history. Media are constructing agents of historical knowledge and interpretation. The same historical facts will affect audiences differently depending on the medium and genre in which they are packaged. A "popular" presentation of history will aim to be attractive to its intended audiences and employ strategies that enhance comprehension (simplification, illustration), engage the recipients' attention and provide links to which they can relate from their real-world experiences. Popular history is narrativised, dramatised, personalised and emotionalised, especially when it is fictionalised. For example, a factual article about World War I in a popular history magazine will be written in an accessible manner, richly illustrated with photographic material and, if possible, enriched with personal experiences. A popular novel or fiction film may be carefully researched but aim, first of all, to tell an engaging story with intriguing characters. It transports historical knowledge as a side effect of entertainment and aesthetic pleasure. Sebastian Faulks's international bestseller *Birdsong* (1993), for instance, unfolds its narrative between war action and a love story. But while it involves its readers emotionally and lets them share the experiences of its characters, it also has a meta-historical level on which a character in the reader's present becomes interested in her grandfather's war experience and begins to research this history. Her interest prefigures the way in which readers of the novel might also become interested in the war and research it through their own family history. Other recent popu-

lar representations of the war, for instance in the TV series *Downton Abbey* or in the musical *War Horse*, can have a similar effect.

While "public", "applied" and "popular" history have their special interests and approaches, they draw on a common reservoir of theoretical frameworks: The Cultures of Memory frame is based on Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective memory and its subsequent elaborations, especially by Jan and Aleida Assmann, who distinguish between communicative and cultural memory, and functional and archival memory respectively (A. Assmann, 1999; J. Assmann, 1997). The framework of Historical Culture was conceived by Jörn Rüsen, and developed further by Bernd Schönemann and Maria Grever (Grever, 2009; Rüsen, 1994, 2014; Schönemann, 2003). The frameworks of Memory Culture and Historical Culture can complement each other: Memory Culture emphasises the social coding of historical memory, its functions for the present and its role in the formation of social identities. Historical Culture concentrates on the presentation and interpretation of history in various institutions and the media (Rüsen, 1994: 4) and is concerned with the historical consciousness (*Geschichtsbewusstsein*) of a society (Schönemann, 2003: 7). As an "umbrella concept" (Grever, 2009: 54), Historical Culture has an internal aspect (contents, narratives, personal historical consciousness) and an external one (infrastructures which facilitate and structure the production, consumption, appropriation and transmission of historical content). For heuristic purposes, Rüsen distinguishes between several overlapping dimensions of Historical Culture: Aesthetic, cognitive, political, ethical and religious (Rüsen, 2014: 46).

Apart from frameworks developed in historical studies, Popular History draws on concepts and approaches in Cultural Studies: A field that is sensitive to the intersection of cultural meanings, societal institutions and cultural markets.[5] It also draws on media studies, performance studies, the new history of science, heritage studies as well as methods of qualitative social research. There is as yet a scarcity of reception studies: While such studies are methodically feasible (through statistics or interviews) for the analysis of contemporary popular history, their practicability is limited for earlier periods where evidence of reception is often restricted and indirect (through sales figures for books, frequency of citations, reviews or references in ego documents).

Which concepts and methods for the study of popular or public history are chosen also depends on disciplinary interests: Historians are inclined to investigate the political dimension of historical cultures and the relationships between academic and popular knowledge production. Cultural Studies are more interested in how media and genres shape and disseminate historical knowledge. An ethnographic approach emphasises individual reception and use of popular history, while a didactic one is interested in the acquisition of historical competence and its political and ethical implications and contexts. In combination, these various perspectives create the interdisciplinary outlook necessary to assess the complex cultural, social and political work that popular history can perform.

Popular History Now and Then

There is common agreement that the nineteenth century was not only the era of the bourgeoisie, of industrialisation and the nation, but also the era of history. In the late eighteenth century, the past became a major source for the construction of "modern" identities: It provided orientation for societies challenged by political revolutions, accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation, innovations in transport and communication, and the advance of secularisation. The middle classes, the national movements, new political movements such as liberalism and feminism used history to legitimate their demands.

These transformations gave rise to multiple civil, commercial and state initiatives for producing and mediating historical presentations (Paletschek, 2011b: 34–40): The second half of the nineteenth century saw an expansion of academic history in universities and history instruction in schools, the founding of historical museums (e.g. the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in Nuremberg, 1852) and the extension of historical collections in the British Museum, as well as the founding of historical societies on a local and national level.

A great variety of commercial and entertaining forms of staging history also emerged in the early nineteenth century: For example Madame Tussaud's wax museum in London (Melman, 2006) or pictorial sheets with historical themes. The German writer Theodor Fontane (1819–1898) noted in his memoirs how his historical knowledge was gleaned from media, claiming that they taught him more about history than all his teachers in school (Kraul, 1982: 44). Large panoramas featuring historical events became popular and economically successful between 1880 and 1900; their historical subjects were often meticulously researched. The disappearance of panoramas at the end of the nineteenth century was connected with the rise of film, which provided new possibilities for presenting history, while also drawing on earlier pictorial and theatrical traditions (Burgoyne, 2008).

Staged forms of history were popular in the nineteenth century and anticipated more recent forms of history in performance (Schlehe, Uike-Bormann, Oesterle, & Hochbruck, 2010). There were, for example, many historical pageants on the occasion of anniversaries of towns and dynasties which reached large audiences beyond the educated classes. Theatre plays and operas with historical subjects and the staging of living images were bourgeois forms of historical entertainment. The end of the nineteenth century saw the first outdoor museums such as the Skansen museum in Stockholm that was established in 1891. From the beginning, these museums used re-enactment and demonstrated old crafts.

Literary forms of telling history are much older than the nineteenth century. Many traditional ballads are about historical subjects, and Shakespeare wrote history plays for the "public" theatres of Elizabethan society. One can claim, however, that the history boom of the nineteenth century began with the historical novel. The success of this genre in the wake of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814) was an international phenomenon (James Fenimore Cooper,

Alessandro Manzoni, Victor Hugo, Felix Dahn, Alexandre Dumas and Henryk Sienkiewicz) and has influenced the popular presentation of history until today.

Popular history in factual forms was also very successful in the nineteenth century. Historical non-fiction was a growing segment in the book market as well as in the new market of popular periodicals. The penny magazines (since the 1830s) and the widely read family magazines (since the 1850s), such as *Household Words* in Britain or the *Gartenlaube* in Germany, published many historical articles and illustrations (Korte & Paletschek, 2012b: 73–103). Many writers of popular history chose subjects neglected by academic historiography, especially the history of everyday life and gender history. Most political articles in the popular periodicals dealt with male-connotated historical subjects, but they were interspersed with articles on female rulers, revolutionaries and heroic mothers. And apart from local and national history, their interest extended to other parts of the world.

History in these popular print media was often affirmative and responded to contemporary needs of orientation. It was also restricted to historical subjects that lent themselves to emotional, personal and dramatic modes of presentation. It has to be appreciated, however, that this popular history anticipated historical presentation in today's mass media: It mixed various forms and was intermedial just like today's television and the internet. And like many historical presentations in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, it showed a tendency to concentrate on historical events of the last 100 years, that is, the range of communicative memory. This permitted readers to connect to the past through family history, and they were encouraged to make connections to their real-worlds. For example, readers of family magazines were asked to provide source material or to narrate their eye-witness experiences just like people today are asked to contribute to historical online portals such as *Europeana*.[6] Another similarity to present-day practices consists in the fact that popular history in the nineteenth century was often tied to anniversaries as activators of memory. All in all, the nineteenth century produced a diversified and commercially successful historical culture, which was consumed by a diverse audience from all ranges of society, including men and women, all ages and classes and different religious groups.

The World War I Centenary and Popular History

As the preceding sections have shown, popular history was established when World War I broke out. Despite the fact that the war's collective memory has often been described in academic research as a culture of mourning (Winter, 1995, 2006), it was also constructed and perpetuated in entertaining forms of representation, notably popular fiction and cinema. However, this popular presentation was long ignored by scholars (Paris, 2000: 154), and it has also been criticised for creating distorted images of the period. In 2013, for example, Britain saw a lively public debate over the claim by the education secretary that the popular satirical television programme *Blackadder Goes Forth* (1989)

had fed a large audience with a one-sided, leftist and pacifist interpretation of the war and should not be used in school teaching.[7] This example also points to the fact that there are significant national differences in the war's popular history. In Britain, the memory of World War I was never overshadowed by World War II as it was in Germany. Britain therefore has an uninterrupted popular-historical tradition of World War I with certain peaks around anniversaries. It needed the new Europe after 1989 to re-establish the war of 1914–18 in the historical consciousness of a wider audience in Germany. What also appears to have inhibited a popular history of World War I in Germany is the generally critical stance towards popular culture mentioned above.

By the time of the war's first centenary in 2014, these inhibitions had been overcome, and Germany (and other European countries) saw an unprecedented interest in the war beyond academia, in countless exhibitions, new media like computer games (*Valiant Hearts* 2014) and online portals (*Europeana collections 1914–1918*),[8] and especially on television (e.g. Arte's *Tagebücher des Ersten Weltkriegs/14, des armes et des mots*).[9] The general tendency of these productions was to emphasise the war's European and international dimension, its destructive force and the experience of suffering shared across national borders. While the prominent presence of World War I on German television was a relatively new phenomenon, television makers in Britain were challenged by the fact that the war was a continuous presence on British screens since the 1960s. (Indeed, the first major documentary ever on British television in 1964 was *The Great War*.) They needed fresh perspectives that were also provided by new trends in academic historical research: in particular a new attention to the experience of the war by common soldiers, non-white combatants from the Empire, and in civil society (Hämmerle, 2014; Thacker, 2014). The BBC started its four-year programming[10] in 2014 with documentaries presented by high-profile public figures (including historians),[11] and several drama series. *Great War Diaries* tells the story of the war "solely through the eyes of those who lived through it". *The Passing Bells* focuses on two boys, one British and one German. *The Crimson Field* is set in a hospital unit on the Western Front and emphasises the contribution to the war effort by men and women; it also reflects contemporary issues of diversity: One of the doctors is a Scotsman, a male nurse is homosexual, the matron loves an Indian and one of the casualties is a young black man; traditional war heroism is set against traumatised soldiers and alleged deserters who are cleared of cowardice; through the love relationship between one of the nurses and a German soldier, the series makes a strong pacifist statement. However, the BBC also revisited the trenches as the war's classical site of memory in the combat drama series *Our World War*.

All programmes disseminated knowledge about the war but would not have been produced if the broadcasters had not been convinced that there is a national and international market for the First World War. It should be noted, however, that the logic of the market did not only determine the production of popular history but was also responsible for the flood of academic World War I studies published for the anniversary.

Findings and Theses

Whilst Popular History does have links with academic history, it should be considered as a largely autonomous form of knowledge production and dissemination. It can raise new issues and develop new perspectives on history, and occasionally even anticipate trends in academic history (on the emergence of the historiography of "black" Britain, see Korte & Pirker, 2011). Popular History makes us aware that the interpretation and representation of the past is performed not only by "professional" historians but involves many different agents: from amateur historians to members of the re-enactment scene, or from museum curators to media practitioners. Full understanding of the social and cultural implications of history requires concepts and approaches that transcend the traditional frames for historical knowledge production and dissemination set by academia and institutions of learning. We need multidisciplinary approaches that include the perspectives and methods of social, cultural and media studies.

Popular History establishes links between historical knowledge and the real-worlds of its recipients and practitioners. It depends on the fact that its intended recipients can *relate* to these contents in a *personal* manner, both intellectually and emotionally. Popular History is sensitive to its audiences' demands: interpretation of the past for needs of the present; the construction of personal and collective identities; the pleasures of entertainment and immersing oneself in "other" worlds. Popular History entails much more than the transportation of historical knowledge. Popular History encourages creative engagement with the past. It can blur the line between the production and consumption of historical knowledge, for instance in historical re-enactments. At the same time, Popular History, like all forms of historiography, has the potential to be misused for political ideologies.

The relationship between popular and academic history is reciprocal and complex. Whilst Popular History often draws on academic knowledge, its products are also a form of knowledge production in their own right. Conversely, academics are involved in the production of popular history, for instance when they act as consultants for television programmes or present them.[12] School textbooks rely increasingly on popular material in order to establish links to pupils' real-worlds.

In general, the borders between recipients and producers of historical knowledge, and between experts and amateurs, have become blurred in many different ways. Academic historians are exposed to popular history in their everyday lives, and they are shaped by the popular history they encountered while growing up. Agents in Popular History can be experts in special fields, for instance re-enactors who have acquired traditional skills. Academic historians, in turn, fulfil an important function as corrective for the popular production of knowledge: They can impart that historical knowledge is a construct and never final or unambiguous, that it needs to scrutinised and revised; that

it is not normally spectacular and exciting (as some popular presentations and practices might suggest) but requires meticulous attention and careful steps.

Popular History requires special awareness that knowledge is shaped by the media and genres in which it is presented. It demands competence in textual and medial analysis as well as knowledge about the social, economic, institutional and technological frameworks in which the various media work.

And finally, Popular History uses strategies that enhance comprehension and involve recipients. It emphasises the narrative element of history and is often personal, emotional and dramatic even where it is not fictional or semi-fictional. Popular History creates access to historical worlds for people to whom academic historiography would not appeal. However, the outreach of popular history goes hand in hand with certain limitations: Accessibility often comes at the cost of simplification and disambiguation of the ambiguous. Popular history may also leave unrepresented what it cannot represent in an attractive and entertaining form. This does not mean that Popular History necessarily lacks complexity: Popular historical novels, for instance, can offer multiple perspectives, have a reflexive dimension, and act as a door opener for further engagement with history.

Notes

1. Much work on Public History and historical cultures has been published over the last decade. For a new web portal see www.culturahistorica.es/welcome.html. For overviews, see for example, Jordanova (2000), Korte and Paletschek (2009a), Hardtwig and Schug (2009), Paletschek (2011a), Berger, Melman, and Lorenz (2012), Korte and Paletschek (2012a).
2. It is used, for instance, in the name of a commercial medieval 'histotainment park', *Adventon*.
3. http://ncph.org/cms/what-is-public-history/
4. At the time of writing, there are study programmes in Public History at the Free University Berlin (in cooperation with the *Centre for Contemporary History / Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung*, Potsdam) and in Heidelberg. A working group within the German National Council of Historians was instituted in 2012. The conjunctions of civil engagement, academic research and political education form a core interest of the *Institute for Applied History/Institut für Angewandte Geschichte* in Frankfurt/Oder. The blog journal *Public History Weekly* was inaugurated in 2013 by researchers in history didactics.
5. See the adaptation of Du Gay and Hall's Circuit of Culture model in Korte and Pirker (2011: 46).
6. www.europeana.eu/portal/
7. See www.historyextra.com/feature/blackadder-bad-first-world-war-history

8. www.europeana-collections-1914-1918.eu/
9. www.arte.tv/sites/de/schwerpunkt/der-erste-weltkrieg-ein-ereignis--auf-arte-2/; http://www.14-des-armes-et-des-mots.fr/page/fr/
10. See "World War One on TV and Radio" under www.bbc.co.uk/programmes. The BBC provides further information on the war on the dedicated website "BBC History: World War One Centenary—WWI 1914–1918", and it is significant that this contribution on the World Wide Web has a strong interest in the War's global dimensions.
11. *Kate Adie's Women of World War One* (BBC Two); *Britain's Great War* (presented by Jeremy Paxman, BBC One); *The Pity of War*, with Niall Ferguson (BBC Two).
12. However, there are cultural differences: While 'television historians' in Britain and the United States bridge the divide between academic and popular history without harm to their academic reputation, German television historians seem less accepted in academic circles. It is significant that a television series about German history presented by Christopher Clark (*Deutschland-Saga*, ZDF 2014/15) was not well received in German academia, even by Public Historians.

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CHAPTER 11

The Jurassic Park of Historical Culture

Antonis Liakos and Mitsos Bilalis

When German chancellor Angela Merkel visited Athens in October 2012, she was depicted in numerous cartoons and graffiti with a Hitler mustache. In the air was a clear comparison between current German politics and the time of the German occupation of Greece from 1941 to 1944, which was mirrored back in Germany. Indeed, for many Greeks the Second World War became a framework for thinking about the contemporary German policy toward their country during the crisis.

Not only cartoons in the media represented German officials in Second World War army uniforms; a large debate also started on the issue of war reparations and, particularly, on the return of the forced 1941 loan (Fleischer, 2015). With the exception of some experts on the history of the Second World War, few people in Greece were aware of this loan until recently. An almost forgotten topic suddenly became the subject of passionate discussion in official Greek–German meetings, in the parliaments of both countries and the national and international mass media, as well as in everyday discussions. How was this Second World War history reactivated and why? Indeed, stories related to the Second World War never disappeared from the contemporary cultural horizon in Greece or Europe in general. A steady stream of books, films, anniversaries and controversies regarding aspects of the experience of this war had generated intense debate at times. But the public debate on the causes of the economic crisis was not related to the war, and no one dared to compare the policy and the leadership of the Federal Republic of Germany with the Third Reich before

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the crisis. What happened in the meantime and why this specific move to the past?

Around the same time, another story exploded in the Russian Federation. On the eve of the 2014 presidential elections, state TV presented a documentary claiming to show the "secret truth" of the October Revolution. It was revealed that the revolution was a German plot against the Russian nation. The documentary claimed that the Kaiser's government helped Lenin to travel to Russia during the war on a special train, in order to undermine military discipline and enable an easy defeat. Although this story had been around since the time of the revolution, its most recent dissemination, accompanied by other films using the same register and broadcasting on state TV to a wide audience, aimed to convince Russians that the Soviet Union was the realization of a secret German plan and to infuriate their anti-western feelings.[1]

In 1993, who knew the name of the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6th 1945? The intention to include it in an exhibition marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, in Washington DC's Smithsonian Museum, gave rise to a fierce debate in the U.S.A. The *Enola Gay* controversy, acquired mass dimensions in the media and inaugurated the term "history wars" to describe disputes on memory and the past. Since then history wars have been a constant feature of historical culture worldwide (Erdmann et al., 2008/2009; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1995; Nakou & Barca, 2010; Taylor & Guyver, 2012).

The general question we address in this chapter is how the past, and which past, comes back to the present with such a dynamism. The relationship between the present and the past is not preordained, not even predictable. Different pasts are reactivated in different circumstances. How are these pasts chosen and how do they behave in the present? Who decides which past to bring back to life? It is true that thinking in terms of historical analogies is a common way to understand new realities and metaphors. Comparisons and resemblances help us bring under our mental control unexpected situations, and new experiences become more familiar after being placed within the interpretative framework of old experiences. As large events shape and reshape the lives of people, they form identities and link future events to past precedents. But new events illuminate the past in a different way, shed light on different events or allow new interpretations of past events. The past has power and provides images and emotions that escape from the intentionality of its re-evocation. Which past and which event might be selected and used as a point of reference for the present could not have been anticipated. Historical analogies, in most cases, are explained post factum. But, even then, they are not fully understandable.

So, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the sudden reappearances of the past in the present, and the outbreak of smaller or larger disputes which dominate the public sphere, break the present and the temporal order, create unjustifiable tensions and construct particular senses of the past. We opt here for the term historical culture, because the topic we are about to explore is not how people remember, nor the representation of the past. Rather, it deals

with the handling of the past, or, rather, of fragments of the past. We refer to “fragments” because the past is not something which is easily definable in the present; it is not a coherent period of time. The past depends on how we understand it. It may be “closed” and without consequences for the present, as a mere object of curiosity, or it is open and demands justice or vengeance. For instance, the German war loan is a “closed” case, without legal consequences for the German part, but it remains “open” for the Greek part. What to place in the past and what to include in the present does not depend on the time of the events, but on their future expectancies. Past experiences, lived or transmitted, are hosted in these fragments of the past that we handle in the present. But the term “fragment” cannot express the self-energy, autonomous function and the power that the past acquires when it occupies the minds of people and circulates in their lines of communication. For this reason the core idea of this chapter is that the past is not, or not only, a past-toy of the present and a passive artifact. It has its own life and active role. By emphasizing the energetic, even the toxic role of the past, we will use the language of the cinema and the media that remediates the past–present relationship. After all, thinking history through cinema is not a mere side road to get to the past.

Jurassic Park I

Imagine a theme park, full of history and memory creatures, made and controlled by historians, archivists and memory guardians. Suddenly these creatures acquire life, become autonomous, uncontrollable, start to fight each other, and scare the humans. Yet, the humans are not innocent victims. They recruit the past phantoms for their power games, give them roles and often borrow their voices. The past acquires life, a second hybrid life. This second life of the past contaminates its first life. It is difficult, if not impossible, for humans to imagine these creatures in their original setting, outside their role in the park. Modern imagination contaminates the past and its images (as we will see further on in the second part).

This fairytale, drawn from the well-known 1993 science fiction film directed by Steven Spielberg, could be adapted to various circumstances. Dead memories or facts suddenly acquire new meaning and become alive, enter the public sphere and become part of political discourse, create strong sentiments of hate or love, colonize our mental geography of the world. It is difficult, and often impossible, to avoid or to escape from them.

The question is what to do and how to understand this Jurassic park of historical culture? We live in a world where, in most places, history and memory are present in every moment of our public and private lives. We enjoy a nostalgic sense of past times, or we suffer from a traumatic sense of the past. The past is used for questioning, resisting, or even transforming the present. But the presence of the past may prove deadly; dead memories are thirsty for blood, and there are many killer dinosaurs in the park. Nationalism is one of the bigger ones. The re-animation of past memories in the former Yugoslav

countries during the 1990s or in the post-Soviet countries turned one community of memories against the other, as they each retold stories of past atrocities and battles, despite years of peaceful coexistence (Dimou, 2009). Fascism is another dinosaur, which re-emerged in Europe more than 70 years after its collapse (Norris, 2005). The use of religion and the myth of the return to ancient, pure, and authentic origins have also created killer dinosaurs (Lapidus, 1997). Although philosophers advise societies to come to terms with their past, to *work through it*, and to forgive, the healing of past or imagined past wounds is an unfinished procedure, open to surprises, and full of cognitive and emotional gaps (Ricoeur, 1999). In Spain, years after a peaceful closing of the past, civil war memories erupted, graves started to be opened and old stories revived (Aguilar, 2002; Kovras, 2008). No one is safe from the past; no one knows when, under what conditions and which species of dinosaurs will awaken and start to revive past wars. The feeling of insecurity from unearthing a covered or unknown past, after decades of silence, has been the subject of many recent films. Examples are *The Company You Keep* (2012), directed by Robert Redford, on the uncovering of the past story of Weatherman activists and their imprisonment after 30 years of peaceful life as respected citizens, and *Ida* (2013), by Paweł Pawlikowski, on discovering a hidden past of family extermination during the Nazi occupation of Poland.

How can we study what happens in our Jurassic park? We are astonished at what we see, and we begin to realize that the linear relationship between the accumulation of "positive" knowledge of the past, and our moral and political preoccupations of the present, is a big delusion. As historians, we have the illusion that by telling the truth to our audiences we enlighten them and free them from their superstitions, or we assist them in elaborating rationally on their experiences. The disenchantment of the past from its myths and superstitions is one of the moral imperatives of our profession. Even though we criticize the teaching role of history, we are still captured in this role. But this "coming to terms with the past" is not a homogeneous and predictable procedure. There are gaps in the way history is used at an institutional level, in communities, and by individuals. The emergence of the concept of "public history", the multiplication of communities of memory and the increasing number of history wars are signs of these widening gaps (Morris-Suzuki, 2005). The thirst for history is related with the quest for stronger feelings and bigger passions through and from history. It resembles the creation of bigger, stronger and more ferocious dinosaurs in the 2015 sequel *Jurassic World*.

The Jurassic park metaphor explains that we come to terms with the past not only through representations of it. In most theoretical debates on historical theory since the final decades of the last century, history has been treated as a discipline and intellectual practice regarding its ability to represent the past. Yet, the mushrooming of heritage, the memory boom and history wars of recent decades have directed our attention to the public dimensions of historical practice. Although history since the nineteenth century was always something more than a discipline limited to a small community of specialists, this

external dimension was hardly recognized. The theory of history was oriented toward the epistemology of historical research or toward historical rhetoric (Eley, 2008; Ivanova & Hristov, 2014; Kellner, 2013). The public dimension of history was either neglected or considered to be additional to the main tasks of history and, in most cases, was seen as a landscape for staging historical dramas. The dichotomy between the uses and misuses of history has dominated the field for a long time, and public historians were ghettoized in museums and lay historical activities. The question of how history is written was rarely separated from the imperative of how history should be written. Normativity overcame analysis and overshadowed the image of what "really happens" in history beyond academia. Even when addressing big audiences, historians insisted on their professional rules of telling the truth and being objective, ignoring or neglecting the performativity of their reception.

The massive dimensions that history consumption has acquired nowadays means that historians and historical theorists should place the mass perceptions of history at the center of their attention—not only as an additional and particular dimension of historical knowledge and not only from the point of view of a cognitive process. History should be seen also from the point of view of the feelings and the passions it creates (Athanasiou, Hantzaroula, & Yannakopoulos, 2008). Nostalgia, vengeance and expectations of recognition are transporters of interest for the past. In other words, history should not be seen as a cognitive process, as it used to be, but as a social and cultural practice. What matters is not only the information about past deeds, but the whole range of relations with the past. This assertion raises the more general problem of how to deal with the past in contemporary societies and shifts our attention from the question of what happened in the past to what's happening in the present regarding the past. This change marks a shift from theorizing history to theorizing historical culture. This shift is necessary for understanding the complexity and the reciprocity of our relations with the past.

The emotional dimensions of the relationships with the past are equally as important as the moral aspects of the past, as well as those aspects associated with our desire to explore its factual accuracy. From this point of view, we are interested not only in the representations of the past, but in the ways of thinking about the past. In our Jurassic park, there is an unstable sense of the past. The sequence of time is not irreversible, as we assume in academic history. This means that to explore our Jurassic park, we need to investigate what the past means in different cultures and epochs, how the past was invented, and when and how it becomes reversible or irreversible, revocable or irrevocable (Sahlins, 1985, 2004).

Historiography is one of the plausible ways of relating to the past, but by no means the only one (De Groot, 2009; Morris-Suzuki, 2005). We are related to the past through memory, rituals, art, identity-formation, our community ties and the generational memory that passes through our family. We can also select which past to visit. Psychoanalysis is also a form of relationship with the past, and particularly painful pasts. But through the different ways of approaching the

past, we are related not with a common and unique past, but with different pasts. Some of these pasts are welcome, others troubling. Or we are indifferent to them. There are pasts related to our national, regional, familiar or personal identity, or pasts that are external, temporary or contingent. The image of the relationship with the past is an assemblage of particular ways of confronting, avoiding or imagining past things. *Historical culture* is a name for this assemblage, which also comprises human and non-human agencies, ways of thinking and material culture, institutions and memories, public anniversaries and private remembrances.

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Does Jurassic park have a history? Is historical culture a new invention of mass society, or was it present, invisible but inherent, in the formation of the cultural and intellectual categories we use in coming to terms with the past? What was assigned to history in different epochs and cultural environments? When the foundations of history as literary genre were laid in the Greek–Roman world and China, two tasks were assigned to it. The first was to save the past from oblivion (Herodotus, Thucydides), and, at the same time, to teach using past experience (Confucius, Sima Qian, Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Both instances were represented by historical works, but also historical literature. Aristotle's phrase (1984) "Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and higher thing than history; for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular" (*Poetics*, IX, 1451b 5–8), in which he compares historiography and poetry, indicates that the past is encapsulated in literature, poetry, theater and art, but indicates also the differences in its use. While historiography was a frontal encounter with oblivion, aimed to save contingency (the "particular"), in literature contingency was outbalanced, or absorbed by regularity (the "universal") (Grethlein, 2010). The most common use of history, inspired by the Christian belief in the Last Judgment, was its relation with justice, and particularly the divine attribution of justice. Human acts were recognized from their consequences as conforming to or violating moral laws (Bultman, 1975). The neutralization of history toward ethics and morality was the result of turning history into a descriptive discipline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fasolt, 2004). Coming to the nineteenth century, when history was established as discipline, historicism was not confined to historiography. The turn to history was an essential part of the cultural reformation and the aesthetic education which shaped the modern nation and the national identity (Berger, 2006; Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2008; Berger & Lorenz, 2010; Toews, 2004). Historians in the nineteenth century were public figures and the histories they wrote were not intended for the academy and their colleagues but for the cultural communities which formed the backbone of European nations. The secession of historians from historical culture happened in parallel with the formation of a professional body of historians and an academic structure where they were educated and evaluated. Although it has changed over time, popular history still holds its position in relation to historical culture, but the

body of historians, even retaining its influence in shaping images of the past, has gradually acquired its own sub-culture, where the task was not simply to rescue the past but to historicize it. This means not to save events from oblivion, but to enhance it from its mythic perceptions, to scrutinize older approaches, to explain, contextualize and establish distance from the past (Torstendahl, 2015).

What is contemporary in historical culture? In Jurassic park, the deadly confrontation of human and beast is associated with the park as a leisure activity and commercial venture. In contemporary historical culture, history wars and the marketing of activities related to history and the display of the past go hand in hand. In *Jurassic Park*, the time order separating dinosaurs and humans is overturned. Unsettledness, eventuality and randomness are the presuppositions of their coexistence. The modern subjects dispose a vast range of technical possibilities to visit different pasts and different histories, to dislocate histories from their place and time order, to combine them without regarding restrictions of provenience or compatibility. In historical games and TV series, such as *Game of Thrones* (HBO), prehistory and the medieval era are freely combined in an imagined timeless past. As a consequence, the past becomes contingent as much as the future.

The opposition between remembering and forgetting is another feature of contemporary historical culture. History and memory are still invested with a moral imperative, but at the same time, the psychoanalytic idea that the past disrupts the present, drives historical thinking in the opposite direction. On the one hand, "the past should be saved from the condescension or the prejudices of the present" (Thompson, 1981: 12) and, on the other, the present should be freed from the past. The voices demanding that attention be paid to the question of how to free the present from the troubling images of the past emanate mainly from the social sciences and psychology and have had an impact on historical pedagogy. The foundational convention of history-saving-the-past-from-oblivion has changed (Bevernage, 2012).

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How do historians behave in Jurassic park? Are they observers, partisans or peacekeepers? To understand historical culture, historians need to abdicate from their role as the rulers (and judges) of the history production process. They need to become objects of their research and to embark on a collective journey regarding the role of history in society and their role as historians, without implying a duality between academic history and lay historical culture. Notwithstanding differences, they should investigate their own historical culture, the academic protocol they use, the norms and rules defining their position as mediators of the past, and their public role as guardians of memory. Removing the duality between academic and lay history does not mean demolishing differences, but to investigate connections, common trends and common responses to changing cultural needs (Rüsen, 2011). After all, how do historians form their historical attitudes? Turning to the culture of historians, the old truism *Historia magistra vitae* becomes *Vita magistra historiae*, which

means giving priority to the experience of history as a prerequisite for knowing history (Ankersmit, 2012).

The next question is what passwords should be used to enter *Jurassic park*? In the theory of history, we encounter terms or *catchphrases* such as "all history is present history" (Croce, 1917), "reenactment of the past" (Collingwood, 1946), "narratives" and "tropes of discourse" (White, 1999), "historical/practical past" (Oakeshott, 2010; White, 2010), the "presence of the past" (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998), all of which refer to the ways the past is conceived in the present. Terms like "social memory" (Halbwachs, 1992), "cultural/communicative memory" (Assman, 2008), "*lieux de mémoire*" (Nora, 1989, 1996), "theatres of memory" (Samuel, 1994), "post-memory" (Hirsch, 1997, 2001) and "public memory" come from sociology, history and memory studies. Social psychologists use terms like "social representations of the past" (Moscovici, 2000), and "lay historians" (Klein, 2013). Terms such as public history (Ashton & Kean, 2009; Jordanova, 2000), heritage and legacies (Lowenthal, 1996) have also been used to collectively describe museums, historical sites and representations of history but also practices of mass enjoyment of history. Moods of historical understanding are described by terms as "regimes of historicity" (Hartog, 2003), and the involvement of state institutions as "the invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), and in more general terms as "politics of history" (Beattie, 2008; Gillis, 1994). Finally, beliefs which contemporary people hold about past events are labeled "encapsulated history" (Hudson, 1966). This list is far from exhaustive. Most of these passwords refer to theories, and theories (Θεωρία) mean viewings, perspectives of observing historical culture not as a "thing", but as a constellation related with the positioning of the observers.

These theories correspond to two different approaches. The first refers to history as a system of signs, as a cultural practice or as a structure of representing the past (*Barthes,* 1967*)*. The use of narrative as a universal form of representation is part of this conception of history. History epitomizes a range of relations with the past and represents the past itself. This is also the most common use of the term history in literature and philosophy. According to Michel de Certeau, "history is a system at the general locus of society", not only a subject for academic research. In his view, both private and shared ways of negotiating the world are based on this "system that organizes by means of 'histories' all social communication and everything that makes the present habitable" (De Certeau, 1986: 205). The works of Paul Ricoeur, Hayden White and Frank Ankersmit belong to a theory of history as *langue*.

Another category of these theories refers to memory. What matters here is neither the system nor general rules of the relations with the past, but how subjects memorize or forget, re-evoke the past or push it back. From history as a universal practice, we move to the subjects who are related to the past through memory. Through the theories of memory we shift from the system to the subject, from the rules of play to the players. History and memory matter from the point of view of constituting subjectivities. Both categories could be seen

from the perspective of the distinction made by structural linguistics between *langue* and *parole* (De Saussure, 1961). Langue is the system and the rules of the language; parole is the use of the language by speakers. Using this distinction as a model for approaching historical language, we should search for the equivalents of *phonemes* and *morphemes*. What is their equivalent in historical culture, if any?

Claude Lévi-Strauss, transporting Saussure's linguistic analysis to social anthropology, coined the term *mytheme*, a term for the minimal unit of the myth (Lévi-Strauss, 1995). The question is whether we could use such a concept to refer to the smallest segments of historical culture. These units should not be confounded with historical information, but with ways of comprising historical information and interpretation together. A common example of such a unit is the figure of Hitler as the personification of evil. We have seen numerous cases where the idea/image/symbol/metaphor of Hitler has been used by the mass media or in public discourse to characterize awkward persons in international politics. The use of "fascism" in a derogatory way is another sign, connecting what we consider to be dreadful politics with sad and hated historical memories. There are numerous such floating signs, which refer to every aspect of our life, connecting past and present, domesticating new experiences with older ones and attributing residual qualities to emerging realities. There are words and metaphors (barbaric, gothic, romantic, byzantine, enlightened) and units which attribute certain categories to collectivities (nation, westerners, Europeans), or to certain periods (archaic, medieval, traditional, classic, modern, post-modern). What do these units have in common? They circulate, are transmitted and are shared, and they adapt and transform themselves according to the environment. They combine with other units to form bigger narratives and attitudes. Historical information is conveyed through these units. They transfer facts and feelings, form complex structures and exchange information and attitudes from one narrative to the other, from one ideology to the other, from one language to the other. Ideologies and cultural dispositions as nationalisms are characterized by a multitude of such units, which migrate from one nationalism to the other, replicating themselves in the process and changing the political use of nationalism. Concluding this part, we wish to underline that historical culture is the way and the form in which actors (individuals, social groups and institutions) "handle" the raw material of their present experience, according to patterns existing in a sort of common and open historical reservoir. Their beliefs are "encapsulated" in the place they occupy and in the role they have in their societies, but the material used to construct these beliefs circulates and emigrates from one speaker to the next.

Jurassic Park II

The simulation of *langue* and *parole* or *phonemes* and *morphemes* presupposes the unquestionable presence of a *human* subject. However, in our Jurassic park not all the inhabitants are humans. New monsters (e.g. trolls, avatars, hoaxes, anonymous

profiles) introduce hybrid forms of subjectivity into the circuit of contemporary—mostly digital—historical culture. Codes and automations like text-feeding mechanisms and sharing applications replicate pieces of historical information within different texts and webpages, reducing the possibility of identifying a particular human subject (author, narrator or memory holder) behind any particular verbal, visual or sonic trace of the past. In the Jurassic park of contemporary historical culture, any attempt to draw clear-cut distinctions between the human and the non-human or the organic and the code is rendered peculiarly difficult.

Richard Dawkins, the author of the very influential *The Selfish Gene*, coined the term *meme*, which is the equivalent of the gene for cultural systems. According to him:

> Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation … memes should be regarded as living structures, not just metaphorically but technically. (Dawkins, 2006: 192)

So, in order to understand when and how dinosaurs acquire new life and become shadow creatures that live among us, we should enquire what molests old relics and living minds, what reactivates the dead, and obtains life from the living.

This is a post-humanist approach, which pays attention to the multitude of cultural bits and bytes and to *memetic* processes which form historical culture. These processes speed up or slow down the emigration of memes, and that depends on the historical condition societies inhabit. A historical crisis can break up consensus about the past, and open graves to allow historical memes to contaminate present conflicts (e.g. Spain and the debate on the civil war, Cyprus and the debate on the Turkish invasion of 1974 and the conflict between the two communities, see Kovras, 2008). Contemporary enmities acquire a historical dimension by attracting memes regarding the past. Historical culture is not at the margins of history. We experience history through historical culture and we obtain a variety of experiences of the past.

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Recognizing the vagueness and the shapelessness of the field, there is a need to draw paths for mapping the *memetics* of historical culture, that is, to further elaborate on the morphology of historical memes as well as to test the mechanisms which enable the propagation of these minimal “units of (historical) culture”. This requirement becomes even more of a challenge when the particularities of contemporary historical culture are taken into consideration. If historical culture could be seen in a broader sense as a Jurassic park, then contemporary digital historical culture looks more like the *Jurassic Park* sequel *The Lost World*.[2] In this second filmic version, the creatures of the past are no longer disassociated from the visitors’ present through certain technologies

of separation and decontamination (borders, fences, gates, passwords, closed vehicles, uniforms and gloves, even chemical toilets). On the contrary, humans and non-humans were closely interlinked: twentieth-century men and women marched alongside prehistoric animals, canceling any possibility of a temporal distinction between them. Furthermore, it was established from the beginning of the film that the whole setting had become extremely aggressive: the theme park had already been commercialized and it was ready to host hunters from around the world in order to enjoy shooting the creatures of the past. Within this violent "regime of simultaneity", the past turned out to be the catch of the day. The resurrected species of the past were claimed by human creatures of the present, fully equipped with digitalized weaponry and participants in an aggressive, safari-like exploitation of the past.

Hence, what would memes in such an aggressive historical culture look like? How could we think of the tiny units through which the past is transported in a safari-like setting? What could be the constituent parts of our timeless, violent, deeply affective and intensively privatized digital historical culture?

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In order to deal with the abovementioned questions, we have to broaden our understanding of meme. The word *virus* could serve toward this end. Yet, what we are suggesting at this point is the employment of another metaphor, still stemming from biological *langue*. But, how could this second metaphor facilitate our investigation of digital historical culture?

Surprisingly, viruses and genes have a lot in common. In terms of biology, they could both be perceived as minimal living (or quasi-living) entities, aiming exclusively at their reproduction. But there are also essential differences. Viruses, for example, cannot replicate their own tiny biological content (DNA or RNA), unless they come into contact with other species. This contact is realized through a protein coat, properly designed to facilitate the injection of the biological material of the virus into the host body, forcing the latter to reproduce almost unconsciously the viral content. Moreover, viruses are more than "selfish". They are *ontologically* aggressive, since the aggressive invasion of alien bodies is their only survival strategy.

Not surprisingly, meaning is circulated within contemporary digital networks in a similar way. A simple click on the various sharing, commenting or embedding thumbnails (such as the textual or visual commands "share", "like", "comment", "embed" on a YouTube or Facebook account) "forces" an already existing digital page to automatically host and reproduce, within its own content, informational units from other pages in cyberspace.

This process of "viralization" was initiated in the last two decades of the twentieth century. More specifically, it was in the five years before the millennium that the virus metaphor began to circulate widely within different, non-biological discursive frameworks. Marketing was one of them, where the term signaled the advent of new advertising techniques, imitating virus propagation. During the first decade of the next century, the metaphor expanded

beyond marketing. Currently recognized under the broader term “viral sharing”, the virus metaphor has already become the dominant paradigm for sharing information in the digital domain. Nowadays, “going viral” is a flashy catchphrase, indicating a very effective, virus-like mode of production, distribution and consumption of meaning. In a more general sense, virality seems to be able to alter the “politics of meaning” within extended areas of digital networks (Sampson, 2012). To put it differently, within contemporary digital culture substantial areas have already emerged where meaning is intensively produced, disseminated and perceived in a “viral” manner. It depends more and more on distribution technologies and digitalized practices of imitation.

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Therefore, virality could be perceived as a dominant cultural trend, enforcing significant mutations during the production of meaning in our digital present. Let us then try to focus on virality as a defining element of contemporary *historical* culture as well (Bilalis, 2014). In that manner, the minimal units constituting this particular historical culture would be better represented not as memes but rather as *viruses*: parasitic entities that aim to reproduce themselves in as many copies as possible within alien areas of content.

From this point of the view, the Jurassic park of our digital historical culture appears different. The most aggressive creatures are no longer the huge dinosaurs but some rather tiny, invisible microorganisms. They constantly attempt to hijack the bodies of different species and to replicate themselves, taking control of the host “genetic” material and finally manipulating the gigantic creatures of the past. As we have already mentioned, these tiny units should not be confounded with historical information. Following Henry Jenkins et al., they would rather be perceived as *producerly* or *spreadable texts*, that is, texts which:

> ha[ve] an intent and a set of preferred meanings, but in the end [they are] left ambiguous enough, with enough open-ended details, that it could be interpreted in a number of ways, depending on the contexts into which [they are] spread and the ways [they are] deployed. (Jenkins, Xiaochang, Domb Krauskopf, & Green, 2008: 81–82)

The minimal constituents of contemporary historical culture would literally be *texts*, even reduced, as we have already seen, to a simple word. Furthermore, they could be set out in a visual or audible form (images, poems, scientific terms as well as technologies, buildings, systems of thought, lyrics, flags, catchphrases, etc.) (Rushkoff, 1994). They circulate through the multilayered surfaces of contemporary historical culture (papers, books, screens, video game consoles, webpages, virtual reality and augmented reality installations, exhibitions, etc.). By being disseminated, they articulate different pieces of historical information in different constellations of meaning. Nevertheless, what they all have in common is their *repetitive ontology*: in order to be *spreadable*, these tiny vehicles of the past have to generate copies of themselves in as many pages, screens or pixels as possible.

In our digital historical culture, *repetition* seems to be a more urgent priority than *definition*. Terms like "nationalism" or figural entities like "Hitler" *go viral* when they manage to disassociate themselves from certain historiographical definitions and are repeated within many different and even contradictory contexts. This imperative for endless repetition seems to alter contemporary politics of the past. It highlights the emergence of a *viral* historical culture no longer based on a "performative repetition with a difference" but rather on a "replication without reproduction, without fidelity, without durability" (Clough & Puar, 2012: 14).

Furthermore, increasing the historiographical indeterminacy of a certain carrier of the past also increases its chances of becoming a viral "unit" of contemporary historical culture. Let us return to the example of the "resurrection" of the Second World War during the Greek financial crisis. In August 2013, a set of photographs appeared in the printed Sunday edition of *Proto Thema*.[3] They captured Ilias Kasidiaris, spokesman for the Golden Dawn party, in a swimming suit, enjoying an intimate moment with his partner. The photographs were clear enough to show the large swastika tattoo on his left shoulder.

They were posted online and soon they went viral. In the course of the following weeks, the still images of this photo with the Nazi symbol spread across innumerous Greek webpages. By the end of the summer, digital screens had become inundated with statements, critiques, comments and even parodies, but primarily with swastikas. This particular symbol stemming from Germany's Nazi past found a way to occupy the cyberspace of a country where the presence of visual manifestations of the Nazi past was extremely marginal from 1950 to 2000.

Yet, the most striking issue raised during the heated debates on the swastika tattoo was the *figural ambiguity* of the spreadable images. After the photos went viral, most discussions focused on whether the tattoo actually represented a trace of the Nazi past. It was stated—mostly by Golden Dawn followers—that the tattoo did not depict a German swastika but some sort of ancient Greek meander. Internet followers of Nazism and racism emphatically rejected the accusations that the tattoo had a Nazi genealogy. At the same time, their "opponents" accused them of ideological inconsistency.

Nevertheless, the case of the swastika tattoo was indeed a matter of inconsistency, but a *viral* rather than an ideological one. It was exactly this sort of ambiguity about the "real" meaning of a fragment of the past, accumulated during its countless repetitions within contemporary networks, which "encourages people to seek out further information … This search for authenticity, origins, or purpose can be seen as yet another way of actively constructing the meaning of content, another type of gap that encourages … engagement" with the past (Jenkins et al., 2008, 93–94).

To put it differently, in order for a trace of the past to become a meme in contemporary historical culture, the restoration of its figural as well as its historiographical consistency is no longer an issue. Quite the contrary: what seems to be critical is to expose its content to even more contradictory interpretations, to deny already given historiographical accounts and to endlessly repeat these through

digital automations. In such a viral conceptualization of contemporary historical culture, what really matters is to speed up the dissemination of past materialities; to turn these materialities into spreadable or viral memes; to secure their mobility as well as their access to different discursive systems (public history, academic literature, journalism and even lifestyle and entertainment); to replicate these tiny units in any possible textual or visual form (article, statement, comment, gossip, still image, graffiti, caricature, video, etc.); to criticize, reject, deconstruct or even ridicule them, further increasing, in this way, their spreadability.

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In this chapter, we had attempted to put forward an understanding of historical culture as Jurassic park. We employed this particular metaphor in order to describe the interrelation between the academic and the public dimension of history as an open-ended process, during which a whole set of dualistic constellations are problematized. Our attempt was to investigate how clear-cut distinctions such as, for example, professional historian/ "the public", history/memory, past/present, use/misuse, human/non-human, code/matter, langue/parole, structure/subjectivity, humanities/sciences of life, et cetera, are blurred. The Jurassic park metaphor represents the need for a critical re-assemblage of the diversity concerning the possibilities to confront, avoid or imagine the past. It describes historical culture as a liminal equilibrium: human subjects, material links to the past, ways of historical thinking and reasoning, disciplines, emotions, affects, values, codes as well as dynamic arrangements of historical time are engaged in unstable interaction. Furthermore, imaging a theme park full of dangerous creatures, mutated networks and timeless phantoms suggests a post-humanist approach to historical culture. This approach is more committed to mimetic processes and intermediations than to normative, deeply anthropocentric interpretations of historical culture.

Moreover, we stated that Jurassic park has its own history. Since antiquity, different historical cultures have been inherent in the formation of different cultural and intellectual categories. During this long "history of historical culture", different "passwords" were developed in order to regulate access to the Jurassic park(s). Nevertheless, as we have attempted to show in this chapter, the "passwords" we use to unlock contemporary historical culture still reinforce established modern dichotomies (structure vs. performativity, langue vs. parole, human subject vs. materialities of the past, etc.). At this point, we tried to think about contemporary historical culture beyond dualistic limitations. We suggested that overcoming the abovementioned dichotomies represents an urgent priority. Within the Jurassic areas of contemporary digital historical culture, no one can afford to avoid the coexistence of human and non-human, monstrous hybridities, that have emerged in the liminal spaces between the analogue and the digital, the past and the present, between generated codes and affective desires for consuming history.

In an attempt to come to terms with post-anthropocentric contemporary historical (techno)culture, in the last part of our chapter we focused on the

tiny entities through which this culture is constructed. In search of a metaphor capable of describing these material structures, we turned to *memes* and *viruses.* This choice was not arbitrary. Both metaphors, with their origins in the natural sciences, could represent critical transformations in contemporary historical culture that occurred in recent decades: the emergence of passionate and even aggressive practices for claiming the past, interpretations of the past based on the spreadibility of historical information, and the transformation of certain traces of the past into viral informational units.

The virus, in particular, could prove to be a very efficient conceptual tool, depicting the multiple ways in which the past is conceptualized by our networked present. Comprising the most tiny surface on which affective potentialities could be traced, situated at the frontier between life and inorganic presence, capable of intruding into different (and even hostile) living networks, mocking our modern, anthropocentric dualisms and being extremely aggressive and unpredictably repetitive, the virus could be a key metaphor in understanding contemporary historical culture, that is, a culture becoming more and more affective, post-human, repetitive, passionate and networked; an aggressive historical culture, constituted not exclusively by human subjects and material traces of the past but also by generic computational functions and mechanisms for endless repetition of historical information; a *viral* historical culture where the past (as well as the present) tends to be perceived in terms of its own interconnectivity, mediality and spreadibility.

In sum, we would like to suggest that if the layers of our identities are formed through a relationship with the past, this relationship is conditioned not only by the burden of history on the living people, from the past within us, or from our curiosity and joy from exploration. Usually it has to do with an unstable environment where the dead could resurrect and the living could associate with the dead, and where the players are not only humans, but also non-human entities. What we would like to highlight is the contingency and the unpredictability of historical culture, of history conflicts and wars. The past, more than a geological stratigraphy resembles boiling water. You cannot predict what past will prevail in the future, but you can learn how to be resilient, by understanding historical culture not as a depiction of historical knowledge and representation of the past, but on the basis of its own terms and complexity.

Notes

1. G. Ogurnaya and E. Chavchavadze: "Lev Trotsky: Taina mirovoy revolutsii (Leo Trotsky: Secret of a World Revolution)" https://youtu.be/WiPmqChQZoM; "Kto zaplatil Leninu? (Who paid Lenin?") https://youtu.be/YFM9SbV2qtk (accessed on 20–9–2015).
2. G.R. Molen & C. Wilson (producers), S. Spielberg (director) (1997), *The Lost World: Jurassic Park*. Amblin Entertainment.
3. See *Proto Thema*, 4 August 2013 www.frontpages.gr/d/20130804/15/%CE%A0%CF%81%CF%8E%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%98%CE%AD%CE%BC%CE%B1 (accessed on 29–11–2015).

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PART II

The Appeal of the Nation in History Education of Postcolonial Societies

CHAPTER 12

Teaching National History to Young People Today

Jocelyn Létourneau

Nations appear to be struggling to unify their collective bodies. This is nothing particularly new. In fact, we could call it the perennial endeavor of national development. However, the current situation seems to be exacerbated by three cumulative factors: the rise of individual identities, the increase in international migrations and the growing globalism of the younger generation sped up by their extensive use of social media. All across the planet, and particularly in Europe and North America, political leaders are pondering how to neutralize certain supposedly destructive trends which, left unchecked, could undermine the homogeneity of the nation, its internal congruity and its continuity.

For many stakeholders, history—that is, the production of a cohesive narrative about the past, its dissemination among the population and its transfer to the youth—appears to be an excellent way to inoculate the nation against the germs of its potential disintegration. This point of view is not at all surprising. It has long been history's role to create unity, regularity and durability where there is naturally divergence, controversy and discontinuity. As Homi Bhabba (1990) so aptly suggests, every nation has its narration and indeed constructs itself partly through it. While the history may not always emerge simultaneously with the nation, it often helps consolidate it. History, like literature, the media and the arts, nourishes the general portrayal—the set of reference points (Dumont, 1996)—that people, often historians, produce of the nation to give it foundation, consistency, trajectory and destiny (Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2008; Berger & Lorenz, 2015). This is why, in the current climate, many imagine that history can help the nation get back on track and vanquish the apparent perils laying siege to it, especially in terms of cohesion.

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But which history are we talking about, and for which nation? Therein lies the question, and the answer is not unanimous. From London to Sydney by way of Washington, Paris and Ottawa, to name a few places in the Western world, debates of greater or lesser intensity are taking place that oppose people and groups with different ideas about the future of the nation and its narration (e.g., Berger & Lorenz, 2011; Borne, 2014; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Granatstein, 2007; Macintyre & Clark, 2003; Zimmerman, 2001).

On one side stand those who advocate an immemorial and ethnic vision of the nation. Their position is clear. The nation is rooted in time and space. It has a heart—whether it is an ethnicity, a founding culture or an initial grouping—around which other cultures may or may not orbit. The nation also has historical proof that cannot be contested without the risk of upsetting its substance and cohesiveness, which is what some people believe is happening right now. Finally, the nation is memory and duty. It is a reality that must be cherished, protected and strengthened, in particular by narrating it, narration being one of the crucial rivets of its identity and survival.

On the other side stand those who, without denying the existence or importance of the nation, view it as being in transformation rather than crisis. For them, the nation is neither immobile nor immemorial, but moving and always in the process of self-actualization. While it may have been born of a particular culture, the nation has been enriched by all those who, coming from other cultures, inhabit it now and want to build its future by mutual consent. In other words, although it may have (had) an ethnic basis, the nation has long existed as a civic, plural and political place. Finally, the nation does not have to be viewed from an angle of uncontestable reality, but as an object that can be examined and problematized. The nation is not a closed memory, but an open question, and the history we create of its trajectory across time is by definition modifiable and provisional, rather than fixed and definitive.

The Example of Québec

The case of Québec is interesting to analyze from the point of view of the opposition described between the partisans of national history, on one side, and the adepts of a less national or non-national history, on the other. (Note that in Canada, education is in principle a provincial rather than a federal jurisdiction.)

Although Québec's social fabric has always been composite, it includes a culture over 400 years old that, at the turn of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the presence of Aboriginal peoples, was by far the majority in its primary region—the St. Lawrence River valley. While Québec society has always been somewhat influenced by immigration, it has been welcoming a sizable flow of newcomers every year for the past four decades. Moreover, we can safely say that young Quebecers are open to the world and becoming increasingly internationalized, at least in terms of their representations. The living, evolving culture of Québec is subject to ceaseless inflows from elsewhere and

is constantly readjusting to absorb outside contributions. In short, Québec is changing. 'Québecness' is undergoing a sort of silent revolution in comparison to what it used to be (Létourneau, 2013).

For some people this regeneration is the leaven of progress. For others it is a source of apprehension. For example, the Québec government's decision, suggested by a committee of independent scholars and advisers in 1996 (Lacoursière, 1996), to reform the national history course taught in elementary and secondary schools caused some disquiet in the mid-2000s. What exactly would the reform, consist of?

Without going into detail (Létourneau, 2011), we could say that the government's intention was to expand and redefine the object Québec to include everyone who, since the colonial era and even prior to that time (e.g., First Nations people), had lived in the territory and, with divergent interests and different goals, contributed to the society that is still developing there today. In this way, the teaching of history would become a factor for social cohesion in the present, a priority objective for youth education in the minds of those decision-makers.

The government also wanted to add a layer of complexity to the concept the majority of Québec youth held about their society, by drawing them away from binary visions of Québec (French/English, Good/Bad, Us/Them, provincial/federal, Here/There) and opening them up to the complications, ambiguities and paradoxes of Québec's condition over time. The history course would provide the pretext for asking questions, rather than hand down materials to be mechanically swallowed whole. It would also be a means of developing competencies rather than a vector for inculcating unconditional truths.

Ultimately, the government's intention was to initiate adolescents into the history of Québec society with the dual perspective of helping them understand their sociopolitical environment in the present and offering them the bases and tools for citizen participation in the future. In this way, history would become a building agent for the community which, in the 2000s, was a goal sought by many stakeholders, in light of the supposed apathy of youth with regard to community affairs.

The nationalist reaction to this proposal was no surprise. For nationalists, the government's initiative could only weaken the nation, because it changed the traditional national narrative, on one hand, and made history a resource for moving into the future rather than an offering to honor the ancestors, on the other.

Beginning in the mid-2000s, therefore, nationalists denounced the new history course, claiming that it denationalized the collective journey and demoted Francophones in the development of their own nation. To further back up their argument, they added that the course was guilty of presentism in that it subordinated the study of the past to the political imperatives of today. Finally, they harped on the fact that the new history course—called *History and Citizenship Education* (HCE)—had less do to with the study of the past than the transmission of citizenship and critical competencies, which, to their

way of thinking, was tantamount to hijacking the goal of teaching history. For the nationalists, history should be a (national) culture and duty.

In the social debate on the teaching of history in Québec, the nationalists scored points, forcing the government to retreat. The HCE course was replaced by a history course (MELS, 2014) that is fairly traditional in its content, orientation and aims. The narrative presented to the youth reviews, in factual form, the grand political moments of the national journey. The horizon is entirely focused on Québec society seen in its distinctiveness and developmental specificities. Finally, the divisions selected to articulate the historical trajectory of Québec repeat the usual chronology of the nation. The new version of *Histoire du Québec-Canada* intends to shore up the historical consciousness of young Québecers and fan the flames of their patriotism in an era when, so it is said, historical references are ebbing away, with all the concomitant dangers for national cohesion.

Elsewhere in the World

The idea that the supposed loss of national feeling can be compensated by history does not hold sway only in Québec. It is alive and well in many places around the planet (VanSledright, 2008). The architecture of national curricula largely reflects the battles of ideas and ideology that arise within each country. While nationalists are the most likely to impose their will on the orientation of school programs, internationalist and non-nationalist perspectives also manage to break through. The programs are also influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the teaching objectives of history education theorists. Naturally, national curricula reflect the dynamics of similarity and difference among states. Let us look at a few examples, bearing in mind that history programs change constantly and that it is difficult to stay up to date on their content and orientation (Carrier, 2013; Fisher, 2013; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Taylor & Guyver, 2012).

In England, following a searing critique of existing programs claiming that the youth knew little about the history of the British Isles and that they therefore had no national frame of reference or sense of belonging, a reform was proposed in 2013 to reinforce British history at the expense of European and world history. Attacked for its prescriptive nature (the teachers were obliged to stick to a predetermined list of subjects) and for its tendency to focus on the nation's major events and great historical figures (Cannadine, Keating, & Sheldon, 2012; Gruyer, 2013), the initial reform was amended. While its current form is somewhat softer than the previous version, it nevertheless takes a chronological approach to the history of the British islands articulated in facts that are national first and international only second.

In Spain, the recent overhaul of the history curriculum seems to pursue the goal of reinforcing the national idea at the expense of citizenship education, which has basically disappeared. Almost exclusively focused on the history of the Spanish nation, the program largely ignores world history. In the opinion

of some of its critics (Molina & Gomez Carrasco, 2014), the new program hands students an old-fashioned narrative which they literally have to learn by heart and which, founded on the implicit idea that history is an exact recounting of what happened in the past, leaves little room for interpretation.

In France, the introduction of new history programs in the colleges—programs that focus on questioning the national narrative, apparently—led to an over-reaction from certain groups who, in their recriminations, evoked the well-known themes such as 'loss of collective reference points,' 'national history infiltrated and assassinated by the science of education,' 'national identity in danger,' 'the Republic going to the dogs' (see aggiornamento.hypotheses.org/). For the moment, it seems as if the minister responsible for the teaching of history wants to go ahead with the plan of opening up the realm of the French nation, expanding the repertory of usual historical themes and aligning the objectives of acquiring competencies and transferring knowledge. It remains to be seen whether she can succeed in reorienting the nation's canonical narrative, despite the renowned historians lined up against her.

In the United States, where things are often more intense, the conservatives' reaction to the introduction of a new history program for advanced students—the nation's future academic elite—generated an outpouring of criticism, with the program in question being deemed 'abusively liberal and anti-American.' In the opinion of the Republican National Committee, for example, the Advanced Placement United States History course presents a revisionist view of the past and emphasizes the negative aspects of the history of the United States rather than vaunting the positive aspects of the country's trajectory. To prevent the youth from imbibing 'revisionist visions,' some states, such as Oklahoma, enacted laws obliging teachers to give a different history course, one in which the nation's founding documents and central players reclaim their cardinal role. Of course, it is important to examine how, in the concrete environment of the classroom, the teachers are influenced by these debates, which take place well above their heads. It may be that the conclusion Keith Barton and Linda Levstik arrived at in Barton & Levstik, 2004—to wit, that American history is generally presented in class through the usual tropes of progress and exceptionalism ('America's imperfect but best')—is still entirely valid.

The case of Australia is interesting. Although around the mid-2000s the curriculum underwent a sort of *coup d'état* by the reigning government, which wanted to somehow renationalize Australian history to nurture the patriotism of the youth, the defeat of the Howard administration in the 2007 elections opened the way to a program that closely connects Australian history with world history. Special emphasis is placed on the students' acquisition of intellectual skills related to the historic method—and therefore the scientific method. Finally, the program is structured to elicit the interest of the youth and fulfill their need for knowledge and competencies that allow them to function in a world that is both rooted and open, that is, in a world that is *glocalized* (see www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/humanities-and-social-sciences/history/history-across-foundation-to-year-12/).

Fundamental Questions

Like any debate, the debate on teaching national history—in Québec or elsewhere—is not immune to exaggeration. Proponents on both sides present themselves in the best possible light and completely undermine the position of their 'adversaries.' Behind these controversies, however, there lies a series of fundamental questions for which neither side has thus far found a satisfying response.

These fundamental questions are dilemmas that are difficult to resolve. For example, while we may agree that history should not be used to churn out little nationalists, we cannot imagine teaching history without any national considerations. Likewise, while it is essential to transmit intellectual skills and cognitive sensitivities to young people through the teaching of history, we cannot avoid passing along referential facts and enduring reference points. Finally, while history courses must strive toward the ideal of rendering the past as it was, without omitting anything that contributed to that having-been, in keeping with the famous phrase *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, we must still make sense of that past and allow the youth, as the heirs of ancient worlds inhabiting the contemporary world, to move into the future. But achieving this aim may rely on a delicate tension between acknowledging what happened and distancing what was.

In light of these conundrums, what kind of history education should be offered to young people in this era of nations in transformation and seeking consolidation? (Carretero, 2011; Carretero, Asensio, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2012) We put forward a sensible proposal that is the driving force of this article: history education must be rooted in a principle of scientific rigor, of course, but also social relevance. It must restore the irreducible complexities of the past, naturally, but also offer the youth a sense of history, so they are not lost in the puzzlement of time. Finally, while history education must be anchored in critical concerns, it must also pursue the aims of social cohesion.

Having arrived at this proposal, however, the real problems begin. How can we define what we are calling rigor and relevance, complexity and sense, critique and cohesion? Where can we establish balance (or maintain the tension) among these six simultaneously complementary and opposed parameters of the pedagogical act?

Of course, we can make it easy for ourselves by refusing to take on the difficulties inherent in the practice of teaching. In so doing, we would be taking refuge in the artificial paradise of educational romanticism. We cannot play the ostrich: the cliff edge is the inevitable venue for the historian's practice (Chartier, 1996; Gaddis, 2002). Teaching history (much like writing it) means treading the thin red line that separates the scientific from the political, truth from responsibility, the confusion of reality from the desire to make sense of the world, the past from the future, the finiteness of life from the hope of its continuation. Doing history, as a teacher or writer, is a hazardous—even dangerous—trade. It is also the small or grand theater of ongoing angst related

to the universal question from which neither single individuals nor national communities can escape: what shall we do with what made us in order to pass into the future?

History and Living Together in Contemporary Nations

Let us agree on one point: the substance of the past—that is, all the facts that make up the *having-been*—has veto rights on the form of history that is made out of the *was*. We cannot pummel the past into a shape that suits the present. The past is a complex reality, however, and it can withstand many possible and valid shapings. In this situation, then, what shape shall we give to the substance of the past (Graham, 1997)? More concretely, what story of the past shall we offer that allows today's people, in all their ethnic and sociological diversity within a single nation—a fairly common community grouping, as we know—to imagine themselves in relation to a particular historical experience and, on that basis, to find a way to live together in the present?

Rigor and Relevance

Connected as it is to the higher goal of social (or national) cohesion and citizenship education, the teaching of history does not have the same premise and goals as scholarly history. While the teachers' mandate in history class is partly to pass on truthful, factual knowledge, they also have to teach the students responsible and constructive citizenship. In contemporary democracies, adolescents are expected to be simultaneously critical and empathetic, reflective and creative, representative and supportive of the social and national becoming. Within the dual valence of the aims of public education—to teach youth the true and the good—resides the teacher's principal dilemma: how to say what is true from the point of view of science and the past in a way that is also good for society (or the nation) and the future?

This is the delicate heart of the matter. Determining what is good for society or the nation and what is good for the future is by no means self-evident. Doing and teaching history does not consist of setting the historical conditions so that a hoped-for society or desired future comes to be. That would be instrumentalizing the past for specific ends, as well as prescribing the future. Saying what is good for society and for the future means saying what allows society to think of itself as a changing reality that leaves the future open. To people today, it is undoubtedly true and good to remember that the past does not carry inescapable destiny within it and that the present cannot be conjugated in the unequivocal past tense. As such, nothing—neither past nor present nor future—is closed. Everything is open to interrogation. This may indeed be the sole lesson that the study of the past can teach contemporary people: that everything changes all the time, more or less rapidly and quietly. Change is, in fact, the only constant in the human condition, if not the material world. In this regard, the idea of change is

interesting, as it refers to both the true and the good: to the true in that the past was effectively a place of change; to the good in that the present and the future are still effectively places of hope—that is, places open to further changes, depending on the direction that human actions imprint on the world's becoming.

In this situation, it could be beneficial to write the history of the nations in the key of the fundamental concept of change, which is so closely bound up with complexity. (Re)making the history of the nation from the angle of its continual changes, updates, crossings and branchings rather than from the angle of the apparently unshakeable continuity of its history—or at least its historicity—might lead young people to (re)discover the nation as a teeming and multipartite locus of construction, an undefined place subject to transformation in its developments, a place that is still under construction and therefore open to the plans and projects of its players in the present. In this (re) presentation of the nation, young people, no matter what their cultural background and future prospects, would be able to find material to know and reason to hope, since the experiential space of the nation would open up and its horizon of expectation become undefined. This next passage—the final lines of a little overview of the history of Québec that we produced (Létourneau, 2004: 108–109)—illustrates this point well:

> Despite all conclusions
>
> Until now, Québec has been a question that no answer has managed to resolve, an enigma that no Oedipus has solved with a clear-cut argument. What some people call the "mystery of Québec" may stem from the fact that the Québécois community, which resists recruitment to a single identity- or politics-based place, is never where we purport to find it, but always where we are not looking, as if it spills out from any unequivocal conceptual envelope, as if it is allergic to any over-tight interpretive girdle, as if it flees any too-confident theoretical model.
>
> Faced with the puzzle of Québec, it appears appropriate to react with humility and admit what seems inadmissible to interpretive reason: that in assuming the irreducible complexity of Québec and accepting the universal singularity of its historical path, we can find the most accurate perspective on what the Québécois condition has been over time.

Rendering Complexity and Making Sense

But if the history of the nation were made from the angle of its continual alterations, persistent avatars and constant deviations from its putative destiny—if the history of the nation were presented in the light of an opening up of its 'substance' both upstream and downstream—what lasting national structure could the youth cling to? In other words, how can we offer young people some sense of historical continuity of the place where they are living out part of their destiny if we teach them that this place has no fixedness, no regularity, no continuity—and therefore no immanent direction or overall sense?

This is the second challenge for historical education: the challenge of offering young people a view of the nation's past that is simultaneously discontinuous and ongoing, porous and referential, complex and meaningful.

Let us begin from two premises. In general, humans want to understand the world they live in (Ford, 2007); they also want answers to their questions. With the exception of a few eccentrics, people—young people included—dislike being confined in interrogative territory and ambiguous meaning. Furthermore, as complexity is an arduous reality for individuals to sustain or negotiate, in order to move forward and find our existential balance, we tend to arm ourselves with conceptions that are low on subtlety and high on clarity. In this circumstance, it is not at all easy to tempt people away from the simplistic universe and toward the complex. Just within the realm of teaching history to young people, it seems that training them to engage in complex, plural and non-narrative thought—one of the goals of history teaching these days—leaves them but few, paradoxically, in a situation where their dependence on the simple visions and accredited memorial discourse is reinforced rather than mitigated. The classic question the student asks is, 'But Sir, what's the right answer? Of everything you said, which is the best interpretation, explanation?' It appears that, for most teenagers, where method arrives and narrative takes its leave, ideology sets in and memory becomes established, due to the lack of certitude that gnaws at them on one side, and the need for (self)-reliance that assails them, on the other.

How can we initiate young people into the past in all its complexity—a past that it is difficult if not impossible to agree on—while at the same time allowing them to understand something of what was? It may be that shaking up what they know (because teenagers do have an inventory of historical knowledge, albeit elementary) without leaving them to wallow in directionless angst (because they need reference points) is a path worth exploring (Létourneau, 2014).

Concretely, it would mean, in an initial pedagogical stage, leaving behind the students' historical visions and facts in order to prize or frankly smash open the initializing matrices of their knowledge about the national past, in order to boost them to a level of greater interpretive complexity. Getting young people out of a thinkable history of the nation, if that thinkable history is unsatisfying—and it generally is!—would be the first step in our reinvented history education process. Then, in a way that would avoid leaving the teens in a historical nowhere with a lack of reference points, we would return to the narrative (Lévesque, 2014)—a proven integration structure for disorderly things (Bruner, 2002)—by trying to crack open that narrative as far as possible to multiple points of view and focus, comparative perspectives, ample contextualization of historical situations, empathy for the people of that era and recognition of the progressive nature of reality. That is, lead them to consider the change, variability, diversity and conflict that make up the national condition. These are the fundamental principles and objectives of history education and

critical thinking (Lévesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2012; Wineburg, 2001), which is the goal educational experts are after, because the ambition to lead young people to these educational accomplishments is a laudable claim.

Over all, reconciling the complex and the meaningful for the purpose of helping the youth understand the national past would be a two-step process:

- first, a methodical examination of acquired knowledge (deconstruction of national visions held by the youth, which are often closed and categorical and enshrined in established mythistory);
- then, a methodical development of alternative knowledge (reconstruction of compound and open representations of the collective past).

We can agree that the goal of such a process would not be, as the nationalists claim, to deconstruct the nation in order to make the youth 'stateless.' It would be, rather, to attest to the nation in its multiplicity, plasticity and variability, if not fragility, to open it back up as a construction project and examine it, rather than confirm it as an ideal to venerate and an object to protect.

We do indeed have to avoid taking people out of the nation only to thrust them into a vague nowhere. It may be a truism, but spatial and temporal 'nowheres' are unsuitable for most people, who prefer to relate to, without being embedded into, structures that offer them refuge or a springboard, or in any case a platform of recognition, reciprocity and reconciliation with significant Others. We have to admit that even in the context of internationalization or globalization, young people see themselves in the nation. For most teenagers, the nation is a point of departure from which they will forge out into the world and integrate the elsewhere into the here without necessarily wanting to commit identity hara-kiri in the process (Létourneau, 1998). So how can we critique (or deconstruct) the nation without ruining the place—the home, the abode, the collective dwelling—that it is and represents for so many young people?

In practice, the idea is not to undo the nation—the historian is not the gravedigger of the community—but rather to free the nation from the mythistorical envelopes that the Powers-that-be have squeezed it into to make it comply 'the right way'—that is, in their way and in their best interests. Sowing a doubt in young people's heads about the architecture of the nation by remolding its foundations and reconfiguring its walls is the path to follow to remodel it from the inside without tearing it down, thereby avoiding throwing the youth into wandering exile.

The next passage, so applicable to Québec, expresses our idea of restructuring the nation without crumbling it, the fine line of the rigorous and responsible interpretive act:

> There are several ways to account for Québec's trajectory from yesterday to today. The narrative that we propose describes a collective journey influenced by endogenous and exogenous factors, inspired by complementary and contradic-

> tory utopias, borne along by the world's complexity and its own. Rather than advocating an interpretive line in which everything advances toward the best or the worst, we have chosen to shed light on the intermingled, ambivalent, dissonant, divergent, singular and universal processes by which Québec society and the Québec community were formed and then developed over time, in a kind of enviable vagueness that means that, yesterday and today, the future of Québec has been and remains open to the multivocal plans of its inhabitants.
>
> Our narrative is not organized by following a nationalist vision of the destiny of societies. The perspective we advocate is one, rather, of a society that, although imbued with the ambition of nationhood and an impulse for sovereignty, has been building itself thus far in the open and ambiguous places of the Canadian adventure that it originated and continues to profoundly influence. Constructing its identity in a difficult and changing environment, orienting its *becoming* based on contiguous and opposite poles crafted, jointly, by Indigenousness, Europeanness, Americanness and Canadianness, the Québec community grew by taking advantage of openings that history created in front of it and by creating for itself, through the political actions of its members, passageways in that history.
>
> As an expression of the original historical journey of a community, Québecness developed at the crossroads of the incompressible tensions between the call to refound and the desire to continue, and between the attraction of otherness and the replenishment found in identity. Those who wish to seize the experience of the world should not be frightened by the paradoxical realities that have always been the living substance of this society. (Létourneau, 2004: 6)

Critique of the Nation and National Cohesion

It is a dangerous game to write history with the objectives of national cohesion in mind. Is not one of the primary functions of history as an academic discipline to inculcate in youth, and in people in general, the idea of giving themselves some critical distance in relation to any established order that claims to be true, natural or incontrovertible, as is so often the case with nations? It is said that historians, including history teachers, of course, must arm themselves against any type of idea-based, organizational or institutional alienation likely to divert their methodical process of reconstituting and understanding what was. If this is the case, how can we convince history teachers to pursue the aims of national cohesion in their teaching, even in a minimalist rather than maximalist way?

National cohesion, here, means what is related to *succession* within a national ensemble rather than what is related to the *reproduction* of a national situation. Succession and reproduction are obviously of entirely different orders. Establishing the possibility of succession for the nation harkens back to the conditions that allow people to live together in a progressive and open framework—ideally peaceful and deliberative. Establishing the conditions for the reproduction of a national situation is part of consolidating a nation state with a view to its perpetuation. In this regard, our position is clear: while history teachers must be reserved on the topic of reproducing a nation state, which is the jurisdiction of perpetuation, they cannot, in their (re)presentation of the

past, avoid concern for living together, which is related to succession. Teachers who are concerned about national cohesion are not trying to answer the question 'How can we ensure that what is will endure?' but rather 'What shall we make with what made us?' Clearly, this second question does not involve the conditions for perpetuating *sameness* but asks about the possibility of *passage*: how can we pass into the future? The teacher, who is not the captain of society, does not define the passage but only holds it open.

Fundamentally, adopting the idea of social or national cohesion in the practice of history means leading society to reflect on continuity from the perspective of change. Reexamining the historicity of a society while bearing its present in mind is the mandate of the history teacher who is trying to combine critical method and national preoccupation.

Let us take Québec again to illustrate our perspective. As we said earlier, this society has embarked on a possibly meaningful transformation of its collective reference framework, or perhaps even its basic morphologies. This is not extraordinary: it has already happened in the past. In this situation, the role of the teacher is not to condemn the transformational process underway on the pretext that it might lead Québec society or the Québec nation to toward some sort of chaos. After all, who can foresee the future of a society or judge its trajectory? The role of the history teacher is to remind people that change is the very heart of the Québécois experience. The history teacher's role is also to explain that this change, carrying its share of metamorphoses and junctions and uncertainties, has generally resulted in political processes of adjustment, accommodation and development where dialogue and discussion have usually carried the day over violence and fury. Of course, this is not to suggest that Québec history has been free of conflict, excesses or rage. The way Aboriginal peoples, in particular, have been treated on different occasions shows the opposite. But it is important to point out, for the purpose of inspiring our contemporaries in their search for passageways forward that are aligned with historical continuity and with a certain political culture, that Québec's passageway—thus far, at least—has been marked, *generally*, by the primacy of politics over any other method of settling disputes. It is important to emphasize this constant of Québec's historical condition. It offers today's people a platform—politics, or the art of finding and inventing mutually acceptable arrangements, with all the benefits, limitations and episodic frustrations of this process—from which they can build the future.

Let us agree, however: Québec's historical experience poses no great difficulty to the interpreter who is seeking material, in this society's past, to inspire today's Quebecers to build the Québec of tomorrow. It is not so simple for societies bearing the weight of tragic historical experiences. What can be done in these cases? How can we portray the past of a society with a broken and heart-rending trajectory without blocking its present and mortgaging its future? There is no universally valid answer to this question. Each societal or national situation calls for a unique narration founded on both nuance and hope, that is, on both rigor and relevance.

Now, it may well be that the past, in its substance, holds narrative solutions that can untangle or pass through a society's impasses. Indeed, the complexity of the past offers the interpreter some freedom in terms of the narratives that can be constructed and, by extension, a reflective space to exercise responsible reason.

This is our perspective: the teaming life of the past is full of factual resources for the future. It contains and sustains the possibility of narrative threads and historic forms capable of opening passageways to something else, even when the historical situations to be described are rigid, dramatic or absurd. In the mist of the past and the density of its swamps, there are types of experience and areas of action that bear change and therefore hope (Létourneau, 2012). Even then we need the means to see them and incorporate their dynamics into our interpretation, without subordinating the overall portrait of a situation to any of the individual images that comprise it.

We must not create a rosy or tender history of the genocides that have punctuated human development, but at the same time that the worst atrocities were unfolding, there were acts of humanity, if only in the testimony of the living (faces) and the dead (traces), that constituted passageways *for the future* and missions conducive to regeneration. As Holderlin famously said, 'Where the danger is also grows the saving power.' In other words, within the tragic there remain pockets of humanism that resist the invasion of destructive powers. These pockets also have to be discovered and described, so goodness is not left aside and people are not haunted by an unreflected past. Of course, revealing these pockets of humanism does not mean denying the mire they are buried in. Reporting the presence of a flower in the midst of the asphalt and including it in the description of the scenery changes nothing in the general impression of the landscape described: the tarmac rules supreme. But the flower peeking out of that morose scene raises an important, almost seditious reality behind the noxious power of the image: tar is porous. Even mentioning this porousness, which represents the many-sidedness of the world, the imperfection and incompleteness of everything that exists, raises the possibility of a history of passage that welcomes hope and the future in its wake. The narrative of history cannot be considered to be an end in itself. It must be viewed as a passageway.

Conclusion

Let us begin with two premises:

(1) History education is a process that beckons the students to interrogate the past. This process begins with facts and, by way of curious, methodical and non-anachronistic questioning, leads to an understanding of what was.

(2) Nations exist in many forms; they each have their genesis; they belong to history and their future is the object and subject of human action; nations are still, today, important reference points for the vast majority of people, who are more inclined to see themselves reflected in them than to reject them.

On this basis, we could say that it is undoubtedly preferable, if we want to measure our historical practice in terms of the true and the good, to continue doing the history of nations because they have a past (that is not lost in the depths of time) and because they have a present that is still in the process of becoming. Of course, no one can know what direction the future of nations will take. Each nation will follow a route that is not contained in its lived past and not limited to its anticipated destiny. Nations have no normative backward or forward course. That is why the best option open to the history teacher is probably to do the history of the nation as if it were an open project that is not driven by any prescriptive teleology and that does not obey any universal routine. The nation is not a lasting given, but a time-sensitive response. Despite centuries of existence, the nation cannot lay claim to permanence. It is, instead, a work-in-progress that never stops (re)configuring itself based on human actions, their interpretations of it, the dreams they invest in it, the hopes they endow it with and the conflicts that distress them on its behalf.

Presenting the nation as an open rather than a closed place, as a reality that can be questioned rather than proof that must be preserved, and as a composite rather than unambiguous historical shape may be a promising path for teaching the transforming nation to an audience—youth—to whom it is essential, by initiating them to the true and the good and giving them a foothold on the world so they, in turn, can build it in their own way.

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CHAPTER 13

Echoing National Narratives in English History Textbooks

Tina Van der Vlies

The famous poem 'Drake's Drum', written by the English poet, novelist and historian Henry John Newbolt (1862–1938), entered several UK history textbooks. The poem describes the legend of Drake's drum, which proclaims that an echoing drumbeat can be heard when England is in peril. People heard a drum on the night before the battle of Trafalgar against Napoleon in 1805 but also at the start of World War I in 1918 and in 1940 at the Dunkirk Evacuation during World War II. The beat is said to come from a snare drum, which Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) used to beat his men to action while he was circumnavigating the world. His drum has become an icon of English folklore and can still be seen at Buckland Abbey in Devon where the English sea captain lived for 15 years. Making England rich and mighty, Drake became a legendary sea hero. Moreover, he protected his country against enemies, as at the famous defeat of the invincible Spanish Armada in 1588. Hence, the legend has it that Drake returns to save England once again when his drum is beaten or, in a recent version, that the drum beats itself at times of national crisis. The legend is still part of England's historical culture. For example, one of the last shots of the BBC documentary 'Drake's Last Voyage', screened in 1996 to recall the 400th anniversary of Drake's death, shows Drake's drum while Newbolt's poem is recited.[1] Moreover, the BBC documentary 'Seven Ages of Britain, Episode 3: Age of Power', which was screened in 2010, starts with Drake's drum and the legend.[2]

This chapter scrutinizes diverse forms of echoing in history textbooks. In her research on the role of fiction as a mediator in national remembrance, Ann Rigney argues that circulating stories across different media and across different forms of remembrance can 'reinforce, echo and modify each other' (Rigney, 2008b: 80). Texts and their meanings are intertextual. In the field of textbook research, national narratives have often been examined in rela-

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tion to academic historiography, which has been regarded as the benchmark or standard of 'good' history (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010). However, these studies often define what is absent and neglect to reflect on the dynamics within history textbooks (Höhne, 2003; Van der Vlies, 2014).

By analyzing the dynamics of 'echoing' in history textbooks, this chapter aims to contribute to the debate of persistence and change in textbooks from a different angle. Explanations of continuity and discontinuity in history textbooks are often located in instrumental factors, such as active interventions of the state (Podeh, 2000). The examination of literary products, such as quotes or references to poems and songs, in non-prescribed textbooks can throw light on other factors of persistence: literature has a strong appeal and offers great possibilities for imagining the past and for applying a coherent plot structure to it (Rigney, 2008b). In this sense, poems or stories might prevail over academic history in narrating the nation because of its evocative form and clear content.

Next to examining the ways how history textbooks and literary genres echo each other, this chapter also examines forms of echoing within the genre of history textbooks and examines how and why textbook narratives about different topics, events or periods 'resonate' each other. Northrop Frye used the word 'resonance'—a reverberating sound—for echoing memories or images and stressed the potential of their metaphorical use, moving away from the specific original in a particular context, bridging temporal distance and receiving universal significance (Frye, 1981). This chapter pays special attention to forms of echoing in the constitution of national narratives in history textbooks as a greater understanding of the 'mechanisms' of these narratives and the 'circumstances of their perpetual construction and reconstruction' can be a step forward in 'defusing their explosive potential' (Berger, 2007: 66). To illustrate these arguments, I will refer to examples from English history textbooks for students between the ages of 11–14, published in the period 1925–1965.

After a brief overview of textbook research, including developments as well as some problems in this field, the chapter examines how history textbooks and literary genres echo each other, and how fictional products, such as poems, can reinforce textbook narrations due to their form and evocative, sticking power. Furthermore, I will analyze how and why textbook narratives about different topics or events echo each other and how one national narrative can be constituted in several specific narratives. Finally, some concluding remarks will be made on history textbooks as mediators and adapters of discourses.

Textbook Research and National Narratives

Since the nineteenth century, the nation-state has been a very influential sociocultural framework in the Western world, providing large communities with memory, meaning and identity (Anderson, 1991; Berger & Lorenz, 2008; Grever, 2009). Next to historical legends and fiction, historical scholarship and school history have been major producers of national narratives and have contributed to the process of nation-building. In the mid-nineteenth century,

history education became compulsory in many Western countries and has traditionally been seen as an instrument of the state to fortify national identity and ideas about nationhood (Foster, 2011). It can be argued that major social and political transformations as a rule leave their mark on the contents and perspectives of school history. History is written by the victors, as are history textbooks since they often reflect the perspectives and interests of the most powerful groups in society who maintain their social power and control through history textbooks (Anyon, 2011). Textbooks 'justify behaviors and actions that are designed to have specific social consequences' and can function as powerful political and cultural instruments in terms of socialization and identity construction (Crawford & Foster, 2007: 9).

After the Great War, the League of Nations promoted textbook revision in order to prevent new violent conflicts, militarism and extreme nationalism from arising. Some regarded history education as one of the causes of the war (Marsden, 2000): children were thought to have been poisoned by the nationalism promoted in history textbooks, willing people to die and fight for their homeland. Comparative international textbook revision became an important activity in order to overcome 'narrow national and nationalistic approaches to historical interpretations and geopolitical visions of the world' (Pingel, 2008: 182).

After the Second World War, this type of research was continued by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, focusing on the way nations presented their own and other peoples' past. This type of research aimed to establish a more objective depiction of the past, better appreciation and more common historical understanding, aiming to decrease conflicts with former enemies or neighbors (Foster, 2011). The Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, founded in 1951, has internationally been a main contributor to peace education. Next to this 'conciliatory tradition', focusing on cooperation, the 'critical tradition' has aimed to provide a critical analysis of contents, perspectives and discourses in order to raise questions about the relations between power, ideology and historical knowledge (Foster, 2011). This tradition has also questioned the status of history textbooks.

History textbooks have special prestige because they are supposed to contain knowledge that everyone ought to have and the learner or reader has a subordinate epistemological status (Issit, 2004). Knowledge that has been omitted, consequently, seems to be less important or even irrelevant because it is not part of *the* knowledge, the constituting elements of the history canon. Due to this textbook status, history textbooks can be described as a 'key mechanism for the production and reproduction of ideas' (Issit, 2004: 688). The special status of history textbooks is reinforced by separating the speaker and the speech: words and sentences are presented as objective, impersonal and above criticism, turning history textbooks into a 'transcendental source' (Olson, 1980). Students often acknowledge their textbook as a trustworthy authority (Wineburg, 2001) and this status is strengthened by the archival function of textbooks of preserving 'true' and 'valid' knowledge (Olson, 1980).

In earlier times, ritualized speech also had this function and this notion of 'ritualized speech' is even visible in the origin of 'modern' history textbooks, inspired by religious instructional texts and the Catechism with clearly defined questions and answers. At the same time, the status of history textbooks can be overestimated. Although cultural transmission has an important place in educational contexts, it is not a one-way activity due to complex interaction processes (Dekker, 2001). Besides rejection, Wertsch distinguishes two ways of internationalization: the ability to recall the past, mastering the subject by reason, and the ability to identify with a particular version of the past as a form of appropriation (Wertsch, 1997).

Next to developments and new interests, the field of textbook research has also faced some problems. Textbooks are often measured and analyzed in relation to a 'correct' or 'balanced' text, such as 'academic historiography' (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010). However, the 'objectivity' and origin of the other text is often taken for granted, and assumptions about what education ought to be have frequently led to an analysis of what it has failed to be (Verschaffel & Wils, 2012). Tracing inaccuracies in history narrations fits the original criteria of textbook revision aimed at improving textbooks, but it does not give us any insight into structures within and amongst textbooks. Therefore, textbook researchers have addressed new questions, for instance, about *'die Eigenlogik'*, form and structure of textbook narratives (Höhne, 2003). Traditional criteria of textbook analysis, such as truth and falsehood in relation to 'reality', are not very helpful: they do not reflect on specific textbook structures and on particular characteristics of this genre. Researchers' excessive focus on the power of the state, moreover, has not been helpful either because this has caused structures to be seen in one, dominant way—history textbooks as instruments of the state—and blurred our understanding of other explanations (Höhne, 2003; Verschaffel & Wils, 2012).

This chapter aims to contribute to a better understanding of textbook structures by analyzing the constitution of national narratives within this genre. Narratives have played a dominant role in school history, especially national narratives (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Carretero, 2011). Next to *instrumental factors*, such as interventions of the state in order to preserve or change a particular version of the past (Podeh, 2000), *cultural factors* play a major role in explaining continuity and change in textbooks: a particular version of the past remains the same because it is relevant, fits the canon and suits a 'cultural formation' (Olick & Robbins, 1998). The content of such a cultural canon may still be in line with state ideology, for example, but its persistence is not caused by direct interventions of the state in the production of history textbooks.

Historical narratives themselves can be very robust and influential (Wertsch, 2008a). Even if academic findings have added nuances or proved them wrong, textbook narratives can 'survive', just like the legend of Drake's drum, because of their form. If they are 'good stories' with clear plotlines, sound values, triumphant heroes and happy endings, this appears to outweigh their not being

fully 'correct' (Raphael, 2004). It appears, then, that narrative form can eclipse accuracy.

Furthermore, people tell stories all the time in order to construct meaning about themselves, the world that surrounds them and the past (Bruner, 2002). Bruner argues that 'we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative—stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing and so on' (Bruner, 1991: 4). Narratives can be defined, therefore, as mediational in the sense that they are meaning-making cultural artifacts through which we give sense to reality (Brescó, 2008; Brockmeier, 2002; Wertsch, 1997). Narratives interpret reality and create a reality: by narratively linking the past, the present and the future, stories can add significance to these three time dimensions (Rüsen, 1987). This temporal narrative composition creates continuity and establishes or supports a narrated identity (Rüsen, 1987), which is an 'attempt to obtain a narrative understanding of ourselves' (Ricoeur, 1991: 33). In their definition of a national narrative, therefore, several researchers stress that it recounts who 'we' are as a nation; it tells about a nation's origin, about characteristics of the national collective and about 'where they are heading' (Amin, 2014; Yadgar, 2002). Moreover, national narratives are group-defining stories and provide national pride and comfort in difficult times (Auerbach, 2010).

Next to content-related characteristics, researchers have tried to detect specific formal features of national narratives. National narratives can be highly patterned and be constituted according to the same structure (Feldman, 2001). This cultural pattern can be very dominant and remain the same, even if the details of the narration change. Moreover, this pattern or overarching structure can function as 'mental equipment for the interpretation of events' and can influence how individuals narrate their lives (Feldman, 2001: 129). Therefore, some researchers speak of a complex national narrative, which is 'constructed from a set of secondary narratives, myths, symbols, metaphors and images' (Yadgar, 2002: 58). The next section will elaborate on this issue in relation to the example given in the introduction: it places national narratives in history textbooks in a wider context of cultural memory and argues that this cultural formation can be an important factor in analyzing textbook structures and in explaining persistence in textbook narratives.

Evocative poems and their resonance in textbook narratives

National narratives, legends and myths that have been transmitted from generation to generation 'define a culture's mental programming'; they give us insight into important themes, heroes, values, and appreciated or ethical behavior (Kessler & Wong-MingJi, 2009: 148). National legends are commonly defined as stories that are based on historical facts with untrue elements, often related to the supernatural (Dégh, 2001). Nevertheless, despite their

unreal aspects, they can create a reality. Legends are recognizable and have the power to mobilize and to motivate people. For example, in 1942, during the Second World War, the legend of Drake's drum was referred to in a black and white advertisement for Brewster Bermuda and Buccaneers, aircraft types that were used for bombing. The advertisement was entitled 'Echo Of Drake's Drum' and showed a faded Sir Drake playing his drum. The forefront showed a fleet of seven planes, flying in V-formation, with the lines: 'Today the roar of aircraft engines answers the echo of Drake's drum as the forces of the United Nations gather their strength for attack. Flying fleets (…) are arming the Allies with smashing weapons to blast the enemy' (Brewster, 1942a: 78, 1942b: 12).

Legends have an encouraging power and play an important role in present-day societies, especially if these forms of historical representation are actively brought into circulation or are included in literary canons. The legend of 'Drake's Drum' became even more widespread by Henry Newbolt's poem, which was first printed in 1897 in *Admirals All, And Other Verses*. This volume contained twelve poems, six of which celebrated Britain's heroic naval past. It was an instant success, and he continued to write about naval themes and warfare, stressing the courage of sailors and soldiers. During the First World War, when the danger of invasion was a real threat, Newbolt was recruited by the Britain's War Propaganda Bureau to influence public opinion in favor of the war, and his poem *Drake's Drum* was reprinted. The poem functioned as Drake's drum itself, Newbolt later wrote in his memoirs, as it helped the nation in a time of crisis (Martin, 2012).

Newbolt's poems also entered the genre of history textbooks. For example, in a teacher's book of the history textbook series *The Grip-Fast History Books*, the author suggests that teachers should read *Drake's Drum* to children (Kerr, 1924). The author also recommends other poems to be read out loud or to be taught to them as a song. In another history textbook series, the author uses Newbolt's poem *Admirals All. A Song for Sea Kings* while narrating the defeat of the Armada (Williams, 1964). The well-known legend of Drake's reaction when he heard about the arrival of the Spanish Armada while playing a game of bowls in Plymouth is narrated from this poem's perspective. Drake is supposed to have replied that there was plenty of time to finish the game and beat the Spaniards too, a legend serving to stress his calm and confidence in victory. In the exercises, the author directs students' attention to poetry once again: 'A very famous poem has been written about the Armada. Find out who wrote it and then read it' (Williams, 1964: 202). There is a good chance that he referred to *The Armada* by Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859). Other English history textbooks also make references to this poem (Williams & Williams, 1948).

'History' and 'legends' or 'fiction' have often been presented as dichotomies between truth and falsehood, logic and absurdity and reason and emotion (Lorenz, 2008). These dichotomies turned out to be less absolute because historians also select, interpret and create: the past does not 'naturally' appear to us in story form, but historians create a coherent narrative (Lorenz, 2008;

White, 1987). Besides discussions about differences and similarities between academic and fictional representations of the past, the examples above also show us something else: the direct interaction between different genres of historical representations. History textbooks are 'mediators of discourses'; they are in line with current patterns of thought and reproduce them, adapted to an educational context (Heinze, 2010; Klerides, 2010; Lässig, 2009).

As we have seen in the examples above, well-known poems can play an important role in textbook narrations because history can be told from their perspective. It is important, therefore, not only to regard history textbooks as memory sites but also to pay attention to the 'cultural dynamics in which they function' (Rigney, 2008a: 345). Narratives play an important role in cultural memory as interpretative tools but also as mnemonic instruments (Rigney, 2008a). Literature can reinforce the textbook narrative: poems can shape history in a memorable way, and their sticking power can work as a stabilizing factor in cultural remembrance. Stories can stick due to their clear and simple form and coherent plot. This is how inauthentic or fictional representations of the past can have more 'sticking' power than nuanced and archived versions.

The textbook ideology of Britain's superiority, its military prowess and its heroes was backed up by literature, such as well-known poems, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. National poems have played an important role in creating national identities, and some even regard poetry as the chief medium in creating a national, cultural memory (Seeber, 2005). Newbolt's poems were patriotic, acclaimed Britain and called for action.

The most well-known poet who plays an important role in Britain's national culture is Shakespeare. The earlier mentioned BBC documentary 'Seven Ages of Britain, Episode 3: Age of Power' (2010) ends with the recitation of precisely these lines of Shakespeare that are also quoted in several history textbooks. For example, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors* quotes this part from Shakespeare's play *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second* (1595), when it finishes a chapter in which the author describes England as 'Busy, lively, thrilling with adventure, exceeding loyal to the Queen, ready to face Spaniards and perils of the sea' (Williams, 1964: 103):

> This happy breed of man, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea …
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Precisely this last sentence is also displayed at the title page of the textbook series *The Four Freedoms Histories or The People We Are*, supplemented with the sentence 'This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land' (Williams & Williams, 1947). In their introduction to the textbook, Williams and Williams refer to this quotation on the title page. They explain that, although many people believed Great Britain would be conquered quite easily in the Second World War, Churchill begged to differ and saw England as a nation that was not easily conquered. Then they refer to the title page and Shakespeare's vision

of 'the English three hundred and fifty years ago'. Here we see that the textbook narrative echoes a play by Shakespeare. Moreover, the authors argue that history will explain why these two great men have 'so much faith' and 'such affection' for their 'countrymen' (Williams & Williams, 1947: 9–10). Indirectly they argue that memories of heroic deeds and resistance in the past inspired these men and gave them hope for the future. Therefore, the next section analyzes how and why textbook narratives about different topics or events echo each other.

Schematic Narrative Templates in History Textbooks

The national pattern of narration in history textbooks is embedded in wider cultural dynamics, as I argued above. These patterns of narrating the nation can produce social structures, such as national identities with inclusion as well as exclusion principles, for example reinforced by the use of 'we' and 'them' in history writings. Social structures, in turn, can also produce cultural patterns, for example, by communicating important memories intergenerationally as in history textbooks (Olick, 2008). Wertsch examined the war memories of different Russian generations and found that their stories, although very different on the surface, shared an underlying pattern. Accepting the interpretative and mnemonic power of narrative, Wertsch elaborated on the narrative organization of collective memory. He used the concept *schematic narrative template* to argue that different *specific narratives* about specific events and persons, uniquely situated in space and time, can be organized around one and the same plot in which different historical problems, events and difficulties are organized (Wertsch, 2004). Wertsch refers to Propp, who analyzed Russian folk tales in order to disentangle several generalized functions of narratives, such as 'hero leaves home' and 'hero and villain join in direct combat', and argues that he focuses on the abstract, schematic and generalized function of the narrative. Schematic narrative templates are abstract, take 'the form of a generalized schema' and an 'underlying pattern' (Wertsch, 2008b: 123). However, narrative templates are not universal narrative archetypes but belong to a specific narrative tradition within a specific cultural setting (Wertsch, 2004.)

Collective memory contains a 'cultural tool kit that includes a few basic building blocks' instead of lists of specific narratives (Wertsch, 2004). Consequently, stories about the past are often narrated using these basic building blocks, which means that stories may vary in their detail but look like replicas as they draw on the same general storyline (Wertsch, 2008b). This general storyline could affect *how* history is narrated as well as *what* is selected or left out. The cultural factor of narrative templates, therefore, can also help to explain the persistence of certain textbook narratives: textbook narratives that are constituted according to the dominant template fit the canon and suit the cultural formation.

Although narrative templates can be discerned in different media and genres, the specific features of the genre of history textbooks—such as narrating history in a concise, understandable and appealing way—and the attempt to give a general overview may cause patterns of historical organization to prevail over details and may cause stories to be narrated in the same patterns in spite of new findings. There is 'the tendency to patch the new research into the old story even when the research in detail has altered the bearings of the whole subject' (Butterfield, 1931: 5; Grever, 2013: 44). This is also what Wertsch experienced in his study of how different generations in Russia narrated or remembered history: at first sight, the accounts of different generations appear to be very distinct, but upon closer inspection, they are very similar. Different stories are plotted according to the same storyline, and the same schematic narrative template is used (Wertsch, 2004).

The reuse of the same schematic narrative template could be invisible at first but the repeating pattern may also be clearly discernible and present on the surface. For example, after the traumatic events of the Second World War, several textbook authors tried to make sense of these events and tried to fit them in line with other historical events by creating continuity and direct cross-references to the past, such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, in order to come to terms with the present. In 1588, after years of tensions between Spain and England caused by piracy and complex religious and political matters, the situation exploded. A huge Spanish fleet set sail to England in order to stop the harm that was caused to Spanish interests and to overthrow Queen Elizabeth I and the Tudor establishment of Protestantism. Moreover, the Catholic Philips II aimed to put an end to English support to the rebels in the Spanish Netherlands. The Great Armada was led by Duke Medina Sidonia, a competent soldier and a great administrator but one without naval experience. In England, the Royal Navy numbered far fewer ships, but several experienced sea captains were gathered, such as Drake, Raleigh and Hawkins. The 'Invincible Armada' was defeated and England was saved from invasion.

For hundreds of years, the English celebrated the defeat of the Spanish Armada as a victory that was sent by God—divine assistance as 'God blew, and they were scattered'—in which the Protestant David or underdog triumphed over the Catholic Goliath, world power Spain. The year 1588 boosted national pride and it became a popular subject, also in historiography. People discussed for example about the leadership of Queen Elizabeth and the question whether it is correct to speak about a 'defeat' due to the fact that the storm caused most of the damage to the Armada. Furthermore, they debated about technical issues such as the advantages and disadvantages of different types of ships and guns, and the degree of credit fitting Francis Drake and other seamen. Next to these discussions about the interpretation of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the past, 1588 became an anchor in England's collective memory, functioning as a scheme for interpreting or making sense of new

events. For example, in the history textbook *The Four Freedoms Histories or the People We Are: a History for Boys and Girls. Volume 2*, the authors Williams and Williams wrote:

> Our country has been threatened with invasion several times since 1588, but until the German threat in 1940 the danger has never been as great as that from the Spanish Armada. (Williams & Williams, 1948: 115–116)

This comparison is also discernible in other parts of their series. In their fourth textbook, they wrote about the 1704 battle of Blenheim and started their chapter with the following remark:

> In 1945 our nation came victoriously through a life-and-death struggle with Germany. In Chapter VII we saw how the Spanish Armada was defeated and the attempt to conquer England was brought to naught. Two hundred and fifty years ago our country was faced with a similar danger. This chapter will tell how it was overcome. (Williams & Williams, 1948: 153–154)

The authors make flashbacks and flash-forwards in their narration and organization of history in which the defeat of the Spanish Armada functions as an important point of reference. The interpretation of 1588 resonates in the interpretation of other historical events and consequently, the defeat of the Spanish Armada receives a universal significance, moving away from a specific historical context, valued for its metaphorical potential (Van der Vlies, 2016). On the basis of the same schematic template, which can be formulated as 'danger of invasion and British military power to prevent this', the authors create continuity and make explicit cross-references between different time periods and historical events.

This template is also discernible in other textbook series, such as *A History of Britain*, first printed in 1937. The textbook authors Carter and Mears used the word 'pattern' themselves in their introduction to the second edition of 1948. They explained that the impact of the Second World War had jolted Britain into a new set of living conditions and that, looking back, one could see the 'pattern' more clearly (Carter & Mears, 1948). The first book of the series started with 'The Dawn of History', and the first section of this chapter was summarized in the margin with the words 'Invasions of Britain'.

> It is true that our coasts have often been attacked (…). But not since 1066 had any foreign host conquered the country. 'Spaniards and Dutchmen, and Frenchmen and such men' have all tried, and failed, to invade England. Philip of Spain with his army waiting in the Netherlands, Tromp and his Dutch fleet, Napoleon watching from the cliffs at Boulogne, the Germans with their submarine campaign—none of these have succeeded in breaking down the defences of the island. (Carter & Mears, 1948: 1)[3]

An important characteristic of national narratives is that they include and exclude, which is observable in the use of words such as ‘we’, ‘them’ or ‘our’, as in the quotation above. Next to inclusion and exclusion in personal pronouns as a form of expressing group identity and social structures, other ways of inclusion are noticeable in national narratives; they incorporate direct or indirect cross-references to other national narratives. The national narrative is told as a set of stories resonating each other, and specific events in particular contexts can receive a universal meaning as they echo through other stories. Therefore, next to analyzing national narratives at the level of inclusion and exclusion, it is useful to examine cross-references and interactions between and within national narratives in textbooks in order to detect possible schemata in the narration of history (Van der Vlies, 2016). These schemata could reveal what meaning is attached to the past, as well as to the present and the future. The narrative template ‘danger of invasion and British military power to prevent this’ stresses important characteristics of the nation in terms of values, themes and behavior and is discernible in other media and genres than textbooks as well. The legend of Drake’s Drum, for example, is based on the same template.

Narrative templates can also be derived from unique geographical features of the nation, such as ‘England as an Island Nation’. This template is also discernible in the above-mentioned series *The Grip-Fast History Textbooks*, for example, author Kerr described the advantages of the English explorers:

> To begin with they were the children of the Sea Kings (…) and knew and loved the sea. Then England had the great advantage of being an island, which helped her in two ways. In the first place the sea acted as a wall all round her to guard her from her enemies, and at the same time it was the wide highway leading from her many ports and harbours to every part of the world. (Kerr, 1927: 6–7)

This argument of the natural environment working in favor of England returns several times in the textbook narrative. The author uses the same argument, which she literally refers to as ‘the old reason’, to explain the outcomes of battles at different times. For example, when the English sailors conquered the Dutch in the seventeenth century, Kerr remarks that the English were not better sailors or superior fighters but that they had the great advantage of living on an island without fear of danger coming from behind. She also argues that England never had ‘more reason to be grateful for the sea walls which guard her than in the days of Napoleon’ (Kerr, 1927: 125). The textbook narrative is an integrated whole: the same arguments are used in different situations, times and places. Moreover, schematic narrative templates mediate and transform different events into one unified story. The sea has been important to England, of course; therefore, narrative templates are not a matter of ‘truth’ or ‘falsehood’ but a matter of recurring accents in interpretations that make up a resonating pattern.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter scrutinized diverse forms of echoing in history textbooks in order to contribute to the debate about persistence and change in textbook narratives from a different angle. The repetition and endurance of particular national narratives in textbooks is often explained by instrumental factors, such as state interventions and state control over textbook content and production. Although such factors are still important, this chapter aimed to shed some light on other factors that also influence specific textbook structures. History textbooks function and are produced in broader cultural dynamics, which help to explain the persistence of certain narratives. A certain version can persist as long as a narrative fits the cultural canon or suits the cultural formation. This chapter mainly focused on text production, but consumers of texts produce forms of echoing and narrative templates as well. For example, US students who were interviewed about their knowledge of American history were inclined to tell narratives of freedom and to omit parts that did not fit this overarching story (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

Stories across different media and forms of remembrance can echo and reinforce each other. Therefore, it is important to analyze history textbooks not only in relation to academic forms of historiography but also in relation to more popular or evocative forms of historical representation, such as poems, plays, songs or films. For example, textbook authors have quoted fictional poems and narrated history from their perspective. A fictional genre can reinforce textbooks' ideological content and form: poems shape history in a memorable way, and their sticking power has had a great influence on cultural remembrance. Cultural dynamics, therefore, need to be taken into account in explaining change or persistence in textbook narratives.

Next to inter-genre forms of echoing, specific textbook narratives can resonate each other. The same pattern of narration may underlie diverse narrations of various events in unique contexts. This resonance or underlying pattern is based on a schematic narrative template that organizes different historical problems, events and difficulties around one plot in a specific cultural setting. In this chapter, I have taken history textbooks to illustrate my argument, but diverse forms of echoing in national narratives in educational settings are not necessarily bound to printed texts. History textbooks may now refer to historical films or websites, for example, and interact with these 'new' genres. It is important, therefore, not to regard history textbooks as poor substitutes for academic historiography but as mediators and adapters of discourses: as a genre, specific and complex in itself, fitting into a larger cultural formation.

Notes

1. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ObmZ38ZINEk (accessed June 25, 2015).

2. See http://watchdocumentary.org/watch/seven-ages-of-britain-episode-03-age-of-power-video_157f8b2ad.html (accessed June 25, 2015).
3. This quotation shows another example of a literary genre that reinforces the textbook narrative (see Section II). Carter and Mears quote the song *The Yeomen of England* while writing 'Spaniards and Dutchmen, and Frenchmen and such men'. This song is written by the British songwriter Basil Hood (1864–1917) and is part of the comic operetta *Merrie England* (1902), a patriotic story about love and rivalries at the court of Queen Elizabeth I.

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CHAPTER 14

Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts of History Textbooks

Susanne Grindel

History education has been a powerful instrument in the formation of nation since the rise of the modern nation state at the end of the nineteenth century (Berger & Lorenz, 2010; Carretero, Asensio, & Rodríguez Moneo, 2012; Carrier, 2013). It plays a pivotal role in disseminating knowledge *about* and in securing a sense of belonging *to* a community. At the same time, history education is a contested field when it comes to the question of what kind of history should be taught in schools (Carretero, 2011; Davies, 2011; Grever & Stuurman, 2007). This is all the more the case for today's societies characterized by migration, which challenge the traditional notion of the nation state. The ongoing debates around history curricula in Europe and beyond bear witness to this observation. As much as history education secured the construction of the nation in the first place, it is to the same degree that it is called into question today. Globalization threatens to deconstruct it and, after the end of empires, has shattered imperial master narratives in the former colonial states, as well as in states with the experience of being on the receiving end of colonialism.

We might, then, perceive "educating the nation" (Noiriel, 2001), as a decidedly delicate endeavor viewed in the light of the various issues that the teaching of history and, as its principal media, history textbooks face: the academic input of new turns or approaches in historiography, the public impact of cultures of memory and the multicultural classrooms that actively shape students' and teachers' perception of the national self. Engaging with these issues, this chapter will cover colonial and postcolonial contexts of history textbooks with a specific focus on three aspects of the subject. That is on historiographical debates (I), on public uses of history (II) and on the dissemination of historical

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ideas in educational media (III). Furthermore it will draw on twentieth and twenty-first century history textbooks for secondary education from England, France, Belgium and Germany and on their dealings with modern European colonialism in Africa.

Historiographical Debates: Postcolonial Theory and New Imperial History

Colonial history is of key importance to the historiography of the European nation states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to its crucial importance to issues around collective identities and the justification of historical action. This is self-evident in the case of the former colonial empires, such as Britain and France, but it is no less true for nations who either engaged in the pursuit of colonies at a later point in history, such as Belgium and Italy, and for nations with a rather short-lived experience of colonial expansion, such as Germany. It is even true for those nation states which never colonized others: Swiss historiography has only recently pointed out the relevance of colonialism to the history of Switzerland (Minder, 2011; Purtschert, Lüthi, & Falk, 2012). Thus it is not surprising that colonial history has long been narrated from a decidedly national perspective. These narratives not only drew upon the grandeur that the overseas territories conferred upon the emerging European nation states, but also perpetuated colonialism itself as the paradigm of modernization that underlies both colonial expansion and the rise of the nation state.

European colonialism came to be regarded as a means to modernize seemingly backward societies and to balance out the modernization surplus of industrialized societies; in short, modernism was both the driving force and the product of colonial expansion. This view privileged a distinctively Western path into modernity, excluding non-European trajectories. It generated a narrative of colonialism that was pervasive on many levels, from academic historiography to history education and history politics, and, what is more, it survived the dismantling of the empires.

However, this theory of modernization has been called into question (Cooper, 2010; Langenohl, 2007). Multiple processes of global interaction have raised our awareness of interdependence and the need for a change in perspective (Conrad & Randeria, 2002; Cooper & Stoler, 2009). One of the most influential of these changes in perspective is the postcolonial approach. It originated from theoretical thinking developed not in academic history but in literary and cultural studies; postcolonial scholars—many of whom, such as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Arif Dirlik, were from "colonial" backgrounds themselves—considered the cultural framing of colonialism to be the key to colonial rule (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007; Zachariah, 2013). They addressed structures of thought, epistemologies of knowledge and categories of representation, thus uncovering

how deeply political and economic hegemony was rooted in the European projection of cultural dominance. In looking at the colonial powers' ways of thinking, structuring and representing their world, they tried to explain why Europe so successfully appeared as the active historical agent advancing civilization and modernization, and why this view persisted even after decolonization, with discourses, images and mental maps having proved more resistant to change than political, economic or legal relationships between colonial powers and colonized or once-colonized countries. Postcolonial thinking challenged Eurocentricity and called into question national historiographies not only in Europe but wherever historiography relied on binary modes of narration in terms of modernity versus tradition or Europe versus the Orient. Similarly, Japanese historiography in the early twentieth century perceived Korea and China as undeveloped, stagnant and inferior. They were regarded as Japan's orient while only Japan had the ability to modernize (see the chapter by Sun Joo Kang in this volume).

The New Imperial History took up that challenge in the 1980s. With his 1985 study *Propaganda and Empire* and over many years as editor of the series *Studies in Imperialism* John M. Mackenzie has strongly promoted the new turn in imperial history (Hall, 2000; Mackenzie, 1985; Mackenzie & Finaldi, 2011; Ward, 2001, 2013). It proposed a historiography of colonialism that acknowledged the multiple entanglements between colonial centers and former colonies and the complexities of the "colonial situation" itself.[1] This approach gave rise to a long-standing controversy around the role of metropolitan publics and whether they had any impact on the practice of colonial rule (Aldrich & Ward, 2010; Porter, 2011). Empirical studies turned toward the question of whether colonial culture at the European margins provided a framework or resonance for colonial action (Hall, 2000; Hall & Rose, 2006). Their findings illustrated the fact that the issue of colonialism is not to be equated with a dichotomy of winners and losers or that the empire was something that had happened overseas and was therefore external to the metropole. In taking on a perspective beyond the nation state these studies showed that colonial history did not emanate from a global center but was in many cases induced by the periphery and negotiated by the colonial situation itself (Burton, 2006) which is, however, not to ignore asymmetrical power relations and violence inherent in colonial rule. Accordingly, current work in imperial history takes into account the interactions and self-interests of colonizer and colonized as much as the transnational framework of European colonialism that existed at the time and that made colonial powers interact and connect especially overseas and despite national competition (Lindner, 2011; Lindner, Möhring, Stein, & Stroh, 2011; Stanard, 2009).

Thus, the imperial turn shed new light on modern colonial empires and it changed our understanding of the old empires such as Rome, China, the Ottoman or the Austrian-Hungarian empire. Against the backdrop of entangled histories perceiving metropoles and overseas colonies in a common ana-

lytical framework the land-bound empires appeared in many ways as similar constructions. They relied on colonial techniques in as far as they combined imperial control, with "contingent accommodation" (Burbank & Cooper, 2010: 12) and the management of difference. Also, the role of intermediaries in shaping empires and the repertoire of imperial domination became clearer (Darwin, 2010; Leonhard & von Hirschhausen, 2011; Nicolaïdis, Sèbe, & Maas, 2015; Singaravélou, 2013).

Public Uses of History: Collective Memory and Politics of Remembrance

The reverberations of the political changes of decolonization and of the theoretical concepts of postcolonial studies have shaped not only scholarly historiography but also the public uses of history. Remembering and forgetting or the uses a society makes of its history in order to construct a collective identity, to forge a tradition, to legitimize its sociopolitical institutions and to render its past tangible and visible with the help of memorials, buildings or symbols (Jordanova, 2012, 2013) can be termed as politics of remembrance. Memory studies have generated a broad range of—even conflicting—definitions of politics of remembrance and they acknowledge the significance of the past as potentially disruptive or homogenizing for contemporary societies. Where this interest in history has been taken too far it has been criticized as presentism, that is, as being solely targeted at present needs of reaffirming national identities and social cohesion (Hartog, 2015; Hartog & Revel, 2001; Wils & Verschaffel, 2012).

The memory of colonial empires in national histories tends to be particularly hotly disputed, calling into question as it does not only imperial master narratives but also the very notion of modernity. We might express somewhat greater surprise at the fact that colonial heritages are debated as passionately in some European nation states, as in the case of France, as they are reluctantly in others, as in Belgium. In the Netherlands, the Dutch involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade is hesitantly acknowledged (Savenije, Van Boxtel, & Grever, 2014; Van Stipriaan, Heilbron, Bijnaar, & Smeulders, 2007). Very recently, a study on war crimes by the Dutch army after 1945 in Indonesia has evoked a fierce debate about making excuses by the Dutch government. (Limpach, 2014; Oostindie, 2011). The recurring instruments of politics of remembrance such as memory laws, museums, curricula, days of commemoration or memorials illustrate the breadth of the debate which is no longer confined to former colonial states but which involves all European states since they all gained from imperial expansion.

This investigation into the public uses of colonial history will be tested against the hypothesis that the experience of colonialism, although it is still framed in national contexts, could eventually give rise to a European community of remembrance (Grindel, 2008; Leggewie, 2009; Sznaider, 2008).

It builds on the notion that dealing with difficult pasts has attained more importance with the multiplication of perspectives on shared memories after the collapse of the iron curtain and with the need to take a stance on Europe's heritage. It is in that sense that being European entails facing Europe's past not only as a national but as a common heritage.

More than 50 years after the Évian Accords were signed on 18 March 1962, putting an end to France's war of decolonization in Algeria, the colonial past remains a matter of fierce dispute among those who study it academically as historians, those who were involved—as servants of the colonizing state, settlers or colonial subjects—and those who translate it into public memory as politicians, teachers or curators (Coquio, 2008; Hüser, 2010). The memory law of 2005[2] brought this dispute to another climax in a chain of intense engagement in France with the country's colonial history. It commenced in the 1980s, when school curricula stopped treating the Algerian war as *le problème algerien*, continued to 1999, when parliament resolved to abandon previously used euphemisms for what happened in Algeria between 1954 and 1962 in favor of the term "war",[3] and to the trials which examined the role of former police prefect Maurice Papon in Algeria and Paris and the use of torture by the French military, and extended to the 2012 decision to observe March 19 as an annual shared day of commemoration for the victims of the Algerian war.

Originally, the 2005 law was aimed at French *rapatriés*, according public and financial recognition to veterans of the Algerian war. The law, which was essentially revolving around pensions, was being turned into a memory law by its article number four, which stipulated that schools "propagate the positive role of France in its overseas colonies".[4] The ensuing debate on France's colonial past and on memory laws in general led to the abrogation of the disputed article. The 2005 law is in more than one way characteristic of the public uses of history in France. First, it reveals the importance of history as a denominator of national identity. It further highlights the influential role of republican institutions in the process of national integration and in politics of memory, with both schools and parliament actively involved; however, the quest it represents for a homogenous national narrative and the attempts it makes to enshrine collective memory in law disregard the freedom of academic study and public debate. Finally, it illustrates the fact that colonial history, and especially the colonial experience in Algeria, still has an enormous impact on contemporary society (Aldrich, 2011; Bancel, 2009).

The situation in Belgium is different—not in the sense that colonialism no longer mattered after decolonization, but in the sense that it entered public debate much later than in France and that its impact is felt less acutely. This might be in part due to Belgium's constitutional history and its federal elements, which exert considerable disintegrative influence in line with linguistic and economic boundaries. Preoccupation in Belgium with matters of the distribution of political power between the capital and the country's regions may overshadow questions of how national history can be conceived of beyond a

heroic master narrative and consequently of how difficult chapters of it are to be remembered.

The Royal Africa Museum in Tervuren near Brussels has been a focal point of colonial memory since its opening in 1910 (Gewald, 2006; Vellut, 2005). Leopold II commissioned the lavish neoclassical building, set within an extensive park, to exhibit objects and specimens from the Congo on the occasion of the world exhibition of 1897. The museum was founded on the riches of the Congo and on the exploitation of human labor and the natural resources of rubber and ivory. It was built to display these riches in order to present Leopold as a benevolent monarch and to stage Belgium as a civilizing power. After 1960 with Congolese independence, the scene it thus set appeared inappropriate; yet it was not until the museum's centennial in 2010 that part of the exhibition was tentatively revised. By that time, the work of Adam Hochschild on forced labor in the Congo Free State, Ludo de Witte's book on the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Congo's first president after decolonization, and documentaries such as *White King, Red Rubber, Black Death* had sparked a debate on Belgium's colonial heritage (Bate, 2004; Hochschild, 2006; de Witte, 2001).

These debates have now reached history textbooks, and in so doing they have gradually changed the way colonial history is presented in schools. Some textbooks take a critical stance on Belgian colonial rule (Adams, Martens, & Vangansbeke, 2002; Bortolin & Georges, 2007; Deygere & van de Voorde, 2008; Van de Voorde, Hulstaert, Willems, & de Herman, 1985), concentrating particularly on its traumatic beginnings with the king's regime in his private colony (1885–1908) and its no less traumatic ending with the precipitated abandonment of the colonial power in 1960 and the chaos that ensued. Current historiography is aware of this split attention and is trying to take into account the continuum of 75 years of Belgian rule in the Congo (Van Reybrouk, 2012; Vanthemsche, 2012). However, public memory is still very much redolent with perceptions and monuments that foster a heroic national narrative, and the debate on postcolonial Belgium has only just begun.

The majority of those studies of memory which concern themselves with Europe focus on experiences of totalitarian dictatorship during the twentieth century. They observe that the culture of memory surrounding the Holocaust is still the predominant one in Western European countries. In Eastern Europe, the memory of National Socialist crimes has given way to the more vital or socially virulent memory of the *Gulag* and *Holodmor*, while in the countries of the post-Soviet Russian Federation the *Great Patriotic War* continues to dominate public memory. If by making these observations we have diagnosed an effectively tripartite landscape of European memory (Engel, Middell, & Troebst, 2012; Troebst, 2009), this is in part the outcome of a broadened view on Europe obtained since 1989 and in part that of a transnational approach to the study of collective memory. However, investigation into European memory and European cultures of memory has often been equated with "1945", while other difficult pasts have only slowly come into focus. Among these, Europe's

colonial past has attracted the attention of scholars both of memory and of imperial studies. They have opened a new field of research in going beyond the events around World War II, asking what other events have determined cultures of memory in Europe and whether there are genuinely "European", as opposed to essentially purely national, sites of memory.

Dissemination of Historical Ideas: History at School—Curricula and Textbooks

The issue of how history is told and how such narratives promote collective memory and identities is especially relevant in relation to teaching history as a subject in schools. History curricula and textbooks form the normative order that structures the teaching of history and the imparting of historical facts and information to students (Fuchs, Kahlert, & Sandfuchs, 2010; Nicholls, 2006; Schissler & Soysal, 2005). While curricula can be considered as tools for the implementation of educational policies, textbooks have been influential in translating historical ideas into common knowledge due to the privileged place they occupy in the educational system. They are tangible instruments of teaching, and deliver words and images for the classroom. Thus, as much as history textbooks order knowledge[5] and disseminate historical ideas, they are in equal measure tools to educate the nation. If the formation of collective memory can be located at all, the history textbook is certainly the place where it can be found. Such a textbook presents a narrative of the past that bears the imprint of present experiences and future expectations. And, despite all the deconstructivist theories and educational approaches centering around multiperspectivity that have exerted their influence on the writing of textbooks today, the history textbook is still called upon to present some sort of narrative and hermeneutics of historical understanding.

Examples drawn from case studies of European history textbooks in a diachronic perspective will show how textbooks operate as archives of the collection, organization and selection of knowledge. The ways in which they introduce the wider world to young people, present the colonial world and represent the nation overseas have changed over time, and certainly after decolonization. A top-down view of imperial history and a national story that is imparted rather than shared is at odds with recent approaches both in didactics and historiography. However, history textbooks persistently frame colonialism in national terms and they employ a binary epistemology of European modernity versus African tradition which in many ways remains "colonial knowledge" instead of "postcolonial knowledge".

English History textbooks used to consider the empire a constituent component of Britain's national history in the sense that they presented the history of the empire as a story of success and progress and often helped to inculcate a heroic view of the nation. Among them *A School History of England* by Charles Robert Leslie Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling is a very prominent

example. It was published in 1911 and depicted the empire at the height of its powers (Fletcher & Kipling, 1911). Fletcher's lively style and the poems contributed to it by Kipling, the chronicler of the British empire, accounted for its appeal both within and outside of the classroom. The Book was reprinted until 1930, sold in Britain and North America and translated into French. H. W. Palmer's *Our Empire Overseas* published in 1928 equally praised European expansion and British domination of overseas territories as a quest for knowledge and a missionary interest to civilize and to modernize. "[…] credit must be given to those hardy and patient representatives of Britain who gradually established order, and spread amongst the natives the assurance of justice" (Palmer, 1928: 231). Throughout the decades and well into the 1960s textbooks sketched British colonial history as prompted by the search for sales markets, raw material and labor combined with a striving for progress since "[…] fertile regions and new populations were waiting to be made useful to modern trade and enterprise" (Williamson, 1965: 313). Consistent variation and reiteration turned it into an influential narrative and textbooks, reprinted over a long period of time, fostered the idea of benevolent and responsible British rule "controlling and supervising the colonies through governors and other officials appointed by the home government, till such time as they would be able to rule themselves" (Warner, 1899/1965: 240f). George Townsend Warner's *A Brief Survey of British History* may serve as an example for those textbook classics. Warner, a former fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge and master at Harrow public school for boys, published his textbook in 1899. It was reedited, enlarged and republished until 1965 thus capturing the spirit of benevolent colonial rule until the end of empire.

Decolonization did not put an immediate end to this narrative. Instead textbooks continued to present imperialism in a favorable light and colonial independence was translated into a deliberate transfer of power. "She [Britain] gave up her power over some 600 million people and helped nineteen countries to reach nationhood, most of them peacefully and with expressions of goodwill on both sides" (Unstead, 1970: 255). Textbooks presented the history of empire teleologically as progressing from settlement over federation to independence. Robert John Unstead ranked among the most widely read textbook authors of his time. His books appeared from the early 1950s to the 1970s and sold over eight million copies (Keating, 2010: 9). School history seemed to ignore the ruptures in British history which decolonization had caused and textbooks provided transitional explanations favoring a positive presentation of Empire as "responsible government". These perceptions persisted well into the 1980s with Britain as "the ruling power responsible for millions of native Africans, hitherto organized in numerous tribal kingdoms" (Hill & Wright, 1981: 289) until postcolonial theory, new imperial history and a growing awareness of collective memory which was challenged by ethnic heterogeneity in the nation's metropolitan centers gradually induced new narratives.

Current textbooks engage critically with the history of the colonies as an integral part of national history. They examine the impact of the empire on

British society and they highlight the extent to which the colonial periphery defined domestic cultural and social life at its heart thus widening the scope of imperial history at school. Many textbooks and especially those addressing students at key stage three aged 11 to 14 choose a discursive approach asking "why do people still argue about the impact the Empire had on people living at the time […] who gained and who lost from the British Empire?" (Banham, Luff, Culpin, & Dawson, 2009: 11). Some go even further and frame imperial history with respect to its ramifications on British society today when they subsume colonial topics under "moving and travelling" (Clayton & Collier, 2011) thus stressing the link between the history of empire and the presence of postcolonial migrant societies. Debates surrounding the revision of the National Curriculum for History by the UK Department for Education in 2014 criticized this as the abovementioned presentism and as a case study approach which impedes students in acquiring a sense of historic chronology and of a framework in which national identity can be formed (Grindel, 2013).

German History textbooks addressed German colonialism against the backdrop of a rather short-lived experience of overseas imperialism. Germany joined European expansion in 1884 when it established formal colonial rule in German South-West Africa and when it hosted the Berlin Conference also known as the Berlin West-Africa Conference from November 1884 until February 1885. By the end of World War I the German overseas empire was dismantled and German colonies were divided among the allies. Such minor importance as a colonial power notwithstanding, textbooks established Germany as a prominent agent of European expansion. In ranking German overseas possessions fourth according to surface—and much less to population—they tried to put Germany on equal footing with the British and French empires (Müller, 1919: 533).

Textbooks of the interwar period kept alive the idea of Germany as a colonial power. Drawing on a strong revisionist movement they lauded Germany's ability to colonize, "die deutsche Kolonisationsgabe" (Müller, 1919: 575), and defended Germany's reputation as a colonial power which had suffered from the Versailles Treaty. National Socialist textbooks disseminated a racial view of German predominance putting forward ideas of innate superiority. They were, however, more concerned with eastbound expansion than with the old colonies so that the space devoted to empire did not increase. Instead of revitalizing the overseas possessions textbooks advocated the territorial integration of German speaking groups in the East, the "Auslandsdeutsche" (Kumsteller, Haake, & Schneider, 1941: 237).

The processes of decolonization prompted a shift in the presentation of colonial history which for the two German states were especially marked by the ideological confrontations of the Cold War. While West German textbooks reflected a Western affiliation in turning to EU and development aid as a replacement for foreign policy and a field to obtain international acceptance, East German textbooks distanced themselves clearly from colonialism as a fascist legacy and supported the new African nations' quest for independence.

From the 1990s on, History textbooks began to rework these antagonistic pictures of colonialism and acknowledged the relevance of the colonial period for German history in a more comprehensive way. They especially rediscovered the colonial legacy and its traces in contemporary society (Bender & Thunich, 2006: 182). Inspired by scholarly input from postcolonial and global studies and by debates on colonial memory in former European metropoles textbooks turned to the painful past of German colonialism. Colonial violence (Sauer, 2009) and colonial wars (Adelmeyer & Wicke, 2013: 304f) in former German colonies received due attention and textbooks discussed whether these wars are to be termed genocides and whether reparations should be paid.

Both case studies covering the long period from 1900 with the imperial powers at the height of their powers to the present with the aftermath of empire and postcolonial migration being felt illustrate the changes in textbooks. Representations of imperial history have adapted to the rise and fall of empires and they gradually acknowledged their echoes in colonial and postcolonial societies. Thus taking a more global stance toward imperial history and adopting new approaches in historiography and history didactics. However, the representations of imperial history and colonial rule still remain in many ways national narratives. Framed by notions of who belongs to this imagined community and how national identity can be fostered these narratives render the past with respect to the needs of present societies.

Conclusion: Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts of History Textbooks

This consideration of History textbooks in colonial and postcolonial contexts has covered three dimensions of historical culture, that is, the historiographical debates of the last decades (I), the issue of public uses of history (II), and the dissemination of historical ideas and contents in educational media (III). These dimensions are of course closely related and they affect each other. Historiography has in that sense both initiated new ways of thinking imperial history and profited from debates about imperials pasts. The same is true for the public uses of history and the politics of memory which led to in-depth investigations of traumatic pasts especially with respect to colonial wars and colonial violence but also disclosed attempts to homogenize and to strengthen national identities in our postcolonial societies. And History textbooks eventually translated new historical concepts as much as they reflected memory debates. We may even ask to which extent they actively intervene in the politics of memory when they bring disputed issues into the classroom.

The ways empires and colonies have been represented in colonial contexts differ from representations in postcolonial contexts. Narratives of military heroes and explorers, missionaries and merchants bringing civilization, searching for knowledge and enlightening the dark continent of Africa stand out against new narratives informed by the claims of postcolonial thinking,

memory studies and multicultural classrooms. These narratives no longer relate imperial history as events overseas bearing only little relevance to the metropoles but they render empires and colonies as interdependent. And precisely the interdependencies or shared histories of colonial societies at home and overseas, then and now are key to postcolonial History textbooks.

Notes

1. The term was coined by Georges Balandier in his 1951 article, *La situation coloniale. Approche théorique*. Translation in Howe, 2010. Balandier's early claim for a new approach to colonial historiography remained largely unheard until his work was rediscovered with the – rather reluctant – reception of postcolonial theory in France (Smouts, 2007, 2010).
2. Loi française n° 2005–158 du 23 février 2005 portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés, www.legifrance.gouv.fr (accessed on 29–4–2015).
3. It replaced the term "opérations effectués en Afrique du Nord" with "guerre d'Algérie." Loi *française n°* 99-882 du 18 octobre 1999, www.legifrance.gouv.fr (accessed on 29–4–2015).
4. All versions of article number four to be found on www.legifrance.gouv.fr. For its reflection in textbooks cf. Buresi, 2012: 73.
5. For the construction and workings of educational knowledge see the works of Michael Apple, Michael Young and Basil Bernstein.

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CHAPTER 15

History in French Secondary School: A Tale of Progress and Universalism or a Narrative of Present Society?

Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon

Whereas primary school history tended—and still tends today—to pass on a narrative of the nation, in France, the general history framework in secondary school is rather different. It is more versatile and more potent. Since the seventies, more than eight new history curricula have been implemented, mainly in secondary education (Garcia & Leduc, 2003), but the school history aims have remained fairly stable. It will be argued, in this chapter, that French secondary school history is not nationalistic but supports, and is supported by, values taken to constitute an ideal for humanity, particularly human rights, democracy, scientific and economic progress, and openness to otherness. Since 1890, the institutional aims insist on the priority of these values over any national identity. The curricula are shaped through interpretations of historical currents, events and changes from a universalistic perspective. History narrates how politics, society and economy have developed from archaism and barbarity to modernity and political and social rights, even through acute crises. This provides an opportunity to teach both the history of France and of Europe or the World, interpreted through the same values, and to change the contents of the curricula, implementing global perspectives without changing the core structure of the narrative. Nevertheless, this chapter suggests also that the chosen topics, and the chronological context in which they are set, result in and from French or Western ethnocentrism. This might be problematic in a society more and more sensitive to ethnic and religious diversity. The explicit trend of the curricula seems, however, successful: several different inquiries stated that the students are probably more sensitive to the idea of

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universalistic citizenship associated to inclusive history than to ethnic claims, even if those are emphasized by the media. In France, "ethnic diversity" is not usually spoken of (the politically correct phrasing is "visible minorities"); the shared values and citizenship prevail. The teachers interpret the curricula in this light.

This general argumentation will be supported by the current analysis of twentieth and twenty-first centuries curricula in France, particularly of the recent 2008 (lower secondary school or *collège*) and 2009 (upper secondary school or *lycée*) curricula, with glimpses at the textbooks as powerful professional resources. In this analysis, the focus will be first on the universalistic values underlying the curricula and second on the *mise en intrigue* (emplotment) organized by the tale of modernity. Thirdly, the tensions between openness to others and ethnocentrism in the French history curricula will be specified. Lastly, an attempt is made to question the relations to the students' identities that represents an aim of prescribed school history, a justification of some teachings and a problem for some teachers.

The relations between school history, youth identities and social memories are presently of key importance for deciding what to teach and how to teach it (Jacquet-Francillon, 2008; Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998; Tutiaux-Guillon & Nourrisson, 2003). The terrorist attacks and murders of *Charlie Hebdo* journalists and Jews in January 2015 have probably reinforced the relevance of these relations. Committed in name of Islamist fundamentalism, these crimes have induced a collective demonstration of adherence to Human Rights and *laïcité* (secularism). The government has prescribed more moral and civic teaching in school, and the association of history–geography teachers has produced an inquiry that underlined an important professional mobilization (APHG, 2015). The teachers indicated that they have organized debates and worked on historical issues such as the Dreyfus affair, the Enlightenment (particularly Voltaire), the separation of the Churches and the State (1905), and so on, as well as on the rules of Islam and the Koran, in order to focus on values as historical and political stakes. The idea is clearly to enforce universalistic values and to avoid any stigmatization of Muslims.

As a specialist of history didactics, I have questioned for a decade the place allotted to diversity—cultural, ethnic and religious—in history curricula, textbooks and lessons as well as the place given to diverse and sometimes conflicting memories in school history. By now, it is a professional question and a disturbing one—for novice teachers and even for some experienced ones. Such issues are what we call *questions socialement vives* (socially acute questions, Legardez & Simonneaux, 2006): questions that are scientifically controversial, socially debated and potentially disturbing classrooms. Of course, the matter of identity is a socially acute question in a country with a population largely of migrant origin since the mid-nineteenth century. This immigration has resulted in a society more or less denying or deploring this fact until the present day, and in sporadic conflicts, whatever the positive contribution of migrants

to economy and culture. Several European investigations have dealt with the links between youth identity and school history since the pioneering Youth and History research (Angvik & Von Borries, 1997). Those comparative investigations tend to assert both the specificities of French context—partly due to the universalistic model of citizenship—and the international similitude of the stakes and sociopolitical issues (e.g. Carretero, Rosa, & Gonzalez, 2007a; Grever & Ribbens, 2007; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000b). Now arises a new possibility for research in didactics: connecting curricular changes introducing socially acute questions and youth attitudes toward history, in the context of apparently growing diversity. This chapter is meant as a first step in this direction.

Teaching History for Universalistic Values

As in many Western countries, French school history has been subject to ideological and pedagogical criticism since the 1970s (De Cock & Picard, 2009). The nationalist historical narrative especially has been condemned as historically obsolete, politically irrelevant and ethically harmful. This critical discourse is far more relevant for primary school than for secondary school history. The French history curriculum in secondary education has several official goals: promoting political and cultural collective identity, encouraging social cohesion, fostering citizenship and developing intellectual abilities. The latter particularly concerns critical thinking, and more recently, personal blossoming. A core aim is fostering adherence to universal values such as Human Rights, democracy, justice, solidarity, tolerance, and so on, besides the French republican values of *Liberté*, *Egalité*, and *Laïcité* (Liberty, Equality, and Secularism). These values are part of the legitimate culture, particularly of the political one, and are also reputed to provide a sound basis for social and political judgments. Such principles show a clear tendency toward critical rationality rooted in Enlightenment (Carretero, Rosa, & Gonzalez, 2007b) and in Auguste Comte's positivism. The key reference is French citizenship, defined during the Third Republic (1871–1940) as overcoming any particularism. This is an idea not so far from the "constitutional patriotism" that Lopez Facal (2001) sees as a possible base for linking together people attached to different symbols. Of course, universalism has been a part of the French intellectual and political tradition since the Enlightenment. But also in the curricula, since 1890, the priority has been explicitly the greater good of humanity over the greater good of France. Even in the ministerial prescriptions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for secondary school, universalism prevailed over French identity. It is well known also that the French curricula included, since 1902, a very large part of European history and even some glimpses to Russia and to America (not only the United States) (De Cock & Picard, 2009; Garcia & Leduc, 2003). The grand narrative of an organically growing nation has been very important (and renewed in 2008) in primary school but is weaker and discreet in secondary school curricula. This might be

partly explained by the fact that, during the first half of the twentieth century, secondary school addressed only to the children of the social elite, when primary school intended to make French republican citizens from the common people (including immigrants).

The emphasis on Human Rights has increased over the past decades. Let us consider some examples. The black slave trade has been taught for decades, focusing on the sufferings of the slaves and on the inhumanity of the trade; in some French cities enriched by the trade, this is explicitly linked with local history. For perhaps 50 years, the *nationalistic* narrative regarding colonization has disappeared. For the past 30 years, teachings on French or European colonization are accompanied by documents and information presenting its negative effects, and the present textbooks emphasize the exploitation of colonized people through the written contents and through sources. Since the seventies, the textbooks mention that the French army used torture in dealing with Algerian patriots/rebels. The post-colonial point of view is obvious (see Mycock, in this volume). The same goes for other dark pages of French history such as the Dreyfus Affair, the Collaboration in 1940–44 and the Shoah.[1] And for a long time, the Discoveries of the sixteenth century are studied as sources of exploitation, massacres and fatal deceases (Páez, Bobowik & Liu, in this volume). The lessons on all these topics focus on the crimes and on the French social minority that defended human rights: Montaigne, the *dreyfusards*, the intellectual demonstrating against torture during the 1950s, the righteous among nations, and so on. In such a narrative, the positive reference is no longer France as a state, but the imaginary native country of Human Rights (Lantheaume, 2009). Of course, this evolution of contents is linked with political changes—not as drastic as in several other countries (Carretero et al., 2007a), but still important: the end of colonial empire, the confrontation with the recent past (the Vichy regime, responsibility in genocides, the Algerian war) and the rise of conflicting memories in public space. The key idea is nevertheless to support trust in democratic values and thus in a satisfactory future.

The tendency to select history contents that support universal values explains how the issues of past crimes, even committed by the French, and of victims can be integrated in school history. Specific histories of minorities can be inserted in the school narrative when they are told from this universal perspective. Teaching about the suffering of a particular community in the past is not fostering *communautarisme* (in France, this means a threat to political unity and a promotion of politically irrelevant private interests) but is working for Human Rights. All victims, outcasts, dominated or oppressed people (medieval peasants, poor *Tiers État*—Third Estate in the late eighteenth century, industrial workers and slaves) are considered in French classrooms as the People. Thus they are made part of the "us" group, an attitude which Von Borries evaluated as historically and politically positive (Von Borries, 2006). However, this inclusive approach, obvious in the classrooms, is not explicit in

the official prescriptions. In the latter, inclusion is based on citizenship and not on victimization and common sufferings.

The French Republican citizenship is based on the transcendence of any specific interest in favor of the common interest and of private matters in favor of the public ones. The French citizen is somehow an "abstract" being, free from any distinctive identity, such as religion, gender, ethnicity or class, who bases his or her political judgments and actions on reason and on universal values. Thus, even if citizenship and nationality are legally bound together, citizenship is not explicitly rooted in a national heritage. Of course, the focus on French political history conveyed a perspective that fostered nationalism and ethnocentrism. At the same time, as stated above, it aimed at extending the universal values of progress, Human Rights and democracy. And presently, these components are far more relevant and legitimate for teachers and for students than any nationalism.

When asked about the purpose of school history, 80 % of high-school teachers affirmed the civic function of history (Lautier, 1997; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2004). They believe that understanding history would "naturally" evolve into the development of positive attitudes to politics, culture, "otherness" and human rights. Their main attempt is to foster citizenship and critical thinking (Bonafous, De Cock-Pierrepont, & Falaize, 2007; Lantheaume, 2009; Lautier, 1997; Tutiaux-Guillon, Boyer, Ogier, & Vercueil-Simion, 2004). Identity comes far behind citizenship in the teachers' preoccupation (Lautier, 2001; Tutiaux-Guillon et al., 2004). Usually, most teachers give priority to topics that aim at tolerance and social harmony. For example, when studying the medieval Mediterranean area, they emphasize Al Andalus and the Sicily ruled by Roger II rather than the crusades.[2] Thereby they hope to provide examples of people from different religions living peacefully and even fruitfully together. Individually and collectively, they discuss, criticize or possibly reject some explicit or presumed political demands for school history if they judge these aims opposed to Human Rights and to historical truth.[3] For example, in 2005–2006, there was a huge and strong protest against a legal obligation to teach "the positive effects of colonization", in which not only historians associations and the Human Rights League but also history teachers and their inspectors took an active part (the incriminating paragraph of the law was abrogated by the French president one year later). The same vigilance is the focus of some professional websites such as *Aggiornamento hist-geo* (http://aggiornamento.hypotheses.org). The teachers might even decide to teach about some issues that are not prescribed. Before 1962, some taught about France during the German occupation (1940–1944) and collaboration, when the curricula ended before the Second World War. Some have taught colonization and slavery in French colonies before the recent curriculum prescriptions. During the 1990s, some engaged pedagogical works on the students' family memories (De Cock & Picard, 2009). Generally, there is no discussion about the consensual historical narrative, the tale of the progress and achievements of humanity (at least of Western humanity).

A Narrative of Progress and Modernity

"The utility of teaching history is to inform the young men of the evolution of humanity since the cave ages to the century of aviation" (translated from the official curriculum, 1925). This phrase makes it clear that teachers had to focus their history lessons on progress. This aim is still topical, however no longer explicit. Research analyzing former history curricula has stressed that, in secondary school, they were centered on political, economic, social or cultural human progress (Bruter, 2005; Garcia & Leduc, 2003; Mousseau, Jakob, & Cremieux, 1994). This continues to underlie the 2008 *collège* curricula:

- For each of the four years, at least three topics point at some type of progress (political, scientific/cultural, economic or social). This means roughly 40 % of the contents. Whatever the period, the contents insist on the apogee of the civilizations (European—different ages, Indian, Chinese, Muslim-Arabic and African).
- The scientific/cultural progress is studied each year: Greek scientists and philosophers, cultural and scientific revolution (sixteenth–seventeenth centuries), scientists and philosophers of Enlightenment, and present-day scientific and technical evolutions.
- The political progress is not as continuous. Two main streams coexist: the conquest of democracy (Antique Athens, French Revolution, nineteenth and twentieth century—with the counter-example of dictatorial regimes and totalitarianism) and the building of a State (medieval and modern France, nineteenth century). The building of the European Union, studied in the last year of *collège*, might be added to this list.
- The economic progress seems limited to industrialization and capitalism that configure the economical modernity. But what is not explicit in the curricular prescriptions might be detailed in the textbooks: the social progress, for example, appears throughout the documents and is connected with either scientific progress (health, school) or political progress (social claims and conquests, equality).

The same general narrative gives consistence to the new curriculum for the first grade of the *lycée*, which has no chronological continuity: seven of the eleven topics echo those referring to progress in the *collège* history curricula. Even in the curricula focused on the twentieth century, some topics address the progress: "different periods of economic growth", "implanting republican culture" (democratic laws and citizenship), "the social and political status of women" (emancipation and rights). The issue of the working class is studied through the Popular Front, social reforms, and so on. World wars and totalitarianism are set as counter examples.

For the teachers who inquire what they have to teach, the textbooks are the first reference, even if there is neither official textbook nor *imprimatur* in France. The published curriculum is not detailed and most prescribed topics

cover very large periods; the textbooks present a more practical overview of the contents. And their authors have sometimes used the issue of progress as the sense and significance of history. This was very common in the textbooks until the seventies. The recent textbooks, even for the older students, still picture colonization through schooling, health care and modern agriculture, as they did before the sixties—even though most documents of the same chapters refer to colonial exaction (Lantheaume, 2006; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2006). In the 2000s, textbooks characterized monotheism as a social and intellectual progress compared with polytheism (Baquès & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008). The newest textbooks for the fifth grade presented the role of the Church during the Medieval age as socially progressive; for example, in M. Ivernel (Ivernel, 2010), *Histoire-Géographie (History-Geography), cinquième,* published by Hatier, one of the subchapters is titled "*l'Eglise au service de la société*" (Church serving society), and this is elaborated in terms of protecting against violence, caring for ill and poor people, and schooling and encouraging intellectual development. Whatever the textbook, the chapter dealing with women's history in the twentieth century (second grade of *lycée*) develops the theme of economic and political emancipation as a continuous progress, regardless of the historical research. It is also surprising that in the history-geography textbooks for *collège*, the same topics (e.g. deforestation, fossil energy) are characterized as sources of environmental problems in the chapters of geography and as a means of economic improvement in the previous chapters of history (the shift in perspective is no occasion for any written remark). At the same time, the progress is somewhat nuanced because past difficulties and violence are not omitted even for the periods that are set as the birth of modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

If it is possible to have an idea of what is taught through looking at the students' knowledge, then progress seems part of the core representation of the past. When interviewed about changes in the past, most students talked about two main events: the French revolution, associated with Human Rights, the republic and democracy won over the king; the world wars associated with violence and huge numbers of victims, but also with Human Rights and the birth of European integration as a positive reaction to totalitarianism and war (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000a, 2001). A narrative of progress lets anybody find a place in it and participate in it; it does not exclude anybody except reactionary and fundamentalist people and functions as a catalyst of social unity (Carretero et al., 2007b). This is probably why it is introduced in some recent democratic curricula (Osandon Millavil, 2001). The option differs from the functions usually promoted: subordinating others or enforcing national history (Lopez Facal, 2001).

This historical narrative of progress has probably two main origins. Since 1830, the development of a secular teaching of history has substituted the holy history with the national history: the narrative is of course different, but the structure is still teleological. The end is no more a godly eschatology, but the fulfillment of nation, and of socio-economic progress and of democracy (Bruter,

2005). Also, the school aims might explain that historical time and progress just keep the same pace: a persistent aim was providing the students with the means to understand the present times and to integrate them in society. This meant selecting from the past what prefigured or explained the society and the world in which they live, and at the same time, nurturing adherence to present values and norms. Now, the place allotted in school to the victims' narratives is taken to be a way of healing the social wounds of the past, of developing tolerance and social cohesion. An important mission of school in France is to fight social division, to solve social and cultural problems by teaching. Opening the school history to others, particularly to wounded self-proclaimed heirs of slaves or of colonized people, is supposed to foster democratic progress. The recent curricula chose to avoid a total absence of histories that might be significant for some communities in French society and thus tend to prevent a feeling of foreignness, but at the same time they limit the issues to specific historical moments: this process of selection and reconstruction aims at reconstructing shared references, if not national identity (Lopez Facal, 2001). Furthermore, except in specific chapters (for example concerning "immigration in France"), there is no mention of any cohabitation of "natives" and "foreigners": the French people always constitute a homogeneous entity.

Between "Our" History and "Their" History: Openness and Ethnocentrism

My analysis of the curricula showed some ambiguities. The contents of the *socle commun des connaissance et des compétences* (common base of knowledge and competences), compulsory for schools since 2006, seems to prioritize World and Europe above France. The prescribed attitudes are set in the field of universality, open minded to any culture. The abilities do not focus on any cultural, historical or geographical area. In the detailed knowledge prescriptions, a frequent phrasing is "France, Europe and World", and the cultural references are both European and Global. If the history of France has to be known, then the same goes for the history of the European Union. It cannot be said that such aims, prescribed for primary and lower secondary school, are focused on national identity. This is the result of French tradition, of European integration and of globalization. These developments do not mean that school history in secondary education does not take the national history into account at all: the curricula are a compromise between different actors and tendencies, often contradictory (De Cock & Picard, 2009; Legris, 2014). In the detailed prescription for *collège* (50 pages), published in 2008, the "*histoire nationale*" is mentioned less than 10 times and mostly to characterize what the students have learned in primary school. The contents in secondary school are explicitly presented as enlarging the scope. They deal mostly with European/Western history (24 topics), and present fewer national history topics (10) and still fewer non-Western history topics (5). The time prescribed for history lessons

might roughly be divided into 20 % history of France (mostly political history), 26 % topics that deal both with France and Europe, 26 % history of Europe or Western countries without mentioning France, and 17 % non-Western history. At first sight, the curriculum is really open to the history of others. Yet a more attentive analysis shows another unobtrusive intention: taking into account the titles, subtitles and prescribed examples, "France" appears 19 times in the chapters focused on European/Western history. If we add every part focused on the study of topics explicitly mentioning France, the total is close to half of the school history hours. Furthermore, the 57 dates that a student must know for the final exam (*Brevet*) enlist 30 French dates and 11 which are part of French history. This is close to 72%. The tale of progress is not mainly national. But in secondary school curricula, political progress is treated largely referring to France, and cultural, scientific and economic progress in reference to Europe. A close analysis of the textbooks would probably increase the weight of France, not only in the contents but even more so in the source documents.

The issue of the documents proposed in the textbooks and used in the classrooms also disturbs the idea of a curriculum open to others. For example, in the second grade of *collège* the students have to learn about the history of Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet most texts are not from African sources (partly due to the overestimated lack of written sources); they are European, as are some pictures of African kings or a frequent print of a razzia. Some photographs seem to come from a tourist booklet rather than from scientific references. If we look at the chapters addressing medieval Islamic civilization, textbooks focus on the knowledge and techniques that the Western Christian civilization had drawn from exchanges with Muslims. Furthermore, the presentation of this civilization emphasizes techniques, medicine and science, the achievements known to converge with the common meaning of progress in the present Western society. On the other hand, poetry, law, and philosophy—of core importance in the Islamic culture—are at most briefly mentioned. The point of view in the textbooks is clearly Eurocentric (Baquès & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008). This means that there is often a lapse from past civilizations to present society. And this lapse might as well stress the supposedly "foreign" character of some people from non-Western civilizations (Bonafous et al., 2007). Furthermore, the public controversy about the place allotted to the history of non-Westerners (a debate in which this place is greatly exaggerated by those opposing the inclusion of non-Western history) and the use of the same arguments for decades ("our children don't know our history anymore"; see Mycock, in this volume) might reduce the effective teaching of such topics.

In fact, the issue of "opening up to others" is neither simple nor unequivocal. Defining who we will consider as "others" in the curricula and courses would be a first step—and suggests the first difficulties. Would it mean those other than French? Then any topic about European history or Western history has to be taken into account. This option is not really convincing. In the first place, since the nineties, the ministries of education in the European Union have stressed the importance of teaching a European history as the "own"

history for new European generations. Even though in some states such a supranational frame means exceeding national history (Fernandez Bittencourt, 2007), the focus is on an expanded "us". Secondly, France has taken an active part in what might be called the European political, cultural and economic history, and for some period in Western history as well. Teaching about Europe—or about Western history—is also teaching about France. Thirdly, Europe is not a reality but a social construct, as was the nation; its history recycles former canons.

If we consider "others" to be non-Western, then they were introduced in the secondary history curricula during the sixties as an innovation for the final grade. They have been sporadically present in different curricula ever since (De Cock & Picard, 2009). The Chinese and African civilizations, for example, had been prescribed contents for the first grade of *lycée* from 1976 to 1985 and are now prescribed for first and second grades of *collège*. In the present curricula for *collège*, the part of non-Western history represents 17 % of the time and 15 % of the topics. But when colonization is at issue, must we take it as Western or non-Western? An example of the new contents for the first grade of *lycée* demonstrates this ambiguity: the topic "enlarging the [European] world, fifteenth-sixteenth centuries" articulates a European navigator, a European port, Constantinople-Istanbul, a pre-Columbian city facing colonization, and Peking. Now is the case of Istanbul and of the American city focused on "others" or on the European merchants or soldiers? Only a close study of the textbooks or of the effective teaching would allow one to decide whether the focus is on "them" or on "us". Other analyses of recent textbooks show that, in the chapters addressing colonial conquests and colonial societies, only the Europeans have agency: the local people are just victims and anonymous, stripped from their own culture and social organization that are not mentioned (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2006).

Furthermore, some topics correspond to a projection on the past of present issues in French society. The main example is the Islamic civilization. Since 1977, Islam is a topic of the second grade of *collège* curriculum, firstly focused on the political aspects of the Muslim and Arab Medieval age, then on the civilization. The parallel with the importance of a so-called Muslim immigration in France is clear: between 1962 and 1982, the migrant population coming from North Africa grew from 407,000 to 1,430,000, partly due to the demand for industry workers and partly to the option of accepting also the workers' families. Currently, Islam is the second religion in France. From 1995 until 2009, French pupils in primary school, in the second grade of *collège* and the fist grade of *lycée* had to study the medieval Islam, including a historical narrative of religious development; presently, this is still studied in the second grade of *collège*, and in the first grade of *lycée* they study Istanbul. In 1995, the Koran became a "heritage document" that all students had to know as a historical source and as meaningful for humanity. Its study is still prescribed in the 2008 curricula. The date of the Hegira is compulsory knowledge. Yet most textbooks of the 1990s and 2000s selected documents on Jihad,[4] sometimes on Sharia and on women's status. These aspects of Islamic civilization are much debated in French society and emphasize other-

ness (Baquès & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008). On the other hand, teachers seemed to avoid what could stir cultural conflicts in the classroom and chose a consensual content—omitting the sensitive issues. Here the main perspective is also that of progress, tolerance and human rights. The teachers' interpretation and implementation of the curricula might be truer to the spirit than to the letter.

Another key concern for school history is to foster social cohesion, and this concern has been increasing since the nineties (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2007). Young people have to be educated as members of the same society and the same political community, sharing cultural references, values and interpretations of the past—useful for living together, important for understanding each other, and necessary for understanding present times and imagining a future. Ten history teachers who were interviewed in 2003 unanimously declared that their objective was to integrate everyone, especially the children of migrants, into one common culture. Some identified this common culture as French, while others opted for European or even Mediterranean. All of them wanted to provide the pupils with intellectual resources to understand present French society. But even though they favored national identity over sub-cultural community identities, they rated individual identity higher than national identity (Tutiaux-Guillon et al., 2004). It is intended now that youths learn how to make sense of their own history (Delacroix & Garcia, 1998). Fostering social cohesion also means—for policy makers and often for teachers—providing the youth with non-European ancestry some glimpses at their supposed cultural roots. This raises questions about both the young people's identities and the educators' representation of these identities.

The Difficult Issue of Youths' Collective Identities

We do not have a lot of information on the relations between the youth's collective identities and their conception of the past. Some teachers testified that they feared to teach about Shoah and about Israel (even about Antique Jews), about women's history or about Islam, even though the incidents are scarce (Falaize, 2009). These teachers often react spontaneously, sometimes without caution and subtlety.[5] They rely on a widespread discourse stigmatizing young suburban males as Arabs, thus as Muslim, and therefore as sexist, violent, anti-Semitic and anti-West. The international context from 2000 onwards has stirred up both this discourse and this fear. But these are no reliable data on the students' attitudes. Regarding the issues of sensitive memories, research points out that the main publications deal with prescriptions or with teaching, but not usually with *learning* (Bonafous et al., 2007; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008). The inquiries among students are still to be developed (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008). Suburban youth cannot be defined plainly as "Muslims", "Arabs", "*Maghrébins*" (North-Africans), "Africans", and so on. Most are born in France, where most of their parents have also grown up. The supposed link with the so-called "native culture" is very weak. We must be reminded that most of them have never lived and never really known (except on some holidays) the country from which

their forefathers came one, two or three generations before. There is often a deep generation gap between the foreign family and the youth. It is also well known in sociology that this native culture is reconstructed in the context of migrations, both by adaptation to the dominant culture and by mythologizing the origins (Lepoutre, 2005; Lorcerie, 2003; Taboada-Leonetti, 1990). This process is set in a complex relation between generations and might answer to stigmatization and alienation. As pointed out by Von Borries (2006), becoming an heir means also the possibility to denounce and resign the imposed heritage.

As a rule, in France, ethnic labeling could be taken as a discreet form of racism, a reason to "sort out" the (bad) students, a sense of guilt, or worse, a claim for communitarianism. "Ethnicity" is also a trap because there is no ethnic category of "suburban youth". In the French context, ethnicity is more an argument than a fact, more a social construct than a legacy and more a fictive identity, useful for supporting claims, than a cultural heritage (Lorcerie, 2003). The students who have migrant ancestry do not ask for ethnically tailored history lessons. Their family history has little to do with medieval Islam or with the African kingdoms of the past, however prestigious. When these young people are asked about their identity, they declare themselves "French" because they were born and live in France, as do other young people whatever their ancestry (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000b). Furthermore, the family memories are not always passed on and not always focused on such sensitive historical issues as colonialism and French domination (De Cock-Pierrepont, 2007; Lepoutre, 2005). When these youths claim an ethnic identity, it is mostly to contest the demands of the authorities or to protest against injustice and discrimination, yet their living culture is mixed, creative and fast-changing, and its ethnicity is weak (Lorcerie, 2003). Moreover, their claims refer to the conception of French citizenship as universal, abstract and as setting apart the private interests and identities (Grever & Ribbens, 2007; Grever & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008; Lorcerie, 2003; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000b). Nevertheless, from research in 2006 (Grever & Ribbens, 2007; Grever & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008), some disturbing figures arise. Of the youth from French descent, 12.9 % grants God historical influence; the majority conforms to the secular politics in France and the ideal of *laïcité*. Of the youth from migrant descent, 32.3 % adheres to the statement that "History shows what are God's intentions for the people and the world"; quite contrary to the French civic (and historical) tradition. This might point at a divide between school history and some young believers. Even though the study should be extended either to a larger number of students or to a qualitative enquiry, the small sample (200) was selected in a region where immigration is a key feature since the late nineteenth century and where successive streams (mainly Belgian then Polish then Moroccan and Algerian migrants) have settled mostly as ill-paid industrial workers. It is a region where youth protests bordering on riots took place in 2005 and where the sensitive issue of illegal migrants in Calais frequently has made the news since 1995. The results of this investigation are food for thought.

The French inquiries on learning history focus more on intellectual abilities than on collective identities; this issue is somehow intellectually suspect. The core distinction, proposed by Lautier (1997) and corroborated by the *Youth and History* inquiry (Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998), has been that some students make sense of history for themselves and their lives (Lautier, 1997 classified them "internal" to history) and some do not ("external" to history, roughly 1/3 of students). The former display more commitment to values, while the latter are from lower classes and fail more often in school. In France, the question about the relations between ethnic identities, views of the past and school history have become legitimate for researchers only recently. In the comparative inquiry developed by Grever and Ribbens (2007), the students from migrant ancestry in northern France were more committed to the history of the Nation-State than those living in England or Netherlands. Could we directly attribute this result to the French curricula? The same inquiry showed that both the French students from "French" descent and the students from migrant descent considered that "the migrants' history is part of French history" (57.6 % and 81 %, respectively, often more than other students; 62.5 % and 52.6 % in England and 41.6 % and 52.8 % in the Netherlands, respectively). At the time, migrant history was not a part of school history and was not taught except by a few innovative teachers. The topic has been introduced by more recent curricula: in 2008 for *collège* and 2009 for *lycée*. Regardless of the curriculum, in several quantitative and comparative inquiries, the French youth ranked among other European youths as the *less* committed to their national identity and the *most* committed to the importance of history (Grever & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000b; Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998).

However, we cannot assume that the curricula have a direct effect on the youth's historical culture. This is a more complicated matter. Public opinion and politicians seem to (naively) assume that the school is the main medium for (legitimate) historical culture and do not always separate historical knowledge from social memory. The underlying equation (social memory = result of learning history in school = result of teaching history = prescribed contents) is not validated through research in history didactics (Lautier, 1997; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000a, 2000b; Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998). Most information passed on in school is also passed on elsewhere in society by social interactions and media (music, television, cinema, video-games, comics, novels and role playing). In France, political argumentation and communication, advertisements, tourism, entertainment and the press use, and sometimes abuse, historical images or representations and interpretations of the past. This contributes, just as much or even more than school, to the shared historical culture. And this historical information, however biased regarding scholarly history, is weighted as reliable and true to the past, as much as what is learnt in school. The research focused on social representations of the past has stated how different types of knowledge might blend together and combine with values and affective views (Cariou, 2012; Lautier, 1997; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2000a;

Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998). At least since the late nineties, we do not have enough reliable information on the possible effects of French school history on youngsters' attitudes and understanding of themselves, of the society and of the past, or of their identities.

Thus teachers might act more from their own social representation of the students than from exact information regarding the links between family origins, identities and attitudes toward school history. And these students might react against the stigmatizing stereotypes by strongly expressing their distrust and their exasperation. This could induce them, in history lessons, to criticize vehemently the contradiction between the French ambition (or pretense?) to support universal values and the fact that the French people or State has acted in the past against the same values. Is this attitude adherence to collective French identity or anti-nationalism? The most sensitive issues of young people's collective identity do not mainly revolve around nationality and around common French or European history. The attitudes of some students regarding particular contents of school history seem to be supported by political opposition against the USA and Israel, meaning that the world perspective, however biased, is prevalent. But, in most cases, the attitudes opposed to established school history are generally anti-establishment and more likely a matter of erratic disorientation and of poverty and unstructured social context and gang affiliation than a matter of historical consciousness (Ernst, 2008). In such a context, it seems right that the State and teachers aim at a shared heritage and at a common identity. The school also has to introduce the new generation into society, especially when other support for social integration and social self-structuring is lacking. Perhaps the interest for history, including both common history and critical history of the dark pages, that the French students displayed regardless of their origin, allows us to be a little optimistic (Grever & Ribbens, 2007). Also, we have to keep in mind the complexity of the process involved in self-identification, especially during adolescence.

Conclusion

The French curriculum for secondary education is partly contradictory. It fits with a tradition more keen on universalism and on human progress than on national identity. This focus provides opportunities to include topics about Europe and about the World without disturbing traditional narratives. Since the sixties, the curricular contents have included, although sporadically, glimpses at other civilizations. This has been renewed in the recent curricula for secondary school. But the underlying focus is still on France. This is, however, not what the teachers aim at, at least if the results of several inquiries can be generalized (Lautier, 1997, 2001; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2007; Tutiaux-Guillon et al., 2004). We have to keep in mind that school history is more a matter of effective teaching than of curricular prescriptions. History teachers in France are not likely to aim at any collective identity, except perhaps when they teach to students displaying a large cultural diversity. The aim of fostering social

cohesion and passing on a "common" culture (this does not mean a nationalistic one) is shared between institution and teachers and seems a legitimate way to deal with the young students socially at a loss. It might also be, as stated by Ernst (2008), that the teachers are preoccupied more with practices and less with contents, that is, on discipline in the classroom, especially when they work in a social context where a lot of students drop out of school and where there is a large distance between family cultures and school culture. If the teacher has to "open the lessons up to a range of interpretations, controversial discussions about ethnic or religious identities, or 'burning questions' related to present-day society, the familiar routines of teaching will no longer work, and teaching will become a harder job" (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2007: 183). The teachers' attitudes and priorities, the links they perceive and/or assert in the classroom between their conception of citizenship, the cultural identities of "their" students and the way they organize the work on history topics and the contents should be investigated. Also, a reciprocal inquiry among students is warranted. In France, research on the youth's historical consciousness or on the links between what is learned in school and their identities is scarce. It is partly outdated and, when it deals with ethnic/cultural identities, suspect of stirring social conflicts and *communautarisme*. The strength of the French model of citizenship—presently threatened but still a basis for curricula and politics—might explain this lack of research. The common demonstrations in January 2015 showed a large adherence to democratic values that are shared regardless of personal culture and notwithstanding the minority of youths justifying the terrorist attacks. Furthermore, how many of these youths affirmed this as a means of provocation, originating from distrust in the social reality of these values, and how many as a refusal of French citizenship and identity? It seems that, dealing with a multicultural situation—in which global culture also plays a role—the teaching of a narrative of democratic progress, however imperfect, of a citizenship overcoming particularism and of a common identity based on universalistic values might help to face such crises.

In fact there is no right answer to the question: What must we teach our culturally mixed youth nowadays? Is it a global history set in the frame of universalism? An ethnocentric history empowering them to adhere to the society they are immediately surrounded by? A multiperspective history letting them choose their own interpretation? A puzzle of different national histories depending on the supposed origins of the students' families? And which citizen do we intend to educate with this history? Do we stick to a modern citizen whose identity is structured by institutions and cultural tradition, confronting others in order to become a mature and conscious "self"? Or do we prioritize a post-modern citizen whose multiple identities are linked to immediate interactions, whose values result from personal election, and who might resent others as potentially alienating? The answer to these questions might drastically change the history curriculum. We need to investigate how it could be associated with expanding the role awarded to social and cultural diversity as an historical fact, whatever the period. We need also to enlarge the scope to other

school subjects (citizenship education, social sciences and geography, but also literature and philosophy) that convey values, identities and openness to others. Only such inquiries might provide information about the students' expectations, about the teachers' needs and on the acceptable and desirable changes in curricula for both of them. That the public policy should pay attention to such findings is another story.

Notes

1. Usually in France, and in school, 'Shoah' is used instead of 'Holocaust', because the latter has a meaning of holy sacrifice that is quite out of line for the extermination of the European Jews. The Hebrew word Shoah means *catastrophe* and is sometimes substituted by the more general concept of *genocide* especially when the lesson deals also with the extermination of the Romani.
2. The resulting historical perspective might be rather mythical. See Rodriguez (2009).
3. For current examples, see the website of the professional association *historiens et géographes*, <www.aphg.fr> and specifically the column <http://www.aphg.fr/Actualites.htm>, or the website for teachers <http://www.cafepedagogique.org/disci/histoire.php>. See also for example the sections on the trade union website <http://www.snes.edu/-Enseignant-.html>.
4. Nearly always defined as a struggle only to convert or submit the non-Muslim; the inner struggle against the believer's tendency to act against God's will and the effort of becoming a better Muslim is scarce in the textbooks. A significant omission in the present context.
5. Representative of these rough and abusively generalized statements is the book edited by Emmanuel Brenner (2002).

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CHAPTER 16

National Narratives and the Invention of Ethnic Identities: Revisiting Cultural Memory and the Decolonized State in Morocco

Norah Karrouche

Educational systems are key to our understanding of the ways in which national identities are created, sustained and reproduced. When the project of nation building is closely associated or appears simultaneously with processes of modernization, state institutions play a crucial role in spreading national ideologies and creating shared cultures (Gellner, 2006). In the nineteenth century, European countries used divide-and-conquer politics overseas in order to sustain their colonizing power. In this chapter, I scrutinize the lasting effects of such policies on the organization of ethnic and cultural differences within the so-called decolonized nation-state. I will primarily approach the issue by looking into the 'cultivation of culture' (Leersen, 2006) that accompanies projects of nation building.

As Anderson (1991) argued, several modern institutions preoccupied with the classification of individuals and groups (such as the museum, the demographic census and the geographical map) were invented at a time when European expansionism was at its height. These modern institutions appeared simultaneously with the building of nation-states in Europe (Megill, 2011). Modern academic disciplines such as geography, historiography and especially ethnography developed during the nineteenth century as well as part of the colonial and imperial project (Stoler & Cooper, 1997). European nation-states introduced the system of standardized education in their colonies as a way to supersede local and regional loyalties. Education supported and sustained

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moral citizenship and loyalty on a larger scale: that of the nation (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 2006). History education in particular caters to this need and provides historical depth and understanding to national subjects' loyalty to the state, as it defines who counts as a citizen of the state and what it means to belong to a nation.

This chapter explores the ways in which the national narratives of supposedly decolonized societies are constructed. It focuses on North African countries that have previously been colonized by France and deals with the production of national narratives in the context of historiography and history education.

Recent developments in the Maghreb known to us as the 'Arab Spring' have put the construction of new national narratives high on the region's political agenda. Over the past few decades, policymakers and socio-cultural activists have been preoccupied with national identity (Muslim, Arab and Berber) and ties with France. To what extent are those 'new' national narratives in Morocco truly 'decolonized'?

I will henceforth focus on the persistence of the so-called 'Berber issue' in national historical culture, historiography and history education in particular. The French are known to have made an artificial distinction between Arabs and Berbers during colonial times, evaluating the Berbers on more positive terms. After independence in 1956, when Morocco was defined as an Arab and Muslim country, the Berbers—their language, culture and heritage—were marginalized. This narrative has been contested in recent years. Throughout the twentieth century, Berber identity has been subject to an intricate power dynamic which, until this day, impinges upon modes of meaning making in national historical culture. Actors in this process tend to claim a fixed location for the Berbers and the Arabs in Moroccan history. Berber culture is presented as static, fixed and unified and thus is set off against Arab and Islamic culture. The history of the Moroccan nation-state was reduced to the history of the monarchy. Most historiographers focused on writing a history of the nation that amounted to a history of the anti-colonial nationalist movement (Gilson Miller, 2014).

This chapter in particular explores the tension between regional and local Berber identities on the one hand and the Arab and Islamic identity of the Moroccan nation-state on the other. It does so by focusing on the historical narrative that has been taught in Moroccan schools from independence in 1956 onwards. Recently, this narrative has been adapted to fit a new multiculturalist ideology. From the early 2000s onwards, ethnic and religious minorities have increasingly been included in national historical culture. More than half a century after independence from its former colonizers, states such as Morocco and Algeria continue to grapple with their respective legacies of colonization, especially within the fields of national historiography and history education. In this chapter, I therefore scrutinize the historical process of decolonization and the re-invention of ethnic identities in the Maghreb.

Inventing Ethnic Identities in the Colonial Maghreb

The colonizing regimes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have often all too quickly been represented as monolithic blocs of power that envisioned all colonized subjects as inferiors. This thesis has been countered many times over, resulting in the ruling academic opinion that colonizer-colonized relations were not always straightforward. Moreover, it has been suggested that colonizing regimes played out internal cultural differences in order to categorize their subjects and organize daily life in the colony (Stoler & Cooper, 1997). The way in which colonial administrators and scholars thought about culture and 'race' were, however, far more ambiguous and ambivalent (Young, 1995). For instance, in French colonial discourse on Morocco and Algeria, 'Arabs' and 'Berbers' were at some point not merely seen as distinct cultural and ethnic 'groups'. The difference was also objectified (Hammoudi, 1997; Laroui, 2011). French ethnologists and administrative staff re-interpreted existing social relations and political structures and henceforth obstructed a more lifelike representation of Moroccan society.

In the pre-colonial era, the transmission of *baraka* (religious blessing) from the sultan through religious brotherhoods and patron saints proved of particular importance in maintaining a balance of power. A division between secular and religious power probably had a hand in the way in which the French administrators conceived of local power. The sultan's empire was thought of as precarious. Precisely because he was only widely recognized as a religious leader, the French were convinced his position had withheld Morocco from becoming a 'true nation' (Hammoudi, 1997).

The intertwinement of colonial policies and human sciences, and ethnographic practice in particular, was thoroughly acknowledged by Talal Asad in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter,* published in Asad, 1973. In *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) and *Orientalism Reconsidered* (Said, 1985), Edward Said argued that the context within which our historical, ethnographic and geographical knowledge was produced was in fact a violent one. Said poignantly stressed the bond between representation on the one hand and knowledge production on the other: the ties between Western ethnocentrism and a Western epistemic order (see discussion in Young, 2004: 165–168).

This evidently also holds true for French colonialism in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia and the French doctrine of assimilation that came to dominate the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The French viewed their acquisitions abroad as full-fledged French regions and extensions of the French Republic. Assimilation of local populations was seen as the key to civilization. Inspired by these ideas of assimilation and regionalism, French intellectuals and policymakers envisioned North Africa as a region naturally belonging to France. The concept of assimilation entailed the belief that all humans were inherently equal and that this could be achieved through education. Hence, French ethnologists developed the so-called 'Berber canon' in which the Berbers were described as more civilized and secularized than the Arabs.

Though often linked to French Enlightenment philosophy, the doctrine of assimilation was broadly held in the European continent from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Together with the concept of regionalism, it underscored much of the political ideas during the French Third Republic: native elites could be, and were as a matter of fact, assimilated into colonial administrations (Betts, 2005). In both France and Spain, debates on how to administer colonial subjects and how to locate the colonies in homeland politics were tied to debates on national identity (Martin-Marquez, 2008; Silverstein, 2002). When the French acquired Morocco, their ideologies had already been put to the test in Algeria, Africa and in overseas colonies.

A sociology or 'vulgate' (Burke, 2007) of Islam, Arabs and Berbers took shape in between the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt and the independence of Algeria in 1962. The 'colonial archive' on Moroccan populations was compiled between 1880 and 1930 and counts among the largest and most impressive of all colonial archives. It was also greatly influenced by ethnographic knowledge produced earlier on in Algeria, where racism was rampant (Lorcin, 1995). Whereas Algeria was home to a culturally diverse and linguistically plural society of Arabs, Berbers, Jews, a minority of blacks and Andalusians (the descendants from exiled Moors), the French narrowed these 'groups' down to just two: Algerian Arabs and Algerian Berbers. The binary and dichotomous imagery created was developed into a myth throughout the years of French domination of Algeria. Lorcin (1995) speaks of a myth not so much because the French differentiated between Arabs and Berbers as such but because the imagery gave way to a view that the Arabs were inferior to the Berbers and that the Berbers were superior to the Arabs. If the French wanted this imagery to be upheld through time, they needed geographical, historical and ethnological sources to document it.

Memory and (de)colonization in the Maghreb

Political and military needs were answered with claims that Berbers inhabited mountainous areas and Arabs the plains. Berbers were seen as sedentary peoples, Arabs as nomads. Religion was regarded an Arab prerogative, and the Berbers were pictured as only superficially islamicized but islamicized nevertheless. French missionaries were out to convert the Berbers to Christianity, much to the discontent of the colonial administration out of fear it would encourage Islamic sentiments overall. Islam remained an obstacle and problem the French never came to solve (Lorcin, 1995). As the colonial project progressed, the idea that ethnicity, culture and religiosity were tied to geographical areas within Algeria developed gradually. Within Maghrebi historiography, these ideas are known as the Kabyle (Algeria) or Berber 'myth' (for the Maghreb as a whole).

Notwithstanding the specificity of the Algerian case, Algeria henceforth became a point of reference for both Morocco and Tunisia. In the latter, the stereotypes existed but were never converted into policy (Lorcin, 1995). In Algeria, policies and legislation would never come to be based on the myth

and upon a separation between Arabs and Berbers, discrediting the former and favoring the latter. However, in Morocco, it did. There, the ethnic divide between Berbers and Arabs existed not only as a discourse but also as a practice. As France's military control over *le Maroc utile* grew, geographical maps took stock of the diverse tribal groups. The latter were, in turn, well documented by so-called *cartes* and *fiches de tribus* that were researched and written by members of an academic committee (Burke, 2007). Such commissions and ethnographers' reports were particularly constitutive of the colonies' epistemic productions and power structures (Stoler, 2009).

This new politics was meant to prevent a repeat of the mistakes made in Algeria where the favoring of Arabic language and Islamic law had resulted in unexpected anti-French nationalist sentiments. The French feared similar developments in Morocco. A rising Moroccan nationalist opposition, unifying 'Arabs' and 'Berbers', would obstruct France's attempts to gain control over Morocco by divide-and-rule tactics. Islam and Arab culture were limited to the *makhzen*, where the central state power was located. Berbers were viewed as the original inhabitants of North Africa, with 'probable' European origins and preserved customs, rituals and superstitions of previous faiths, most notably paganism and Christianity. Their natural distrust of personified power reflected their democratic spirit. In addition, they were said to be monogamous and to treat their women in a more 'European' way than Arabs.

Moreover, the Berbers were thought to be particularly attached to their own customary laws and use of tribal councils, set on preserving their own language, customs and 'traditions'. Arabs and Berbers were thus seen as bounded groups, as incompatible units with clear and strict, even 'natural' boundaries. The French had become ignorant of the diversity of cultures and languages that had marked North African history. As such, ethnography and historiography came to evolve around dichotomous axes, around which there was only room for Berber and Arab culture. This lasted well into the following decades after independence in 1956. One might argue that French colonial history continues to underscore Moroccan and Algerian national historical culture and their respective conceptions of ethnic, cultural and religious identities in particular.

In the long run, the dichotomy created by the French impacted the Berber speaking populations more than the Arab speaking populations (Gross & McMurray, 1993). In the independent Moroccan state, support for the Berber case was seen as support for policies having originated during the French colonial regime. Any sign of so-called *Berberism* was viewed as a 'relic of the colonial past' (Maddy-Weitzman, 2007: 30). The ruling nationalist *Istiqlal* party sought to incorporate the Berbers into one larger Moroccan national identity solely based on Arabism and Islam. Moroccans involved in the urban nationalist movement operated in secret societies. They had been acquainted and familiarized with both European and Arab ideas of nationalism, particularly those that had taken shape in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and other Maghrebi countries through several kinds of media, theater and travels. Sometimes, these elite had even been educated in Egypt. Their ideology was predominantly rooted

in anti-colonial struggles and nationalist currents (Burke, 1972; Segalla, 2009; Wyrtzen, 2011). The concept of 'Moroccanism' solved the Berber-Arab issue. Immediately after independence, fundamental decisions were made and education especially proved a site where national identity was to be reimagined (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Segalla, 2009).

The Berbers henceforth obtained an ambiguous position in the Moroccan national narrative inspired by Arabism and Islam, both temporally and spatially. During the process of decolonization, the 'Berber' remained a signifier of 'otherness'. Regarded neither fully as insiders nor as outsiders, the Berbers were represented as the Arabs' distant cousins, thus equally of Arab origin, albeit in a more primitive and indigenous state. The Berbers were to remain 'other' but were also assimilated into the historical destiny of the Arab and Islamic nation (McDougall, 2003, 2006). In 1961, Morocco was officially defined as an Arab and Islamic nation-state and constitutional monarchy. Three years prior, Morocco had become a member of the Arab League. The League co-financed a Rabat-based institution that set out to promote Arabization in the educational system in Morocco (Grandguillaume, 1983; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011).

The dichotomy between Arabs and Berbers was henceforth not erased but rather re-thought and re-worked. In what follows, I will thus look at the Berber myth as a form of cultural memory (Erll, 2008) and more particularly, as a schematic narrative template (Wertsch, 2008a) that reflects a specific, cultural type of producing identities in the contemporary Maghreb that draws on a binary category that was invented during colonial times and continues to underscore identity-making. Wertsch (2008a: 123) views schematic narrative templates as productions of '*(…) replicas that vary in their details but reflect a single general story line. In contrast to specific narratives, these templates do not deal with just one concrete episode from the past.*' In such contexts where ideology is dominantly felt, identities are fragile and memories are easily manipulated. In Moroccan history education, the ideology of the state prevails. It is a form of political memory that serves a political order, that is, that of the Arab and Islamic nation-state.

Modernization and History Education in the Maghreb

The static, fixed and exclusionary interpretation of national identity and the (political) uses of history in national identity construction have been evaluated negatively several times over (Grever, Haydn, & Ribbens, 2008; Grever, Pelzer, & Haydn, 2011; Ribbens, 2007). History may be readily used as a means to make claims in the struggles over national history and identity. Debates on the content of school curricula thus *a priori* exclude the possibility of this fixedness and stability of the interpretation of history that tends to prevail in nationalist discourses. Static and fixed conceptions of national identity can only lead to static and fixed interpretations of the past. How does this work in the context of formerly colonized states? States produce narratives and citizens equally consume them by reproducing and/or contesting them

(Wertsch, 2002). Edward Said (2000: 179) argued that invented traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) used by states are: '*(…) an instrument of rule in mass societies when the bonds of small social units like village and family were dissolving and authorities needed to find other ways of connecting a large number of people to each other.*'

Ernest Gellner (2006) in particular has stressed that education was crucial for nationalism to succeed as an ideology and in creating and maintaining moral membership of and loyalty to the nation. State institutions play a crucial role in the spread of national ideologies and the creation of a shared culture. In this view, modern state surveillance mechanisms imbue citizens with the importance of the nation-state and its ideology in their daily lives. In Morocco, this entailed downplaying cultural differences between Arabs and Berbers and stressing citizens' shared identity as Moroccans and Muslims. The nation is narrated as a particular and homogenous culture with a particular history and destiny (Breuilly, 2006). Education is a site where narratives of the nation are produced: '*(…) all breathe and speak and produce (…) the* same *culture*' (Gellner, 2006: 3–37). Unlike other forms of memory (i.e. social, cultural), political memory is always *learned* (Assmann, 2006) and has a more prescriptive and compelling nature precisely because it enhances the shaping of *political* identities and not mere cultural or social ones (Assmann, 2011).

During the immediate post-independence years, education in Morocco was significantly and thoroughly reassessed and crafted to produce a Moroccan national identity. France had left Morocco with not just two, but three different school types: French secular primary and secondary schools, primary and professional 'Moroccan' schools instated by the French for the locals, and traditional Islamic schools. In 1956 and 1957, Moroccan policy makers agreed to Arabize and 'Moroccanize' education. The nationalist party *Istiqlal* had driven these debates. They claimed a privileged position in these debates because they had played a pivotal role in the anti-colonial movement. 'Moroccanization' was viewed as a more hands-on solution to the Berber issue.

From 1956 until 1973, schools continued their use of French and Arabic manuals and textbooks. The former arose out of the French secular schools, the latter out of the Arab schools. From 1973 onwards, each subject was to be taught with the help of one manual and one teacher's guide, produced by the Ministry of Education. After 'Moroccanizing' schools and teaching staff, a process of Arabization kicked in. In 1989, the use of Arabic in public education was strengthened. Since 1999, any Moroccan publishing company may submit proposals for manuals, but a committee overseen by the Ministry of Education ratifies and approves them. This measure was meant to introduce plurality in teaching methods but not so much in subject contents. Thus, the basic principle of unification in education has not yet been abandoned. With this specific reform, the Ministry of Education adjusted outdated pedagogies. For instance, instead of relying all too heavily on narrative history, textbooks made more use of visualization and inserted edited historical and archival records, probing for more reasoning in classrooms and 'diminishing' nationalist ideology.

From the early seventies onwards, the school became a place where Moroccan identity was to be shaped. Through education, all citizens—whether they belong to the elite classes or not—are reached (Balibar, 1991). Schools are therefore powerful sites where identities and linguistic communities are shaped. Within the bounds of educational settings, citizens thus learn the myths of the nation. History education in particular promotes views on who belongs to the nation and who does not. Wertsch (2002) especially has argued that nation-states and governments make use of narrative form in order to produce such a coherent story. For Wertsch, narrative form is the instrument through which memory is distributed. Memory cannot survive without a medium, and states turn to texts when they need to control and direct collective memories. History textbooks reflect the views of the state, not necessarily those of the citizens of the state. The content of history textbooks, the rules of production and their distribution reveal state views on history and state ideology. They are produced and distributed under national constraints (De Baets, 2002). Textbooks used in Moroccan schools were, for example, initially produced in Egypt because Morocco had become a member of the Arab League. The Egyptian Ministry of Education thus initially produced textbooks used in the Maghreb. This only changed in the early seventies. From then onwards, textbooks were produced in the capital, Rabat.

In general, national history textbooks in Morocco and Algeria have paid little attention to the Berbers. The politics of historical priority (Zerubavel, 2003), wherein individuals and groups may want to claim a deeper history, a homeland or an 'ancient' lineage says a lot about how they (want to) position themselves in the present, how they construct and present their 'identity'. It creates not only a sense of belonging and one's place in the world but it also produces a particular claim to autochthony and indigenousness, that is, the roots of national identity. In Morocco, this consisted of countering the narrative on the Berber identity of the Maghreb on the one hand and dismissing the 'primitive' status the Arabs and Muslims were accorded during colonial times on the other. One might argue that after independence, local discourse on Moroccan identity was colonized once again by an Arabism that ignored Morocco's regional and local specificity.

Arabs and Berbers in History Textbooks

Over the course of four decades, the content of Moroccan history textbooks has barely changed, leaving room for only minor adaptations and adjustments to the textbooks' contents, such as *errata*. The basic narrative template within each textbook has thus remained unaltered. The narrative in national history textbooks located the Berbers' origins in the Middle East and hence accorded Arab origins to the Berbers, albeit in a more primitive state. The Berber did not disappear after the end of colonization; it rather remained a signifier in the state's nationalism-in-reverse (Silverstein, 2002). Historical narratives were adjusted to meet the needs of national unity and identity. After independence,

historians could not erase the Berbers. The French view on Arab-Berber relations had been propagated in schools and among the urban and rural elites. It was a matter of incorporating and interpreting the presence of the Berbers in such a way that a Berber past would not be problematic: the Berbers were to remain 'other' and non-Arab, but at the same time they had to be incorporated into an Islamic and Arab nation. The Berber had to be assimilated into the historical destiny of an Arab and Islamic nation (McDougall, 2003, 2006).

Therefore, national historians underlined the Canaanite origins of the Berbers, providing them with a distinct genealogy that linked them to the Arabs as their distant 'cousins' (McDougall, 2003: 72). Ibn Khaldun had located the Berbers' origins in Mesopotamia. Some French ethnologists, not all, had supported this thesis. Historians thus struck a balance between relatedness with Arabs on the one hand and indigenousness on the other, albeit in a very distant, obscure past. The first Berber is Arab-Islamic historiography's true 'noble savage' (McDougall, 2003: 75). Maghrebi historiography thus inverted the French discourse on civilization and replaced 'the French' with 'Arabs'. There had been Arab-Berber unity all along. Islam was an important turning point in national history. Islam salvaged and perfected both ethnic groups.

A narrative of the 'mixing' of races lies at the basis of Moroccan national identity and civilization. In Algeria, colonial politics of assimilation had resulted in a reconceptualization of the West and the 'Algerian' national spirit was now thought of as fundamentally different from Europe. Uniting Berbers and Arabs under the umbrella of 'Islam' did, however, not mark the beginning of history; in Algeria, according to McDougall (2006), it rather signified its end. This set out the principles and terms under which one could interpret what would *follow* after the unification established by the coming of Islam. In fact, in Maghrebi national historiographies, there is little change after the establishment and rooting of Islam: there are only outside threats, seen as violence against the nation and as 'civilizational' violence. Colonialism is regarded as such a form of violence. Islam acts as a binding factor of the new 'mixed race', from which it also gathers its strength as a nation.

According to this Arab-Islamic master narrative, indeed, history ends with the arrival of Islam. Therefore the Berbers are accorded a negligible role in history and are hence cast and caught in a time before Islam, before civilization and before history. Not surprisingly, it is this specific dimension of time in the narrative construction of Berber identity which has been most contested by political opposition in the Maghreb. National histories tend to stress the common origins of the members of the national community, imbuing history with uniqueness and community with destiny. This uniqueness might be obtained through stories stressing the nation's ethnicity and religion. In so doing, national histories are always excluding others (Lorenz, 2010).

National identity is equally consistent in that it undergoes change (Lorenz, 2011; see also Ricoeur, 1992). National narratives on the Berbers' pres-

ence were thus plotted as linear, progressive stories and secularized versions of historical destinies (Lorenz, 2011). As an ethnic minority in independent Morocco and Algeria, Berbers were simultaneously rendered as 'other' because they were different from the Arabs. At the same time, they were conveyed as being part of the Arab and Islamic nation, minimalizing their cultural difference. There had been no substantial historical break with the coming of the Arabs and Islam, as the Berbers had originated from the very same region. Islam was seen as a uniting factor in national histories. Moreover, the idea of progress of history is linked to the Islamic 'awakening' and integrity of the national territory.

In *My lessons in history,* a Moroccan history textbook that has been used from the early eighties onwards in primary education, the origins of the Berbers in Morocco is treated. The subject of history in primary schools was taught in Arabic, not French. In the third chapter, *The ancient populations of Morocco and their contact with Mediterranean peoples,* Moroccan children are introduced to the Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals and Byzantines. A fourth chapter discusses the advent of Islam in Morocco and the 'Islamic opening' in *Al-Andalus.* Afterwards, chapters are built around dynastic successions: the foundation of the Idrissid dynasty and the creation of the Moroccan nation-state by Idris II. Then, the relations between Morocco and Europe during the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution in Europe and colonial empires and 'the Moroccan crisis' during the First and Second World Wars, are treated thematically. Particular attention is paid to the exile of Mohammed V and Moroccan independence. The textbook's last chapters discuss the kingship of Hassan II.

The third chapter thus summarizes the presence of ancient 'peoples' in the Maghreb and devotes equal attention to each population, forming an 'ethnic map' of Morocco. The narrative (compare McDougall, 2003) balances between primordiality and hybridity. The Maghreb is considered as a 'mixed' region, which is nevertheless comprised of an original substratum that can justify the nation's Arab-Islamic identity: all of these 'peoples', including the Berbers, originated in the Middle East. Young Moroccan citizens were hence taught that the first peoples inhabiting Morocco originated from the Arab peninsula, from Yemen in particular, allegedly fleeing from the war with the Canaanites.

These distinct groups interacted with each other and thus created the *Barbar*, the Barbarians (compare Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). The Berbers called themselves *Amazigh* in their Berber language, meaning 'free people'. The word 'Barbar', the author of the textbook *My lessons in history* explains, was used by Romans to name these groups. According to the Arabs that would come to North Africa, he further explains, the name meant 'sons of Barbar'. The Berbers were not treated as one group in the textbook but as several smaller groups. The author distinguished between sedentary and nomadic Berbers. The first practiced agriculture, the second did not and lived off their cattle.

Furthermore, the book asserts that the Berbers are to be divided in three dialect groups: Tashelhyit-, Tamazight- and Tarifit-speaking Berbers. These dialects are 'unintelligible', the book asserts, because they are based heavily on the sounds 'b' and 'r'. All three dialect groups are perceived as 'Barbar'. The Berbers are represented as 'simple' people who are very much dependent on their own 'traditional' techniques and lifestyles. Within these groups, there are tribes headed by a *sjeikh* who unites them in times of war. The textbook notes that the Berbers are 'equally courageous and noble' in times of war. It is stressed that they are 'good people, just like the Arabs'. Their psychical appearance is depicted and detailed; the textbook then focuses on their pagan religion. Tapestry and tajines are considered 'typical Berber handicrafts and products'.

The narrative on the Berbers' origins is followed by the story that the Romans colonized Africa. However, they were unable to penetrate into the mountainous areas. The Romans had a racist attitude and they focused on the economic development of the Maghreb. Christian and Jewish beliefs were propagated among the local populations, but—so the book states—traditional beliefs survived. From then on, the book directs attention to the Arabs and no longer to 'Berbers' or 'local populations'. When the book details the coming of the Vandals and the Byzantine Empire, we find a story about '*the Kahina who goes by the name of Dahia*', a woman who was at war against the Arabs. The latter destroyed those who were against Islam, the Berbers. The Berbers, the book tells us, were the ones who had previously obstructed foreigners from colonizing 'the ancient Berber lands'. Hassan murdered the Kahina in 82 *hijra* (year-numbering system of the Islamic calendar starting in 622 CE, according to which 82 hijra corresponds with 701 CE). After the defeat of the Kahina, the author stresses the Berbers' initial resistance against converting to Islam. However, after they had converted, they propagated Islam with ferocity. This culminates in the historical justification and narrative on *Al-Andalus* and the armies led by Tarik Ibn Zyad. The textbook's antagonists in this particular chapter are the Romans, Vandals and Byzantines but not the Berbers. We read how the Berbers were acknowledged for defending their territory and the safeguarding of its integrity against foreign invaders. While the difference between Berbers and Arabs is maintained, it is also toned down. They are united as Muslims.

According to James Wertsch (2002, 2008a, 2008b), narratives are the *cultural tools* that we apply to remember. He argues that, in order to be able to remember, we must story the 'memory matter'. Memory matters as such are not storied. This often happens *dialogically*. Such narrating relies on the application of templates and formats. In the case of the origins of the Berbers, stories were dialectically narrated through the categories of Arab Muslims and Berbers. In the official narrative, the coming of Islam and Arabs signals a moral evaluative point and the definition of what it meant to belong to the nation and to be a Moroccan citizen.

Activism and Contemporary Challenges

Since the late nineties, Moroccan social movements have contested this view on Moroccan national identity and interpretation of history. Protest has mostly been organized by Berber cultural activists who aim to revive Berber identity and culture in Maghreb countries and the Maghrebi diaspora. Mohammed Chafik, a prominent historian within the Berber Movement and former director of the Royal Institute for Amazigh (Berber) Culture, and other historians and activists along with him, have not ceased to emphasize the need for the 'decolonization' of Moroccan national history. The 'other' (e.g. Roman, French, Arab) had perpetually written *their* history. In his *A Brief Survey of Thirty-Three Centuries of Amazigh History,* published by the Royal Institute in 2005 in a new edition, Chafik appealed to an international audience and claimed that the stakes of memory, in the identity formation of Morocco and among Moroccan communities abroad, were high. Chafik proposed a re-reading of North African history in which the Berbers were accorded agency. Denying the very authenticity of these countries would mean that North African nation-states were denying the existence of the majority of their citizens and those citizens living abroad.

In contemporary history and social sciences textbooks (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011), the narrative on the Berbers' origins has been changed. The Berbers are no longer referred to as *Barbar* but solely as *Imazighen*, as 'free people'. A narrative that grants them indigenousness replaces the story of the Arab origins of the Berbers. Consequently, the Berbers are granted historical priority over the Arabs in North Africa. The Maghreb is nowadays called *bilad al-Amazigh*—the land of the Berber. Contrary to the representation of Berber societies in the history textbooks used before, the Berbers are accorded other values than those related to honor because they defended Morocco and North Africa in general against foreign 'invaders'. The Berbers' resistance against 'colonizing' others throughout the region's history is underscored and at the same time completed with notions such as democracy and solidarity. These values are conveyed through certain heroes that have traditionally underscored the Berber cultural and social movement's counter-narratives, for instance, *Amazigh* kings such as Masinissa, Jugurtha and Juba, military leader Takfarinas. These are all said to have acted against foreign Roman rule in order to preserve Berber culture and territorial integrity. Antiquity belongs to the Berbers. But once the arrival of Islam is noted, the Berbers were pushed out of view as historical agents in the narrative although the Berber origins of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties are noted. From the Islamic 'awakening' onwards, religion unites and ethnicity is erased.

The narrative also selectively 'forgets' episodes of internal religious strife, as these could be interpreted as ethnic divisions within a religious community of Muslims. Whereas the Berbers are granted historical priority, with origins located inside the Maghreb and not on the Arab Peninsula, the binary categories of Arabs and Berbers have up to this day not been erased but rather

retained. By rewriting the narrative on the Berbers' origins, by claiming historical priority and indigenousness, Moroccan citizens remain dependent on the canon of French ethnologists, geographers and historians as it was crystallized in the French *mythe berbère*. Hence, the 'schematic narrative template' (Wertsch, 2002) dialogically shapes the binary thinking in national narratives, the myths of the nation and the counter-memories of those who shape and contest them. Individuals and communities create a sense of belonging and construct their identity by imbuing the past with meaning in the act of narrating about it. Despite globalization, processes of migration and the so-called waning relevance of nation-states and the de-territorialization of identities, the national—as a frame of remembrance and reference—remains an important marker of identity.

Conclusion

States may turn to texts when they need to control and direct the collective memories of their subjects. As argued throughout this chapter, standardized education and history education in particular are often used as means to create and sustain national identities and produce a sense of belonging. Nation-states and governments make use of narrative form in order to produce a coherent story (Wertsch, 2002). This chapter looked into the narrative templates that were produced during the process of decolonization and modernization in the Maghreb from 1956 onwards and the ways in which they relied on knowledge produced earlier on during the colonial era. It did so by looking at the re-invention of the ethnic and cultural differences between Arabs and Berbers and the production of a national historical narrative in the newly independent, decolonizing Moroccan nation-state. After independence in 1956, the Moroccan nationalist movement and monarchy proposed and imposed a national identity that was both Arab and Muslim but failed to incorporate Berber identity because this aspect of Moroccan cultural and social relations had become too closely associated with the colonizer's legacy, more specifically its policy of 'divide and rule'. The colonizing states of the nineteenth century are known to have stressed internal cultural and ethnic differences in the colonies in order to facilitate their political project. If not erased, differences between Arabs and Berbers were minimalized in order to unify the Moroccans after independence. The Arab-Berber distinction functions as a narrative template that had once been imagined by the French and which was re-mediated after independence. Identity always needs an 'other' (Ricoeur, 1992). Perhaps cultural memory has not been fully decolonized in the Maghreb countries.

It becomes clear that what is needed in processes of decolonization and modernization in history education consists not so much of an authentic but rather a useable past. In decolonized states in general, categories of identity often relate back to past colonial politics of identity making. In this respect, research into the ways in which various forms of colonial rule continue to impact identity making in such decolonized states has become a pressing mat-

ter. Throughout the past five decades, the national narrative of Morocco and the Berbers' status in particular have undergone significant changes. Social and cultural activism, often supported by the diaspora, has pressured the Moroccan national government and royal house into democratizing state institutions such as education and into reconsidering its historical imagination as a nation-state, including the country's Jewish and Berber heritage (Ben-Layashi & Maddy-Weitzman, 2010). Yet as 'an eternal other', so tightly linked to the historical process of colonization and the anti-colonial Arab nationalist answer it brought forth, the cultural and ethnic identity of 'the Berber' remains in need of re-invention. Perhaps the answer to the decolonization of national narratives in the postcolonial Maghreb lies not in its contents, but in its method. Most of all, the place of the Berbers in the national historical narratives in the Maghreb is in need of deconstruction.

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CHAPTER 17

Constructing Identity and Power in History Education in Ukraine: Approaches to Formation of Peace Culture

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National identities are usually treated as rooted in ethnic and religious attachments creating cultural continuity between traditional and modern meanings of nation (Smith, 1987, 1998), or as a product of modernity (Breuilly, 1994; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Mann, 2012). The former approach defines national identity as resulting from ethnic history, identity, religious and belief systems as well as dominant system of beliefs and conscious manipulation, including commemoration and symbolism. In the latter, nations are treated as invented by nationalism and are created from state centralization, homogenization of the periphery, protracted warfare and universal conscription, standardization of vernacular languages, the establishment of state-sponsored education systems and the development of mass literacy, print capitalism, intensified division of labor, the emergence of institutions of 'high culture,' increasing penetration of society by ideology, and mobilization of growing numbers of all classes. These two approaches differ in their treatment of the primordial factors in the process of national identity formation: do ancient traditions and customs underpin national identity or does it result from the construction of the modern state? The plausible reconciling answer is that the meaning of cultural symbols evolves and becomes contested in the process of the definition and legitimation of the modern state. Some traditions are utilized in the process of nation-building and some traditions, 'which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 1). The past is always present in national identity but undergoes different levels

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of interpretations through nationalist practices. History education becomes a tool that creates an attachment to national identity and acceptance of institutionalized cultural and political institutions.

This chapter uses this approach to analyze the construction of identity and power in history education in Ukraine. First it outlines the theoretical foundations of two major functions of history education—creation and redefinition of the meaning of national identity and support and legitimization of power—and shows the role of mythic narratives in this process. Based on semi-structural interviews with history teachers and observation in classrooms, the chapter presents the conflictive mythic narratives used by history teachers to develop particular connotations of identity and power. The chapter concludes with recommendations for the development of a culture of peace in history education.

How Does History Education Construct Meanings of National Identity and Power?

In this chapter I will analyze history education as a production of a narrative of national identity that rests on cultural allusion, shared references, and production of meaning. This approach helps comprehend the imaginative creation of the national community and its identity, the development of new values and reconsideration of the past from this standpoint, and the definition of the core meaning and clear boundaries of the nation, its continuity and durability. The construction of national identity through narrative is underpinned by the production of a connotation of ingroup based on symbols, values and beliefs shared within the ingroup and differences with outgroups (within the nation). National narratives are ideological constructs that derive from and are inspired by the social needs and political interests of the ingroup (Korostelina, 2013a).

Students' views of their nation to some extent mirror national narratives presented in history education, including key components about social categories, collective memory, and social representations of history and collective identity (Greenwalt, 2009; Hammack, 2010). Through history education, individuals position themselves as having some relation to the nation, establishing connotations of the nation and positions of various groups within this nation (Gigerenzer, 2002; Haste, 2004; Vygotskii & Cole, 1978; Wertsch, 2008). They appropriate and render specific characteristics, values, and beliefs of the national community to create meaning of a complex social and political reality (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012; Moghaddam, 2008). History education that depicts the past and present of the nation and its anticipated future is an essential mean of expressing people's views on the nation and political order. Linking to coherent continuous narratives that provide a comprehensible and legitimate story about the nation and institutionalize collective memory helps to reduce the cognitive complexity of the multiple meanings of national identity.

Therefore, history education fulfills two major functions: (1) the creation and redefinition of the meaning of national identity and (2) the support and

legitimization of power. These two functions can be distinguished only for the purposes of theoretical analysis; they are actually intertwined. I argue here that the interrelation between the two functions of history education is constituted by two opposite but tangled processes: national identity defines, and is defined by, systems of power, thus producing *embedment of the concept of power into the meaning of national identity* and *defining of power by the meaning of national identity.*

Through the first process, *embedment of the concept of power into the meaning of national identity*, the specific meanings of power and power relations between ingroup and outgroups are incorporated as a core of a particular national identity. The concept of political power determines, shapes, and gives meaning to national identity. In other words, the specific concept of power (e.g. specific connotations of authoritarianism, democracy, paternalism, meritocracy, egalitarianism) and power relations between ethnic, religious, and regional groups within the nation are integrated into the very foundation of national identity, as people perceive them to be a core definition of the nation and a characteristic that differentiates them from others. Therefore, the resistance or opposition to existing power or desired order presented in a national narrative is positioned as a fight with national identity and the nation itself. Because of this cementation of the meaning of power into the foundation of national identity, the realization of power manipulations and development of the potential for resistance against existing prevailing discourses by individuals themselves (Foucault, 1979) or through enlightening by intellectuals (Bourdieu, 1985) is transformed into a furious competition and conflict between national narratives. In this competition for power and control over the nation, history education incorporates the desired meaning of power and power relations into the meaning of national identity.

This process of *embedment of the concept of power into the meaning of national identity* is entangled with the opposite kind of interaction between national identity and legitimacy—*the shaping of concepts of power based on the meaning of national identity.* Through this process, the meaning of national identity determines, shapes, and gives meaning to the legitimation of political power. The meaning of national identity, including the definitions of ingroup and outgroup and the social boundary between them, underpins the comprehension of the existing power structure and design of the ideal social order. The perception of a nation as homogeneous or heterogeneous, the presentation of specific ingroup features as foundations of ingroup dominance, the emphasis on specific historic events and cultural traditions, the characterization of outgroups within a nation as allies or enemies, the assessment of assimilation or integration on the social boundary—all these processes contribute to the connotation of power. Moreover, the salience and meaning of national identity define the choice between coercion or legitimization in support of the existing or desired power structure. The prevalence of particular components in the meaning of national identity ('modes') (Korostelina, 2007) results in the preference for 'power over' as pursuing the dominance

of the ingroup, 'power to' as a development of a national concept that can be accepted by others, or 'power with' as collaboration between all groups within the nation in the process of the formation of a common national identity. The first approach rests on nationalistic exceptionality and forced subordination of other ethnic groups, and the development of an exclusive ethnic concept of a nation. The second approach involves the legitimization of dominance of one ethnic group based on persuasion and formation of a congenial concept of nation. The third approach entails the involvement of civic society, the development of multiculturalism and a civic concept of national identity.

The following discussion, on the role of mythical narratives in the processes I've just described, represents my theoretical conceptualization of empirical work on the formation of identity and power in different countries. It lays a foundation for the analysis of narratives of history teachers in Ukraine that will be presented further on.

The Functioning of Mythic Narratives

Myths solidify the perceptions of the ingroup as lawful and faithful to the nation while the outgroup is represented through seemingly fixed negativities that are grounded in their place of origin, a shared ancestry and history, or common flaws (e.g. Schöpflin, 1997; Smith, 1987).

Myths that fulfill the first function of history education—*formation of national identity*—justify the meaning of ingroup and outgroup and the social boundary between them through the emphasis on continuity of community. Myths that fulfill the second function of history education—*legitimization of power*—support or challenge the social order and legitimize the power of the ingroup through the employment of specific events and history of intergroup relations. In both kinds of myths, through the process of *embedment of concepts of power into the meaning of national identity*, the desired power relations and dominance of the ingroup are presented as inherent to the nation, forming its very core; outgroups are excluded from the nation-building process. At the same time, both kinds of myths represent the specific features and the history of the groups as underpinning their rights to power and occupy specific places in the social hierarchy, thus *shaping the concepts of power based on the meaning of national identity*.

In mythic narratives, the main functions of history education—formation of national identity and legitimization of power—are fulfilled through mechanisms of justification and interpretation. The former includes justification through: (1) impediment by outgroup, (2) condemning imposition, (3) positive ingroup predispositions, (4) validation of rights, and (5) enlightening. The mechanisms of interpretation include providing an opposite interpretation of the same subject on the one hand, and providing the same interpretations for the opposite subject on the other. These mechanisms can be used in several types of myths or in a specific myth.

The first justification mechanism—impediment by outgroup—is a depiction of the fight between two groups in which the ingroup represents and supports the positive values of the nation. The desired values of the nation promoted by the ingroup vary from a mono-ethnic state based on nationalism to civic society and multiculturalism. The outgroup impedes ingroup activity through the development of a conflict, the establishment of wrong policies, the promotion of wrong ideologies, unfair treatment, oppression and use of violence. Thus the binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' groups is justified attributing right actions to the ingroup and wrong actions to the outgroup. In the process of *embedment of concepts of power in the meaning of national identity*, this mechanism postulates ingroup exclusiveness in defining national identity and presents the outgroup as an illegitimate agent of nation-building. In the process of *shaping of concepts of power by the meaning of national identity*, this mechanism justifies the actions and dominance of the ingroup as representing the rightness of nation. The impediment by outgroup mechanism can be more prominent in myths of foundation, of suffering and unjust treatment, and of rebirth and renewal (Schöpflin, 1997).

The second justification mechanism—condemning imposition—rationalizes the claim that the ingroup represents the interests of all groups in the nation while the outgroup is imposing its own narrow ideology, ideas, policies, traditions, ethnic or regional culture, and language on all people in the nation and wrongly claims to symbolize the nation. The myth explains why the culture or ideology of the outgroup is alien to a specific group within the nation and cannot be accepted as national one. Thus, the binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' groups is justified by the claim that the ingroup represents the whole nation while the outgroup represents particular corrupt interests. In the process of *embedment*, this mechanism presents the ingroup as an essential core of the nation, while the outgroup is reduced to a narrow corrupt subculture. In the process of *shaping*, this mechanism justifies the power of the ingroup over all other groups. The condemning imposition mechanism can be more prominent in myths of ethnogenesis, possession/acquisition of territory and Golden Age (Schöpflin, 1997).

The third justification mechanism—positive ingroup predispositions—takes the ingroup to be more able, capable, and competent than the outgroup. These abilities can include entrepreneurial ability and skills of innovation, democratic values and cultures, European traditions, tolerance and support of human rights. According to the myth these abilities stem from a long history and development of the ingroup and became an essential core of ingroup mentality. In comparison to the ingroup, the outgroup lacks these abilities because of its simplistic culture, regressive mentality, and history. As a result, the outgroup is not developed, conservative and paternalistic, trying to promote its ideas as core ideas for the nation. Thus, the ingroup is required to fight with a backward outgroup to prevent it from influencing the national development. The binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' groups is justified by one group better able to lead the nation. In the process of *embedment*, this mechanism

presents a progressive and virtuous ingroup, defending the nation from a backward outgroup. In the process of *shaping*, this mechanism justifies the power of the ingroup, as it is better able and suited to rule. The positive ingroup predispositions mechanism can be more prominent in myths of foundation and election (Schöpflin, 1997).

The fourth justification mechanism—validation of rights—awards the ingroup more rights to develop the nation according to their vision. These rights are based on an advanced authentic culture, a historic development on native land, birthright, and international acknowledgement. The outgroup has fewer entitlements because it is not native to the land, arrived later, does not share ethnic roots, has a simplistic culture and thus cannot be treated as an equal in the nation-building process. In the extreme case—exclusion—the rights of the outgroup are completely denied and it is treated as alien, hostile to and excluded from the nation. The binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' groups is justified by the validation of the exclusive rights of the ingroup and denouncing the rights of the outgroup. In the process of *embedment*, this mechanism presents the ingroup as legitimately deserving the power and the outgroup as alien to the nation. In the process of *shaping*, this mechanism justifies the power of the ingroup as coming from its history and rights to the land. The validation of rights mechanism can be more prominent in myths of ethnogenesis and possession/acquisition of territory (Schöpflin, 1997).

The fifth justification mechanism—enlightening—emphasizes the willingness of all people in a nation to pursue a particular goal (such as a civic society, liberalism, an ethnic state, multiculturalism), but states that their limited abilities reduce their prospects to achieve the desired outcomes. The limitations arrive from a persistent outdated mentality, an absence of agency, and a dependency on populist leaders and government. The myth supports the claim of the ingroup that it identifies the visions and aims shared by all the people and enlightens them in their movement toward these goals. The binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' groups is justified by taking the ingroup to legitimately represent the nation while people who do not share these visions are perceived as outsiders. In the process of *embedment*, this mechanism presents the ingroup to possess the shared vision of a positive future and the outgroup as not open-minded enough. In the process of *shaping*, this mechanism justifies the power of the ingroup in terms of its enlightened and progressive ideas. The enlightening mechanism can be more prominent in myths of foundation (Schöpflin, 1997).

There are two mechanisms of interpretation. The first one provides an antipodal interpretation of the same subject. The supporters of a particular national narrative are aware of the existence of the different (and often opposite) interpretations of a particular event, data, or idea and use myths to denounce and delegitimize outgroup interpretations. The ingroup interpretation is presented in a form of discussion, in which the ingroup both promotes its own point of view and condemns the outgroup explanation as completely invented and groundless. This mechanism of interpretations serves in the processes of *embedment of*

concept of power in the meaning of identity by reinforcing the binary oppositions established in dualistic order. This mechanism is used in all myths.

The second mechanism of interpretation attributes identical meanings to the opposite subjects. In this mechanism, both groups define the same positive value (e.g. vibrant, progressive, modern, and tolerant) and attribute it to the ingroup while denying it for the outgroup. This attribution takes the form of a discussion in which, first, the importance of the particular value is established; second, it is described as a core feature of the ingroup; and third, all claims of the outgroup to use similar positive definitions are denounced. This mechanism of interpretations serves in the processes the *shaping of concepts of power based on the meaning of national identity* in the following way: different interpretations of the same concepts allow both groups to justify the dualistic orders they use to define their views on the power structure. This mechanism is used in all myths.

Therefore, through the mechanisms of justification and interpretations, mythic narratives serve to form and reestablish the meaning of national identity and legitimize the power of the ingroup. In the process of *embedment*, the ingroup is an essential core of the nation, exclusively defines national identity, deserves better faith, is progressive and virtuous, and represents the shared vision of a positive future. The outgroup, on the other hand, is an illegitimate agent of nation-building, alien to the nation, backward, has a narrow corrupt subculture and is not open-minded enough. At the same time, mythic narratives portray the ingroup history and features as a fundament for the rights to power and a privileged place in the social hierarchy, thus *shaping the concepts of power based on the meaning of national identity.* This process justifies the actions, power, and dominance of the ingroup because it represents the whole nation, symbolizes 'rightness' in a nation, has exclusive rights deriving from history and attachment to the land, is better able and suited to rule, and is enlightened and progressive. Through the validation of the attribution of positive social value to the ingroup and denial of this value to the outgroup, mythic narratives support their views on power structure that is based on a domination of the ingroup over all outgroups.

History Education in Ukraine

The study that will be discussed here provides clear examples of functioning of national myths discussed above. Based on several methodologies the national narratives upheld during history teaching in Ukraine have been investigated. An analysis of history textbooks that have been recommended by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine for their use in secondary schools was conducted from 2004 to 2014. The selection of the textbooks was based on their popularity in different regions of the country (Western Ukraine, Central Ukraine, and Crimea) as well as their prevalence in schools with instruction in the Ukrainian language and schools for ethnic minorities with instruction in native languages. In addition, this study included the analysis

of methodological recommendations given to teachers and materials used for examination of students.

Semi-structural interviews were conducted with 60 history teachers across the three regions of Ukraine during the winter and spring of 2013: in Simferopol on the Crimean Peninsula in the South-East, in L'viv and Uzgorod in the West, and in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine in the Central region. Each interview lasted between 1 and 2.5 hours. Schools were randomly chosen from a list of institutions that use the history textbooks involved in the study. Each selected school had one or two history teachers; all of them were interviewed for the study. Of the interviewees 65 percent were female and 35 percent were male; the age of participants varied from 25 to 68, and the largest group was about 40 years old. The interviews were conducted in Russian and Ukrainian (based on the choice of the teacher) and recorded on a Lifescribe 3 digital pen.

Observations of history lessons in the schools were conducted for the purpose of micro-ethnographic analysis. Micro-ethnographic analysis builds on sociolinguistic ethnography, which attempts to explain the ways in which people engage in interactive processes and the construction of meaning; in this instance the meanings of history (Gee, 2000; Gergen, 1999). Eight lessons were observed, the focus of which was the 20-year anniversary of the referendum on Ukrainian independence. During these classes the teachers (all of whom were interviewed) discussed the aftermath of independence and the current situation in Ukraine, at the time the classes were given. Observations were also made of seven classes devoted to events in twentieth-century Ukrainian history.

The research on national narratives in Ukraine reveals a variety of myths employed in the nation-building process. (See for more detailed analysis see Korostelina, 2013a). Four major groups of teachers and textbook texts can be identified based on this research: a group that promotes equal rights of Russians and Ukrainians and stresses the supremacy of Russian culture and economy (Dual Identity group); a group that glorifies the Soviet era and promotes a totalitarian regime (pro-Soviet group); a group that promotes the exclusive rights of Ukrainians to rule over the nation (pro-Ukrainian group); and a group that endorses the concept of Ukraine as multicultural civic society (Multicultural group). They will be described in further detail, outlining the mythic narratives and mechanisms that they employ.

Dual Identity Group

The dual identity group uses foundational myths to justify the moral predominance of Russians over Ukrainians: the Russians industrially developed the East Ukraine and supported rural, underdeveloped Ukrainians in the West who were non-contributors to the economy of the nation. The *positive ingroup predispositions* mechanism is employed to emphasize that entrepreneurial Russians created the well-being of Ukraine and still provide for backward Ukrainians in the West of the country. A myth of ethnogenesis used by the Dual Identity group

states that Russian culture is deeply rooted in ancient Kievan Rus'[1] and has colossal intellectual potential. Ukrainians, on the other hand, have a simplistic culture with a young language and very few literary products. The *validation of rights* mechanism indicates the high level of Russian culture in comparison with the Ukrainian ethic group. Another myth of ethnogenesis and territory states that the Ukrainian ethnic group wants to take over the entire Ukrainian nation. According to a couple of myths the ideals of all people in Ukraine are impeded by the Ukrainian ethnic group: (1) the Ukrainian nation is authentically multicultural and was formed as a conglomerate of different ethnic groups, but Ukrainian nationalists are trying to form a nation on the basis of just one group and (2) the East and West of Ukraine have different histories and values, but Ukrainian nationalists are trying to transpose Ukraine to the alien civilizational space of Polish culture and the Greco-Catholic Church. The *condemning imposition* mechanism is employed to present a country with different histories and values, open to different cultures on which Ukrainian nationalists are imposing Western European culture and an alien religion. These myths delegitimize the claims of the Ukrainian ethnic group that they represent the Ukrainian nation and support the rights of all ethnic groups to be equal builders of the nation.

According to a myth of unjust treatment and suffering, Russians are a tolerant group that supports a multiplicity of cultures and dual identity (Ukrainian and Russian). They want to belong to Ukraine but they are treated unfairly by Ukrainian nationalists who attribute them Russian imperial ambitions and want to impose their own ethno-cultural messianic nationalism. In this myth, positive aspirations of the ingroup are not recognized by the oppressing outgroup. This myth uses the *impediment by outgroup* mechanism: Russians want to be a part of a Ukraine that is multicultural and support different ethnic groups, while Ukrainian nationalists treat them as Russian nationalists, denying the equality of their rights to those of the Ukrainians.

Pro-Soviet Group

Myths of the Golden Age are used by the pro-Soviet group to sustain that the Ukrainian ethnic group took over the nation and destroyed all that was positive in Ukraine: (1) the Soviet Ukraine was a tolerant brotherly nation based on the common identity of the Soviet people (Sovetskii narod), but now nationalists impose their vision of history and society on the whole country and are ruining the peaceful nation, (2) The Soviet Ukraine was one of the ten most economically developed nations and brought development to newly acquired Western regions, but since the Orange Revolution representatives of these Western regions—Ukrainian nationalists—have taken over the country and brought it to economic stagnation, and (3) Soviet Ukraine provided opportunities for all cultures to flourish but now Ukrainian nationalists demand assimilation and enforce the Ukrainization of society, diminishing possibilities for other cultures. Using the *condemning imposition* mechanism, this group blames Ukrainian nationalists for the destruction of the achievements

of Soviet Ukraine and replacement with regional and ethnic traditions and ideology. These myths delegitimize the power of Ukrainian nationalists and emphasize that the only way to achieve Ukrainian prosperity is to return to the order of Soviet Ukraine.

Pro-Ukrainian Group

The foundational myths used by the third group justify the moral predominance of Ukrainians over Russians: (1) Ukrainians have a history and culture of democratic values since the Magdeburg Law and are capable of creating a democratic society while pro-Soviet and totalitarian Russians continue to support a paternalistic society; (2) Ukrainians have European roots and traditions and can lead Ukraine into Europe, while Russians are Asian and look back to Russia. All these myths use specific events and data to legitimate the power of one group and justify its right to lead the nation while diminishing the right of the other group. A myth of ethnogenesis used by the pro-Ukrainian group states that Ukrainians are the authentic native culture of Ukraine while all other groups are the products of migration and will readily accept an ethnic Ukrainian state. One myth of ethnogenesis and one myth of territory rationalize the exclusion of Russians from the process of nation-building: the Ukrainian ethnic group has developed in Ukraine and owns the territory, while Russians have their own ethnic country—Russia—and came to the country as colonialists who should now either leave or accept the Ukrainian ethnic state. According to the *positive ingroup predispositions* mechanism, the Ukrainian ethnic group has a history and culture of democratic values and European traditions that provide ethnic Ukrainians with the capacity to build a European democratic country, while the Russian ethnic group developed within an Asian culture with paternalistic and totalitarian values and thus is alien to democracy.

Myths of suffering and unjust treatment describe the victimization of the Ukrainian ethnic group by the aggressive Russian actions: (1) Ukraine is a post-colonial, post-genocidal, post-totalitarian country with *Holodomor*[2] as the core symbol of its victimhood, which still continues with the oppression of the Ukrainian language and culture via the hegemonic Russian language; (2) Russians suppressed the Ukrainians' search for independence through Holodomor and other repressions, but the Ukrainian people possess a feminine identity and are too peaceful to resist. The perpetrator's cruelty completely delegitimizes the Russians and delimits their role in nation-building processes. Ukraine's victimization heightens the right of the oppressed Ukrainian ethnic group to represent national ideas and define the future of the nation. The *impediment* mechanism sustains that building a new independent state is impeded by the continuing oppression from Russia and the dominance of the Russian language, as well as a liberal ideology that downplays the importance of the ethnic state. The *validation of rights* mechanism stresses that Ukrainians have greater rights in their own land than Russians, who either have to accept the Ukrainian ethnic agenda or move to their ethnic land—Russia.

The myths of rebirth and renewal celebrate the national recovery after a long period of oppression but emphasize the persistent threat to national independence from different groups, including liberals, Russian nationalists, and Russia: (1) Ukraine survived as a nation and rose like a Phoenix from ashes based on cultural nationalism, the memory of Holodomor, the European roots, a national movement, and the Ukrainian language as the genetic code of the nation, prospering despite interference from liberals and Russian nationalists; (2) the fight for independence that inspired Ukrainians is not finished because of the imperial ambitions of Russia and the government's policies of Russification. These myths legitimize the claim of the Ukrainian ethnic group to define the nation and national identity as a sacred right of the reborn Phoenix and proscribe participation of outgroups (liberals, Russian nationalist) in nation-building because they are enemies of the renewed nation. According to the myth of election, the Ukrainian nation is morally superior to Russia. It counter-posits two national groups and provides a historic background to justify the claim of chosen destiny: Ukrainians have supported democracy, tolerance, and human rights since the Middle Ages, and thus it is important to preserve the differences from Russia, which has developed as a totalitarian, paternalistic society. The *impediment* mechanism emphasizes that the fight for independence that inspired the Ukrainians continues because of Russia's imperial ambitions and the government's policies of Russification. The *positive ingroup predispositions* mechanism depicts Ukrainians as essentially democratic and European, and therefore more capable of building Ukraine as a European country. The myths justify the right of one nation to independence and definition of its own future, while condemning the other nation as having selected an immoral path of development.

Multicultural Group

The teachers and textbooks from the Multicultural group emphasize *impediments* to one group's particular values or ideals by another group: (1) Ukrainian and Russian nationalists and Stalinists-communists obstruct the development of a peaceful civic society through conflicting ideologies, (2) they diminish people's agency through populism and paternalism, (3) they obstruct establishment of a national dialogue because they promote only nationalistic or pro-Soviet concepts of society and refuse to accept other points of view, and (4) Ukrainian and Russian nationalists oppose the development of a peaceful multicultural society in Ukraine. These myths condemn particular groups (nationalists and communists) as obstacles to the achievement of a peaceful, multicultural, liberal nation through the establishment of civic society, and legitimize the moral right of the ingroup to lead the nation. Ukrainian and Russian nationalists and the pro-Soviet groups are perceived as enemies of civic society who see liberalism as a hindrance to their goals. *The condemning imposition* mechanism is used to describe Ukraine as a multicultural society

challenged by Ukrainian nationalists who forcibly developed an ethno-national state dominated by one ethnic group.

The other two foundational myths accentuate a specific desire of all Ukrainian people and their inability to achieve their goal: (1) the people long for liberal society but are stuck in a Soviet mentality and Ukrainian nationalism and (2) people want to understand different sides of historic events but are involved in an ongoing conflict of interpretations and possess black-and-white thinking. The nation is supposed to understand the ideas of a liberal shared society but is not ready to pursue them. These two foundational myths rationalize the importance of promoting the ideals supported by the ingroup, and justify the moral right of this group to represent the nation and establish its objectives. The *enlightening* mechanism justifies the importance of promoting the values of democracy and liberalism.

Mechanisms of Interpretation

The Myths in the Ukrainian national narratives also contain mechanisms of interpretation. First, in terms of opposite interpretation, the pro-Ukrainian group describes Ukraine as an ethnic state where all other ethnic groups have settled as a result of immigration or colonialism; thus, the multicultural nature of Ukrainian society is denied. The Dual Identity group and the Multicultural group, however, present Ukraine as a multicultural state with coequal ethnic groups, and attempts by Ukrainian nationalists to form a Ukrainian nation on the basis of one ethnic group are criticized. Holodomor is interpreted by the Dual Identity group as a result of a class struggle that took place in many parts of the Soviet Union, whereas the pro-Ukrainian group presents it as a unique genocide committed by Russians against the Ukrainians. The Soviet Red Flag is depicted as a flag of the great victory, the unification of the Soviet people, and grandiose economic achievements by the pro-Soviet group while it is described as a foul flag that represents imperial memory, domination, and arrogance in the myth of suffering by the pro-Ukrainian group.

The second mechanism of interpretation can be seen for example with regard to the idea of a vibrant, developed, people-centered language as the core of an ethnic group. This idea is used both by the Dual Identity group and the pro-Ukrainian group. A member of the former states: 'While Russian language arrives from the heritage of the Rus' and represents the colossal mental potential of Russian culture and world-famous writers, the modern Ukrainian language is very young and was developed only in the nineteenth century' (from the interview with D.L.). A member of the latter sustains that the 'Ukrainian language is very democratic, based on the people's language, intelligent, and supported by the youth. Russian was formed under the influence of the state; it is complicated, artificial, and not connected to the people' (from the interview with F.A.).

The concept of progress as an essential feature of an ethnic group is employed by both the Dual Identity group and the pro-Ukrainian group. In the first case,

Russians are depicted as an economically progressive group that developed the industrial potential of Ukraine and supported the rural, patriarchic, and backward Ukrainians in the West. In the second case, Ukrainians are portrayed as a socially progressive, democratic group with deep European traditions, while Russians are seen as a socially backward group with culture and values of paternalism and totalitarianism. The concept of tolerance is used by three groups. The Dual Identity group depicts Russians as a tolerant group that suffers repression by the Ukrainian nationalists. The pro-Soviet group depicts Soviet people as a tolerant brotherhood of ethnic groups, while Ukrainian nationalists are described as aggressive, imposing their ideology on all the people of Ukraine. The pro-Ukrainian group describes Ukrainians as a peaceful people with deep traditions of tolerance while Russia, the pro-Russian and the pro-Soviet groups are defined as aggressive, with totalitarian and imperial ambitions.

Thus, in agreement with the argument presented in the first part of this chapter, all four groups promote different meanings of ethnic and national identity as well as positions and power of ethnic groups. The Dual Identity group defines national identity as comprising two ethnic groups to justify the equal status of Russians; the pro-Soviet group promotes the Soviet identity as the most positive national identity, justifying a return to Soviet order and paternalism; the pro-Ukrainian group sees it as authentically Ukrainian, justifying the power of the Ukrainians and the exclusion of the Russians or their complete assimilation; and the Multicultural group endorses the civic meaning of national identity to validate the formation of civic society and liberal democracy. The Dual Identity group stresses that the national identity is deprecated by the forced domination of the Ukrainian ethnic groups; the pro-Ukrainian group emphasizes the continuous dominance of an alien and totalitarian Russian group and the aggressive actions of neighboring Russia; the pro-Soviet group sees a threat to national identity in the destruction of Soviet Ukraine's achievements; and the Multicultural group condemns bringing the country to conflict and totalitarianism.

In sum, both textbooks and history teachers in Ukraine promote competing and oppositional concepts of national identity and structure of power. These differences contribute to the development of conflict in society and to increasing structural and direct violence.

Developing a Culture of Peace in History Education

History education can be a powerful tool in promoting culture of peace (Boulding, 2000a, 2000b; Korostelina, 2013b). It can create a meaning of national identity that is tolerant and inclusive and can support the structure of power that is based on equality and justice, as will be elaborated in the following. Different functions of history education will be discussed in relation to how they can contribute to a culture of peace.

As history education fulfills the function of the establishment of the connotations of social identity, a culture of peace can be formed through the reflec-

tive understanding and critical analysis of the values, foundations, and norms underlining national identity. It can also emphasize commonalities between all citizens of a nation, seek deeper understanding of the sources of national aspirations and the historic path of a nation, develop its connection with other nations and emphasize their mutual influences, thus overcome the biased presentations of history. At this level, the formation of the culture of peace is endorsed through the denial of the primacy of a state and by supporting human rights, democratic civic responsibility, and public agency.

Peaceful connotations of national identity can be developed in various ways. In particular, history education can form a reflected form of national identity, which is associated with critical presentation of the history of the ingroup and emphasis on its current status and position; acknowledgement of complexities of intergroup relations and critical understanding of the sources of national aspirations; and deep discussion of nation's perspectives and future goals (Korostelina, 2007). A first approach advances the cultural form of national identity, as in the case of Taiwan, by increasing awareness of the history, roots, and sources of the ingroup; its relationship to outgroups; and the current status, position, and perspectives of the ingroup. A second approach transforms a mobilized form of identity, as occurred in Northern Ireland, through an emphasis on understanding common history and shared goals. A third approach creates the reflected form of identity as an initial identity, through the presentation of the roots and meanings of cultural traditions and beliefs that unify a nation and create the uniqueness of national culture and the sense of a common national identity. All these approaches facilitate overcoming the typical biased presentations of history and reducing negative attitudes toward other groups.

Another way to promote peaceful connotation of national identity is to develop depictive and historical modes of identity meaning (Korostelina, 2007). The depictive mode of identity meaning includes ingroup traditions and values, characteristics of ingroup members, and ingroup practices (one example of an identity group operating in this mode is the Amish). A historic mode represents the prevalence of the history of the ingroup and its interrelations with outgroups in the meaning of its social identity.

The *historic* mode of national identity does not employ a favorable comparison with outgroups and an emphasis on contradictions with an enemy supporting a different ideology. Instead, it develops positive national identity based on a more systemic, tolerant, and balanced presentation of history. It uses two types of mechanisms: reflective and empowering. The reflective type of mechanisms include: (1) a concentration on cultural history; (2) a comparative representation of the history of thoughts and ideas that reduce the perception of ideological controversies as a threat to intergroup relations; and (3) a promotion of tolerance toward diverse views and a readiness to accept ideological differences. The empowering type of mechanisms include: (1) the development of a meaning of national identity that diminishes the primacy of the state over its people and endorses the agency and civic responsibility of people; (2) the

formation of patriotism not as blind subordination and loyalty to the national government but as accountability of people for their country and service to other people; and (3) the avoidance of concentration on victimization of the ingroup by ethnic, religious, or national outgroups. Rather, the emphasis is on the efforts for reconciliation, approaches to forgiveness and building of mutual understanding. Thus, the formation of a culture of peace is endorsed through the support of human rights, democratic civic responsibility, and public agency.

The meaning of national identity should also be built on the depictive modes (Korostelina, 2007). This can be done in two ways: first, by emphasizing the cultural and political achievements of a particular nation, including all people who reside on the territory of the current state; second, by focusing on achievements of the ingroup in industry, culture, humanities, sciences, and efforts to build peace and positive relations with neighboring countries. For example, a current tenth-grade history course in the province of Ontario, Canada, titled Canadian History in the Twentieth Century shows the development of Canada as a multicultural society through the presentation of people embodying a variety of cultural identities. One of the units examines Canadians of African heritage as a model of an integrated ethnic group. Students study the life and works of international jazz artists Oscar Peterson and Joe Sealy as examples of this group's contributions. In the province of British Columbia, history textbooks likewise include stories of non-British immigrants who have contributed to the development of the region (Seixas, 2000). Students study the role of Chinese workers on the Canadian Pacific road, discrimination against Sikh immigrants, and the internment of Japanese people during World War II.

As history education fulfills the function of justification of intergroup relations and social hierarchies, a culture of peace can be promoted by reducing negative attitudes toward other groups and the acknowledgment of complexities of intergroup relations. These approaches challenge negative perceptions of outgroups as former/current enemies, aim to improve intergroup relations, and advance national and ethnic reconciliation, thereby developing a culture of peace among social and national groups. The emphasis on common factors and social processes that shaped histories of both the ingroup and outgroup can create the basis for shared interpretations of historic events and positive views on the future of intergroup relations. The understanding of differences within the ingroup and outgroup, a diversity of opinions and views on conflict and intergroup relations, and a variety of extreme positions and voices for tolerance reduce the homogeneous perception of both groups. This increases the prospects for dialogue among different groups within both societies. Collaboration and positive relations with the outgroup in new circumstances will be seen as more favorable, thus increasing the perspectives for a culture of peace.

In particular, history education can create a culture of peace by redefining social boundaries. Social identities 'center on boundaries separating us from them' (Tilly, 2005: 7); they form along this boundary and are therefore defined by the relationship between 'them' and 'us' (Barth, 1981). Several approaches can be employed to make boundaries more permeable, shared,

and based on positive experiences. The first approach shifts perspectives from ingroup histories to a common approach to history, suppresses specific ingroup perspectives, and emphasizes common tendencies and transversal processes. The second approach creates an opportunity for ingroup members to understand the views of the outgroup on the world, region, and the ingroup. The third approach depicts major concepts around society, politics, and international relations from both ingroup and ougroup perspectives, as well as through the lenses of both national histories. The fourth approach promotes a history of positive interrelations, common experiences, and collaborations. The fifth approach stresses the controversial and disputed aspects of history, and provides opportunities to understand the roots of conflicts, misunderstandings, and historical divides. The sixth approach provides a balanced assessment of historical events based on a multiplicity of perspectives, comparison, and critical thinking.

As history education fulfills the function of legitimization of power structures and mobilization of collective actions, the culture of peace can be promoted by supporting specific policies of equality and justice for all social groups. History education could depict society as comprised of different ethnic groups with diverse cultures and histories that contribute to national development, promote tolerance and equal rights for all ethnic groups, and encourage empathy and appreciation of different cultures (e.g. history education in Canada). Such approaches can enable strong civic accountability and motivation to contribute to the development of the nation. In addition, history education can describe society as represented by multiple ethnic groups or equal citizens independent of their ethnicity and religion, thereby creating the foundation for equality and mutual acceptance and emphasizing the norms of tolerance, coexistence, and cooperation. These approaches envision a future society where inequality and injustice are unacceptable norms of the democratic peaceful development of a whole nation.

The central issue for the national identity concept is the position of ethnic minorities within the nation: whether minorities are oppressed by the majority, or instead have opportunities for maintaining their ethnic culture. Depending on how they respond to this issue, people can hold three different concepts or meanings of national identity: ethnic, multicultural, and civic (Korostelina, 2006). These concepts of national identity influence attitudes and behaviors toward different ethnic groups within one's own nation, as well as approaches to other nations, in distinct ways. The ethnic concept, for instance, often leads to discrimination against and increasing resistance toward ethnic minorities, as well as a predisposition for intergroup conflict, thus decreasing the prospects for the development of a peace culture. The multicultural concept, on the other hand, usually decreases the potential of conflict between majority and minorities but, interestingly, can lead to conflicts between majority and minorities. The civic concept, finally, typically decreases tensions and the prospect of violence among different identity groups in general. Thus, both multicultural and civic concepts contribute to the development of peace culture through the emphasis on different cultural perspectives and reducing the importance of social categories in interaction between people (Korostelina, 2013b).

Therefore, through the formation of the concepts of national identity, history education can contribute to or impede the development of the culture of peace. The approaches used to develop the ethnic concept of national identity promote dominance of one ethnic group and favorably compare its culture with cultures of other ethnic groups within a nation and of other national groups. In this process, other ethnic groups become marginalized, their existence completely denied, or they are presented as undeserving of equal rights with the major ethnic group. Such approaches hinder the development of a peace culture in the society because they support dominance of one group over others and promote discrimination and inequality.

The approaches used to develop the multicultural and civic concepts of national identity contribute to the formation of peace culture in two ways. First, they describe society as represented by multiple ethnic groups or equal citizens independent of their ethnicity and religion, thereby creating the foundation for equality and mutual acceptance. Second, they emphasize the norms of tolerance, coexistence, and cooperation.

In poly-ethnic societies, the multicultural concept of national identity is formed based on two types of approaches: descriptive and normative. Descriptive approaches have three potential forms. The first descriptive approach presents the nation as a poly-cultural society, depicting the history and cultures of all groups. The second descriptive approach stresses the multicultural origin of the role models and key figures in the national history. The third descriptive approach emphasizes unique contributions of different ethnic groups. Normative approaches also have three forms. The first normative approach declares equal rights for all citizens, independent of their ethnic origin. The second normative approach promotes appreciation of different ethnic and cultural groups. Finally, the third normative approach develops tolerance and a disposition toward cooperation among all ethnic groups.

The formation of a civic concept of national identity through history education is also based on descriptive and normative approaches. The descriptive approach describes the civic nature of the society (its institutions and law) and the role of an individual in society. In creating a culture of peace, history education employs three normative approaches: the first posits the idea of citizenship as central for the society; the second promotes respect for human rights, freedom, cooperation, and peaceful coexistence between all citizens; and the third warns against use of history for reshaping prejudices and justifying discrimination and violence.

Conclusion

History education in Ukraine is an example of the reproduction of a conflict between ethnic and ideological groups in textbooks and classrooms. History education endorses different, often oppositional views on national identity and the structures of power. As the research presented in this chapter shows, history teachers in Ukraine produce four competing narratives that describe one group as more virtuous, progressive, and legitimate than others. Each of

these four competing narratives employs myths to justify the dominant position and power of one group over others within the nation. This creates a culture of hate, competition, and exclusion that exacerbates the current conflict in Ukraine. Thus, the population of Western Ukraine attributes responsibility for the crisis to the Russians and sees its actions as illegitimate. They support volunteers fighting and the antiterrorist operations of the Ukrainian army. In Eastern Ukraine, respondents ascribed responsibility to both Russia and Ukraine and have a negative assessment of Ukrainian volunteer combatants and the antiterrorist operations of the Ukrainian army. Around a third of them feel the existence of a threat to the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine and believe that the aim of Russian annexation of Crimea was in defense of the rights of the Russian-speaking population (Kiev International Institute of Sociology, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2015).

Nevertheless, history education in a democratic Ukraine can promote a culture of peace by developing a reflective form of national identity, a depictive and historic mode of presentation of its history, permeable group boundaries, and a multicultural and civic concept of national identity. First, Ukrainian society could be described as comprised of multiple ethnic groups that have equal rights and as a poly-cultural society in which every group has a unique history and culture, but peacefully coexists and cooperates through the centuries. The key figures in the national history should be representative of all ethnic groups within Ukraine or unique contributions of different ethnic groups should be emphasized. Appreciation of different ethnic and cultural groups can be promoted and tolerance and a disposition toward cooperation between all ethnic groups can be developed.

Second, Ukraine could be depicted as a society of equal citizens, independent of their ethnicity and religion, thereby creating the fundament for equality and mutual acceptance. History education should describe the civic nature of the society (its institutions and law) and the role of an individual in society. It should present the idea of citizenship, respect for human rights, freedom, cooperation and peaceful coexistence between all citizens as central to the society. This approach most likely can help to combat the use of history for reshaping prejudices and justifying exclusion, discrimination, and ferocity. These assumptions can serve as a foundation for future research.

Together, these approaches envision a future society where prejudice, discrimination, and inequality represent a threat to the democratic peaceful development of a whole nation, and where a culture of peace becomes a norm of everyday life.

Notes

1. Kievan Rus' was a federation of East Slavic tribes in Europe from the late ninth to the mid-thirteenth century, under the reign of the Rurik dynasty with Kiev as a capital.
2. Holodomor was the brutal artificial famine imposed by Stalin's regime on Soviet Ukraine in 1932–33.

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CHAPTER 18

Postcolonial Discourses and Teaching National History. The History Educators' Attempts to Overcome Colonialism in the Republic of Korea

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There is little consensus regarding the content, scope, and relevance of postcolonial studies and the definition of postcolonialism differs among academics. Many refer to postcolonialism as the enduring colonial condition following colonial occupation, while others refer to it as a temporal marker of the decolonizing process. On the former perspective, Leela Gandhi (1998: 16) states: 'Colonialism, to put it simply, marks the historic processes whereby the 'West' attempts systematically to cancel or negate the cultural difference and values of the non-West.' Colonialism in Korea also involves the systematic denial of Korean cultural values and historical development but by a 'Western surrogate' Japan.

In Korea, colonialism in terms of an actual power relation ended with World War II. For a long time, to the Korean public, the term 'colonialism' has been associated with Japanese socio-cultural suppression and economic exploitation. Koreans remember the forced migration to Central Asia, Sakhalin, and Japan, the conscription of men and youths into the Japanese army, and the forced recruitment of women and girls into a prostitute corps ('comfort women') created by the Japanese imperial army during World War II. In the late 1930s, Japanese colonialists banned the use of the Korean language, the teaching of Korean history, and forced Koreans to take Japanese names. Japanese colonialists not only attempted to destroy Korean culture and identity but constructed distorted images of Korean people and Korean historical development.

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In Korean history scholarship, colonialism as a subject has primarily been explored in relation to Japanese colonial rule, its aftermath and its production and the spread of distorted knowledge about the East Asian and Korean characters, cultures, and histories. In the 1980s and the early 1990s, *minjung* historiography (historiography of the people's history of Korea) used the term 'new colonialism' to criticize U.S. political and economic interference. In the 1990s, postmodern and postcolonial theories and their critiques of nation and national history were introduced to South Korea. As a result, the conception of colonialism was expanded to include power relations not limited to actual colonialism or political interference but to include other forms of domination and exclusion with their accompanying features of Eurocentrism, racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, and so forth.

The discourses of colonialism and postcolonialism have provoked debates on the teaching of history in South Korea. This chapter focuses on the influence of the discourses of colonialism and postcolonialism mainly on the teaching of Korean history although the discourses have impacted on the teaching of world history and East Asian history too. When Eurocentrism is concerned in particular, some issues of world history are also discussed. The first section of this chapter examines the period after liberation from colonial rule and focuses on Korean historians' efforts to create a new national culture and construct a 'true' Korean history during an era of nation building, economic development, and democratization. The second section covers the 1990s to the 2010s and addresses the postmodern postcolonialists' attacks on nation and national history and the dilemma of teaching about colonial rule. The third section discusses future directions in Korean history education in terms of postcolonial consciousness.

In Korean history education, national history, which has been the most influential in constructing national identity, has faced a challenge from postmodernists' demanding that it be abandoned or transcended. The postnational and transnational approaches are disrupting the 'canon' of national history. Postmodernist and postcolonialist challenges to history education raise the question as to which direction Korean history education should take. The future of history education, which inevitably involves identity construction, should be strategically configured not only in the face of new challenges from societal or paradigm changes but also to resolve the issues based in the past that have accumulated or evolved.

Construction of Korean National Histories

Nationalism and the Construction of National Histories in the Late 1940s

Nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe and America served to establish modern nation-states. However, since the two world wars, anti-nationalism has become prevalent in the West. Nationalism has been ascribed to legitimatize and support the brutal and violent imperialism, authoritarianism, and

totalitarianism in the twentieth century in Europe and in some parts of Asia and Africa. However, anti-nationalism in the West has also been associated with antipathy toward anti-colonial movements in the third world (Gandhi, 1998; Lloyd, 1993). Some Western critics glance suspiciously at surges of nationalism in non-Western colonial or postcolonial societies because they view nationalism in those societies as reactions to colonial domination, not as a process of building a modern nation-state. They perceive nationalism in those societies as 'premature and partial, and a threat to the enlightened principles of the liberal state' (Gandhi, 1998: 105). However, many scholars in postcolonial studies acknowledge that nationalism in many societies with a colonial past has been an important means of resistance against colonialism and of decolonization, which, in many cases, coincided with the nation-building process. Nationalism became a global phenomenon but the shaping and mobilization of nationalist sentiment cannot be explained with one universal account.

Nationalism was also one of the most importance features of Korean decolonization and modern nation building. At the end of World War II, Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation and at the same time divided into North and South Korea along the 38th parallel by the Soviet and U.S. military, with the disarmament of Japan and ending Japanese colonialism as justification. The division was soon consolidated by the establishment of separate governments and economic systems (1948) and a war between the two Koreas (1950–1953). For several decades after the liberation, South Korean intellectuals struggled with the task of building a new nation. That task, together with the North and South Korean political division system, has had a great impact on the mobilization of nationalist sentiment and the formation and reformation of Korean national identity through the teaching of history.

After the liberation, political leaders, intellectuals, and the public in North and South Korea discussed how to build an independent Korean nation and system of government. In South Korea, many leading intellectuals turned to nationalism because it had been crucial in organizing anti-colonial and nation-building movements during the colonial period.

However, different notions of nationalism competed for national identity construction during the last half of the 1940s (Park, 2010). 'New nationalism' called for social cohesion transcending class difference, while 'statist nationalism' demanded the nation's unity favoring national interests over individuals' rights. 'Liberal nationalism' highlighted individual freedom, while 'social nationalism' gave priority to economic equity. All sought peace in the international arena under the principles of each nation's self-determination and anti-imperialism. External autonomy was the central element of these notions of nationalism. In South Korea, nationalism conjoined with other ideologies such as democracy and socialism.

Educators and historians also attempted to formulate the Korean national identity in terms of those different notions of nationalism, but commonly denounced Japanese military totalitarian elements and feudal vestiges. For example, Jin-Tae Son, a historian, claimed that in writing his book, *Joseon*

Minjoksa Gaeron (A History of Korean People, Son, 1948), he took the stance of new nationalism. He insisted that important events be selected and organized around the Korean people as a unit of description, overriding differences among the people (Kim, 2013). He asserted that 'genuine nationalism that could unite the Korean people pursues all people's equality in political, economic, cultural and social obligations, rights, status, and happiness' (Kim, 2013: 85). He criticized previous Korean history textbooks as anti-democratic because they were organized from an elite-centered, feudalist perspective, giving sole attention to royal families and nobles. In Son's history, democratic nationalism was prescribed as the cure-all for the problems of the day, ideological and class conflict, feudal vestiges, and the Japanese totalitarian legacy. However, the formation of a positive identity for Koreans required 'correction' of their history which had been grossly distorted by the Japanese and instilled in Koreans during the colonial period.

Japanese Colonial Discourse and 'Korea's Autonomous Development'

During the colonial period, Japanese colonial officials and historians constructed the heteronomy and stagnation theories regarding Korean society to legitimize Japanese political and economic domination over Korea. Adapting the Marxist theory of the Asiatic mode of production to Korean history, they propagated that Korea before the opening of its ports by Japan (1876) was stagnant. Without any stimulation from outside, the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), they claimed, was unable to launch its modern enterprise by itself. The officials and historians studied, depicted, and reproduced a Western image of East Asia, with all countries, except Japan, seen as undeveloped. The Japanese nationalist historiography also developed a theory of common ancestry of Koreans and Japanese and used it as an ideology to establish an East Asian community to stand up to Western domination. In this line of reasoning, Japanese historians established Eastern history (*Tōyōshi*), countering Western history, but ended up inculcating mainly Western values. Western ideas became the standards to judge modern versus pre-modern and civilized versus uncivilized, indicating that Japanese historians were imbued with Eurocentrism and Orientalism.

Korean scholars' refutations of the Japanese colonialist historiography began during the colonial period. For example, Nam-Un Baik (1933), a socialist, materialist historian, and activist, adopting a materialist theory of internal development, attempted to prove that Korean history followed the sequential development of 'general history' with some 'Asiatic particularities,' moving from the ancient Asian slavery system through the Asian feudal system driven by Korea's internal conflicts. Baik would not call himself a nationalist, but in a broad sense, he also wrote Korean history in a nationalist paradigm.

For several decades after the liberation, South Korean historians and educators called for overcoming the Japanese colonialist historiography but did not produce any works or theories that replaced it. South Korea, under the United

States Army Military Government (1945–1948), which allowed the collaborationist Korean colonial elite to maintain a grip on power, had to embark on the building of the new nation and the decolonization process without a proper investigation of the 'pro-Japanese collaborators.' The Cold War also silenced and doomed to failure any attempts to investigate or legislate the removal of the pro-Japanese collaborators from public life. In this Cold War context, many active anti-colonial, materialist historians who attempted to construct alternative narratives of Korean history including Nam-Un Baik defected to or were abducted by 'socialist' North Korea. The historians who remained in South Korea simply continued to apply the Japanese colonialist theoretical frames to Korean history for a couple of decades.

It was not until the 1960s that South Korean historians formally proclaimed the need to critically approach the Japanese colonialist historiography. Historian Gi-Baik Lee, specialized in Korean history, states in retrospect:

> In 1961, fifteen years after the liberation, no theoretical critiques on the colonial historiography had been made. There had been just a feeling of outrage against the colonial historiography, avoiding any mentions of it or just reiterating it with some changes in expressions. Even though Korea's national independence was claimed, there were no historical grounds to support it. Accordingly, when we talked about our past, we frequently ridiculed ourselves with defeatism and never realized that we had been trapped in colonialism. (Lee, 1994: 253)

Stimulated by the April Democratic Movement in 1960, which overthrew Syng-Man Rhee's authoritarian regime (1948–1960), Korean historians asserted that without overcoming the Japanese colonialist perspective, it was not possible to make any academic advancement in Korean history scholarship. At a national congress of history scholarship (1968), Korean historians actively discussed the issue of the dissolution of feudalism and elaborated on the modern features of the *Silhak* school, a new trend in Neo-Confucianism, which promoted practical learning for the purpose of social reform, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. They began the groundbreaking work to develop alternative Korean history narratives, investigating historical documents to prove that Korean historical progress occurred as a result of internal dynamics following the 'general trajectory of history.' They determined that Joseon society would have transformed by internal force to a modern society if there had not been the Japanese colonialist interruption.

According to Young-Ho Lee (2011), since the 1960s Korea's internal development theories were constructed and developed in two different schools: *the nationalist history school* represented by Gi-Baik Lee, and *the socio-economic history school* led by Young-Sub Kim. Gi-Baik Lee called for 'a historical view of Korea's particular, indigenous development' while perpetuating the 'generality' of general history, however, modifying this generality with the inclusion of not one but plural laws of history (Lee, 1967, recited from Lee, 1994). 'History of all people,' he asserted, 'has historical generality and at the same

time its own particularity' (Lee, 1994: 245). He sought to scientifically systemize the study of Korean history, encompassing all the periods of political, economic, social, and cultural history and revealing Korea's internal capacity for historical change and development (Lee, 2011).

Employing materialist historical concepts, Young-Sub Kim has found historical evidence that Joseon society had had a 'unique Korean form' of feudal system with some similarities to that of medieval Europe, and that the feudal system had been dissolving, while witnessing the emergence of 'managerial well-to-do farmers' (*gyeongyoung hyeong bunong*) between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries (Park, 2013). Working in the 1980s, he and his followers also discovered the gradual transformation of the agricultural, commercial, and industrial sectors, and the dissolution of the rigid social status system between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries (Lee, 2011). Historians restored 'Korean subjectivity' in constructing its autonomous progress. However, they defined historical 'generality' in terms of the European concept of 'general' linear progress.

In the late 1960s, a committee was organized to conduct basic research for developing a modified middle and high school Korean history curriculum at the national level. The committee presented the five following principles in developing history curriculum (Lee et al., 1969):

> restoring Korean subjectivity in narrating Korean history,
> presenting historical features of each period in the light of the general history of humankind,
> understanding the Korean historical process from a view of internal development,
> focusing on human agents not on institutions, and
> giving prominence to *minjung* (the mass of people, subordinated to the elite) as a subject for historical change.

By constructing an alternative narrative of the Korean historical process parallel to that of 'general history,' a narrative emphasizing Korea's internal dynamics, the committee attempted to reformulate a positive Korean identity. The committee also set the stage to construct Korean history narrative from the perspective of *minjung*. However, the recasting of Korean history following those principles was delayed until the 1980s (Park, 2013).

Developmentalist Nationalism and 'Overcoming National Crises'

From the 1960s to the 1980s, Korean history taught in schools was under the influence of the anti-communism and development discourse. Chung-Hee Park's regime (1961–1979) from the start identified 'national security' and 'development' as the main tasks facing the nation and justified its action as a patriotic mission (Shin, 1998). Some scholars, including Korean studies specialist Gi-Wook Shin, call Park's nationalism 'developmentalist nationalism'

while others view it as 'statist nationalism.' Park's regime used education, in particular history education, to promote the mission of national unity against communism and for economic development. According to Shin (1998: 154), Chung-Hee Park stressed 'the past and the present should be fused into one in terms of the clear-cut nation-saving policy of independence, self-reliance and self-defense.' This policy also greatly influenced the construction of Korean history taught in school. During Park's regime, the Korean history curriculum was organized under the theme, 'overcoming national crises' (Kim, 2013: 213) and highlighted heroic moments when historical figures strove to save the nation. By teaching how the unified 'we,' the Korean people, defeated foreign intruders and kept 'our' independence, Korean history organized with that theme developed feelings of unity and patriotism in pursuit of a common goal and, to a degree, contributed to mobilizing the South Korean people to achieve economic growth. However, it depicted neighboring foreign countries as 'others' challenging and threatening the survival of 'us.' 'We' also excluded communist North Koreans, resulting in inflaming anti-North Korean sentiments.

'Traditional values' were also selected as one of the organizational themes of Korean history, taking historical figures as models of 'traditional communal values' such as loyalty, obligation, responsibility, cooperation, and filial piety, while deterring Western values such as individualism, thereby inculcating a distinctive, homogeneous culture. The theme, 'traditional values' became prominent in the context of 'Westernization,' which was accompanied with rapid industrialization and urbanization. Park's regime was highly critical of the adaptation of Euro–American cultures without consideration of the unique Korean cultural tradition. Historians and educators also criticized the academic trends of adopting Western theories and of teaching world history with great emphasis on European history in school (Kang, 2013b). Seok-Hong Min (1978: 144), historian of Western history, argued that 'developing the right national history views required historians to avoid schematic borrowing and adopting Western theories and methodologies to Korean history but referring to and adapting them.' In the 1960s and 1970s, the fear of losing Korean 'traditional' culture and values in the seemingly abrupt process of Westernization, Korean politicians and intellectuals, irrespective of political stances and academic learning, promoted the discourse of 'Korean subjectivity' and 'anti-Westernization' sentiment (Kang, 2013b). The memory of the colonial past and the international power competition surrounding Korea made Korean people cautious about external influences. The discourse of Korean subjectivity had been highly effective in developing Korean national culture and constructing Korean history by the 1980s.

In the 1970s, the nationalist views of 'democratic history' advocated in the late 1940s and the principles of internal development and the *minjung* perspective set in the late 1960s were alienated from the government-directed project of building national identity in formal school history. Overcoming the colonialist historiography remained one of the most critical tasks in the studying and teaching of Korean history. Byung-Seok Yoon (1978: 155), for

example, asserted that 'building the national historical view and overcoming the colonialist theories of heteronomy and stagnation were the urgent tasks of studying and teaching history because the colonialist historical view had been deeply rooted in and continued to influence Korean people's historical consciousness even after liberation.' By the 1980s, Japanese colonial historiography and Western-centric/Eurocentric history scholarship were identified by Korean historians and educators as two different problems that needed to be solved.

Minjung Nationalism and 'Minjung's Struggle'

Meanwhile, the *minjung* movement that emerged in the 1970s and proliferated in the 1980s, resisting the authoritarian regimes and criticizing the United States' political and economic interference, perceived as neo-imperialism, called for *minjung* nationalism. The *minjung* movement activists argued that the North–South division system legitimized the undemocratic authoritarian rules reinforcing 'statist nationalism', racism, and the continuing hegemonic role of the United States in South Korea. Therefore, unification of Korea by *minjung*, the activists advocated, would be the impetus for Korean democratic transformation and its independence from neo-imperialism.

In this line of thought, *minjung* historiography, relying on a historical materialist theory, emerged in the 1980s with the objectives of populist national historiography (*minjungjeok minjok sahak*) and anti-imperialist national historiography (*panje minjok sahak*). *Minjung* historiography conceived national history from a *minjung* perspective, countering the heroic and elitist perspective of history and embracing North Korean experiences. Many scholars and teachers who studied Korean history in college during the 1980s were deeply imbued with the *minjung* perspective. Historian Byung-Hee Lee, Korean history specialist, insisted that '*minjung* struggled for liberation from [Japanese] colonialism, the establishment of the self-determined democratic nation, the prevention of the consolidation of the North and South division system, the overthrow of anti-democratic regimes, and the eradication of distorted capitalist exploitation relations.' He continued that 'history education should contribute to the democratization and the two Koreas' unification and it should set *minjung* as the subject of historical development' (Lee, 1992: 106).

With democratization in the late 1980s, *minjung* historiography was empowered to include in Korean history textbooks some topics about *minjung*'s internal struggles and the struggles against foreign intruders. History textbooks continued to highlight the events of national crisis but shed light on *minjung*'s collective efforts, together with heroic elites' leadership, to overcome the national crises.

The *minjung* historiography pursued practical purposes different from those of the Chung-Hee Park regime's notion of Korean history. It inspired common people to become agents of history, bringing about changes to social 'progress'

and contributing to reforming a national identity centered on a democratic mission. However, scholars in *minjun*g historiography in retrospect criticized the conception of *minjung* formed in the 1980s as 'superficial, and not scientifically sophisticated' (Hur, 2013). The *minjung* was viewed as a monolithic group with homogeneous aspiration and predicaments.

Despite differences over the criteria for interpreting Korean history, such as anti-communism/developmentalism, and anti-imperialism/democracy, the Park regime's notion of Korean history and the *minjung*'s perspective of Korean history stressed exclusive nationalism subsuming other categories and identities under nation. Both notions of Korean history postulated Koreans as a homogenous people who belong to the same race and proclaimed pride in the antiquity and greatness of Korean history.

Postcolonialists' Criticism of the Eurocentric Nature of Korean History

Postnationalists' Criticism of Nation and Nationalist Historiography

In the 1990s, scholars in Western history, accepting Western critiques of the concept of nation by, for example, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawn, argued that nation is an invention of the nineteenth century rather than an enduring reality. The prevalent notion of the nation as a historical 'reality' was dismantled and the manipulative nature of nationalism was attacked. The limit of national history was proclaimed.

Jee-Huyn Im (1994: 118), scholar in Western history, argued that Korean nationalist historiography of both the progressives (*minjung* historiography) and the conservatives has been preoccupied with the notion of nation (*minjok*) as a transhistorical, inherent entity. Intensive, often sophisticated theoretical debates on Korean nationalism, nation and national (nationalist) historiography have occurred (Im et al., 2001; Seo, 2001; Seo et al., 1992; Yang, 2005). Scholars and educators in nationalist historiography generally argued that nation, nationalism, and national history in Korea have different orientations from those of the West. Ei-Sik Seo (2001) insisted that the Korean nation and national consciousness are not modern products but can be traced back to premodern times.

Jee-Hyun Im (1994) acknowledged that Korean nationalist historiography fulfilled its role in the colonial era. However, he claimed that after liberation, due to the North–South Korean division system, nationalism had lost its positive, resisting features and had become the leverage to legitimize authoritarian political regimes as it had in Europe (Im, 1994). He insisted that the concept of national history must be replaced by 'border history (studies on border zones)' and 'transnational history' because national history differentiates and isolates 'we' from 'other,' which would inevitably become confrontational (Im, 2005).

Meanwhile, postnational scholars called for historic pluralism, recognizing the significance of general categories such as gender, class, and region in exploring the historical and social processes that construct these identities. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Shin & Robinson, 1999: 15), scholars in Korean studies, argued that 'the notion of the nation was not an immutable given, despite Korea's long history of maintaining a unified political community,' and that 'because the frame of nation limits an analysis of multi-layered structure, complex power relations and a dynamic process of identity formation, the nation should be included in the analytic categories, equal to the other categories.'

Postnational and transnational scholars also denounced the Korean internal development theory to be the same nationalist enterprise as the Japanese, no more than an attempt to impose the Western model of history on the Korean case. For several decades, Korean historians have made great efforts to 'correct' the Japanese colonialist historiography of Korean history. However, this Korean historiography countering colonialist historiography, due to its nationalist paradigm and its standards in defining modernity and progress, was criticized as being overshadowed by the Eurocentric, colonialist discourse. Henry Em (1997: 195, recited from Park, 1999: 323), Korean history scholar, elaborated on the flaws of the theory of internal development as follows:

> First, because even the development of capitalism in England was discussed as a contingent process, it is meaningless to attempt to prove that a capitalism similar to that which arose in England was also beginning to sprout during Joseon society. The colonialist historical perspective, which uses the development of capitalism as a gauge to measure a nation's superiority or inferiority, must be reexamined. … Second, the discourses of modernity and progress that were forcibly imposed through imperialism are still operating as the basis for indigenous development theory, which sets out to critique the colonial historical perspective.

Tack-Hyun Kim (2000), scholar in postcolonial theory, also contended that at the level of metanarrative, the Korean nationalist historiography is the same as the Japanese Orientalist perspective. He argued that it mirrors European history and modernity as did Indian nationalist historiography. Em (cited from Park, 1999: 323) pointed out:

> Korean nationalist discourse possesses a dilemma shared by the nationalist discourses of other third world countries: to resist colonial rule, they are using the language of the colonizers, such as the concepts of modernity and progress. As a result, while they are trying to resist the oppressors, they are in effect imitating the colonizers and following their standards.

Eurocentric historiography and Japanese colonial historiography are homologous in their intellectual premise of 'modernity.' The Korean internal development theory, to challenge the colonial claim, also accepted the premise of

'modernity' on which colonial domination was based. The theory determined the generality and the particularity of Korean history in Eurocentric terms.

This attitude toward modernity was forced upon Korea by the very nature of the project of national historiography. However, it was not to emulate the vernacular history scholarship of Europe but to recognize South Korea's needs to emerge from a colonial past to rebuild the nation, to create economic growth and democratic progress, and to achieve unification of the divided nation that made historians construct Korean nationalist historiographies. They zealously mobilized their heterogeneous nationalist imagination in reading the theories seemingly 'universal' and appropriated and transformed them, but the critics focused on the nationalist historiography's confinement within the singular, 'general' trajectory of historical progress.

Em (1997) believed that colonial legacy could only be overcome when the myth and the oppressiveness of this imposed 'modernity' have been exposed. Some scholars with a postnational historiography perspective suggested constructing another Korean modernity in collaboration with traditional Korean interaction with European modernity and Japanese colonialism, applying the concept of 'colonial modernity' (Shin & Robinson, 1999; Yoon, 2006). They suggested that the ambivalence of coloniality and modernity during the colonial period be explored. They focused on socio-cultural transformation as Korea encountered modernity through Japan. However, the theory of colonial modernity, a variation from 'normal' development, never transcends the Eurocentric premise of 'modernity.'

Dilemma in Teaching Japanese Colonialism with a Postnational Approach

In schools, Korean modern development has been taught with the theories of Korean internal development and Japanese colonial disruption and exploitation. Korean history transfused with these theories has formed an anti-colonial, Korean subjective identity. High school students learn the ideological implication of the Japanese colonialist theories of heteronomy and stagnation and Korean nationalist scholars' refutation of those theories in the colonial period. However, in the 2000s and the 2010s, the postnational, 'new rightist's' revision of the colonial period has prompted a vigorous debate on the teaching of modern and contemporary history.

The postnational approach analyzes social movements under Japanese colonial rule beyond the dichotomy of anti-colonial nationalist and pro-Japanese colonialist and explores political, social, and economic institutions beyond the dichotomy of colonial versus modern. Scholars of the postnational approach attempt to illustrate complex historical processes of identity formation and to recover suppressed memories beyond the dichotomies. However, in doing so, they inevitably, and sometimes intentionally, emphasize the positive role of Japanese colonialism in modernizing Korea while attenuating and sometimes disclaiming Japanese colonial oppression. They also have a critical attitude

toward colonialism. However, their interpretations of some issues in the colonial era transcending the dichotomy of Korean anti-colonialism and Japanese colonialism have been controversial.

During a televised round table discussion in 2004, a postnational revisionist scholar provoked public wrath and condemnation for his analysis of 'comfort women' as a gender issue transcending the dichotomy of Korean anti-Japanese colonialism and Japanese colonialism. In the 2010s, a high school history textbook written by the new rightists was criticized for resuscitating Japanese colonialist plot lines in their narrative of colonial rule (Lee, 2013). The new rightists elaborated on the theory of colonial modernization, similar to that of the Japanese colonialist scholars, rejecting the possibility of Korea's self-transformation to modernity by the nineteenth century. The history textbook emphasized Korea's modern transformation, including industrialization and the adoption of a liberal democratic system during the colonial period. It also enunciated the Rhee's and Park's regimes' successive development of democratic and capitalist systems as a defense against communist North Korea (Hong, 2013). The problems of colonialism and authoritarianism in the textbook, critics claimed, were obscured. The textbook was severely criticized for its political use of history teaching, 'making history the maid of political power' to legitimize the Rhee and Park regimes' authoritarian suppression from the perspective of new liberalist capitalism.

Postnational historiography warns against the danger of subsuming all other identities within national identity. The general categories of gender, class, or region would encourage more expansive exploration of multilayered structures and power relations that cannot be analyzed with nation as the sole analytic category. However, teaching Japanese colonial rule with the postnational approach in school is much more controversial than researching from a postnational approach, because teaching modern history involves present politics and public memories. Furthermore, unresolved issues in Korea and Japan's colonial relationship such as 'comfort women' make teaching Japanese colonialism more sensitive than other forms of colonialism.

National Solidarity to Resist Global Capitalism

Advocates of transnational history and postnational history have dismissed nationalism's great potential for resistance and solidarity, while the advocates of nationalism have stressed its effectiveness and the virtue of anti-imperialism or anti-capitalist globalism. Scholars and educators in nationalist historiography have stressed the necessity of distinguishing 'statist nationalism/developmentalist nationalism' during the authoritarian regimes from 'defensive nationalism' against colonialism and imperialism (Park, 1999; Seo, 2005). They have argued that 'statist nationalism' promoted pro-Americanism and anti-communism, depressing democratic aspiration, while other forms of nationalism such as new nationalism in the late 1940s and *minjung* nationalism in the 1980s pursued external autonomy and democratic ideals of freedom and equality. However,

they have been critical of 'parochial nationalism' and have suggested redefining the concepts of nation and nationalism to include different ethnic groups and races (Park, 1999; Seo, 2005). Chan-Seung Park (1999: 336), calling for 'open nationalism which is racially and ethnically inclusive,' has argued that 'nationalism is still effective in defending the laborers who are vulnerable to neo-liberal capitalist globalization.' He stated:

> A call to abandon nationalism and embrace internationalism in today's society is a call to disarm in the face of the globalization of capital and of American culture. In order to stand up to the globalization of multinational capital, laborers and citizens need to globalize or at least regionalize, in short, to form what is called 'internal solidarity.' … until the international solidarity of laborers, which can stand against capital in the future, can gain a certain amount of strength, we cannot give up the weapon of nationalism. (Park, 1999: 336)

Nationalism and national identity are viewed as a means to resist the overarching power of neo-liberalist global capitalism. Some postcolonial thinkers, for example, Jong-Sung Park (2006), also defend nationalism and nationalist historiography because nationalism addresses the 'real' problems of globalizing capitalism.

Neo-liberalist capitalism, which demands the flexibility of labor, facilitates global migration transcending national borders. South Korea is becoming a multicultural and multiethnic society, with a surge of immigration from Southeast and Northeast Asian countries. Considering this social change and paradigm shift, some historians are calling for postnationalism or transnationalism. However, historians in the nationalist paradigm are demanding the intensification of 'national solidarity' against neo-liberalist global capitalism but with the expanded concept of 'nation.' They criticize the postnationalists' and transnationalists' lack of political and practical implication for the globalization of capitalism (Na, 2009). Many scholars in history education have suggested that Korean history be taught in a way that students can appreciate multiple identities and historical pluralism and yet with national identity as the overarching identity (Bang, 2010; Kim, 2008). Few scholars in the field of history education would radically proclaim that Korean history should be abandoned or replaced with transnational or postnational history in school curriculum. Instead, scholars have asserted that students should have opportunities to view and analyze historical events and issues from comparative, interregional, and multidimensional perspectives (Bang, 2011; Kang, 2011).

Teaching History with Postcolonial Consciousness

The Possibility of Overcoming Eurocentrism/Colonialism

For the last several decades, a variety of forms of colonial discourse such as nationalism and Eurocentrism have been criticized by postcolonial theorists. In particular, they attacked the nationalist paradigm of Korean history for its

Eurocentric premise of modernity. However, is it ever possible to transcend Eurocentrism in history scholarship or history education?

In the field of history education, the criticism of Eurocentrism has mainly targeted middle and high school world history courses for their emphasis on European history or their adoption of the theories on European internal development into modernity and modernization (Kang, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2012). Many scholars suggested restructuring the world history courses with theories of global history, in particular adapting interregional/cross-cultural approaches or world system theories (Jeong, 2003; Kang, 2002, 2003a, 2006; Lee, 2006). This was an attempt to structure world history to explain the capitalist modernity as a contingent result of Afro–Eurasian interregional interactions, not a result of the logical realization of European cultural traits, and thereby to reduce the influence of a Eurocentric perspective. Historians have also sought in theories of global history alternative approaches to transcend Eurocentric concepts of history such as general history, linear development, and modernization (Cha, 2007; Cho, 2002; Lim, 2008).

However, theories of global history have also confronted criticism that it too is no more than Eurocentric. Tack-Hyun Kim (2012) argued that 'Eurocentrism is inseparable with European modern capitalism/colonialism and the history of Eurocentrism is the history of European capitalism, which spread all around the world, and the European colonialist narrative, which was justified by civilizational mission.' He criticized global history as also justifying the globalization of capitalism, and therefore it is Eurocentric. Tack-Hyun Kim (2012: 349) argued that 'the deconstruction of modernity and the destruction of capital power are the only ways to overcome Eurocentrism and thus to be free from colonialism.' Tack-Hyun Kim takes a radical position about the way to overcome colonialism. In his view, only anti-modernism and anti-capitalism can resolve colonialism.

Jerry Bentley (2010) also saw anti-modernism as the ultimate resolution for colonialism. Bentley, during an international conference in Seoul, 2010, pointed out the problem of 'structural Eurocentrism,' which is 'the structures of thought and categories of analysis—all deriving from modern, capitalist, industrial and imperial Europe—that steer historians and other scholars to understand the world from a particular perspective.' He referred to Chakrabarty's (1992) criticism on Eurocentrism. Chakrabarty argued:

> 'Economics' and 'history' are the knowledge forms that correspond to the two major institutions that the rise of the bourgeois order has given to the world - the capitalist mode of production and the nation-state… So long as one operates within the discourse of 'history' produced at the institutional site of the university, it is not possible simply to walk out of the deep collusion between 'history' and the modernizing narrative(s) of citizenship, bourgeois public and private, and the nation-state. (Chakrabarty, 1992: 19)

Postcolonial theories in the vein of poststructuralism problematize not only the nationalist paradigm but also history scholarship as a whole as constituting a European colonizing process. Chakrabarty (1992: 18) asserted Indian history or Korean history 'even in the most dedicated socialist or nationalist hands remains a *mimicry* (Homi Bhabha's term, Bhabha, 2004) of a certain 'modern' subject of 'European' history.' To end Eurocentism/colonialism, history scholarship has to be reconstructed. In other words, within the discipline of history, no one is able to suggest how to overcome Eurocentrism, a form of colonialism. Overcoming structural Eurocentrism requires scholars to approach the past with different concepts, categories, and methods from those of 'history.'

However, Chakrabarty and Bentley found redeeming value in historical scholarship, suggesting that 'professional historical scholarship is capable of improvement' (Bentley, 2010: 169). Chakrabarty (2000) attempted to configure the 'particularity' of modernity in non-Western countries with 'indigenous' categories, demanding provincializing the Europeanness of concepts and theories in history and social science. However, the elaboration and enunciation of the particularity of each region or culture or indigenousness may reinforce 'ethnocentrism,' or 'particularism,' which has little relevance to the common task which requires a sharing of awareness and consciousness for the survival of humankind. In this respect, some scholars such as Jörn Rüsen (2010) and Jerry Bentley (2010) seek to create 'another universality' or 'cosmopolitanism' beyond ethnocentrism or Eurocentrism. Nevertheless, is it ever possible to transcend structural Eurocentrism in history scholarship or history education?

It is important to critically approach modernity and capitalism to reveal and to solve the problems that the contemporary world is facing. However, 'it is ahistorical to erase the physical and ideological consequences of the global impact of this European modernity' (Dirlik, 2010: 214). It should be recognized that 'the discourses of Euro/American modernity are now part of a global discourse of modernity, which ironically includes the legitimation of anti-colonialism and anti-modernism, which are discussed in postcolonial criticism and postmodernism' (Dirlik, 2010: 214).

Postcolonial Consciousness in History Education

Various postcolonial theories on nation and modernity have reached the Korean intellectual field, and some scholars have adopted these large-scale and all-embracing conceptual tools in mapping out enormous socio-spatial-cognitive transformations. Interest in and emphasis on the 'otherness' of non-Western experiences in the process of writing history has increased. The cultures and identities that had been marginalized by the colonizers' discourse seem to have recovered their legitimate values and status. The complexity of identity formation and reformation that cannot be explored within the category of nation has also been highlighted. Both the need to

grasp 'particular,' 'indigenous' concepts to configure the past and the need to construct a new kind of universalism decentralizing Europe have been addressed. Postcolonial theories contributed to the academic task of revisiting, remembering, and crucially interrogating colonialism, nationalism, and Eurocentrism. It is necessary for the improvement of history scholarship for it to go on to explore the diverse concepts and methods to approach the past, criticizing colonialism.

However, in terms of history education, which is inevitably intertwined with public memory and identity construction, the conceptions as well as the political implications of postcolonial studies are indistinct and diffused. Some postmodern postcolonial theories blur the key binaries underpinning postcolonial studies to reveal 'oppressiveness' and 'otherness,' such as colonizer versus colonized, domination versus subordination, and center versus periphery. Those theories sometimes undermine the political goals of colonized people to resist actual colonialism or restore their collective identity and agency. In the logic of postmodernist postcolonial theories, any attempt to construct alternative narratives criticizing or countering colonial discourses within the discipline of history can never transcend colonialism/Eurocentrism. Any attempt to teach 'history,' regardless of whether it is taught from a narrative approach, a disciplinary approach, or a postmodernist discourse analysis approach, can be criticized as constituting a colonizing process in a broad sense of Eurocentrism.

Postcolonialism has complex, sometimes contradictory dynamics, far more than criticizing and resisting political domination by colonial rule or ideological oppression by globalized Euro–American culture. The discourses of postcolonialism associated with poststructuralism control the discourses of colonialism, anti-colonialism, and postcolonial critiques of anti-colonialism, sometimes in an abusive way that frustrates any attempts to construct or reformulate new narratives or identities in teaching history (Kang, 2014a).

It is important for history educators to have a postcolonial consciousness which criticizes political and cultural domination, oppression, isolation, and exclusion that perpetuate racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, and social injustice when they configure the frame of history education. However, they should refer to the studies of postcolonialism as 'constructive' critique rather than deconstruction, that is, to criticize colonizers' actual and ideological oppression, to restore the values of the cultures, dynamics, and memories that have been suppressed, and to construct new public memories and identities coping with the world of immigration. History educators need to strategically determine what discourses of colonialism and postcolonialism they should adopt in their reconfiguration of history education.

It is crucial for both the countries with a colonized past and those with a colonizer's past, to teach students to be critical of colonial regimes and colonialism. Many Korean scholars, due to Korea's colonial past, have taken a victim's point of view in discussions of colonialism. However, as Korea becomes a multicultural country with the influx of people from underdeveloped countries, history

education needs to provide students with opportunities to reflect on issues surrounding oppression, not only from a victim's viewpoint, but also from that of oppressor or potential oppressor.

Restructuring School Histories

Investigating dominant narratives that direct students' understanding of the past and their identification with it has the potential to be the starting point for determining what should be problematized or excised in terms of postcolonial consciousness and thus reconfigure the architecture of history education in a way that addresses and resolves the problems of teaching history and forming identities today.

In a recent survey with a questionnaire solely focused on middle and high school students' nationalist views in Korean history, Lee (2014) reported that many students answered the question relating to what they would tell their foreign friends about Korean history by choosing the options of 'a long history' and 'cooperative and perseverant Korean characters.' Lee (2014) argued that students' most prominent choices in Korean history themes were related to the story of 'overcoming national crises' and 'cultural inventiveness.' It is quite surprising that the discourses of national character and Korean history constructed by Chung-Hee Park's regime continue to influence students' perceptions of Korean history.

'National crises that were overcome' and 'the national greatness and progress made in terms of cultural development' are still central themes in Korean history textbooks at all school levels. They reinforce the feeling of national pride. Lee's survey (2014) demonstrated the overwhelming influence of the romanticized past on students' views. This image of traditional history teaching, celebrating the romance of the past, is now prevalent in many countries, whether with a colonized past or with a colonizer's past (Carretero, 2011; Grever, 2007; Symcox, 2009).

However, some student-interview-based studies that were conducted on students' reading of historical texts, demonstrated that Korean students addressed present day issues of human rights and inequality when attending to historical processes (Kang, 2013a, 2014b). It is encouraging that students viewed human rights and equality as being essential to understanding and solving problems of the past as well as the present and that students considered them crucial elements and principles to their envisioning of the development of a society in the future. However, these studies pointed out that many students failed to understand events or figures in the past in the past's own terms (Kang, 2013a, 2014b). They did not recognize the past's multilayered social structure or '*foreign*' elements but rather imposed today's simple and superficial dichotomy of a dual class structure on the past. A simplified *minjung* perspective also limits students' understanding of the past. The 1970s developmentalist regime's version of history combined with the 1980s democratic movement version of history has produced a hybrid version which has become 'canon-

ized.' As in other countries (Grever, 2007; Symcox, 2009), Korean history education has the problem of a 'politically inspired' version of the national past.

A narrow nationalist perspective in teaching Korean history has been criticized since the state development of the history textbook system was launched by Park's regime in 1974 (Yang, 2005). In the 1990s, the history textbook system shifted from the state development system to the state approval system, resulting in diversification of historical interpretations of events, teaching and learning materials, and methods in history textbooks. Recently, acknowledging the limited and arrogant view of 'national history,' the writers have revised Korean history textbooks to include diverse analytical categories such as gender and class, and added the historical texts used in the studies of new cultural history and everyday life history. A few history educators of postcolonial consciousness suggest that school history should teach the historical events that allow students to reflectively think about Koreans as oppressors, such as Korean soldiers' war crimes during the Vietnam war (Yu, 2013). In particular, Young-Tae Yu (2013: 23) insists that self-reflection on 'the 'being empire' of not only the United States and the Soviet Union but also Korea during the Vietnam war' is crucial in writing history textbooks.

However, few alternative grand narratives or organizing themes in Korean history have been developed or presented to challenge the 'canonized' version of Korean history. It overshadows the multifaceted aspects of bygone eras and individuals' and groups' interaction with and creation of diverse cultures based on their own predicaments and aspirations. It obscures the complex cultural and ethnic elements that influenced the process of identity formation and reformation. It also limits students' ability to analyze issues and problems and to draw their own conclusions by examining multiple perspectives.

Schools should offer multiple history courses structured in different units of analysis including the nation, the region, and the globe so that students can compare the interpretations of certain events using diverse units of analysis. Korean history should address the issues of multicultural society and world history should expand coverage of Southeast Asian and South Asian histories.

History education needs to examine the issues related to the narrow definition of national history and to the Eurocentric conception of world history. If national history adopted the topics and methods of the new historiographical trends in new cultural history and everyday life history, it would provide students with opportunities to explore past people's diverse interpretations of *'their'* worlds that are '*foreign*' to the students and thus help students expand their knowledge of humankind and 'being human.' World history redefined through the adaptation of cross-regional or transnational approaches focusing on cultural encounters could help students understand the multidimensional processes of identity formation and reformation of peoples, groups, and individuals, linking local and national history with global topics. History teachers could then consider providing students with

a high level of historical competence with opportunities to explore competitive accounts of national and world pasts, but not in postmodern relativists' terms or perspectives.

Teaching Complex Processes of Identity Formation

National history is the nation-state's enterprise. Within the education system of the nation-state, history can never be alienated from 'national identity.' The notions of national identity, however, have been contested. National identities have been constantly formulated, ruptured, and re-established by diverse groups. Many historians and educators in South Korea, reflecting on the political use of history by the colonial and authoritarian regimes, have been dubious of the state's imposition of history and thus have constructed counter-narratives of official history and stressed teaching historical thinking.

However, debates on national identity and national history have persisted. Recently, the changes brought by globalization and the consequent increase of immigration in Korean society have called renewed attention to the relationship between identity formation and the teaching of history. In particular, the current new-rightists' revision of the history of the Japanese colonial period and the Rhee and Park regimes has provoked debate on how Korea's modern and contemporary past should be taught and what kind of national identity should be formed through history education.

As the debate on the new-right's Korean history textbook intensified in 2013 and 2014, an academic journal interviewed eight scholars of history, one middle school teacher, and one scholar of history education, regarding teaching Korean history (Lee et al., 2014). One of the questions asked was whether school history should aim at 'national identity' or 'critical thinking.' Almost everyone gave priority to critical thinking but not to the exclusion of national identity.

However, national identity is not singular, nor does it have a fixed composition. The elements on which national identity is founded change according to fluctuations in social and cultural composition. Therefore, it is important to give students opportunities to explore the issue of identities in certain historical contexts when they attend to historical processes involving massive migration, the communication of beliefs, and the negotiation of values across cultural boundaries, that is, processes that have the potential to bring about a thorough transformation of an entire society and identity reformation.

History educators need to continue to construct a persuasive discourse that recognizes multiple identities, including ones transcending national concepts of self and encompassing a national identity that is inclusive, difference-tolerant, and flexible. Such identities would help students live in the world where diverse cultures, although they are hierarchical in some ways, rapidly cross and sometimes intensely conflict, while still frequently intermingling. Critical and reflective thinking must be reconciled with identity issues.

In particular, *'self-reflection'* on identities' formation and reformation should become one of the central objectives of history education in the view of postcolonial consciousness. It can be developed by giving students opportunities to reflect on their own identities, while exploring the complex processes in which cultures, circumstances, context, and social structures in a society produced a particular form of identity, and by giving them opportunities to examine how a particular individual's and group's interactions with large and small cultures and social structures redirected their identities in a given historical situation.

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CHAPTER 19

History for Nation-Building: The Case of Greece and Turkey

Hercules Millas

Greece and Turkey, two countries that have substantial different historical and cultural legacies, adopted resembling practices in history teaching. The similarities can be best explained by the common objective of the two sides: to build a nation-state. Not only did they both try to mimic the nation-states of the "West", but each also kept an eye on the other trying to foresee probable future political threats, sometimes eventually imitating practices of the "other". The similar trends in the fields of historiography, history teaching, and national identity are not the result of intrinsic social characteristics but rather of copied comparable contemporary understandings. The final model of nation-building, naturally, was influenced by and harmonized with the local legacies too.

The Greek national state was founded in 1830 after a successful revolution against the Ottoman Empire. The modern Turkish Republic started about a hundred years later in 1923 after a successful war of independence against the victors of the First World War but mostly fighting against the Greek armies in Anatolia. In both cases approximately a 40-year period of nationalist furor among the intellectuals preceded the nationalist upheavals. The great difference between the two national movements was not only the time gap of a century but the completely different starting points. The Greeks revolted as a "nation" and started a new state; theirs was a "genuine people's insurrection" (Hobsbawm, 1980: 146). In the Turkish case there was already a state, the Ottoman state, and nationalism was

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introduced as an ideology to save it.[1] The Turkish endeavor reminds Massimo d'Azeglio who had written in his Memoirs (1867): "We have made Italy; now we must make Italians". The Greek and Turkish states differed in the manner they developed but they resembled other states: Greece the nation-states of the Balkans and Turkey the lands empires of Europe, Austria, and Russia.

There are secondary differences too. Turkey was a much bigger and more populous Muslim country, whereas Greece was smaller and Christian. Turkey inherited a well-formed state and an experienced bureaucracy; Greece in this field had to depend on western expertise, on the "imported" King Otto from Bavaria and his entourage. Greece was ethnically more monolithic than Turkey which encompassed the Kurds. In the sphere of perceptions, geographically and culturally Greeks were seen by the "West" as being closer to Europe and as part of Europe's history; Turks were seen as the traditional century-long threat against the Christian world.

However, in spite of these real and/or imagined historical, structural, and cultural differences, interestingly, the two countries followed resembling courses in the fields of historiography, history teaching, and perceptions of national threats and challenges. All these issues constituted a national narrative that set the boundaries of a national identity. Nevertheless, these issues were rarely approached and expressed as issues of national identity; instead all arguments were on a supposed "historical truth". All related history wars and intellectual quarrels were focused mostly on trying to prove what is "false" and what is "real" in history. The proposed "realities", however, could neither secure a harmonious agreement between the two countries nor within each country.

In this chapter I will try to show the differences and mostly the similarities in history education and the related skirmishes within these countries and in this part of the world. The phenomena will be compared with related developments in other countries as these unrolled chronologically. The objective will be to locate the dynamics that create and sustain nationalist history teaching but also the prospects for alternative historiographies. The effect of the local and international political developments as well as the input of academic contributions will be evaluated.

The exclusive and xenophobic history education hampers international relations and in our case specifically the bilateral relations of these two countries. Actually the national identity in both countries is founded on the negative image of the demonized "other". The reactions to this ideology will be presented. At the end I will present my personal experience in teaching the history of the "other" in both Turkey and Greece and my efforts to come up with an approach that will cope with the prevalent history teaching and national prejudices, introducing a more modern approach and in a way that it would be acceptable to my students.

Similarities: Constructing the Past and Reactions to Historiographies

Both nation-states tried to legitimize their existence and practices by demonizing the recent past and the social groups that were—or supposed to be—associated with this past. In the Greek case the dominant view was that the Ottomans (identified as "Turks") were the "other": a kind of a scapegoat of all past and present ills. A discourse of "four hundred years of bondage" is popularized in the Greek historiography (Millas, 2007). However, before the establishment of the new nation-state, the Orthodox Church and the Greek dignitaries who were on good terms with the Ottoman state were also seen as the "other" by the Greek libertarians of the eighteenth century. The new state initiated an education where the main actors were the "Greeks" against the "other". In the present time the historical role of the Ottomans/Turks is still an issue of fierce debate between "patriots" and humanitarians/liberals. There is also a controversy on how the "Turks" and the "self-image" should be presented in the textbooks.

In the Turkish case, in the 1930s a campaign of discrediting the "recent *ancien régime*", i.e. the Ottoman past and its representatives was launched and this is best seen in the Turkish textbooks of the time. At the same time nationalist sentiments were fostered by overstating the existence of enemies (Millas 2008). The Greeks were among the primary enemies presented as irredentists and a serious threat to Turkey. In other words, both sides developed an ethnocentric and xenophobic history teaching. It was this ideological tendency that triggered the first criticism vis-à-vis the school books of the two countries.

The 1970s

The credit of being the pioneers of criticizing ethnocentrism in textbooks goes to Mete Tunçay on the Turkish side and to Anna Frangoudaki and Alexis Heraclides on the Greek side. Historian Tunçay exposed in a 1975 conference in Ankara on history teaching the "chauvinism" of the textbooks of primary and secondary education (Tunçay, 1977). Frangoudaki in her book on ideological enforcement and pedagogical violence in primary education—in particular, in the chapter allocated to history—criticizes the nationalist approach of the school books (Frangoudaki, 1978). Heraclides aproached the Greek textbooks as a problem that caused conflict between Greeks and Turks (and Bulgarians). His content analysis showed the existence of "black and white" images of the "other" versus the "self" (Heraclides, 1980).

Worldwide textbook criticism had started earlier globally after the First World War by the League of Nations and it was further advanced by the UNESCO after the Second World War. The main concern was political and the basic purpose was to promote peace by fighting nationalist discourse. In Turkey

and Greece, too, the bilateral relations were in mind when the textbooks were criticized by the limited number of individuals and only as late as the 1970s. It should be also noted that both Greece and Turkey in these years had brought down the military regimes and enjoyed a more democratic milieu.

The 1980s

Nikos H. Ahlis followed by publishing in Greek his study on Greek history textbooks and "our neighboring peoples, the Bulgarians and Turks" in 1983. His content analysis reaffirmed the demonization of the "other" through education and he ended his 73-page study by recommending fighting prejudices in schoolbooks and in education in general to "accomplish peace" (Ahlis, 1983). On the Turkish side, Türker Alkan published his study comparing the Turkish textbooks with those of France, Germany, and Italy (Alkan, 1982).

During the decade of 1980, the Greeks were more active in the field of textbook analysis. The reaction to the conservative/ethnocentric schoolbooks was accompanied by efforts of producing exemplary textbooks. Two initiatives are of importance. The renowned historian L. Stavrianos was assigned by the newly elected Socialist Pasok government to produce a "world history". The textbook, *History of the Human Kind*, an exemplary book distant from ethnocentrism, was taught only for a year and was withdrawn upon fierce protests from the political opposition, the Church of Greece and conservative circles (Stavrianos 1984). History war had started in Greece. In 1985 a second attempt was initiated by historian Vassilis Kremydas. The textbook, *Modern and Contemporary History, Greek, European, Global*, presented Greek history within a broader historical frame of European and World history and did not include national myths and stereotypes. The book was also strongly criticized as anti-national and anti-clerical by conservative groups. It was finally withdrawn in 1991. Another initiative produced more lasting results. A group of Greek historians produced a five-volume textbook series during the years 1982–1985 to be used in private education. These books covered world history through the emphasis on the Greek history and were not characterized with the usual shortcoming of the Greek textbooks: they were balanced in deciding hierarchies, in evaluating past events, and using an impartial language (Kremidas et al., 1982–1985).

Up to this date the general characteristic of textbook analysis in both Greece and Turkey was self-criticism. Each presented the prejudices, the myths, the stereotypes, and the nationalistic discourses that existed in their "own" textbooks. There were two more distinctive features in this textbook opposition: (a) Most of the criticism came from Marxist (or leftist) historians and (b) Indirectly, the mainstream historiography which was mainly nationalistic was targeted, too. This kind of textbook criticism triggered a nationalistic counter-reaction. On both sides of the Aegean there was an effort to show that "strengthening patriotism" through education was required and that in matters of education

and schoolbooks the "other side" is the problematic one. The history war in this decade passed the national borders and became part of bilateral skirmishes.

Some Turks and Greeks "studied" the schoolbooks of the other side and concluded that the "other" was distorting history producing negative feelings against "us". In the years 1986–1988, two Greek books by Simeon Soltaridis and a series of articles by Cem Emre in the Turkish newspaper *Zaman* are examples of this criticism. These publications are characterized by a one-sided selective approach where the other was demonized, at the same time combined with a systematic silencing of "our shortcomings" (Emre, 1988; Soltaridis, 1986, 1987).

The first comparative analysis of Greek and Turkish textbooks appeared also during this decade in Turkish, Greek, and English (Millas, 1987, 1988, 1991). The textbooks presented astonishing similarities. They praised the "self" ("our" nation) which was victorious and benevolent all through history, belittled the "other" as barbarous, cruel, and so on, and silenced "our" dark role in history. The human history was presented as a war history. These textbooks were a mere mirror image of each other.

It was during this decade that textbooks started being studied more systematically and academically. A PhD thesis on schoolbooks appeared for the first time in Greece. Christina Koulouri published two books related to her studies, one in Greek and the second in French (Koulouri, 1988, 1991). These were relevant to the Greek education in the period 1834–1914 and showed that ethnocentrism and nationalist approaches were persistent over time. A study of the same kind, where the past of the Greek educational system is examined in detail, is the book *Education and Teaching of Girls, Greek Problematics (1830–1910)* (Fournaraki, 1987), sponsored by the Greek state. Salih Özbaran, a Turkish historian who was very active in textbook criticism in the 1990s, published some of his first related articles in 1987 (Özbaran, 1987). It becomes apparent from the above that the decade of 1980 was characterized with a *series* of fights on history teaching and specifically on history textbooks. There was a history war between the (mostly Marxist) left/liberals and the right/conservative groups within Greece; in Turkey there was not a reaction on this topic within the country itself. Next, there was a controversy between the two countries which blamed each other for the textbooks "of the other which did not contribute to peace". Finally, textbook criticism also attained another dimension: indirectly it triggered criticism against the existing official historiography which was almost in tune with the textbooks (Millas, 2008). The difference between academic historiography and "textbook history" was neither in the content nor in the evaluation of the past, but on style and language used. The discourse in schoolbooks was meant for children and the language was naturally simpler.

The textbook controversy was mainly political and ideological. The same ideological clashes occurred during this decade in other countries, such as Estonia, Germany, the USA, Mexico, and Spain (Carretero, 2011). The Berlin wall was still intact and the left–right controversy was in the fore worldwide. The limited cooperation of the Greeks and the Turks with international agen-

cies, the universities, and institutions active in history teaching around Europe was an additional factor which limited the scope of history teaching criticism to political concerns neglecting the pedagogical side of this problem. In the following decade this situation changed and some encouraging developments were experienced.

The 1990s

Starting from 1990 three new positive phenomena appeared vis-à-vis history teaching and textbooks. Globalization played a role in this. First, international and local organizations involved themselves in this domain and made their views heard. Second, the issue was thoroughly discussed in conferences at local and international level. And third, Greek and Turkish historians met and exchanged views on history teaching and textbooks.

UNESCO organized and/or supported meetings where mostly representatives of the Balkan countries discussed textbooks with the goal to improve them. In the conference, *Cyprus in Textbooks-Textbooks in Cyprus*, organized by the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig on 27–30 April 1994, academics from Greece and Turkey had the opportunity for the first time to discuss textbooks and history teaching. The Georg Eckert Institute published two volumes, one on the French Revolution and textbooks worldwide and one on Balkan textbooks (Höpken, 1996; Riemenschneider, 1994). An international conference in Greece in 1994, *Ethnocentrism and Education*, organized by the University of Athens, Department of Preschool Education, brought together many academics who discussed, among other topics, Greek and Turkish textbooks. A conference titled *History Teaching and Textbooks* was organized in Izmir, Turkey, in 1994 and an international one in Istanbul in 1995 titled, *History Education and the Other in History,* organized by the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey. The meeting notes of both conferences were published in Turkish (Özbaran, 1995). This second meeting was actually a Greek–Turkish encounter since the Greeks and the Turks formed two groups with eight participants each. Another symposium, *Turkish-German relations through Texbooks*, was organized in Istanbul in 1997 by the Goethe Institut, Georg Eckert and the History Foundation of Turkey. The same year, in an international conference in Thessaloniki, *Culture and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe,* Greek textbooks and history teaching were among the topics discussed.

Various books appeared in this decade on history teaching and textbooks as well in Greece and Turkey (e.g. Copeaux, 1998; Frangoudaki & Dragona, 1997; Kaplan, 1999; Kokkinos, 1998; Özbaran, 1992; Tekeli, 1998). Loris Koulapis wrote his PhD dissertation, *The Appearance of the Ottoman History in the Schoolbooks of Greece and Turkey. Similarities and Differences of Two Opposing Nationalisms* (Koulapis, 1993). This is one of the rare comparative studies with an insight in the tendencies of the two nations to interpret history differently.

In other words, during the decade of 1990, discussions on history teaching and history school books gained a new impetus. These issues attracted the attention of academics more systematically. Also agents, institutes, and foundations active in history teaching and peace initiatives organized meetings where representatives of the various countries met to exchange views. The internationalization of these matters had a positive impact. The media dealt with these issues too. All these developments created a new milieu where a new critical perspective appeared. The new tendency was an explicit criticism of ethnocentrism, stereotyping, and nationalism that prevailed in history education in Greece and Turkey. In other words, it was in this decade that the traditional and dominant nationalist efforts to produce history textbooks and to enforce history education with nation-building in mind were challenged systematically. This was made possible and more influential by the participation and encouragement of international institutes and agents as mentioned above. Actually history teaching in Greece and Turkey in these years had been internationalized, thus making it a problem that interested people that lived outside the national borders of these two countries as well.

One of the reasons of this rather sudden interest and affluence in critical approach vis-à-vis nationalist history teaching was the academic input in this decade. The publications of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, which tried to give a historical meaning to nations and nationalism, had an impact in Greece and Turkey. Up to that time the "critical views" against nationalism were mostly inspired by Marxist historians and were targeted against "nationalist wars" and prejudices related to the "other", actions which were perceived as "alienation". In this period, class struggles were considered as the genuine efforts that paved the way for "normal" social developments. Books such as *Nations and Nationalism* (Gellner, 1983) and *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 1983) reinterpreted the historical phenomenon of nationhood: nations, nation-building, and nationalism were presented as social movements that could be studied and understood; not readily discarded as anomalies.

After 2000

What was the outcome of the criticism targeted at the ethnocentrism of the textbooks? Ambivalence reigns in this matter. The books changed for the better to a certain extent. For example, in the years 1993–1995 the negative, almost insulting language about the Other was removed from the Turkish primary school textbooks. In the same period the corresponding Greek textbooks also changed for the better. The extreme negative stereotyping characterizations about the Other were removed (Millas, 2001: 92–114, 307–310).[2] In spite of these changes the main old trend to exalt and show "our nation" as the "center of the world" was preserved. Also the perception of the past and pres-

ent international milieu was one of controversies, wars, and animosity. History was mainly understood as the history of military actions.

Various factors inflicted the positive changes, such as: the pressure incurred by international agencies and institutes, e.g. UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute; the criticism of academics within each country; the increased communication among countries and the widened audience interested in textbooks; the increased contact and relations with the European Union, which rendered a more cosmopolitan approach to the issue of education. This did not mean that old practices stopped altogether. In Greece in 2002, a textbook for intermediary schools was prepared by a group of new historians and under the responsibility of Giorgos Kokkinos, *Modern and Contemporary World, 1815–2000*. This time it was the right-wing Greek–Cypriot organization EOKA which objected. In the critical presentation of EOKA, which succumbed to violent actions or terrorism, the textbook was viewed as an insult to the struggle of the Greek–Cypriots for liberation and as an attempt to instigate excuses for the Turkish occupation of Cyprus. The book was withdrawn even before the school year began.

In Greece in 2005, the history textbook for the sixth grade of primary schools, prepared by a body of experts headed by Maria Repoussi was fought by the church because the clergy was not praised as they believed they ought to have been. For the church the martyrdom of the Patriarch who was hanged by the Ottomans when the Greek Revolution of 1821 started was seen as purposefully silenced. The criticism reached the "Minister of Education and Religion", Marietta Yannakou who ardently supported the new book for some time. The right- and left-wing nationalist opposition objected developing conspiracy theories: the USA, the European Union, and/or "imperialism" wishing to secure a Greek–Turkish rapprochement for their own interest, directing Greece to "concessions" toward Turkey, distorting "our (sacred) history". For this purpose—they claimed—the Ottoman Empire was not presented as negative as it should have and the Turkish vulgarity and the suffering of the Greeks were silenced. Before the general elections of September 2007, the minister Giannakou promised an improved version of the book. After the elections, however, the setting had changed. Giannakou was not reelected and the new leadership abolished the book (Broeders, 2008; Liakos, 2008a, 2008b; Nakou & Apostolidou, 2010; Repoussi, 2006/2007, 2009, 2011).

In Turkey a different setting is observed after 2000. The study of textbooks attracted the interest of institutes. The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey initiated a research program named "Improvement of the Balkan History Textbooks Project" which was completed in 2002. This project was supported by the UNESCO, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and the Consulate General of the Netherlands in Turkey. A conference on history with participants from Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey took place in 2001. The findings were published in 2002. This report is very

detailed and covers issues for each country like the educational system in general, historiographies, textbooks of the last decades, related public debates, curricula, the images of the Balkan countries, and stereotypes.

The Education Reform Initiative (ERI), Eğitim Reformu Girişimi (ERG) in Turkish (see also ERG. Education Control Report, 2012, 2013), was launched in the Istanbul Policy Center at Sabancı University in 2003, with the aim of improving education policy and decision-making through research, advocacy, and training. ERI is one of the few initiatives in Turkey that focuses on education policies, identifies key issues, and develops comprehensive policy recommendations. ERI is active in textbooks, organizes meetings, and publishes reports on current issues of education, textbook analyses included. These institutes are in contact with the Ministry of Education of Turkey even though it is not easy to establish their influence in decision making. ERI enjoys the support of various universities.

One of the most extended studies on textbooks of the Balkan countries started in 1998 and was carried out during the first years of 2000. It was organized by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe, based in Thessalonica. The project was sponsored by various foundations from the UK, USA, and the UK Government and the US State Department. A series of workshops took place in various cities in the Balkans, an interim report was published in 2001 (Koulouri, 2001) and a more detailed one in 2002 (Koulouri, 2002). In this report history education in Albania, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, FYR of Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, Turkey, and Yugoslavia is presented and analyzed. Also various articles were presented under special headings like "The Multi-Ethnic Empires", "Macedonia Identities", "Religious Identities", "Cyprus", and "Albania". In the following years four more volumes were published on topics such as, *The Ottoman Empire, Nations and States in Southeast Europe, The Balkan Wars*, and *The Second World War*.[3] This project is a good example of cooperation of Balkan academics in the field of textbooks and history education. An international conference, *The Image of the Other/Neighbor in the Textbooks of the Balkan Countries*, took place in Thessalonica in October 1998 (Kapsalis et al., 2000). Another, titled *13th International conference: Curriculum and Textbooks, The Greek case and International Practices*, organized by the Greek Pedagogy Society in Ioannina, Greece, took place in 2009 (Malafandis, 2012). Tens of presentations were about the Greek textbooks and history education. The notes of this meeting comprise two volumes of a total of 1400 pages.

It becomes apparent that the textbooks and history education in Greece and Turkey attracted the interest of academic institutions and the outcome of this is that the issue is mostly worked out by institutions, departments of universities, and conferences. There are individual efforts in producing and publishing studies on these topics (e.g. Nakou, 2000; Yakarçelik, 2001), but such publications comprise a small section of the related effort. It should also be noticed that there is an increased interest to translate related publications into the language of the country (Ferro, 2000; Pingel, 2003).

An Assessment and Looking Ahead to the Future

The case of Greece and Turkey is one of a relatively late nation-building. This effort was presented as a modernist one within both countries. The history textbooks and the related teaching have been criticized in both Greece and Turkey relatively late too, starting from the decade of 1970. There are common characteristics in this endeavor.

1. The criticism came mostly from academics who were mostly historians.
2. These academics tried to secure the support of international institutes and organizations in order to make their voice heard and combat ethnocentrism, national prejudices, and nationalism. They developed common projects with them.
3. This criticism was expressed in an organized form through international conferences on textbooks and history teaching. University sections and related foundations dealt with the issue. Various publications followed.
4. The main criticism was against the dominant ethnocentrism. National prejudices, stereotyping, and especially the discourse against the Other were the main points that were condemned. The silencing of issues which did not flatter “our side”, exaggerating the negative aspects of the Other and creating nationalist myths were shortcomings that were pointed out.
5. Both the Greek and the Turkish side tried to communicate with each other since the Other in both cases was the nation next-door. Fighting national prejudices proved more effective through this cooperation.
6. The criticism of textbooks and history teaching evolved to a more general problem: national identity and national historiography that were very often based on an imagined negative Other became issues of research.
7. New textbooks were introduced in both countries, especially in the 1990s, clearly showing improvement, mostly avoiding negative characterization against the Other. However, the general ethnocentric tendency was preserved. The ethnic minorities of these countries never appeared in the textbooks.
8. In Greece various textbooks caused the reaction of conservative groups and eventually they were banned.
9. The criticism in both countries extended to the teachers and the way they were trained to teach too. Proposals were made on the pedagogical aspect of the subject (Çayır & Alan, 2012; Frangoudaki & Dragona, 1997).
10. In both Greece and Turkey studies and criticism of ethnocentrism were associated with the national prejudices that exist in various other unsuspected areas such as historiography, literature, cartoons, books for

children, TV series, pictures of banknotes, toponyms, sports, media, songs, Church, folklore (See: Millas, 2001, 2010).

11. In both countries the criticism was directed to the state and/or governments, which were responsible for the production of textbooks and curriculum.

The main characteristics of the controversy within Greece and Turkey vis-à-vis the textbooks and the existing history education were the following. The bureaucracy in both countries is responsible for the production of the textbooks and for history teaching. This bureaucracy in general chooses to ignore the criticism, to silence the attacks and not to answer to questions and condemnations. In Turkey the textbooks have not caused the uproar that some textbooks caused in Greece. In Greece when conservative groups raised their voice, the Ministry of Education withdrew the books. Their excuse was mostly parallel to the objections voiced by conservative circles. In other words, public opinion is more influential in the case of Greece. The history wars in both countries were conducted between the "cosmopolitans" and the "patriots". Cosmopolitanism may be seen as a tendency to be more inclined to communicate with colleagues from other countries, to be more aware of the new interpretations of historiographies, and distancing from ethnocentrism. It is exactly these characteristics that legitimize the attacks of the "patriots": they claim that the traditional textbooks are more patriotic and "national", whereas what is being proposed by the "cosmopolitans" is influenced by foreign centers and they are not national enough. Their main arguments are: history teaching should help in uniting the nation around an identity which will elevate the morale of the youth and show from where the threats come to the nation. The grandeur of "our side" should be promoted. The dark side of "our" history does not need to be shown since it is harmful to the morale of the youth. The "other" should be presented as he is: i.e. barbaric and especially unchanged throughout history. The biggest difference between those that are in favor of or against the present day textbooks and history teaching is that the first see "nations" that are composed of "similar" persons that are "unchanged" all through history, the cons basically have a strong sense of historical change. Finally, the crux of history teaching, which is criticized, is dual. On one hand it is considered as a means for nation-building, on the other as constructing a national identity by creating a negative "other". The criticism is against these two objectives.

The future is not easy to foretell. Greece presently experiences an acute economic crisis and a political crisis is not unexpected. Under these circumstances it may be envisaged that education will not be a priority within the Greek society. In Turkey with the "Islamist" government in power, an imagined "Ottoman past" made a clear comeback. This is best seen in the textbooks of the last five years. In Turkey at present there is a lively debate about the pros and cons of the recent Ottoman past and its relation to national identity, but this discussion is not carried out in a context of textbooks and history teaching. As it happened in Greece for about a hundred years ago, "religion" in Turkey is now systematically incorporated in "our history" (Grigoriadis, 2012). The

textbooks which are mostly discussed in Turkey are the ones allocated to religious education which is clearly Sunni biased. The "secularists", the Liberals, and the Alevis (who do not follow the Sunni tradition) oppose the use of these textbooks. This controversy seems to become dominant in the near future in Turkey.

Coping with Ethnocentrism During History Teaching

Nationalism is probably one of the most "international" worldviews. It is the main paradigm in all nation-states and it is shared by billions. In spite of special local characteristics the case of Greece and Turkey is not an isolated and a unique one and its study may prove useful.

I had the opportunity to teach Greek and Turkish history in various Turkish and Greek universities respectively for about ten years and mostly in a context of bilateral relations. The main difficulty in dealing with nationalist prejudices, stereotypes and myths, in short, with nationalist historiography, was not the absence of an alternative historical discourse. The big obstacle was the resistance of the students to a new interpretation of the past. When they sensed that what they had already learned as history and on which they had based their national identity was disputed, they felt challenged and threatened. History for them was not a story of the past; it was *the* story on which they constructed their beings. Their reaction was similar to the opposition of the conservative circles in Greece who defied the anti-nationalist textbooks. They either voiced their objection—"what you say makes no sense!"—or simply stopped communicating in class.

Both Greek and Turkish history education is characterized with some principles and beliefs which are not plainly stated but rather inferred. The uniqueness of "our nation", its centuries-long existence, its superiority, its past grandeur, as well as of its enemies, the "other", are some points of a black-and-white narration. I knew from the outset that unless I coped with this national "philosophy of history", the best that I could manage was to enforce my students to memorize and repeat what I taught as curriculum but not being able to secure a change in their deeply believed myths.

Having been brought up as a minority member in a "different" dominant cultural and political environment, a Greek in Turkey, I had developed a defensive attitude finding secured techniques in voicing sensitive topics. I built on this a special approach to communicate with my students. It proved very productive. In a very short time my students, not only understood my points, but much more importantly they accepted and internalized my critical interpretation of the past—of their past. Here I summarize the main principles that I followed in my history classes.[4]

In class there was not the slightest effort or intention of avoiding crucial and sensitive topics of the past. The attitude usually expressed as "let's forget the unpleasant incidents of the past!" is neither possible (somebody will bring the matter up) nor desirable (history is a source of precious experience). On

the contrary, self-censorship may provoke the national sentiments of people who feel proud of the deeds, sacrifices, and sufferings of their ancestors and who have been victims of the "other side". Furthermore, the effort of "forgetting", infers a past that cannot be rationally explained or justified; it is as if one confesses that one is unable to deal with the past of his ancestors or cope with the deeds of his neighbors. Escaping to oblivion may give also the impression of a guilt of the "other" which is pardoned in a hurry and prior to an apology.

Whenever history was on the agenda, "change" was the key word. It was always reminded that people, nations and their worldviews, national ideals and targets, ideologies, attitudes, understandings, interpretations, daily life, and social values and even racial compositions of ethnic groups change continuously while the nationalistic historiography in Turkey and Greece (and this is not special for these countries only) has undertaken a missionary role of stressing the "continuity of our nation". As each nation established this ideal of "continuity" together with the national characteristics which reach back to thousands of years, it automatically establishes the same criteria for the neighboring nation too: any act of the "other side" can henceforth be explained on the basis of its permanent national characteristics. This understanding leads to racist evaluations. We tried to avoid talking about "the Turks" or "the Greeks" but of Turks and Greeks of a specific time and geography. Presenting the other nation as "always positive" is as bothering as condemning it in general.

I tried to communicate the understanding that things as well as human beings can be classified in almost infinitely different ways. Individuals for instance can be grouped according for instance to sex, age, profession, education, mental capabilities, industriousness, marital status, language, religion, birth place, political preference, favorite ideology, hobbies, preference in arts and philosophy, national identity, health, complexion (race). The preference in giving precedence to national identity is because in our times nationalism is a dominant understanding. It was not so in the past, for example, when religion was the dominant ideology, and probably it will not be exactly so in the future. Also Turks and Greeks not only change as nations within time but the nations are not composed stereotypically of people of the same understanding either. We tried to look at people through other perspectives than their ethnicity. These other perspectives presented striking similarities among members of different ethnic groups.

The relativity and subjectivity of our own personal judgments and values and the influence of prejudices on our actions were discussed. Subjectivity was not conceived as a weakness and a source of doubt and skepticism which could cause reluctance when action was needed. On the contrary, it was presented as a mechanism of an extra check on our values and feelings before a decisive act is taken and which renders confidence and greater assurance. The socially established images, (of *them* and of *ourselves*), the harm done due to these images to our capacity of thinking were discussed. Prejudice is as harmful as ignorance; ignoring the existence of probable prejudice is worst of all.

A tolerant and open approach to all ideas, beliefs, and ideologies was advocated. Tolerance toward the "others" does not only make the life of others easier (and consequently "ours" too, by lessening tension in general) but, much more importantly, it opens the way to sympathize with the other side. Intolerance means refusal to communicate and the end of dialogue. And there should be almost no limit to tolerance. Even the worst act and the cruelest decision in history can be analyzed and the "reason" (historical or personal) could or should be estimated. Then the "reasons" (actually the "conjuncture" and contingencies) can be condemned but not the individuals who were bound to act unavoidably in socially dictated directions. We tried to understand the motives of the people in the past. We mostly agreed that we in our times—with our present values—would have acted differently. Tolerance also means respect to others, to their ideals, needs, fears, sensitivities, dreams, aspirations, weaknesses; respect to all these, especially if they do not directly harm us. We made some jokes with some national "sensitivities" but we were not ironical or cynical about them.

The higher one's self-esteem is—or to put it differently, the more positive the self-image is relative to the negative image the other has for him/her—the more one gets frustrated when he is criticized by the other side. The more a self-image is balanced, the better. We found quite a number of wrongs in "our" history, so we became more tolerant and we understand the other side and ourselves better, too. We learned—in class—to feel even more proud and superior, personally and as a nation, having been able to accept some of "our" faults and deficiencies. Self-criticism was turned to a means for self-esteem. I spent more time discussing all these matters than speaking about what happened in the past.

Finally—and I think this was the most decisive approach in dealing with national prejudices and teaching nationalism as a historical paradigm—it was the use of the "other" as a historical example that proved very rewarding. I explained the nation-building of the Greeks to the Turks; and the nation-building of the Turks to the Greeks. After a while some students in class would comment: "doesn't this resemble to our case, sir?" So the message was passed without having to demonstrate that all secret and taboo beliefs of the participants were historical constructions and hence ephemeral. My students were not "challenged" vis-à-vis their beliefs. There were no attempts to demonstrate how one's identity was a historical construction: this would have been perceived as an offense and would have triggered reactions. They found this out by themselves by studying the "other". This heuristic approach proved very efficient.

In short we tried in class: not to avoid any issue, to challenge the "discontinuity" of the nations, to pay attention to differences rather than the stereotypes within a nation, to remind the prejudices and the tricks they play on us, to praise relativism and tolerance which reinforces understanding, to bring to consciousness that no nation is flawless, and to use the other as an example. This effort is one of understanding our environment in which we are brought

up, hence of cognition. We studied in class the textbook the parents of students had studied once so that they knew in what kind of a home they were brought up and we discussed what the novels in each country "teach". I did not feel any opposition from my students.

A prerequisite for applying the above is of course a multi-dimensional knowledge of the history of both countries. This "knowledge" should also include all cultural and ideological sensitivities, fears, aspirations of the two nations in order to succeed in drafting or presenting a "history" accepted by both sides—and some basics of physiology. Once a nationalist paradigm is decomposed this is valid for the entire world. What *I* learned from my teaching is that there is a way of transcending nationalist myths in class. Changing text book in a country is much more difficult.

Notes

1. The nationalist historian and activist Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935), in 1904 argued that neither Ottomanism nor Islamism, but only Turkism was the way of salvation.
2. Negative characterizations about the Other, in this case, mean expressions such as "barbarians", "people who are able to kill babies in their cradles".
3. http://www.cdsee.org/projects/jhp.
4. This is a summary of my unpublished presentation in the conference "Cyprus in Textbooks—Textbooks in Cyprus", organized by the Georg-Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, 28–30 April 1994.

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CHAPTER 20

Conflicting Narratives about the Argentinean 'Conquest of the Desert': Social Representations, Cognitive Polyphasia, and Nothingness

Alicia Barreiro, José Antonio Castorina, and Floor van Alphen

Social Representations Theory (Marková, 2012; Moscovici, 1961, 2001a) has brought to the fore how history and collective memory enable individuals to make sense of social phenomena. It allows them to build common sense knowledge of the social sphere, in general, and of the historical process, in particular (Jodelet, 2003). Specifically, social representations—henceforth SR—of history influence how people remember past experiences. They intervene in the collective understanding of events by establishing bias. They also consolidate images and knowledge of the past that are elaborated, transmitted, and preserved by social groups (see Paez, Bobowik and Liu, in this volume). Thus, SR of history encompass shared images and knowledge of the past, elaborated, transmitted,

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and conserved by a group through interpersonal (e.g. family transmission), mass media (e.g. films, novels), and institutional communication (e.g. history education). These representations serve to preserve a sense of ingroup continuity and to cultivate values and norms that prescribe group behaviors (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Collective memory contents (Halbwachs, 1925/1992) are transmitted from one generation to the next. They influence how social groups define their rights and duties, legitimize their political agreements, and frame their roles in terms of the right or wrongness of their actions consistent with their historical experience (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008). Several scholars argue that history traces the path that helps to build the group identity and the relations with other groups (Postmes & Branscombe, 2010). In order to do this, the social group resorts to a narrative that tells the group members who they are, where they are from and where they are going (Sibley et al., 2008). This way, individuals identify themselves as members of a group that has constructed an image of itself in the context of both collectively lived experiences and agreed on common values.

Individuals see themselves as members of a group; they recognize themselves in their ingroup memory that transmits shared values and thinking frames from which historical processes are evoked (Halbwachs, 1925/1992). Thus, appeals to collective memory become crucial to account for the way individuals remember history, that is, remembering the past that they did not live and could have existed long before they did. The SR of history stem from these collective past experiences as family and group images shared in the social experience can contribute to remembering historical processes (Jodelet, 2003). However, contradictory meanings of the same knowledge object, such as historical processes, can coexist in everyday life in the same social group, resulting in a state of cognitive polyphasia (Jovchelovitch, 2008; Moscovici, 1961) on the collective and cognitive level. Furthermore, societies create moral narratives to account for their responsibility in a controversial past (Jodelet, 2003; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Páez et al., 2008; Sibley et al., 2008). Through the political dimension that these narratives possess, some societies legitimize or deny the historical basis of reparation claims regarding inflicted injustices (Bar-Tal, 2011; Volpato & Licata, 2010). Memories inform present behavior, such as reparation actions (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2009), or the willingness to fight for the ingroup in an armed conflict (Páez et al., 2008).

In brief, knowing a particular social group's SR allows us to know its process of constitution, understanding its potential to preserve the group identity, the status quo, and the possibility of mobilizing people toward a common objective. Within this framework, we will be discussing the contribution of the concept of cognitive polyphasia in formal and informal learning and in understanding controversial processes of the past. We will focus on those historical processes that imply the acknowledgment of questionable moral actions performed by the ingroup. Particularly, this chapter looks into how people account for an Argentine historical process called the 'Conquest of the Desert' (i.e. a military campaign that was undertaken by the Argentine government from 1874 to 1885). Since 1880, this campaign has been very important in the official master narrative in Argentina. However, recent insights from

different disciplinary perspectives have given rise to important debates about this master narrative. Although the traditional view is still present in different symbolic resources such as textbooks, museums, or monuments, it conflicts with a revisionist narrative that emphasizes the slaughter of indigenous people perpetrated by the Argentine State during this process. The contribution of SR theory to understand how individuals acquire the group's past, constituting their national identity, will be discussed. Specifically, we'll consider the role of SR in understanding how the power struggle among social groups shapes collective memory. Also, their role in the way individuals think about history, determining what can be collectively signified and what can be excluded from the real sphere, will be scrutinized. Finally, we will examine what this implies for intervening in students' history learning and the possibilities to transform common sense knowledge into the disciplinary knowledge of history.

Acquiring Knowledge About the Past of a Group: Sociogenesis and Ontogenesis of SR of History

SR are signifying structures that provide a shared code of what the individuals in a social group consider to be real and that enable the communication between them (Marková, 2012; Moscovici, 1961, 2001a, 2001b). Another feature of SR is their constitutive link with social practices. Individuals construct SR in their communicative exchanges and diverse interactions with the aim of facing everyday life issues (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). They emerge out of emptiness in meaning in culture, resulting from a novel event or a social object that acquires a new meaning due to a particular context (Moscovici, 2001a). In these situations, social groups engage in a process of knowing the unknown through a signifying reconstruction of that object. This is the case in the current controversy about the interpretation of the 'Conquest of the Desert' in Argentina. Specifically, the genesis of SR occurs through constructive mechanisms of *objectification* and *anchorage*. Objectification transforms the available knowledge in the group culture, by making it concrete in images linked to everyday life through a process of selection and decontextualization of certain partial features of that knowledge. This objectified knowledge is naturalized, that is, the constituted entities become real and take the place of the social object. Anchorage is the counter dialectic of the objectification process; it integrates the representation of the object in the network of knowledge, values, and meanings already existing in the group culture.

We observe three characteristics of SR as social metaphors. Their figurative nature is opposite to the typical abstraction of scientific concepts, they play a role in communicating the social group's viewpoint, and they carry collective images loaded with values and emotions constituting SR. From an epistemological perspective, a SR is not a mirror image of the objective reality, but of its signifying structure. It depends on contingent factors linked to the social context or the situation. Also, it relies on general factors such as the individual's position in the social organization or the group history (Barreiro & Castorina, 2016; Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 2008). In this sense, SR theory is con-

trary to the rationalist idea of general knowledge relentlessly moving from less to more valid. One representation does not approach reality more accurately than another (Barreiro & Castorina, 2012). An SR is valid because of its communicative function but not because of its objective character.

Individuals cannot distinguish between the real world and the world signified by a particular social group, since the object and the individual are not heterogeneous (Jodelet, 1986; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). The individual can comprehend the object of representation due to its inscription in a particular social context in which meanings are actively constructed to understand the object. The social group creates the object and this only exists for the group members because of the means and the methods that enable them to know it (Moscovici, 1961). Furthermore, being part of that social group and appropriating its way of thinking about the world forges the individual's identity (Duveen, 2007). Identity studies in social psychology can be traced back to Tajfel's work on intergroup relations and Turner's theory of self-categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Following this approach, the sense of self is constituted by the different categories that define the ingroup and were built by social comparison with other social groups. However, this perspective does not take into account the collective beliefs that intervene in those categorizations (Hammack, 2008; Liu & László, 2007). SR theory contributes here in clarifying the ontogenetic processes by which people build their social identity. The ontogenesis of SR is understood as 'a process through which individuals re-construct social representations and in doing so they elaborate particular social identities' (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990: 7). People are born in a *thinking society* (Moscovici, 2001b) that offers a world already structured by the SR shared by parents, other adults, and even their peers. As people become social actors, they need to appropriate the representations that allow communication and orient the behavior in their ingroups (Duveen & De Rosa, 1992). This process does not only take place in infancy but also whenever individuals join a new group or social institution. Appropriating SR is not just a matter of collective beliefs being imposed on individuals, it implies an individual's reconstruction that enables her/his understanding (Barreiro, 2013a, 2013b; Barreiro & Castorina, forthcoming).

In our view, the ontogenetic process that enables individuals to appropriate SR is one of the registers in the history learning process. People's knowledge of history can be analyzed from three different registers (Rosa, 2006). The historiographic register (scientific–academic) follows certain specific rules to produce and probe knowledge; the school history register is the usual one employed in history learning; and the common sense register is proper to the social group that the history learner belongs to. In this chapter, we focus on the common sense register, since individuals assume that the knowledge collectively built by their social group in informal social interactions in everyday practices. The process of mutual appropriation of subject and culture constitutes the way individuals think of representational objects, such as historical processes. It differs from other learning processes, as the SR ontogenesis does not

deal with a systematic intentional process deliberately oriented by others to enable individuals to gain teachable knowledge. It implies an acquisition process of knowledge that takes place in everyday life and occurs when individuals engage in different social interactions, such as conversations about their social group's history and that of another group. Also, it stems from the information diffused by the mass media or through the commemoration of certain dates with historical meaning. This learning process is constrained by the symbolic material resources that societies construct to remember and share the past with the next generations (Connerton, 1989), such as street names, monuments, novels, or movies.

Investigating the learning process resulting from the ontogenesis of SR implies bringing the development of collective representational forms that individuals reconstruct while appropriating them to the forefront. During this ontogenetic process, there are transformations in both the collective meanings attributed to an object and in the psychological structures that signify it (Barreiro & Castorina, forthcoming; Duveen & Lloyd, 1990). SR theory takes on a constructivist perspective based on the interaction between the subject and the representational object. Hence, the known world stems from a constituting set of socio-psychological structures (Duveen, 2002). In this developmental process only individuals perceive novelty as such, because those structures enable them to grasp the representational object in a different way. The novelty does not exist for the social group, since those meanings were already present in collective culture (Duveen, 2007).

In the case of SR of history, the individual's appropriation contributes to building her/his national identity. This self-categorization as national is considered to be natural by the individual and offers great resistance to change (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Kriger, 2011). SR of historical processes are singular as they do not strictly organize themselves into cognitive categories; they are narratively constituted (László & Ehmann, 2013; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu & László, 2007). Following Bruner's (1990) distinction between paradigmatic and narrative thinking, Liu and László (2007) propose that SR of history correspond to the second modality '… [they] are by definition temporal structures that relate occurrences linked together thematically through time' (Liu & László, 2007: 95).

Consequently, SR of history are signifying structures with a coherent space-temporal organization including agents, motives, and assessments of them. Differences in those elements constitute the different representations of the same historical process. However, the content of this narrative always takes on a particular perspective. Lower levels of ingroup agency in a negatively perceived past process, or attributing the agency to an outgroup, can indicate an attempt to deny collective guilt (Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Pawel, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). Furthermore, the narratives on processes in the past include an evaluation of the relations between the different groups that took part in them (László & Ehmann, 2013). Narratives on the origin of the own nation show that the individuals telling these narratives appraised ingroup actions positively

and outgroup actions negatively, aiming at sustaining a positive national identity (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012). On the contrary, a collective victimization in the constitution of national identity can hinder intergroup communication and conflict resolution. In such cases, negative emotions, related to ongoing attempts of redemption and reinvidication, can prevail in collective memory (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schor, & Gundar, 2009; László & Ehmann, 2013). The past is not neutrally remembered, all historical narratives have a political dimension (Sibley et al., 2008). Remembering always follows a particular group's perspective in the attempt to sustain a positive identity. Therefore, it is crucial to analyze the way in which power conflicts intervene in configuring versions of the past that can legitimize or question certain positions of the social group in the present.

Power Disputes in Constituting National Collective Memory

SR of history can be used to support and defend a particular construction of the social reality or to resist against hegemonic realities that some powerful groups may attempt to impose upon others. In the current global world, multiple versions of reality coexist, and the systems of knowledge are less homogeneous and stable; therefore, more possibilities arise for critique, argumentation, and discussion. Different SR may compete to become the reality, each defending itself from the other possible SR, thus limiting the range of available meanings. The dialectical movement between cooperation and conflict (consensus and dissent) is exactly what differentiates SR from Durkheim's collective or individual representations (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1961). This dynamic process of conflicting relations between SR led Moscovici (1988) to distinguish hegemonic SR from polemic and emancipated SR in order to account for the dissension within the social consensus. Polemic SR inform the different representations, which are usually debating the same object. These are built by groups experiencing particular situations of social conflict over how to signify such a relevant object for both groups. Emancipated SR show a particular way of understanding a divergent representational object compared to the hegemonic SR of the same object. However, as minorities hold the former, they have neither the social power nor the acceptance to become contentious and so challenge the dominant (hegemonic) SR.

The Argentine 'Conquest of the Desert' clearly illustrates the tensions between different representations of the past. They concern the collective memory of this military campaign conducted by the Argentine State, a period of national organization and territorial expansion involving the slaughtering and enslaving of indigenous people. Thousands were massacred while others were sold to the new landowners. The surviving were forced to neglect their culture and to assimilate to the dominant power, becoming invisible as a social group for the city dwellers of the '*criolla*'[1] or 'white' societies founded during

the 'Conquest' (Del Río, 2005; Halperin Donghi, 1980/1995). Different organized indigenous groups have claimed their rights to the land since this period. However, their condition of invisibility has continued (Gordillo & Hirsch, 2010; Valko, 2012). In the last decades, different native communities have gained more visibility and achieved important goals, especially dealing with their rights before the Argentine National Constitution. Nevertheless, they are still living in poverty and are victims of racism and social exclusion (Sarasola, 2010). This claim for visibility together with different scholars' perspectives (Bayer, 2010; Briones, 1994; Halperin Donghi, 1980/1995; Novaro, 2003) has questioned the hegemonic national master narrative presented by symbolic resources, such as school textbooks and monuments. The master narrative of this historical process presents the Argentine militaries as heroes that pacified and organized the nation, while it depicts the indigenous as violent and uncivilized groups that attacked the southern border of the Buenos Aires territory. In the new revisionist narrative, the slaughtering, abuses, slavery, and looting performed by the Argentine State are emphasized. Tensions between these accounts have caused the debate on the presence of a picture of General Roca, who was in charge of the Conquest, on the 100 Argentine peso bill, leading to his gradual substitution by other national icons. Nevertheless, in various central provincial capitals in Argentina, there are large equestrian statues commemorating General Roca's achievements. Because for many people he represents genocide, these monuments are vandalized with graffiti and thus demonstrate the tensions between the different versions of the past.

Power conflicts usually lead to the coexistence of different meanings of a same historical process even within the same social group, as is the case with the 'Conquest of the Desert'. Hence, subjects build on different thought systems or logics to appropriate them. As was said before, common sense thinking does not develop univocally from less to more valid, but different plausible representations can coexist conforming a state of cognitive polyphasia. The cognitive polyphasia hypothesis suggests abandoning the notion of a single knowledge development that grows in consistency. It claims that there is a univocal relation among different situations and ways of thinking, without an evolutionary line between them. The relations between these different ways of knowing are characterized by tensions and contradictions between SR or between SR and disciplinary historical contents.

In this sense, Barreiro, Wainryb, and Carretero (2016) report about memories of the Conquest of the Desert in Argentina. They give a noteworthy example of how transformations in the same context can elicit the individual to construct contradictory narratives on the same representational object, depending on the contextually salient historical aspects. The following interview excerpt illustrates this. The interviewee is a social scientist who works at the local historical museum. She lives in a town founded during the Conquest of the Desert to serve as a military hub moving southwards, and it was part of 'the last border against the indigenous people' (Nagy, 2014). Upon welcoming

the researchers at the door of the local *historical museum*, she starts retelling the historical process:

> The Argentine government offers them [referring to the colonizers] lands, it offers them materials to build their houses, it offers them seeds and tools to cultivate the land, and it offers them protection in the form of a trench and forts. Why wouldn't they want to come? It was all peaceful. Why? Because there were no aboriginal people (…) There was nobody here. (…) Some say that when General Villegas arrived, he found Indians (…) He arrived on April 12, 1876, and the town was founded. (…) Roca [the Minister of Defense] is the one who orders General Villegas to arrest Pincén. Why? Because up to that time there had been a kind of mutual respect between Pincén and Villegas, they called each other 'Bull'. Bull Pincén and Bull Villegas. (from Barreiro et al., 2016: 48)

The museum has different rooms dedicated to the memory of the town's foundation by the military forces with the aim of conquering the indigenous-inhabited lands. One of the rooms is in honor of General Villegas, the town founder, and his wife. In another room, pictures of Indigenous Chief Pincén are exhibited together with his wife and other indigenous captives of the Argentine national army. In this room, the woman says:

> Going back to the aboriginal people, well (…) their families were divided, some of their children were adopted out, women became servants, the husbands were held prisoners (…) they didn't have so many options (…) Because you dig a trench, you isolate them from resources, where would they go to find their food? They don't have water, they can´t go to find animals to hunt. They were enclosed. Either you surrender or you die like that. And they became more and more ill. And the Church baptized them, in the name of the church they changed their identity. See her? [points to a woman in a picture] She was with Chief Pincén, and her granddaughter [a local woman living in town], tells of how soldiers used to cut their heels, so they couldn't escape. (from Barreiro et al., 2016: 48)

The woman started her narrative depicting a peaceful relationship between the military and the indigenous people, which is the core of the founding myth of the town. However, to the researchers' surprise she ended up talking about the tortures inflicted on the captives. While there is a contradiction between these two narratives, she did not seem to be aware of this. The organization of the museum encouraged the researchers to think of glorious militaries and humble indigenous families. However, no material source accounting for the tortures inflicted is offered. The woman brings the abuses and sufferings that indigenous people went through into the scene when she sees the photos of the different captives together with their families. Furthermore, her earlier commentary about the absence of indigenous people in the region is inconsistent with the reference to Chief Pincén and his people living there.

This woman's account of the past suggests the juxtaposition of two narratives: one about the peaceful town foundation and the other about the violence and abuses committed by the Argentine army against the indigenous people in the same timeframe. According to Barreiro et al. (2016), this juxtaposition demonstrates a state of cognitive polyphasia. This woman's narrative about the glorious foundation of the town may support a sense of social identity; abandoning such a narrative may be threatening to her identity. Nevertheless, she is also aware of the tragic history of the indigenous people, so she cannot simply deny these facts either. Thus, both narratives are alternatively externalized in her discourse, depending on the contextual demands, without maintaining a coherent relation between the two. In this way, cognitive polyphasia may operate as a strategy to avoid guilt about her nation's actions.

Another way to analyze how power relations intervene in the construction of SR is to consider the dialogical process by which meanings are constructed (Jovchelovitch, 2010). In dialogical relations between people and social groups, the social asymmetries of the speakers may lead to relations of domination and some representations may fail to be recognized. The non-dialogue is a way of ignoring a representational field, that is, the legitimacy of certain knowledge can be denied by the power of some over others. In dialogical situations where SR are constructed, the dominant information can prevail, constraining the meaning-making processes. From this perspective, power in human relations is not only about domination and subordination, but it also refers to the human capacity for action and recognition.

In this vein, the meanings that prevail in this struggle between representational fields within the social arena constitute a positive SR. This specific symbolic structure occupies the place of the real object in the individual's everyday life. Nevertheless, the other possible representations become nothingness and remain as the dark, unacknowledged, side of the positive representations or the non-present parts of that structure (Barreiro & Castorina, 2016). This repression or exclusion of some meanings from the representational field is by no means casual. Their exclusion is due to their challenging role in the dominant ideological vision of the social world and, in that sense, they become threatening to social groups. In these cases, the absence of SR is not because they lack relevance for the social group. On the contrary, the SR refer to the existence of an emotionally decisive object as an indicator of its overwhelming affective presence in the social group's daily life. Traditionally, in SR theory, the absence of a consensual representation of an object in a particular social group was explained through the non-salient features of that object in the individual's everyday life (Wagner & Hayes, 2005; Wagner, Valencia, & Elejabarrieta, 1996). Nevertheless, this absence in some cases stems from a constructive process to cope with uncanny social objects (Barreiro & Castorina, 2016).

The remembering of the Argentine 'Conquest of the Desert' illustrates the group's and individual's active construction of nothingness as a strategy to deal with the uncanny. Although this historical process is crucial in the constitution of the current Argentine State, it is seldom found in the Argentines' narratives

of their national past (Sarti & Barreiro, 2014) and in school history textbooks (Novaro, 2003). However, there are lots of monuments that pay homage to the 'heroic' militaries participating in the operation. Their names are street names and many 100 peso bills still show a commemorative image of this campaign. Despite the daily interaction with different symbolic commemorations of this historical process, it is significantly absent in most individuals' narratives about the national past (Sarti & Barreiro, 2014). During the collective meaning-making process to represent an object creating SR, some of its constitutive features may be omitted by social groups. Those ignored characteristics of the representational object perform a constitutive function in the geneses of SR, as the SR can be constructed precisely because features are excluded (Barreiro & Castorina, 2016). Moreover, the people participating in our studies (Barreiro et al., 2016; Barreiro & Sarti, 2014), who were able to explain something about what happened during this historical process, do not seem to know that the conquest was carried out by the Argentine military forces. Many of them state that it was performed by Spanish colonizers. We think that this obliviousness about the agent responsible for the killing and torturing of indigenous people is a strategy to deny the responsibility of the Argentine government and population regarding this matter. Moreover, many studies (Gordillo & Hirsch, 2010; Valko, 2012) have shown that the indigenous groups or their descendants currently living in Argentina are still invisible in general, and specifically in the province of Buenos Aires where actually more than 30 % of the indigenous population in the whole of Argentina lives. Clearly, ignoring the agent of the massacre of indigenous people during the Conquest of the Desert or considering the 'Spaniards' to be responsible is a way to avoid the present conflict with this social group claiming for reparation for the injustices suffered by their ancestors in the past. As was already said, any account of the past has a political dimension. Because of this, societies can negate or legitimize the historical basis of social group claims that provide them with temporal continuity (Sibley et al., 2008).

Is it Possible to Intervene, Raising Awareness About the Hegemonic Narratives of the Past?

In this chapter, we have focused on the common sense register of historical knowledge (Rosa, 2006). We have stated that this account is built on close interaction with historiographical and school history accounts. In particular, SR of history, typical of common sense, are built upon the school register, contrary to other SR such as those of psychoanalysis studied by Moscovici (1961). They do not result from transforming scientific knowledge into common sense, but as a result of the school intervention between scientific and common sense. Today's school knowledge is kept alive in the collective memory for 30 years (Pennebaker, Páez, & Deschamps, 2006). We argue that components from the three registers are interwoven in the cognitive polyphasia state, seen in

both symbolic resources and individual discourse regarding the memory of the Conquest of the Desert (Barreiro et al., 2016). Specifically, we think that the new narrative constructed by historiography and other scientific disciplines has not strongly impacted collective memory, built upon the traditional hegemonic tradition for over a century. The hegemonic tradition still coexists with the new narrative in most school textbooks used by history teachers. It is supported by material and symbolic resources and the need of the group members—teachers included—to draw a positive image of the own national group. Acknowledging a new revisionist narrative of the Conquest of the Desert bewilders the descendants of those who performed it. This new narrative indicates their ancestors' responsibilities ignored in the mainstream narrative. It is important to emphasize that cognitive polyphasia does not contain incommensurable elements or diverse fragments of knowledge, naturalized, or immobilized knowledge that work in parallel with the acquisition of representations about the past. Different versions of the past coexist, even on the same subject. Individuals experience contradictions among the different registers of historical thought that constitute cognitive polyphasia, when different logics or thought registers are externalized simultaneously in their discourse. However, if this happens, experiencing this contradiction does not lead to the construction of an integration that overcomes previous representations (Barreiro & Castorina, forthcoming). Its contradictory coexistence is maintained, as there is no demand for change if it is not implemented in a didactical situation with this aim. Furthermore, to think about representational change the idea that these contradictory meanings can be externalized in the same context (Jovchelovitch, 2008) becomes vital. It allows the study of the interactions between the SR and other forms of knowledge framed in the teaching and learning of history, both at school and outside the school.

It is true that historical knowledge has its particularities. There is no clear distinction between the narrative world interpreted by individuals according to their social identities, the narratives in collective memory, and the historians' account that can eventually be taught at school. The three of them are set in ideological perspectives and social values. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine if a version of history is more objective than another, in the sense of attending to the sources and available evidence. Therefore, both social psychologies' and teachers' responsibilities cannot be reduced to the simple identification and description of the SR. It should imply devising possible interventions to raise awareness of such historical evidence among social groups with the aim of guiding their knowledge toward more valid versions. The objective is to encourage social groups to acknowledge past responsibilities and the consequences carried over to the present, for themselves and other social groups. This involves the analysis of the possibilities of designing didactic interventions aimed at strengthening and even modifying the relations among the different representations. In this case, we think that it is necessary to experience the contradiction that exists between them, intrapersonally or interpersonally, that is, resulting from the discourse of the other social group.

We could provide new information that contradicts individuals' common sense beliefs and confront them with the data regarding the historical processes denied by their ingroup. However, as it can be seen in the remembering of the Conquest of the Desert in Argentina, this is not enough to change representations. The new revisionist accounts present aspects of this historical process that have been collectively ignored. Following Barreiro et al. (forthcoming), this does not imply that people do not know about the torture inflicted on indigenous people. Some talk about this while others negate it as if it never occurred. Yet, taking into account the historiographical knowledge about the process does not enable the transformation of individual remembering. It coexists with the traditional narrative in a state of cognitive polyphasia.

Nevertheless, we think that it would be possible to move forward in overcoming this state of the juxtaposition of different narratives in individuals. It would be possible by contrasting past versions of the different knowledge registers, from the perspective of their plausibility, and fostering the awareness or thematizing (Piaget, 1974) of what is beyond symbolization, such as the nothingness in SR construction. That is, we would suggest the procedures used by historians: the selection of the available evidence on the matter and their systematic comparison with other evidence upon formulating a hypothesis and its consecutive testing (Limón & Carretero, 2000).

Moreover, when considering the possibility of an intervention to transform the SR that people have acquired in their lifetime, we need to take into account that such a process involves a change in their social identities. SR are not wrong ideas isolated from the representational object that can simply be replaced by another. On the contrary, they are part of an interwoven process stemming from a greater set conforming the viewpoint or ideology of the ingroup. It does not only mean replacement with more advanced knowledge, as researchers in conceptual change propose (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013), but also a change the way groups think about their past, their position in society, and their relationships with other groups. Therefore, this process cannot be explained addressing the individual analysis (cognitive or affective). On the contrary, SR transformation depends on a profound social change of the ways individuals think the represented object. SR are valid by social consensus. A single individual's change in viewing the history shared by the ingroup can result in a feeling of losing her/his position in the social group or being rejected by the social group, because her/his different version of the past is contested by the hegemonic narrative. This way, transforming an individual's SR is likely to result in a conflictive situation with their ingroup, as they could be perceived as a traitor to the ingroup's beliefs about the world.

Following Jodelet (2010), interventions to modify SR have to affect three spheres of actions that are different but constitutively related to each other: the subjective, the intersubjective, and the transsubjective. SR are subjective, as individuals appropriate them through processes involving cognitive activity, their affective and bodily expressions with others, and the material environment. The incarnated thinking results in a play of emotions closely linked to

the group's beliefs and its social identity. In turn, it constitutes a social and individual subjectivity. It is also necessary to consider the contextualized interactions as they enable the SR agreed upon by the group members through meaning constructions negotiated and commonly produced in social communication. Finally, the transsubjectivity sphere crosses the other two, it calls for the commonalities among individuals, resulting from their access to cultural heritage, social, and public spaces where SR circulate. It also refers to the imposed frameworks in place in the institutions.

Hence, the possibility to intervene to transform the SR of the history depends on the relations set among the mentioned spheres. Each of them allows the design of different kinds of specific actions. At the subjective level, they aim at challenging individual representations, establishing a dialogue among the different representations of the same historical process, the learnt concepts throughout their school trajectories, and disciplinary knowledge. At the intersubjective level, the exchanges are more or less confrontational, and can lead to a revision of some SR or their reformulation. At the level of transsubjectivity, disciplinary knowledge systems, cultural tools, and social ideologies circulate in the community's public space, interweaving and hindering the interventions to achieve their goals. Therefore, SR have to be considered locally, involving the experiences, knowledge, and actor's behaviors inscribed in specific places and social roles within a broader social and cultural space framing.

In conclusion, we consider that there is a pending challenge for both social psychologists and teachers. It does not only mean identifying individuals' SR of historical processes but also moving forward in understanding how to transform them. The instruction of a version more related to historiography cannot substitute the SR in the collective memory of the past. However, it can enable individuals to question, suspend, and thus acquire a more critical attitude toward certain issues. In this sense, we are certain that working on interventions can contribute to educating citizens who can denaturalize their national past. The improvement of their knowledge of the past can enable their historical and political analysis, less linked to common sense in those contexts demanding important political decisions.

Note

1. American born descendants of Spanish colonists.

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CHAPTER 21

After Empire: The Politics of History Education in a Post-Colonial World

Andrew Mycock

Clark (2006) suggests that politicised debates over the content and delivery of history education in many states are indicative of wider concerns over the saliency and future health of the nation and its national story. Anxieties about how 'our history' is taught to 'our children' draw on a range of debates concerning the role of national historiography and its impact on curriculum content and textbook production, paedagogical development, and the politics of identity and memory.

In many states, an influential driver of the 'history wars' has proven the multiple legacies of colonialism and the complex challenges of the post-colonial world. For those states emancipated from the colonial 'yoke', the post-colonial period has encouraged critical revisionism with regard to the historical past in the wake of decolonisation. This has typically involved the simultaneous rejection of transnational historical narratives imposed by the colonisers in favour of post-colonial forms of national history and the adoption of critical foci regarding the experience and legacies of the colonial period. In states where widespread colonial settlement was an important feature of colonisation, public debates have also been motivated in part by the critical re-evaluation of settler nationalism, particularly the treatment of indigenous peoples. A crucial element in this post-colonial reimagining of the colonial past has been the critical reassessment of ethno-racial and socio-political ideologies that informed and sought to legitimate empire.

The post-colonial world also presents significant challenges for former colonising states in reimagining national and transnational history. Post-colonial transition necessitates former colonisers to accept that they are no longer able

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dictate the previously hegemonic terms of colonial relationships. They are also required to not only revise the transnational parameters of colonial citizenship and identity but also the historical narratives established during the period of empire that underpinned them. Many of the challenges of this transition are evidenced through the fractious and divisive 'history wars' about how post-colonising states should teach colonial past in schools. The following chapter will explore the conceptual and empirical complexities facing post-colonising states in teaching the colonial past, considering whether they adopt celebratory or critical perspectives or seek to erase empire from national narrative after empire.

The Politics of the 'History Wars'

The content of state-sponsored history curricula has emerged as one of the most contentious and contested elements of debates about the colonial past, thus indicating many protagonists share a belief in the enduring power of historical education to shape national and other identities (Haydn, 2012). Those seeking to influence history education are drawn from across civil society and include representatives from politics, academia, and the media as well as educationalists and sectional interest groups. Phillips (1999) argues that the drivers for the 'history wars' originated during the 1960s as a product of and response to multiple social, political, economic, and cultural phenomena connected to the end of European colonial hegemony, the emergence of new supranational forms of political union, post-colonial migration to Europe, and the Cold War.

A number of key 'frontlines' were established during this period and have since proven fundamental in shaping ongoing debates about history education. The first 'frontline' acknowledges the emergence in many states of new paedagogical approaches to history education that sought to develop critical and interpretive skills amongst young people and also challenge the established rote teaching of a monochrome national canon (Rüsen, 2007). The critical historiographies that 'new history' drew on often questioned established nation-building historical narratives and offered alternative interpretations prioritising class, gender, and race/ethnicity.

A second interconnected 'frontline' focuses on the purpose of state-sponsored history education in schools—namely should it primarily seek to inculcate collective patriotism founded on a homogeneous national story or should it encourage interpretative analysis of a plurality of national and other discourses (Lévesque, 2005). For a growing number of professional historians and educators, the teaching of school history should now focus on balancing core national historical knowledge and the development of 'historical literacy' amongst young people (Clark, 2007). By developing critical skills, it has been argued that young people will develop greater sensitivity to the history of groups who have been consistently omitted or portrayed negatively within orthodox historical narratives (Arthur et al., 2001).

These revisionist approaches have been portrayed by critics of 'new history' as a premeditated attack by 'politically correct' liberals who seek to ensure that the teaching of history is divorced from 'historical facts'. Ideologically driven politicians and history educators have thus sought to deliberately estrange future generations from their national historical past (Windschuttle, 2007). Some have sought to typify the deliberate dilution and liberalisation of organic national historical narratives through the articulation in schools of overly critical or negative narratives as 'Black Armband' history (Blainey, 1993). They have persistently argued for a return to an (usually unspecified) 'golden age of history education' where largely celebratory and uncritical 'three cheers' historical narratives informed a positive sense of national identity amongst young people.

Debates about school history typically focus on the content of curricula and textbooks without acknowledging the impact of paedagogic practice or the importance of historical learning. Protagonists do however share strong assumptions about the ability of history lessons to act as a conduit in the transmission of a national identity as school children have the capacity to absorb and understand key historical facts about a state's historical past which allows them to take their place in a national community with other similarly educated citizens (Haydn, 2004). School history is therefore understood to have a direct impact on how young people view personal and collective identities, encouraging greater political and cultural understanding and affiliation (Phillips, 1999).

There is though little conclusive evidence to confirm whether state-sponsored history teaching is particularly effective in inculcating a sense of national belonging or particularistic identity (Grever, Haydn, & Ribbens, 2008). 'Banal' influences such as familial or community ties can also challenge and potentially undermine state-sponsored history education that seeks to inculcate a common national identity (Andrews, McGlynn, & Mycock, 2009). It is curious then, that in light of such uncertainty, debates about history education are so divisive and fractious.

Teaching the Nation-State After Empire

The ongoing politicisation of debates about national history and its teaching in schools provides critical insights into both the nation and the state. Nationally orientated histories would appear to be more influential than other forms of history writing in shaping how politicians and educational policymakers design history curricula and/or textbooks. These national narratives seek to achieve at least two primary objectives. First, they legitimise the nation by teleogically connecting the past with the present to sustain contemporary political goals. Second, national narratives are constructed to support national identities that bind citizens to historically justified national communities. As such, the nation and its accordant history provide reference points for competing spatial conceptions of the past; local, regional, and global histories may contradict or overlap but always relate to the national paradigm. This is due to the inti-

mate relationship of the nation-state and national history, and its institutional and discursive ability to suppress or integrate (and subsume) rival discourses (Berger & Lorenz, 2006).

The critical, analytical ordering and articulation of the past by historians seeking to elevate the nation through the production of 'grand' national narratives has however become increasingly fraught and contentious. This is, according to Winter (2006), because history has been gradually superseded by a 'memory boom' widely embraced by nation-states and their citizens. Assmann (2006) argues that history has been transformed into socially constructed memory cultures through public discourse about how past events are remembered, interpreted, and articulated. This has meant historical narratives have been reconfigured into 'emotionally charged' versions of 'our history', thus providing reference points for complementary or contradictory forms of memory and identity which highlight difference between individuals and groups.

The role of the nation-state has proven crucial in facilitating this conceptual shift from history towards memory, fulfilling a vanguard role in mediating the 'official' memories of its citizens. However, history and memory operate at individual and group levels. This can mean that personalised forms of analysis of the history can come into conflict with state-authorised versions of the national past. As neither is politically neutral, they are thus susceptible to instrumentalisation and manipulation. Deliberative public exchanges associated with the 'history wars' therefore often reflect dynamic and unequal power relationships between elites and groups within nation-states, how seek to politically orientate the propagation of official interpretations of the past via state propaganda or educative projects such as school history. According to Nora (2011), this indicates that politics, which covers both memory and ideology, is engaged in an ongoing conflict with history.

The 'memory boom' on which collective national identities are now founded has left historians and history behind, their work now increasingly subordinate to memory or even overlooked completely. Whilst history was once a political activity in support of the nation, it is now politicised in support of divergent ideological constructions of the present. Popular historical knowledge or consciousness of a national past is thus a product of formal and informal interactions between ideology, collective memory, history and historiography, and the lived experiences of citizens. If, as Rüsen (2004) argues, identity is a product of this historical consciousness, it is a specific mode of orientation which is clearly founded on evaluative interpretations of a nation's past that are defined and contextualised by the present and future. Individual and collective understandings of history are therefore influenced by cognitive and cultural factors that correlate with the temporal socio-political and ethnic circumstances of a nation's citizenry (Seixas, 2004). The temporal element of historical consciousness in shaping forms of identity is underpinned by narrative competencies that require citizens to develop capacities to learn about how to understand the past, interpret it with regard to the present, and to integrate individual and collective forms of identity with historical knowledge.

Historical consciousness can however prove a variable factor in identity formation and is open to influence by contemporary socio-political circumstances. If, as Halbwachs (1992) has argued, the relationship between memory and history is defined by the social and political dimensions of remembering and forgetting, selectivity also characterises historical consciousness. This raises questions about the possible displacement or elimination of negative elements of the national past and a concurrent rewriting of a biased or simplistic historical narrative of a nation. The emphasis on presentism may also limit the development of a critical and objective historical approach towards understanding the national past (Wineburg, 2001). This, as Christou (2007: 711) notes, can have implications for how the nation is taught in schools, as 'national history curricula tend to propagate a nation's desirable vision of itself and minimize any references to its "dark pages in history"'.

In nation-states that established empires, the transnational extension of statehood and nationhood within colonial contexts ensured that the political, cultural, and spatial borders of imperial and national citizenship were intertwined, overlapping, and ambiguous. The national identities of colonising states were underpinned by a 'missionary nationalism' which drew on key ethno-racial ideologies that sought to elevate the language, history, and culture of the colonisers whose responsibility it was to 'civilise' colonial territories and peoples (Kumar, 2000). History and historiography could not and did not remain immune to these ideological currents and colonial narratives often lauded the nationally framed attributes and values of colonisers. The settlement of colonial peoples encouraged some historians however to extend the parameters of national history beyond the imperial metropole to include parts of the colonial periphery in order to promote greater transnational historical commonality (Mycock, 2013).

The development of mass education systems saw colonial history taught to the children of imperial subjects within the colonial metropole and also across parts of some empires. These including settlers and some colonised peoples, particularly indigenous elites who supported and maintained colonial rule. Colonial history education programmes typically sought to inculcate a shared imperial identity by drawing on an informal consensus whereby history curricula and textbooks drew heavily on the national history of the colonialists. The centrifugal dissemination of national history across transnational empires primarily sought to laud the key events and historical figures of the colonising nation with little sensitivity for the history of colonised peoples.

For example, Yeandle (2008) notes that, in the case of the British Empire, the professed achievements of the colonisers were represented as not only the collective achievement of the English or British people but of all imperial subjects. Aldrich (1988) argues that the formal education systems of Britain and its imperial possessions were strongly influenced by a common informal history curriculum that was linked to wider efforts of imperial patriotic socialisation. This, according to Heathorn (1995), meant that through the teaching of history, British colonial education systems offered morality lessons that

sought to transmit the racial, socio-economic, and gender values and norms of the colonisers.

Historical narratives expounded within colonial education systems simultaneously encouraged transnational commonality and national differentiation between the imperial metropole and colonial peripheries. This meant the depth of penetration of transnational history narratives disseminated through history education and wider school-based socialisation to inform a common imperial identity was variable, being largely defined by the extent of ethno-cultural proximity and shared ascription to the political, social, and cultural values and history of the imperial metropole. The emergence of anti-colonialist nationalist narratives that underpinned independence movements across many empires, together with critical voices from within the imperial metropole, increasingly challenged and undermined 'missionary nationalist' ideologies expounded in terms of their moral legitimacy and universal appeal.

The end of the formal period of empire not only entailed the redefinition of colonial citizenship, sovereignty, and identity within national rather than transnational contexts, but it also necessitated the simultaneous acceptance of claims of national self-determination in former colonial territories and renouncement of pretensions of colonial statehood and associated missionary civilising ideologies. It also raised questions about many of the national political, socio-cultural and economic institutions, symbols, rituals, and actors that proved instrumental in shaping colonial citizenship and identity. Decolonisation also raised complex questions about the parameters and content of post-colonial history and how it was taught to generations of young people born after empire. Furthermore, the end of empire compromised the capacity of state-sponsored history education programmes delivered in schools across the imperial metropole and colonies to draw on transnational historical narratives to sustain collective national-imperial forms of citizenship and identity. Post-colonising states were thus faced with profound dilemmas regarding the resonance of the national-imperial historical past within history education curricula.

Amnesia, Melancholia and the Legacies of Empire

The trauma and impact of decolonisation on post-colonising states has been relatively overlooked when compared with the experiences of post-colonised states. This in part is due to a lack of academic sympathy and an enduring negative stigma associated with modern colonialism. This noted, the legacies of empire are closely intertwined with those of post-colonial national identity, and politicians, academics, and other interested parties have proven increasingly prepared to debate in public about how the colonial past influences the present and future of post-colonising nation-states. The immediate period after decolonisation has though been typically associated with a post-colonial 'amnesia' whereby the spatial and psychological disjuncture experienced by post-colonising states negated significant post-colonial scrutiny or critical

re-evaluation of the colonial mission and its inherent values, ideologies, and identities.

This post-colonial 'amnesia' is understood to manifest in a diminishment of the resonance and celebration of empire in political discourse and public life. As with newly emancipated post-colonised states who undertook anti-imperialist nation-building to justify their new-found stateness, many post-colonising states also sought to focus on synchronised and interconnected nation- and state-building projects in the wake of empire. The cauterisation of imperial statehood thus encouraged a shift from colonial transnationalism to post-colonial nationalism, this being reflected in the refocusing of academic and public debate about the relationship between national identity and national past.

This process necessitated a centripetal shift in the historical lens of the post-colonising state to emphasise the nation in the framing of historical past and a concurrent peripheralising of centrifugal transnationalism associated with the state's colonial period. This was often reflected in a marked decline in the production of academic colonial history in universities and elsewhere. Approaches to designing and teaching history education programmes would appear to be also redefined in response to this post-colonising 'amnesia', with history curricula and textbooks similarly prioritising national history while also avoiding sustained critical re-evaluation of colonial past.

Grindel (2013) suggests an 'imperial amnesia' persisted in British school history curricula and textbooks until the late 1980s that segregated and relegated (still largely nostalgic) colonial history in favour of its national counterpart. Haydn (2014) notes that the celebration of Empire Day, together with banal visual representations of empire such as maps, flags, and other symbols, also quickly disappeared during and after decolonisation in British schools. In France, a lack of focus on empire and post-colonial immigration within the French school history curriculum and textbooks was part of an 'amnésie collective' (Noiriel, 1988). This, according to Ait-Mehdi (2012: 192), meant that the teaching of the history of colonisation and decolonisation was 'abandoned' between 1960 and 1980. Van Nieuwenhuyse (2014) notes that 'colonial amnesia' proved a prevalent feature in post-colonial Belgium, with historians, politicians, and broader society largely overlooking the history and legacies of empire after decolonisation. This, in part, was attributable to the rise of Flemish nationalism and growing concerns about the potential division of the Belgian state, and the relatively small numbers of post-colonial migrants settling in Belgium. Spanish school textbooks also omitted essential issues on colonisation of the Americas, particularly the subjugation of indigenous people or slavery (Carretero, Jacott, & López-Manjón, 2002).

In some states, the so-called post-colonial 'amnesia' was a product of enforced decolonisation due to external interventions. Cajani (2013) notes there was little attempt to maintain transnational links or encourage significant migration from Italy's former colonies after decolonisation was imposed

in the aftermath of the Second World War. As such, a post-colonial 'silence' on empire in school history persisted in post-war Italy due to its connections with interwar fascism, this reflected in a lack of widespread nostalgia for the colonial period. In Germany and Japan, defeat and occupation deferred post-colonial reflection and the nationalising of history education curricula or textbooks (Semmet, 2012; Taylor, 2012). In post-Soviet Russia, the early period of post-communist transition saw a refocusing of the state history curriculum and many textbooks to focus on Russian nation- and state-building with little attention given to the former Russian or Soviet empires (Zajda & Zajda, 2003).

Rothermund (2015: 5) argues however that 'amnesia' is an convenient but imprecise metaphor as, while humans usually seek to recover loss of memory, post-colonising states have instead engaged in a 'conspiracy of silence' that has determined their collective memories of empire. This 'conspiracy' is often informed by post-colonial guilt and an unwillingness to repent for the colonial sins of the past. Gilroy (2004) agrees that post-colonising states are not amnesiac but instead adopt a 'post-colonial melancholia' in response to the profound change in circumstances realised during the experiences of decolonisation and the consequent loss of colonial prestige. This brooding reluctance to accept the end of empire retards (but does not obviate) the potential for post-colonial mourning of its loss or critical reflection of its contemporary legacies. Where metropolitan histories of empire were often a source of pride, ensuing post-colonial shame appears to limit proactive exploration of its complex and plural historical or contemporary manifestations.

The post-colonising experience has thus proven for many states to be one defined by a 'selective myopia' whereby collective acts of 'temporal forgetting' involves the deliberate relegation of transnational colonial history as part of the process of reimagining post-colonial national identity and citizenship (Mycock, 2009). This would indicate that although the history and memories of empire may fade in the public imagination after decolonisation, they are not eradicated completely—a phenomena that Bessinger (2008) defines as the 'persistence of empire' within post-colonising societies. He notes that colonial state institutions, traditions, rituals, and symbols continue to resonate across metropolitan societies, implicitly and explicitly informing and sustaining revised post-colonial constructions of national identity and citizenship. Continued (and sometimes intensified) patterns of population migration within the former imperial space and the establishment of post-colonial political, military, economic, and/or socio-cultural networks, such as the (British) Commonwealth or the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, also maintain transnational relationships between former colonisers and colonised in the post-colonial period. Population exchange and emergent supranational organisations provide historical and contemporary reference points that extend elements of transnational colonial identities and citizenship into the post-colonial age.

The 'persistence of empire' is also evident in the content of state-sponsored history education curricula and textbooks in post-colonising states.

For example, while history curricula and textbooks in the United Kingdom often segregated British colonial history from its domestic counterpart, students had significant opportunities to study various aspects of the empire still largely depicted as benevolent, paternalistic, and civilising (Grindel, 2013). Similarly, although Waldman (2009) notes French school history's pivotal role in the consolidation of the post-colonial republican nation-state, this provided students with opportunities to study some aspects of colonial history and decolonisation. In Belgium, the regionalisation of national history curricula meant that diverse approaches were adopted but that various aspects of colonial rule and decolonisation were still studied by young people (Van Nieuwenhuyse, 2014). Belgian historical textbooks in immediate post-colonial period sought however to prioritise the liberal origins and values of the colonial state without seeking to critically explore its complex history or legacies (Vanhulle, 2009).

German history education after 1945 was as divided as the state itself. West German curricula and textbooks continued to project largely positive narratives that emphasises the civilising modernism of colonisation. Conversely their East German counterparts sought to frame the West German state as economically colonialist and displayed their sympathy for independence movements (Dierkes, 2005). Taylor (2012) notes that although state-sponsored Japanese school history often sought to explore the less positive aspects of colonial expansion and rule, particularly in Korea and China, representations of the imperial period were a continuous and often-controversial element of the history curriculum and textbooks. Attempts to renew Russian nationalism saw that politicians increasingly utilise history education to provide positive affirmation of the 'historical greatness' of the imperial Russian and Soviet colonial past (Zajda, 2012). This highlighted the enduring resonance of transnationalism in framing Russia's post-Soviet and post-colonial transitions which overlapped and informed a complex response to decolonisation whereby history textbooks and curricula continued to draw on the colonial histories of the Imperial Russian and Soviet empires.

A common theme amongst post-colonising states in the immediate period after decolonisation was the reductive national focus of history which typically overlooked critical exploration of the end and perceived failure of the colonial mission and also its coercive and exploitative motivations and practices. This nationalising of the historical lens after empire was reflected in the revision of the content and structure of historical narratives informing school history, with scant recognition of the implications of post-colonial critiques either across the former colonial space or within the post-colonising state. This situation may well reflect a lack of significant political or public dispute about the historical past or what should be taught in schools. But while the resonance of empire may well have diminished, the proposition that some form of 'colonial amnesia' materialised during and the immediate period after decolonisation is misleading. Empire continued to influence school history curricula and textbooks, ensuring that the colonial past was not eradicated entirely.

Post-Colonial 'Anamnesis' and the Challenges of Revisionism

In describing post-colonial responses to decolonisation, Stoler (2011) has argued that France suffered from an inability to address the topic due to a widespread 'colonial aphasia'. French society, she suggests, had had difficulty in speaking about empire or indeed generating an appropriate vocabulary of words and concepts to be able to discuss its lifespan and contemporary legacies. Drawing on Stoler's thesis in his study of Dutch colonial memory, Bijl (2012) notes that the apparent lack of language has inhibited the production of a memorable past in post-colonising nation-states, meaning the selection, convergence, and repetition of historical narratives have appeared to suggest that aspects of the colonial past are 'forgotten'. He concludes however that there is a distinction between post-colonising societies lacking the appropriate vocabulary to articulate their memories of empire and the conscious decision to not utilise a vocabulary that might be unpalatable to some.

Assmann (2015) argues that the diminishment in the resonance of empire within the national consciousness of post-colonising nation-states in Europe was both a post-Second World War and latterly a post-communist phenomenon. She notes that rather than explore the history, ideology, and morality of empire, the Holocaust and the Cold War instead dominated nation-building historical narratives and memory culture in post-colonising states. The association of progressive political and social modernisation with the post-war—as opposed to the post-colonial—period provided historical reference points that nourished positive national self-esteem. It also deflected political and intellectual foci away from addressing the often violent nature of decolonisation or the lack of positive legacy of empire in many former colonies. History education curricula and textbooks often replicated this bias, offering national historical perspectives that sought to avoid substantial post-colonial critiques of empire.

Rothermund (2015) argues that a form of post-colonial 'self-consciousness' emerged during the 1980s in many post-colonising states which can be linked to the perceived failure of post-war modernisation. This reflected the enduring resonance of empires and the ineffaceable global imprint they have left, encouraging greater engagement with the colonial era and creating a new post-colonial vocabulary. In particular, migration from former colonies brought the 'empire home', meaning its legacies were now visible within national as well as transnational contexts. The reversal of population exchange across the former colonial space provoked urgent questions about how the colonial past continues to inform contemporary constructions of national identity and citizenship, particularly the extent that racial, religious, and ethno-cultural ideologies and practices closely associated with the colonial era resonate in post-colonising societies.

Indeed, the presence of migrants from the former colonies has encouraged a 'post-colonial anamnesis'. This has encouraged a new generation of post-colonial scholars, including a growing number who originated from former

colonies, whose research has highlighted porosity and interconnected nature of debates about colonialism and post-colonialism (Cooper, 2005). For example, a new generation of scholars of the British Empire adopted a post-colonial focus which emphasised its culture rather than politics or economics, engaging in ground-breaking research exploring the literature, arts, and history of colonised peoples and their migratory descendants. This has been complemented by the emergence of 'new imperial history', which has seen significant growth in the scale and scope of research about empire by intellectuals both within post-colonising states and elsewhere. The often agonised or tempestuous reappraisal of the colonial record and its legacies is now a major feature of both the historiographical and the public-cultural landscape in post-colonising states (Howe, 2009). A notable feature has been the preparedness to undertake critical explorations of the 'dark pages' of empire, particularly colonial violence, bigotry, and exploitation, while also revealing the multiplicity of forms of colonial rule, networks, and experiences within and between empires (Ballantyne, 2010).

In most cases, national and colonial history has remained largely segregated though. This compartmentalisation continues to fracture the resonance of colonial past while also reproducing racialised exceptionalism that excludes many post-colonial migrants (Bijl, 2012). Some politicians, academics, and other public intellectuals have however interpreted shifts in the historiographical foci and criticality of the colonial era as a deliberate and ideologically driven undermining of the positive legacies of empire. A common theme has been that post-colonial revisionism has proven overly apologetic and distorting in terms of its objective analysis of the progressive contribution of colonialism across the globe. Political leaders from diverse colonial backgrounds, such as Britain, France, and Russia, have thus revived 'missionary nationalist' narratives established during the colonial period, expressing pride in the values and legacies of empire and even regret in its passing (Mycock, 2010). As such, many post-colonising states have witnessed a nascent 'politics of empire' which has drawn some imperial historians and other post-colonial scholars into increasingly politically contentious and confrontational public disputes which have reflected differing intellectual and ideological positions (Ghosh, 2012).

Debates about how and why the colonial past should be disseminated to current and future generations have emerged as one of the critical public arenas for post-colonising societies. The 'politics of empire' has thus proven closely intertwined with debates over national identity and citizenship, particularly the integration of post-colonial and other migrants. Central to these political machinations is the extent to which the promotion of historically embedded national frameworks of political and socio-cultural values is complemented or compromised by the colonial era and its post-colonial legacies. These debates have mapped explicitly onto the structural parameters of the 'history wars' outlined earlier in this chapter in terms of politicised disputation regarding the content and purpose of state-sponsored history education. A range of responses have emerged though, which reflect the diverse metropolitan experi-

ences of empire and its contemporary influence on post-colonial nation- and state-building which suggests a correlation between the extent of migration from the colonial periphery to the post-colonial metropole and the intensity of the 'politics of empire' and history education (see also Oostindie, 2015).

In states where there has been extensive migration, such as France, the Netherlands, and the UK, the post-colonial 'history wars' are particularly pronounced and contested. In the UK, criticism about the narrow and fragmented nature of the history curriculum and its excessive focus on the Second World War has encouraged calls from across the political spectrum for the history of the British Empire to be taught in greater depth (Mycock, 2010). However, the election of a Conservative-led right-wing coalition UK government in 2010 intensified debate about the reform of the content of the National Curriculum in England, with draft proposals seeking to increase the time devoted to a largely celebratory history of the British Empire to underpin a progressive British national identity (Haydn, 2014). The UK government found support for its proposals from sympathetic, mainly right-wing historians who also saw history education as a vehicle to promote the positive global political, economic, and cultural contribution of the British Empire (Guyver, 2014).

In response, a wide range of historians and left-wing commentators derided the preparedness to overlook the coercive and often violent history of British Empire and its contentious legacies both within the UK and across the former imperial space (e.g. Evans, 2011). They implored the UK government to develop critical awareness amongst young people of plurality of historical experiences within an increasingly multicultural society. But although final National Curriculum guidelines published in 2013 took note of some of these concerns, the ongoing discourse about the historical and contemporary implications of empire for British society is far from resolved.

In France, debates about empire and its historical legacies have highlighted that French post-colonial nation-building has proven an unstable product of specific historical forces in which certain events have been consciously forgotten and others are deliberately remembered (Conklin, 2000). As Dubois (2000: 15) notes, French colonial history, particularly the struggles around slave emancipation and political equality in the Caribbean that developed during the French Revolution, simultaneously continued to underpin a Republican tradition of anti-racist egalitarianism, and 'Republican racism'. The revision of the history curriculum, triggered by extensive post-colonial immigration, has thus gradually challenged the 'public forgetfulness' of French society and provoked intense and often divisive debates about its potential implications for contemporary French national identity and citizenship (Hargreaves, 2005).

Aldrich (2006) notes the passing of a law, in February 2005, mandating the teaching of the 'positive role' of colonialism provoked great controversy involving historians, politicians and the public in France and its former empire, especially Algeria. The ensuing debate saw a significant majority of French historians unified and influential in their opposition to political manoeuvring to teach a largely celebratory view of the French Empire. Although the law

was subsequently quashed in 2006, the polemic surrounding the interference of politicians in history teaching highlighted the contentious and incendiary nature of France's colonial past (Dwyer, 2008).

In post-colonising states where comparatively few colonial migrants have settled, the resonance of debates about empire and its legacies appears less pronounced or politically contested within the public realm. Although there has been growing interest in states such as Belgium, Germany, and Italy in the colonial past, the lack of sizeable post-colonial migrant diaspora would appear to diminish engagement with the colonial past when discussing questions of citizenship and national identity. Moreover, although scholarly investigations into the colonial past have increased, this work does not appear to have stimulated interest in reviewing the content of history education curricula or textbooks.

In Belgium, a number of anniversaries have provoked greater interest in the colonial period, and it has formally acknowledged mistakes and post-colonial contrition. However, Belgian politicians remain reluctant to publicly criticise Belgium's imperial past and continue to present an overly positive portrait of its distinction as idealist colonisers (Goddeeris, 2015). The growth in new imperial history or domestic post-colonial studies exploring Belgium's colonial past has not yet influenced the content or design of Belgian history curricula or textbooks (van Nieuwenhuyse, 2015). Indeed where Belgian history textbooks do address the colonial past, it is the Catholic mission and the Belgian monarchy that continue symbolise a redemptive liberation from savagery, barbarism, and primitivism (Van den Braembussche, 2002).

In Italy and Germany, the colonial past has proven a peripheral factor in shaping public debate about migration and post-colonial identity. Pinkus (2003) notes that empire and decolonisation remains a 'non-event' for many in Italy, with politicians and other public figures displaying little interest in engaging with the colonial past. While some history textbooks now address selected aspects of Italy's colonial period, the 'myth of the good Italian' endures presenting a positive self-image of progressive Italian colonialism (Cajani, 2013; Leone & Mastrovito, 2010). Indeed De Michele (2011) argues that the failure of history education to address the roots of Italian colonialism and or assess its contemporary impact on Italian politics and culture, as well as on the populations directly affected, has ensured that racist attitudes to migrants continue to be overlooked.

Schilling (2014) notes that public and academic debates about Germany's colonial past have intensified in the period after reunification. But although large numbers of migrants have settled in Germany over the past 40 years or so, very few have come from former colonial territories. German history curricula across its federated education system have instead sought to enhance post-reunification nation re-building while maintaining a strong focus Nazism and the Holocaust (Langenbacher, 2010). Recent growth in post-colonial and imperial studies has not yet had a significant impact on the federal curricula. Lassig and Pohl (2009) note that when German colonialism is addressed within

history curricula, there is little evidence of any sustained critical post-colonial perspectives.

Japan and the Russian Federation offer interesting case studies that highlight the conflict between revisionists and counter-revisionists which further emphasise the importance of ideological aspects of history education. Controversies about the content and focus of history textbooks have emerged as a marked feature of post-colonial Japanese domestic politics, with successive conservative governments seeking to revise history textbooks to adopt a more strident nationalist tone (Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001). Disputes over the colonial past not only reveal tensions between conservative (political and bureaucratic) authorities and progressive academia but also highlight the centrality of history education in public debates concerning Japan's conduct before and during the Second World War (particularly in Korea and China) (Nozaki, 2008). The preparedness of the Japanese government to intervene and initiate the editing of textbooks to present a more positive view of Japan's colonial period are a part of a domestic struggle over national identity. Such actions are however motivated by the disjuncture caused by defeat and occupation after the Second World War and the challenges of linking Japan's national and transnational past rather than in response to post-colonial migration (Algarra, 2013). Bukh (2007) notes depictions of Japan's national victimhood have often underpinned historical narratives presented in many textbooks, thus limiting the extent of critical post-colonial revisionism of its colonial past. Debates about the content of history education textbooks in Japan have, though, emerged as an increasingly integral part of regional politics among states in East Asia, particularly in the context of the recent decline in Sino-Japanese relations (Vickers, 2014).

The complexities of the challenges of post-colonial and post-communist transition have seen school history texts emerge as a key instrument in the post-Soviet Russian government's process of ideological transformation and nation-building and are thus closely monitored by the state (Zajda, 2007). In part, this has been a response to the challenges of post-colonial migration and multi-ethnic diversity within an explicitly multinational state. Although initially reformed to promote an inclusive civic Russian state nationalism that embraced pluralistic, interpretative, and analytical approaches, history education under Putin has increasingly been utilised as part of a wider attempt to inculcate a particularistic ethno-national Russian identity and citizenship among young people (Linan, 2010).

School history textbooks thus emphasise the historical greatness of the Russian state from its professed origins within the ancient Rus, through Imperial Russia, to the Soviet Union as a super power (Zajda, 2012). Historians and textbook authors who have sought to encourage a more critical approach to the Russian colonial past have found themselves isolated and their publications publicly denigrated or even banned by the state. Moreover, the presentation of a largely celebratory revisionist history of the Russian state is therefore framed within national and transnational contexts, and has initiated various 'curriculum wars' with other former states of the Soviet Union, such as Moldova

(Worden, 2014) and Ukraine (Korostelina, 2011), while also encouraging a more strident anti-Westernism.

It is evident that teaching the colonial past can prompt various approaches which are driven by a range of internal and external challenges that are reflective of the distinctive historical and contemporary circumstances within each post-colonising state. However, Rothermund (2015) notes that the 'challenge of repentance' is a common phenomenon to all post-colonising states and this has implications for how the colonial past is perceived and articulated within history education curricula and textbooks. Although some post-colonial states, drawing on greater intellectual and public scrutiny, have displayed contrition for aspects of the colonial past, these apologies are often fused with reticence regarding culpability, applicability, and the concerns over the potential of claims for material compensation. One area of particular difficulty would appear to be engagement with the history and legacies of colonial violence, exploitation, and coercion in the expansion, maintenance, and decline of empire. Howe (2009: 16) notes that stories of colonial violence and genocide provide an ever-present challenge to the formulation of a progressive national narratives which universally incorporate the colonial past and thus leads to 'selective amnesia'.

Bijl (2012) suggests that violence linked to major national and transnational conflicts, such as the two world wars, are significant elements of the histories of most nation states. However colonial violence, often informed by racialised ideologies and superior technology, is typically exceptionalised from nationalised historical narratives which seek to sustain liberal forms of citizenship and nationalism through compartmentalisation of colonial history in the Netherlands and other post-colonising states. While the growth in Dutch post-colonial studies has seen colonial history permeates the Dutch national canon (Oostindie, 2015), Dutch history textbooks continue to draw on a Eurocentric master narrative framed by social forgetting of slavery and scientific colonialism (Weiner, 2014).

The Dutch experience is not unique. Lassig and Pohl (2009) highlight that German colonisation rarely addresses history of exploitation or colonial violence within history textbooks. In the UK, colonial violence and the bloody 'wars of decolonisation' are largely overlooked in school history curricula, thus extending the myth of a peaceful and dignified transfer of power (Haydn, 2014). Carretero et al. (2002) note that while Spanish history textbooks engage with themes of colonial expansion and cultural imposition, colonial violence is a peripheral theme and the empire is framed in predominantly positive terms. The history of colonial violence is therefore segregated from national narratives, with responsibility associated with colonialists and settlers whose place within the increasingly nationalised historical narratives of the post-colonial state is typically overlooked.

Indeed, history education in post-colonising states often focuses on slavery rather than colonial violence, as responsibility for the slave trade is typically framed in transnational rather national terms meaning culpability is more ambiguous. For example, Grindel (2013: 38) notes that current approaches

to teaching empire in the UK 'stops short of claiming a specifically national responsibility for the collective remembrance of slavery'. Conversely, the notion that colonialism and decolonisation were transnational ventures defined by mutually constitutive interconnections, interactions, and entanglements continues to be almost completely overlooked in most post-colonising state textbooks.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that the 'politics of empire' has proven an integral and often divisive component in the re-imagining of national identity and citizenship in post-colonising states, influencing how the colonial past is understood and taught to current and future generations. Approaches to teaching the colonial past are reflective of the distinctive historical and contemporary circumstances within each post-colonising state. However, post-colonial debates about the content and purpose of curricula and textbooks clearly connect with and map onto the structural and thematic 'frontlines' of the 'history wars' that are more typically national in focus.

Moreover, post-colonising states typically reject the centrifugal framing of transnational colonial history education in favour of reductive centripetal national approaches. While claims of 'imperial amnesia' cannot be sustained, a 'selective myopia' continues to allow post-colonising states to disseminate nostalgic and largely uncritical versions of the colonial past. As such, the 'dark pages' of colonial history, such as colonial violence and the origins of slavery, are overlooked in favour of perspectives that seek to nourish the proposition of civilising, progressive colonialism, and, where possible, peaceful decolonisation.

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PART III

Reflections on History Learning and Teaching

CHAPTER 22

What to Teach in History Education When the Social Pact Shakes?

Alberto Rosa and Ignacio Brescó

"History Education. What for?" To ask what is the purpose of teaching and learning history is to put into question the role of history within the current educational context, as well as a way of showing a discomfort that does not so easily appear when looking at other school subjects such as mathematics or language. There is some feeling of a crisis affecting history as a discipline (Jenkins, 1991) and also as a content in the school curriculum (Henry, 1993), at a time in which nation-states and the social pact endorsing them are under question. The goals and contents of history teaching have to be rethought in a context very different to that of 200 years ago when history became a compulsory school subject.

It could hardly be disputed that general education aims to provide competence, skills and knowledge for students to understand their community life and to increase their autonomy and agency when acting and participating in society. What will be addressed here is what the contribution of history education could be to these purposes.

History Teaching and Identity

Since history appeared in school curricula in the nineteenth century, its contents tend to be tailored to the political project of each time, centred mainly in transmitting narratives of a shared past in order to cultivate the identification of pupils with an imagined community (Anderson, 1983). History teaching

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was from the beginning—and often still is—a strong instrument of indoctrination to legitimise the nation-state and instil loyalty into its subjects (Carretero, 2011). This way of teaching history relied on the distribution of a unified version of the national past, typically presented through a series of stories with a strong emotional and moral content, aiming at encouraging national feelings (patriotism, sacrifice, honour to heroes, etc.) and, above anything else, creating a social representation of a more or less unified *we* separated from *other* different groups—if not enemies—of *our* nation.

It seems then that the original goal of the teaching of history was inextricably linked to the project of *nationalisation of the masses* (Mosse, 1975). A project of the elites that Massimo d'Azeglio (member of the first parliament of the Kingdom of Italy) synthesised by saying: *E fatta la Italia, ancora da fare gli italiani* (quoted by Hobsbawm, 1990: 44). Nationalism was a product of modernity and a response to the crisis of identity that followed the decline of absolute monarchies, legitimised by tradition and religion, and their replacement by the new "Scientific State" based on reason. This required the top-down elaboration of a new kind of political legitimacy, which claimed the congruence or continuity between state and nation (Gellner, 1983). Nationalist ideology and history fed each other for this purpose. As Hedetoft (1995: 11) says:

> History is no doubt the main repository of necessary conditions for nationalism, but it would seem that we cannot, without landing ourselves in an impossible and untenable circularity, simultaneously posit that it also provides us with all the necessary reasons, let alone all its forms, substances and arguments. If, as Renan argued, a nation's existence is indeed a daily plebiscite, then it is the nature of the volition of the underlying people's affirmative vote that ultimately makes the nation "the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion." (Renan, 1882)

If nationalism were a verb, it could be declined in three modes: *imperative* (we have to be a—better—nation), *indicative* (we are a nation) and *subjunctive* (we ought to be a nation) (Hedetoft, 1995). The production of interpretations on a supposed collective past, the deployment of endless symbols, rituals, and commemorations devoted to the nation (Gillis, 1994) are tools uttering the *imperative modality* of nationalism. When successful in instilling nationalist ideology as a form of common sense (Billig, 1993, 1995), the *indicative modality* (Renan's daily plebiscite) can be pronounced, with the effect of taking for granted that everything and everybody belongs to a nation, thus giving way to what Billig (1995) calls *banal nationalism*. Such plebiscite is an endorsement of a social pact according to which the nation-state is a community with a shared past (*ethnos*), whose members are the holders of sovereignty (*demos*) administered by a state (*polis*), that exercises its power (*potestas*) upon a *territory* applying the Rule of Law (*reason*), with the effect that by trading *duties* towards the state for the benefits and *rights* of citizenship (*cives*) some kind of *solidarity* develops. As Barton and Levstik (2004) say, "the legitimacy of the

state's demands and befits in a democratic nation, rests on a shared sense of identity, anchored in history, among its citizens, which is a precondition for a participatory citizenship" (p. 22).

Identity and the Nation-State: A Delicate Relationship

This ideal (and idyllic) picture of the democratic nation-state balancing itself on a social pact is becoming increasingly blurred. The current acceleration of the process of globalisation and the unfolding of successive waves of economic crisis are rapidly changing the economical and political landscape and shaking the basis upon which the social pact legitimises modern states. Nation-states are suffering a serious erosion of what is left of their sovereignty, to the extent that it makes one wonder whether this concept still retains some meaning—or so substantial parts of their population feel.

The state is losing grip of the affairs within its own territory. Ecological issues and globalisation are putting the state sovereignty in jeopardy (Touraine, 1995). Instrumental practices (economics, the media) now follow rules operating across national borders, so that they are beyond the control of any particular state (globalisation). When this happens, states get deprived of some of their means to mediate between the natural and the social orders, so that its operational role for the governance of social systems of solidarity diminishes. When this happens, there is no guarantee that a rational *Rule of Law* will be applied. As a consequence, individuals start to withdraw from participating in political and civil life. Ethnic belonging and cultural identities (e.g. old or new—religion, sects, gender, gangs) come then to the forefront in public life, particularly among those who are left in the margins of society and have no way of defining themselves by their social role.

If one wants *polis*, *cives* and *demos* to hold together, cultural, ethnic and instrumental values have to reach some kind of *status quo*, so that they are able to appear together in the vital experience of individuals in such a way that the ends of one's own identity (culture) are not at odds with the rationality of means (society). Touraine (1995) suggests that this is possible by being very careful not to impose some cultural values upon others, and thus keeping civic rationality restricted to the means and not the ends, as it is the case in the secular and democratic state. For individual citizens to feel a commitment to the state, the latter has to be felt as a resource rather than an obstacle for reaching their ends. This requires formulae for civic solidarity to be devised so that the social pact does not become ineffective for some, because a part of the population becomes instrumentally unequal. One key issue is making different kinds of cultural identity compatible within one particular *polis*. Citizenship is precisely the kind of identity that deals with a commitment to instrumental values and to the agencies for their exercise—the state laws and institutions.

But this does not seem to be an easy task. We are now witnessing how the capability of *polis* for exercising its *potestas* is shrinking. Even the state monopoly of violence within its territory is now being contested. Transnational organisa-

tions such as NATO, and also mercenary subcontractors, are substituting the classical republican notion of the people in arms. Citizenry cannot feel securely protected by their *state* in a time of economic protectorates, drone attacks, electronic surveillance and selective murders in the name of somebody else's *raison d'État*. Even the offended parties respond with little more than perfunctory lamentations, always accompanied by the counterpoint of a chorus of media justifying these actions and accusing the victims of hypocrisy and naivety.

All this makes it increasingly difficult to view the nation-state as the kind of imagined community capable of upholding the social pact within its territory. It could hardly be a surprise that the citizenry gets increasingly disengaged from political institutions. This sometimes takes the form of a retreat to ethnicity or religion as a basis upon which to imagine a different community, or even as the ground on which the nation should be rebuild, rejecting political structures perceived as foreign, not representative or plainly illegitimate. This is no other thing than what Hedetoft (1995) calls the *subjunctive modality* of nationalism, which could be applied as much to secessionist movements within European countries (e.g. Spain, Italy, UK), as to extreme right nationalists struggling for the restoration of a mythical union of a culturally homogenous nation, or to the political revival of religious fundamentalism.

As Rosa and González (2012) pointed out, the delicate equilibrium between *polis* (political institutions), *cives* (the space for the exercise of citizenship), *demos* (the political agent) and *ethnos* (cultural community) is getting imbalanced. After decolonisation, the collapse of the Soviet Block and the triggering of the current crisis of globalisation, a new scenario appears in which the goals of history in general education, and the contents of the history to teach, are becoming a matter worthy of discussion (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Carretero, Rosa, & González, 2006; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009a). We are currently witnessing how different collectives struggle to voice a view of the past they claim to have been hidden behind the uniformity of official narratives. Some of these collectives surpass national borders (NGOs, human rights and ecological activists) or challenge the supposed uniformity of the existing nation-states (ethnic minorities, nationalist movements). In addition, there are supranational structures which sometimes seem to create new spaces for the exercise of citizenship; some support universal human rights (such as the United Nations), while others, growing to the leeward of the globalisation process, such as the European Union, search for a political legitimation overarching that of the nation-states (see Shore, 2004). Rights and citizenship—like drones and electronic surveillance, but with different success—struggle to overflow political borders.

What Kind of History to Teach in Fluid Times?

When witnessing the decline of the nation-state as the only legitimate holder of sovereignty, one cannot but wonder whether the historical myths the nationalist ideology has favoured in order to justify its legitimacy do still play a conve-

nient social role, or rather are turning into an obstacle for appraising present and future challenges. It cannot be disputed that national myths, as social representations (Bossche, 2003), are firmly anchored in the mind of the public, and so they retain—as all myths do—a strong capability as a symbolic resource for collective mobilisation. The question is whether it is still worthy to keep feeding this myth. As Grever (2012) points out there are epistemological, social and political arguments to doubt the suitability of continuing to interpret the past, the present and the future in purely nationalist keys.

When facing a time in which things are so drastically changing, and the future appears so fluid and uncertain, the events of the past to be consulted for understanding the present cannot remain unchanged. One may wonder whether themes, actors and events different from those presented in the customarily received national histories could be more relevant for audiences in need of resources for negotiating uncertain times. The contents and the goals of history teaching have to adapt to these new circumstances, or otherwise take the risk of falling into irrelevance.

This view challenges the adequacy of current canonical historical narratives and call for their deconstruction. New criteria of relevance are needed for the reconstruction of the past, the understanding of the present and the orientation for the future (Rosa, 2012). Many questions arise when reflecting on history education. History of what? For what purpose? Whose history? Should the nation be kept as the main actor of historical stories, or should new political actors be added, such as the EU, NU, IMF, G20, WTO or the Davos Forum? Should the past of minorities and/or migrants be incorporated into the curriculum? Should history focus on the past of political entities such as the state, or should it also focus on social movements? Should values be taken into account when choosing what to teach? What kind of values? Should patriotism be prioritised or diluted, or even replaced for other kind of values? The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to essay some answers to some of these questions.

What Skills to Teach in History Education?

Several proposals have been produced in current debates about history education in the new global scenario (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009b). There are voices claiming the pertinence of traditional narratives in order to keep national identity and values alive and so play a counterpoint at a time in which societies are turning increasingly multicultural, sceptic and relativist (Cheney, 1987). Conversely, we find authors (Rorty, 1989; Turner, 2002) who defend irony as a way to foster a sceptical attitude towards traditional national histories with the aim of encouraging a more open and cosmopolitan view (see Smith, 2007 for a discussion on this matter). Others regard history teaching as an opportunity for conveying values referring to the democratic participation and commitment of citizens in the public affairs of plural societies (Barton & Levstik, 2004), at a local, national and global level (Symcox, 2009). Finally, some others argue that history should be taught as an intellectual discipline addressed to

inculcate concepts and reasoning skills particular to its subject matter (Shemilt, 2009). Whatever the case, the last two stances are not in opposition (Bellino & Selman, 2012; Bermúdez, 2012); they are also compatible with a progressive *denationalisation* of history text books (Berger, 2012; Foster, 2012) and with a denaturalisation of historical narratives, viewing them not as reproduction of "real" events, but as resulting from constructions elaborated from a particular position (Brescó, 2009).

It seems that there are three main kinds of skills history education aims to develop in students: (1) some kind of identity and sense of belonging to a community; (2) democratic values and moral civic commitment; and (3) conceptual, rational, interpretative and argumentative tools suited for the understanding of social, economic, political and cultural transformations throughout time and space. This view on what to teach begs a new set of questions: Which belongings and identities, what values are to be promoted and for what purpose? These are the matters we will address next.

History, For Whom?

History education is addressed to the general population of the future. If history is for interpreting the past to understand the present and to orient for the future, it cannot refrain from addressing issues suitable for these purposes. If history education wants to be useful, and also appeal to its audience, it should focus on matters people are concerned about, and also provide them with tools of knowledge needed for making them understandable. This is why political concerns cannot be extrinsic to history teaching for, as Southgate (1996) points out, it would be contradictory to assert the educational importance of historical study, and ignoring at the same time the effect that study has on the way people perceive political issues in society.

It is not by chance that history teaching has always been linked to the political contexts of each time, starting at the time of the constitution of nation-states, when the legitimacy of the new *polis* demanded an ideal supposed unity between *cives*, *ethnos* and *demos*. History teaching was then addressed to the future members of a national imagined community in order to instil in them the memories of a common past. Such kind of school history aimed at linking students to the state through a chain of narratives, conjugated in first person plural, in which *our* heroic deeds, defeats or affronts were plotted in opposition to those of *others*, chosen as necessary alterities for a suitable identity to hold together.

This sort of imagined identity of *cives*, *ethnos* and *demos* is becoming increasingly disengaged as a consequence of globalisation and migrations, when new ethnic communities get inserted into *cives*, even if sometimes their members are prevented from enjoying social or civic rights, and kept away from joining *demos* (no right to vote). The presence of members of these communities within schools forces to rethink not only who are the addressees of history teaching, but also how the *others* are presented within the historical narratives

conveyed—if it is the case that minorities are wanted to be included into a multicultural "we," too often still conceived in national terms (Létourneau, this volume).

In addition, the exercise of citizenship is not only affected by events occurring within the national borders. Nation-states are increasingly unable to guarantee rights to the citizens, at the same time that some rights are claimed to be universal (human rights), even if no institution is able to effectively protect them. In this respect, when considering the audience of history teaching, we think that it should be imagined as the future members of a transnational *cives* belonging to a set of multilayared and overlapping *demoi* struggling for rights and participation within a scenario in which different *polis* of many shapes and levels would only be one of the kinds of the actors operating in social and cultural change.

History of What, History of Whom?

Envisaging a history education committed with its time and the current society requires, first, to identify and select what issues to address; second, to focus on the relevant agents and agencies, their aims and means; third, to go into the presentation of the kind of explanations relevant for their understanding; and fourth, to choose what events of the past may be useful for the study of a historical dynamics that would shed some light on the current state of affairs; and last, but not least, to catch the interest of the intended audience not only by arousing some curiosity, but also some kind of identification.

There is little doubt that identification cannot happen without affects, that there is no identity without *eros* (see Shore, 2004, in relation to the process of European construction). *Polis* gets the loyalty of *demos* by granting rights and securing solidarity, but could *demos* accept duties of loyalty when *polis* loses its capabilities for securing rights? If history teaching conflates *polis* with *ethnos,* surely its identitarian goals will be achieved, but only in part of the population and at the expense of alienating co-citizens who then are turned into *others* in some respect. If history education cannot afford forgetting *eros* for fostering identity, what kind of entity should then be privileged as an object for identification, an excluding *ethnos*, an increasingly weakened *polis*, or a *cives* struggling for rights or resisting their trimming by powers beyond the state? If the teaching of history has fostering citizenship as one of its primary goals, perhaps it should be more committed to the examination of the historical development of civic values, rights and duties. If it manages to do so, it will not only be instrumental in putting thinking historically into practice, but also become an added resource for a civic education devoted to strengthening the skills of individuals for their committed exercise of citizenship.

This way of approaching history education would deconstruct canonical official narratives and, when so doing, would also break the mirror that allows one to play what Foucault (1977) calls the comforting game of recognition.

As Berger (ibid) states, the image of the broken mirror applied to official versions of the past not only implies dealing with different reflections—beyond the national one—but also gaining consciousness that historical accounts are constructed from different perspectives. This forces one to reflect on history making, since the student would not be before a closed script (Blanco & Rosa, 1997), but would have to go into the composition of a plot, and so feel urged to go into the examination of the pieces and processes operating behind the scene. This approach, close to Nietzsche's (1873–76/1957) critical history, would also incorporate what Collingwood (1946) called the historical dimension of history, and so help to become aware of history not only as a way of interpreting the past, but also as a cultural artefact susceptible of many uses.

In short, this perspective would imply learning to think historically (Holt, 1990; Lee, 2004; Wineburg, 2001), what means training students on cognitive skills for *historical literacy* (Perfetti et al., 1994), and so to go beyond a *substantive knowledge of history*—that is, the content historical narratives convey—in order to emphasise the procedural knowledge of history—namely, how such content is constructed (Lévesque, 2008). This aims to empower students by making some of the conceptual tools of professional historians available to them. The assumption is that by knowing how the fabric of historical events is knitted, students get enriched with a critical and reflective knowledge in order to deal with the diverse accounts of the past conveyed through the globalising historical cultures (Grever & Adriaansen, this volume). This would empower the citizenry by supplying tools to be aware that any interpretation of the past is always the result of how an interested point of view chooses some criteria of relevance for the selection and interpretation of some documents (Reisman & Wineburg, 2012). The outcome produced is a narrative that puts together a theme, some actors and a plot, and always conveys a moral (White, 1986).

The *narrative turn* in human sciences (Polkinghorne, 1988) did not leave history aside (Roberts, 2001; White, 1978). Narratives are a privileged tool for the communication of interpretations of the past (Wertsch, 2002), and are also able to induce actuations of identification (Rosa & Blanco, 2007). The repertoire of narratives and beliefs one has available is a resource for understanding what kind of social situation one is living, what kind of roles there could be played, and what rights and duties the characters would have appearing in the narrative (Harré, 2005; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999). The position one chooses to take within the situation would then depend on those beliefs, but also on the extent to which one feels committed to them. This takes us to the realm of ethics and civic commitment (see Haste, this volume), to how beliefs, sentimental education (Broncano, 2001), personal virtues (Camps, 2005) and the cultivation of a sense of the self (Blasi, 2004; Hardy & Carlo, 2005) are instrumental for fostering civic participation (see Rosa & González, 2012, 2013a, 2013b).

Goals and Contents of History Education When the Social Pact Shakes

The arguments developed throughout this chapter picture a heterogeneous and fluid landscape in a world where the idea of state sovereignty fades away as new actors come into the stage and the notion of social pact—usually conceived as bounded within national borders—is felt shaking. The consequence is that the socio-political and civic function of history education cannot be left untouched. This made us to wonder whether the relevance given to the role of nations in the history taught in schools is still functional to understand current affairs and prepare students for active participation in the life of communities where diversity and the number of actors playing will only increase.

We believe that the current scenario demands to foster new kinds of identities rooted on values beyond that of loyalty to the nation, and go towards the development of civic identity. As Rosa and González (2014) say, civic identity is committed to the development of conditions and resources for the exercise of autonomy and the opening of spaces of liberty, rather than setting final values as ethnicity (and sometimes national identity) does. In their own words:

> …the concept of citizenship leaves room for each individual to choose what kind of good to be taken as superior within his or her scale of values. But it also sets limits to how this good can be pursued. The instrumental character of the values of citizenship shows in the limits they set to the clashes between value systems, and in the determination to negotiate differences in aesthetic and moral values, customs, beliefs, duties, desires and behaviours. (ibid: 44, our translation)

Citizenship then is a commitment to managing diversity and conflicts in order to further rights and liberty. History education could also be instrumental for civic education in societies under transformation in which identities and civic values are being renegotiated.

History education can contribute to civic education by paying attention to events in which different actors participated in opening (or closing) spaces relevant to the acquisition (or loss) of civic rights and liberties, instead of taking nations or ethnic groups as the only historical agents. When so doing, in addition to highlighting civic values, history education will also offer a glimpse to the complexities of historical processes, avoiding a monological view of past and opening the way towards multivocal views (Luczynski, 1997) stimulating reflective and critical skills, and also minimise what Frenkel-Brunswik (1949) called *intolerance to ambiguity*. In sum, rather than presenting narratives conveying an ethnic or national moral, picturing individuals as actors playing a script, its purpose would be to provide tools to negotiate among different versions of the past, and so empower students to become authors of their own narratives.

Behind this view of history teaching, there is the intent to encourage historical thinking as a resource for civic life. Our assumption is that a history educa-

tion that avoids accounting for how rights and duties develop and fade away runs the risk of becoming meaningless (Barton, 2009) to an audience who cannot refrain from shopping in a symbolic market (Bourdieu, 1991) where alternative views of the past, the present and the future abound.

This is a view of history education committed to a democratic education in a *polis* caring for fostering *cives*. A history for times in which *demos* becomes polyhedral within and among overlapping political institutions, not always bounded within the same territory, and where different *ethnos* coexist within the civic space. A history devoted to study of the transformation of social agents and Statehood and concerned for the rights and the empowerment of citizenship, rather than a national narrative of the expansion and shrinking of the size of each Estate and the number and wealth of the livestock (human or not) belonging to each of them. A story about what people cares about rather than an epic story of the development of *polis* as one of the names under which power is exercised.

The decision on what history to teach in schools is one of the political privileges of the holders of *potestas* in each *polis*. But it is no less true that the decision taken will demonstrate the values and aims exercised, as well as the kind of citizenship desired for the futures to come.

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CHAPTER 23

The Power of Story: Historical Narratives and the Construction of Civic Identity

Helen Haste and Angela Bermudez

We are historical creatures. The past is present in how we define ourselves, in how we understand our communities and our role in them, and in how we imagine possible futures. Our sense of the past informs the direction of social transformations we envision and in which we partake.

According to the concept of historical culture advanced in this handbook, the past is necessarily present in a wide variety of relationships and transactions constituent of our personal and collective identities. As Grever and Adriaansen as well as Liakos and Bilalis explain in their respective chapters, *historical culture* comprises public uses of history, such as preserving and visiting historical museums, producing and consuming historical literature and films, documenting the historical background of current debates, teaching history in schools or doing historical research. The related concept of *historical consciousness* further explains the social function of history that underlies the idea of historical culture. As conscious beings, humans strive to understand the past in order to orient themselves in the present and project their future (Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2004, 2017).

In this chapter, we build on these two concepts to examine the relationship between *history education* and *civic education*, particularly regarding the role of historical narratives in the construction of civic culture and identities that we understand in the framework of *New Civics*. In the last decade, a host of social, academic and pedagogical transformations have redefined civic education, expanding the concept of civic action beyond conventional participation in electoral politics. New Civics emphasizes that actual civic engagement takes

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place in a variety of social scenarios, addressing multiple issues, and through a range of different means. Grounded in sociocultural psychology, both civic education and engagement are seen as processes situated in particular contexts in which participants establish social interactions and dialogue. The main contribution of a sociocultural psychological approach to historical culture is the consideration of an active subject, whether it be a student learning history or an engaged citizen embedded in historical cultural practices. Narratives in general, and historical narratives in particular, are prime cultural tools for these interactions.

Civic actors use narratives to understand their contexts and experiences (past and present), and their agency within them. Narratives carry and frame the cultural stories we draw upon to make sense, to create identity and to define boundaries and alliances. This is not surprising. History is interwoven with narrative. Facts don't exist in isolation; it is their context that gives them meaning. Threaded in narratives, historical events gain rhetorical power because they fit into a good story. A narrative implies explanations of causality and consequences that justify the dominant social system, social practices and social values—or suggest challenging or subversive alternatives.

The relationship between history and narrative has been the subject of heated controversies. In historiography, long-standing debates have confronted the merits and shortfalls of storied versus analytical forms in the examination, representation and explanation of the past (Cronon, 1992; Munslow, 2007; White, 1984). Is the task of historians to describe or to explain the past? Are both tasks equally interpretive? Do storied accounts and analytic explanation withstand equally well the rigors of a critical lens and methodological procedures? Dovetailing these questions, history education too has discussed the power of narrative to shape students' understanding of the past, and of our knowledge of it (Levesque, 2014; Shemilt, 2000).

The relationship between history and civics is equally controversial and the two disputes are not unrelated. If history writing and teaching respond to present social concerns, moral questions or identity matters, this may compromise academic rigor and open the door for a political or ideological manipulation of the past. Such concern is not unwarranted, but we cannot ease our worry by simply assuming that academic rigor makes historiography politically disinterested and ideologically neutral. Understanding history as a sociocultural practice, the concepts of historical culture and historical consciousness challenge a strict separation between academic and popular uses of history (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017; Liakos & Bilalis, 2017). This does not negate the differences between them, but rather underscores their common foundations and the many ways in which they interplay. Greater attention to the public dimensions of historical practice has led to an increasing recognition of what Seixas describes as the 'porousness between contemporary interests and our narrations of the past' (Seixas, 2017). This recognition compels us to manage the tension between rigor and relevance that is fundamental to establishing a good connection between history and civic education.

In turn, such connection brings us back to the narrative structure of historical consciousness (Ricoeur, 1999; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013). This narrative structure affords (a) the flow between accounts of the past, experiences in the present and imaginations of the future, (b) the emphasis on individual and collective agency within the complex mechanisms of historical causation and (c) the articulation of moral questions regarding the implications of past events and historical interpretations for our lives today. Historical consciousness makes little sense if it is not for the sense of flow, agency and ethical awareness that historical narratives provide. These affordances explain how historical narratives frame our civic engagement, as they provide reference points for justifying, interrogating, challenging or resisting current social arrangements and practices.

Reframing Civic Engagement: The Emergence of 'New Civics'

What do we need to know in order to understand civic identity and its antecedents? What are the processes involved in an individual becoming, and being, civically engaged or being disempowered or alienated? The rethinking of 'New Civics' expands the definition of civic participation not only beyond the narrow scope of voting-related behavior but also beyond the premise that the primary route to civic action is knowledge of political institutions (Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2016; Haste, 2004, 2010; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010).

Partisanship or voting occupies only a part of civic responsibility which for most people includes ongoing commitment to the community, to helping others and in some cases to making one's voice heard on social issues—local or national. Young people are considerably more motivated by single issues than by party politics and many are active in improving and sustaining their community for the benefit of the less privileged. The explosion of new technology has radically transformed what civic action is possible for young people and the less powerful of all ages (Allen & Light, 2015). Social movements, community engagement and unconventional action such as protest are increasingly included in the purview of civic participation. What unites all these components of civic participation is the capacity to feel, and take, responsibility for a public purpose with the goal of effecting positive change. The agenda of New Civics education is to empower young people to have a positive civic identity.

Civic engagement is about interpreting and evaluating a social or political situation, in the context of beliefs and values (e.g., about social justice, or social order) that stir moral concern. Further, it is about whom the individual perceives as effective agents or channels for exercising that responsibility. Does he or she have the skills, or connections, to take any action? Does he or she feel a personal responsibility to take action, or just a conviction that 'someone' should do something?

The implication of this perspective is that civic engagement is contextualized and cannot be explained solely as an individual process. It is a dynamic transaction between individuals making sense within their own cognitive space, negotiating and constructing meaning in face-to-face dialogue, and both these processes drawing on cultural and historical narratives, which provide both explanation and justification.

What are the context and origins of this redefinition of civic engagement? Where did it come from? The narrow research and policy focus on mainstream political activity in a stable society was profoundly challenged by the wave of unconventional protest activity in the 1960s; increasingly, scholars and politicians alike needed to take this as serious political activity. The massive geopolitical changes around 1990 also dented the idea of the universal nature of democracy, as emergent states redefined this in terms of their own identity and history rather than borrowing from Western European or US models. The following period of social upheaval engaged large numbers of citizens, especially the young, in constructing a new system and new or reconstructed cultural stories (Andrews, 2007; Haste, 2004). In parallel came challenges to the conventional Left-Right spectrum. As Anthony Giddens and others have argued, many recent social movements including environmentalism and feminism cross the traditional left and right boundaries and manifest different narratives of 'liberation' or 'emancipation' (Adam, Beck, & van Loon, 2000; Giddens, 1994). Putnam further pushed the conventional boundaries of the political by asserting that community involvement is both a source of social capital, maintaining civic society, and as a locus for the practice of civic engagement, it is an important route to deeper political commitment (Putnam, 2000).

The Roles of History Education in Civic Education

Historical narratives play an important role representing different aspects of civic engagement such as the role and agency of different individual and collective actors, the possibilities and obstacles to processes of social change, the origins and developments of public issues, and so on. But, how do some narratives promote active citizenship while others promote alienation and impotence? What enables people to feel that they can be effective agents in their particular settings and communities? The roles of history education in civic education are a complex matter.

Since its inception in school curricula in the late nineteenth century, history education was essential to the formation of new citizens (Carretero, 2011; Nakou & Barca, 2011). Carretero argues that a *Romantic tradition* has recurrently positioned school history as a tool to create and sustain cohesive national identities, establishing one account of the past that seeks to instill in future citizens a positive view of dominant groups and of the country's political evolution (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Bermudez, 2012). In sup-

port of these goals, historical narratives prioritize content that emphasizes a common origin, focuses on the groups with which students should identify, provides historic models of civic virtue and glorifies the country's past (Barton & Levstik, 2008).

However, the elitist and biased representations of the past often contained in these romantic narratives have not gone uncontested, among other things because they alienate students who do not feel represented, and hamper their sense of agency (Barton, 2012; Den Heyer, 2003; Epstein, 2009; Harris & Reynolds, 2014). Many scholars and educators advocate for teaching historical accounts that are more inclusive, pluralist and critical representations of the past, preparing students for the multicultural, complex and rapidly changing societies in which most of them live (Nordgren & Johansson, 2015; Yogev, 2010). Carretero argues that this draws upon an *Enlightened tradition* in which history education is primarily concerned with helping students understand the complexities of their past (Carretero, 2011); critical understanding rather than patriotic love is what defines the good citizen.

Different conceptions of how history education fosters a critical understanding of the complexities of the past, and how such understanding prepares students for their civic lives in the present, have different implications for the role of historical narratives. Seixas (2016) claims that the historical consciousness brought about by modernity heightened 'the relativity of all values [and] the historicity of all traditions', leading to the conception that 'the past was radically different from the present, and the future would therefore be different from that which is currently known'. In these circumstances—he says—'the task of preparing the next generation was radically different from the task of a culture in which tradition is preserved unchanged from one generation to the next' (Seixas, 2016: ….).

As Carretero and Bermudez (2012) note, developing a rational understanding of the past was part of the progressive effort that since the first decades of the twentieth century strove to 'open the classroom to the pressing complexities of social life (industrialization, urbanization, and immigration at that time)' (p. 635). In the late 1950s and 1960s, different programs for the teaching of social studies and history in the United States echoed these ideas. Hunt and Metcalf (1955) outlined a curriculum for a 'rational inquiry on problematic areas of culture', and Massialas and Cox (1966) argued 'the conditions of the society made it imperative that the schools accept as its role the 'progressive reconstruction' of the culture' rather than affirm itself as 'a conserving agent of the past achievements of the culture' (p. 21).

Recent research on how schools in different countries teach about the violent past underscores the contribution of history education to helping students understand and deal with issues such as racism, inequality or violence. Historical narratives spark conflicting and troubling collective memories, but if carefully confronted, they open the possibility of learning about and from historical traumas (Barton & McCully, 2005; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012;

Cole, 2007). The connection between history education and civic education is established through the content of what is taught and learned. Historical narratives foreground new issues and advance alternative explanations that interrogate social practices which have been taken for granted, shed new light on the roots of current problems, or give voice to individual and collective actors previously marginalized.

Another argument is that history education develops in students the capacity to engage in rigorous inquiry about the past, which in turn will serve 'for thinking about the human world in time' (Lee & Ashby, 2000: 216). Research on the development of historical thinking (Dickinson, Gordon, & Lee, 2001; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000; Shemilt, 1980) shows that students can learn to deal with the intricacies of historical evidence, the layered webs of historical multicausality, the multidimensional processes of change and continuity, and the contextual meaning of beliefs and practices that appear foreign today. Allegedly, these capacities for historical inquiry can translate to civic competence, fostering for instance the capacities to engage in reflective controversy, form independent positions based on reasoned considerations of evidence from multiple sources, trace the origins and evolution of current issues, consider the value dimensions of public issues, and consider and coordinate the differing perspectives of people (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Barton & McCully, 2007). In this case, the connection between history and civic education is not established through the content of historical narratives but rather through a set of tools derived from epistemological concepts and procedures of historical inquiry that serve the student (and the citizen) to critically examine and interrogate claims passed on to them, as well as to develop their own.

Three decades of constructivist research on the development of historical thinking provides ample psychological evidence to challenge the Romantic idea of a passive consumer of social narratives. Students can learn to use the tools of critical historical inquiry to interrogate cultural and historical narratives and develop a sophisticated understanding of them (Bermudez, 2015). In turn, scholarship informed by sociocultural theory (Wertsch, 1997, 2002) has redefined how to approach the role of identity, moral values and emotions in historical understanding, three elements that many regarded as the landmarks of the Romantic tradition. Carretero and Bermudez (2012) note that the current sociocultural perspective differs from the Romantic tradition in at least four important ways: (1) it portrays historical narratives as cultural artifacts rather than as essential distillation of national character, (2) because of that, it recognizes different and often contentious views of the past rather than positing the existence of one shared narrative, (3) it claims an active rather than a passive role for the individual in the process of consuming and constructing historical narratives, and locates this process in its sociocultural context and (4) because of that, it examines the interplay of rationality, values and emotions, rather than dismissing the importance of any of these elements.

A Sociocultural Framework

In a sociocultural vein, we now present an explanatory model that locates the individual within a cultural, social and dialogic context (Haste, 2014). We argue that this model provides a useful framework to understand the teaching and learning of history as a *transactional* and *dynamic* interaction between the individual (including the cognitive processes involved in understanding history), the immediate social and institutional environment (including interpersonal dialogue and classroom practice), and the wider social and cultural context and processes (including the production, circulation and consumption of historical narratives). The framework is also useful to organize what we have learned from the different strands of inquiry in history teaching and learning, and to orient further research that investigates these dynamic interactions as the basis for a fruitful collaboration between history and civic education.

This model (see Fig. 23.1) conceives the individual as an active agent, iteratively negotiating meaning, identity and relationships within many social contexts. This takes place in three domains: (a) the domain of available cultural, societal and historical discourses, narratives and explanations; (b) the domain of dialogic interaction through conversation, persuasion, argumentation and also scaffolding; and (c) the domain of individual cognitive processes, identities and subjectivity.

This model is not hierarchical nor are the domains nested; all three operate in concert and the relationship between each of the three points of the triangle is iterative and bidirectional. The individual derives meaning actively *from* dialogue and *from* cultural resources but also contributes through dialogue to the negotiation of meaning. The individual accesses culture directly through media, institutional practices and literature, through familiar narratives and metaphors that take for granted, and convey, normative explanations and assumptions (Billig, 1995; Haste & Abrahams, 2008). In dialogue with others, the individ-

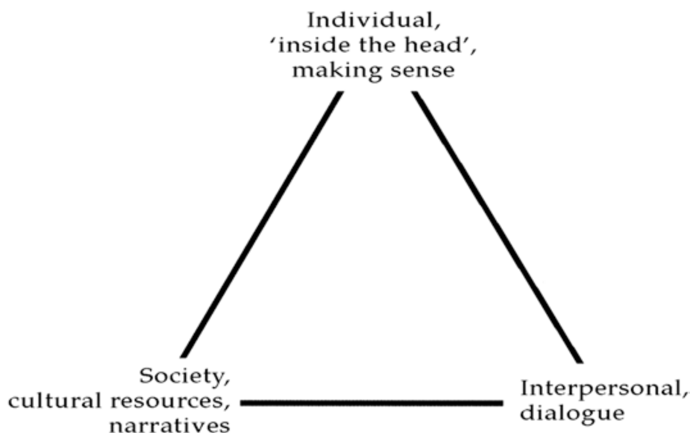

Fig. 23.1 Sociocultural model

ual simultaneously draws on his or her own constructs and alludes to presumed common cultural ground. The purpose of the dialogue may be finding consensus, acquiring new knowledge or understanding, or serving individual goals of persuading, defending or establishing one's authority, credibility and alliances. It is a constantly iterative process of managing feedback loops and being alert to alternative ways forward.

Each of these domains is important in nurturing and shaping civic engagement and historical understanding; we argue that it is the interaction between them that explains the strong ties between history and civic education. Each of them is addressed in more detail in the following.

The Domain of Available Cultural, Societal and Historical Discourses, Narratives and Explanations

Culture is not a static backdrop to thought and dialogue but is dynamically interwoven with every linguistic action and indeed with the frames within which cognition happens. The metaphor of *the human being as tool*-user helps to understand this dynamic conception of culture. This metaphor comes from the Vygotskian perspective that meaning derives from utilizing tools or symbols as mediators with the environment (Gillespie & Zittoun, 2010; Haste, 2014; Tappan, 2006; Vygotsky, 1978). The tool-user draws upon culturally available and culturally legitimized tools and resources, including narratives, in order to make sense and to orient action. In the context of civic engagement, these 'tools' include narratives and discourses, as well as specific routes to action such as voting, petitioning or blogging (a new tool). These tools represent and shape our understanding of the workings of the political system, the mechanisms and possibilities of change, the sources of power and the nature of prevailing power relations.

For instance, a nation's schools often mirror the dominant narratives of civic structure. In the US, for example, school life and leadership rely heavily on popularity and gaining the trust of peers; arguably, this reflects many aspects of US populist democracy. In many contemporary Chinese schools, class monitors and a small committee of students serve as the class management body for minor organizational and disciplinary functions, paralleling local practices within the Chinese political system. The Western emphasis on the 'democratic classroom' as fostering civic awareness and civic skills reflects belief both in the power of practice and that a democratic school environment is a microcosm of a democratic society (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010).

Likewise, school history often mirrors dominant narratives about the past that lay the foundations of students' national identities. Ferro's pioneering study (1984; 2003) on how the past is taught to children around the world revealed that historical events are framed in different and often contradictory ways by the official narratives of the Nation-State and the counternarratives of minority, marginalized, alternative or foreign groups. Most national narra-

tives are organized around values and concepts such as progress and freedom, with important implications for the meaning of historical events and their civic relevance. For instance, current American history textbooks frame the forced migration of Indian Nations in the nineteenth century within narratives of nation building and the rise of mass democracy. Such framing renders the resistance of Native Americans as futile attempts to resist progress, and normalizes the violence inflicted on indigenous people as collateral damage, a sad but inevitable price to be paid in exchange for greater progress and improvements (Bermudez & Stoskopf, 2015).

Contrasting texts in history education have important implications for both the construction and understanding of civic culture and identity. This is evident, for instance, in how different Israeli and Palestinian narratives of history and of place play out in the construction of meaning and identity that are sustained in day-to-day dialogue (Adwan, Baron, & Naveh, 2011; Bartal, 2000; Hammack, 2011).

The Domain of Dialogic Interaction and Scaffolding

School texts reproduce cultural narratives. However, the proposed interactive model stresses that how we learn from cultural and historical narratives depends on how we engage with them, hence the importance of dialogic interactions. These dialogic interactions include practices essential to civic life such as ordinary conversation, persuasion, argumentation or scaffolding. Meaning making progresses through feedback and a series of iterative loops, for example, in the position *vis-à-vis* others in dialogue, and between several versions of speakers' own positions. Billig's work on ideologies, and especially on how people talk about the British royal family, demonstrates that people move easily, even in the same utterance, between different discourses. This may be deliberatively to counter others' contributions, drawing on arguments based on a variety of different premises. Or they may make explicit the coexisting positions within their internal dialogue: 'Maybe I think X, but also I can see that Y is a valid position' (Billig, 1995, 1998).

Dialogue is also the crucible for social and cultural change. Culture is sustained, normalized, reproduced and disseminated through ordinary conversation. In times of change, new discourses and narratives are generated through dialogue. Consider, for example, the recent transition in the cultural meaning, and valence, of homosexuality, from pathological deviance sustained by 'expert' discourse, through Gay Rights activism and an emerging discourse of sexual and lifestyle freedom of choice, to scientific evidence for genetics which supports a rights discourse based on diversity.

Social change happens when grassroots dialogue reframes power relationships and questions their legitimacy. Empowerment requires a challenge first to the 'expert' discourses that sustain norms and institutions. For example, feminist scholars 40 years ago explicitly attacked the 'scientific' explanations of differential ability that justified sex discrimination, so challenging the domi-

nant cultural stories of gender. The women's movement also, like other rights movements, saw the need for new cultural discourses to raise awareness of, and resist, tacit discrimination in everyday life (Haste, 1994; Henderson & Jeydel, 2010). In many social movements, such dialogic interactions, in 'cells' or 'consciousness-raising groups', serve as the fount of both reframed discourses and personal empowerment through redefining identity.

Another example is Green awareness. Barely 40 years ago, environmental concern was marginalized. Yet for two decades, care of the environment has been a major government platform and a central topic of social awareness education. How did this happen? The initial impetus, many argue, came from an individual's contribution to cultural narrative; Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was published in 1962. This stimulated conversation and reframing among people already sensitive to ecological issues. A narrative developed of 'save the planet', of stewardship and therefore individual *moral* responsibility. Over the following years emerged, in parallel, pressure on governments to change energy policies, and exploration of how everyday practice could reduce energy use (Harré, Brockmeier, & Mühlhäusler, 1999). New cultural narratives of responsibility empowered recycling programs, first initiated by enthusiasts and then institutionalized through laws. The concrete images of degradation of the world's beauty and the loss of species made it easy to comprehend, and rapidly even young children could grasp both the consequences of the loss of rain forest and the connection with their parents' shopping habits. Citizens, even very small ones, *owned* their newfound narratives and were empowered by them.

Students engage actively with historical narratives. Adopting rhetorical stances of endorsement, resistance or challenge, they put what they are taught in school in dialogue with what they learn from family, community or interest groups. In some cases, they distort the past in order to preserve dogmatic and sectarian perspectives (Barton & McCully, 2005). In other cases, the cultural narratives brought to school empower minority students to resist or challenge values and explanations of the past that are taken for granted in dominant narratives. Bermudez' (2012) study of an online discussion about the causes of the 1992 Los Angeles race riots illustrates this. A group of Latino and African-American students invoked a 'narrative of continuity' to assert that the riots were a breaking point in a long process of racism and discrimination rooted in slavery. Thus, they challenge the dominant 'narrative of discontinuity' put forth by White-American students who contended that the riots were simply a matter of unruly behavior and that seeking causal connections with the past was an inappropriate strategy to justify violence. Through this discussion, students negotiated two very different types of identity. On one hand, a 'fluid identity' that blends the individual self (I) and the collective self (We), is primarily defined by collective categories such as race, and sees the past as an indelible heritage that lives on in persons. On the other hand, a 'discrete identity' that makes a sharp distinction between the individual self (I) and the collective self (We), is primarily defined by individual categories such as merit or effort, and sees the past as a burden of which you must let go.

Classroom practice and pedagogical scaffolding are dialogic. Teachers who facilitate controversial conversations that challenge students to interrogate their cultural narratives and listen to others can transform polarized debates into reflective dialogue (Barton & McCully, 2007; Hess, 2010; Hess & McAvoy, 2015). This is especially important considering the increased diversity of the student body globally, which makes issues of class, ethnicity or gender more salient in defining what and how different students learn in the history classrooms (Grever, Pelzer, & Haydn, 2011; Seixas, 2017).

The Domain of Individual Cognitive Processes, Identities and Subjectivity

To engage effectively with historical thinking, students need the capacity for disciplined inquiry, developing more sophisticated ideas about the epistemology of history (or how we construct and evaluate historical accounts) and skills to use them in learning about the past. Research focused on individual cognitive processes has generated progression models of how students develop an increasingly sophisticated capacity for the analysis of evidence, the reconstruction of causal relationships, the analysis of change and continuity, or the reconstruction of different perspectives in their own context. These concepts and procedures of historical inquiry provide a valuable tool kit to support reflective civic engagement, including the critical examination of contested historical narratives (Bermudez, 2015).

However, research on historical thinking does not typically consider how identity and context matter when learning about the past. Bermudez (2012) argues that this limitation derives from the tendency in research on historical understanding to treating students as individual thinkers, rather than as thinkers-in-relation-to-others. Her research shows that when students argue about contending historical narratives, they consciously or unconsciously select from among the capacities they have developed, serving intellectual purposes of advancing understanding as well as discursive purposes of negotiating identity and relationships. Carretero and Bermudez (2012) argue that a focus on learning concepts and procedures of historical inquiry separates the process of reasoning from the context in which the individual reasons, and in doing so, it overlooks the sociocultural dynamics of meaning-making. The model proposed in this chapter attempts to address this limitation.

The Core Processes of Meaning-Making and Civic Identity Construction

We asked earlier, what do we need to know in order to understand civic identity and its antecedents? What are the social and psychological processes involved in an individual becoming, and being, civically engaged or being disempowered or alienated? We identify four core processes involved in civic engage-

ment: *identity*, *narrative*, *positioning and efficacy* (Haste, 2004, 2010). In any specific situation, *all* are operating, in parallel and in concert. They are manifested in the interplay between the individual, dialogic and cultural domains just discussed.

Identity can be defined as a self-organizing open system, in which a 'self' that is distinct from the social context while in continual dialogue with it, is actively negotiated (Cresswell & Baerveldt, 2011; Haste, 2014; Hermans & Gieser, 2012). Identity includes personal agency and maintaining a sense of self-integrity, matching up one's self-image against perceived expectations and feedback. How one defines oneself includes a core sense of 'I am the kind of person who believes such and such'. We have a range of core beliefs, but they are differently salient in different contexts so there is fluidity in how they are forefronted in our deliberation and in dialogue. Subjective experience, and the values and beliefs that trigger affective responses are evoked in dialogue and argumentation. Core beliefs are in constant iterative dialogue and negotiation with others, whether face to face, remembered or imagined. Identity is therefore *group-dependent* though not *group-determined*; we negotiate relevant information about and from our salient groups, we choose which beliefs to invoke in argument or which in-group and out-group status we reference at any point.

Identity is not defined by a unitary set of beliefs and actions but by managing a portfolio of possible selves, according to the context. This takes place within the culturally available repertoire of narratives, explanations and discourses that inform what individuals perceive as civic responsibility, what values and beliefs they see as salient to their sense of self, what groups and categories of person they perceive as defining both their in-group and out-group, and the extent to which they feel that they personally have the abilities and skills to take any civic action.

Efficacy is the sense that one can pursue one's values and goals. Civic engagement requires empowerment, the belief that one can, or one's social group can, participate effectively in the civic process. Widening the scope of the civic domain broadens the potential for action and also the likely preconditions that foster empowerment, for these may differ for different kinds of engagement. Individual efficacy derives from the sense of having the necessary skills. However, empowerment (and its absence) also comes from identifying with social groups who are perceived to have (or to lack) power, who are part of the institutions of power or who are prevented institutionally from having power. One of the first steps in the enfranchisement and empowerment of disadvantaged groups is to change their self-perception through narrative and dialogue, and to provide them with avenues through which power becomes possible. Our sense of efficacy also depends on our understanding of the social system and how vulnerable or resistant it is to change. If this is represented as impenetrable or immovable, individuals may become pessimistic about the likelihood of being effective despite their own skills and responsibility.

As we have argued above, *narratives* are a cultural resource of information and explanations that may justify, legitimize or undermine current conditions. They give coherence: a causal relationship between past and present and a projection of possible futures that may either perpetuate or change those conditions. They support, or not, the empowerment of groups or categories of people so in times of social change, such narratives are powerful; they facilitate a new order and new entitlements. The narratives that sustain identity and efficacy valorize the qualities required of those who will be the future empowerers. Heroes model versions of past figures but are recast to meet the demands of the current world (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Further, narratives frame what is credible; there is always more than one narrative about the past and the present, but how many are deemed legitimate? The dominant social group writes the authoritative histories which enter into the canon (Carretero, 2011). Subordinate groups have their own stories that retell past events and redescribe institutions, explain and legitimate changes (Adwan et al., 2011; Bartal, 2000; Hammack, 2011). Under periods of oppression, marginalized groups maintain a parallel and hidden narrative of their history (and of their future liberation) which is passed informally through generations and becomes salient when change is possible (Wertsch, 1998).

Narratives are a source of *positioning*. Positioning is a discursive process by which an individual manipulates power relations and entitlement between self and other, in direct dialogue or in reported speech (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1991). For example, direct positioning may occur when A requests that B do something; in doing so, A is positioning herself in a relationship of power, or entitlement, *vis-a-vis* B. B, however, may resist the request and therefore the positioning, and in resisting, repositions A as not entitled to that power, or as bullying or insensitive.

Positioning also can be indirect and, for example, establish in-group and out-group parameters. B may give an account of the above incident to C, in which B is positioning himself as the righteous victim in the account, and A as the 'villain'. Telling this account positions C as presumed to share B's values; if C acquiesces to B's interpretation, this validates it as a shared or normative discourse. Cultural narratives and stereotypes provide the resources for positioning individuals and groups as insiders or outsiders, or having positive or negative attributes that define them as 'we' or 'they' (Hall, 1997). Locating 'we' and 'they' in the dialogue, positioning groups or belief systems as 'ours' or 'other,' legitimates or delegitimizes, and so affirms the identities of the interlocutors.

Civic Engagement as a Cultural Process: An Example

An extended example illustrates how the three proposed domains interact with each other in the processes involved in reconstructing cultural and historical narratives in a period of rapid social change, and how individual civic identity and efficacy are sustained by narratives, and positioning.

In 1994 at the time Mandela become South Africa's President, Salie Abrahams interviewed a number of young people in a township in South Africa who were voting for the first time (Abrahams, 1995; Haste & Abrahams, 2008). They were all, according to Apartheid criteria, 'black' or 'colored' and their families were disenfranchised prior to that point. The interviews are full of hope about their own futures and also of new-found civic efficacy. They expressed very similar versions of a new cultural narrative which echoed Mandela's message but which also translated into their own new identities. Here, extracts from the interview with JJ, an 18-year-old boy from a Sotho family, are discussed. First, we will consider the cultural narratives explaining the history behind Apartheid, the collective historical identity that he himself shares, the future agenda for his own group and the discourses around unity for the future. Then, we will consider how these extracts reflect two other civic identity processes, efficacy and positioning. JJ's interview shows how his identity was framed by historical narratives about apartheid and how the new cultural stories gave him a renewed sense of self with new moral responsibilities.

We divide the material into four extracts. First, we will consider the narratives evident in each extract:

> ***JJ 1:*** *Jan Van Riebeeck [founder of Cape Town] came here and took everything he could take, they had no respect for us. They wanted everything that he saw, the land, the diamonds, the rivers, the mountain and the sea. They were gluttons and wanted to (eat up) everything. They not only took everything but they broke us up into splinters and made us powerless, because if we had remained one, we would have defeated them ….*
>
> *They were extremely greedy but also extremely clever in a bad way. That is why they divided us up from the start, that was so … shrewd.*

Here, we see two narratives: one emphasizes the personal vices of the colonists and the other is a narrative of imperialist practice: divide and rule.

> ***JJ 2:*** *Apartheid was a big tragedy. We lost our land and lost our lives. We even lost our dignity and I even hated myself and my skin, why am I black, why did I have to suffer like this, why must I feel like a piece of dirt walking around here, we got nothing and they got everything. But, as I grew up, I learnt that I was somebody, I could be proud of myself. I am black and I know we will rule this land. That made me walk tall and feel proud.*

In this extract, we see the new narrative of pride defined by the contrast with the preexisting narrative of shared identity of oppression.

> ***JJ 3:*** *[White people did] nothing, and then a few of them would [say] sorry, but just a few of them. We don't want their sorry, we want justice.... Why did they not stand up when we were hurting? We can do the same to the whites if we want to. We can also make them suffer. But no, we must show them that we are better and that we are just and we need unity and that we see them also as people, human beings and not

like dogs, like the way they saw us. That is what we have to teach these whites, that we are all human beings, all equal.

SA: *You must teach them?*

JJ: *Yes, that is our duty.*

In this extract, there are four interwoven narratives. One reiterates past oppression. A second distinguishes those white people who did not endorse Apartheid but failed to stand up for the oppressed groups, so their moral failure is lack of courage. A third narrative is about unity and humanity, which transcends race and prescribes equality. A fourth is a significant new narrative, reflecting Mandela's influence, that empowers the former oppressed groups by positioning them as having the moral responsibility to educate the whites in humanity.

SA: *You talk about whites…what do you see yourself as?*

JJ 4: *The answer is South African! If I say I am black then the other person will say he is white and then we start racism again and all the divisions and then we have apartheid. That is why I say that I am a human being and a South African to stop that racism. Black and white was started by apartheid and that will keep us apart. But if we want to unite then we must get rid of that colored, white and black. …*

We are all human beings, all equal. We can't start that again, it will be too cruel for the blacks to do it, we have suffered too much to do that to someone else. I sometimes think we should oppress them, but that will not fix anything, we have had too much anger in South Africa.

This extract elaborates the narrative of humanity and unity through both the transcendence of race under the category 'human' and the argument that labeling *per se* is divisive and undermines this. It also elaborates the narrative of moral responsibility for reeducation.

The example shows multiple narratives in interaction. They connect representations of past experiences, present situation and challenges, and future possibilities. The different narratives are part of a cultural repertoire available to JJ. However, what narratives he invokes and the meaning he makes of them evidence that JJ is engaged in a dialogic construction of his personal identity and agency. That is, cultural narratives are appropriated into individual identity, and different courses of civic action follow from this appropriation. This is a clear example of the interplay between the understanding of history and the sense of self, moral responsibility and civic agency.

We will now consider how these extracts demonstrate positioning; we see several examples. First, JJ positions the founders of the Cape Colony as morally egregious and by so doing, he positions the nonwhite population as victims of an immoral tradition. This positioning is developed through arguing that in consequence the victims are deprived of dignity. However, this is presented as a counterpoint to the repositioning of identity through the recent social changes. In the third extract, JJ differentiates those whites who are pro-Apartheid from those who are apologetic, but then further positions these latter as lacking in commitment. He then engages in the interesting

argumentation, whether nonwhites should position whites now as victims, in retribution, or whether to position nonwhites as morally superior because they can take a comprehensively humanistic view. Finally in this extract he extends the positioning of moral superiority to moral *obligation*; nonwhites *must teach* the whites to be humanistic—elegantly positioning the whites not only as morally deficient but also as less powerful because they are placed in the role of students.

In the fourth extract, JJ repeats some of the argumentation about retribution, but also positions himself as a 'human being' and 'South African' explicitly to counter the positioning that he sees in Apartheid, which arose from the labels. These extracts are a quite transparent representation of the processes involved in reconstructing cultural narratives in a period of rapid social change, the appropriation of these into individual identity and developing the implications for action that follow from that appropriation.

Conclusion

The theoretical model we have presented is grounded in cultural psychology. It reflects a systemic picture of civic engagement that recognizes its dynamic and transactional nature which enables us to appreciate the synergy between New Civics and history education. New Civics focuses on preparing students for active civic engagement, which is conceptualized as the capacity to understand, feel and take responsibility for a public purpose with the goal of effecting positive change. Historical narratives provide accounts of how individual and collective actors engage in a variety of processes that generate more or less social transformation over time.

We consider that these intersections pose five sets of questions that may guide future research but also can be the foundations for critical civic and history education:

- *Historical narratives position some people as part of 'us' and some people as part of 'them'*. What do these boundaries (us/them, we/others) imply for the construction of the notion of 'public'? Who is recognized as part of the 'we' and what is defined as 'ours', must inform the sense of who is entitled to and responsible for the 'public' goods?
- *Historical narratives describe and explain processes of transformation and continuity*. So, how is 'social change' represented in them? Is it rare and marginal? Is it inevitable and unstoppable? Is it episodic, slowly incremental or revolutionary? Is it linear, multidirectional or cyclical? Is change always for the better (equivalent to progress)? Is it regressive?
- *Historical narratives tell stories about individual and collective agency*. The representation of agents and agency in historical explanations informs students' understanding and capacity for civic decision-making. How do historical narratives characterize the role of individual agency in social

change? What capacity do individuals and groups have to generate change? How do personal motivation, choice, commitment and organized action fare in relation to structural forces?

- *Historical narratives characterize individuals and groups and attribute identities to them.* What kind of people and what social groups are positioned as significant social actors of these change processes? Who is empowered, weak, dependent and leading? How homogeneous or diverse are the societies represented? How consensual or conflictive?
- *Historical narratives establish connections between past–present–future, as well as between individual-community.* How do these connections inform a sense of transcendence, purpose and responsibility of individual action (impact to others, consequences for the future). How do they explain the historicity of current civic issues?

The theoretical model of both sociocultural processes and civic identity elements has educational implications. Designing civic education needs to include students' access to the narratives and discourses around their own history and sociopolitical systems and how these compare with other nations (and periods). Most importantly, it should facilitate a critical perspective on all of these which enables them to recognize how and why narratives and discourses were constructed and the functions they serve in the present. Students need to understand how positioning can be the basis for inequality, both in interpersonal interaction and through justification by narratives, as well as be able to deliberatively alter their own and others' positioning behavior. They need to be critically aware of how repositioning can empower (or disempower) and recognize how this has been done historically in times of sociopolitical change; they need to know how to do this in the context of their own experience. Through this process, they also need to become aware that there are numerous possible, open-ended outcomes, not only one solution. In other words, they need support to escape from linear ways of thinking.

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CHAPTER 24

Shared Principles in History and Social Science Education

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In schools around the world, students study some combination of history and the social sciences. Although these are occasionally integrated into a single course or syllabus (sometimes with titles such as "social studies"), they are more often taught separately, especially in secondary schools. History, in particular, usually receives a dedicated share of the curriculum and often is a required subject; the fate of courses in geography, economics, sociology and civics or government varies somewhat more across settings. Because curricular time is limited, all these subjects may be seen as competing for the same space, and so any increase in requirements or resources for one subject will come at the expense of another. Perhaps because of a fear of losing this position of dominance, advocates for history education are particularly adamant that their subject provides unique knowledge and perspectives (e.g. Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 1988; Stearns, 2004; Tosh, 2008).

History advocates can be especially suspicious of integration with the social sciences or of suggestions that history be used to promote civic participation or other societal goals (e.g. Lee & Howson, 2009; Ravitch, 1988; Wilentz, 1997; Wilschut, 2009). As Bernstein (1971) has argued, the status of a school subject rests on its distinctness both from other subjects and from everyday experience. For history to continue enjoying its current dominance, then, some believe that it must maintain its separation from the social sciences, and it must remain aloof from the social and civic activities of daily life. Many history educators have thus embraced the idea that disciplines have unique ways of thinking, formulating problems and evaluating evidence, and that studying these con-

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stitutes a valid educational goal in itself (e.g. Boix Mansilla & Gardner, 2008; Seixas, 2001). Terms such as *disciplinary literacy* (Moje, 2008; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008), *historical thinking* (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; Lévesque, 2009; VanSledright, 2014) and *historical reasoning* (van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008) have become commonplace. This emphasis on disciplinary boundaries stems from, and reinforces, an aversion to curricular integration.

Although boundaries between disciplines are never clear and distinct, and no discipline constitutes a unified field of practice, they do indeed differ somewhat in the relative attention they devote to certain topics or methodologies, particularly at the more specialized level of the university. In the context of general education at the primary and secondary levels, however, emphasizing these differences may have the unintended consequence of impeding students' understanding of each subject by failing to capitalize on areas of overlap and similarity (Thornton & Barton, 2010). Elements of "historical thinking" that have been promoted as the core of school curricula (e.g. causation, empathy, agency and evidence), for example, are precisely those features that history shares most closely with other social science fields. In addition, understanding the content of historical study—the people, events and trends that make up the substance of the field—depends on concepts that derive from subjects such as sociology, geography or economics (Rogers, 1995). If students have not learned the concept of cultural diffusion in their geography classes, for example, they will struggle to see the significance of the Silk Routes, and their history teachers will have to either take time to teach the concept or to settle for inadequate understanding. The attractiveness of disciplinary distinctiveness, then, should not obscure the presence of shared ground. Students would have greater insight into the variety of human thought and action—both contemporary and historical—if educators recognized the principles that are shared across history and the social sciences, and if they made greater efforts to coordinate teaching and learning in these subjects. This chapter aims to identify some of the most important of these areas of overlap.

Perspective

Perspective, also known as *empathy*, is one of the most widely discussed elements of historical thinking (e.g. Barton & Levstik, 2004; Endacott & Brooks, 2013; Knight, 1989; Lee & Ashby, 2001), even though it may not receive as much classroom attention as many educators believe that it should. In order to understand past social structures, as well as the actions of people in history, students must understand how people at the time saw the world; they need to recognize the values, attitudes and beliefs that motivated people in a given period, rather than thinking that they shared the same perspectives as people today. Often, students think that societal ideas are universal and invariant. They assume that economic production has always been based on the profit motive, that people have always been motivated by a desire for individual freedom and that racial and gender attitudes have (until recently) remained

stable throughout time. When confronted with actions that seem nonsensical by today's standards, on the other hand (such as convicting women for witchcraft based on evidence that now seems laughable), students typically struggle for an explanation; they often conclude that people in the past simply were not as intelligent as those today. Without careful instruction on the concept of perspective, students thus make a fundamental mistake. They assume that people have always shared the same values, but that in the past they were too unintelligent (or manipulative) to apply those values sensibly. To understand history meaningfully, they need to recognize that people have thought rationally for all recorded history, but that the values that shape their thinking are socially situated, and that these have varied over time and across places.

Part of the challenge in helping students understand historical perspectives, however, derives from their lack of recognition that people—past or present—even *have* socially situated perspectives. This is why connections with the social sciences are so important, for understanding perspective is a mainstay of not only history but many other fields. Anthropology, for example, was built on the concept of culture (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952), and it has long been concerned with distinguishing between views held by members of a society and interpretations developed by outsiders—traditionally referred to as *emic* and *etic* perspectives (Harris, 1976). Similarly, since its founding, sociology has been concerned with social norms and the meanings that people attach to their lives and actions, as well as with the role of social structures in shaping those meanings (Giddens, 1971). Human geography is also concerned with how people interpret their surroundings and how they create places that reflect their values (Myers, McGreevy, Carney, & Kenny, 2003), and the study of economic decision-making is grounded in the recognition that people's wants and choices reflect their values (Council for Economic Education, 2010). Whether using terms such as *perspective*, *empathy*, *worldview*, *culture*, *habitus*, *values*, *norms* or *wants*, a large portion of scholarship in history and the social sciences is either implicitly or explicitly concerned with how people see the world and how these perspectives influence their actions.

To take a contemporary example, studying the social, economic and political life of the Republic of Korea means becoming familiar with a unique combination of views that differ from the outlook of many people in the West. One of these is the ideal of filial piety, which is associated with Confucianism in much of East Asia (Hwang, 1999; Sung, 1990). In contrast to common Western values of independence and autonomy, those raised in a Confucian tradition typically value continuing deference to parents throughout the life span; by extension, all younger people are expected to defer to their elders, and those with lower status to those who are higher—not just on occasion but in nearly all circumstances. This results in a pattern of deference that permeates nearly all aspects of life. Similarly, the ideal of communalism—the sense that individual desires should be subordinated to the greater good—differs from the individualism with which many students in the West will be more familiar (Cha, 1994; Lim, Kim, & Kim, 2011; Yang, 2006). Koreans are less likely to think in

terms of *my* school or *my* company, than *our* school or *our* company, and this sense of communal responsibility is a feature of both public and private life. As part of the New Community Movement of the early 1970s, for example, the government capitalized on this ideal by relying on the voluntary labor of villagers to develop rural infrastructure and thus spur economic development (Kim & Park, 2003; Lim, 2007). Finally, a sense of national vulnerability—the legacy of historical defenselessness against more powerful neighbors—has led in recent years to foreign policies that not only involve a hard stance toward North Korea but the cultivation of relationships with countries that are seen as offering protection, such as the United States (Ko, 2006). Like all people, then, South Koreans behave rationally, but this rationality may be difficult for students to understand without recognizing the role of filial piety, communalism and vulnerability in both public and private behavior.

The same principles of perspective apply to historical topics. Making sense of slavery in colonial North America, for example, requires understanding the values, attitudes and beliefs that underlay the practice. Younger students often think that slavery existed because Whites were "lazy" or that they "hadn't figured out" that Blacks and Whites were equal (Barton & Levstik, 2004), but of course neither of these is true. People who could create constitutions, manage complex businesses and build cathedrals were not limited in intelligence, nor were they unwilling to expend their own labor just because they were also benefitting from the labor of others. Older students and adults, meanwhile, may explain slavery by noting that Whites were racist. But pointing to racism is a truism that explains nothing; the point of studying history is to understand how the perspective of people in various times and places have made racism seem logical. In this case, it requires recognizing that slave owners were part of a social, political and religious world in which hierarchy was the norm. From our present-day perspective, any deviation from equality needs explanation and justification, but in the eighteenth century it was taken for granted; indeed, the high value placed on freedom for social elites at the time was premised on the lack of freedom for others (Morgan, 1975). That this inequality would be visited most severely upon Africans, meanwhile, was the result of a long-term development of English attitudes, a development that ultimately positioned Africans as inferior due not only to their skin color and other physical characteristics but also to their lack of Christianity, their perceived lack of sexual morality and what the English conceived of as their animalism (Jordan, 1977). These perspectives were sanctioned by law and religion, and they guided people's actions in ways they rarely questioned. To think that a great many individuals were making aberrant decisions to own slaves—based on ignorance, laziness or individual racial attitudes—is to fail to understand the perspective of people at the time.

It is important for students to understand, however, that the presence of socially situated perspectives does not necessarily signal conformity or consensus, either in past or in present society. Notably, even those who share a broad outlook on the world can reach different conclusions about personal behavior

or public policy. Although a sense of national vulnerability is widespread in the Republic of Korea, for example, people nonetheless disagree on whether the proper stance toward North Korea should be one of cooperation or confrontation. Similarly, many people in the eighteenth century who accepted racial inequality nonetheless thought slavery was unwise, for political, economic or religious reasons. In addition, values are never so universally accepted as to preclude either dissent or change over time. Many Koreans, especially younger ones, chafe at the obligations of filial piety and communalism, and many refuse to comply with these norms (which are less powerful today than in the past) or even to accept them as legitimate (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Sung, 1995). In the same way, many abolitionists drew from a contrasting set of values that proclaimed radical equality and that were rooted in a dissenting religious tradition (Stewart, 1976); this perspective ultimately displaced the hierarchical beliefs prevalent at the time. And crucially, students must understand that some segments of society invariably have greater power to force compliance with particular perspectives than do others, and they often have the resources necessary to establish and maintain legitimacy for their views. Those who hope to benefit politically or economically from ideas such as communalism or vulnerability in Korea have a vested interest in perpetuating these perspectives, just as slave owners were well situated to force compliance with their hierarchical and racialized world view.

Students must come to understand, then, that in studying any society—past or present—they must attend to both the existence and influence of societal perspectives, as well as to be aware of how those perspectives are characterized by diversity, change and power relations. This idea is not unique to any one discipline, and systematic and coordinated attention to this topic across subjects would help students better recognize the need to take perspective into account.

Causation

Causation is at the heart of history and social science education. When we study human events, behavior and social structures—past or present—we almost always focus on their causes and consequences. Why did the Roman Empire fall? What were the effects of European imperialism? How did gender norms influence the political activity of women in the nineteenth century? What causes demand for goods to rise? Why do cities grow up near bodies of water? How does residential segregation affect political polarization? These are the issues that professional historians and social scientists investigate, and that we expect students to explore as well. The prevalence of words such as *affect*, *compel*, *encourage*, *develop* and so on in these subjects shows just how common the 'terminology of causation' (Woodcock, 2005) is in history and social science.

Causation, though, is neither straightforward nor linear, and education must reflect this complexity; students cannot simply be told that the inven-

tion of the stirrup caused feudalism or that the US went to war in Vietnam to preserve access to tin, tungsten and rubber. Instead, they must come to see the interconnectedness of causes and the multiple ways they operate. Causes, for example, differ by function and relative importance: there are intentional and contextual causes; enabling and determining causes; and triggers, catalysts and preconditions. Effects, meanwhile, may be intentional or unintentional; direct or indirect; small-scale or severe. And both causes and effects differ in type (social, political, economic or geographic) and in their spatial and temporal scale (near and far; short-, medium- and long-term). We have to help students see causation not as a chain of discrete 'things' but as a tangled web of interactions and relationships (Kitson & Husbands, 2011).

The geography of immigration provides a good example of such webs, because human movement inevitably results from a variety of incentives. Beginning in 2009 and peaking in 2014, for instance, an unprecedented number of unaccompanied children began emigrating from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador and seeking asylum in the United States and other countries in Central America (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, n.d.). To understand this sudden and specific increase in migration, students would need to consider social and economic factors such as high rates of crime and poverty in the countries of origin, as well as the affluence and relative safety of other countries, and particularly of the United States (Restrepo & Garcia, 2014). They would also have to consider long-term factors such as US government policies (including support for military dictatorships) that have led to crime and structural poverty in Central America, along with contextual factors such as government corruption and ineffective police forces (Planas & Grim, 2014). In addition, they would need to consider changes in US law that slowed the process of deportation during this period (Hulse, 2014), and the rumors that circulated in the countries of origin about the ease of being granted asylum (Zezima, 2014). A potential catalyst for this immigration, meanwhile, was the entry of Mexican drug cartels into the human-trafficking business—a move that transformed a difficult and risky trip into an efficient and organized business (Dickson, 2014). Students need to recognize, in other words, that there is no one cause of such patterns but a set of interlocking causes of different types and scales.

The US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, meanwhile, illustrates the complicated effects of past events. This decision has taken on almost iconic status as a historical turning point, one that often is taught as though its consequences were clear. The decision ended segregated schooling, expanded educational opportunity, and, in the words of an exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution, "advanced the cause of human rights in America and set an example for all the peoples of the world" (Hess, 2005: 2046). The decision did, eventually, have the effect of ending *de jure* school segregation, but it did not achieve its intended effect of integration, much less of bringing about any significant measure of racial equality (Ladson-Billings, 2004). In the short term, many school districts found ways of maintaining *de facto* seg-

regation; in some cases, they closed schools altogether and provided financial support for White students to attend segregated private schools and left Black students with no access to public education (Patterson, 2001). Over the longer term, the decision led many White families to move from racially mixed urban areas to more homogeneous suburbs—a spatial shift that maintained or even intensified segregated educational systems (Patterson, 2001) and that contributed to numerous other social and economic changes. Even when integration did occur, school systems often refused to hire Black teachers and principals, and thus a generation of Black educators lost their jobs (Hudson & Holmes, 1994). Some scholars have even argued that *Brown v. Board* did less to promote the cause of civil rights than to catalyze White *resistance* to integration (e.g. Klarman, 1994). Far from being a simple story of cause and effect, then, this event reflects a complex mix of consequences that have been direct and indirect, intended and unintended, and jointly social, political, geographic and economic. This kind of causal understanding is a chief purpose of history and social science education and applies across subjects.

Agency

Agency refers to the ability of people to bring about desired results. This simple definition, however, masks complicated phenomena and relationships that have consumed the attention of generations of historians and social scientists, who devote much of their work to understanding the process of agency. There are few topics in history and social science education that do not touch on agency, and yet "touching on" is not enough; students need clear and explicit experience with using the elements of agency to understand human society and behavior. Two of these elements have been covered in the preceding sections: causation and perspective. Analyzing causation helps students see the uncertain link between actions and results; just because individuals or groups aim to accomplish something does not mean that they will be successful, or that the results will be limited to those they intend. Analyzing perspective, meanwhile, helps students recognize how "desired results" are social constructions that vary across time and place.

Setting aside causation and perspective for the moment, however, leaves three other critical elements of agency: people, the actions they take and their ability to carry out those actions. In examining the people involved in past and present events, students need to look beyond the elites who have traditionally held power; although these were once the principal focus of historical study, historians' attention has shifted to include those whose race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, geographic origin or other characteristics have kept them outside the corridors of power. Such groups and individuals have always been the focus of the social sciences, which rarely emphasize powerful individuals in the way that historians once did; sociologists, political scientists, economists and geographers typically examine attitudes and behaviors of wider segments of society, and they often focus on the unique character-

istics of social groups and the ways they differ from each other. With experience examining these topics in the social sciences, students will be better prepared to recognize differing social groups in history. History, meanwhile, provides countless examples of the ideas and actions of different social groups, and this deepens and enriches students' understanding of the diverse agents involved in events.

Studying a topic such as the Russian Revolution, for example, obviously requires going beyond leaders such as Lenin or Tsar Nicholas II and learning about the actions of countless unnamed soldiers, workers and activists. It also means considering agents from different economic positions (i.e. the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, proletariat and peasants) and with different political ideologies (Liberals, Mensheviks, Bolsheviks and so on). And crucially, it means learning not only about men active in the conflict but also about women—and not just Empress Alexandra, but revolutionaries such as Alexandra Kollontai and Inessa Armand, and the masses of women workers, peasants, demonstrators and soldiers whose actions either promoted or inhibited revolutionary change (Alpern-Engel, 2003; Clements, 1982, 1997). Similarly, studying a contemporary societal issue such as human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) would require learning how a variety of actors have responded to the crisis: how leaders in government, religious institutions and health agencies have supported (or failed to support) research, medical treatment and educational programs, how organizations such as AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) have advocated for public policies that would improve the lives of people living with HIV, and how grassroots activists and volunteers have developed educational programs, challenged popular prejudices and provided care for those who are ill. Students also would need to understand how these efforts have involved both men and women, members of different racial and ethnic groups, individuals within and outside of the LGBTQ community and those from different countries (Brier, 2009; Chambré, 2006; Levenson, 2004; Smith & Siplon, 2006). As different as the examples of HIV/AIDS and the Russian Revolution are, both call attention to the importance of understanding a variety of social actors.

It is not only when people enter the world of transformative public events that they exert agency, though, and expanding students' perception of the people who take part in social events necessarily means expanding their perception of what counts as actions that are worthy of study. If only political and diplomatic affairs are important, then much of history will necessarily focus on elite white men. But historians and social scientists study much more than this; they study poverty, fashion, technology, agriculture, family life, drug use, domestic work, population movements, religious practice and countless other topics. These involve many different social groups, and the actions that they take part in as part of these spheres of life are an important part of what students need to study in order to understand society. In studying any geographic region or any time period, students must ask similar questions. What do people do for a living? What kind of families do they have? How do they move around? What

technologies do they use? What religions do they practice? Again, familiarity with analyzing social life as part of social science courses helps students think of people's actions in the past in a more comprehensive way, and studying history can provide them with countless concrete instances of the content of social life.

Finally—but perhaps most importantly—students need to understand what makes people *able* to take action, and what stands in the way of action. Sometimes posed as the tension between agency and structure, or between agency and power, this comes down to the fundamental role of societal forces in either enabling or constraining what people do. Yet, this tension is precisely what is often missing in students' understanding of human action; they often assume either that people can do whatever they want (e.g. all slaves could have run away, or all victims of injustice can insist on their rights) or that they are helpless victims of their surroundings (e.g. Jews during the Holocaust went passively to their deaths, or people in less-developed countries are dependent on charity). A central task of history and the social sciences is to help students understand that all people make choices from among a range of alternatives, but that the nature and range of those alternatives is influenced by the societal attitudes and institutions that either promote or inhibit action.

Students who study women's lives during the Middle Ages, for example, would need to understand how their ability to take action was either enhanced or constrained by a variety of cultural, economic, political and ecclesiastical institutions. These included laws governing women's ability to own land, appear in court, hold public office and inherit property; their role in household labor, marketplace transactions, consumption of goods and estate management; the prevalence of public conventions and images of female saintliness and sexuality; access to formal education and to positions within the church; and the existence of female social networks (Erler & Kowaleski, 1988). Similarly, students in a social science class who study human rights protection in Latin America would need to understand how such efforts are advanced or constrained by laws and government policies regarding the press, public speech and political organizing, the existence and status of civil society organizations, the level of support of the Catholic Church, the involvement of nongovernmental organizations, access to education, the influence of the military and paramilitary organizations, the extent of corruption or professionalism in the court system and among police, and the economic circumstances of the country (Cleary, 1997). All these factors vary by time and place, and agency can only be understood in relation to particular societal circumstances. The more students have experience with these dimensions of agency in both history and social science, the better equipped they will be to understand them.

Evidence

Historians and social scientists can only reach conclusions about perspective, causation or agency through the use of evidence; only through the use of evidence can they make claims about how people see the world, about how they

influence and are influenced by their social environment, and about the causes and consequences of trends and events. Developing students' ability to use empirical evidence to make such claims is thus one of the most important goals of history and social science education, and indeed, of schooling more generally. Yet, this is a key weakness in many students' encounter with these subjects. Studies show that even advanced students have little insight into how historians reach conclusions about the past (reviewed in Barton, 2008), and although research with school-age students in other subjects is more limited, the tendency of adults to ignore or dismiss evidence in formulating positions on public policy issues (Kuklinski et al., 2000; Nyhan & Reifler, 2010) suggests that this is an area that deserves much greater educational attention.

Source analysis features prominently in educational programs that aim to help teachers emphasize historical thinking (e.g. Denos & Case, 2006; Drake & Nelson, 2009; Lesh, 2011), and some educators may even *equate* historical thinking with analyzing sources. At first glance, this seems logical, because examining sources such as old letters, official records and physical artifacts is a tangible element of historical investigation. Who could look at an eighteenth century, hand-written document and not immediately think, *History*? In addition, because people in the present never have direct or complete access to the past, drawing supportable conclusions from its remnants appears to be a specialized skill that falls squarely within the purview of historians, who can never hope to recover the complete historical record and thus must learn to work in conditions of uncertainty.

Characterizing source analysis as a distinctive feature of historical thinking, however, is misleading for at least three reasons. First, historians have no monopoly on a particular kind of source; like social scientists, they rely on artifacts, interviews, photographs, public and private records, art and architecture, and ephemeral elements of everyday life. Any type of source used by historians is also used by at least some social scientists, and any source used by social scientists is used by at least some historians. Second, sources in all fields are incomplete; just as historians can never know the totality of what occurred in the past, social scientists can never survey, interview or observe every individual in the nations or communities they study or access all the records of their lives. Both historians and social scientists must make supportable inferences based on incomplete and sometimes inconsistent or contradictory information. Finally, the idea that presenting students with a set of sources and asking them to analyze them mirrors the work of historians is simply inaccurate; historians are never presented with sources, which they then must analyze, but instead seek out sources based on their role in providing evidence to answer an empirical question (Barton, 2005).

This process of asking questions, seeking evidence and drawing conclusions is characteristic of the process of inquiry across disciplines, and students need to learn what this looks like, regardless of the particular topic or subject. Historians investigating the experience of runaway slaves in the antebellum United States (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999), for example, and social sci-

entists investigating the impact of water scarcity in a contemporary Nigerian village (Nyong & Kanaroglou, 1999), engage in similar tasks. They have to identify questions that can be answered by empirical evidence (e.g. From where were slaves most likely to escape? What kinds of assistance increased their likelihood of success? How do people access and store water? What health problems are associated with these practices?). They have to identify sources that potentially provide evidence to answer these questions (e.g. slave and planter accounts, advertisements and court petitions; interviews, observations and public documents). They have to evaluate what can and cannot be learned from these sources (e.g., Which sources are most comprehensive and representative? What evidence can runaway slave advertisements provide that would not be found in narrative accounts? How can interviews with women provide information that differs from those with men?). And finally, they have to draw from these sources to develop supportable conclusions, which are then presented in some publicly accessible form—books, articles, websites or other media.

Unfortunately, schools are not usually designed to acquaint students with such investigative processes. Usually, curriculum structures and instructional patterns are designed to transmit content (which students are expected to remember) or to teach isolated skills (which students are expected to practice). Discrete exercises, in which prepackaged sources are presented to students so that they can practice "source analysis", fit neatly into this grammar of schooling; as long as historical investigations can be limited to circumscribed tasks, they are relatively easy to incorporate into lessons. A deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the use of evidence, however, requires more than this. Understanding inquiry and its application to problems and topics in a variety of subjects has the potential to provide students with greater insight into how knowledge of society is constructed than does practice with isolated source exercises. Only with repeated engagement, in more instances than history alone can provide, are students likely to develop a meaningful understanding of this process.

Concepts

Concepts are ideas, "abstract categories or classes of meaning" (Parker, 2012: 317), such as *revolution*, *colonialism*, *religion*, *government*, *representation*, *domestic labor*, *settlement* or *port*; each of these can include many different specific instances (e.g. the French Revolution, German colonialism and Buddhism).[1] Such concepts form the foundation for learning in history and the social sciences. Sometimes, students need to understand that an entity or event fits within a particular conceptual category (e.g. Germany is a *parliamentary republic*, workers went on *strike*). More often, students need to understand relations among concepts: *famine* in Ireland led to *emigration*; *industrialization* is associated with *urbanization*; governmental *policies* often involve *trade-offs* between *freedom* and *security*. Even when these labels are omitted, the

importance of concepts remains: an observation such as "Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip" is significant only if students understand that Ferdinand was *heir* to the Austro-Hungarian *monarchy* and that Princip was a Yugoslav *nationalist*.

As these examples illustrate, concepts are not usually specific to a given field. Historians, geographers, economists, sociologists and others all use concepts such as *urbanization*, *emigration*, *public policy* and countless others. The difference between history and other school subjects is this: curricula in geography, government, economics, and so on, explicitly emphasize the meaning of concepts (i.e. students are expected to develop an understanding of population density, human rights, inflation, and so on), whereas in history the curriculum typically takes for granted that students already know these concepts. History curricula, that is, outline particular examples of diplomacy, migration or revolution, but do not usually call attention to the need to teach the conceptual meaning of diplomacy, migration or revolution.

Yet as experienced teachers know, students who lack underlying concepts will be unable to make sense of the topics they are expected to study. Those without a conceptual understanding of taxation and representation, for example, will not see why North American colonies rebelled against Britain, even when the teacher explains it; the explanation will go over their heads, and they may thus misinterpret the American Revolution as a petulant interpersonal squabble rather than a political and economic conflict (Barton, 1997). Sometimes, rather than simply failing to understand relevant concepts, students draw upon concepts they already possess, even when those do not apply to the topic at hand. Those without a concept of *empire*, for example, are likely to think of Han China or Imperial Mali as though they were either kingdoms or modern nation states. In order for them to understand particular empires in history, they must first understand what an empire is and how it differs from other forms of political organization.

Some people may not see this as much of a problem. Just tell students the definition of empire, or tell them to look it up for themselves, and get on with it. The problem with this approach, however, is that students do not develop conceptual understandings simply by listening to explanations or looking up definitions. Conceptual learning depends on a more involved process, one in which students compare examples and non-examples, identify common and distinguishing characteristics, create their own definitions and apply them to new instances (Larson & Keiper, 2013; Parker, 2012). History teachers, then, have to draw from both the professional literature and their own experience to identify which concepts they need to help students develop. In studying medieval Japan, for example, there is no need to teach the concept of *island*, because teenagers will already understand it; *feudalism*, on the other hand, may require explicit conceptual development—teachers cannot simply expect that students know what it means, or that they can learn it from an explanation or formal definition.

Concept development, however, takes time. A concept lesson can easily take up an entire class period, or longer. An ideally structured curriculum would take this into account and would teach students concepts in their social science classes before they needed them in history; they would learn the concept of *republic* in government before studying the Roman Republic in history, for example, or would learn about the relationship between industrialization and urbanization before studying the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This kind of organization may be too idealistic, but curricula should at least give students the chance to develop an understanding of concepts and their relationships in multiple subject fields, because so few are specific to any one area. Not only would this prevent history teachers from having to develop students' understanding of each social, geographic, economic or governmental concept they need, but it would also free them up to help students understand how some concepts have changed over time. All concepts are human constructions, and thus their meaning often is historically contingent; the concept of *nation*, for example, has changed substantially over the centuries (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013). History teachers would be better able to address these changes if students had previous experience developing core understandings in other subjects (Thornton & Barton, 2010).

Conclusions

Scholars may find it rewarding to argue for the distinctiveness of their fields, and some educators may be seduced by the status that seems to derive from alignment with university disciplines and separation from other subjects. This distinctiveness has been a recurring theme in the scholarship on history education in recent years. However, in pre-university, general education, history shares a great deal of conceptual content with other social sciences, and these other fields emphasize many of the same elements characterized as central to "historical thinking". Students' understanding of each field—and of human society generally—would be enhanced if schools devoted greater attention to these areas of overlap. Students' understanding of history rests on substantive concepts (sometimes known as *first-order concepts*), many of which are derived from other fields, and on ideas that are sometimes referred to as *second-order concepts* (i.e. perspective, causation, agency and evidence) that are so complicated students need repeated and coordinated attention to them across the curriculum.

Unfortunately, we have no clear empirical evidence of how the curriculum can most effectively address these areas of overlap. In recent decades, research on students' thinking about the social world has largely taken place within the context of assumptions about "disciplinary thinking", and thus most studies pay little heed to similarities across fields (Barton & Avery, 2016; Thornton & Barton, 2010). In addition, curriculum patterns are the product of history, politics and status considerations. As a result, attempts to significantly reform the curriculum by, for example, integrating history and other social

sciences are likely to be met with significant opposition from teachers, disciplinary associations and the wider public. Efforts to rationalize the curriculum, however, could be put on a firmer foundation of evidence if more researchers investigated how understandings about causation, evidence and so on develop in different subject fields. For example, a comparative study of how students' ideas about perspective develop when they study history, geography and sociology would provide important insights into how instruction in these subjects could become more synergistic. Studies of innovative or experimental attempts to integrate subjects, meanwhile, would contribute to our understanding of what is gained and what is lost from such attempts. (For one such example, see Crocco & Thornton, 2002.)

Despite this lack of research, and despite political and institutional barriers to curriculum reform, educators can nonetheless take important steps to capitalize on areas of overlap in history and other social science fields. At the level of ministries and departments of education, curriculum writers can develop objectives that explicitly address the kinds of shared understandings covered in this chapter. History, geography, government and other curricula should not be developed in isolation from each other; those who are responsible for each area should collaborate to make sure that each subject builds on and complements the others. (For an example of such an effort in science, see NGSS Lead States, 2013.) Even without such reforms, at local levels teachers of different subjects can plan how to best organize and sequence their instruction. If cultural geography is taught at one grade level and world history at the next, for example, teachers of those subjects can work together to make sure they have a shared understanding of "perspective", so that geography can prepare students for history, and history can build on expand what students have learned in geography.

Whether implemented through official curricula or local efforts, any attempt to connect history and the social sciences requires substantial professional development for teachers. In many countries, teachers of history, geography and other subjects are prepared as part of separate programs, and they may have few chances to systematically consider the conceptual content of other fields. Even in the United States, where teachers of these fields are usually prepared as part of a combined "social studies" program, the distinctive content of individual subjects is stressed. Although US teachers typically learn how each subject contributes to preparation for democratic citizenship, they are less likely to explore other conceptual similarities among subjects. Only with sustained professional development, in which teachers have the chance to examine these similarities and consider their implications for teaching, are they likely to be willing and able to make meaningful changes in instruction—even if those changes are mandated by the state. These are not areas that teachers, researchers or policymakers have considered as deeply as they might, yet concern for the effectiveness of students' education compels us to begin thinking about them more carefully.

Note

1. Following the distinction made by Lee and Ashby (2000), history educators often distinguish between "substantive" or "first-order" concepts such as those listed here, and "second-order" concepts such as perspective, causation or empathy, which purportedly "provide our understanding of history as a discipline or form of knowledge" (p. 199). Although Lee and Ashby do not dismiss the importance of substantive knowledge, an unfortunate consequence of this distinction—and of the quest for disciplinary distinctiveness—has been a lack of concern among many researchers with the role that substantive concepts play in students' understanding of history. For examples of history educators who have begun to consider the importance of substantive concepts, see van Drie and van Boxtel (2008) and VanSledright and Limón (2006).

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CHAPTER 25

Concept Acquisition and Conceptual Change in History

María Rodríguez-Moneo and Cesar Lopez

Often we see children who are fond of sports, following international competitions with their families, using the concept of 'country' or 'nation' long before learning it in school. Why are some concepts such as 'country,' 'nation,' 'dictatorship,' 'democracy,' 'king,' and 'revolution' constructed and used by children long before studying them in school contexts? What is the purpose of their intuitive knowledge in the domain of history? What are the features of this knowledge? What impact does it have on the process of learning history in school? How does intuitive knowledge of history change throughout school history learning?

All of these issues are related to the individual construction of historical knowledge and the changes it undergoes as a result of learning. They have been addressed through studies on intuitive knowledge developed for several decades in psychology and in Instructional Science. These studies analyze the construction processes of intuitive knowledge and conceptual change in general, and in relation to each discipline or field in particular (e.g., Rodríguez-Moneo, 1999; Vosniadou, 2013; White & Gunstone, 2008).

Traditionally, studies on intuitive knowledge and conceptual change have been applied mainly in the fields of mathematics and the experimental sciences

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and to a lesser extent in the social sciences and history (Murphy & Alexander, 2008; Pfundt & Duit, 1994; Voss & Carretero, 1998). This is probably because greater importance has been awarded to scientific literacy in comparison to social and historical literacy (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013). However, the interest regarding history learning that has been raised in recent decades (Barton, 2008; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008) has contributed to the development of a large number of studies on intuitive knowledge in history. There have been fewer studies conducted on conceptual change.

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the construction of intuitive knowledge and the process of conceptual change in the field of history. The first section of this article addresses the cognitive processes that underlie the construction of intuitive knowledge and conceptual change—bearing in mind the studies on concept formation. In the second part, the cognitive principles referred to in the first part of the article are applied to what has been investigated specifically in the field of history.

In the first section, special attention is paid to the concept formation for two reasons. On one hand, concepts are essential for an in-depth understanding of the nature of intuitive knowledge and the processes of conceptual change (Rodríguez-Moneo, 2007). On the other hand, concepts are especially relevant in history (Husbands, 1996; Koselleck, 2004) because, among other reasons, they shape the historical narratives of individuals, as it is explained in detail throughout the chapter.

The Need to Build Concepts and Theories

In response to the issues raised at the beginning of the chapter, the individuals' need to build concepts and a more complex knowledge based on concepts including facts, data, principles, and theories will be analyzed here.

Concepts can be considered basic units of knowledge (Barsalou, 1992; Rosch, 2000). They are a representation of classes that include elements—cases or instances—that share common features (Clark, 1983). Because of concepts, we need not address the uniqueness of elements in the world and can treat them as equivalent instances—elements or cases—that are not identical. Thus, for example, the concept of 'table' is the representation of a class that includes a number of instances—different types of tables—that, being different, share common features that allow them to be considered tables. Similarly, the concept of 'citizen' is the representation of a class that includes a series of cases—millions of citizens—who, being different, share common features and are all considered citizens. Concepts are essential for organizing the world and making sense of it. Without conceptual knowledge, the environment would be chaotic, and interaction with the physical and social world would not be possible.

Not only do concepts organize the immediate physical and social environment, they also organize knowledge regarding the different theoretical disciplines that provide explanations about the world (Thagard, 2012). For

example, in history, the concept of 'war' identifies periods of tension, strife, struggle, or political and social confrontation. Additionally, there are subordinate categories of 'war' that help distinguish different types of wars, including 'civil war,' 'world war,' 'cold war,' and 'holy war'. Organizing the world around us, so that it does not become chaotic and one can function in it, is as important as organizing disciplinary knowledge because concepts are units that are articulated to provide more profound explanatory models of the world (Thagard, 2014). When we learn disciplinary knowledge, in history for example, we learn conceptual base knowledge—declarative knowledge—that we use and put at the service of our actions—procedural knowledge.

As explained elsewhere (Rodríguez-Moneo & Aparicio, 2004), declarative knowledge is somewhat similar to what people commonly known as *theoretical knowledge*. Indeed, declarative knowledge is descriptive knowledge of the world that is susceptible to being said or declared. This knowledge is based on concepts and can vary depending on how reality is described: in terms of concepts (e.g., democracy is a political regime), events (e.g., in 1492, Columbus came to the shores of America), principles or change relations (e.g., artistic manifestations vary depending on the knowledge of the technique), and theories. Declarative knowledge may also vary depending on the scope of the reality it describes, for example, history, literature, or mathematics. On the other hand, procedural knowledge is similar to what is commonly known as *practical knowledge*. Indeed, this is know-how knowledge, and it is characterized by the fact that it cannot be said or declared. It only expresses itself through action, either as a physically observable action (e.g., drawing the political map of a continent) or a mental action (e.g., interpreting an actual event from a series of historical processes). This knowledge may also vary according to the different areas of reality to which it refers.[1]

Acquiring concepts related to history is essential for building a structure of knowledge about history and to be able to think historically (Levstik & Barton, 2015). The paradigm of learning history has changed from a more traditional perspective focused on learning facts, data, and concepts to a new perspective—developed in the 1990s—in which learning history is viewed as the ability to think historically (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). The difference between the two perspectives is not that the current concept does not value the learning of data, facts, concepts, principles, and theories but rather that all this declarative knowledge of history is placed at the service of the action of thinking about history with the procedures (procedural knowledge) employed by historians. This is what it means to think historically (see, for example, Wineburg, 1991; see also Nokes, in this volume).

Concepts underlie thought processes (Carey, 2011), and, therefore, historical concepts are essential for thinking historically.[2] First, concepts are needed to solve problems. Without concepts, it is impossible to understand the general approach to a problem and the intermediate stages reached in the resolution process. Let us take a simple example. A historical problem that requires, for example, 'analyzing the causes of a revolution' can hardly be understood and

solved without the concept of 'revolution'. In addition, understanding and solving the problem will depend on the concept that one possesses about what a revolution is, what causes it, how it develops, and what its consequences are. Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008) demonstrate how some skills necessary for historical thinking reflect different types of problems (e.g., asking historical questions, contextualizing, arguing) that require historical concepts.

Second, the effect of concepts on thought is related to people's ability to make inferences and, thus, reading between the lines. This virtue of making inferences is particularly relevant in history, especially when we consider that history involves a reflection on the past that allows a projection into the future.

Inferences contribute to the development of explanations about the world. Anderson (1995) distinguishes between *categorical inferences* and *causal inferences*. The former refer to a set of characteristic traits grouped around a concept. For example, if we talk about the concept of 'social class,' a categorical inference would be linked to 'level of income'. The latter type of inference, causal inference, is established on a predictive basis regarding the influence of one event on another; for example, knowing that 'switch' is associated with 'turning on' or 'turning off' a light or that 'an increase in poverty' is related to 'increased social instability'. The type of inference is not far from conceptual representation (Glass & Holyoak, 1986). In history, inferences are not only made regarding the future but also are drawn in the analysis of sources and historical texts, for example; and these inferences depend on the individual's level of knowledge (Voss & Wiley, 2006).

Inferences are possible because concepts are not isolated but interrelated. Indeed, the meaning carried by concepts is based on the relationship with other concepts—in the definition of a concept, other concepts always come into play (Medin & Heit, 1999). Relationships between concepts may constitute taxonomic structures—a hierarchical structure such as the concept of 'war' noted above—and partonomic structures[3]—part/whole relationships such as the characterization of different periods of invasion of one nation by another. They may also constitute structures of principles—relationships between variations of concepts, such as the relationship between poverty and social instability; when one increases the other tends to increase as well. Furthermore, concepts are organized around theories, that is, the conceptual structures formed by causal links (Carey, 1985, 1992, 2009). When relationships are predictive or causal, the stronger the link between concepts, the more significant the knowledge is, resulting in greater explanatory power.

There is a long history of research in psychology—developed since the 1950s to the present—in which the effect of expertise on people's knowledge structures is analyzed. To that end, a great amount of research has been conducted on experts and novices from various fields of knowledge. These studies show that among other issues, novices have less conceptual base knowledge. In addition, their knowledge is less connected and structured, not only from a theoretical perspective—resulting in less explanatory power, for example, with less predictive or causal value—but also less structured when put to use (Chi,

Glaser & Rees, 1982). In the case of history, as in other fields, it has been observed that novices have lesser understanding and much simpler explanations. They tend to explain events in response to a cause and not to a set of causes (Voss & Wiley, 2006; Voss, Wiley, & Kennet, 1998). In addition, the different areas of a historical and social reality (e.g., political, economic, etc.) are independently conceived by novices rather than interrelatedly. Finally, they understand historical reality as though it were a state instead of a process. All these factors contribute to a static rather than dynamic perception of history (Carretero & Lee, 2014). The differences between experts and novices in history, as in other disciplines, are not alien to its conceptual and procedural knowledge structure (Limon & Carretero, 1999). Thus, the greater the individual's expertise the more comprehensive, connected, organized, and complex the explanations of the conceptual structure in which his or her historical narrative is based (Voss & Wiley, 2006).

The relationship between concepts influences the learning process. Learning happens on the basis of what is already known, and new concepts are learned on the basis of existing concepts (e.g., Levstik & Barton, 2015; Medin & Heit, 1999). This undoubtedly has educational consequences. If students' conceptual base knowledge is incomplete but appropriate for learning, then the subsequent learning will not be distorted and the new educational content will be suitable for being taught. However, if the conceptual structure is inadequate, it will distort learning. In the latter case, before beginning to teach new content, it will be necessary to work on this prior knowledge.

In summary, we could say that concepts not only allow for sorting and organizing the elements of the environment but also provide explanations about the world, allow people to interact in it, and serve as the basis for learning (Thagard, 2012).

Now, individuals interact with a physical and social environment, and they need to organize it and have explanations to function in it long before disciplinary concepts and explanations are taught at school. In everyday life, many concepts and theories that are studied in the social sciences and history are used. For this reason, in everyday contexts, people build intuitive concepts and theories on history before they are taught to them in academic settings. Given that individuals are novices, the concepts and *intuitive theories* they develop are based on outstanding traits perceived or on the most characteristic features of the phenomena they observe. However, *scientific theories*, developed by experts in a discipline, focus on more defining aspects and on the implementation of rules. As Thagard (2014) notes, scientific concepts often emerge from everyday concepts but serve as a starting point to provide more in-depth explanations in terms of components or underlying mechanisms that are not always discernible to human perception. Conceptual change would imply accessing the correct understanding of concepts and theories in terms of their underlying mechanisms to achieve a correct and accurate knowledge that would allow subjects to understand the world and function in it.

Let us examine some processes involved in the construction of intuitive knowledge and in the process of conceptual change to make an in-depth description of the intuitive theories and conceptual change in history.

Characteristics of Intuitive Concepts

Students' concepts regarding the past are built not only in school contexts but also in the family context, in their community, or adapted from the media (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Two central aspects of intuitive concepts are analyzed next, to better understand conceptual change in history. On one hand, the nature of knowledge underlying intuitive notions is studied, and on the other hand, the functionality of these ideas is analyzed.

First, with regard to the nature of the knowledge that underlies intuitive concepts, at times it would seem that there is no agreement among researchers in this regard. Broadly speaking, in some cases, intuitive knowledge has been described as structured and organized knowledge (e.g., Carey, 1985; Vosniadou, 1994, 2008), and in other cases, it has been referred to as fragmented and disorganized (diSessa, 1993). This variety of descriptions has been the subject of controversy (diSessa, 2008; diSessa, Gillespie, & Esterly, 2004). To appreciate this apparent incommensurability of perspectives on the nature of intuitive knowledge—organized vs. fragmented—in a more integrated manner, it is necessary to analyze the long history of studies generated in psychology on conceptual development.

We have seen that concepts are elementary knowledge units that combine to form more complex conceptual structures—e.g., taxonomies, partonomies, mixed structures—and are present in other types of knowledge, including data, facts, principles, and theories. In addition, concepts constitute the basis of procedural knowledge.

If concepts are taken as units and are thought to underlie intuitive knowledge, then is it possible to understand the apparent contradiction in considering intuitive knowledge as fragmented or organized around more complex conceptual structures, such as theories. The level of development, organization, and integration of conceptual knowledge that underlies intuitive knowledge will depend on the expertise of the individual (Gadgil, Nokes-Malach, & Chi, 2012).

As to functionality, the second aspect that we want to tackle with regard to intuitive knowledge, it should be noted that this is a fundamental characteristic of these concepts. As we have stated elsewhere (Rodríguez-Moneo & Carretero, 2012), functionality helps explain other features of intuitive knowledge. These features are described below. On the one hand, functionality reveals the origin of intuitive knowledge, given that people build it in response to their need to function in an environment and address their problems.

This knowledge is necessary long before it is taught in school and, therefore, is built by novices. For this reason, individuals elaborate the most outstanding characteristics they perceive and to a lesser extent on the basis of the traits

that define a concept (Carretero & Lee, 2014). Thus, individuals build intuitive knowledge about the physical world with perceptive biases that facilitate interaction with the physical environment—for example, believing that the sun revolves around the earth because they perceive that it is in different places throughout the day. Similarly, they build intuitive knowledge regarding the social sciences and history to cope with the social environment. In this case, biases are determined by social perception. They are frequently ideological and attitudinal in nature, in response to the goals and interests of the social group to which individuals belong. For example, a student may think that a government agent was a dictator or not depending on the ideological position of his or her family.

Some time ago, Barsalou (1992) explained how subjects organize the world based on their goals and interests. Thus, for example, an athlete can categorize food as 'healthy' and 'unhealthy,' and a fashion model can categorize it as 'fattening' or 'not fattening'. Similarly, the use of knowledge from the social sciences and history can be quite varied and can help organize citizens, societies, political systems, economies, regulations, etcetera, based on the different goals or different interests of social groups. History is a field in which the conceptualization and theories that are built are used as tools. This happens to such a degree that the same historical event can be understood in various ways and can be taught completely differently in schools depending on the goals and interests of a particular social group (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Carretero, Rodríguez-Moneo & Asensio, 2012). One specific instance would be the so-called 'discovery of America' or 'the encounter between two worlds,' addressed in textbooks and taught differently in Mexican and Spanish schools (Carretero, Jacott, & López-Manjón, 2002).

On the other hand, although intuitive notions have a conceptual basis, they have a practical and applied nature: they are used. In this sense, they underlie procedural knowledge. Thus, these implicit concepts become manifested through action. For this reason, people are not often very aware of concepts; they simply use them. It could be said that they think with theory and not about theory (Kuhn, 1988).

Finally, functionality also explains the resistance to changing these ideas. Because they are used in a seemingly adequate manner, they are often employed, and this frequency in use contributes to functionality's consolidation and resistance to change. In the case of societal perceptions, they tend to coincide with the ideas of the reference group and, therefore, are confirmed and consolidated by the actions of others. This aspect has been addressed by studies on so-called social representations (see for example Barreiro, Castorina & Van Alphen and Páez, Bobowik & Liu, both in this volume).

Concepts in the social sciences and history have a greater tendency of being induced than do those in the experimental sciences, and they are more likely to be built with the greater involvement of other people—family members, friends, classmates (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Not only do the others generate a need for these concepts but they also shape them according to the over-

all interests, goals, standards, values, and behavioral patterns of the group to which they belong (Rodríguez-Moneo & Carretero, 2012).

Barton (2008) performed an exhaustive review of the studies that analyze students' concepts about history and history learning that occur during their educational career. Three non-exclusive categories reflecting the trends in research were used to organize the large amount of work on this subject. One category refers to the influence of the social context in history learning. It includes all the works that analyze the importance of social groups and the social context in history learning.

The other two categories incorporate studies on: (1) students' knowledge about the past and (2) knowledge of historical evidence, its interpretation, and the explanation provided regarding the actions of people from the past. The study describes the evolution of knowledge resulting from learning history in educational contexts. Thus, the process of conceptual change that results from learning is described to some degree. In the following, the process of conceptual change that occurs in the field of history is further analyzed.

The Process of Conceptual Change

Before analyzing the process of conceptual change in history, we will discuss some particularities regarding historical concepts. First off all, two types of conceptual knowledge in history can be distinguished (VanSledright & Limon, 2006; see also Limon, 2002): *first-* and *second-order*. First-order conceptual knowledge consists of the conceptual and narrative knowledge that answers the 'who,' 'what,' 'where,' 'when,' and 'how' of history. Thus, 'names,' 'dates,' 'democracy,' 'socialism,' 'stories of nation building,' 'the evolution of capitalism,' and others are examples of these first-order concepts. Second-order conceptual knowledge involves the knowledge of the concepts and ideas that historians use to interpret the past. This knowledge makes reference to metaconcepts related to the epistemological conceptualizations of history. Concepts such as 'cause,' 'primary and secondary sources,' 'historical context,' 'perspective taking,' and 'source reliability' constitute second-order conceptual knowledge. Some of these second-order concepts have been identified to be at the core of historical thinking (Lee, 2004; Lévesque, 2008; Seixas, 2004).

As will be fully discussed below, studies on conceptual change in history have been largely focused on changes in so-called *first-order concepts* or *substantive concepts*. We believe that more attention should be paid to *second-order concepts* or *metaconcepts* to provide an in-depth explanation of the process of conceptual change in this discipline. Yet, regardless of whether change is related to first- or second-order concepts, what do we mean when we talk about conceptual change?

Conceptual change refers to two aspects: the *result of change* or final state in the structure of individuals' conceptual knowledge; and the mechanisms that are triggered and occur in the course of or in process of change (Rodríguez-Moneo, 1999). In the case of history, because concepts underlie individuals'

historical narratives, the result of conceptual change reflects a change in this narrative. The process refers to the mechanisms activated and the steps taken to change the narrative.

With regard to the result of change, as discussed elsewhere (Rodríguez-Moneo, 2007), many models of conceptual change have indicated the existence of two types of changes in the structure of knowledge. On one hand, there are changes of lesser degree (also called 'weak restructuring,' 'non-radical change,' 'assimilation,' or 'growth') that are essentially characterized by the incorporation of new concepts or new relationships to the structure of knowledge, without substantially changing the meaning or the hard core of concepts. On the other hand, changes of greater degree or radical changes (also known as 'major restructuring,' 'radical change,' 'accommodation,' 'restructuring,' or 'conceptual change') represent radical transformations of the conceptual structure, a theoretical change that affects its hard core and, therefore, is central to the meaning of concepts.

The existence of these two types of change can be explained because, among other reasons, conceptual change does not often occur abruptly; it is frequently a gradual incorporation of small or minor changes (Vosniadou, 2007). Nonetheless, conceptual change is identified with higher degree or radical transformation, which implies a substantial and significant change with regard to previous concepts.

To illustrate the result of conceptual change, let us look at some investigations. For instance, the work of Vosniadou, Vamvakossi, and Skopeliti (2008) examines the process of conceptual change in relation to the shape of the earth. It analyzes the transition of intuitive concepts from conceiving the earth as a plane where inhabitants stand upon to more scientific concepts, conceiving the earth as a sphere and its inhabitants living in the southern hemisphere without falling into the void. In his work on the problem-based teaching and learning of history, Bain (2005) analyzes the historical concept of a 'flat earth' as a trigger for a series of historical events (e.g., Columbus' voyage) and the development of historical writings that need to be interpreted.

In the field of history, Carretero and Lee (2014) analyze the characteristics of historical knowledge before and after conceptual change. Before, historical events are conceived in a very superficial manner; they are analyzed more descriptively, focusing on perceivable aspects and giving excessive explanatory and anecdotal weight to historical characters. In addition, the economic, political, and social phenomena that constitute historical phenomena are considered in a simple manner, independently of each other. Finally, historical events are considered as isolated states, favoring a static concept of history. After a conceptual change, historical events are understood in depth through an explanatory approach that bears in mind the relationships between economic, political, and social phenomena. Furthermore, explanations are not so focused on historical figures but instead on institutions. This shift requires understanding the abstract dimensions of the concepts involved. Finally, historical events are understood as related elements, contributing to a more dynamic concept

of history (these and other components of conceptual change in history are discussed in detail below).

Up to this point, we have presented the description of the outcome of conceptual change. Next, we analyze the second meaning of conceptual change, which refers to the mechanisms that constitute and give rise to this change.

With regard to the mechanisms that trigger the process of conceptual change in this field, special attention has been paid to the mechanism of conflict. However, the roles of analogies, metacognition, and metaknowledge have also been analyzed, in addition to the application of knowledge in multiple contexts (Rodríguez-Moneo, 1999; Vosniadou, 2008). Here, we briefly focus on metacognition and metaknowledge[4] because of their links with metaconcepts or second-order concepts in history.

Many studies have shown the benefits of metacognition in the process of conceptual change, given that metacognition allows one not only to *think with* but also to *think about* the concepts or theories that one possesses (Kuhn, 1988), in addition to the cognitive processes that occur during learning. For conceptual change to occur and in order to think historically, it is useful to think about the theory. Therefore, an awareness of cognitive processes (metacognition) and the nature of disciplinary knowledge (metaknowledge) is an important mechanism in the process of conceptual change.

Metacognition contributes to awareness regarding the use of intuitive concepts, which are implicit because of their applied nature. This awareness is extremely favorable to conceptual change. The greater awareness of the first-order historical concepts that one possesses and uses, for example the concept of nation, may contribute to generating reflections on and elaborations of this concept, which will favor a change in and the development of the concept of 'nation', for instance, learning that 'nation' is rather an elusive concept.

Sometimes, metacognition interacts with other mechanisms. Thus, when it is activated along with a conflict, the awareness of contradictory situations is facilitated, and the process of change can be stimulated. For example, if a student thinks that the Second World War was caused solely by Hitler, then learning about other explanatory variables for the origin of the war (political variables, economic variables, social variables, etc.) will cause some conflict. Because metacognition will contribute to awareness of this conflict, it can encourage change in the explanation of the causes of the Second World War. Sometimes, conflictive situations do not generate conceptual change because students are not aware of the conflict at hand (Rodríguez-Moneo, 1999).

When metacognition is activated along with an analogy, awareness regarding the models that are compared is enhanced, and conceptual change is also favored. For example, comparing colonialism in a foreign country with the colonialism occurring (or that occurred) in one's own country can contribute to better understanding and generating a change in the concept of colonialism in one's own country. In this comparison, the awareness of the elements being compared, of what is thought and of what one thinks, facilitates the process of change.

Metacognition is closely related to metaconceptual knowledge, that is, to epistemological knowledge, which in turn is knowledge about the nature of a discipline (its theories, goals, methods). Some studies have indicated the effect of metaknowledge on the process of conceptual change.

In history, metaconceptual knowledge is linked to second-order concepts that organize historical knowledge (Limón, 2002) and guide historical thought (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008) and history learning (Carretero & Lee, 2014) and is therefore relevant in the process of conceptual change of substantive or first-order concepts. For example, an individual's concept regarding the goals of history (whether they describe or explain the past), the type of source, the role of evidence, and so on can influence this disciplinary learning process.

However, the relationship between first- and second-order concepts in history is not unidirectional but bidirectional. Thus, conceptual change in a first-order concept can generate changes in metaconcepts. In the example of the Second World War coined above, changes in the explanation of its origins can also contribute to changes in the second-order concept of 'reason'. In this sense, it can be argued that first- and second-order concepts reciprocally feed into each other.

Concepts Embedded in Historical Narratives: Relevant Characteristics for Conceptual Change

In the last decades there have been numerous studies on historical concepts (Barton, 2008; Carretero & Lee, 2014; Limon, 2002; VanSledright & Limon, 2006; Voss & Wiley, 2006). As we have already seen, one of the specific characteristics of historical concepts is their relation to narrative knowledge. Most of the time first order concepts are embedded in historical narratives (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Von Borries, 2009). Thus, when focusing on the characteristics of historical concepts we have to take into account the relationship between concepts and the narratives they are included in. If we talk about the concept of 'neutron' we could find a single definition for this concept on which most physicists agree. However, when talking about historical concepts such as 'nation' or 'democracy' it is more difficult to find single definitions on which historians agree. Instead, in everyday life, people are used to argue about and discuss historical concepts such as nation or democracy, producing a specific narrative supporting a specific meaning for these concepts. These narratives provide an intuitive meaning for historical concepts and constitute people's prior knowledge about historical concepts (Carretero & Lopez, 2010). Therefore, when talking about historical concepts, not only people's ideas and beliefs concerning specific concepts but also on the narratives in which the concepts are used should be taken into account. As we have seen, prior knowledge is usually constructed in an intuitive way. Therefore, many times these narratives and their historical concepts have an intuitive nature. However, as scholars such as Wineburg or Lowenthal have pointed out, historical knowledge is far from

being intuitive or commonsensical. Wineburg (2001) characterizes historical thinking as an *unnatural* act and for Lowenthal *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985). Therefore, if we want our students to change their intuitive take on historical concepts and foster this unnatural and historical way of thinking we have to deal with their prior historical narratives and the concepts that are supporting these narratives.

In the case of historical concepts, conceptual change could be even more difficult than in the natural sciences due to some features of these concepts. First, the verbal labels of historical concepts are generally closer to everyday language than those of natural science concepts (Carretero & Lee, 2014), making it difficult to distinguish between common sense and historiographical meaning. For instance, 'nation', 'country' or 'state' are frequently found and used in everyday language. However, they are often used synonymously and meaning something different to what historians mean with these concepts. Secondly, as was already mentioned, there are no single definitions for most historical concepts. Historical concepts are abstract and diffuse and, even more intriguing, the meaning of historical concepts changes over time and contexts (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013; Koselleck, 1996; Limón, 2002). Koselleck's work (2004) is especially relevant in this regard. Considered one of the most insightful contributions to conceptual history, his work emphasizes the intrinsically changing nature of historical concepts. He has studied how historical concepts' meaning change throughout different periods of time and how they have been used in different moments, making an essential contribution of their effective meaning. For instance, when analyzing the first order concept 'democracy' it can be discovered how its meaning has changed from Ancient Greece to the present, and how it has been used in many different contexts, obtaining many different meanings. Thus, when it comes to historical concepts students have to deal not only with abstract and diffuse ideas, but also with dynamic and contextualized meanings.

A third relevant characteristic of historical concepts is related to identity and moral issues (Lopez & Carretero, 2012). Many historical concepts are strongly related these issues (Rüsen, 2004). When discussing history and historical concepts people often encounter themselves arguing about moral issues. Historical concepts are frequently charged with moral issues and history is often used to provide moral guidance (Barton & Levstik, 2004). In this sense many historical concepts embedded in historical narratives are morally charged. We are thinking of concepts such as 'discovery', 'invasion' or 'reconquest' among others. For instance, the concept of 'discovery', when talking about the narrative of the so called 'Discovery of America', promotes and supports a very specific narrative about this historical event. The historical narrative could be very different if the concept 'encounter' is used instead.

Related to this moral issue are the identity issues that many narratives and historical concepts deal with. Following the Discovery of America example, the concept of 'discovery' could be valued very differently from a Mexican student's point of view than from a Spanish perspective. There is no doubt

that many historical concepts relate to peoples' own identity. This can make it harder to question or challenge the meaning of some concepts, as this would involve challenging or questioning our own social identity. When trying to foster historical second order concepts such as perspective taking or multiperspectivity this could be problematic (Carretero, Lopez, González, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012). However, it is precisely because of this identity link between 'us' and history that many people find history meaningful and useful. Thus some authors have discussed whether identity should be seen as a burden or a benefit for history learning (Hammack, 2010).

Finally, it is important to take into account how historical concepts are socially and politically used in and out of school. People usually develop misleading meanings and uses for many historical concepts in their everyday life, as we have seen also in the field of natural sciences. In this field it could be an ingenuous process. However, in the case of history these misleading uses of historical concepts are not so ingenuous. The social practices that can be commonly found in many western societies of teaching historical contents in and out of school are mostly political and ideologically biased (Billig, 1995; Evans, 2004). As Koselleck pointed out, history not only deals with the past but also with present and future. This is the reason why political and ideological uses of the past produce and reproduce misleading meanings for historical concepts and ahistorical narratives: not in order to critically understand the past, but in order to legitimate the present and promote certain futures. A clear example would be the concept of 'national identity'. Although many historians have pointed out how 'national identity' is a modern and socially constructed concept developed in the late nineteenth century (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1997; Smith, 1991), an ancient and natural essence of national identity is sustained for political use. It is clear that in this case political and historiographic uses and meanings clash. Interestingly enough, students are exposed many times to political and ideological uses of historical concepts –both in and out of school– and at the same time they are asked to develop a historical understanding of these concepts. This is something that we should take into account when dealing with conceptual change of historical concepts.

Conceptual Change in History

Compared to the natural sciences, conceptual change in history is a much more recent field of research. However, there is already a sufficient amount of studies to provide useful insights on the matter. We now know that history learners have to move from a common-sense understandings of historical concepts to a more complex and critical understanding.

Research in the social sciences shows that students' understanding of events and processes vary throughout adolescence and adulthood (Barret & Buchanan-Barrow, 2005; Furnham, 1994). Carretero and Lee (2014) point out that these changes could involve two aspects: changes from concrete to abstract and also from static to dynamic. The first aspect implies a progress from

understanding concepts through their more concrete dimensions to assigning more abstract qualities: changing from an understanding of concepts such as 'revolution' based on specific characters or events and superficial aspects to incorporate social institutions and deep features of the concept. The second aspect, changing from a static to a dynamic understanding of concepts, implies that the student increasingly understands history as a conceptual network characterized by its dynamic nature. An example of this kind of change would be the process of understanding concepts such as 'borders', 'nations' or 'national identities' as static and everlasting ideas to acknowledge their dynamic, constructed and changing characteristics. However, these changes are often not fully acquired, and concrete and static ideas about historical concepts remain even after the educational process has taken place.

In order to understand how students' understanding of first order concepts changes, or not, it is necessary to analyze both the representation of the concept by itself and the ways that students use the concept, as well as the narrative in which the concept is used. Students use historical concepts in the narratives they build in order to make sense of the past. A series of studies have been recently conducted regarding students' understanding of a relevant first order concept, this is the concept of nation (Carretero & van Alphen, 2014; Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014, 2015). The concept of nation is a core concept in the field of history for a number of reasons. First, the discipline of history itself has been connected to this concept since its beginning as a modern discipline in the nineteenth century (Anderson, 1983; Balibar, 1991). Second, the very concept of nation has shaped most of historical narratives within the discipline in many different countries leading to the construction of national narratives in order to encounter the past (Berger & Lorenz, 2010). Third, these national narratives, with the concept of nation as their leitmotiv, have guided the uses and goals of history education since the nineteenth century and their influence can be traced up until now (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Barton & McCully, 2005; Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Lopez, 2010; Foster, 2012). Fourth, the concept of nation has been strongly connected to national identity including its explicit and implicit moral purposes (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1997; Renan, 1882). Lastly, the way in which the concept of nation is understood could lead to very different ways of looking at the whole discipline of history.

Recent studies have shown that most students fail to change their concept of nation although they have been taught history many years through compulsory education. Lopez, Carretero, and Rodriguez-Moneo (2015) found that most students from their sample (university students in Spain) had a concrete and essentialist understanding of their nation. The narratives they built approached the Spanish nation in a naturalized and permanent way. The concept of Spain was used by many participants even to explain events that occurred in the Middle Ages, many centuries before the actual creation of the Spanish nation. Thus, students conceived their nation as a natural entity that has always existed. Another relevant finding was the way in which most of them made moral judge-

ments in favor of the actions carried out by their nation. Students legitimated their nation's actions while the other's actions –in this case the Muslims'– are delegitimized. Moreover, many students use 'we' or 'our' when talking about the 'Spanish' group, showing an explicit identity link with one of the historical groups in their narrative. Thus, an exclusive narrative of 'us' vs. 'them' is built about the nation's past. Interestingly, the whole narrative is influenced by their understanding of the nation and their identity linked with it. Barton and Levstik (2004) found similar results regarding moral judgements and legitimacy among 10–14 years old students when dealing with U.S. history. They found how American students legitimized their own nation's actions when explaining events such as First and Second World War or the Vietnam War. Similar results have been found among teenagers and adults in other countries, such as Argentina (Carretero & Kriger, 2008, 2011). These studies show the rather static and concrete views of students regarding such a critical historical concept as the nation. Therefore, students in different countries have failed to make a conceptual change from a concrete to an abstract and from static to a dynamic understanding of the concept of nation. A study by Carretero and van Alphen (2014) conducted with Argentine 8th to 11th graders found that 11th graders developed a more historical understanding in their narratives about the nation. However, the use of national identity ('us') remained the same across years of education.

These studies could shed some light on at least two aspects to take into account when talking about conceptual change in history. First, these studies point out the relevance of understanding some critical first order concepts such as the nation or national identity. As it has been noticed, the way in which a concept is understood could influence the production of a certain narrative. Second, identity and moral issues take an important role in order to build and support students' narratives and concepts. Thus, challenging historical concepts related to the students' own national or social identity could be even more difficult. A study by Lopez, Carretero, and Rodriguez-Moneo (2014) demonstrated how university students develop a more complex and balanced narrative about the concept of nation when dealing with a historical content different from their own nation. As we have seen before, there is a tendency to positively judge the own group's actions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Triandafyllidou, 1998). Once the identity link between the historical content and the student is reduced, a more critical and dynamic understanding arose. These students tended to elaborate more critical and balanced moral judgements when dealing with a historical content in which their own nation was not involved. In this sense, the participants in this study gave room to different points of view and possible narratives in order to explain the past. This could be useful in order to promote conceptual change through analogical thinking in our classrooms. However, we should emphasize that even though in this study students allowed for balanced and critic moral judgements in their narratives, and some elements of the concept of nation were more dynamic, they still understood national identity as naturalized and static.

These recent studies also delve into the possible reasons why conceptual change is sometimes hindered. On the one hand, many studies have pointed out how in formal education some traditional and naïve meanings for historical concepts are not only unchallenged but supported. This is the case with the natural and atemporal presentation of the nation found in many historical textbooks around the world, mainly through national narratives (Foster, 2012; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009) (see Carretero & Gonzalez, in this volume, for a detailed analysis). On the other hand some social practices found outside school also support these common-sense approaches to historical concepts (Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2011; Billig, 1995; Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, & Duncan, 2007). History writing is just one of the ways through which historical concepts are transmitted. Memorials, films, museums, historical re-enactments, patriotic celebrations or social networks are very powerful tools through which people encounter the past. People also develop their ideas and beliefs about historical concepts through these tools. However, as in history textbooks, sometimes these other tools also support misleading meanings for historical concepts. An example of this phenomenon has been analyzed by Michael Billig in his work on Banal Nationalism (1995). According to Billig, we are surrounded by less visible forms of celebrating the nation that spread traditional and nationalistic ways of understanding and living the nation. Examples are memorial sites, flags, street names or commemoration days. For our purpose of better understanding conceptual change is important to take into account that these more informal ways of encountering the past are sometimes at the core of peoples' beliefs about historical contents. These beliefs, as in the case of nation emphasized by Billig, are usually of an implicit nature. That is, people are so used to encounter and use these beliefs that they are somehow automatic. The implicit and automatic nature of these beliefs makes these conceptions more difficult to be challenged and changed.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the relevance of concepts in the process of learning history. The way historical concepts are developed and understood is crucial because it informs us about prior knowledge in history and helps us to promote a conceptual change towards a more critical understanding.

As discussed in this chapter, historical concepts have specific characteristics that influence not only the acquisition process but also the process of conceptual change. A key characteristic is the close relation between historical concepts and narratives. Some relevant implications from recent empirical studies on students' understanding of key historical concepts indicate precisely on the key role of narratives (Lopez et al., 2014, 2015). On one hand narratives constitute one of the main mechanisms through which students encounter and give meaning to historical concepts. On the other hand, students use historical concepts within the narratives they built in order to interpret the past. Thus, as discussed before, if we want to analyze students' understanding of crucial first

order concepts, such as nation or national identity, we have to pay attention to the narratives in which these concepts are presented to students and to the very narratives students build when using these concepts. From our point of view this is a promising starting point in order to foster a conceptual change of these historical concepts, in line with the development of a historical thinking.

So far, we have been dealing with conceptual change of first order concepts. However, many studies have indicated the relevance of fostering a conceptual change of second order concepts (Lee, 2005; Seixas, 2004; Shemilt, 1980). Empathy, multiperspectivity, source evaluation, change or significance are some examples of these second order concepts that many researchers in history education think necessary to promote in our students. There have been very relevant studies analyzing students' ideas about these second order concepts (see for example Wineburg (1991) regarding source evaluation; Lee and Shemilt (2011) regarding empathy; Lee, Dickinson, and Ashby (2001) on children's historical explanations or Shemilt (1983) on children's conceptions about history). These concepts relate to epistemological views of the very discipline of history. The *Historical Thinking Project* led by Peter Seixas in Canada is one of the main projects dedicated to help students to promote these second order concepts. Developing second order historical concepts is no doubt a promising though difficult enterprise. However, in order to develop empathy, multiperspectivity, change or cause concepts in our students we also have to take into account first order concepts and the narratives in which these are embedded. In this sense, there is still much work to do in understanding how first and second order concepts can help one another to foster students' historical thinking.

Notes

1. Declarative knowledge and procedural knowledge also have neurophysiological correlates because they rely on various types of brain structures (see Aparicio & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2015).
2. It could be said that concepts are necessary but not sufficient, because thinking historically also requires procedural knowledge, knowing how to apply these concepts.
3. Partonomic structures are especially useful for linking single concepts that have only one instance or element of said concept (e.g., 'land'). These types of concepts occur frequently in history.
4. Metaconceptual knowledge or metaknowledge refers to the knowledge about the nature of the content of a discipline (concepts, theories, goals, etc.), that is, epistemological knowledge. Metacognition is defined as the knowledge and control of one's own cognitive processes. Although it is possible to establish differences, the boundaries between metaconceptual knowledge and metacognition are sometimes blurred.

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CHAPTER 26

Social Representations of the Past and Competences in History Education

Darío Páez, Magdalena Bobowik, and James Liu

Research on social representations (SR) of history within the field of social psychology may provide guidelines that can strengthen meta-cognitive competences in history teaching. This chapter will review existing empirical research on SR of history in order to enrich the discussion on history education and the formation of political culture. First, we explain how collective memory may be a result of history education (e.g. historical narratives presented in textbooks). Then, we review theoretical and empirical evidence that may serve as guidelines for strengthening meta-cognitive competences in history education. We start with a presentation of biases that may exist in determining what is historically significant. We follow with explanations of the importance of understanding historical continuity and change when learning history. Lastly, we present tools that may enhance learning to identify multiple causes and consequences in history through perspective-taking. We close our chapter with a glance at some major implications and conclusions.

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Social Representations and Education: Anchoring, Objectification and Cognitive Polyphasia as Basic Processes

SR of history embrace shared images and knowledge about the past, elaborated, transmitted and conserved by a group through interpersonal (e.g. family transmission) and institutional communication (e.g. history education). These representations serve to preserve a sense of ingroup continuity and to cultivate values and norms that prescribe behaviors within the group (Pennebaker, Páez, & Rimé, 1997). Importantly, SR imply a process where lay beliefs assimilate more elaborated, frequently scientific or philosophical, discourses (Jodelet, 2006). In consequence, both historiographical traditions (in a biased manner) and national narratives transmitted by history textbooks and teachers are reflected in a shared image of the world's past. Furthermore, understanding of such processes as anchoring, objectification and cognitive polyphasia, relevant in emergence of SR (Jodelet, 2011; Lautier, 2001; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012), may also be necessary for strengthening competences in historical thinking.

Anchoring involves the ascribing of meaning to new information by means of integrating it into existing worldviews, so it can be interpreted and compared to the "already known". For instance, students learning history anchor the information they receive in their experience, group membership and values. Because of anchoring processes, young migrants are less interested in European nations' history than majority youth, and Muslim young migrants are more critical about Holocaust issues compared to non-Muslims (Grever, 2012; Lautier, 2001).

In turn, the process of *objectification* turns something abstract into something almost concrete. These processes are present in historical understanding: historical events are reified in figures (e.g. Hitler representing the Nazi evil in Second World War (WWII)) and images (e.g. Columbus's three ships as a figurative image of the "Discovery") (Lautier, 2001). In this text, we will examine the relationship between specific examples of such processes, which shape the content of SR, for competences in history education and learning.

Finally, *cognitive poliyphasia* implies a dynamic coexistence of the distinct modalities of knowledge. That is, cognitive polyphasia permits the coexistence of logical and a pre-logical thinking or causal and "magical" thinking (Moscovici, 1976).

Social Representations of History and History Education: Is There a Gap?

On the one hand, *changes in history education (and social context) influence how people remember historical events*. For instance, research has shown that whereas older Russians, educated under post-Soviet systems of education, emphasize the positive military role of Stalin in WWII and state that the German aggression

was unexpected, younger Russians are critical toward Stalin and blame his leadership for the early failures against the German Army (Emelyanova, 2002). In a similar way, the abandonment of apologetic view of colonial history and a relative acknowledgement of the atrocities of the "Discovery of America" in French, Spanish, Portuguese and German textbooks are reproduced in critical, anti-colonial, and non-apologetic representations of "the encounters of civilizations" prevailing among secondary school and university European students (Perez-Siller, 1995; Von Borries, 1995). At the same time, it is important to be aware that historiography and history textbooks are only one of many sources for learning about the past. For instance, research in Germany has revealed that historical novels and movies were evaluated as more important to learn about the past compared to history textbooks, although not as more important compared to the history class and history teachers' statements (Von Borries, 1995).

On the other hand, *changes in historiography shape the content of history textbooks* although in a delayed manner. For instance, in the seventies historians in Israel paid attention to the expulsion of Palestinians in 1948 and elaborated a social catastrophe narrative, competing with the dominant Zionist narrative. However, this historiographical perspective was included in history textbooks 20 years later and not without a strong resistance (Bar-Tal, 2013). As concerns historical events and figures, a recent survey shows that among the North American public prevails a rather neutral image of Columbus as a discoverer (85 %), whereas only 6.2 % share a dominant in the past heroic image of Columbus as a moral icon, which together reflects the fact that current history textbooks are less apologetic. However, criticism of Columbus as initiator of indigenous social and cultural catastrophe has not been incorporated into SR: only a minority (3.6 %) associates Colombus with negative traits. This is despite the fact that both history books and mass media have increased their criticism of Columbus and the "Discovery". Whereas in the 1940–1960s only 20–30 % of North American history texts mentioned negative aspects of the discovery, it is 50 % in the 1980s and 1990s (Schuman, Schwartz, & D'Arcy, 2005).

A similar gap is found with regard to the general conceptions of history. Recent review of historiography proposes three regimes of historicity. According to the ancient regime, the past is the most important facet of history and the guide of the present. The modern regime, oriented toward the future, proposes that the history is fueled by progress. Finally, in the post-modern, focused on the present, regime the future is opaque and social movements are weak (Delacroix, Dosse, Garcia, & Offendstat, 2010). However, a recent large survey showed that current lay beliefs about history did not assimilate its historiographical post-modern view but rather a mixture of pre-modern (history as a cycle), Enlightenment (history as socioeconomic progress), romantic (history as product of great leaders) and post-modern (history as a product of technology) beliefs coexists across 40 nations as hegemonic representations of history (Bobowik et al., 2010; Páez, Liu, Bobowik, Basabe, & Hanke, in press).

Identifying Biases in the Perceptions of History

Next, we will describe diverse patterns of possible biases in the perceptions of history that have arisen in the research based on surveys on sample of non-expert participants. Below, we highlight the way these perceptions may affect learning history, and particularly three main competences of history reasoning: (1) understanding historical significance, (2) understanding historical continuity and change (Grever, 2012; Seixas, 2012) and (3) historical consciousness and perspective-taking. Figure (26.1) below contains a conceptual map of this chapter, which summarizes the presented below biases in the perceptions of history.

Biases in Understanding Historical Significance

The competence of assessing historical significance requires identifying past historical events and figures whose outcomes have important and long-term consequences. This competence addresses the matter of why we care about historical events and issues. Below we review diverse factors that may determine what is historically significant among students across different contexts.

Westernization of History

Studies have found that across diverse cultures *European history and Western events are considered to be most historically significant* (Glowsky, Ellerman, Kromeier, & Andorfer, 2008; Liu et al., 2009; Pennebaker, Páez, & Deschamps,

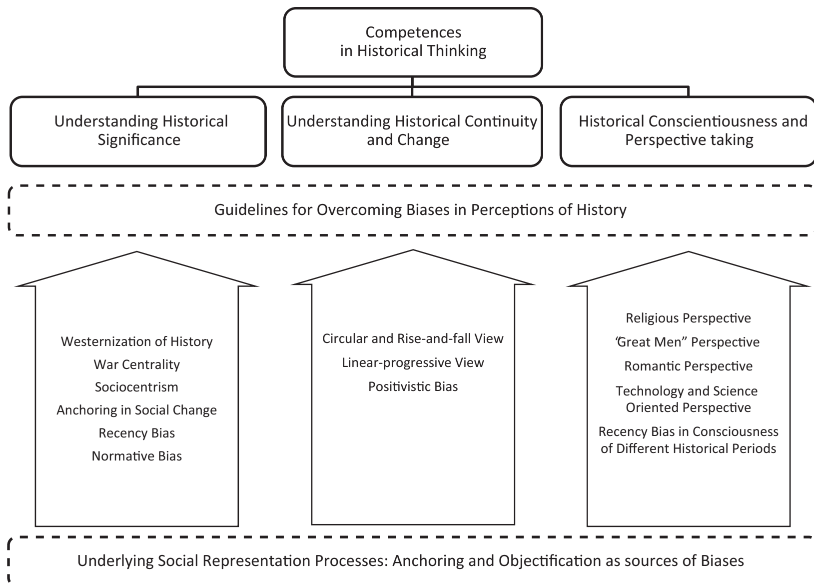

Fig. 26.1 Conceptual map of the chapter

2006). Events recalled as important for world history are predominantly related to Europe and North America (e.g. world wars) (Pennebaker et al., 2006). Noticeably, European and Western historical events and figures are also generally rated more positively compared to other events and figures (Glowsky et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2005; Pennebaker et al., 2006). In the same vein, history education scholars claim that the content of history books is focused on the ingroup and mainly on Western history (Lopez & Carretero, 2012; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012). Together, such findings reflect the representational power of the West.

War Centrality

Wars and political and military leaders are also cross-culturally perceived as historically significant. Revolutions and wars are mentioned in the world history (Liu et al., 2009) or in the last millennium (Pennebaker et al., 2006) as the most important events, whereas science and technology (e.g. industrial revolution) are secondary in importance. In 24 nations from America, Europe and Asia collective violence accounted for 48 % of events nominated as important, whereas 45 % of leaders named where known for their roles in violent acts (Liu et al., 2009). Even though wars produce only 2 % of the twentieth century death toll (Layard, 2005), people tend to overvalue the role of political violence in world history because of the catastrophic impact extreme and negative events like wars have. Anchoring violence as a main factor in SR of history is congruent with nineteenth-century historiography, where historians concentrated on idiographic descriptions of politics and war. For instance, the German historian von Ranke perceived wars as main agents for change, arguing that only in war a nation becomes a nation (Iggers, Wang, & Mukherjee, 2008). Being emotionally loaded, traumatic events are especially narratable, forming a plot that tells a people the story of themselves, often in relation to an outgroup and current challenges facing the ingroup (Liu & László, 2007). Political assassinations, terrorist attacks, natural disasters or financial crisis provoke intense shared emotions as surprise, anger, sadness, fear and anxiety and subsequently induce mass media rehearsal. These events are largely socially shared, by means of commemoratory rituals mass media and interpersonal rehearsal. These SR are also congruent with the dominance of violence and drama historical textbooks where wartime periods usually receive more space (Pingel, 2000; Zerubavel, 2003).

Sociocentrism

Research has also revealed a *partial tendency toward sociocentrism in defining what is historically significant.* Opposed to a global Western historiography, the “sublimely local” indigenous view of the past are widely prevalent (Seixas, 2012). A nationalistic perspective on historical events adopted in textbooks is largely reflected in the responses of nonexperts in different nations (Foster, 2012). Indeed, respondents across nations display a “local orientation” in their perception of important events and figures in world’s history (e.g. Bobowik

et al., 2010). That is, most nations consider national historical events as more important than events unrelated to their own history. As for Western countries, for instance, participants in Spain rate the Spanish Civil War as the most important event of the century while participants in the U.S. list the American Civil War as one of the most important events of the last millennium. Similarly, participants from non-Western countries exhibit ethnocentrism in mentioning as important in the world history events which are related to the creation of their own state (e.g. decolonization) and devaluing events linked to European, American or Asian history (Liu et al., 2009). For example, in East Timor World War II was the only Eurocentric among top ten most important events, mostly ethnocentric and recent events directly affecting East Timor's short history (Liu et al., 2009). Still, even if globally people exhibit ethnocentrism in their view of universal history, the sociocentric bias does not hold for all nations. For instance, in the case of Switzerland, with the partial exception of Lutheran reform, no national event is mentioned as relevant for the world history probably because Swiss are aware of their relative "weakness" in terms of historical capital (Pennebaker et al., 2006).

Importantly, *sociocentrism is especially evident in nominations of important historical figures*. For instance, Nelson Mandela was evaluated as a more positive and important leader in Africa than in the rest of the continents (although generally being considered a historical hero). Among the most important figures, Ukrainians mention Victor Yushchenko and Julia Timoshenko and Poles indicate Lech Walesa and Joseph Pilsudski (Liu et al., 2009). People therefore tend to worship the ingroup's heroes more than universal or outgroups' heroes. Interestingly, to some extent the same rule applies to villains. For instance, Spaniards mentioned Francisco Franco and Portuguese Antonio Salazar among top ten important figures of world's history. However, data did not support socio-centrism for the Latin American icon Che Guevara who was rated less positively in Latin America than in Europe and Africa, suggesting that the image of Guevara is rather a worldwide symbol of fight against social injustice than an ethnocentric Latin American historical leader. This tendency is particularly clear for Argentina and Peru were collective violence and experience with the political and military failure of Guevarist guerillas (ERP in Argentina or MRTA in Peru) against regular armies may have eroded the image of the "Heroic Guerrillero" that prevails in more distant nations.

Anchoring in Social Change

If SR of history are indeed partially sociocentric, *historical significance will be defined by ingroup collective memories*. Collective memories are formed and successfully maintained through commemoration of historical events that are (1) relevant for social identities, (2) provoking social change or threat to group identity, (3) and therefore emotion-laden and (4) frequently supported by rituals and institutions. Collective memory therefore retains extreme negative or positive events that affect a large number of members of a national group or another important social group. *Historical events included in collec-*

tive memory are usually related to important changes in the social fabric or to substantial threats to social cohesion and values, such as the end of American "political innocence" in the case of the assassination of John F. Kennedy (Pennebaker, Páez, & Rimé, 1997), or more prototypically, the foundation of political system or a state (Hilton & Liu, 2008). Showing the importance of social change, in the history of United States not all wars are remembered at the same level. WWII and Vietnam War, associated with high impact on institutions, are largely recalled as important events whereas Korean War is largely forgotten, even though casualties were similar to those suffered in Vietnam or in the entire Pacific during the Second World War (Neal, 2005). Importantly, *SR* of the past are mobilized to serve current attitudes and needs. In 1985 30 % of USA citizens mentioned WWII as an important historical event; this dropped to 20 % in 2000, but following the September 11 bombing, the percentage rose to 28 %, in a "resurrection" of WWII as historical event in the context of international terrorist violence (Schuman & Rodgers, 2004). This suggests that collective memory is instrumental for the functioning of the nation.

Recency Bias: Anchoring in Personal and Communicative Memory
Overall, *people remember recent history better.* For instance, recent and direct historical experience will be usually activated to shape attitudes and needs because *people have more accessible in their memories "fresh events" that are anchored in personal memory.* For example, Britons were more likely to remember WWII than were Americans by a margin of 16 %, probably because the British experienced the war much more directly and personally (Scott & Zac, 1993). As Manheim posits, collective memories are also cohort-dependent: *people remember better historical events experienced during adolescence or early adulthood*, a formative period in one's social identity. Confirming this phenomenon, in 1989, older Americans mentioned the Great Depression and WWII more as an important historical event, whereas younger participants mentioned more frequently JFK's assassination and the Vietnam War, in both cases being events that had occurred during participants' early adulthood (Schuman, Belli, & Bischoping, 1997). Confirming anchoring representations of history in personal memory and interests, African nations rate decolonization more positively and as more important compared to other nations, probably because these countries were involved in more recent decolonization.

Also, the recency bias is reflected in the idea of *communicative history* (Assman, 1992, quoted in Moller, 2012) which has antecedents in the classics ancient writers: Aeschylus posits in his play "The Persians" that a war or an episode of collective violence transmits a lesson for three generations. The span of communicative memory is about 80–100 years (three or four generations). Empirical research has confirmed that people indeed usually recall relatively recent historical events from the last century such as WWII (Liu et al., 2005, 2009). In a similar way, studies have shown that, when asked about important political events lived by relatives (Pennebaker, Páez, & Rimé, 1997) or about

genealogical knowledge and relatives' information, most people provide information about the experience of two or three generations (Candau, 2005).

Normative Bias

Collective memories or *SR of past are also related to general norms and meaning structures prevalent in a societal context.* For instance, a representative survey found that Spaniards who name Che Guevara as an important Latin–American historical figure are not only young, but also highly educated, left-wing, espouse post-materialist and post-traditionalist values, and identify more with Basque and Catalonian nationalism than with Spain (Larson & Lizardo, 2007). Similarly, surveys have confirmed that the view of WWII as a just and necessary war was more shared in materialistic, collectivistic and hierarchical cultures, while the representation of WWII as a social catastrophe was more supported in developed, individualistic, and post-materialistic cultures. That is, the shift from an industrial and materialistic to a post-materialist society (Inglehart, Basáñez, Díez-Medrano, Halman, & Luijkx, 2004) appears to be reflected in a shift from a relatively positive and romantic social representation of war focused on heroes and martyrs toward a more critical SR of war emphasizing suffering of the victims (i.e. innocent civilians) and the meaninglessness of war (Páez & Liu, 2012). Post-materialistic values probably erode "heroic war" narratives and attenuate positive attitudes toward collective violence.

Understanding of Historical Continuity and Change

Beside historical significance, another meaningful for learning history meta-cognitive competence is the concept of *historical continuity and change, including the idea of progress and decline*. Doubts are raised if a progressive-linear view of history could be reconciled with a belief in a circular nature of time, supposed to be characteristic of first nation in the America's or more traditional cultures (Seixas, 2012).

Circular and Rise and Fall View

Effectively, most ancient cultures held a conception of history that was *circular*, with a pattern of rise and fall of alternating Dark and Golden Ages. Examples could be Indian religions (Indian thought of Vedas), cyclical theories of history developed in the Islamic world by Ibn Khaldun, or a dynastic view of history in China, or Covenant, Betrayal and Redemptions as master cyclical narratives in the Muslim culture (Fontana, 2000; Iggers et al., 2008). However, cyclical beliefs about history are not absent in Western culture (Iggers et al., 2008). As for the ancient Western cultures, Greeks defined time in a threefold fashion, where beside *chronos*, the perception of time was defined by means of *aion* and *kairos*. *Aion* is continually rooted in the past and our memories, thereby giving life cyclical nature. The cyclical view of history could be also related to Vico's conception of the "spiral of history" (1744/1973) or to Marx's assertion that history always repeated twice, once as tragedy and the second time

as comedy (Fontana, 2000). These cyclical views also appear in the Western culture around First World War (WWI), developed mainly by Toynbee in his descriptions of the rise and decline of civilizations (Fontana, 2000) and by Spengler with his negative view of an inexorable rise and fall of all civilizations (Hobsbawm, 1995). Confirming the existence of a circular view of history both in East and West, according to unpublished data from World History Survey, *the view of history as a cycle or rise and fall was supported both among Eastern and Western cultures,* being somewhat less accepted in Latin American countries. The cyclical view of history as the rise and fall of nation was strongly endorsed in Anglosaxon, European and Asian nations probably reflecting the experience of World Wars and Stalinism (Pingel, 2000) as well as cultural traditions. Also, the support for conception of history as based on rise and fall dynamics characterizes developed and individualistic nations, probably reflecting modern worries about the ecological and social limits of economic growth (Inglehart et al., 2004).

Linear-Progressive View
Still, Western historical understanding derived from Greek and Roman period, particularly from Middle Age and based on Christian heritage, is predominantly a linear one. Westerners believe that events unfold in a relative linear fashion, with stable forces producing a predictable future (Nisbett, 2003). In the opposition to cyclical views, numerous thinkers (e.g. Kant) supported the idea that humanity is moving toward better future and continuously advancing. This linear sense of time is apparent in the eighteenth century *philosophes*' idea of human progress, nineteenth century concepts of social evolution, and in the contemporary ideas of developed and developing nations (Needham, 1966). The so-called Whig interpretation of history conceived human history as progress from savagery and ignorance toward peace, freedom and prosperity. This view of history as narrating progress is dominant across nations (Páez et al., 2013). This is congruent with history textbooks in the Americas, Ireland, New Zealand, France and another nations that usually narrate a secular teleological history of victimization and heroism, courage, duty and sacrifice, and instill a view of progress of the nation from oppression toward freedom, creation, conquest or reconquest of national territory, and continual socioeconomic progress (Barton, 2012; Foster, 2012; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012; Wertsch, 2002). "Whiggish" histories continue to influence popular understandings of political and social development. Still, this view of time is outdated and the unresolved issue is how it could be reconciled with the belief in a circular nature of history (Seixas, 2012). Yet, studies with close-ended questions about the meaning of history also found *a large cross-cultural agreement with the ideas that progress is dominant on world history.* Also, these *less developed, more collectivist, hierarchical and materialist nations emphasize a progressive and lawful view of history* (Páez, Bobowik, Liu & Basabe, 2016). Similarly to the fact that agreement with "Protestant work ethic" or support to effort and work are more important now in developing than in developed nations stressing an

expressive hedonic individualism (Inglehart et al., 2004), a social evolutionist view of history is dominant in more traditional cultures that are collectivistic, hierarchical and focused on material values, such as economic growth.

Positivistic Bias

Confirming the *hegemony of a naive retrospective positivistic view of history among lay people*, studies show that old or long-term events were better evaluated than similar recent ones (Bobowik et al., 2010; Techio et al., 2010). People overemphasized positive aspects of long-term events, such as the New World Discovery, French and Industrial Revolutions and overlooked less positive events, such as the Thirty Years' War. For instance, positive evaluations of French Revolution suggest that either people "forgot" about the terror, Napoleonic Wars and massacres, or that ample time had passed allowing individuals to reinterpret the events of that war. This is congruent with the psychological long-term tendency to minimize negative stimuli. People remember a higher proportion of positive events than negative events in the long-term and tend to reinterpret negative events to be at least neutral or even positive (Taylor, 1991). Studies that compare autobiographical memories of younger and elder people or analyze within subject's comparisons between recent and more distant events also confirm a positivistic bias: increased age or longer periods of recalling are associated to more positive appraisal of events (Laurens, 2002).

Also, the above-mentioned finding that the less developed, materialistic, collectivistic and hierarchical nations report a more positive view of history is congruent with an existing empirical evidence concerning visions of the future prevailing in different nations. Whereas in more developed nations there was skepticism about science, in the less developed nations scientific development in any field was generally appreciated (Ornauer, Wiberg, Sicinski, & Galtung, 1976). Also, the agreement with history as related to *social progress is associated with a more positive view of wars, a strong attitude toward fighting for the nation in a new war and a less negative evaluation of social catastrophes* (Bobowik et al., 2010, Páez et al., 2013). Indeed, the idea of progress was used to justify historical violence against indigenous people by nineteenth-century Argentinean thinkers and by students discussing this issue at the end of twentieth century (Lopez & Carretero, 2012) reinforcing the idea that a narrative of progress legitimizes instances of collective violence.

Biases in Identifying Causes and Consequences in History Versus Historical Conscientiousness and Perspective-Taking

Another competence in learning history is an ability to *identify multiple structural causes* (Seixas, 2012). This competence involves *historical perspective-taking* or the recognition that change may have diverse causes and consequences for different areas of social life, and that in different eras existed different cultural worlds. The ability to historical perspective-taking may be

facilitated by the processes of cognitive polyphasia present in formation of a social representation.

Religious Perspective
Currently, secular teaching of history has substituted the "holy" history and historians cannot invoke the will of superior power as causal explanations for historical events (Seixas, 2012). However, the older attempts of explaining history reflected the theological approach to history which asserted that the will and plans of gods were the ultimate causes of events (Bujarin, 1974/1925). Interestingly, research has shown that one third of young students with migrant background in France as well as 13 % of students with French descent share this view of history (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012). In turn, this view was rejected in surveys with university students. Cultures emphasizing religion and traditional authority probably stress more such a view of history (Inglehart et al., 2004; Páez et al., 2016).

"Great Men" Perspective
Others relevant pre-modern historiographical views are based on history focused on kingdoms and the dominance of *state elite*. The "great men theory" is the belief that unusually influential and able individuals determine the main direction of history (Moscovici, 1985). This "romantic" conception of history can be also linked to the ideas by Hegel who argued that history was analogical to biography of great leaders such as Frederick the Great (Fontana, 2000). This idea is associated most often with nineteenth-century historian Carlyle who commented that "The history of the world is but the biography of great men", reflecting his belief that heroes shape history through their personal attributes (Hobsbawm, 1997). Great men and heroes play a central role in nineteenth and twentieth century nationalist narratives in Europe and America (Carretero, 2009). Even if twentieth century's historians reject this theory of history, mass media usually emphasize the central role of important personalities in social life and transmit an implicit version of this theory in lay people beliefs (Moscovici, 1985). In the same vein, a review of history and fiction books for young on Columbus and the Discovery conclude that the majority of narratives are focused on characters with explicit leadership roles that guides young students to construct the misperception that only traditional leaders strongly shaped historical events (Bickford, 2013).

Importantly, episodic framing is the predominant mode of presentation in news stories, because it tends to be more engaging. The episodic news framing consists of event-oriented reports that depict social issues in terms of particular instances and dramatic individual narratives and does not provide much background information on the subject. This leads the receiver of news to assume that the individual is responsible and discourages viewers from attributing causality of events to social factors (Iyengar, 2005). This view of history resulting from episodic framing is widespread: *there is common agreement with the idea of history as a product of "great men" or transformational leaders.* Even if it is reason-

able to think that traditional and/or authoritarian cultures share beliefs about history as the product of great leaders (Hofstede, 2001; Páez et al., 2016), this view is actually more prevalent in developed nations and related to post-materialist values. This could reflect the weight of expressive individualism, more than agreement with a classical great men theory of history. Individualist values, emphasizing the role of will power, could support these beliefs of history as the product of human actions (Inglehart et al., 2004), at odds with the ideas from nineteenth and twentieth century, in which the call for the struggle of nations for a necessary resources, the emphasis on violence and the belief in strong leaders was integrated into militarist attitudes and institutions (Hobsbawm, 1995). Currently these views are unrelated to a culture of war.

Romantic Perspective

In opposition to the progressive view of history, nineteenth-century academic historians such as Ranke shared a romantic approach to history, stressing the importance of elite political and military history, war, and great leaders in determining the course of history. However, war as a main factor of history was not only limited to the idealistic great men theory. Social Darwinism appears in nineteenth century in parallel to Marxism and social evolutionism. Spencer and others used Darwin's biological ideas to support their argument that a struggle among races of people and differing nations led the strongest and most able nations to rule the world. The idea of history as a result of violence was relevant in the nineteenth century, and social conflict and revolution were central features of Marxism. A classic example of the implicit theory of history as a product of violence is Marx and Engel's statement that "force is the midwife of history".

Surveys on recall of important historical events show that revolutions and war-related events are more salient than other historical events (Liu et al., 2005, 2009), suggesting that *people share a view of history as a product of violence* (Moscovici, 1985). However, in studies based on closed-ended ratings *war and politics as factors defining history were not perceived as more important than socioeconomic trends but at least as equally or even less important than progress-related events* (Bobowik et al., 2010). Even if wars are more vivid in free recall, social-structural factors are recognized as important and prevail in more reflexive and less spontaneous thinking about history. In Asia and Europe students agree more with violence as a main factor of history, but mostly more developed, individualistic and low in power distance nations agree less with these beliefs. Probably, individualistic and egalitarian values sensitize people about suffering.

Technology- and Science-Oriented Perspective

When considering multiple causes and consequences of historical events, *another significant factor to take into account when learning history is technology as the basis of progress.* Rooted in Enlighment and paradoxically Marxism, technological–scientific perspective proposes a general modernization trend in

history. Scientific and technological development, secularization, industrialization and urbanization, economical growth, capitalism and democracy constitute a linear model from the West—modernization is identical to westernization. These beliefs became dominant in Asia, the Islamic world and globally from the turn of twentieth century to the sixties (Iggers et al., 2008). After WWII, theoreticians emphasized the idea of scientific modernization and technological development as a main factor of history. In the same vein, Toffler described the three "waves" or technological revolutions in human beings' history, which were or are determinants of global society's progression. Confirming the prevalence of these beliefs, 54 % of respondents from 85 nations in the WVS agreed that scientific advances we are making help mankind (Inglehart et al., 2004). The statement "The only real progress man has achieved has been trough science and technology" characterizes Western values—Americans endorse these values more strongly than Koreans and people close to Buddhism. The latter in turn agree more with Eastern values stressing that "Science is a destructive force in the long run" (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991). However, disagreeing with this nonscientific view of East, stress on technological progress and a linear view of history are not typical of Western culture. In fact, both West and East (and also Africa and Latin America) agree with the development of science and technology as the main factor of history, confirming Iggers et al.'s (2008) assertion that beliefs on technology and linear time are modern and widely shared in all cultures.

Recency Bias in Consciousness of Different Historical Periods

Finally, it is necessary to point out that the competence of historical perspective-taking also implies understanding the past of a foreign country and consciousness of different historical periods and eras with different infra- and superstructures (Seixas, 2012). Apparently, any event of historical significance has taken place until about 1500. However, an already mentioned *recency bias reflects an existing tendency to focus on recent events and downplay the importance of these events which occurred long ago.* Indeed, research has revealed that people mention events occurred in the twentieth century when asked to list 10 most important historical events of the last 1000 years or mention events occurred in the last decade when the time frame is 100 years (Pennebaker et al., 2006). In another study (Liu et al., 2009), events and leaders from the last 100 years accounted for 69 % and 70 %, respectively, of all named. Research applying quantitative methods has also confirmed this bias: WWII was rated as more important than Thirty Years' War, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wars and revolutions. The current 2005 Iraq War was rated as more important than American Civil War (but not than World Wars or French Revolution). In sum, people emphasize recent events because cohorts usually feel that "they are living during the most important and innovative period of world history". This profile is congruent with the well-known positive–negative asymmetry effect: negative events are easily detected and influence more perception, evaluation and judgment and are better retained at short term. This tendency is supposed

to be adaptive because negative events are more informative and require more rapid reactions than positive ones. In the same vein, mass media and journalists focus more on negative news (Bar-Tal, 2013).

Conclusions and Implications: SR of History Influence Political Attitudes and Culture

Previously described SR of history have psychosocial consequences, especially in terms of intergroup relations (Bobowik, Páez, Basabe, Licata, & Klein, 2014; Kus, 2013; Páez, Liu, Bobowik, Basabe, & Hanke, in press; Páez et al., 2008; Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2011). The way history is taught and framed may shape the relations between different national, religious or ethnic groups. Therefore, in the present chapter we propose a series of guidelines which may serve to sensitize history teachers, editors of history textbooks and policy makers about how history is being narrated, how these narratives are being assimilated by lay people and how they may affect their attitudes. We delineate guidelines around three important areas of interest related to the three competences in historical thinking: understanding historical significance, understanding historical continuity and change and historical consciousness and perspective-taking.

Guidelines for Teaching to Understand Historical Significance

Based on existing research confirming hegemony of a Eurocentric and/or Western-centric view of history, we can expect that history students will tend to identify European and/or Western events and leaders as having historical significance. It is necessary to be aware that the "dominant ideology tends to be the ideology of ruling groups" and to correct the importance that we spontaneously attribute to "central cultural actors". Wars and political and military leaders could also be conceived as particularly historically significant because vivid negative information is especially salient in perception and because mass media and to some extent history textbooks stress a narrative and individualized view of events. In addition, teachers may expect students to consider national-relevant historical events as more important than those events that did not refer to their country. Students probably tend to perceive "our" history as significant for world history, particularly through idolization of national historical characters. This phenomenon takes place because important for national groups, emotion-laden and associated with social change historical events and figures are overrepresented in history teaching.

Also, the events and leaders worshiped and idealized in official commemorations (e.g. Columbus and Discovery) and included in narratives related to the foundation of the current nation state are those considered as having historical significance. However, the importance of historical events and people who did not become national heroes and are not commemorated in official rituals should also be stressed. In a similar way, history education professionals

should also be aware that the events experienced during adolescence or early adulthood as well as two–three generations old events have particular historical significance for students because of the importance of direct experience and oral communication for the maintenance of events vividly in memory. Finally, events that fit with general norms and meaning structures prevalent in the society and culture should be assigned higher historical significance than events shattering shared values. In sum, to be aware of sociocentrism and the need to reinforce a more "cosmopolitan" view of history should be cultivated in history education. There is a need to reinforce a more "structural and long-term" view of history is history education.

Guidelines for Teaching to Understand Continuity and Change

History education professionals should take into account the fact that for their students the idea of progress and decline may coexist in the same way the lineal view of history may be reconciled with a belief in a circular nature of time. At odds with the idea that views of history as a cycle or rise and fall are more common in indigenous or Eastern cultures, an agreement with this idea appears both among Eastern and Western cultures. To be aware of this tendency to share a "happy end" view of history is important. "Injections" of critical historical thinking should take into account both the simultaneous acceptance of cyclical and progressive views. Also, history teachers should be aware of a possible cognitive polyphasia which permits coexistence of apparently conflicting meta-schematas. In the context of history education, students, for instance, may share at the same time a causal or technological view of history, a view of history as fueled by economic development, and an individualistic view of history in which great leaders are an important causal force.

Guidelines for Teaching Historical Consciousness and Perspective-Taking

An individualistic causal view of history should also be taken into account, because there is common agreement among people with the idea of history as a product of "great men" or transformational leaders. However, this view is related to the belief of the importance of human agency and inspirational leaders like Gandhi or Mandela. The view of great leaders as an important cause of history is not currently related to approval of violence and authoritarian leaders. War and politics related events were not perceived as more important than socioeconomic trends. This suggests that a "creolized" individualistic-structural view of history should be taken into account in history education. Students are also expected to agree with the development of science and technology as the main causal factor of history, confirming Iggers et al.'s (2008) assertion that beliefs on technology and linear time as factors in world history are modern and widely shared in all current cultures.

Also, according to research demonstrating that people tend to view recent events as more historically significant than those which occurred long ago,

students in history class will also probably share a short-term view of history or "last years/century" bias that could be an obstacle to perspective-taking because only "court durée" events are taken into account. Together with the anchoring of SR of past on current needs, present issues and approaches should be projected on historical knowledge learning. "Collective narcissism" tendencies (Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009) may impose a limited historical perspective because each nation has a tendency to believe that their history is especially important and that they live in an important historical moment. To be aware of the short-term historical perspective and the positivistic long-term historical bias is important in history education, and these supposed manifestations of psychosocial resilience should be overcome.

Final Outlook

This chapter provided a review of research on SR of history and presented guidelines for strengthening meta-cognitive competences in history education. We focused on three main historical thinking competences: understanding historical significance, understanding historical continuity and change, and historical consciousness and perspective-taking. Yet, we hope that our comments will be useful for strengthening other competences such as: an ability to develop opinions about the past; an ability to construct, reconstruct and discuss individual narratives and interpretations of the past; an ability to make use of key historical concepts for relating events; and an ability to understand the complexity of historical events. The data presented should also have some relevance for general competencies, also important in history education, such as being able to reflect, to question, to think critically, and to judge. Finally, we propose that history teachers need to be aware of possible biases that may exist in determining what is historically significant and of the importance of understanding of historical continuity and change in learning history. Developing historical thinking during history classes is necessary because collective memory and history education are mutually dependent.

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CHAPTER 27

Teaching History Master Narratives: Fostering *Imagi-Nations*

Mario Carretero

History teachers everywhere are likely to present the past through a narrative format while in classrooms students work with the class contents in different ways. Traditionally, students received those stories rather passively: reading them in books or repeating them in different ways. Fortunately, in the last decades, these traditional practices and learning activities have changed. In this Handbook, the contributions of several new approaches to history learning and teaching can be found that consist of inquiry-based educational practices (e.g. the chapters by Van Boxtel & Van Drie, Nokes, and Seixas in this volume.).

Most of these proposals are related to the developments of seminal initiatives proposed by either British research (Dickinson, Lee, & Rogers, 1984) or innovative German approaches (Retz, 2016; Rusen, 2004; Seixas, 2004, 2015a, 2015b) to History Education developed in the 1980s. All are based on the purpose of developing historical thinking and historical consciousness in school (Chapman & Wilschut, 2015). This is to say, to develop learning activities around historical contents following the idea that History is a discipline to think about and to reflect upon. These initiatives were partly motivated by the research findings that history as a school subject was unable to capture the interest of the students (Ravitch & Finn, 1988) and that students were unable to understand historical contents properly (Beck & MacKeown, 1994).

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Considering these and some other developments in history education around the world, traditional historical narratives are not necessarily at the center of history teaching innovations nowadays. Nevertheless, historical narratives still play an important role in history education, as narrative is the basic format chosen, even for inquiry and new historical thinking approaches within history education. When examining the literature on history textbook contents (Foster, 2012; see also the chapters of Grindel, Millas and Maier in this volume), this type of research concludes that very nationalistic and very culturally biased historical contents are clearly present. These contents are based mostly on a narrative format. Therefore, additional and comprehensive studies are needed on the importance of narratives for history education, both in and out school. This chapter tries to provide some theoretical and empirical insights on this issue. This chapter aims to discuss: (1) how historical narratives are represented and used by citizens, taking into account cognitive, educational, and historiographical contributions; (2) how historical narratives are taught and learned in the school context; (3) how national narratives are represented by students and citizens; and (4) how narratives about the own and other nations are differently represented. The specific focus on national narratives is due to their enormous importance and influence all over the world. Finally, educational implications and future challenges and directions regarding these topics will be presented.

Narrative Thought and Its Development

The construction of historical knowledge is intimately connected to the elaboration of narrative. However, the influence of narrative extends beyond the field of history and the learning of history, constituting a basic instrument of human knowledge. Therefore, narration is comprised not only of a type of discourse and a specific textual configuration, but also of a particularly human way of organizing thought. Humans narratively interpret their own actions and behaviors and those of others. Therefore, there is a predisposition for organizing experience using plot structures (Bruner, 1990; Zerubavel, 2003). As a result, narrative thought constitutes its own universal method of thought that provides characteristic ways of constructing reality. Other authors also come to the defence of this universal nature of narrative thought, such as Egan (1997), who maintains that "we are narrative creatures: we often give meaning to things in the form of narration". This author posited a cultural development theory of mind in which language is the structure and narration is the central cognitive instrument. The individual mind is considered to accumulate and recapitulate society's stages of history. This author established five progressive stages of comprehension that possess interesting elements for determining how students of varying ages and levels of education can approach history as a discipline and how they can understand it in different ways.

Focusing on linguistic forms of comprehension, the first of these stages, for which oral language is the instrument and the central cultural component is

myth, is labeled mythic. This stage extends from 2–3 years of age, until initiating literacy occurs around 6–8 years of age. Its central components consist of binary structures (good–bad, rich–poor) and fantasy, a category that mediates opposites: for example, ghosts as a mediating category between the dead and the living. Therefore, small children are capable of understanding a story or concept that is expressed in binary concepts. As such, they tend to understand historic knowledge in school as a "tale" of "good and bad", and the central aspects of "time" and "space" (as historiographical categories) cannot be understood except in a very basic sense.

Egan's second stage of comprehension, called the romantic stage, is related to the beginning of alphabetization and oriented toward the development of rationality and takes place approximately between ages 9 and 12. The binary structures decrease to make space for a more complicated reality. This stage's characteristics are associated with knowledge of the limits of reality and identity. There persists, however, a desire to go beyond these limits, a desire embodied by the figure of the hero. This is a stage situated between *mythos* and *logos*, in which individuals and their emotions become relevant. These narrative abilities permit an understanding of historic knowledge closer to historiography. However, several limitations remain due to the tendency toward a heroic and romantic nature of this cosmovision, in which characters and individual figures have great importance in the causality of historic phenomena.

The third stage, the philosophic, is fundamentally characterized by the search for relationships and can be reached by approximately age 12–15, after having accumulated the abilities from the two previous stages. It involves going beyond the romantic interest in details to searching the theory, law, and general models. It is precisely this search for integrating and totalizing models that makes youth vulnerable to dogmatism and unconditionally defensive of various "absolute truths". A risk that characterizes this stage is the rigidity of laws and concepts that sustain general models, such as ignorance of the flexibility and versatility of reality. Another characteristic of this stage is the transition from heroes to the appearance of complex understanding of social agents, thus passing from individual deeds to an abstract representation of social processes.

The last stage of narrative development consists of ironic comprehension, which is characteristic of adult life. It is necessary to clarify that although it is considered "last", it is not a guaranteed stage of development. Rather, it is reached as long as there is adequate cultural appropriation. Ironic comprehension is characterized by a high level of reflection on one's own thoughts and by sensitivity toward the limited nature of conceptual resources that can be employed to understand the world. Therefore, the irony consists of having a mind sufficiently open to recognize the insufficient flexibility of our minds. One of the principle features of this stage consists of disregarding the concept of a totalizing "truth", while at the same time developing the capacity to recognize the multifaceted nature of the social world.

Egan's theory of understanding narrative highlights the influence of the first narrations over the later adult comprehension of the world. At the same

time, this theory provides several guidelines regarding the goals that students must achieve when understanding history, principally through its narrative components. Therefore, as shown below, developing a vision that is critical, flexible, and distanced from dogmatism, typical of the ironic stage, and also the improvement of different restrictions from the mythic, romantic, and philosophic stages, constitute cognitive achievements that can establish the base of better historic literacy. But narrative and cognitive development in general does not happen in a vacuum but in and educational context. The relations of narrative development theories with historical contents representation will be mentioned later on in this paper. For the moment, let us see some important aspects of the educational context of historical narratives.

Narrative Mediation in Learning History

As several authors in the philosophy of history, such as Ricoeur (2004) and White (1987), and in our field (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Wertsch, 2002) have emphasized, narratives are a powerful cultural tool for understanding history, even though, as is well known, the explicative and logical structure of historiographical nature also requires fairly complex deductive and inductive elements.

As previously indicated, the use of narrative helps employ and manage the concept of causal relationships. Narratives are not a sequence of random events; rather, they are used in an attempt to shed light on how one event causes another and the factors that affect these relationships (Mink, 1978; Zerubavel, 2003). Nevertheless, narratives do not include all of the events related to a theme or all of the actors that participated in these events. Therefore, one of the objectives for students must be the understanding that, inevitably, narrations simplify history, tell some stories but not others, and mention some central characters while neglecting others who are lesser-known and more anonymous (occasionally entire social groups). Teaching that hopes to develop a historical literacy should invite students to avoid these biases and become aware that there are alternative histories, seen from other perspectives, that reclaim other protagonists and must also be taken into account.

Another fundamental objective that our students must achieve when working with narratives is the realization that they are tools for understanding history but are not history itself. That is to say, concrete people who determine which actors take part in them, when and where the events begin, and when and where they end produce narratives. It is easy to forget that they have been intentionally constructed and are essentially tools that mediate our knowledge of history, but that despite their abundant use and familiarity, they are not history (Barton, 2008).

There are two types of concrete narratives that appear quite often in the realm of education: individual narratives and national narratives (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; VanSledright, 2008). Alridge (2006), starting from an exhaustive analysis of American textbooks, revealed that the narratives regarding the “great” men and the events that guided United States of America

toward an ideal of progress and civilization continue to be the prototypical way through which many historians and textbooks disseminate knowledge. This observation demonstrates the predominate presence of these types of narratives in the teaching of history. An analysis of its characteristics and its influence over the students' abilities when learning history can provide clues about some of the skills those students need in this regard.

The individual narratives are those focused around the personal lives of relevant historic figures, in comparison with those in which the focus is on more abstract entities and events such as nations, economic systems, social change, civilizations, and impersonal concepts of this nature. Frequently, these figures are on the sidelines of other events and individuals that comprise the historical context, and the most controversial aspects of their lives are generally not shown (Alridge, 2006). However, in the informal ambit, these narratives begin to join other more anonymous narratives, above all those from novels and movies.

The use of this type of individual narrative is justified, in part, due to the fact that the more abstract accounts are identified as likely more difficult to understand and as motivating students to a lesser degree. As Barton and Levstik (2004) indicate, these individual narratives have the power to humanize history. Students may identify with these characters and put themselves in their place in order to gain an idea of the feelings that guided them and even to imagine how they might have acted in those situations. Through these narratives, students also learn to value the role that one individual can play in a society and contemplate the possible impact of one individual.

Nevertheless, although these last narratives can be a highly motivating component and more easily understood by students, they also produce a series of characteristic biases that complicate the acquisition of a historic literacy. For example, when narratives are exclusively for individual and personal use, there is an absence of causal explanations of a structural nature based on social, political, or economic factors. At the same time, the impact produced by collective action is unknown.

In any case, there are negative effects for the type of causal explanations that students employ when understanding history. When students face more abstract texts that are more difficult for them to understand, they attempt to use individual narratives as a tool for comprehension in order to give meaning to the narration. From there, they search for individual motives or reasons that will allow them to understand what occurred. As noted by Halldén (1986), in an analysis of the explanations given by students about certain historical events, these explanations focus on the actions and intentions of individuals. For these students, the object of study in history is persons or personified phenomena. To Halldén this personification of historical explanations can arise in various aspects:

One aspect of personalization is connected with the view that the course of history is directed by Great Men (Grever, 2009; Smith, 1998). A second aspect concerns the personification of the state, political institutions, and other

organizations. A third has to do with the tendency of students to transform structural explanations into the kind of explanation where the actions or needs of the people constitute the explanations (Halldén, 2000). Riviere et al. (2000) in an interesting study showed similar results.

Therefore, a predominant use of these individual narratives can foster the emergence of these biases in historical explanations, while they develop a vision of history as a fragmented series of stories about celebrities. It seems evident that the predominant use of these narratives can complicate students' learning of a contextualized history, in which there is space for important aspects such as social, political, and economic factors and the role of different social groups. History should provide these students with knowledge of the complexities, contradictions, and nuances of that history, while this type of narrative presents simplistic and one-dimensional portraits (Alridge, 2006). This is to say, in terms of Egan's views these individual narratives and this personified understanding would prevent an understanding closer to philosophical and ironic ways of narrative representations.

Historical Narratives as Imaginations

Another type of narrative that is often found in both the realm of education and that of daily life is the national narrative. In the educational ambit of each country, the study of history typically does not center on random narratives from any part of the globe or necessarily from the geographical area in which the student lives (e.g. Europe, Latin America, or Asia). However, there is one theme present in practically all countries when teaching history: narratives that make reference to "our country's history" (Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2008; Carretero, 2011) (See also chapters by Van der Vlies and Karrouche, in this volume).

This is not surprising if we take into account that the teaching of history that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century was conducted with marked identity purposes, connected to the nations' building, and therefore with the purpose of decisively contributing to reaching the aforementioned goals (Berger, 2012; Carretero, 2011). This type of narrative substantially influences the way in which students understand and analyze information about the past (Grever & Stuurman, 2007; VanSledright, 2008). One of the principal difficulties that they face is that which pertains to considering another's point of view. One of the fundamental components of historic literacy must be exactly that: taking different versions of history into account, including other points of view, and making space for "unofficial" histories. Nevertheless, as Wertsch (2002) (see also Penuel & Wertsch, 2000) indicated in his study of stories from U.S. history, few subjects introduce irony into these stories or comments that account for conflict between interpretations; the majority has appropriated the official version of history and reproduces it almost without nuance. Thus, one of the implications an elevated degree of appropriation of the official narrative might have is fostering an epistemological vision of history as something

closed, unique, and true (VanSledright, 2008). At this point, it is important to take into account the ironic stage mentioned above by Egan´s ideas about the development of narratives.

This type of narrative, however, not only diminishes the importance of these “other histories”, but also influences the type of causal explanations students give to specific historic events. Taking the term used by Wertsch (1998) these national narratives become a kind of *schematic narrative template* –more abstract and generic narratives that are socially shared—which influence is fundamental when building specific historical narratives. For example, in the case of the U.S., there are two present *schematic narrative templates* in the vast majority of national narratives, the concept of progress and that of liberty. Therefore, students use these *schematic narrative templates* to explain past events. Consequently, the resistance of Native Americans facing waves of European colonists is seen as an obstacle in achieving progress and the Vietnam War is justified by the need to bring freedom to that country. Students, due to excessive use of these national narratives, do not have access to the most controversial aspects of history, complicating the development of a more critical perspective that will allow them to consider the difficulties, dilemmas, and, in short, the reality of the democratic realities in which they live (Carretero & Kriger, 2011; Epstein, 2009; Grever & Stuurman, 2007).

Interestingly enough Social Psychology studies have shown that national narratives representations are not only mental states but they can be translated into political actions (Barreiro, Castorina, & Van Alphen, this volume; Smeekes, 2014). For example, let us see some of our results in the present and very complicated Greek context of both economic crisis and immigration. The following cases come from data collected from the large pool of comments published in the online forum created by the Greek Ministry of Internal Affairs (http://www.opengov.gr/ypes/?p=327) following the announcement of the legislation: “Current provisions for Greek citizenship, the political participation of repatriated Greeks and lawfully resident immigrants and other provisions” (see Kadianaki, Andreouli, & Carretero, 2016 for details). Therefore, they represent not just answers to a research questionnaire, but a real and everyday use of historical ideas developed as political attempts to influence new immigration regulations. More specifically, ideas about the past used with the purpose of defending a particular view on citizenship. Thus, one of our commentators says,

> *Even in ancient Athens at the time when it was an exemplar city-state (that we use constantly as an example) there was a clear distinction between Athenian citizens and those who came from other cities but concentrated in it [Athens], in order to enjoy [its] glamour and economic development. The metrics as they called them, did not originate from there [ancient Athens], they lived within the borders of the city-state but they usually had limited or no political rights. Political rights in Athens were given only in special circumstances but even in those cases they could become PEOPLE WITH EQUAL DUTIES-, but not CITIZENS. This was the protection*

of the system, since the foreigner could not participate in the decisions of the City Council or claim some sort of political power. With regards to financial assistance on the part of the Athenian democracy towards non-citizens it was probably non-existent, since they were not entitled to a wage. On the contrary, there existed economic duties of the metics towards the city, like the metikion [type of taxation specific to metics], which was part of the official revenues of the state or the theorika [type of taxation], for the wealthy metics. And all this applied to Greeks of other cities, everyone else was simply… "barbarian." (Filakismenos)

Through the analysis of several comments as this one, we identified four themes in the ways that national history is represented to formulate arguments about citizenship rights and boundaries in our data: (1) continuity of the nation; (2) idealization of the past; (3) moral obligation toward the past; (4) homogeneity or heterogeneity of the nation.

As Van Alphen and Carretero (2015) note, idealization of the past leads to perceiving the past as a moral example to follow in the present. Thus, ideas about idealization are complemented by ideas of moral obligation that we subsequently examine. Thus morality is a recognized feature of historical narratives. Gergen (2005) has suggested that historical narratives construct a moral status for the actors involved in the story. Studies on history "consumption" reveal that students' historical narratives contain a positive moral judgment and legitimization of the national group actions (Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2015a). Interestingly enough in our previous studies, our coincident results were found with high school and university students in both Spain and Argentina (Carretero & Kriger, 2011; Carretero & Van Alphen, 2014). Therefore, it looks like there is a clear coincidence between formal schooling and informal uses and representations of history among citizens.

Dimensions of National Historical Narratives

Our empirical work has tried also to distinguish not only themes but which specific dimensions can be found in the schematic template of national narratives (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Carretero & Van Alphen, 2014). We have selected national master narratives as main tasks of our work carried out in relation to national foundational processes of both Greece and Spain. In all the cases, we have worked with qualitative interviews. In general terms, we have developed a theoretical framework based on five dimensions that characterized citizens narrative representations of national history. That is to say:

1. As is the case in the above example about Greek citizens internet comments on Citizenship regulations, the **historical subject** is established in terms of inclusion and exclusion, radically opposing it to others as a coherent and homogeneous group. See above the distinction between the "metekos" and the "Greek" where an **imagined homogeneity** of the nation is defended and conceived as having very clear historical roots. Therefore the establishment of the nation is based on a pre-existent and

everlasting historical subject. Of course this determines the main voice of the narrative. As is well known, any narrative strongly depends on who its subject is. Another important feature of this dimension is precisely that the establishment of the narrative subject follows a nonhistorical process. This is to say the historical subject is not seen as a result of a number of changes across different times but as something prior to those historical transformations. This is to say this "historical subject" is in fact an "essentialist and nonhistorical subject" based on a process of continuity between the past and the present. Also besides this continuity citizens tend to see the historical subject as homogenous instead of heterogeneous. This is to say all the members of this imagined national community (Anderson, 1983) is seen as a prototypical part of if instead of considering the possibility of different and heterogeneous groups of nationals. As it can be easily seen this is a very idealized conception of the nationals of any community.

2. The historical subject is referred to in the first person plural "us," often logically opposed to "them," and valued more positively. The presence of an **identification process** with the mentioned historical subject and its political unit. Identification processes are at work in the narrative, attaching personal affect and value judgments to the unification and opposition mentioned above. A shared identity—a timeless national identity—between the present storyteller and the past historical subject is established. Of course the continuity feature mentioned earlier is also related to this identification feature is adding very influential emotional ties. This implies that the person not only has a historical misconception about her national origin but also feels this misconception as an emotional content. This process would be responsible for establishing the origins of the persons (as nationals) who are learning the concept. These (national) origins would be considered ontological instead of constructed through precisely a historical process.
3. The historical events are **simplified around one common narrative theme**, such as the search for freedom or territory. This simplification is based on rather simple causal relations. Basically it is a monocausal explanation instead of being multicausal as most of sophisticated historical explanations. In relation to previous two dimensions, this explanation only considers the freedom of a specific group: the freedom of the historical subject. The narrative tends to minimize, and avoids mentioning, the right to freedom of additional and possible subjects, such as natives, slaves, or women. Also, this particular freedom is considered in a teleological way, as the pre-established outcome of the historical processes. The existence of a natural territory belonging "since ever" to the nation, instead of a conception of the correspondence of nations and their territories as the result of different complex political, social, and historical processes. Needless to say this historical territory is precisely the same territory than the present one. This is to say the present territory is considered as an ontological a priori.

4. The application of **moral features** that legitimize the actions of the nation and the nationals. Especially in relation to national territory and all the actions related to its developments and changes. These moral judgments provide a tautological legitimization for the nation's main acts. National historical narratives, both in and out school, play an important role as moral vectors, because they are designed with that goal in mind. This purpose is accomplished in at least two ways: First, the master narrative establishes the distinction between "good" and "bad" options, people, and decisions. Typically, the first one is associated with the national "we", and the second one is related to "they". Also master narratives offer living examples of civic virtue, particularly of loyalty. As it can be easily inferred, this loyalty function was essential in the construction of the nation, and it can still be found in many symbolic forms out of the school like sports for example.
5. **Essentialist concept of the nation and nationals**. They are both presented as entities that predate the processes that led to their creation, independent of historical development. Our empirical studies show that historical concepts (e.g. nation, revolution, and independence) are expressed within the framework of the general structures provided by master narratives. Adolescents use a concept to construct a narrative and, at the same time, that narrative expresses the concept itself. Therefore, concepts play a double role in historical narratives. On a level of analysis, they are tools for building narratives, giving them meaning and direction. At the same time, the characteristics of the concepts are defined through the narratives, which contextualize and particularize them (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013).

Let us present some examples which illustrate these dimensions. In the case of Spain, the selected task has been about the so called "Reconquest"—a period in which the Spanish nation did not exist—began in 718 and ended in 1492 with the expulsion of Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula. This process was reinterpreted through romantic historiography and became a master national narrative based on the loss of Spain to the Muslims and its subsequent recovery. Spanish national identity has been built upon this one (Alvarez Junco, 2011). However as Ríos Saloma (2005) pointed out, the very term "Reconquest" just appears in the late eighteenth century. In this sense, we can say that the very idea of the Reconquest is an "invented" concept if we apply the essential idea of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) that national traditions are invented solely to give legitimacy to the national past. Similarly, one could also say that "the Reconquest" is an "imagined" concept because it helps to imagine the nation, as Anderson states (1983). However, the empirical facts of the 800 years of Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula and the fighting between Christians and Muslims during that time should instead be defined as successive conquests by different sides. Importantly, there was not a single struggle between Christians and

Muslims, but over 800 years, alliances varied among certain Christian and Muslim factions, and there was also infighting among factions of the same religion.

One important objective of our studies has been to comparatively look at citizens' representations about a similar narrative of another nation. Through using a foreign historical event, we aim to analyze the student's view on national narratives once their identity connection and emotional link with the content is minimized. For this reason, we presented Spanish university students a task about the history of Greece. The period analyzed refers to the so-called "Ottoman occupation of Greece" (1492–1850) and the nation's subsequent independence. Therefore, in both cases, students faced a historical task where either Muslims or Turks remained several centuries in a country, which currently is a national state (Spain and Greece). As our students were Spanish we hypothesized that they would demonstrate different historical interpretations for these two similar historical scenarios. This is to say, we predicted that the previously mentioned dimensions would be much more present in the task about Spain than in the task about Greece (Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2015a, 2015b). In general terms, this was indeed the case. Let us see some examples.

In both cases, the interview was very similar and focused on each period in chronological order. For each period the participant was asked about: (1) who the inhabitants of either the Iberian peninsula or the Balkan Peninsula at that time were, (2) the legitimacy of the actions of one group against the other, and (3) whether these were carried out by the inhabitants for the gain of territory. Let us compare these two interview fragments. The first belongs to an interview about the so-called Spanish Reconquest and the second to an interview on the Greek independence process.

> **Interview about the "Reconquest".** [And whom do you think that territory belonged to?] *Well, at that moment it is true that it would be dominated by Arabs, but it was still of the Spaniards…Even though it had been taken by force, but sooner or later they had to expel the Arabs.* (…) [The conquests you have drawn (making reference to the further Christian conquests in the year 1212), do you think they were legitimate?] *Conquests in the opposite way, to throw them out? Well, they seem to me more legitimate. A bit more legitimate yes, because they are like recovering what was taken from them. Well, wars are not alright, but I do think it could be slightly justified. To recover their territory and customs and whatever they were not allowed to do by the Arabs.* (Sara, 22 years old)
>
> **Interview on the Greek independence.** [Does it seem to you that it legitimately belongs to (the Byzantines) at that time?] *Well, at that time, they had won it, right? So to speak. However, I also don't think that a territory belongs to anyone concretely … (…) it is not attached to anyone. (…)* [In that sense, does it seem to you that the territory (in the period of the Ottoman Empire) legitimately belongs to the Ottomans or not?] *No, as with the Byzantines, it is a matter of ambition to have more territories but I do not see that it has to belong to anyone as I said with the Byzantines… (…). It does not belong permanently to anyone. (…)* [In the period of

> Greek independence, does it seem to you that the territory legitimately belongs to the Greeks?] *No, not to them either.* [Why?] *Well, what I have said before, the territories are there, and an empire that wants to have more territories, well they are going to conquer them, but I don't think that because of this it always owns this territory and that the territory has always belonged to it, because it is not so. It is not going to be like this forever.* (Belen, 17 years old)

As it can be seen in the case of the interview about Spain, the Spanish student clearly legitimizes the actions of the Spaniards against the Arabs, applying some of the dimensions presented above. But it is not the case for the Spanish student interviewed about the presence of the Ottomans in Greek territory. In both cases, the participants are university students, and therefore, their historical knowledge in general is rather high. Considering this, the more plausible explanation for the difference encountered would be based on the relation of the interview's main topic with the participant's national identity. Interestingly, this difference disappears when the interview deals with the establishment of the historical subject.

But let us compare two more examples. The first is related to the Spanish Reconquest and the second to the Greeks and the Ottomans. These examples will show that there are also some similarities. In this case about the establishment of the historical subject of the narratives.

> **Interview about the "Reconquest".** *The Arabs invade a territory, which is not theirs. During more than seven centuries they keep trying to conquer what is the entire Spanish territory and, the Spaniards, when it in fact was in essence their territory before the Arabs came in, hey reconquered it again to make it once again their own.* (Juan, 25 years old)
>
> **Interview on the Greek independence.** [How long could the feeling of belonging to the Greek nation have been present?]
>
> *I think since forever. (…) If we forget history … there has always been a feeling of saying I belong to Greece, to ancient Greece (…). And then came a moment in which you say, "So far and so further!" One after another spreads the word; (…) they create that feeling until they say: "We have been invaded by the Romans, the Byzantines, the Ottomans; now is our moment." (…) "Now is the time for us to rebel and become independent as Greeks."* (Maria, 21 years old)

As it can be seen in both cases, the two Spanish students establish a rather essentialist historical subject. Thus in both cases this historical subjects are fundamentally based on present national subjects and not on historical changes and developments. As mentioned above, Spain and Spaniards do not exist properly speaking until the sixteenth century. The Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and other similar political entities of the Iberian Peninsula carried out the fights against the Arabs. Similar arguments could be applied to the Greek case. Therefore, it can be concluded that analyzing the narratives about these two topics as a whole a more historiographical view on historical narratives is easier to apply when they have to do with nations that are not our own. Nevertheless, a number of difficulties remain, like the concept related to the establishment

of the historical subject. This is likely to be related to the issue of the possible origins of the dimensions described above. This issue of origins is also related to the educational implications of our research.

National Historical Narratives Origins and Educational Implications

We could think of two possible origins for these dimensions of national narratives: cognitive, educational, and sociocultural. Firstly, in terms of cognitive development, it is easy to see how the dimensions we have described are very much related to the romantic stage studied by Egan and mentioned above. Therefore, it seems that the features of the philosophical and ironic stages are difficult to achieve. On the other hand, from an educational point of view within both formal and informal contexts, as museums and similar environments, traditional instruction still dominates, with explicit or implicit content that is closer to the romantic ideals than to the renovated aims of history education. Also, history, as an academic discipline, still has advocates for the romantic approach (see Berger, this volume, about national historiographical writings) and many school textbooks and programs (Seixas, 2010)—mainly through master national narratives—emphasize that banal nationalism that Billig (1995) described.

In addition, banal nationalism is still present on a day-to-day basis in most nations, particularly in the informal context, through national celebrations and rites, movies, novels, or mass media communication (Carretero, 2011; Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, & Duncan, 2007). All of these mechanisms are related to the process of the production of a narrative around the concept of the nation. This process has been postulated as one of the most influential in the social sciences nowadays, and much theoretical work has been developed about how nations are imagined (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Also, as signaled by Billig (1995), when nations are granted a monopoly over the right to violence within their territory, historical conflicts become nationalized. These conflicts evolve into wars among nations instead of counties, nobles, or royal lineages. This phenomenon undoubtedly is reflected in the history of many nations today that nationalize territorial conflicts from epochs much earlier than the birth of the nation itself. Thus, national narratives following the same general scheme of the so-called reconquest can be found in many a nation's interpretation of history (Carretero, 2011; Wertsch, 2002). As a matter of fact, many more examples can be found all over the world (see for example chapters by Millas and Maier in this volume).

Let's just consider the changes in European territories and nations during the so-called short century (Hobsbawm, 1990). This is to say, the First and Second World Wars, plus the collapse of the Soviet Union, introducing frequent and dramatic changes on the political map of the European continent. It would be interesting to investigate whether students are able to understand that those changes in the nations' territories not only constitute geopolitical and historical consequences but also imply that nations are not essential and

immutable political entities. Thus, the possible cognitive origins of the studied conceptions, we think, have to do with how the learning and teaching process takes place. For this reason, these cognitive origins are considered in the context of specific suggestions to improve those processes.

For example, teachers could emphasize that the concept of nation is embedded in a particular national narrative, and this narrative usually has a historical subject, but that other possible subjects could also be taken into account. Even though these new subjects could change the meaning of the narrative, presenting alternative historical versions of the past could be a fruitful learning strategy. Concerning the second dimension discussed in this chapter, students could learn the important distinction between the past and the present in relation to possible identification, that is, to understand that the historical "we" is not the same as the current "we." In this research, we have found that university students tend to confound the two "we's," but at younger ages this tendency could be much greater. This teaching endeavor would likely need not only specific contents but also a good deal of metacognitive ability which is a related aspect of historical consciousness (Straub, 2005).

In relation to the territorial dimension of the concept of nation, we would like to emphasize the need for and the convenience of introducing historical maps to school teaching activities. This is because our studies show university students tend to consider the present map both Spain and Portugal as the map that better describes historical changes over the centuries on the Iberian Peninsula. But definitely it is not the case because Spain and Portugal just existed as political entities since fifteenth-sixteenth century. Therefore, historical maps are an essential part of historical literacy and research, because they provide a clear and precise representation of how territories and nations have changed over centuries. As mentioned above, they are probably the clearest proof that nations are not essential entities. But some students might tend to consider the present maps as either immutable or as cognitive anchors for representing historical events and political changes. In relation to this, recent historiographical research has showed that the so-called historical rights are based on rather invented knowledge about historical boundaries (Herzog, this volume). This is to say, many of the ancient historical limits never existed as very precise borders. Therefore, it would be unjustified to use them to maintain territorial rights based on supposed past evidence. No doubt these findings have clear implications for history teaching and learning.

Conclusion

Finally, the issue of legitimizing the pursuit of the national territory, as an imagined entity through the master narrative, in its different historical moments could be approached along the lines already described. This is to say, students could be taught that historical events indeed have moral connotations but that these can only be properly understood in the context of the historiographical understanding of that specific period. One of the most common misconcep-

tions in history learning is presentism, in the sense of projecting the nation to earlier periods. These examples will allow to illustrate a very strong tendency in its moral form. Any teaching development oriented at promoting historical thinking should try to improve this through the modern representation of the concept of nation embedded in historical narratives. A concept not associated with the need of legitimizing the actions of present subjects is definitely different from legitimizing past historical subjects' actions.

Thus, students might benefit from the combination of these suggested strategies in order to take into account this complexity. Elsewhere (Carretero & Lee, 2014) we have pointed out how, on numerous occasions, learning to think historically entails navigating counterintuitive ideas (Wineburg, 2001). For this purpose, we believe that future investigations are necessary to delve deeper into this concept, whose adequate understanding would prepare students for understanding the past and present complexity of the societies in which they live. Also, we would like to emphasize that, as present citizens of a world experiencing an intense globalization process, clearly our learning needs to be closer to a flexible and nuanced narrative of the nation. Migration processes will be even more intense in the future, and as this is having an enormous cultural impact, the learning of history in and out of school, particularly when it concerns the nation, has to keep up.

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CHAPTER 28

Organizing the Past: Historical Accounts, Significance and Unknown Ontologies

Lis Cercadillo, Arthur Chapman, and Peter Lee

History is not only an academic discipline that is translated in most education systems in the world into school history, but also a public form of knowledge. In the relationship between academic, public and school history, the importance of *accounts* in history is paramount because histories only exist in the present in the form of accounts of the past in written and in other media. Considered as a second-order concept, historical accounts are of course related to other second-order concepts such as evidence and significance. However, our focus here is on students' understandings of historical narratives and representations *per se* (Lee, 2005) rather than on the establishment of particular facts or explanations about the past. In this chapter, we will review what is known about students' understandings of accounts, and of the related second-order concept historical significance, and we will sketch some recent and novel paths which empirical research on historical accounts is taking. In particular, we will do so in relation to the relevance of cognitive ethics and epistemic dispositions to the field of history education.

History educators and education researchers are accustomed to reflecting on analytical dimensions of historical understanding, such as historical description, explanation and interpretation, which are all central to the framing and formation of historical narratives (Megill, 2007). However, there is more to the development of a usable and lifelong historical consciousness than analytical historical competence. Histories claim warrant for the accounts that they advance, organize

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and narrate, and practitioners (students, teachers and historians alike) appeal to standards of proof in accounting for the past. Learning to think historically, therefore, entails the development of dispositions relating to warrant and proof and to what one might call a cognitive ethics of historical account construction and appraisal. Whereas cause, accounts, significance and other second-order concepts are familiar topics of investigation, children's and adolescents' understanding of the ethics of historical knowing is a topic in need of fuller investigation.

Understanding Is Not an All-or-Nothing Achievement

Grounded on British work, research on History Education—that is, how students learn and how history is taught—shifted from substantive concepts and understanding in a general sense (the crude knowledge versus skills debate) to specific historical thinking and 'ideas' (e.g. Seixas & Morton, 2013). This shift led to the need to know about the second-order concepts in terms of which the discipline of history is given epistemological shape, an argument coherent with the philosophy that school history should mirror both pupils' personal and social needs and the nature of the discipline. Substantive or first-order concepts possess a broad span (and interchangeable meaning) from abstraction to concretion: 'king', 'peasant' or 'suffragette' and 'democracy', 'feudalism', 'nation' or 'colonization'. Moreover, some very usable substantive concepts for historians are those termed *colligatory* (Walsh, 1959), which always involve a sense of period, such as the 'Renaissance', the 'Enlightenment', the 'Industrial Revolution' or the 'Holocaust', and may be interpreted as narratives in themselves. The difficulty for historical learning and for research is that first-order concepts are, in general, everyday practical notions in which the specific historical content is provided only by particular contexts. Our concept of democracy or people, for instance, cannot be extrapolated to those of Ancient Greece or Rome. Therefore, the investigation of progression grounded solely on concepts of this kind has proved difficult, although it is gradually being included in history education research agendas.

Second-order concepts were then addressed, in part, to overcome some of these obstacles, but also as a research strategy to help develop a fuller awareness of the nature of students' historical understanding and the challenges that learning history can present. These concepts are the organizing concepts of the discipline and enable history's internal logic to be apprehended. As research in recent decades has suggested, students tend to hold certain tacit ideas which facilitate or hinder their historical competence. Knowledge of the ideas that students have about history's organizing concepts, and the subsequent construction by researchers of an underlying hierarchy of conceptual understandings, have proved helpful in approaching the development of students' reasoning in history. Taking this approach has enabled the delineation of patterns of progression, or hierarchies of conceptual complexity in history learning, which seem likely to be applicable to all kinds of content (Lee & Shemilt, 2003).

Research into student second-order historical concepts is very far from extensive, but, relatively speaking, considerable attention has been paid to notions of

empathy, cause and especially of evidence, in the past three decades (on empathy see e.g. Ashby & Lee, 1987; Davis, Foster, & Yeager, 2001; Dickinson & Lee, 1978; Shemilt, 1984. For examples exploring cause, see Carretero, Jacott, Limón, López–Manjón, & León, 1994; Carretero, López–Manjón, & Jacott, 1997; Shemilt, 1984. On evidence see Ashby, 2005; Dickinson, Gard, & Lee, 1978; Shemilt, 1987). Although significant progress has been made in researching these concepts, the same cannot be said about students' understanding of historical accounts, or about closely linked ideas like historical significance, and we know even less about the underlying ideas that may provide students with basic assumptions about how the past could be organized. Research into the cognitive dispositions which must accompany ideas about historical accounts—if genuine historical understanding is a goal of history education—is simply absent.

Some Particular Second-Order Concepts

Cause

Second-order concepts underpin historical explanations. Apart from time and, in English-speaking countries, evidence, cause is the most often studied concept in history. Cause is also at the heart of history education: 'To teach history, it is necessary not only to consider past events, but to include some kind of causal relationships between past and present or, more generally, two different points in time' (Carretero et al., 1994: 362). An event or a process' significance is often studied because of its causal power. The significance of an event may be measured in terms of the priority of various causes, or causal weighting (Martin, 1989), as an action-set, or as part of a pattern of change. Philosophers of history have made a distinction between *intentional* and *causal* explanations, depending on the involvement of specific agents, or reasons for action, and structural factors or background conditions (Carr, 1961; Collingwood, 1946). History education researchers have linked the notion of intentional explanation with that of *empathy*, or the assumption that what people did and made in the past makes sense in terms of their ideas about the world in which they lived (Lee, 2005).

Empirical research about students' ideas of 'cause' and historical explanation is grounded on the distinction between reasons and causes. From the perspective of cognitive psychology, Carretero et al. (1994) studied the types of causal explanations novices and experts tend to formulate to explain historical events. When asked 'What caused the "discovery" of America for the Europeans?', young adolescents and non-expert adults considered the individual motives of Columbus and the Spanish Queen and King to be fundamental, whereas history experts generated structural explanations. Hierarchies of causes were also analysed: novices tend to emphasize the role of short-term causes whereas experts could integrate distant, short-term and trigger causes of various kinds (economical, social, political or cultural) (Voss, Carretero, Kennel, & Silffies, 1994).

Through written tasks and oral follow-up interviews, the CHATA Project (Lee, Ashby, & Dickinson, 2001a) delved into children and adolescent students' ideas about intentional explanations (intentions, purposes or reasons for action, linked to empathy)—such as 'Claudius wanted to show that he was a great emperor'—and causal explanations (enabling conditions and causal antecedents)—such as 'The Romans were able to take over most of Britain because the Britons lived in different groups which sometimes fought each other'. Moreover, nuances in causal reasoning were categorized under the notion of 'explanatory adequacy', for instance, the importance of 'because', that establishes the differences between explanations and statements of facts. Children were asked whether there was a real difference or not between the sentences: 'The Romans took over Britain. The Roman army had good weapons' and 'The Romans were able to take Britain because their army had good weapons'. Forty percent of the children aged seven to fourteen said there was a difference. Some of these first CHATA results suggested that even young children have a general understanding of the need of history to explain things, that it is not just 'a story'. On the other hand, a very interesting finding was a confusion in pupils' understanding between causes of events and reasons for action; if causation is assumed by many students to be a species of agency, then unintended consequences are attributed to mistakes, the products of incompetent agency (Shemilt, 2009). While CHATA's research did suggest that many young students often see that reasons for action can explain outcomes, as if intentions explained success or failure, caution is required. Some of the responses which appeared to treat reasons as interchangeable with causes did this by reference to volition, turning reasons into causes. Reasons, if powerful, make successful achievement of intentions more likely and if you want something badly enough, you are more likely to get it. This relationship between giving reasons for action and causal explanation of outcomes needs much more attention.

A simplified research-based model of progression would run from no distinction between statements of facts and explanatory statements, through a conception of senseless agency (identifying events with actions) and deterministic causal chains, towards the use of counterfactual reasoning and the recognition of contexts as well as background conditions to, ultimately, the understanding of causal concepts as theoretical constructs. At its highest level in school history, the epistemological and ontological dimensions of causal explanation would be acknowledged, that is, it would be recognized that the validity of every explanation is relative to questions posed as well as to what is known about the past (Lee & Shemilt, 2009).

The research into children's conceptions and misconceptions about historical explanation and other aspects of historical understanding (Lee, 2005) points to important dimensions of children's understandings that are particularly relevant pedagogically. Many of these supplement and extend the kinds of analysis that might most readily come to mind, drawing on the historiographic tradition (Lorenz, 2001). In addition to epistemic issues, relating

to how we can come to know the past, the research on children's thinking suggests that we should also attend to their *ontologies*—or to their models of what the past is, of how the world of the past is populated (e.g. with individual agents) and of the logics that processes in the past tend to follow (e.g. agentive explanation).

Accounts

Children and youngsters encounter accounts of the past frequently in everyday life—in popular culture, in public architecture, in the news media, in family stories, in community traditions and so on (Lowenthal, 2015). They also encounter them, of course, in their history education (in textbooks and in the narratives that the curriculum presents and also in storied rituals and practices that aim to situate the present and future in past 'traditions') and in their encounters with the products of academic history, in so far as they come across this genre of historical representation (Carretero, 2011; Foster & Crawford, 2006).

It is important, therefore, for history educators to understand *how* children make sense of the historical accounts that they meet for at least two reasons: first, because all history is communicated through accounts (they are, as it were, the medium of history and of history education) and, second, because the accounts that students encounter are frequently conflicting. This has been repeatedly shown, for example, by research highlighting contrasts between the 'official' narratives students meet in school and the community narratives (and counter-narratives) that they may encounter outside school (Barton & McCully, 2005; Epstein, 2008; Wertsch, 2002, 2004).

'Accounts', then, should form an important focus for historical teaching and learning and also for research. We talk of 'accounts' rather than 'narratives' or 'stories' here to allow for the wide range of historical organizations of the past currently produced by historians (synchronic as well as diachronic, big-pictures as well as depth studies, and causal-statistical as well as agent-intentional explanations). In doing this, we are not committing ourselves to specific limitations on the concept of narrative, but merely attempting to avoid pre-empting such issues.

Some Studies on Accounts and Significance

Although our knowledge in this area is much thinner than it should be, it is not mere guesswork and based on more than individual experience. Initial UK research has been developed and extended in other parts of the world, adding to our understanding (see, e.g. Barca, 1996; Barton, 1996; Cercadillo, 2001; Hsiao, 2005). Contrary to what we might expect, this research has suggested that students in different cultures may share common preconceptions about accounts, although this may be an artefact of similarity in the methods of research adopted in different studies.

Historical Accounts. Students' Conceptions and a Tentative Model of Progression

The research undertaken by project CHATA (completed in 1994 with a small longitudinal extension to 1996) asked a sample of more than 300 students aged seven to fourteen years to identify and explain differences between pairs of accounts.[1] Students answered questions about three such pairs (in most cases over a period of about three weeks). The accounts within each pair dealt with the 'same' passage of the past; however, each of the three pairs focused on differing substantive historical content. Content was based on the English National Curriculum, and on what students at the relevant ages would have encountered. The first pair of accounts dealt with the Claudian invasion of Britain, the second with the fall of the Roman Empire and the third with the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain.

CHATA was able to show, first, that the students had ideas about what accounts were and why they differed and, second, that these ideas demonstrated a considerable range of sophistication. Students' tended to explain variation in the interpretations with which they were presented in the following ways (Lee, 1998: 30):

1. The accounts are the same, and any differences are only in how the stories are told;
2. Differences are a result of problems in obtaining knowledge of the past;
3. The stories are about different things, places or times;
4. Differences are a consequence of the accounts being written by different authors;
5. It is in the nature of accounts to be different from one another.

Younger children often explained difference by denying it (the difference was in the telling rather than in the story), by saying the accounts were about different things, by providing haphazard source-based explanations (the historians had simply come across different sources) or by stressing the difficulty of finding out ('No one from them days is alive today', Lee, 1998: 32). By contrast, older children were more likely to attribute differences in the accounts to the *activities of historians*. Whereas younger children tended to see 'historians as more or less *passive* story tellers, handing on ready-made stories or compiling and collating information', older children often thought of historians as 'actively producing their stories' (Lee, 1998: 31). 'Active production', however, could mean a number of things: on the one hand, 'intentional distortion by authors (dogmatism, lies and especially bias)' and, on the other, authors exercising their 'legitimate viewpoints (without any intentional desire to mislead)' (Lee, 1998: 32).

Using the written and interview data obtained, a model of the development of students' ideas about historical accounts was constructed. An outline of this progression model would read as the following (Lee & Shemilt, 2004) in Table 28.1.

Table 28.1 Model of progression in accounts

1. Accounts are just (given) stories
2. Accounts fail to be copies of a past we cannot witness
3. Accounts are accurate copies of the past, except for mistakes or gaps
4. Accounts may be distorted for ulterior motives
5. Accounts are organized from a personal viewpoint
6. Accounts must answer questions and fit criteria

The scale of variation in the sophistication of students' ideas can be scoped by contrasting the following two interview excerpts, the first from an SCHP evaluation interview with a ninth grade student (14- to 15-year old), exploring what historical knowledge claims are and how one can adjudicate between differing claims about the past, and the second, from a CHATA interview with an eighth grade (13- to 14-year-old) student, exploring why there might be different accounts of when the Roman Empire ended.

> *Student*: You can't do an experiment… You just has to guess….
> *Interviewer*: How would you distinguish between two guesses…
> *Student*: You pick which one you like best… which is most interesting—or the one… for your [social] class.
>
> (Shemilt, 1987: 47)
>
> *Interviewer*: Why are there different dates [for the end of the Roman Empire]?
> *Student*: Because there is no definite way of telling when it ended. Some think it is when its city was captured or when it was first invaded or some other time.
> *Interviewer*: How could you decide when the Empire ended?
> *Student*: By setting a fixed thing what happened for example when its capitals were taken, or when it was totally annihilated or something and then finding the date.
> *Interviewer*: Could there be other possible times when the Empire ended?
> *Student*: Yes, because it depends on what you think ended it, whether it was the taking of Rome or Constantinople or when it was first invaded or some other time.
>
> (Lee, 2005: 39)

The thinking in the first excerpt combines Level 2 and Levels 4/5 assumptions about how historians work. We cannot know what happened and we 'just has to guess' (Level 2) and the claims that we make are simply personal or subjective or reflect biases ('You pick … the one … for your … class'). For this student, history appears to be less a form of knowledge—grounded in the disciplined interrogation of source materials—than an unmediated expression of identity and subjectivity. In the second extract, we can see thinking which applies criteria (Level 6) and a recognition that account variation is perfectly natural: there can be no date for the end of the Roman Empire without criteria to operationalize the concepts 'Roman', 'Empire' and 'end' and it very much looks as if this student perceives the adoption of criteria as a theoretical question of the kind that can be resolved by debate.

Two broad contrasts in modes of thinking relevant to the understanding of accounts emerge when CHATA findings on evidence (Lee & Shemilt, 2003) and accounts findings (Lee & Shemilt, 2004) are considered together. It is clear that many students talk about history in a way that assumes that the past has a *single* and *fixed meaning* and many students also talk about historical accounts as if they should be similarly *singular* and *fixed*. On this ontology, the past was (and remains) singular and fixed and historical accounts should mirror the past that they *re*-present veridically, passively and in one way. For many students, it would seem, the historian's job is, in principle, simply a matter of re-assembling the fragments of the past from reliable testimony to create one true 'picture', in the manner in which one might reassemble a jigsaw or the tesserae of a mosaic.

A number of studies, around the world—many of which closely following CHATA methodologically—provide support for CHATA findings about children's tacit ontological and epistemological assumptions about accounts (Afandi, 2009, 2012; Barca, 2001, 2002, 2005; Boix Mansilla, 2005; Chapman, 2001; Gago, 2005; Hsiao, 2005; McDiarmid, 1994; VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005). Chapman (2009, 2011) reported a case study that sought to take forward CHATA research strategies to explore the thinking of 16- to 19-year-old history students. Like the CHATA research, this study used paired accounts. On three occasions over the course of an academic year, 12 first- and 12 second-year Advanced Level (16-to 19-year-old) students were asked to answer a number of questions about pairs of contrasting accounts of the same historical topic and, at the end of the year, six first- and six second-year students were interviewed to explore their assumptions in greater depth. In the data extracts below, the students responded to the question 'How is it possible for there to be two such differing accounts of the same issue?'. Chapman found that students tended to explain variations in historical accounts in a range of ways, as outlined in Table 28.2.

The following observations, by a 12th grade (17- to 18-year-old) student explaining variation in two accounts of 'Peterloo', exemplify 'authorial explanation' and ideas that might be coded at Levels 4/5 in Lee and Shemilt's model.[2]

> The person who is writing about the events will obviously be influenced by the kind of person they are. Their background interests and political views… will affect the way that they view/interpret information and facts. E.P. Thompson's book *The Making of the English Working Class* is a clue to the fact that his interest lies within the working classes. He has chosen to specifically focus on them so it is fair to say they are his main interest, and this comes across in his extract, which clearly favours the people and places them as the 'victims' of the event

For this student, historians' accounts are shaped by their identities and their sympathies, which cause them to take sides, as it were—the historian is not so much active as *acted-upon*.

The following 12th grade (17- to 18-year old) explanation for variation in accounts refers us to distortions in the record, rather than in the thinking of

Table 28.2 Types of explanation for variation in interpretation (based on Chapman, 2009: 96)

Explanatory type	*Definition*
1. Authorial explanation	Explanation in terms of authors' backgrounds or background beliefs
2. Archival explanation	Explanation in terms of the variable or limited nature of the archive available to historians
3. Impositionist explanation	Explanation in terms of variations in how historians imposed their preconceptions on the record of the past through their interpretations
4. Hermeneutic explanation	Explanation in terms of variations in how historians construed or constructed the meaning of the record of past
5. Inquisitorial explanation	Explanation in terms of variations in the questions that historians asked about the past

historians, and attributes variation in accounts about the 'Ranters' to deficiencies in the archive.[3]

> It's possible to have two such differing accounts… for the simple reason that most of the evidence came from hostile sources. This combines with the fact that what evidence we do have is not 'direct'… [W]e have accounts of what Ranters believe in from the Ranters point of view, however, we only have hostile sources to tell us what the Ranters actually did… [T]here were many during this period… who would… start stories of Ranters so as to condemn… Cromwell… for allowing them to exist. These factors plus the fact that there are very few reliable sources can easily lead to two opposing views being taken on the same issue.

These observations do more than simply assume that 'accounts are accurate copies of the past, except for mistakes or gaps' (Level 3 in Lee and Shemilt's model). It is notable, however, that the student's comments do not reveal very much about what they think historians might *do* with sources—how historians' use of limited sources might be informed, for example, by awareness of the limitations of the record. Differences in historians' accounts are presented as simply *mirroring* deficiencies in the archive.

The next two examples are much clearer about the *kinds* of *activity* that historians might engage in when interpreting sources and about how the interpretation of sources might relate to the emergence of different accounts of the past. The first example, by a student in the 11th grade (16- to 17-year-old), responding to a task asking for an explanation in variations in two accounts of 'The Ranters', was coded as an 'hermeneutic explanation' because it focused on how historians *make meaning* with source materials.

> No two people have the exact same view and interpret information in different ways. The ways authors interpret information affects their beliefs …
>
> Both accounts agree that evidence is 'minimal' and much of that is from hostile witnesses. It seems the two writers have interpreted this in different ways; one questioning the evidence, one cross-referencing. Both writers would have differ-

> ing opinions on other events at that time that might have affected the way they interpreted the information, and their views on the topic

For this student, historians are *active* in multiple ways—*bringing preconceptions* to their interpretations ('views'), *asking questions* of their accounts and *interpreting sources* in the light of their wider understanding of the historical context. There is no suggestion here that preconceptions are illegitimate. There is also a suggestion—although this may be an over-interpretation of what is said—that the student sees that an historian's beliefs can be affected by how they come to interpret information and that preconceptions are not static or set in stone.

The following explanation by a 12th grade (17- to 18-year-old) student, for variations in accounts of Britain's record during the Holocaust, develops the perception that historians are *active in asking questions* and that the forms that historians' enquiries take are consequential for the accounts that they construct. It was coded as an 'inquisitorial explanation'.

> The situation can be seen in two very different lights as demonstrated by these accounts, this may be due to focusing on various aspects of what was or was not done to help. For example, Account 1 being a book on modern history from around the world may have concentrated more on comparing what Britain did to help in comparison to other countries. Whereas Account 2 may have concentrated on what more Britain could have done and not what they did do. The accounts differ as they take two different perspectives and concentrate on the differing points, which they feel are most important.

In some respects, this explanation is reminiscent of the explanation offered by some respondents in the CHATA research that the 'stories are about different things, places, or times'. It does much more than simply explain difference as difference in content, however. Again the actions attributed to the historians seem particularly revealing here. It is not simply that the historians are 'focusing' on different things. Rather, the historians have 'concentrated' on *asking different questions* because they are writing different kinds of books—one historian is presented as asking *comparative* questions to appraise British actions in an international context whereas the other is presented as appraising British actions by asking *counterfactual questions* about alternative actions that were possible in the British context.

It was common to find quite simplistic understandings of how historians use historical evidence in many of the explanations that students offered for variations in accounts, even when these explanations appeared to be quite sophisticated. Many students talked in 'testimonial' ways about historical evidence and understood historians as in the business of *piecing together the truth from reliable reports*. By contrast, the last two examples cited above both understand historians as actively interpreting the past by asking questions and by analysing their sources *as evidence* rather than merely as testimony. It seems highly

probable that a key task, in sophisticating students' understandings of historical accounts, is identifying their preconceptions as to how historical source material can be used by historians so that it can become a source of evidentially grounded *claims* about the past.

We must be cautious in interpreting the data on accounts reported in these studies. Although we find congruence in findings from studies conducted in different parts of the world, the studies share similar methodological assumptions and research instruments and it is possible that task effects may explain some of this convergence. Nevertheless, these studies yield suggestive and generative conclusions about ways in which students may think and about the kinds of progress that might be made through pedagogic efforts to enhance their thinking. On the one hand, we can posit a continuum, in students' ideas about what the past was and is, from a position that sees the past as *fixed* and *unchanging* to a position that sees that what we say about the past is an *interaction* between our *decisions in the present* (about the questions we should ask and the criteria and interpretive concepts we deploy) and both *the traces used as evidence* and a pre-existing, often provisional, *record of the past*. On the other hand, and relatedly, we can see a continuum, in students' assumptions about what historians do, from a position in which historians are modelled as *passive mirrors of a fixed past* to a position in which historians are modelled as *active interrogators of a record* whose meaning is relative to the historians' inquiries. We can also talk about continua in understandings of what historical source material *is* (Lee & Shemilt, 2003). At one extreme we find the assumption that the record of the past is a collection of *witness statements* that the historian should simply *re-assemble*, using scissors-and-paste to reconstitute a 'true picture', and, at the other, we find recognition that *sources become evidence when questioned* and that the *meanings* that the record can have are *relative* to how it is 'put to the test' of through inquiry.

Significance Within Accounts

Historical significance has explanatory and interpretive functions in historical accounts. In addition to establishing and explaining the facts and assigning a basic meaning to the events of the past, accounts typically attribute secondary meanings—or significance—to the facts and events they organize. The notion that historical events and processes have differing degrees of significance points to the role and importance of selection in the construction of historical accounts. Histories select and prioritize from within the set of possible 'past happenings' that might be given prominence and, in doing so, propose interpretive and explanatory accounts of aspects of the past. Selection is necessary but it is not fixed; many contrasting and equally valid selections and attributions of significance are possible about the same historical event or situation.

Cercadillo (2001, 2006) reported a large-scale comparative study of understandings of significance in England and Spain. Seventy-two students in each country, in the 12 to 17 age-range and from a range of schools, completed two

pencil and paper tasks each of which contained competing assessments of the significance of the same topic. Students were asked, amongst other things, to explain why these differing assessments might arise. A sample of students was also interviewed.

Cercadillo (2001) developed an empirical model of progression that integrated students' ideas about importance and other related notions regarding significance and accounts, associated with diverse types of significance (contemporary, causal, pattern, symbolic and significance for the present and the future). This scale could be built from student unawareness of issues of importance in historical accounts, through notions of importance and significance understood only in intrinsic terms, to the understanding of this concept as contextual and variable within and across the different types (Table 28.3). For example, to the question 'Some historians think that what Alexander the Great did was really important; others think it wasn't. What do you think? Was it important or not? Explain why it mattered or why it did not matter', a seventh grade (12- to 13-year-old) student said: 'What Alexander did was important, because he invaded Asia and he kept winning victory time after time' (intrinsic and single significance). Whereas at higher levels of thinking, another student responded: 'I think it is important, he discovered new lands, he did not only conquer, but… he opened the way for other people who tried to do what he had done, but somewhere else… the world became bigger, people started to think' (causal: short and long-term consequences; pattern: turning-point in history; symbolic: other people followed his example).

Significance raises issues about accounts with great clarity because judgements of significance are always relative to criteria of significance and a frame of reference (Cercadillo, 2001: 120) and, as Lee et al observe, judgements of significance vary across types of significance, by the subject with reference to whom the judgement is made, by theme and time scale and by question (Lee et al., 2001b: 201). This progression model on significance supports CHATA conclusions about accounts. A key issue in progression was student awareness that judgements of significance are relative to frames of reference and that criteria of significance are multiple and relative to different types of significance. Younger students tended to assess significance in contemporary terms (in other words, as fixed by the experience of people who experienced events). Cercadillo

Table 28.3 Significance within accounts: empirical model of progression

Level 1: No allusion to any type of significance
Level 2: Intrinsic and single significance
Level 3: Fixed contextual significance (I): it is fixed within/across attributions (contemporary and causal only or single significance other than contemporary)
Level 4: Fixed contextual significance (II): it is fixed within/across attributions (besides or other than contemporary and causal)
Level 5: Variable contextual significance: it varies within/across attributions
- 5.1 contemporary and causal
- 5.2 besides or other than contemporary and causal

found differences by country with English students 'reaching a higher order of ideas … at earlier ages' (2001:140) although this gap narrowed for 16- to 17-year-old students.

A distinction should be made between what is humanly important/what is historically important. The overarching concept significance is seldom explicitly referred to in debates on school history curricula and, where it is, it is typically understood in terms of *fixed* significance, as a criterion for content selection in a curriculum, understood as a national canon, or in terms of what is prioritized by particular narratives.[4] Far from being fixed and a property of the past itself, significance relates to the criteria that historians use to organize occurrences from the past in relation to the research questions that they set out to answer; significance shifts, accordingly, depending on the question to be answered or the story to be told (point of view, aspect, time-scale, etc.).

We can see, then, that understandings of significance have ontological dimensions, just as students' assumptions about accounts do, and that whereas some students can consider significance as a 'natural' and fixed property of the past others are able to understand it as an attribution actively posited by interpreters of the past in selections and in judgements that they make. Again, as with accounts, we can see a number of gradations of increasing sophistication in the positions that students can adopt between these two poles.

Frameworks of the Past

Stimulated by ideas initially proposed by Denis Shemilt (Shemilt, 1983), UK research and theorizing has sought to move beyond the initial dichotomy between first- and second-order concepts and to focus on the ways in which, and the extent to which, young people are able to integrate their first-order understandings of the past and second-order understandings to form narrative and/or analytical representations of the past at scale (Lee & Howson, 2009; Shemilt, 2000, 2009). A key question in this research has been the role that 'frameworks', or organizing schemata and questions, play in the development of 'big picture' representations of the past that enable 'usable historical pasts' capable of providing orientation in time (Foster, Ashby, & Lee, 2008; Howson & Shemilt, 2011).

In curriculum development terms, this approach aims to avoid the twin dangers of patchy understandings of the past, in which children and adolescents develop unrelated pockets of knowledge and understanding of a limited range of periods and episodes in the past (much discussed in England), and of understandings of the past organized solely through celebratory national narratives (frequent in French and in Spanish curricula), which may provide apparent identity-affirmation (particularly for those who propose them) but which do not provide tools for critical historical orientation. By contrast, the 'frameworks' approach intends to explore possible uses of history for purposes of orientation in the present and the future, and their consequences for the development of historical consciousness (Lee, 2004; Rüsen, 2005).

Empirical studies of students' 'big pictures' (Foster, Ashby, & Lee, 2008; Lee & Howson, 2009) have suggested that students tend to populate the past with individuals, groups, dynasties, nations, peoples and institutions, and that student accounts variously included events, actions, periods, topics and colligations. Less typical were students whose conceptual ontology included reference to trends, themes, turning-points, change, development, process and patterns. It emerged that it was possible to capture students' generalized understandings of the past by focusing analysis of their accounts of British history on two broad ontological categories that were defined as 'event like' and 'process like'. The first coded category—'event like'—identified accounts that gave priority to events, topics and 'and then' narratives. A number of student responses (35 %) appeared to move beyond producing random topic lists or partial or truncated narratives and provided some indication that their authors construed history as an unfolding process of change and development. These accounts were categorized as 'process-like'. Only 12 % of the total of student responses (15- to 17-year-old students) moved beyond recounting discreet and unconnected events to offer a sense of important themes, trends or processes in the passage of British history; these students seemed to have a conceptual apparatus that enabled them to make connections *across* time. Overall, therefore, this study revealed that the small minority of students who were able to think of a past in terms of more sophisticated conceptions of change and significance appeared better equipped to consider issues of contemporary and future concern (Foster, Ashby, & Lee, 2008). Further empirical work, exploring students' endeavours to construct historical narratives, has focused on modes and degrees of connectivity in students' narrative construction and posited a tentative progression model related to narrative competence (Blow et al., 2015).

Overall, this work reinforces the conclusion—apparent in the earlier discussion of students ideas about cause, about accounts and about significance—that we need to attend to the tacit assumptions that students make about the ontology of the past and to tacit assumptions that are embodied in the ways that students organize their representation of the past and their thinking about representations produced by others. There is a clear need for further research in this area and on frameworks and big pictures in general. It seems probable that the achievement of many of the cherished aims of history education—such as enabling mastery of representations of large passages of the past and the development of usable historical pasts that can enable orientation in time—is likely to depend on developing a clearer understanding of the ideas that can impede or foster young people's historical understanding at scale.

Possible Research Questions for the Future

It seems likely that central to students' understanding of the historical organization of the past is some awareness of the different nature and status of the possible components of a historical account, and, perhaps at a deeper level, the way in which chunks of the past are framed and given sense. Any research pro-

gramme that pursues these matters would be wise to pay attention to problems raised by discussion among historians and philosophers regarding the nature and status of historians' organization of the past. Judgements about these matters are decisive for how we construe students' ideas. For example, if students who claim that history is 'made up' or simply 'a matter of opinion' were correct, it would be odd to characterize ideas held by other students allowing history to 'go on' as more powerful. Alternatively, if students' historical ontology is confined to event-like entities, and colligatory concepts are assimilated to events, historians' accounts of the past may seem to be fixed by pre-given structures that they 'discover'.

Investigation of student assumptions about how historians make sense of the past offers the prospect of a better research-based understanding of the development of their ideas as to how historical accounts relate to the past and to each other, and of their thinking about the implications of the existence of rival and competing accounts of the past. In education, of course, students are offered a past already more or less organized into conventional chunks. It is therefore very important to make an attempt to uncover presuppositions regarding the status of colligatory concepts that students have already encountered in existing historical accounts. But we might also approach these matters in another way, by investigating how children and adolescents themselves attempt to organize passages of the past when they encounter them for the first time. How do they 'chunk' disparate elements into wholes? Do they recognize alternative possibilities?

An equally neglected cluster of research questions centres on the *cognitive dispositions* students must have acquired if they can be said to understand history as a way of making sense of the world. For example, in order to make historical judgements about the accounts they are offered in formal education or that they encounter in the wider world, it is not sufficient for students to be aware that such accounts cannot be construed as copies of the past, or must be congruent with relevant evidence. They *must also* have acquired commitments. They should not be content to plump for the most convenient or familiar account. More positively, they should show a genuine *disposition* to evaluate rival accounts in relation to the questions (implicit as well as explicit) that they claim to answer; to take into consideration their chosen scope in time and place; and to weigh their degree of success in explaining the evidence on which they rest.

Learning history is not just a matter of learning substantive history (knowing and understanding some 'content'), and neither is it simply a matter of acquiring key second-order concepts (understanding how historical knowledge is possible and how history 'works'). We can see this if we ask ourselves what we would say of anyone who claimed to know and understand history (in either or both senses) but was unashamed of making up whatever best suited his or her current wants or wishes. It would be similar to encountering someone who claimed to understand mathematics, but happily ignored its rules, or cared nothing for its standards of proof. As Froeyman states, 'We can regard the ideal

which guides the historian not as an obsession to discover the historical truth, but rather as the more general ideal of being a good historian' (2012: 431). What kind of dispositions are at stake? We should distinguish between

1. knowing that historical statements should be warranted (whether or not it is understood that the warrant for claims can be provided by valid arguments from and encompassing the available evidence);
2. having certain attitudes to truth and validity—caring whether statements are supported and, thus, credible, or not;
3. having a disposition to take steps to check or test whether a claim (or set of claims) is warranted or not—that is, a tendency to behave in certain appropriate ways in the presence of claims to knowledge.

It might be insisted that (2) must imply (3), or else (2) is empty. In many ways this is a fair repost, but in practice we must allow for the possibility that responses (whether in classroom or research tasks) might reveal students who adamantly assert that it matters that historians make warranted statements, vehemently dismiss any statement if they are told it is unsupported, but make no effort to check the warrant for statements with which they are presented even if the means of doing so is available to them.

Can we say anything about the acquisition of 'cognitive ethics' in history education? The initial answer must be that the empirical basis for any secure suggestions here is very thin. While there is a body of research investigating students' ideas about the truth or validity of singular factual statements and accounts in history, and also exploring conceptions of what makes a good explanation, there seems to be no work directly investigating the development of relevant dispositions.

However, we *can* use existing research on students' ideas about truth or validity in history to suggest *possible* 'cognitive attitudes', and from these *hypothesize* likely changes in dispositions. It seems reasonable to expect that both what might be called 'cognitive attitudes' (2) and 'cognitive dispositions' (3) will be qualified by the conceptual apparatus students have at their disposal. For example, if students' ideas about how we can know about the past are in general at a *testimony* level (that is, they believe that we can only know anything if someone, preferably an eye-witness, reports truthfully on what happened), it will be very difficult for them to think of how we might check the validity of an historical claim in the absence of a witness (see Table 28.2 below for a fuller—but speculative—example of possible cognitive attitudes to reading or telling history stories, based on research into students' ideas about historical accounts).

Nevertheless, we cannot assume that because students believe, for example, that historical accounts differ because historians make mistakes regarding matters of fact, those same students will automatically care whether either they or historians are careful in what they assert about the past in any particular historical argument or claim. Still less can we assume that the students will

have acquired a disposition to take steps to avoid such mistakes. Moreover, our ignorance works the other way around. We cannot even assume that a student who has never gone beyond ascribing difference in accounts to factual error will *not* show signs of unease in the face of accounts that exhibit partisanship. Reliable claims about relevant dispositions await research, and our caution should be still greater regarding the relationships between dispositions, which may turn out to be highly context dependent.

Empirical investigation of dispositions (3) will not be easy: pre-existing loyalties and standpoints may produce radically different practical commitment to the testing of truth and validity. One way to begin such research might appear to be to offer students stories which we expect to be irrelevant to their day-to-day prior loyalties, but nevertheless seem to them to pose interesting mysteries or puzzles. There are pitfalls in such a strategy, however. CHATA research which used the story of King Arthur as one approach to exploring students' concepts of historical evidence suggested that the story did indeed create interest, but that this led some students to subscribe to stories that fitted what they wanted to believe had happened (Ashby, 2005). Before we simply pounce on this as indicating something clear about their cognitive dispositions, we need to recognize that some measure of the 'attractiveness' of a story or hypothesis is required if we hope to develop instruments that can safely tell us anything about what dispositions have been acquired.

Table 28.4 presents the possible attitudes and dispositions related to the validity of historical accounts. For each level in the table: **Reading** refers to the assumptions about how we *should* read history likely to be adopted by students operating that level of the progression model; **Writing** refers to assumptions about how we *should* write history likely to be adopted by students operating at that level of the progression model; and **Disposition as behaviour** identifies behaviours that might count as evidence of a disposition to operationalize the cognitive values associated with each level that are likely to be adopted by students when asked to evaluate historical accounts.

Table 28.4 Possible attitudes and dispositions related to the validity of historical accounts

Level	*Probable assumptions and behaviours adopted by students operating at each level*
1. Accounts are just (given) stories	*We should listen or read carefully in case we get the story wrong.* [Reading] When we tell a history story we must get it right. [Writing] **Checks whether the story is accurately repeated**. [Disposition as behaviour]
2. Accounts fail to be copies of a past we cannot witness	*We should try to get the facts right, but because we can't be sure of anything: the best we can do is to decide which story we like. It might matter which we choose, because we may have to support one side, or not upset someone who believes one version*. [Reading] It is impossible to be sure that any history story we tell is true, so although we should try to get the facts right, all we can really do is give our opinion. [Writing] **Tests own opinion against wider loyalties/obligations**. [Disposition as behaviour]

(*continued*)

Table 28.4 (continued)

Level	*Probable assumptions and behaviours adopted by students operating at each level*
3. Accounts are accurate copies of the past, except for mistakes or gaps	*We should try to get the facts right. We should check for mistakes and gaps in case the writer did not know all the facts. We can check against books (like encyclopaedias) or by asking someone who knows.* [Reading] When we tell a history story we should check if we've got the facts right, although we might have to leave some gaps because no-one knows some facts. [Writing] **Checks against further authorities to fill gaps or eliminate errors**. [Disposition as behaviour]
4. Accounts may be distorted for ulterior motives	*We should find out what the writer's bias is, and try to stop it influencing us. We should look out for exaggerations, and especially for lies.* [Reading] When we tell a history story we should make sure we don't distort the facts and that our story is neutral (unbiased) by any point of view. [Writing] **Looks for partisanship in story and in writer**. [Disposition as behaviour]
5. Accounts are given from a (legitimate) personal viewpoint	*We should find out what point of view the writer has: what are his or her values and aims in writing the story. We need to know how this has affected the selection of what goes into the story.* [Reading] When we tell a history story we should be aware of our own point of view, and what we are interested in finding out, recognizing that not everybody shares our viewpoint or interests. But this does not mean we can be cavalier with the evidence. [Writing] **Checks writer's standpoint in relation to use of evidence and selection**. [Disposition as behaviour]
6. Accounts must answer questions and fit criteria	*We should check that we know what the account is trying to do: what questions it is and isn't answering, and what themes it purports to deal with.* *We should try to make explicit the criteria that are implied by the historian's choice of questions and themes.* *We should consider to what extent the account meets these criteria. In particular, we should ask whether it explains the evidence, is coherent, and addresses its questions and themes in a non-arbitrary way.* *We should ask how far different but related questions that might make things look different have been recognized or ignored.* [Reading] When we tell a history story we must be clear about what question we are asking, the themes that follow from it and the criteria it implies: we should recognize that other questions and themes are possible, and consider how they might relate to ours. We should check that our story indeed answers our questions, explains relevant evidence and is coherent and non-arbitrary. [Writing] **Assesses account against questions it addresses and attendant criteria; considers effect of different questions**. [Disposition as behaviour]

Possible Implications for Teaching

The dichotomy 'knowledge versus understanding' has proved to be a false one. Knowledge implies understanding of the grounds of historical claims. Good teaching has, then, to enable children and adolescents (even adults!) to understand *why* it is possible to have different accounts in history and to understand the standards that valid historical accounts must meet. The progress of his-

torical knowledge lies in the recognition of a plurality of alternatives. A key purpose of history education must, therefore, be to highlight the features of specific narratives and to relate these features to the facts that the narratives variously choose to highlight and foreground. As the Stanford History Education Group has argued (SHEG, n.d.):

> In the end, students should conclude that they don't have a simple, definitive answer about what happened. It is understandable if some students are uncomfortable with this. Many students have been taught that history is a single, true story about what happened in the past. Lessons can be devised for them to consider who writes history and how history is written—which requires a tolerance for uncertainty that many students haven't yet learned.

History education research is both basic and applied. It is basic because it addresses crucial issues in the epistemology of history and the ontology of the past. It is applied because its findings can be used to inform teaching that aims to foster genuine historical learning. The empirical models of progression that we have discussed are provisional, but nonetheless important. Because they draw our attention to preconceptions that students may be likely to hold, they allow teachers to plan learning in ways that can challenge students' thinking and avoid the assimilation of new conceptions to old, less powerful, and ideas that students already hold. As research develops a better understanding of students' preconceptions, it becomes easier for teachers to predict the kinds of misunderstandings they are likely to encounter, and to make decisions about which of these prior conceptions block new understandings and which can become foundations to build upon.

Research on students' assumptions and tacit understandings of history—or on what we might call their 'meta-historical thinking'—can have a range of uses. Thus, for example, understanding barriers to progression can make assessment and formative assessment for learning both more sensitive to the nuances of how children are thinking and more effective in helping teachers develop that thinking (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Perhaps most importantly, however, the findings of studies such as those that we have discussed can give us the confidence to be ambitious in teaching and, more broadly, in curriculum design. Whatever else these studies have shown, they have certainly demonstrated the sophistication with which some young people can approach knowing and understanding the past and, in doing so, demonstrated that school history can aim to do much more than simply to develop children as reservoirs of factual knowledge (Shemilt, 2009). Teachers and researchers alike have reasons to be cautiously optimistic, because, when surveyed using methodologies that interrogate understanding, rather than through simplistic quizzes and factual tests, students often reveal that they know a good deal about the past *and* about the discipline of history that can give this knowledge epistemic warrant and cognitive power.

History should be present in school curricula not because it can claim to develop social cohesion through the internalization of a particular national story or offer citizens a sense of belonging but because history has a privileged status in relation to any other sources of accounts of the past. This 'privilege' is important but limited. Historical ways of understanding the past are privileged only in relation to certain kinds of question. Such questions presuppose that no one can own the past or segments of it, and that any serious questions about the past may demand answers that run against our practical interests and deepest feelings. Practical questions whose answers order the past to suit out hopes and fears, comfort and share our wounds, or serve our practical interests of course remain legitimate. But if we let these control our understanding of the past, we are likely to misunderstand both the past and the very interests, hopes and fears that we seek to service. Moreover, 'the disposition to investigate and analyse the past from the perspective of possible futures is a key development in historical consciousness and one that transcends the all too common perception that "the past is dead and gone"' (Lee & Shemilt, 2009: 197).

Notes

1. The sample was limited to schools in the English county of Essex. The considerable impact on participating schools meant that it was an opportunity sample (schools and their history teachers had to be willing to accept researchers taking precious time over a period of several weeks). Essex was, however, in many respects, a typical, if large, local authority, and the project tried to ensure that the sample included students drawn from the full range of socio-economic status and ability, and that different types of schools, curriculum organization and teaching approaches were represented.
2. The 'Peterloo' Massacre took place in St Peter's Fields in Manchester in 1819. The event was so named in mockery of the troops involved (a reference to 'Waterloo').
3. The 'Ranters' were a group of religious radicals during the English Civil War of the mid-seventeenth century. They were notorious for swearing and inflammatory preaching ('ranting').
4. There are exceptions to this pattern. Significance was understood as an attribution (rather than as fixed property of the past) in the 2007 English National Curriculum (QCA/DfES, 2007).

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CHAPTER 29

Historical Reading and Writing in Secondary School Classrooms

Jeffery D. Nokes

Peek into any history classroom and you might encounter a wide range of reading and writing activities. In one class, students might be writing answers to questions on a worksheet while wandering the classroom viewing historical photographs hanging on the walls. In another class, students could be creating an outline of notes as they read a passage from their textbook. In a different setting, students might be reacting to a documentary video about a historical controversy by writing their opinion in a reflective journal. Students in another class might be listening to their peers give oral presentations that include projected images and written descriptions of historical events. Still others might be comparing the accounts given in two primary source documents in order to write a persuasive essay. Others could be filling out a graphic organizer as they listen to their teacher lecture. Most people would acknowledge that reading and writing are common in history classrooms. However, not all of the reading and writing that takes place there should be considered historical reading and writing. Instead, historical reading and writing are the literate acts of historians, replicated, to the extent possible, by students in history classrooms.

The twenty-first century dawns with unprecedented access to information, both historical and related to other fields. In an instant, a pocket-held electronic device can be used to find any historical fact taught in any secondary history classroom. The same device could also be used to access misinformation cleverly disguised as facts. Reading and writing in a digital Information Age require critical literacies that mirror to a great extent the reading and writing of historians. Although the comprehension of historical concepts remains a vital

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outcome of history instruction, the retention of trivial facts is less necessary than ever. Instead, the ability to judge the reliability of a source, the inclination to cross-check information, and the skills to persuade others that an interpretation is sound—all basic elements of historical reading and writing—have emerged as essential twenty-first century literacy skills. Wineburg explains, "Today our iPhone supplies … information in a split second. What our iPhones cannot do, however, is distinguish solid from spurious evidence, or discern a cogent argument from a stupefying cloud of smoke and mirrors" (Nokes, 2014: xii). The skills associated with historical reading and writing are not just helpful in building historical content knowledge, which indeed they are, but are essential literacies for surviving and thriving in the age of the Internet. Every student needs to be able to read and write like a historian to some extent.

Many reading researchers, particularly those interested in content area literacy, ground their work upon the theories of James Gee (1989). Gee explained the concept of a *discourse community*, a group of people who, because of their association and identification with each other, share common language norms, values, beliefs, and practices. He explained that discourse communities have unique epistemologies, acknowledged and valued texts, purposes for reading and writing, and norms for communicating. Using Gee's definition, historians make up a discourse community with distinctive ways of being, associating, reading, thinking, and writing. Likewise, secondary school classrooms develop into discourse communities, with successful students figuring out the expectations for being, reading, writing, and communicating. The thesis of this chapter is that there are benefits from tailoring reading and writing in history classes to match, to an extent that makes sense, the norms of historians. Students who participate within a historian-like discourse community reap rewards in terms of content, skill, and dispositional development.

In order to promote this idea, I will (a) consider the reading and writing norms of historians, (b) contrast conventional history classrooms with reconceptualized classrooms that more closely match the discourse community of historians, (c) summarize research on students' responses to instruction that promotes participation in a historian-like community and (d) provide suggestions for research.

Historians' Reading and Writing Norms

In order to recreate the discourse community of historians in secondary classrooms, teachers must consider *what* historians read and write, *how* historians read and write, and, most importantly, *why* historians read and write.

What *Historians Read and Write*

Historians read a wide variety of texts. Some travel to distant locations where they search archival repositories to gather evidence that will help them solve historical mysteries. Their hope is to discover primary sources, firsthand accounts, that are both reliable and relevant to their questions. Other historians conduct interviews of individuals who have personally experienced his-

torical events. Others pour through family papers, church records, land claim maps, old photographs, manuscript census forms, and ships' manifests in order to reconstruct family histories. A colleague of mine analyzes television programs from the 1950s and 1960s, comparing those produced on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. The types of texts historians read include a diverse array of evidence depending on the questions they seek to answer. The historian-philosopher Collingwood contended that "of all the things perceptible to [a historian] there is not one which he might not conceivably use as evidence on some question, if he came to it with the right question in mind" (1993: 247).

Should historians' analysis of non-written or even non-linguistic evidence be considered "reading?" Do historians "read" an oral history, a historic photograph, or a television program? Building upon Gee's notion of discourse communities, researchers of new-literacies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Kress, 2000) and of content area literacy agree that the notion of text should be defined broadly (Draper, Broomhead, Jensen, Nokes, & Siebert, 2010) to include the resources that are valued by practitioners within disciplines (Moje, 2008; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). In response to current literacy theories, then, the notion of historical reading should be expanded to include the analysis of any evidence. Because historians use such a wide array of linguistic and non-linguistic, and print and non-print texts, reading and writing in history involves much more than words on paper. Still, most historians privilege written primary sources above other resources. Even as the notion of reading is expanded, reading in the traditional sense maintains a highly valued position in history.

In addition to evidence and primary source accounts, historians read secondary sources, second-hand accounts produced by fellow historians. Historians read primary and secondary sources for different purposes. They use secondary sources to ground their research in the existing body of knowledge. In order to find the "gap on the book shelf" that their research will fill, historians must stay abreast of their colleagues' work. Additionally, secondary sources lead them to interesting questions and useful evidence. An awareness of secondary sources helps historians understand how they and their work fit into the discourse community of historians. To answer the question of *what* they read, then, historians engage in traditional reading, surveying the work of their colleagues as well as analyzing primary sources. In addition, they engage with non-traditional forms of text of a nearly limitless variety based upon their research interests and the available evidence.

Just as historians use a variety of types of evidence to answer historical questions, they create a number of different types of texts. Historians produce monographs, charts, maps, diagrams, visual presentations, journal articles, web sites, textbooks, lectures, and countless other products. Just as the notion of *reading* and *text* should be expanded, the notion of *writing* must also be considered more broadly to include all discipline-focused creations of historians (Draper et al., 2010).

Regardless of the specific format that historians' writing (defined broadly) assumes, their products generally include a mix of narration, description, and

persuasion or argumentation. Historians' writing includes the formulation and justification of an original research question; a review of research on similar questions, with a focus on the flaws or gaps that their current study intends to correct or fill; an explanation of the process used to gather and analyze evidence; the imaginative development of an interpretation; and the written explanation and defense of that interpretation (Gaddis, 2002). Further, in ongoing conversations with their peers, historians review (often in writing) one another's work. Thus, historians' writing integrates questioning, description, narration, critique, analysis, and persuasion.

In addition to the writing of professional historians, amateur historians (sometimes in consultation with historians) produce public histories. Public histories are intended for the general populace rather than for historian audiences. They include museum exhibits, historic building restorations and displays, historical fiction, movies set in the past, popular books, and other texts produced to entertain and/or nurture an awareness of heritage. Public histories often lack the academic rigor expected of professional historians. Though these texts are on the fringe of what is accepted by the discourse community of historians, because they are commonly encountered and are extremely influential (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Wineburg, 2007) historians remain aware (and usually critical) of them.

To summarize, historians write not only traditional types of texts in the form of monographs and articles, but they also produce lectures, visual presentations, maps, diagrams, and many other genres of text. Much historical reading and writing, especially that of professional historians, involves the construction and defense of evidence-based interpretations of past events (De La Paz, 2005; De La Paz & Felton, 2010; De La Paz, Ferretti, Wissinger, Yee, & MacArthur, 2012; Foster & Yeager, 1999; Levstik & Barton, 2015; Monte-Sano, 2008, 2010). Public histories, often produced by amateur historians, provide an additional example of historical writing.

How *Historians Read and Write*

As mentioned, the discourse community of historians has guidelines for reading and writing—guidelines that are generally taught implicitly to history graduate students. Because the reading strategies that historians use are rarely discussed explicitly and often become automatic (i.e. used without conscious awareness), as historians mature in their careers they have a difficult time explaining to non-historians how they read and write. Wineburg reported, "as a guild, historians have been uncharacteristically tight-lipped about how they [work with historical texts]" (2001: 63). This is not because they are secretive or exclusive, but in large part because they do not spend a great deal of time worrying about the historical thinking of people outside their discourse community. However, a few non-historians have investigated how historians read.

The psychologist, Sam Wineburg (1991), pioneered research on historians' reading. He found that they use three heuristics for making sense of written

evidence. First, they pay attention to the source of each document, noting the text type (e.g. textbook, journal, deposition, or novel); the author(s) (including their position, involvement, potential biases, etc.); the audience; the timing of the text production in relation to the events it describes; and the perceived purpose of the text. Historians comprehend the text's content with the source in mind, reading, for example, a transcript of a defendant's court testimony differently than they would a private diary entry or the transcript of a government official's press conference. Second, historians keep the context in mind as they read, considering the physical and social milieu surrounding both the event and the production of the account. In their mind's-eye they might selectively imagine an election year motivation, racist undercurrents, the weather conditions during a battle, a policy-maker's religious background, or other relevant contextual factors that influence an author's perspective and a document's content. Third, historians compare and contrast across documents, noting and trying to explain both similarities and differences. No nugget of information, no matter how important to their argument, is accepted without cross-checking it against other evidence. Wineburg concluded that these three heuristics for making sense of historical texts, *sourcing*, *contextualization*, and *corroboration*, form the foundation of historical reading.

Other researchers have added to the list of reading strategies historians use, particularly for working with non-linguistic evidence. Baron (2012), who studied historians' analysis of historical sites, identified their use of *origination*, a strategy that blends sourcing and contextualization in a manner that is more appropriate for analysis of places; *Intertectonality*, which, similar to corroboration, involves comparing a historic building with others built in a similar time for similar purposes; *stratification*, which involves considering how an object in continuous use must be understood in terms of contextual strata, or how it has been used and altered in different eras; and *supposition*, the consideration of absent evidence. Other researchers highlight historians' use of *perspective taking* (Lee & Ashby, 2001; Levstik, 2001) or *historical empathy* (Baron, 2012; Davis, Yeager, & Foster, 2001; Lee, 2005), the imaginative process of viewing circumstances as a historical character would. Historians imaginatively fill in gaps in evidence with logical inferences (Collingwood, 1993), are skeptical about interpretations, and remain open to new evidence that is constantly being uncovered (Britt, Rouet, Georgi, & Perfetti, 1994). Historical reading involves the integrated use of these specialized reading strategies. In keeping with Gee's (1989) research, historians have their own ways of reading.

In addition to reading strategies historians employ, researchers have theorized about the cognitive processes involved in constructing historical understandings from texts. These theories are based upon a model of narrative reading, proposed by Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983). They suggest that as a reader encounters a text he develops a *text base* that captures the passage's literal meaning, and a *situation model* that preserves the narrative as understood by the reader—the story taking shape in the reader's mind. The situation model emerges as the text base interacts with the reader's background knowledge.

Some researchers have proposed that historical reading shares some processes and outcomes with narrative reading, notably the text base and the situation model. However, acknowledging that reading multiple, contradictory, fragmented, and conflicting accounts is more complex than reading a single narrative, Wineburg (1994) and Britt and her colleagues (1994) propose two ways of conceptualizing historical reading. Wineburg (1994) suggests that in addition to the text base and situation model, readers construct a *documents model*, which captures their assessment of the reliability and usefulness of various accounts. Additionally, Wineburg suggests that mature historical readers construct *hypothetical situation models*—alternative narratives that are simultaneously retained in case newly encountered evidence requires the reader to modify an emerging interpretation. Exposure to new evidence might lead an individual to make minor changes to a situation model, to add details, or to replace a situation model altogether by what had previously been a hypothetical situation model. Readers iteratively use their situation model(s) to evaluate and filter new accounts to which they are exposed and use new accounts to test, revise, and/or refine their situation model(s).

Britt and her colleagues also contend that a single situation model is insufficient when working with historical evidence (Britt et al., 1994). Instead, they contend that readers must construct separate representations of what each author has stated, keeping in mind the agreements and disagreements across texts. A mature reader's cognitive representation of texts acknowledges each source of information and the interrelationship between the evidence and arguments they bring to a historical controversy. An accomplished reader notices the arguments made by authors as they integrate facts, evidence, and claims within their accounts. A skilled historian constructs an integrated *argument model* that pulls together factual reports, personal opinions, and evidence from multiple sources. Thus, the construction of an argument model requires the ability to understand arguments made by each single author and to synthesize arguments into an interpretive evaluation of the arguments made by each author.

Needless to say, both models show that historical reading can strain the limits of an individual's working memory, particularly a novice who is trying to learn the ins and outs of historical thinking as she engages with evidence and explores previously unfamiliar content (Nokes, 2011). Of course, historians do not spend a great deal of time thinking about how they are doing all of this—they just do it. Psychologists and literacy researchers are the designers of these models of reading. Still, historians judge their colleagues' work based upon whether norms for reading have been followed.

Although some aspects of the writing processes can be inferred from historians' products, how historians write has not been studied as extensively as their reading. Young and Leinhardt contrast students' writing with historians' unique *knowledge transforming* arguments, explanations, and descriptions. They suggest that historians use "rhetorical strategies of the disciplinary genre to transform disparate pieces of information into a coherent argument" (1998: 29). These rhetorical strategies include using *evidence-supported claims*,

evidence-based rebuttals of opposing claims, and the systematic *use of documents* through paraphrasing and/or direct quotation in order to support claims (De La Paz & Felton, 2010). In spite of some awareness of these tactics, the writing process of historians remains somewhat unexplored. Though we can infer that historians' writing is purposeful, audience-driven, and argumentative, the specific heuristics historians use to write have not been studied extensively and represent a topic for future research.

Why *Historians Read and Write*

Historians read and write to answer questions, to construct new knowledge, to develop richer and more accurate interpretations of past events, and to share their work with others. Historians sometimes share their products with students, legislative committees, or television or radio audiences, but their most valued writing is produced for fellow historians, who provide a critical review based upon disciplinary standards, then initiate new studies in response. Through this dialogical process, historians establish and maintain the standards for research, publishing, and success within their discourse community. Their work inspires additional questions and research by their colleagues.

The questions historians address deal with issues that have been ignored, answered inadequately, or answered incorrectly by their peers. To start with, historians must determine what, in the vastness of the past, is significant enough to be studied. Their reading often begins by exploring what other historians have written. Once determined, they must persuade their colleagues that certain questions are worth asking. Their writing often begins with this goal in mind. Thus, historians' research is intended to initiate or contribute to an ongoing dialogue with fellow historians. Their reading and writing cannot be understood without considering the discourse community that creates the context for their work.

Historians' questions shape the manner in which they go about finding answers. Questions worth asking do not have answers that can be "googled" or found intact online. Historians must gather evidence from many sources to construct answers that they know will be interrogated by their peers. No relevant piece of evidence can be ignored if the historian is to meet disciplinary norms. Historians read as they analyze the evidence and write as they take notes and conceive and develop their interpretations. The purposes of their reading and writing revolve around their long-term goals of formulating an evidence-based interpretation and defending their ideas against their peers' critical reviews (Gaddis, 2002).

The purpose of historians' questions also shapes the manner in which they share their answers. Although historians often produce an engaging narrative with rich descriptions of people and events, a historian's success with colleagues depends upon argumentation and persuasion. The historian must persuade her peers that others have ignored or mishandled the questions she addresses. The historian must convince others that she has been thorough in searching for

evidence. She must prove to her peers that her analysis meets disciplinary standards using (though generally not speaking explicitly about them) the analytical strategies described above. The historian must convince her peers that evidence that contradicts her interpretations has been considered fairly and not simply dismissed. Finally, the historian must persuade others that her conclusions are justified and that they represent a contribution to the field. Maps, charts, diagrams, and visual aids are often created for this purpose. Historians' reading and writing, from start to finish, is intended to create a product that will contribute to historians' dialogue on a question of interest by persuasively introducing a fresh interpretation. Historians' reading and writing, then, represents participation in a dialogue within the discourse community of historians. This is *why* historians read and write.

Reconceptualized Secondary History Classrooms

History classes in secondary schools, like historians, form a discourse community, with students—especially successful students—adopting the expected ways of being, associating, reading, thinking, and writing. The norms in conventional history classrooms differ from those of historians, including the epistemic stance learners take, the texts that are privileged, the roles of various participants, and the purposes for reading and writing. Classroom activities, assignments, interactions, and assessments reinforce these norms. The purpose of this section is to reconceptualize history classrooms where reading and writing matches, to an extent that is reasonable, the norms of the discourse community of historians. Table 29.1 summarizes how history teachers might re-imagine their classrooms as places where students read and write *what*, *how*, and *why* historians read and write.

To begin, students must assume a historian-like epistemic stance, counter to the norms of most history classrooms (Bain, 2005; VanSledright, 2002). Students must understand that history is not a single narrative of the past. Instead, they must begin to see history as interpretations of past events that have been constructed from evidence. Students' reimagined role in learning history is not merely to commit to memory a canonized narrative, but to construct evidence-based interpretations of the past. Until students begin to understand the nature of history, they cannot participate in a historian-like discourse community. Additionally, students must begin to see texts in a new light. In conventional classrooms, texts are typically used to convey information to students, which they accept at face value and attempt to commit to memory as-is (Paxton, 1997). In contrast, historians view texts either as evidence or as interpretative accounts. The historian critiques the texts and accepts and/or rejects their content. Students cannot participate in a historian-like discourse community unless they view historical texts not as conveyors of information but as evidence or interpretive accounts.

Additionally, the instructional objectives in reconceptualized classrooms differ from those in conventional classes. Traditionally, history instruction

Table 29.1 Reading and writing in conventional history classrooms and in reconceptualized classrooms

	Conventional classroom	*Reconceptualized classroom*
Nature of learning history	Committing to memory the canonized narrative of what happened in the past. The narrative is transmitted from teacher/text to student.	Students using evidence to construct, share, and defend interpretations of the past that are open to criticism, alternative perspectives, and reinterpretation. Content learned during exploration.
Instructional objectives	Retention of vast historical information and comprehension of historical concepts.	Retention of historical concepts and metaconcepts; building of historical reading, writing, and thinking skills; development of critical dispositions.
Type of texts	Textbooks and expository texts. Limited use of primary sources as illustrations.	Primary and secondary sources and artifacts representing multiple perspectives. Cautious and critical use of textbooks.
Role of texts	Convey information.	Evidence useful to answer historical questions and/or accounts that share interpretations.
Role of teacher	Provide information, help students manage information, assess students' recall of information.	Model authentic questioning, provide background knowledge and evidence, nurture historical thinking skills, guide students' research, and assess students' content knowledge and historical thinking skills.
Role of students	Absorb information through lectures or reading assignments, understand and manage information, retain information.	Ask questions; skillfully weigh evidence; develop, explain, and defend interpretations; critique others' ideas. Construct conceptual and metaconceptual understandings.
Purpose of writing/ speaking	Display historical content knowledge, and sometimes apply historical concepts to current issues.	Argue a claim based on the skillful use of evidence and content knowledge, review peers' interpretations, and apply historical concepts to current issues.
Role of assessments	Measure and provide feedback on students' mastery of instructional objectives (see above).	Measure and provide feedback on students' mastery of instructional objectives (see above).

focuses almost exclusively on the survey of vast historical information, with some teachers nurturing students' understanding of substantive concepts (such as *revolution*, *democracy*, and *reform*). In reconceptualized classrooms, teachers replace some instructional objectives associated with transmitting historical information with instruction on historians' reading, thinking, and writing. Instructional objectives continue to include important concepts, but also include metaconcepts—ideas associated with historical thinking rather than historical content (such as *evidence*, *causation*, and *account*) (Lee, 2005; van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008). In reconceptualized classrooms, teachers instruct students *how* and *why* historians read, giving them ample opportunities to practice working with *what* historians read. Additionally, teachers nurture in their students critical dispositions such as curiosity, healthy skepticism, and a

demand for evidence. As objectives change, so must assessments. Educators and educational researchers are discovering that it is much more difficult to assess students' mastery of skills and dispositions than it has been to assess their content knowledge (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; VanSledright, 2014).

Further, historians base their work, in large part, upon their relationships with their colleagues. The primary purpose of their communication is to participate in this dialogue with fellow historians. In contrast, in conventional classrooms students rarely have deep, sustained dialogue with their peers about originally developed ideas. The most important academic relationship for students is with their teacher, who is generally the only evaluator of their work. The teacher is the sole audience for their writing and the individual whose feedback means the most to students' academic success. In reimagined classrooms, students' independently developed, evidence-based interpretations are subject to peer review. During debriefing sessions at the conclusion of document-based activities students are called upon to defend their conclusions both orally and in writing (Reisman, 2012). Writing and speaking are not simply meant to display the retention of facts or to express their opinion, as in conventional classrooms, but to persuasively defend their interpretations as a historian would. Classmates are expected to critically review their peers' ideas. History classrooms provide an ideal setting to recreate, at the level of sophistication possible, a historian-like discourse community with students developing, defending, and evaluating historical interpretations. Admittedly, little research has been conducted on the effectiveness of classrooms that recreate this historian-like discourse community (Reisman, 2012; VanSledright, 2002).

The thought of converting classrooms into these reconceptualized discourse communities might seem overwhelming. However, such a change might involve only minor modifications to the activities already being used. If, for instance, a teacher normally has students create an outline as they read a passage from their textbook, he could follow up by providing a primary source that gives an alternative perspective. Students could then go back through their outline notes and highlight with different colors the information that was common to both accounts, disagreements between accounts, and information found in only one account but not the other. Students could then discuss and explain the differences between the accounts. After attempting to write a synthesized account, students could critique one another's ideas about how best to fuse the two perspectives. By making this addition to the lesson, the textbook will have assumed a different role, becoming just one of many accounts. Students too assume a different role—critiquing rather than merely gleaning information from their textbook. And peers assume a new role as they exchange ideas in a critical dialogue. The historical content is constructed as it is debated, becoming a by-product of an activity that is designed to nurture sourcing, corroboration, and healthy skepticism. The call to reconceptualize history instruction is not a demand to discard current practices but to make minor or major changes that will create a more historian-like discourse community in the classroom.

Secondary Students' Responses to Instruction on Historical Reading and Writing

My contention from the start of this chapter is that students who participate within a historian-like discourse community reap rewards in terms of content, skill, and dispositional development. This assertion is based on two notions. First, conventional instruction that focuses exclusively on content coverage through textbook study and lecture has historically yielded little long-term learning. Research of nearly a century laments students' poor retention of historical facts (Bell & McCollum, 1917; Romano, 2011). And modern studies have shown that without instruction on historical reading and writing, students do not develop historical reading, thinking, or writing skills (Braaksma, Van Drie, & Van Boxtel, 2015; Nokes, Dole, & Hacker, 2007). Additionally, conventional history instruction is uninspiring, boring, and unmemorable (Rosenzweig, 2000; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). Second, research on unconventional instruction that nurtures historical reading and writing shows the positive impact of such methods. This section will summarize some of that research.

Much research has been conducted on students' historical thinking, with ground-breaking study beginning in the United Kingdom by Ashby, Lee, and Shemilt (2005) and continuing with Van Drie and Van Boxtel in the Netherlands (2008) and Seixas and his colleagues' work in Canada (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Meanwhile, Wineburg (1991, 1998), Barton and Levstik (2004), VanSledright (2002) and numerous others have added insights from the United States. Historical reading and writing assume a prominent if not central position in nearly all studies on historical thinking. Based upon the foundation of research on historical thinking, a growing body of research is shedding light on the way students work with historical evidence and is leading to instructional procedures that improve students' ability to read and write like historians.

In this section, I will consider four fields of research: (a) what students do with historical texts without instruction, (b) the impact of historical reading instruction on students, (c) the impact of historical writing instruction on students, and (d) inviting students to participate in a historian-like discourse community.

What Students Do With Historical Texts Without Instruction

As mentioned, Wineburg (1991) conducted a pioneering study on historical reading. The historians and high school students in his study engaged in think aloud protocols while using a number of texts to evaluate three paintings of the Battle of Lexington. Wineburg carefully selected texts that represented a range of resources used to learn about history including primary sources, a textbook passage, and historical fiction. Gee's (1989) treatise on discourse communities

makes Wineburg's findings unsurprising though important. The students read like students, favoring the textbook, reading to absorb information, and feeling uncertain about what to do with conflicting facts—a dilemma never encountered when reading textbooks or listening to lectures. In contrast, historians read like historians, favoring primary sources and reading to participate in an imagined dialogue. Historical reading was contingent upon understanding the task, the purpose of reading, and the nature of history as a discipline, understanding the students, in the absence of instruction, did not possess.

Students' blind acceptance of written content has been documented by other researchers. Paxton (1997) analyzed students' cognitive processes when reading conventional textbook accounts or revised accounts that included a "visible" author. He concluded that conventional textbook accounts lead students to view historical reading and writing as a process of "skilled plagiarism"—simply gathering and retelling information about the past with little room for interpretation, revision or unique insights. Interestingly, revised textbook accounts that were written in first person, addressed the reader directly or indirectly, admitted uncertainty, offered evaluations of ideas, or used other metadiscourse, more frequently inspired young readers to form a mental representation of the author, ask questions, make connections, and critique authorial ideas—precisely the types of things historians do as they read (Paxton, 1997).

That the nature of the text can inspire more historian-like reading, even without instruction, was also the conclusion of Wiley and Voss (1996, 1999), who, in a series of studies, found that students who were assigned to write argumentative essays after reading multiple accounts produced more sophisticated essays than their peers who wrote from a single source or who wrote reactions or summaries. However, research shows that students spontaneously use historians' reading strategies only rarely and under ideal circumstances. More commonly, students only use historians' heuristics when they are taught them explicitly and are given numerous opportunities to practice.

Researchers have studied students' responses to different formats of textual evidence in the absence of instruction on historians' heuristics. For example, Seixas (1993) investigated high school students' analysis of feature films set in historical eras. He found that students judged films by their quality, "realism," and conformity to modern values rather than their historical accuracy or reflection of historic norms. Others researchers found that when high school students are asked to evaluate the reliability of different types of sources they doubt the trustworthiness of feature films (understanding that films blend fact with fiction) but subsequently accept and use information from films without reservation (Marcus, Paxton, & Meyerson, 2006). Others have tracked students' development of strategies for analyzing photographs, finding that maturing students increasingly use clues to identify the time period when a photograph was taken, and to consider the photographer's purposes (Foster, Hoge, & Rosch, 1999). These same researchers found that a young person's background knowledge played a central role to their ability to make inferences about the lives of the people shown in photographs. Further research is needed

on the way students respond to various other genres of historical evidence. In general, across genres and across ages, students struggle to engage in historical reading and writing when they have not been taught explicitly how to do so.

Historical Reading Instruction

There is a growing body of research showing the positive impact of explicit instruction of historians' reading strategies on students both in terms of content and skill development. For instance, my colleagues and I investigated the effects of different formats of classroom instruction intended to teach sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization to high school students (Nokes et al., 2007). After one month, students who had participated in ten lessons (which included instruction on historians' heuristics with opportunities to practice with primary sources) employed sourcing and corroboration significantly more frequently than their peers who had received conventional instruction during the same period. It turned out that contextualization was more difficult for students to employ. Results of this and other studies show that students begin to use more sophisticated historical reading strategies when they are taught to do so in both classroom and computer-based environments (Britt, Perfetti, Van Dyke, & Gabrys, 2000). Reisman (2012) replicated these results in a larger study of 236 11th-grade students during an extended intervention involving frequent document-based activities and explicit instruction on historical reading, thinking, and writing. She found that such instruction improved students' general reading abilities, led to superior content retention, and nurtured students' historical reading, thinking, and writing. Her research demonstrated the vital link between students' use of historians' heuristics and their improved historical writing.

Historical Writing Instruction

Young and Leinhardt (1998) contend that students' writing often takes the form of a "memory dump" during which they simply tell what they know about the subject—a process described in general writing research as *knowledge telling* (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1987). This may result, in part, because many students fail to understand the nature of history and, subsequently do not comprehend an assigned historical writing task (Greene, 1993). Students' immature epistemic stance, reinforced by conventional, content-focused history instruction, helps account for their familiarity with school writing (for which a memory dump is satisfactory) rather than historical writing. However, Young and Leinhardt observed one Advanced Placement US History class over the course of a school year, paying particular attention to the way students' writing changed in response to historical writing instruction and opportunities to practice. They found that after four chances to write analytical essays using multiple pieces of historical evidence, and given feedback on each essay, students began to write more like historians.

In a series of studies spanning a decade, Susan De La Paz and her colleagues have investigated the results of explicit historical reading and writing instruction on students' writing. She found that eighth-grade students of varying academic abilities wrote more historically accurate and persuasive essays after receiving instruction on historical reasoning and persuasive writing (De La Paz, 2005). In a later study, she and a colleague showed that explicit writing strategy instruction, during which teachers (a) explained the valued features of historical writing, (b) provided models of exemplary writing, (c) thought aloud during the planning and revising processes, (d) provided reminders of key steps in the writing process, (e) allowed students to work in groups before working alone, and (f) gave opportunities for practice, resulted in significant improvements of 11th-grade students' writing (De La Paz & Felton, 2010). Following up on these studies, Braaxsma et al. (2015) found that instruction that focused on specific historical writing skills made a difference in 11th-grade students' use of metaconcepts in historical reasoning. General writing instruction made no such difference. Their findings make it doubtful that Language Arts teachers, lacking disciplinary expertise, are qualified to nurture students' historical writing. It is up to history teachers to do this.

Researchers have discovered common errors students make when attempting to write like a historian. For example, when attempting to support a claim with evidence, some students draw on sources indiscriminately by citing strong and weak accounts with equal confidence (Monte-Sano, 2008). These findings demonstrate the reading/writing connection, with students' writing woes stemming from poor reading practices. Further, rather than allowing their interpretation to emerge from the evidence, many students establish their interpretation intuitively and subsequently seek support from the documents for their predetermined opinion (Monte-Sano, 2008). Students who have a difficult time understanding documents form their interpretation based on prior experience and everyday knowledge rather than the evidence they cannot comprehend (De La Paz et al., 2012). In spite of these common errors, eighth and 11th-grade students exhibited basic argumentative writing skills upon which teachers could build more sophisticated historical argumentation (De La Paz et al., 2012). There is substantial research showing the positive impact of historical writing instruction on students, both mainstream students and students with disabilities (Bouck, Englert, Heutsche, & Okolo, 2008).

Students in a Historian-Like Discourse Community

Unlike the growing body of research on the response of individual students to instruction on historical reading and writing, little has been done to study efforts to create a historian-like discourse community in classrooms or to investigate peer interaction during document-based activities. Two studies have begun to explore these questions. After working to foster the historical reading, thinking, and writing skills of a fifth-grade class for a year, VanSledright (2002) found that students' immature epistemological stance often interfered

with meaningful discussions on historical evidence. He argued that the focus on the literal comprehension of authorial meaning in elementary instruction impeded students' ability to understand history as a discipline. These findings were replicated in a study I conducted a few years ago (Nokes, 2014). When I asked fifth-grade students at the start of the school year where history came from, I was met with puzzled looks. When I followed up with questions about what they would see if they followed a historian around for a day, most of these youngsters had no idea. Some believed historians spend their time listening to lectures, watching the History Channel, or browsing the Internet, particularly Wikipedia. They saw historians recycling stories about the past without contributing anything new. In short, they projected school-like discourse standards onto the work of historical inquiry. Encouragingly, by the end of the school year, after weekly document-based lessons, explicit instruction on the nature of history, and many class discussions around historical evidence, the majority of these same fifth graders described historians traveling to archives to search for primary source documents, puzzling over artifacts and other evidence, thinking about the source of the evidence they analyzed, or working like a detective to figure out what happened in the past. They had a better understanding not only of what historians do, but also of the nature of historical inquiry. This understanding placed them in a better position to make interpretations and to think critically about their classmates' ideas during document-based lessons.

Suggestions for Future Research

Almost 25 years after Wineburg's (1991) pioneering study on historians' and students' historical reading, there are a number of important questions still unanswered about teaching history. For example, although Monte Sano (2008), De La Paz (2005), and other researchers have studied the teaching of historical writing, little has been done to investigate historians' writing processes. Do historians use heuristics when writing—heuristics that might be taught to students? Perhaps observing historians complete an abbreviated writing activity might reveal specific writing strategies that they use.

Additionally, during document-based lessons, students frequently interact in groups. Teachers have students work in groups to support each other through this challenging cognitive work. Because historical reading, thinking, and writing within this setting become a social process, it may provide an opportunity to foster the social literacies of historians. However, these social literacies have never been researched. How do historians read interactively, and do they use strategies that might be taught to students? Because historians view reading and writing in terms of their relationships with other historians—they read and write to participate in a dialogue—work must be done to research their social literacies. Additionally, studies could be conducted on the social literacies of students in classrooms where historical thinking is practiced. What does peer review look like in a secondary history classroom and what should it look like?

Currently, all research on historical reading and writing has focused on individual cognition, ignoring the social aspects of reading, thinking, and writing.

Additionally, as the objectives of history teaching change so must the assessments. Some good work on the assessment of historical reading and writing is being conducted (Erckican & Seixas, 2015; Seixas, Gibson, & Ercikan, 2015; Smith & Breakstone, 2015; VanSledright, 2014). However, much more needs to be done to develop reliable and valid assessments that are practical for teachers and researchers. The assessment of historical reading and writing is in great need of further research as the objectives of history teaching expand to include historian-like reading, thinking, and writing.

Increasing accessibility to information and misinformation makes historical reading and writing essential, not just for historians but for all members of society. Creating a discourse community within secondary history classrooms that recognizes and values what, how, and why historians read and write fosters historical literacy. Further research on historians' writing strategies, social reading within historical contexts, and the assessment of historical literacies will help teachers create classrooms where reading and writing follow disciplinary norms.

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CHAPTER 30

Engaging Students in Historical Reasoning: The Need for Dialogic History Education

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Historical reasoning is nowadays an important aim of history education. Students learn how they can construct or evaluate a historical reasoning, using historical concepts, evidence and argumentation (e.g., Leinhardt, Stainton, Virji, & Odoroff, 1994; Lévesque, 2008; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2010). This also implies that students need to learn 'the language of history' (cf. Lemke, 1990). In line with social-cultural theory, we consider learning as entering a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In this process 'language use' is the medium to participate in such communities. To be able to use the appropriate language and to know when, how, and why to use it, characterizes the language user as a member of the community. In school history, the main aim of engaging students in historical reasoning is to participate in an important cultural practice of societies. The ability to reason and think historically empowers students to understand social life in the past and present and is important for participating in a democratic society (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Kuhn, Weinstock, & Flaton, 1994; Rüsen, 2005).

In order to learn the language of history, during history lessons students should be offered opportunities to use this language and practice historical reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). A classroom, in which the teacher does most of the talking, presents 'ready-made' narratives and funnels students' responses toward a pre-defined answer, is not suitable to engage students in historical reasoning. It is often suggested that historical reasoning can be enhanced

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by historical inquiry activities using primary sources (e.g., Nokes, 2013; Voss & Wiley, 2006; Wineburg, 2001). The underlying idea is that students learn history by doing history using the strategies and meta-concepts that are characteristic for the discipline. We agree with these pleas for historical inquiry in the classroom. However, at the same time, we think that engaging students in 'source work' is not sufficient to develop students' historical reasoning ability. All activities in the classroom, individual work, group work and whole-class discussions should be part of a collective endeavor to investigate, to think and to reason in order to reach historical understanding and develop and discuss new questions.

A promising approach to improve historical reasoning is dialogic teaching. Through dialogic teaching, teachers try to create collective and supportive classroom talk and promote higher order contributions of students, including explanations, justifications and hypothesis-generation (Alexander, 2008). Dialogic teaching focuses on learning to think in a context of multiple perspectives and uncertainty. This skill is not only relevant for historical understanding, but also particularly in globalizing and increasingly diverse societies (Grever, 2012; Nordgren & Johansson, 2015; Wegerif, 2013). Research reveals positive effects of dialogic teaching for language and general reasoning skills (Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Nystrand, 2006), but also shows that most classroom-interaction is not dialogic. In addition, in a design-based study, Hilliard (2013) found that history students who were most actively engaged in dialogical peer interaction improved most on argumentative essay writing.

In this contribution, we argue that *dialogic* history teaching is a powerful approach to engage students in historical reasoning and to develop the ability to reason historically. We will first present our conceptualization of historical reasoning and elaborate on dialogic teaching. We will explain the potential of dialogic education to engage students in and develop the capacity of historical reasoning and illustrate this with some examples.

Historical Reasoning in the Classroom

Historical scholarship is a rich practice of reading, thinking, discussing and writing. Paul (2011) argues that philosophers of history should study this 'scholarship in action', in order to answer the question what historians do when they perform their research. How historians read, think, discuss and write is also of interest to history education researchers. Several scholars argued that historical *thinking* or *reasoning* is a key aspect of doing history (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2004; Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Schreiber, Körber, Von Borries, Krammer, & Leutner-Ramme, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2012; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2010). We use the term historical reasoning because it is an activity (reasoning as a process) and an outcome (the reasoning that is constructed) that we can more easily identify in students' speech or writing in the classroom. A reasoning contains statements in which historical phenomena are interrelated and arguments that support those statements.

But what does historical reasoning looks like in the classroom? We define historical reasoning in the classroom, in speech and writing, by specifying the *type* of reasoning that is constructed and the *activities* that together constitute the reasoning. Based upon literature on how experts in the field of history think and reason, empirical research literature on how students reason about the past and our own analyses of students' reasoning in the classroom (in written products, but also in small groups and whole-class discussions), we identified three types and six components of historical reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). Historical reasoning can involve the analysis and evaluation of patterns of continuity and change over time; the identification, analysis and evaluation of causes and consequences of historical phenomena and the actions of people in the past or the comparison of historical developments and phenomena across place, time or different societies. In order to construct a historical reasoning one (a) asks historical questions, (b) connects events, developments and actions of people in the past to specific circumstances and characteristics of time, place and broader developments (contextualization), (c) uses substantive historical concepts (facts, concepts and chronology) and (d) meta-concepts (and related strategies) of history, (e) puts forward claims supported with arguments which are (f) based on evidence from critically evaluated sources. When constructing a reasoning one does not only construct temporal and causal relations, but also needs to make a case for assertions about change and continuity, causes and consequences or differences and communalities. A historical argument is developed through analysis and critical evaluation of other historical interpretations and historical evidence (see also Monte-Sano & De La Paz, 2012).

Whether or not and how students engage in historical reasoning is shaped by their interest, substantive and meta-conceptual knowledge and beliefs about history (Van Boxtel, 2014; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013). Students must be motivated to better understand a particular historical phenomenon and feel a need to engage in reasoning. Experts have a well-developed interest in the domain and therefore intrinsic motivation to explore possible explanations, analyze aspects of change and continuity and make comparisons. Most students, however, do not have this intrinsic motivation in history, so their historical interest needs to be triggered. This situational interest enhances the asking of historical questions which can be considered an engine of historical reasoning (Logtenberg, Van Boxtel, & Van Hout-Wolters, 2011). Students' interest in history is also shaped by their identity (e.g., Grever, Haydn, & Ribbens, 2008). Research showed that students' identity influences their perception of the significance of historical issues, the way they evaluate and interpret historical evidence and construct a historical argumentation (see Goldberg, Schwarz, & Porat, 2008).

Several scholars have pointed out that second-order or meta-concepts of history, such as evidence, cause and historical significance, provide the basis of historical thinking and reasoning (e.g., Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Limón, 2002; Seixas & Morton, 2012; VanSledright, 2010). A deeper understanding of causation in history, for example, supports the ability to analyze causes and

consequences. Although in literature on historical thinking and reasoning, it is commonly acknowledged that content knowledge is important for historical reasoning, it still is somewhat neglected in research on historical thinking and reasoning. The acquisition of knowledge of historical facts, concepts and chronology, should not be an end in itself, but students must be able to productively use this knowledge to analyze processes of change and continuity, explain and compare. It is only on the basis of profound (instead of superficial) knowledge that students can construct such reasoning. In history, for example, colligatory concepts, such as the Renaissance or the Cold War, are often used to interpret processes of change and continuity and to make comparisons between historical phenomena and periods. Although these abstract concepts are difficult to appropriate for students, they are powerful tools for historical thinking and reasoning. Furthermore, the way students' substantive knowledge is framed, for example in a national 'grand narrative' or a narrative of progression, will also shape students' reasoning and the ability to critically analyze the reasoning of others.

Finally, development of more sophisticated epistemological beliefs can enhance historical reasoning. Students differ in their beliefs about the complexity of historical knowledge, the source of and certainty of this knowledge, and whether there can be competing interpretations attempting to explain the same historical phenomenon. These epistemological beliefs affect learning and reasoning (e.g., Mason & Boscolo, 2004). For example, students who believe that knowledge consists of interconnected ideas (rather than a disconnected series of facts) better understand texts presenting alternative positions on controversial ideas (Kardash & Scholes, 1996). Kuhn and Weinstock (2002) described how students move from the idea that assertions about the past are copies of reality and are either correct or incorrect facts (realist or absolutist epistemology) to the idea that assertions are opinions (multiplist epistemology), and finally to the idea that assertions are judgments based on weighing arguments (evaluativist epistemology). Recently, in the domain of history, it is argued that students' epistemological beliefs affect their ability and inclination to reason historically (Havekes et al., 2012; Maggioni et al., 2009; VanSledright & Limón, 2006). When students perceive history as 'what happened in the past' and not as an interpretation and an answer to the questions we ask, it doesn't make much sense to engage in critical examination of historical sources and historical argumentation. In a lesson unit meant to enhance students' causal historical reasoning, we tried to define the implications of different epistemic stances (Stoel et al., 2015). Students who are in the so-called 'copier' stance might consider causes as 'things' that can be 'found' in the sources. Students who are in the subjectivist stance understand that the selection of causes and the construction of an explanation is subject to interpretation and that multiple interpretations are possible, but are not able to use criteria for the use of evidence and argumentation for judging the strength of a historical explanation. Students in the criterialist stance are able to do that.

Thus, in order to provoke and improve students' historical reasoning, we also need to trigger historical interest, promote the application of substantive knowledge and meta-concepts in reasoning (both in talk and writing) and enhance reflection on how historical knowledge is constructed. Furthermore, we need to be aware of how students' identity might be at play during historical reasoning and how the narratives in which their historical knowledge is framed might affect their reasoning.

Dialogic Teaching

Dialogic teaching is an approach developed by Alexander (2008) and adopted by several scholars in the field of educational research (e.g., Mercer et al., 2009; Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Wegerif, 2013). It is based upon Bakhtin's idea of dialogue as 'shared enquiry'. According to Bakhtin (1986) in dialogue, every answer gives rise to new questions and meaning only exists in dialogue. Ideas are perceived as a kind of common property to be further explored. Wegerif (2010, 2013) argues that becoming more dialogic is central to learning to think better. In dialogic education, space is created for multiple voices, questions are asked to stimulate students to think and reason, ideas are challenged, students are encouraged to ask questions and make statements, and new ideas and insights are co-constructed. The idea of 'multivoicedness' is an important aspect of dialogic interaction. Dialogic, in contrast to monologic, assumes that there is always more than one voice present and meaning emerges 'in the play of different voices in dialogue with each other' (Wegerif, 2013: 3). Dialogic teaching does not aim at the transmission of ready-made representations or narratives, but at engaging students in dialogue about the construction and evaluation of these representations. This approach relates to our description of historical reasoning as a key activity in the history classroom. From a dialogic teaching perspective, the history classroom needs to become a place for shared historical inquiry and reasoning where meanings are negotiated and co-constructed. Students should learn how these narratives are constructed, deconstruct existing narratives, and become aware that our representation of the past is related to the time we now live in, its norms, values, challenges, and so on. In short, students are not learned to repeat what other people reasoned upon, but are stimulated to reason historically themselves.

Within the classroom that consists of students with diverse backgrounds, experiences and ideas, the potential for multivoicedness is there, but it takes an active effort of the teacher to realize this potential in order to promote understanding and learning (Dysthe, 1996). When we contrast the notion of dialogic interaction with monologic interaction patterns, this becomes clear. In monologic interaction, the pervasive discourse pattern is the IRF-pattern (Chin, 2006). The teacher initiates (I) typically by asking a question, the student responses often using only one or a few words (R), and the teacher provides feedback on this response against cultural or scientific norms (F), telling whether or not the answer was correct, and recapitulating the answer to show

how it can be formulated in a more sophisticated and scientific manner. Various authors have argued that this pattern is not sufficient for collaborative knowledge construction in whole-class discussions, as it tends to minimize the role of the student in the process of constructing knowledge (Chin, 2006; Elbers & Streefland, 2000).

Scott, Mortimer, and Aguiar (2006) present two dimensions to characterize whole-class discussions: the dialogic–authoritative dimension (including the level of inter-animation) and the interactive–non-interactive dimension. The term authoritative discourse is used to describe classroom interaction which has a fixed intent and outcome. The teacher conveys information, and the role of the students is to answer the questions of the teacher, who decides on the rightness of the answer, against cultural or school norms. In contrast, dialogic discourse has a generative intent and is open to various viewpoints. It encourages challenge and debate and allows students to argue and justify their ideas. Student utterances are often spontaneous and in whole phrases or sentences. Within dialogic discourse, the authors make a distinction in the level of interanimation of ideas. Low interanimation refers to the situation in which the teacher only collects different ideas, but does not work with them by comparing or contrasting these ideas, as is the case with high interanimation. Thus, whereas in authoritative discourse, the focus is on only one point of view, dialogic discourse is open to various viewpoints. These can be only collected (low interanimation) or explored deeply and compared and contrasted with other ideas (high interanimation). Second, the interactive–non-interactive dimension refers to whether more than one person is participating in the discourse, or only one person (the teacher). Combining the two dimensions results in four classes: (a) interactive dialogic, in which teacher and students consider a range of ideas; (b) non-interactive dialogic, in which the teacher revisits and summarizes different viewpoints; (c) interactive authoritative, the teacher focuses on one specific viewpoint and leads students through a question and answer routine; (d) non-interactive authoritative, in which the teacher present a specific point of view.

In dialogic classroom interaction, the teacher elicits and sustains an ongoing dialogue. The purpose of the questions teachers ask is to elicit students' thinking and to make this explicit and open for further discussion (Chin, 2006). Questions are not primarily used to evaluate, but to challenge the students to elaborate on previous ideas, to provide arguments and to engage them in domain-specific reasoning. The questions used for these purposes are more authentic and open-ended (cf. Nystrand, 1997) and require long answers. Contributions of students are taken seriously, the discourse is open to various viewpoints and different student ideas are explored. This also implicates that the content of the discussion is not fixed, and not immediately evaluated against cultural or school norms. Thus, instead of evaluating the response of the student, the teacher asks for elaboration, or invites other students to respond. Nystrand and Gamaron (1991) mention as productive teacher contributions incorporating previous answers into subsequent questions (uptake) and Mercer (1995) mentions making 'we' statements, literal and reconstructive recapping

of past activity, eliciting relevant knowledge from students, elaborating replies received, and in various ways helping students perceive key issues and continuity in their educational experience. From the idea to include various voices in the discussion, the teacher can specifically invite or challenge students to adopt another perspective. In this way, the reaction of the teacher to a student response is not an evaluation (as in the IRF-pattern) but an elicitation for further exploration and discussion.

The main role of the teacher in these discussions is thus to make students historical thinking and reasoning visible and in doing so open for discussion. However, orchestrating dialogic interaction is highly complex and it puts high demands on the teacher. Teachers should know how knowledge in the discipline of history is organized, recognize misconceptions and opportunities for learning (Cazden, 2001). In deciding how to respond to a student contribution, teachers have to make many decisions, for example how to involve as many students as possible, what kind of questions promote further learning, how to allocate turns, or how to respond to 'insufficient' answers. Different responses may have a different effect on the continuous line of reasoning.

Examples of Dialogic History Teaching

VanSledright and Limón (2006) have pointed out in their review on history education that in daily history classrooms, it is often the teacher who does most of the talking and teacher talk, such as lecturing and story-telling, often dominates. Also in whole-class discussions, which are quite commonly used in history education (at least in our country, the Netherlands), it is often the teacher who dominates the conversation. Whole-class discussions can take place at various points in a history lesson and may serve a variety of purposes. For example, during the instruction phase when the teachers ask students to link new information to their prior knowledge or when constructing an historical narrative (cf. Halldén, 1994; Leinhardt, 1993), or during the debriefing phase, in which earlier (group) work is discussed (Havekes, 2015; Havekes et al., 2010). This latter form is especially suited for when aiming at the above described interactive dialogic interaction (Scott et al., 2006). Students have studied the issues already which enable them to make substantial contributions to the discussion. According to Husbands (1996), a class discussion in which students actively participate and share responsibility for the construction of understanding, can be best prepared by small group work. The subsequent whole-class discussion can then support processes of consensus building, of making connections between the individual and the community, and of transforming student findings into cultural norms (Enyedy, 2003.) These kind of whole-class discussions allow for attaining a higher and broader level of reasoning compared to small group discussions (Hogan et al., 2000; Van Boxtel, 2002; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2011). Whole-class discussions may in turn provide students with a model of reasoning and cooperative talk which they can adopt in their subsequent work in small groups (Elbers & Streefland, 2000).

Wegerif (2013) uses the terms 'opening up', 'deepening' and 'widening' dialogue. When we apply these terms to the history classroom, we can say that in dialogic history education, we open up space for collaborative historical reasoning and try to widen and deepen this reasoning while exploring historical topics and debating historical issues. We will give examples of these three aspects. In the examples of deepening and widening also general teacher strategies for eliciting student thinking are important, such as summarizing, asking for elaborations, refraining from direct evaluations, and inviting other students to respond to student contributions.

Opening Up the Dialogue

A thought-provoking historical question can open up space for collaborative historical reasoning. Choosing a well-formulated question for the discussion focuses the discussion and relates it to the learning goals. Evaluative questions are particularly suitable to elicit historical reasoning as there is no fixed answer and they incorporate various components of historical reasoning (Van Drie, Van Boxtel, & Van der Linden, 2006). The central question for the discussion can be the same question students first work on in a task, or the question can be of a higher level, or take a different perspective on the historical issue at hand. For example, students study the outbreak of the First World War and have been working on several causes in an assignment. The question for the subsequent whole class discussion could be what the most important cause was; an evaluative question. Another possibility is to take a different perspective and raise the question of how Russia became involved in the war. To answer this question, students have to use their knowledge of several causes, but have to take a different perspective on it.

Not only does the central question need to be well chosen, but also the preparing task needs to be well chosen. In our studies, we found that especially open-ended tasks, tasks that are meaningful from both a curriculum and a student perspective, and tasks that engage students in constructive activity are powerful in triggering situational interest and historical reasoning (see also Havekes et al., 2010; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013). An example is the lesson unit we developed on historical significance (Van Drie et al., 2013). Central question of this unit was: Which person or event was most significant for the development of Dutch democracy? This question was set in the context of a museum organizing an exhibition on this topic and the students had to give advice on which person or event should certainly be part of this exhibition. In the lessons, students first studied several criteria for establishing historical significance. In expert groups, they studied one of the pre-selected persons or events and they shared their results in front of the class. In different groups, they made a ranking of the presented persons or events, and this ranking resulted in a class ranking. This class ranking was discussed in a whole-class discussion. The final task was to write an argumentative letter to the secretary of the museum, in which they made a case for one of the persons or

events. Analyses of the whole-class discussion in two classes showed that this task elicited active student participation and historical reasoning (Van Drie et al., 2013). To illustrate, the teacher did not bring in his own perspective of who was most significant, but he stimulated students to think for themselves. There was room to bring in different perspectives and to discuss these perspectives and related arguments with each other. The teacher orchestrated the discussion for example by asking questions to make student thinking visible ('Why is he so important?'); by allocating turns and in doing so giving room to different perspectives ('Sarah, you do not agree, I notice'); and by challenging students' viewpoints and arguments ('Why is Thorbecke more significant than Universal Suffrage? Thorbecke matches all criteria for historical significance well.').

Deeping the Dialogue

Second, students' historical reasoning in the dialogue can be deepened. When analyzing processes of change, for example, it is not enough to only identify what changed and what stayed the same. Changes can be connected to a larger historical context of developments and themes. It can be discussed whether it concerned a sudden or a gradual change. And when trying to construct a historical explanation, we need to think about other (e.g., more structural or indirect) causes and discuss how they together resulted in a particular development or event.

In the example below, students (pre-university education, 15 and 16 years of age) worked on an assignment about resistance and collaboration during the Second World War in the Netherlands (see also Van Drie & Dekker, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2011). For their small-group work, they were provided with descriptions of the acts of six non-fictional persons in this period, and they were asked to classify these persons on a quadrant with two dimensions; collaboration versus resistance and personal interest versus common good. During the whole-class discussion, the outcomes of the group work was discussed. Table 30.1 shows a fragment of the end of the discussion, where the teacher tries to deepen the discussion by asking the students why she had made them work on this assignment for the whole lesson. The students come up with the answer that it is difficult to decide which acts were acts of resistance and of collaboration and which acts were done out of personal interest or with an eye on the common good. The teacher summarizes what the students said and continues by deepening the discussion further by asking whether it is alright to judge people afterwards (line 1). Student 1 answers by saying yes and the teacher asks why. This student does not come up with an argument, but another student does (line 5). The teacher does not respond to the answer herself, but throws this answer back into the class, by asking who would like to respond to this answer. Student 3 comes up with an elaborate answer. This shows that this move of asking the class to respond (instead of responding herself) stimulates students' thinking. The teacher summarizes the answer (line

Table 30.1 Episode in a whole-class discussion about collaboration and resistance in the Netherlands during the occupation by Nazi-Germany

1	T	We made these categories afterwards. But actually it is 'sliding scale' […] it is hard to put one into one category. […] We, we're actually making judgments now, afterwards, about people living back then. Do you think that's all right?
2	S1	Yes.
3	T	Yes? Why?
4	S1	Just because.
5	S2	We make judgments about other people as well […]
6	T	Okay, so it's all right. Who, who would like to respond? Jane?
7	S3	Of course you can't know exactly what they think, but you can learn from it. You also get a better grip of those, uhm, of those concepts, collaboration and resistance, and you're, and you are condemning them a little, but they're not living anymore, yes. And you learn from it for yourself, and you don't exactly know what they were thinking.
8	T	OK, so you're saying they don't notice it. Erica?
9	S4	I think that as long as you know that you're never going to be able to find out the real story. Yes you can, but you'll never know what drives them to do that.
10		[…]
11	T	Uhm, I hope that it gets you thinking a bit and that you also see that all of it isn't so easy to situate indeed and that this of course doesn't only apply to the Second World War, but to all other topics as well

8) and gives the floor to another student, who also comes with an elaborate answer. In line 11, the teacher summarizes the main conclusion that it is hard to judge people and that it is not a simple matter of black and white, good or bad, and that this refers also to other topics. The insight that how we judge actions of people in the past is affected by our own values and knowledge and that we need to be cautious to judge past actors from our present position is in this episode co-constructed and this reflection on historical perspective taking in history deepens students reasoning about the fact that people in the past made particular and also different choices and their use of the concepts collaboration and resistance.

Widening the Dialogue

Historical reasoning can be widened or broadened by raising a question that engages students in another type of reasoning than is required by the task. For example, when reasoning about aspects of change and continuity in the process of industrialization, a teacher may ask students to make a comparison with industrialization processes in contemporary China. What are differences and communalities? Or when situating an historical image in time, the teacher can widen the discussion by asking the question of whether the image is an original source from the time itself and how one can see that. The different components of historical reasoning described earlier can be helpful in this respect, as a teacher can ask a question related to another component than the one that is central to the original task/question.

The next example comes from a whole-class discussion of a teacher and his class of students aged 12 to 13. The task focused on a medieval picture that shows a situation that reflects a structure of medieval society. The knights fought for their lord and got a piece of land in return. Serfs worked on the land of these knights and got protection in return. In great wars, they were also asked to join the knights in warfare as foot-soldiers. The students were asked to describe this picture using substantive concepts. They did this in dyads. Next, the teacher discussed the picture with the students in a whole-class discussion. The teachers widens the discussion by moving away from just *describing* what the picture shows using substantive historical concepts to *explaining* the feudal system ('Why did people do this?' line 4). He asks several questions in doing so, as 'Who owned the land?', and 'How did the lord receive the land?' The teacher often repeats student answers (e.g., line 10, 19), sharing the answer with the whole-class. Sometimes he also reformulates the answer in more 'historical language' (line 14). Furthermore, the teacher summarizes (e.g., line 15), gives room for other students (e.g., line 12, 15) and ask for explanations (e.g., line 6) (Table 30.2).

Table 30.2 Episode in a whole-class discussion about a picture showing a situation in the Middle Ages

1	T	Apart from the castle, you see a group of people, and you understand, the question was, what part did these people have? Who has an idea about that, the people at the left, who are they?
2	S1	You could see knights with armor, a lance, a shield and a sword. The serfs walk in front of the knights, those are a kind of peasants who work for the nobility and they had to till the ground of that nobility
3	T	Yes, Yes guys, Mary actually mentions a lot of good things […]
4	T	And now the question, why did these people do this? Because, we don't have this system anymore, we don't know this. Perhaps it is interesting to see how this system developed. Why did people obey to this system?
5	S1	Yeah, they got that in return. When they tilled the ground they got food. Yes, they had to pay a little bit for it. And they also got protection
6	T	Can you repeat that, when they?
7	S1	Yes, when they tilled the land they got food
8	T	Who do you mean by they?
9	S1	The serfs till the land for the nobility
10	T	The serfs till the land for the nobility
11		(S2 raises her hand)
12	T	Do you want to add something to this answer or want to make a change?
13	S2	When the serfs tilled the land of the castle, they got protection of the castle when they were attacked themselves.
14	T	You say that when these serves tilled the ground, I translate it a bit, then they received protection from the castle.
15	T	Guys, we see a few interesting things here. One is talking about food and getting something for it in exchange. There should perhaps be a small change. Who could make a change to the answer of Mary?

(*continued*)

Table 30.2 (continued)

16	S3	They had to work on the fields and part of the harvest they then had to give to their Lord
17	T	A part of the harvest they had to give to their lord. Okay. Then the question who owned the land?
18	S4	The Lord
19	T	The land was owned by the Lord. Okay guys, now we have some things very clear, don't we?
		[…]
20	T	Now we come to the question of how the lord had received this land?
21	S5	From the king
		[…]
22	T	Why did he give land as a loan?
23	S6	He had no money to pay them.
24	T	He had no money to pay them, and he paid them thus with
25	S6	ground
26	T	With ground. So that was the system in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Almost everything we do or think involves reasoning: 'When we learn, criticize, analyze, judge, infer, evaluate, optimize, apply, discover, imagine, devise, and create, we draw conclusions from information and from our beliefs' (Leighton, 2004: 11). Developing students' ability to reason in different domains is an important but challenging educational task. A promising approach to improve historical reasoning is dialogic teaching. It is through dialogic teaching that we can open up a collaborative space to investigate and reason about the past. When doing that we trigger students' historical interest or connect to what students consider interesting and meaningful. Deepening and widening of historical reasoning in the classroom can promote a further development of students' knowledge of historical facts, concepts and chronology, their understanding of meta-concepts and strategies of history and the nature of doing history.

Realizing the potential of dialogic teaching depends on teachers' activities and on available tools to engage students in particular types of reasoning (Mercer et al., 2009). With respect to the first, we have made clear what the role of the teacher is in orchestrating dialogic interaction and how it can be elicited. Teachers can face several dilemma's such as stimulating students to reason for themselves while remaining faithful to accepted disciplinary ideas and ways of reasoning (cf. Van Drie & Dekker, 2013; Windschitl, 2002), or promoting student participation on the one hand and deepening the quality of historical reasoning on the other hand (Van Drie & Dekker, 2013). Furthermore, when it comes to sensitive history, the teacher must find ways to deal with the fact that students may strongly identify with particular historical actors or events or respond morally to the history presented or the perspectives of other students (Goldberg, 2013; King, 2009; McCully et al., 2002). Second, using tools can be helpful in stimulating dialogic interaction. Research on small-group interaction shows that using visual representations fosters students' reasoning (Van

Drie et al., 2005; Van der Meij & de Jong, 2006). Representations can function as cognitive resources for reasoning, particularly in abstract domains as history. Furthermore, visual representations can function as social resources for communicating ideas and coordinating interaction (Van Drie et al., 2005; White & Pea, 2011). Cox (1999) argues that the *collaborative construction* of representations by students is powerful.

In the context of a shared inquiry and a collaboratively constructed reasoning, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding becomes more meaningful. In history education, we need to teach both *through* and *for* disciplinary dialogue. An important goal of engaging students in collaborative historical reasoning is that they become more able and informed participants in dialogues outside school and in future situations. If we want students to be able to ask historical questions, describe, explain and compare processes of change and continuity, critically assess interpretations and evidence and be open to multiple perspectives, we need to engage students in historical reasoning in a dialogic way.

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PART IV

Educational Resources: Trends in Curricula, Textbooks, Museums and New Media

CHAPTER 31

Bridging the Gap. Comparing History Curricula in History Teacher Education in Western Countries

Nicola Brauch

Once a history curriculum is adopted, teachers are more or less obliged to abide by it. National examinations qualify whether and how the narrative in the curriculum and the historical consciousness that it intends to constitute have been mastered by the learner. The crucial relation between the curriculum's narrative and the decisions to teach a particular kind of historical thinking to students in history classes is the domain of the history teacher. Depending on the political and socio-cultural situation, history teachers, in their professional life, are confronted with very differently programmed historical narratives.

In this chapter, upon reviewing current research on history curricula, the importance of history curricula in teacher education at university will be examined in terms of promoting the future history teachers' history-didactic competences for the planning of their history lessons. In liberal societies, the didactic responsibility of the teacher is seen in the implementation of the objective of history lessons, as it is defined by history theory and history-didactics. The objective of history lessons is related to the Enlightened conception of man, as contributing to the education of historically informed and responsible future

I owe this metaphor to the symposium organized by Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse (Belgium) and Gerhard Stoel (The Netherlands) on the biennial conference of the European Association of Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI) in Cyprus, August 2015 *Mind the gap! Defining effective pedagogy for fostering domain-specific reasoning in history*. I thank Arthur Chapman for providing his presentation as a discussant at the symposium, which was of great help for the incorporation of the results in this chapter (Chapman, 2015).

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citizens. In such history classes, young people are given the opportunity to become capable in speaking about history, to formulate criticism and to take action (in other words, achieve historical literacy). For this purpose, in Western scientific history didactics the concept of reflected historical consciousness is important. This concept expresses itself in individual competencies of critical historical thinking and narrating (Rüsen, 2013; Seixas, 2004) which to some extent can be evaluated with standardized measurements (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; VanSledright, 2014).

In the first section of this chapter, observations from an international comparative analysis of research in the past decade, that was carried out to see what kind of narratives exist at present in history curricula of Western liberal societies, will be discussed. It is argued that the previous research about History Wars and Contested History related to history curricula could be expanded, advancing considerations in favor of implementing the history curriculum as a subject in history teacher education. The next section discusses the difficulty of history teachers, observed in many studies, to transfer epistemological principles about teaching history into reflected educational action. It is argued that the ability to implement the objective of history lessons, through the practice of consciously dealing with the new genre of competency-based history curricula, can be developed in the teachers' university education before their first practical school experience. In the third section, the results of the first two sections are combined, presenting and theoretically substantiating the proposal of fostering the professional history-didactical teacher competence to deal with history curricula, by internationally comparing different curricula. Reflections on the implications for further research conclude the chapter.

Scientific Research on History Curricula in the West

The conducted analysis discussed here has included mostly English research, dealing in the history-educational sense with history curricula. This involves mainly the selection of curricular narratives, and in some cases also concerns how these narratives relate to the selection of the specific type of historical thinking that history lessons seek to promote (also known as 'competence orientation'). It is argued that the selection of content to be taught (the narrative) and the selection of the type of competence encouragement reveal the dominant ideas in the curriculum about the future citizens and the kind of intended participation in society.

In the corpus studied only a few German contributions are found, mainly because in German history education, since the introduction of competence orientation, the selection of mandatory curricular content is not a crucial issue. Because the German interpretation of competence orientation goes hand in hand with a certain freedom regarding the choice of content by the teacher, at the very least the school subject group or the school curriculum, this is not

surprising. Even though Bernd Schönemann already pointed out a need for strengthening the role of genre in history teacher education and presented some proposals in order to do so (Handro & Schönemann, 2004), only in recent years has the awareness of the curriculum as a genre slowly increased (Brauch, Wäschle, Lehmann, Logtenberg, & Nückles, 2015). Meanwhile, the German federal states introduced new curricula implementing the German interpretation of competence orientation in a very heterogeneous, though comprehensive, way, making their own decisions on the content selection and interpretation methods of history.

The observations presented below do not claim to be exhaustive. Rather, they reflect an attempt to analyze the field of history-didactic studies with respect to key issues in history curricula.

In international research the curricular instrumentalities of the history school subject play an important role favoring the historical legitimacy of national identity narratives, increasingly also in an international comparative perspective (Clark, 2009; Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011, 2015; Piattoeva, 2009; Wilschut, 2010). Many researchers are concerned with questions of national identity and its historical legitimacy. The focused selection of historical narratives and also their moral evaluation influences in some countries (or jurisdictions) the development of history curricula. In liberal societies, it can be observed that the socially relevant issue of the history curriculum recently led to public disputes and discussions in history-educational research. Academic discourse of this kind can be found, for example, in Israel (Abu-Saad, 2006; Goldberg & Gerwin, 2013), the United States (Doppen & Yeager, 1998), England (Gruyver, 2013), Canada (P. Clark, 2011; McRoberts, 1997), Australia (Clark, 2004, 2009; Taylor, 2013; Taylor & Collins, 2012), Hong Kong (Kan, 2010) and Cyprus (Christodoulou, 2014; Philippou, 2009). In contrast, in other countries there are no History Wars or discussions on Contested History, such as New Zealand (Sheehan, 2010) or reunited Germany (Wilschut, 2010). Both the selection of narratives, historically legitimating the national self-image by those politically and socio-culturally involved in decisions on the history curriculum, and the absence of national history and the written integration in the narrative of the former colonial power, as in the case of New Zealand, is criticized by history didactics. While the national and nationalist identity construct and its historical arguments are considered to be outdated and outmoded, the integration into the narrative of the former colonial power, regarded as superior, leads to blind spots in the collective memory of New Zealand's citizens with regard to the morally dubious practices during the colonization. A source of conflict on the history curriculum is the politically motivated history of national identity and its curricular implementation (Seixas, 2009). The stories of the 'others', which differ in religious, cultural, political and/or ethnic origin of the political perspective influential in the curriculum, remain either outside (Sheehan, 2010) or are integrated into the master narrative (The Australian Curriculum, 2014).

But 'To write the Nation' (Berger, 2007) does not necessarily mean that the story is told in a mono-ethnic way. Instead, at least two kinds of national identity narrative can be distinguished. One constructs a coherent history of the nation, the English curriculum is a good example of this (National Curriculum in England, 2013). Another selectively integrates 'the other' in the own national narrative. Minorities, sexual orientations, environmental issues and other socio-cultural contemporary issues are hereby integrated into the history curriculum and examined in their historical dimension (e.g. The Australian Curriculum, 2014). In some countries of 'Good Old Europe', the focus is on the country itself and the European neighbors and 'the world' is regarded as peripheral. This is different in the states that emerged from European colonization in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, such as the United States, Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Here, and in the smaller European countries such as Switzerland, Belgium and The Netherlands, European and world history play a prominent role in the history curricula, and correspondingly transnational comparison belongs more strongly to the curriculum methods than in most European colonial states (Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011). Germany, a country with relatively less of a colonial past, has had trouble up to this day to get rid of the focus on the German history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in history lessons, especially in the upper school levels.

The aim of history-didactic studies is to describe these phenomena, to get to the bottom of their causes, and to criticize the one-sided orientation of the politics of history in the development of history curricula (VanSledright, 2008). The internationally dominant history-didactic counter-concept is the focus on the global world and a conception of a history curriculum whose narratives are understood as 'memories in a global world' (Carretero, 2011). As such, a common assumption in the English-speaking research community exists regarding the concepts of nation and the concept of critical individual thinking that represent, since the Enlightenment, the two opposite criteria to which the history curriculum must comply (Berger & Lorenz, 2004, 2008; Seixas, 2009). Depending on the political and socio-cultural conjunctures, this relationship is reflected in the curriculum in the image of the future citizen and her/his future participation in social issues intended by the curriculum. With regard to choosing a concept of the citizen in the history curriculum—in contrast to the selection of narrative content—it is hardly possible to organize history curricula in categories of left and right or progressive and conservative (Hoskins, Abs, Han, Kerr, & Veugelers, 2012). Even 'progressive' curricula, which deliberately select content that enables to discuss as many narratives as possible represented in society, can pursue an affirmative citizen concept (Australia, 2014; North Rhine-Westphalia, 2007). Political correctness then becomes the central idea that future citizens should follow. The history-didactic research on the influence of the concept of citizen on selecting content and thereby on competences which should be

promoted has been mainly done by Canadian researchers (Sandwell, 2006; Sears, 2011). Because of the British and French communities in this country, not only competing narratives of origin exist, but also different citizen concepts from the English and French traditions. In the context of the consequences of European Union membership on the history education of future citizens, researchers from Cyprus (Philippou, 2005, 2009) and Germany (Pingel, 2006) are discussing this concept as well. In summary, it can be said that the current Western didactic theory is based on the concept of the critical citizen (Abs, 2013; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Lévesque, 2008; Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014; Sandwell, 2006).

Overall, the analysis of the research on the influence of the national narrative on the history curriculum leads to the conclusion that the history curriculum is apparently more dependent on the political tendencies and the country-specific historical contexts than other school subjects. Tsafrir Goldberg (2013) historically examined this phenomenon for Israel and characterized it aptly with the term 'conservative-liberal pendulum'.

The history-education research reveals the heterogeneity of socio-cultural and historical-political conditions for the production of history curricula. They point to the problems of content selection for teaching history. Whether the content selection of official curricula is based on the conservative interpretation of the national master narrative or the current political correctness of liberal orientation—it is always debatable. The fact that people talk about 'contested history' is a characteristic feature of vibrant democratic exchange. Consequently, it is not very productive to complain about this from a history-didactic point of view. Rather, the complexity of the history curriculum genre and its narratological principles require a competent teacher, who is clearly aware of the specific epistemology of the curricular narrative, and can draw his own conclusions for a history-didactically responsible approach. Two correctives from the theory of history-didactical formation are needed to do so. First, the awareness and application of history-theoretically sound objectives of history teaching and, secondly, the practice in questioning the content of the curricular narrative in order to achieve these goals of history teaching.

Especially the selection of content following history-didactical criteria has so far been only partially addressed as a problem (Brauch, 2011; Brauch et al., 2015; Jeismann, 1977; Schönemann, 2004; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2014). The professionalism in history didactics plays a central role in the socio-cultural analysis of social issues relevant to daily life and the preconditioning of the students concerning historical objects relevant to the curriculum. At the interface of past, present and future, contents arise which enrich the historical knowledge that orientates the critical citizens of the future, and thus could support the continued existence of liberal societies (Seixas, 2009; Wineburg & Reisman, 2014). The history-didactical application of the goals of history teaching that are defined by history theory therefore represents the bigger problem, as the selection of the content is directly connected with it.

Facing the Gap: How Is Curricular Theory Brought into Practice?

Crucial theoretical concepts of history education, for describing the general objective of history-didactical activity in the classroom, are Historical Thinking Concepts and Historical Reasoning, as principles for the promotion and development of a reflective historical consciousness as well as the desire for individual advancement of different types of students (Körber, Schreiber, & Schöner, 2007; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013). This vocabulary, referring to the idea of the historically informed critical citizen, has 'arrived' to the Western competency-based curricula in varying degrees. In this situation, the curriculum takes on a new quality for teacher training because now the formation of history-didactic theory is implemented by the curriculum, although not everywhere to the same degree and not always with a congruent understanding of the content of the vocabulary. Nevertheless, didactically reflective history teachers can now read the curriculum also in a way opposing the intended historical narrative, and connect this counter-reading with the history curriculum's theoretical framework. In this way, teachers could analyze the historical-political and socio-cultural trends in the curricula for themselves and for their students, disclose and deconstruct them in favor of the curricular objective of promoting reflective historical consciousness with counter-histories.

However, from the results of the research realized in recent years comes the impression of a wide gap between the implementation of competence orientation intended by the curriculum on the one hand, and the instructional practices of teachers on the other hand:

> "[H]istorical reasoning has been included in recent years in […] national history curricula in many countries […] students should learn to reason critically with and about multiple sources […] to construct and deconstruct historical narratives […] to judge the validity of these interpretations […]. […] Although the importance of teaching historical reasoning skills has been widely accepted, still relatively little is known about pedagogical principles that foster the development of this reasoning." (Stoel, Van Drie, & Van Boxtel, 2015: 4)

This is also confirmed by research that indicates that teachers know the abstract concepts and requirements of history didactics and competence-oriented history curricula in theory. They can name it, correctly define it, and can declare it as their own professional ethos (Barton & Levstik, 2003). At the same time, they fail to implement these principles in the teaching practice and it's planning (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Brauch et al., 2014; Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008; Mägdefrau & Michler, 2012). Yet, we know so far, history teacher research up to now remains in the dark as to how their use could affect the teacher's concrete planning and teaching activities. Nevertheless, studies from England and more recently from the Netherlands give reason to believe that the teacher, who was kept out of the picture

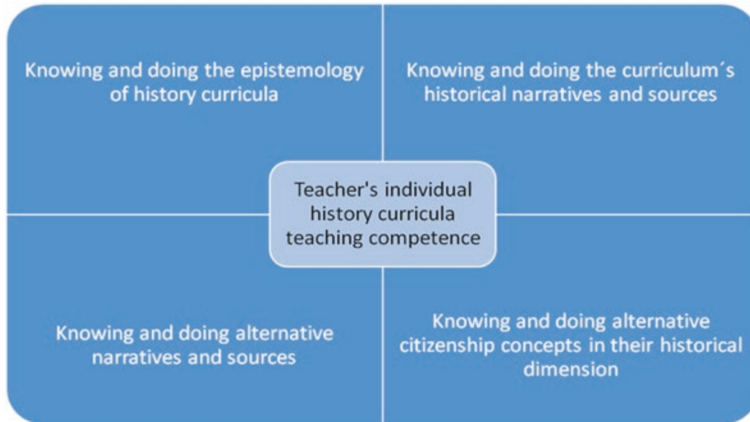

Fig. 31.1 Four history curriculum competence dimensions

by constructivist theories of learning and whose appropriate professional skills were being presupposed, could be the key to filling the gaps *between* implementation and realization (Chapman, 2003; Counsell, 2011; Reisman, 2012; Stoel et al., 2015).

Assuming that the historically informed, critically thinking citizen represents a conditio sine qua non for the durability of democratic structures (Wineburg & Reisman, 2014: 231), it is an important task for the university history didactics to deal with history curricula subjected to constant change by the democratic 'pendulum' (Goldberg, 2013). Because, the more independently, scientifically and reflection-oriented history teachers can act toward the genre of history curriculum, the more they will be able to deal critically with the narratives represented in curricula and the school history books (Brauch, 2015; Brauch, Logtenberg, & Nückles, 2012). Therefore, proceeding from the curriculum genre, a modeling of competence dimensions would be helpful for the professionalization of future history teachers, as the latter should be able to develop a critical history-curricular competency. To this end, a proposal will be developed in the next section (see Fig. 31.1).

Filling the Gap? Curricular Competence of Future History Teachers as a New Field for History-Didactical Research on History Curricula

In Anglophone and German history didactics research, the challenge of dealing with the history curriculum for (future) teachers currently plays only a minor role (see section "Scientific Research on History Curricula in the West"). On the other hand, competency-based curricula in the Western world offer the teacher a good aid in arguing for the selection of contents and approaches in a responsible way, according to history-didactics. The objectives of the subject

framed by history theory, which have now taken hold in most curricula under the heading of competence orientation, are known by most history teachers, but they apparently fail to include them in concrete lesson planning (see section "Facing the Gap: How Is Curricular Theory Brought into Practice?"). There is a lack of history-didactical research in the theoretical, empirical and pragmatical field about the consequences arising from the genre of competence-oriented history curricula for the professionalization of future history teachers.

Against this background, it is proposed hereto anchor the history curriculum in university teacher training more strongly than before, as a partial aspect of promoting theoretically founded planning skills in teachers. It will be argued that through the specific discussion of the history curriculum by future teachers, the social situation and the related conditions of history teaching, as well as the teacher's role in it, could be a helpful tool in history teacher education. This requires a training in analytical, critical and pragmatic dealing with history curricula. The pragmatic aspect of dealing with history curricula relates to the fact that these are legally binding and therefore cannot be avoided. But history teachers can act and argue in a responsible history-didactical manner through knowledge of the genre and its epistemology. Admittedly, studies have shown that in general teachers seldom plan their classes with the curriculum (Künzli, 1999; Von Borries, 2008). However, as the textbook and examination material refer to the curriculum, it gains the educational presence that it was politically intended to have. In many of the studies in which the discrepancy between epistemological knowledge and instructional practice is discussed, textbook teaching is argued to be a powerful obstacle for the implementation of epistemological beliefs in history-didactical activities (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008). One reason for that could be, that textbooks refer to the content rather than to the theoretical framing of curricula. The teacher's action according to the history curriculum, textbook and history-didactics are therefore taken together as the triad from which history lessons typically arise. Thus, curricular competency also generates effects on how the teacher handles the textbook and other pre-established teaching material. In the following, professional history teacher competence with the curriculum is argued to be part of the knowledge for the planning of history lessons that needs to be provided at university (Brauch, 2015).

The starting point of history-educational curricular competence is the epistemology of history curricula and their implicit as well as explicit narratives. The epistemological principles of the history curriculum are its *conditions of origin* as well as the *rationale for the selection of the contents and competencies published therein*. Its epistemic logic can be captured as a *snapshot of historical consciousness of a society* in the interpretation of its currently dominant political and socio-cultural forces. The *citizen concept*, connected to the curricular historical narrative and the collective historical consciousness represented therein, is dependent on the constitution of the country and the politically dominant forces. The history curriculum is made to exercise *influence on the historical consciousness of individuals* in terms of the citizen concept and the dominant historical consciousness. The epistemological principles thus described can be

identified by analyzing the curricula. The following questions may constitute the framework for their analysis.

Which intention does the curriculum pursue with regard to:

- The actions of the teacher? (her/his role in lesson planning).
- The overriding concept for selection of content? (curricular historical narrative).
- The selected historical exempla? (memory histories).
- The proposed media? (selecting the number of perspectives on history).
- The intended nature of the learning outcomes? (learning assessment).

In short: Which citizen concept becomes visible behind these decisions?

To examine history curricula on these points requires the application and subject-specific integration of scientific concepts from specific disciplines, history didactics and educational science. Technically integrating diverse concepts in the context of the scientific substantiation of decisions on lesson planning is, however, very difficult for students of the teaching profession (Wäschle, Lehmann, Brauch, & Nückles, 2015). It would also require a specific expertise which enables responsibly dealing with the curriculum in terms of history didactics. This consists primarily of technically adequate knowledge of the curriculum narrative and its historical case studies. This means that the teacher her/himself must be able to tell the stories that the students should know at the end of the school year. The teacher must also recognize the normative and ideological principles that are included in the curricular narrative and case studies to promote reflected historical consciousness. And finally, the teacher must know the historiographical research, sources and narratives that can be used to supplement the narrative of the curriculum and the exempla sustaining it, to deconstruct the curriculum and make it didactically operational in order to achieve the objectives of history teaching in liberal societies.

Thus, a history teacher's curricular competence model could theoretically include four dimensions (Fig. 31.1). The terminology used by Harry Havekes and colleagues (2012) in their framework about *Knowing and Doing History* has been transferred to the history curricula competence model. This model focuses on the history teacher's individual competence to use their theoretical knowledge for planning and teaching history. The main idea of the proposed model is the integration of knowing and doing, following the curriculum as well as alternative approaches, in order to foster the young pupil's reflective historical consciousness.

In establishing future history teachers' history curriculum competencies an international comparative curriculum analysis could be used. Curricular text analysis requires the knowledge of the rhetorical structure of competence-oriented history curricula. In the following, the curricula of Australia (2014) and North Rhine-Westphalia (2007) will be used as examples of similar structures of a competence-oriented curriculum (see Table 31.1). These two have been chosen to represent curricular diversity in the Western world.

Unlike previous curricula, in which the list of learning inputs filled most pages, competency-based curricula are characterized by a major theoretical reasoning effort, the explanation of the aims and definition of competencies and the intended learning outcomes. The case of German North Rhine-Westphalia can be seen as an extreme example of a competence-oriented curriculum. It encompasses 35 pages and just 3 of them are dealing with the content areas, giving teachers just an overarching topic such as *Europe in the Middle Ages* (Content area 4) operationalized in three very general aspects (Christianization, living in the Middle Ages and possibilities of political participation).

To undertake the comparative analysis with respect to teacher education one could start to involve four of the above mentioned components (see Table 31.1): the theoretical framework (a), the definition of content and competencies-integrated learning (d), assessment (e) and further methodological structures (f). These four components can be argued to be most relevant for initial teacher education at the level of university history education. This sample of components includes 'knowing' about the genre's logic and preparing the transfer into educational practice ('doing'). The other components (b) and (c) are more relevant for in-practice teachers, covering generic aspects of institutional frameworks of teaching history rather than dealing with domain-specific didactic challenges.

The international comparison demonstrates the dependence of the curriculum decisions on historical as well as current socio-political and cultural factors at the level of these components. National history influencing the curriculum development can be seen, in the Australian case, in the strong global history approach and the argument to support this choice: "It enables [students] to develop an understanding of the past and present experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, their identity and the continuing value of their culture" (p. 4). The educational rationale related with Australian History mirrors socio-political values by highlighting the aim of living together in deference with 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples'. This curricular choice is also influenced by cultural context related to Australian History. It leads to a choice of media representing, for example, Aboriginal culture. Related to the Rhetorical framework (Table 31.1, aspect a) one can see a more individualized educational aim relating to the competence orientation in the German curriculum whereas the Australian aim is strongly related to the Australian society. In doing so, the Australian curriculum sets standards of content from the very beginning. On the other hand, the North Rhine-Westphalian curriculum is on a surface level neutral toward the choice of content and the choice of geographical areas.

Concerning the definition of content and competencies-integrated learning (Table 31.1, aspect d) the Australian text covers 37 pages to define what has to be learned during lower secondary education, whereas the German text is only 8 pages. Regarding the issue *The Middle Ages in Europe* quoted below, the Australian equivalent is much more concrete in describing 'what to teach'. First of all, the teacher has to teach an overview, comprising 10 % "of the total

Table 31.1 Rhetorical framework of competence-oriented curricula

Components of structure analysis of two history curricula in the Western world	*Australia 2014 (primary and lower secondary schools), 91 pages*	*North Rhine-Westphalia 2007 (lower secondary schools, highest school track), 35 pages*
(a) Theoretical framework	Rationale ('This knowledge and understanding is essential for informed and active participation in Australia's diverse society'.) and aims (in terms of interest, knowledge, understanding, capacity) of the school subject (pp. 4–5)	General foreword of the Ministry of Education Introduction in the concept of competence orientation in general (pp. 9–11)
(b) History in its broader disciplinary context	Learning area: Humanities and social sciences, subject: History (cover, p. 1)	Introduction in the concept of social sciences education, the specific epistemologies of geography, history and economy and the definition of the four competence dimensions including conceptual and methodological competence as well as competencies of historical judgment and agency (pp. 12–15)
(c) Introduction to the organization	Organization, content structure, history from elementary school to year 12, achievement standards, student diversity, general capabilities, cross-curriculum priorities, links to other learning areas, implications for teaching, assessment and reporting (pp. 5–17)	The history curriculum organization: tasks, aims and competencies (pp. 15–23)
(d) Definition of content and competencies-integrated learning	Curriculum F—10 (by years) (pp. 17–83, including years 5 to 10, equivalent to lower school education in Germany, on pp. 37–83)	Steps of achievement up to the end of lower secondary school describing competencies and content areas in phases of two years on the one hand, and three years on the other (pp. 23–31)
(e) Assessment	See above in 'Organization'. Each content and competencies-integrated section includes concrete narratives to be learned (e.g. "describing the way of life in feudal Japan" p. 60 in the Middle Ages topic)	Content unspecific assessment description (pp. 32–33)
(f) Further structures	Glossary (pp. 83–87) Overview: Scopes and sequence charts	Advice for cross-domain approaches within the social sciences (pp. 34–35)

teaching time for the year" (p. 55). This instrument is meant to function as "part of an expansive chronology that helps students understand broad patterns of historical change" (p. 55). In the case of the Middle Ages students have to learn about "the transformation of the Roman world and the spread of Christianity and Islam", for

- "recognizing how relations between the Islamic and Western worlds were characterized by both peaceful coexistence (trade) and conflict during this period (the Crusades)
- Discussing Britain after the end of the Roman occupation; the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; Old English and the foundations of modern English; Beowulf and archeology; Anglo-Saxon institutions and the roots of medieval parliament, […]
- Locating major trading routs (including the Mediterranean, the Silk Road, the sea route between China, India and the east coast of Africa, and the Columbian exchange) on a map and identifying the nature of the trade/contract […]
- Identifying the major civilizations of the period […]
- Explaining the significance of land ownership in the practice of feudalism and the nature of feudalism in Europe (for example knights) and Japan (for example samurai). […]"

In contrast to the German counterpart the curricular choice of content takes the historiographical global comparative approach with respect to specific narratives. Apart from the Overview narrative, teachers are asked to make their own choice to teach so-called 'Depth Studies'. In the case of the Middle Ages teachers have the choice between *The Western and Islamic World*, *The Asia-Pacific World* or *Expanding contacts*. As subcategories of the Depth Studies' topics up to four electives are listed, such as *The Ottoman Empire*, *Renaissance Italy* or *The Vikings* under the first topic. One elective has to be chosen to be taught in line with the concrete narratives dedicated to each of the electives (pp. 56–64).

On the other hand, the history teacher in North Rhine-Westphalia is free to choose examples in teaching the three aspects of Europe in the Middle Ages (Christianization, Living in feudal society and participation in France, England and in the Roman-German Reich). Nevertheless, there are some indications of the direction intended by the curriculum's authors in the theoretical framework (p. 23). That is, the history of the nation, of Europe and the World, and three content fields corresponding to three epochs (Ancient World, Middle Ages, Modern Times) called "What people of this time knew from each other". But the section in question states that the teacher decides on the content chosen to fulfill the overarching curricular themes (p. 24).

The aspect of assessment (Table 31.1, aspect e) is in line with this. On a surface level one could conclude that within the German approach the assessment is much more important, because the curriculum includes a separate chapter

on that issue. At least, the history teacher department of the single schools is responsible to elaborate principles of assessment in history (pp. 32–33).

Finally, as to the aspect "further structures" (Table 31.1, aspect f), the Australian curriculum provides a glossary with all the theoretical concepts derived from either didactics or history theory. In addition summaries are found of what is to be learned in each year of history schooling.

To summarize, one can observe a strong focus on choices of content in the Australian curriculum, following a liberal narrative of Australia as a part of World History. At the same time the Australian curriculum is very clear about the competencies to be gained by learning narratives. The North Rhine-Westphalia Curriculum, targeting the same group of 10–15-year-old students, invests much more effort in explaining the theoretical approach of competence orientation to develop the individuals' reflective historical consciousness. Concrete choices of content and teaching decisions such as assessment are the responsibility of the history teachers or the history teacher department of the single school.

Thus, both curricula follow the philosophy of competence orientation. Yet they differ in their citizenship concept. The Australian text is more directive and aims more to political affirmation of the narrative underlying the curriculum. The German text seems to be more interested in critical citizenship education, represented in the competence dimensions of historical judgment and agency. Both curricula abandon teachers regarding the question of how to relate the methodological and epistemological competencies to specific teaching assignments.

The two selected curricula differ significantly in their theoretical framework, the selection and the structured nature of the content, the concreteness of planning proposals for the classroom and the commitment shown by the comments on the assessment. A special feature of the Australian curriculum is the glossary in which key curriculum terms are defined for teachers. Overview tables on the narratives to be learned over the years are, for better orientation of the teachers and their long-term planning, found in the attachment of the Australian curriculum. In North Rhine-Westphalia, such summaries are not found, because the structuring of the 'content fields' in four to six partial aspects is so general that such summaries are not even possible. Moreover, with regard to the philosophy of the curriculum, they are not even wanted. In the Australian model, however, the case studies are described in comparative detail.

The curriculum comparison offers insight into the many possible varieties of history curricula in liberal societies and reveals their dependence on the historical, political and socio-cultural contexts. In order to deepen the comparison, a conceptual history analysis of key concepts of the history curricula can eventually be carried out—a task that is facilitated by structural features such as the glossary in the Australian curriculum. Recently, Kenneth Burke's approach of rhetorical analysis for knowing, recognizing and deciphering national and nationalist narratives has been proposed in this same vein (Rutten, Mottart, & Soetaert, 2010). The comparison further shows that the implementation of

the competence approach finds expression in the rhetorical structure and the theoretical vocabulary (aims, rationale), and yet can reach very different understandings of competence orientation and decisions about the content and its degree of structuring. Based on the selected aspects for curriculum comparison, it becomes clear that the knowledge of the curriculum genre becomes more evident through this method than by the mere analysis of one single curriculum. The comparison raises questions about the historical-political and socio-cultural conditions that do not necessarily come to light in the analysis of a single curriculum. The idea of requiring responsible history-didactic handling of the curriculum in the planning and lesson analysis therefore gains plausibility through this comparison.

History-didactical curricular competence has been defined in this chapter as a construct that represents an integral part of professional knowledge for course planning and professional action of teachers. The practicing of theoretically based and didactically substantiated planning of learning tasks (Brauch et al., 2015) could, in theory, contribute to overcoming the theory–practice divide discussed earlier. Empirical history education research to test this theory would be required on questions of the effects on the development of curricular skills among teachers as well as the effects of this competence in the planning and evaluation of lessons.

Conclusion

The research on history curricula in the past decade has dealt with the selection of content and the implementation of history-didactical concepts based on theory of history in the curricula of the Western world (i.e. 'competence orientation'). The selection of contents in these liberal societies obeys the principle of changing governments and their interpretations and functional concepts of the school subject of history. In the studies that deal with this issue, there is uncertainty about how academic history didactics should handle this situation. As a counter-model to the national master narrative, the model of the critical, historically informed citizen is proposed. This model operates under the widely accepted approach of historical consciousness (Seixas, 2004). But this does not solve the question of what indicators teachers could use for the independent, responsible history-didactical selection of relevant learning content. In this sense, there is plenty to do for education and research in history-didactic theory, in particular for the university education orientating the history teacher. Peter Seixas (2009) correctly pointed out that the relationship to the historical sciences at university could be much strengthened. With the Six Big Historical Thinking Concepts (Seixas & Morton, 2013), he has now written a wonderful textbook for history teacher training, in accordance with the scientific standards of the discipline. Another step would be to make future teachers more independent in how they deal with the curriculum and textbook, through curriculum-independent-specialized academic qualifications, and to make the history-didactical sense of this qualification transparent. However, this appears

to require a particularly large cognitive effort by those studying to be history teachers (Wäschle et al., 2015).

The question of the role and function of the history curriculum in university teacher training opens up a wide field of new research in history-didactics. From a history-theoretical perspective, the international comparative analysis of history curricula raises the question of the epistemic logic of this specific genre and its conjunctures in dependence on historical, historical-political and socio-cultural contexts. From the perspective of teacher education research, the question to be asked is what would facilitate future teachers to use the curriculum in a responsible history-didactical and pragmatic manner. It should be examined whether it is easier for curricularly competent history teachers to implement the history-theoretical objectives in theoretically justifiable history-didactical actions in planning and teaching. Finally, it needs to be explored whether the training of historically informed critical citizens would better succeed with such a use of the history curriculum compared to utter ignorance of any administrative requirement. After all, it is to be hoped that the knowledge of the epistemology of history curricula encourages future history teachers to make use of this guideline with content-driven creativity, in favor of the student's chances of becoming a reflective citizen in terms of reflective historical consciousness.

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CHAPTER 32

Cultural Wars and History Textbooks in Democratic Societies

Tony Taylor and Stuart Macintyre

This chapter provides the background to and illustrative accounts of politically motivated clashes about how the past is represented in modern democratic societies. These clashes, often instigated by conservative/nationalist ideologues, are known more generally as 'history wars'. In this chapter these 'wars' are examined on a case study basis as they occur in Australia and the USA, both liberal democracies, and in the Russian federation, a 'sovereign democracy'. Three further purposes of the chapter are to provide a historical background to the role of textbooks in past and recent history wars, to suggest more generally why these history wars arose, what they involved and who prosecuted them, and to outline possible future changes in how information management in the history classroom, once the sole province of textbooks, might be changing.

An Overview

In the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the school textbook served the national project in the teaching of history. This involved the construction of a national story, with origins and formative events, and the imposi-

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tion of a binding nationhood on regional, local and, where relevant, imperial differences. For example, history textbooks commonly used in the major part of the British private school system during 1870–1914 focused on moral training in English cultural beliefs, loyalty to authority and good citizenship as a basis for training leaders who would defend the empire against internal and external threats (Cannadine, Keating, & Sheldon, 2011).

For example, such texts were produced in the Australian colonies from the establishment of public education in the 1870s (Sutherland, 1877). They related the exploration and settlement of the colonies as affirmations of British enterprise, their political and economic progress as validating the imperial patrimony (Jenks, 1895; Jose, 1899). After the federation of the colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia, these textbooks traced the growth of the nation state and the duties of the citizen as an informed and patriotic participant in its affairs (Murdoch, 1903; Scott, 1916). They validated its political regime, justified its territorial claims and inculcated patriotism. The historical pedagogy was didactic and exalted a particular moral position by making use of exemplary figures who served the nation and embodied its qualities.

Moving on to the twentieth century and the desire to foster a broader worldview, there were international attempts to revise this form of school history and the textbooks that served it, especially after the two world wars. These involved both educationalists and academic historians, and there were efforts through both the League of Nations and UNESCO to free school history from its nationalist orientation (see below). Such endeavours had limited success: they were resisted by the education departments that oversaw the school system and impeded by competition between teachers and academics. However, the disputes over the content and purpose of school history were typically intramural and did not usually give rise to public controversy (Fuchs, 2010; Sluga, 2013).

When we get to the closing decades of the twentieth century, the history curriculum and the history textbook gave rise to sustained and acrimonious public contestation on a global basis. These disputes may have been national in their circumstances and specific to the particular national history, but the history wars remain an international phenomenon.

History wars tend to coincide with a weakening of the authority of the nation state. This is most obvious in zones of conflict such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria that have fractured along ethnic, religious and tribal lines. But the history wars are less evident there than in countries where nationalism is asserted against perceived threats. These include rivalries with neighbouring states (e.g. Japan and China) and the claims of irredentist minorities as in, for example, the Israel/Palestine issue.

For the most part the perceived threat arises from the cosmopolitan implications of globalisation. It has been argued that globalisation has eroded the sources of national identity, and that in their place a multiplicity of group identities based on ethnicity, religion, regional membership and lifestyle have narrowed the ambit of national identification (Castells, 2010). With the weakening of national cohesion, the liberal conception of citizenship—as an autonomous

member of a self-governing community—is replaced by the assertion of loyalties incumbent on all who live within the territorial boundaries.

Of particular concern in the history wars is the professional and managerial class, which has prospered in the knowledge economy. Mobile and increasingly global in outlook, it is seen to isolate itself from the majority and reduce its ties to the nation (Lasch, 1994). The politics of the history wars are thus marked by neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Governments have pursued neo-liberal economic policies in pursuit of competitive advantage, but also seek social cohesion and it is progressive élites who are commonly blamed for undermining national unity. Populist politicians, commentators and the media act as self-appointed guardians of these countries' traditions and denounce those who question them.

A similar divergence is apparent in educational policy. Education is aligned increasingly with the needs of the economy, with an emphasis on essential skills and vocational studies, which in turn is monitored by performance management and measurable outcomes, but is also expected to meet social objectives. Hence national school curricula tend to encompass skills, values and ethical capacities, especially as they relate to past events (see, e.g. Marginson, 1997: 92–130).

Accordingly, the history wars arise in various settings (e.g. commemoration, memorials, museums, cinema) but have special force in school history. They are less marked in universities, where disciplinary practices place greater emphasis on methods of critical interpretation in specialist studies of different times and places. School history differs from university history in that it is taught to all students, rather than those who choose to study it, and places a particular emphasis on national history. Moreover, school history is defined in mandated curricula, whereas universities are self-accredited institutions with a high level of curricular autonomy.

The history wars are conducted over national history. They arise when received versions of a country's past, its formative events, cultural lineage and achievements are perceived to be under threat. Military aggression and atrocities are a common source of contention (as in Japan, dealt with at length in Taylor, 2007, 2008), along with genocide such as in Turkey and Germany (see Taylor, 2008), or internal repression in Russia and Argentina for example (see Taylor, 2016, and Gonzalez, 2012, respectively). In settler societies (such as Australia), it is the treatment and of displacement of indigenous peoples that is most sensitive, and efforts to include minorities and recognise cultural difference form two other flashpoints (Macintyre & Clark, 2003).

The history wars typically fix on curriculum documents and textbooks. In doing so the prosecutors treat the curriculum as a prescriptive document that determines what all students will be taught, learn and believe, and textbooks as definitive statements. They pay little attention to the obstacles of realising curriculum, the 'powerful, obstructive local filters' that modify the mandated curriculum through variations in jurisdictional response, teacher mediation and student response (Taylor & Guyver, 2012: xiii). The history wars are thus con-

ducted in circumstances where the educational system can have a degree of autonomy from state control, and where historians and the teaching profession do have a capacity to resist political pressure.

A principal battleground of one form of the history wars is the national content of the curriculum. In Europe, for example, efforts to develop a supranational history that fosters a common European identity have foundered on the insistence on preserving the national past—as was the case, for example, in the Netherlands with the introduction in 2009 of the Dutch Canon (Grever & Stuurman, 2007, and see below). In the UK too the conservative government's education minister adopted a new curriculum that emphasised national history at the expense of world history (Guyver, 2014).

A further point of conflict is pedagogical method. From the 1970s onwards, in many Western nations, teaching and textbooks shifted from a teacher-centred form of instruction in the events of the past to an inquiry-based approach that sought to teach the skills and concepts of historical thinking. Arguably, the best-known example of such an approach was the UK's 1970s Schools Council History 13–16 Project (Shemilt, 1980). Such teaching emphasised the multiplicity of historical interpretation, and encouraged students to construct their own understanding (Klerides, 2010). In opening up received accounts to critical interrogation, it attracted accusations of moral relativism. In prosecuting Australia's history wars in 2006, for example, the conservative Prime Minister John Howard undertook to restore a factual narrative in place of what he described as a 'stew of themes and issues' as did President Vladimir Putin in his 2000–2015 campaign to turn the Russian secondary history curriculum into a fact-based, patriotic narrative (Taylor, 2016) while in the Netherlands, the coalition government of the then Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende (Christian Democratic Appeal party) introduced the controversial essentialist Dutch Canon (50 key windows into Dutch history) into schools in 2009. Having said all that, while curriculum design provides the basis for the structure of history education, pedagogy in both liberal and illiberal societies is often dependent on how interpretations and representations of the past are framed in school textbook, especially in textbook-dependent education systems.

Textbooks and History Education

Compared with the amount of sustained inquiry into pedagogical methods and into educational theory and policy generally, research into the use of textbooks as a crucial element (or not) in history classrooms was until the 1990s a low-yield activity that was methodologically varied and geographically scattered. This paucity of attention is almost certainly because of the huge number of variables associated with the use of textbooks in the classroom. For example, large-scale empirical studies would, in many democratic societies, encounter teacher-to-teacher, school-to-school, year-to-year and publisher-to-publisher variations that might militate against anything other than the most anodyne

conclusions. Further, classroom micro-studies, while useful anecdotally, can only offer, at best, vivid but isolated and often atypical findings. What this means is that our understanding of any patterns of the relationship between textbooks and historical controversy remains fragmented and incomplete (Pingel, 2010: 46).

Consequently, apart from the highly regarded work of Germany's Georg Eckert Institut (www.gei.de/en/the-institute.html), the field of history textbook study is relatively barren. The UK history educator Stuart Foster (2011) has bemoaned the lack of a corpus of literature in such a key pedagogical area, stressing the central importance of more research in the field. In attempting to produce conceptual categories that might frame new research he has arrived at a two-part classification of how history textbooks are, and might yet be, researched and critiqued.

His first category is the *conciliatory tradition* approach, where textbook researchers work with practitioner educators from a range of nations to produce textbooks that show a broad, common understanding of past events and at the same time are aware of the histories of other nations. This approach, from 1925 to the present, has been applied to much of the work of the League of Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe and to the activities of the Georg Eckert Institut (see e.g. Aleksashkina, 2006). The second category is the *critical tradition* in which academics and researchers examine textbooks as a way of answering questions about the development of historical consciousness, as in Peter Seixas's view (drawn from Macdonald & Fausser, 2000) that this kind of consciousness is an amalgam of 'individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors that shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future' (Seixas, 2006: 10).

The Conciliatory Tradition

For almost a century, the idea of school textbook revision has played a growing part in how progressive and well-intentioned international organisations have viewed representations of the past in the classroom. Combining the commentaries of the Georg Eckert Institut researchers Falk Pingel (2010) and Eckhart Fuchs (2010), we can see that the initiative started with a post-Great War appeal by the *Föreningen Nordenbrief* (Nordic Association Brief) for de-biased Nordic textbooks. The process then moved on to a largely ineffectual 1925 League of Nations *International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation* that urged, through the 1926 *Casares Resolution*, a transnational checking for bias. These ecumenical endeavours led to a 1932 League of Nations report critical of humanities textbooks, and several mid-1930s initiatives in Europe and Latin America culminating on 2 October 1937 in a League of Nations six-page *Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History* advocating international perspectives in history textbooks (Fuchs, 2010; Pingel, 2010).

Evidence is not forthcoming about the responses of the 16 member states that signed this declaration but Fuchs has pointed out that the League of Nations was not in a position to enforce its declarations. What we do know, however, is that one month after that October 1937 League declaration, on 5 November 1937 Hitler outlined his war plans to the small *Hossbach Memorandum* meeting of Nazi diplomatic and military leaders in the Reich Chancellery. Four days after that event, and on the other side of the world, the Imperial Japanese Army entered Shanghai. These two aggressor states, each of which had left the League of Nations in 1933, clearly held very different views from those outlined in the 1937 *Declaration* about what constituted international perspectives. Looking at these three events together, we can infer that if a nation's government is not receptive to international advice, there can be little or no progress when it comes to producing a conciliatory textbook culture. The 1930s were not a good time to ask nations to show more understanding of each other.

Following the end of World War Two, UNESCO took on the renewed task of internationally based guidance in textbook revision with its 1949 *Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding*. This was part of a UNESCO Model Plan that stressed, amongst other matters, the importance of multinational Asian/Western representations as well as the significance of bilateral representations in the textbooks of nations formerly in conflict with each other. This latter initiative shifted UNESCO's emphasis more from internationalist to bilateral national perspectives but it came at a time when the Cold War was verging on hot war status. The Korean War, the continuing Cold War as well as colonial conflicts of the 1950s and 1960s seem to have stymied any further attempts for improving bilateral relations. In 1974, to meet the challenges of the enduring Cold War and a post-colonial world, UNESCO then adopted a resolution that was intended to encourage 'international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Pingel, 2010: 13).

As for history textbooks, this resolution pointed out (Pingel, 2010: 13):

> Member States should encourage wider exchange of textbooks, especially history and geography textbooks, and should, where appropriate, take measures, by concluding, if possible, bilateral and multi-lateral agreements, for the reciprocal study and revision of textbooks and other educational materials in order to ensure that they are accurate, balanced, up-to-date and unprejudiced and will enhance mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.

'Consultations' in Europe, Latin America and Africa ensued. Again it remains unclear what the consequences of these consultations were. At this stage, it is interesting to note that this 1974 resolution came in the year following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War and the introduction of the OAPEC oil

embargo. Further, the resolution was agreed upon in the very year that India detonated its first nuclear device.

A declaratory hiatus followed until 1988 when a UNESCO-auspiced and ponderously titled conference *International Consultation with a View to Recommending Criteria for Improving the Study of Major Problems of Mankind and their Presentation in School Curricula and Textbooks* was held at the Georg Eckert Institut in Braunschweig. This conference flagged a return to a more global strategy with a complementary regional approach. While there may be no evidence to hand of any significant shift of policy at a national or publishing house level as a consequence of the 1974 Resolution, the 1988 initiative did advocate equal weighting to be given to 'knowledge, attitudes and skills' in history textbooks as well as active student and teacher research into textbooks as sources, and it did lead to the establishment of the UNESCO/Eckert 1992 *International Textbook Research Network*.

Following the collapse of communist political systems in Russia and Europe, the pedagogical focus in former Soviet bloc nations turned from commentary into a practical contribution to the shaping of post-Cold War textbooks. Here, among other ideological matters, Marxist historiography, the prominence of political economy and the paramount importance of martial and pro-party narratives had dominated history textbooks (Cary, 1976). During the 20 years that followed the destruction of the Berlin Wall, it was UNESCO, the Council of Europe and Euroclio (www.euroclio.eu) programs that helped guide education officials and teachers away from pre-1989 moralising and ideologically based curricula towards open-ended, inquiry-based learning and the kinds of textbooks that this approach demanded (see e.g. Aleksashkina, 2006). Indeed, at the 2010 Euroclio Nijmegen conference, there was discussion by Euroclio staff about reduced Council of Europe funding and the expected winding down of that post-Soviet era professional development initiative following its supposedly successful implementation.

More recently, UNESCO policy initiatives, together with research funding from philanthropic organisations such as the Carnegie Council for Ethics (Cole, 2007), have turned towards post-conflict societies in, for example, the Balkans, Northern Ireland and the Middle East. They have also turned to the issue of multiculturalism with the 2005 publication of the UNESCO *Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning* and the 2006 publication of the UNESCO *Guidelines on Multicultural Education*. These documents promoted a normative approach to textbook design and an anti-confrontational cultural pedagogical approach based on values education, discussion of 'self' and 'other' and the formation of informed worldviews.

In his clear and incisive summary of where these latest developments are heading, Pingel (2010) raises thought-provoking questions about the nature of the ideal in textbook construction and the relationship of these ideals, amongst other things, to curriculum construction, educational standards, commercial considerations, intercultural issues, identity politics, over-generalisation, tem-

poral categorisation and essentialism. These are all good questions to ask, and in asking them, Pingel seems to raise the possible intractability of dealing with quite so many complexities in researching the design and actual use of textbooks.

The Critical Tradition

Stuart Foster's 2011 version of the critical tradition is outlined as follows (paraphrasing and additions in italics made by first author):

- Who or what owns knowledge selection *and chooses pedagogical approaches* in textbooks and what is the relationship between the ideological, *religious*, economic and intellectual elements in this process of selection?
- Whose voices are represented in textbooks? *Who are the in-groups and the out-groups in any given narrative?*
- What are the cultural, political, geographical and historical perspectives in history textbooks that are influenced by particular *factional*, national or *international* pressures?

In Foster's view, there are two key historiographical/controversial elements in the critical tradition. First, we have textbook representations of the role and activities of social groups, as in race, ethnicity, class, gender and disability. Second, we have textbook depictions of ideological and political perspectives, particularly, for example, when it comes to the framing of national identity. Both of these elements are, of course, linked and form part of a general approach to the exploration of historiography at the classroom level.

We can now add to the Pingel/Foster mix of styles of activity and research into history education and textbooks the work of Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon (2010). This was outlined in their summary of the 2009 conference of the International Society for History Didactics/Georg Eckert Institut in Braunschweig on controversiality as a history education issue. Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon accentuate the significance of what they called the *uphill* or content and production issues of textbook use including the changing nature of appearance and functionality of textbooks, market demand, production/pedagogy tensions and the use of the wider range of sources now available to students and teachers both inside and outside the classroom. It would probably be fair to say that at this stage, textbooks are on the cusp between publishing models based on hard copy with some online support and online-only models that are making good use of tablet and laptop technology. This latter development may have three long-term effects on history pedagogy. First, the primacy of the textbook as a resource may soon be at an end. Second, offering easy access to digital resources to students opens up a Pandora's Box of evidential possibilities and improbabilities (see also Klein, in this volume). Third, and researchers have already noticed this phenomenon, tablet technology reduces reader focus and attention span (Carr, 2010).

Next, Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon deal with the *downhill* aspect (use and perception) of textbooks. This stage in textbook usage involves multiple variables when assessing the use and perception of textbooks that would seem to militate against reaching substantive conclusions. However, digital technology of the Pandora's Box kind, as outlined above, must become just one of many sources to be subjected to the kind of student scrutiny and comparisons that good teaching would demand of less traditional resources.

A slightly different development in the 'meaning and mention' variation of Foster's critical tradition has been the advocacy of a postmodernist approach where, for example, textbooks are to be investigated as artefacts in themselves that are open to discourse analysis and genrefication. A case in point is a comparative study of Cypriot and UK textbooks by Eleftherios Klerides in which he concludes that

> 'This imagining of the textbook gives rise to a range of new analytical priorities for textbook research…The study of the form and motivations of heterogeneity, ambivalence, dilemmas, and compromises in textbooks within a given society, and the examination of their different shapes and sources across sociocultural settings are of particular relevance for textbook researchers, particularly in the field of comparative textbook research.' (Klerides, 2010: 20)

We think this is a bold claim, based on decontextualised conceptual speculation that overlooks, amongst other matters, the uphill and downhill aspects of textbook production and the deterministic nature of curriculum.

This brings us to a more detailed discussion of the uphill/downhill model in three different education systems where a centralised curriculum seems to be the key determinant in the shaping of textbooks.

Three Case Studies in Contestability and Controversy in the Use of Textbooks

There are at least three categories of textbook culture in developed nations. First, there is the *pluralist textbook system,* for example, in Australia and the UK, where a significant number of rival publishers, some large and some small, compete within an education system to gain a profitable share of an entire market or a market sector. Second, there is the *adopted textbook system* where a limited number of mega-publishers compete with each other for adoption by a major education system, as in half the states in the USA, for example, including the large and politically important states of California and Texas (Whitman, 2004). Third, there is the *endorsed system* where state-approved textbooks published by a limited number of large publishers are given an imprimatur (or denied one) by a government agency. Prominent examples of this endorsed model are the Russian Federation and Japan—although it needs to be said in the latter case that the notoriously nationalist Japanese *New History Textbook* has had a

very low take-up rate in that nation's middle schools (Taylor, 2008). What follows is a series of three case studies in textbook use and the political/historiographical context in which these case studies exist. There is no attempt in this account to draw point-by-point comparisons. They are meant to be illustrative examples about which generalisations might be made. Nevertheless, as with the need for more research into how teachers actually use textbooks, there is a similar need for more comparative studies on textbook use in different political environments. These case studies are intended to provide a starting point.

The Pluralist System: Australia

Initially, based on the first author's extensive professional experience in the UK and Australia as well as visiting over 400 sites in the UK, Australia, Canada, the USA and Northern Ireland since 1981, it should be noted that teachers who work in pluralist textbook systems such as Australia, the UK and New Zealand tend not to be textbook dependent. They will use a variety of sources as a matter of course. For a variety of reasons, including expense, suitability, in-school availability, appropriateness of level and dislike of textbooks, some teachers may not use textbooks at all. Having said that, a more systematic investigation of textbook use by teachers in these education systems is needed. It is useful to point out at this stage that a useful indicator of the centrality (or not) of history textbooks in school culture is whether or not history wars debates in any given democratic nation focus mainly on curriculum, mainly on textbooks or on both.

If we turn to Australia as a pluralist model, the national curriculum, first introduced into schools over the period 2011–2016, is served for the most part by six commercial textbook publishers.[1] For the purpose of this exercise we shall look at the Year 10 (final year of compulsory schooling at age 16) textbooks of Macmillan, Cambridge University Press and Oxford University Press. This brief investigation will centre on these Australian textbooks' approaches to contestability as represented by their dealing with two controversial incidents in recent Australian history. Before we reach that point, however, some backgrounding on the feasibility of historiography in the Australian classroom may be useful.

In the Australian national curriculum, historiographical analysis in schools is a threefold phenomenon, often linked together at the classroom level. First, there are the conventional academic historical debates as expressed at school level, as in the *Sonderweg* ('special path') issue in twentieth-century German history (see Blackbourn & Eley, 1984, for elucidation). Next, there are public debates about controversial historical issues, for example, colonial encounters with Australia's Indigenous population. Third, we have contrasting representations of the past in popular media, for example, the importance of teachers' classroom use of feature film in developing historical consciousness (Donnelly, 2012). These three elements are grouped together in the Australian national history curriculum Years 7–12 as 'Contestability', one of seven 'Historical Understandings' (Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2010).

Following on from this approach to contestability, we know from the work of the Australian National History Education Centre (2001–2007) that students as young as 9–10 years of age in Year 5 can deal comfortably with historiography in the classroom when exploring, for example, the question 'Was [legendary Australian outlaw and political rebel] Ned Kelly a hero or a villain?' Evidence and classroom discussion is based on primary sources, an excerpt from an academic text and discussion of films of Ned Kelly's life. These sources are contained in the national centre's online textbook resource *Making History: Investigating our Land and Legends* (Hattensen & Parry, 2003). We also know from the Australian experience that conservative politicians and commentators are wary about introducing historiographical elements into the school curriculum, which they feel should be more of a celebratory chronicle that moves on quickly from discussion of past 'errors' and unfortunate incidents (Taylor, 2013). Having said that, we can now explore how commercial textbooks handle three controversial issues or incidents in modern Australian history.

The first issue, bearing in mind that Australia is a society where immigration and multiculturalism have long been contested topics, concerns the prominent conservative historian Geoffrey Blainey's anti-multicultural comments. These inspired a 1980s controversy and have remained a continuing element in partisan conservative political rhetoric in Australia for 30 years (Macintyre & Clark, 2003). Two 2001 incidents were also very controversial. In brief, the first of these involved (mainly Afghan) refugees/asylum seekers stranded at sea, a Norwegian freighter (the *MV Tampa*) acting as an improvised rescue vessel, an Australian conservative government embargo on the landing of refugees/asylum refugees, a coercive intervention by Australian special forces and finally a refugee/asylum seeker landing on the Micronesian island of Nauru. The Australian government later accepted 28 of the 438 refugees/asylum seekers, whereas New Zealand took 150. In the second incident in October 2001, a different group of refugee/asylum seekers was accused by an Australian government minister of throwing children overboard in an attempt to force an Australian rescue operation. These claims were later shown to be totally unfounded. The Tampa incident had occurred just before the attacks on US domestic targets on 11 September 2001 and both events preceded a federal election, influencing public opinion in favour of an anti-refugee stance taken by the conservative coalition government which, prior to Tampa incident, had been losing popularity.

In the 2010 and current Australian national curriculum, these multiculturalism and immigration controversies are contained within a Year 10 Depth Study titled *Migration Experience 1945—present*. Students are expected to bring into play the seven Historical Understandings as well as the historical skills required. The Understandings are: use of evidence; continuity and change; cause and effect; significance, perspectives; empathy and contestability. The skills mainly concern source evaluation, identification and analysis of perspectives, as well as the development and communication of explanation. Neither Geoffrey Blainey nor the 2001 asylum seeker incidents are specifically mandated in the curriculum framework.

The 2012 Oxford University Press 269-page volume *Big Ideas History 10* (Carrodus et al., 2012) allocates 23 pages (236–269) to the migration topic, mainly consisting of a longish narrative interspersed with primary sources. Some of these provide case studies of personal experiences and others are excerpts from official documents. Interestingly, the volume's version of events contains only a short narrative passage on Blainey's 1984 speech on multiculturalism, briefly describing the incident as an event that led to the politicisation of the issue. On the other hand, the text does have a three-page feature on the 2001 Tampa and the (later proved to be false claims of) 'children overboard' incidents. The editorial stance is plain. For example, the Australian Prime Minister John Howard is described as a pre-election mode politician who decided to show 'firm leadership' by making 'a show of strength', and it is stated that he condemned asylum seekers for their 'cruel treatment' of their own ('thrown overboard') children. The case studies and primary sources used highlight the predicament of asylum seekers and refugees. The Australian government's behaviour is portrayed as heartless, mendacious and opportunistic.

The Cambridge University Press textbook *History for the Australian Curriculum 10* (Woollacott, 2012) is a 315-page volume with 20 pages on the multiculturalism/migration topic. These pages tend to take the form of narratives interspersed with illustrations, primary sources and inquiry activities. The Blainey affair gets three paragraphs (p. 298) and the Tampa and 'children overboard' incidents get two pages (308–309). Blainey is seen in this text in much the same way as in the Oxford University Press book, as the idiosyncratic originator of a highly contested debate that dominated politics in the 1980s and which gave a fillip to backlash movements provoking a harder, assimilationist conservative political line on immigration. The 2001 asylum seeker events are outlined in a less loaded fashion than in the Oxford University Press book, with a more factual commentary, a reference to the September 11 attacks against the USA, the Howard government's anti-refugee/asylum seeker policy, ministerial argumentation about the children overboard incident and a summary of international criticism of Australian government actions. The Australian Labor Party's failed attempt in 2011 to deal with 'unauthorised' asylum seekers merits a brief paragraph (pp. 309–310).

The 232-page Macmillan textbook *History 10: The Modern World and Australia* (Ashton & Anderson, 2012) devotes 27 pages (205–232) to the issue of multiculturalism and immigration from 1945 to 2012. These are a mix of narrative commentary, case studies, primary sources, maps and illustrations, which include a brief three-paragraph introduction about the impact of multiculturalism in Australia. This introduction suggests that multiculturalism is an ideology that has generated polarising debates, giving rise to a backlash *One Nation* political movement in 1996 led by the populist politician Pauline Hanson. The book links opposition to multiculturalism to 'the continuation of racist attitudes' which come to the fore 'during times of economic recession', arguing that multiculturalism has not gained 'consistent support from

any party'. In a clever source exercise, there follows a transcript of the Blainey's 1984 speech that started the debate and a verbatim copy of a 1984 opposing response in the *Sydney Morning Herald* by leftish academic Duncan Waterson, then professor of history at Macquarie University. A third source consists of an excerpt from pro-multiculturalism sociologist Andrew Jakubowicz's 1994 book *Racism, Ethnicity and the Media*. The follow-up activities take the form of 20 questions, the majority of them closed-ended. Interestingly, the *Tampa* and 'children overboard' cases are not mentioned.

These three sample books take much the same editorial approach, which is that migration has been beneficial to Australia, and has changed its culture for the better; that multiculturalism in itself is largely non-problematic, and that opposition to immigration and multiculturalism is a minority xenophobic or even a racist activity. The Oxford and Cambridge texts state that the Tampa and 'children overboard' incidents were criticised domestically and internationally, and suggest that political opportunism affects how recent Australian governments deal with immigration policy. At the same time, the Oxford book is much more partisan in its representation of the 2001 incidents than the Cambridge University Press book and even has sections on contestability throughout the volume to highlight the nature of controversial issues in history.

On the face of it, little can be deduced from these representations except that a combination of curriculum imperatives, a publisher's editorial policy and authorial voices seem to determine what controversial events are chosen for investigation within a broadly framed topic and how those events are written up for a student audience. If there is a broad observation to be made, it is that in a modern pluralist publishing environment, history textbooks rarely, if ever, come under fire from aggrieved politicians or public commentators. As noted above, this is presumably because when it is the curriculum that determines the construction of multiple versions of textbooks it is the curriculum itself that attracts political censure. Indeed, during the period that preceded and followed the introduction of Australia's first national history curriculum in 2010, the conservative federal opposition, the News Corp (Murdoch) press and other media in Australia attacked the curriculum framework for its alleged left-wing bias (Taylor & Collins, 2012). Once in power in 2013, the conservative government set up a 2014 review of the whole Australian curriculum (Department of Education and Training, 2014) to be led by two prominent conservative supporters who were directed to look for ideological bias. They did so but the review came to nothing, mainly because of its politicised origins and its farcical character (Taylor, 2014).

The Approved System: The United States

As noted above, while it is practically impossible to make exact comparisons between the small Australian textbook system based on a national curriculum and the very much larger US system based on multiple curricula, the politi-

cal contexts for history textbook authorship and production in each liberal democratic nation can be explored successfully as indicators of similarities and differences. Three points need to be made at the outset. First, textbooks in the USA are very big business (Hogan, Lingard, & Sellar, 2015). Publishers keep sales figures to themselves but the 'Big Three' textbook corporations operating in the USA—the UK's Pearson, Boston's Houghton Mifflin Harcourt and New York's McGraw-Hill Education—control 85 % of a $US13.7 billion elementary and high school market in the USA (figures from 2013). Second, the hard-copy textbook industry is slowly dying. Third, teachers in the USA seem to be moderately textbook dependent but are moving to other, cheaper and more varied sources (Strahler, 2012).

Having said that, the US education system provides an interesting and controversial example of an *approved* print textbook arrangement at work in a decentralised curriculum culture where textbooks are seen as key deliverers of, and elaborators on, a largely permissive set of 'national standards' (US term for curriculum guidelines and syllabuses). However, in the 1980s, the outstanding educational issue when it came to history education was not so much about textbooks but was indeed a controversy over the voluntary national history standards (Nash, Crabtree, & Ross, 2000). According to the account by Nash and colleagues, from 1986 to 1994, the redoubtable Lynne Cheney, at that time chair of the US National Endowment for the Humanities (1986–1993) and fellow of the neo-conservative American Enterprise Institute, was aided by the *Wall Street Journal* in a fierce but ultimately unsuccessful fight against the national history standards on the grounds that they were corrupted by leftist tendencies.

Since then, the arena for national debate has shifted back to the individual states. In these debates the California's post-2001 progressively framed elementary school textbooks are under fire from conservative and religious groups for allegedly favouring Islamic perspectives. The struggle continues, having now incorporated supposedly critical attacks on textbook representations of Hinduism (Sewall, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Watanabe, 2006). More recently, in several conservative US states, education authorities have reacted against education professionals' views of the past, which conservative administrators, commentators, politicians and business figures see as secularist and subversive: for the last of these, see especially the influence of the Koch brothers (Schulman, 2015). The most egregious example of this conservative reaction is Texas, where the Religious Right dominated the small (15 member) Texas State Board of Education since the mid-1990s.

For example, according to *New York Times* columnist Gail Collins (2012a), in Texas's 2010 decennial social studies/history curriculum review and promulgation, McCarthyism could be studied but only if controversial Soviet espionage documents, since published as the *Venona project* transcripts, were also included as a 'balanced' justification for McCarthyism. Students of modern history were also obliged to study closely the triumphs of the Moral Majority and the National Rifle Association. The Texas board also insisted that the his-

tory of country and Western music be studied. Considering the state's cultural and demographic contexts and country and Western music's prominence in US musical culture, this might seem a reasonable suggestion but perhaps not a reasonable directive. Collins goes on to cite many more examples of the Board's determination to include and exclude topics for study in Texas editions of nationally offered textbooks.

There are two key points to be made about the activities of the Texas board. First, until recently, the board has been run in a determined if eccentric fashion by an elected group dominated by the Christian Right who have insisted on including pro-Christian, far-Right curriculum topics and excluding unfavoured topics such as advances in anti-discrimination and the critique of hetero-normative narratives (see Scott Wylie in Hickman & Porfilio, 2012: 129–148). These interventions are so extensive that the textbooks produced by the major publishers who try to accommodate both the conservative Christian and the progressive sides are now regarded even by the moderately conservative Thomas B. Fordham Institute as overblown and unreadable manuals that are a 'confusing, unteachable hodgepodge, blending the worst of two educational dogmas' (Stern & Stern, 2011: 142). For example, the 2013 Holt McDougall one-year textbook, *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, (Beck, Black, & Krieger, 2013) totalled a massive 1011 pages, more than the combined length of all three equivalent Australian history textbooks cited above.

Second, these books are part of an ideological movement that crosses state boundaries. In 2011, Texas had an estimated 4.8 million school-age students who were potential textbook readers. Since the state itself pays for the students' textbooks and since the captive audience is so huge, the publishers are obliged to take into account the proclivities of the Texas Board when commissioning their books. This means that many of the smaller and less wealthy states are obliged to use the Texas version across the curriculum. In Gail Collins's sardonic view expressed in her article *How Texas inflicts bad textbooks on us* (Collins, 2012b):

> Texas didn't mess up American textbooks, but its size, its purchasing heft, and the pickiness of the school board's endless demands—not to mention the board's overall craziness—certainly made it the trend leader. Texas has never managed to get evolution out of American science textbooks. It's been far more successful in helping make evolution—and history, and everything else—seem boring.

Some publishers have circumvented the problem by offering special Texas editions but that was a hard-copy solution. If recent digital trends in textbook publishing continue, such as the Big Three's iPad alliance with Apple, online student and school customisation of discrete historical topics, the once anticipated 19 % decline in print sales between 2010 and 2014 (still going down) and the forecast death of the textbook (Lee, 2013) the idea that Texas 'inflicts bad textbooks' on the rest of the USA may be history itself.

The Endorsed System: The Russian Federation

Unlike Australia and the USA, Russia has a very centralised education system with a regularly revised national history curriculum, strong teacher dependence on state-provided textbooks and textbook approval overseen by the Ministry of Education and Science. History textbooks that support the national curriculum are scrutinised by the appropriate committees from the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Academy of Education. For example, 60 or so approved books (numbers vary from year to year) published during 2013 were sent off to the Ministry of Education and Science for final approval before being published and distributed by a small number of major publishers. Among these is *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment), a Moscow-based leader in the field with as its Chair of the Board billionaire Arkady Rotenberg. This martial arts companion of Vladimir Putin was being touted in November 2013 as owner of *Prosveshcheniye*, a company that owes half its income to state contracts (*Moscow Times,* November 1, 2013).

According to Liudmilla Aleksashkina, Russian Academy of Education researcher and author of the 2010 Russian national curriculum policy document (Aleksashkina, 2011), Russian history teaching in the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, while still narrative based, was dealing with different narratives. It had strong pedagogical foundations in historical knowledge, skills and inquiry tasks and, more recently, had an emphasis on extension activities as well as discrete topics at different stages within the narratives. However, all that had begun to change. During the early years of Vladimir Putin's presidency over his 'managed democracy' (more recently constructed in 2005 by the United Russian party as a 'sovereign democracy'), there began a noticeable move away from multiple perspectives towards a nationalist ideologisation of curriculum and a Putin-demanded emphasis on the 'bright spots' in Russian history (Zajda, 2009: 381–382).

This meant that, despite these progressive pedagogical foundations described by Aleksashkina, textbooks continued to promote nationalism and patriotism, with an emphasis on Russia's heritage, love of *Rodina* (Motherland) as well as feelings of patriotism, and citizenship (Rybakov & Preobrazhenskii, 1993: 273, cit. Zajda, 2009). During the period 1993–2001 this kind of patriotic exhortation prevailed, as in a 2001 Grade 10 textbook *Rossia v XX veke* (Russia in the twentieth century: Levandovski & Schetinov, 2001: 3–4) where students were asked to look at the 'bright and dark pages of life prior to 1917' and enjoined to investigate 'the depressing shadow of massive repressions… the growth of our Fatherland [sic], with great achievements and unforgivable errors… More than ever before it is necessary for you to explain… the inner logic of historical process, and find the answers to the questions why such events occurred' (cit. Zajda, 2009). The use of the phrase 'inner logic' is interesting, suggesting perhaps some form of rationalisation for the Civil War atrocities by both sides, Soviet-era purges and post-war suppression of dissent and attempts at self-determination (Zajda, 2012).

These books, according to researcher Joseph Zajda, increasingly emphasised what he calls a positive re-affirmation of the historical greatness of the present Russian state—from the ancient *Rus,* through the imperial period and on to the Soviet era, which seems to contradict the intention of the 2010 curriculum framework as outlined by its author, Aleksashkina.

On the face of it, during a transition period from 1993 to 2010 a four-stage curriculum has existed in Russia in contradiction with itself. First, there is the intended curriculum, meant to be Putinesque in its brightness. Second, there is the stated curriculum, which is expected to be investigative and open-ended. Third, there is the enacted curriculum, which, in a textbook-dependent system, seems closed-ended and nationalistic. As for the realised curriculum, based on Zajda's 2012 survey of 200 Russian teachers, in St Petersburg and 15 regional centres, a majority of Russian teachers surveyed (77 %) agreed with the statement that they did not feel pressured to present a particular point of view regarding events in Russian history. At the same time, the greatest level of agreement (87.5 %) came from the very distant Chinese borderland regional city of Khabarovsk and the lowest level of agreement came from metropolitan Moscow (47 %). These figures suggest that the metropolitan teachers, while still hugely dependent on their state salaries (very low by Western European standards), are part of, or may be sympathetic to, the 2011 manifestation of a middle-class anti-Putin movement while the resource-poor teachers of remote Khabarovsk are less bothered about the politicisation of textbooks and feel they are well beyond the reach of metropolitan Russian politics.

Finally, Putin has, through the newly established Russian Historical Society (a successor of the Imperial Russian Historical Society), set up a process in October 2013 which, it was suggested, would lead to a single volume on Russian history—from *Rus* to the Russian Federation—to be distributed in to all students in Russian schools. After some controversy, his single textbook notion was later turned into a 'single concept' or 'single flow' view of Russia's past. The official 80-page guidelines for authors omitted the Western-influenced modernisation period of Peter the Great, the Molotov pact, the 2004 Beslan shooting, the sinking of the submarine *Kursk* in 2000 and the 2011 protests against Putin's regime. The guidelines did, however, emphasise the heroic achievements of both Ivan the Terrible and of Vladimir Putin, who is to get a chapter to himself (Hoyle, 2013; *The Telegraph*, 2013). More recently, the curriculum has been guided towards rationalising Russia's coercive activities in Georgia and Ukraine as a legitimate anti-encirclement strategy (Taylor, 2016).

Putin made his intentions plain throughout his two terms as president. History in schools must serve the needs of the Russian state as he sees them and, at this stage in Russia's history, the state needs include a classroom-based, textbook-sourced revival of Russia's glorious past and a curriculum that justifies Russia's resumption of authority over its former borderlands (Taylor, 2016).

In mid-2014, Putin even edged towards outright anti-Bolshevik revisionism in his latest attempt to change how Russians thought about their nation's

past. On 5 August 2014, when unveiling a memorial to World War 1 heroes at Moscow memorial site Poklonnaya Gora, Putin took his reworked view of the past a step further (Putin, 2014):

> Today we are restoring the historical truth about World War 1…this victory was stolen from our country. It was stolen by those [Bolsheviks] who called for the defeat of their homeland and army, who sowed division inside Russia and sought only power for themselves, betraying the national interests'… Today, we are restoring the kinks in time, making history a single flow once more…. Justice is finally triumphing in the books and textbooks, in the media and on cinema screens… [references to, amongst others, Nikita Mikhalkov's *Burnt by the Sun* (1994) and Andrei Kravchuk's *The Admiral* (2008)]

Arguably, Putin's view of the past, the new Russian historiographical orthodoxy, is a synthesis of past nationalist/imperialist borrowings which include the late nineteenth/early twentieth century German *Einkreisung Politik* (politics of encirclement) theory with a 1920s White Russian variation of the German 1919 *Doltschtosslegende* (Great War stab-in-the-back myth) combined yet again with a nineteenth-century Tsarist imperialist worldview, but with the anti-semitism of those earlier times replaced by anti-Islamic sentiment (Taylor, 2016).

Conclusion

As noted above, and for obvious reasons, there appears to be a clear relationship between levels of political interference in the provision and character of school curriculum and the chief mode of curriculum delivery. Where schools operate in a pluralistic education system that is situated within a national curriculum framework allowing a wide range of independently authored textbooks, as in Australia, politicised criticism of how the past is represented at school level focuses on teaching programs as the main drivers of curriculum. A diverse and less easily targeted range of books remains beyond attack. Where curriculum exists in diverse forms based in part on a variety of localised prescribed syllabuses, as in the USA, politicised attacks tend to focus on a different curriculum driver, the school textbook. Where curriculum is devised with specific governmental interests in mind and promulgated via an endorsed textbook system, as in Russia, the political focus is on the precise nature of both the curriculum and of the textbooks in equal measure.

That being the case, of the three illustrative case studies mentioned in this chapter, it is in Putin's Russia that we find the most alarming incidence of blatant political interventionism and unconcealed exploitation of school history as government propaganda, a phenomenon that takes the Russian education system back to the 1970s when the history curriculum in the USSR was directly subservient to the needs of an autocratic state. Having said that, the growing

significance of digital technology in curriculum dissemination and textbook production, over time, may well change the political nature and role of the history textbook.

In summary, while history textbooks remain key players in the ongoing and often controversial debates about how we understand our various pasts, there is a strong prospect that, in most developed democratic nations, their central role will gradually be sidelined by multimedia digital technology. This move is brought about by publishers' desires to keep costs down, by school/parental desire to avoid buying expensive textbooks, by the unwieldy nature of the books themselves and by the consolidation of digital culture in education systems worldwide. Even so, the retail cost of the current (with digital add-ons) version of *World History: Patterns of Interaction* remains high at $US108.25.

In contrast, new digital technologies, the chief competitor of the hard copy textbook (with add-ons), can produce localised curriculum variations which can be disseminated cheaply and easily by teachers, by students themselves, by schools, by bloggers and by education authorities, thus reducing the interpretative authority of the major publishers and their carefully briefed authors.

Indeed, there is a need for further detailed research into the uphill and downhill models at the practical level. For example, as well as just looking at the printed page, there are questions that could be asked about the changing pedagogical, editing, production and commercial contexts within which publishers, editors and authors work and the effect that these contexts have on the finished product. Further, there is room for comparative classroom research on how students see and use their textbooks using more subtle and less culturally specific research models based on the recent work by Richard Nesbitt and others on how different cultures think (Nesbitt, 2003). Finally, there is certainly a need for research that charts the transition from the hard copy history textbook to the growing use of digital technology in the history classroom.

There may be two exceptions to these ongoing progressive developments which would also merit further research. Russia and Japan each have a centralised, endorsed textbook system that slowly became more progressive in the 1990s and during the first decade of the twenty-first century. However, because of recent emphases on nationalist causes in both nations, first with Russia's attempted renewal of its great power status and second because of continuing Sino-Japanese diplomatic tensions, these changes may lead to a continuation of a managed approach to historical perspectives. This 'management' could either be in hard copy textbooks (large swathes of Russia are still without adequate information technology provision) or by centralised and censored digital delivery.

As for textbooks in the totalitarian or authoritarian regimes not dealt with in this chapter such as North Korea, Syria, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan

and Belarus, on the face of it, the chances of multiple perspectives in history education curriculum and classroom texts remain slim.

Note

1. They are Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Jacaranda, Macmillan, Nelson/Cengage and Pearson.

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CHAPTER 33

Trends and Issues Surrounding the Reading of Historical Texts in the Republic of Korea

Ho Hwan Yang

Contesting ideas about the correct kind of history textbook have become quite a news item in Korea; the polemical arguments, however, are mostly political rather than educational. A case in point: the Ministry of Education (MOE) is expected to announce its decision on whether to renew the textbook authorization system or to return to the unitary government-designated textbook system for high school Korean History.[1] Since the first publication of the authorized Korean Modern and Contemporary History textbooks (KMCHT) in the early 2000s, so-called "leftist" historical accounts have raised concern for the new "conservative" government. The conservative critiques have mainly targeted the textbook printed by Keumsung publishing company, adopted by 50 % of all high schools. Recently, the central government contested in court the case of textbook authors' rights and responsibilities in the publishing process. The verdict was in favor of the government that was given authority to intervene or "correct" any problematical historical accounts without having to ask for author consent.

This authorization system soon proved to be problematic once again when the "rightist" textbook, published by Kyohak, passed government inspection. Critics argued that this textbook was riddled with supposedly "distorted viewpoints" and numerous "factual errors" and therefore should not have passed authorization. They condemned the MOE for authorizing the Kyohak textbook. Despite strong protests, the Kyohak textbook was approved. However, it was only adopted by a very small number of high schools. The MOE attributed this low rate of adoption to the numerous voices raised against

"Korea" in this paper indicates the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

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the procedure and thus began to reconsider the history textbook authorization and publishing system.

According to the New Right,[2] history textbooks should be of the following kind: they should define national identity from ancient times to the present, and should also reflect strongly on the nation's securing of its independent sovereignty through the overcoming of foreign invasions and the civil war provoked by North Korea. All these historical tributaries should seamlessly flow into the river of unprecedented development: Korea's unique movement toward "liberal democracy". Though the definition and meaning of such a perspective remain disputable and very controversial, the conviction resonated powerfully in the higher echelons of Korean society. For the present government, this historical perspective should serve as the foundation and the basis for what it considers to be the proper content for Korean history textbooks. This cannot be compromised, especially in teaching the official history of the nation.

The recent controversy surrounding the textbook publishing system reflects well upon the importance of history textbooks not only in classroom teaching but also in the arena of public debate in Korea. The national unitary textbook of Korean history was introduced in the early 1970s under the auspices of the dictatorial regime and remained in use for the following 30 years. Many historians and history educators were opposed to this government policy because they insisted that it prohibited diverse and reflective interpretations of the nation's past. Although Korea has finally moved away from the unitary textbook system and has implemented the authorized textbook system, some recent controversies have destabilized the prospects of the newer system. What has brought on this backsliding? Why is it necessary for the present government to promote the "one and only" historical interpretation? How have those who had hitherto supported the necessity for teaching multiple perspectives and voices responded? Finally, how, and why, have their views on the use of either authorized or nationalized textbooks changed?

For proper understanding of the textbook controversy, I will first look at the development and context of Korean history education since 1945, then investigate the mobilization of history teachers and explain how research in history learning has developed over the years. In doing so, my focus will be an evaluation of recent diversity-oriented reading along with an exegesis on the teaching of historical texts.

Textbook Policy and History Education in Korea

A Brief Historical Background of the Textbook Controversy

Korea was liberated in 1945 when the Allied Powers defeated Japan in the Second World War. After liberation, the United States and the Soviet Union divided the Korean Peninsula into the north and the south, partially for the purpose of disarming the Japanese military. In South Korea, the US Military

Government (USMG) took charge of civil affairs for three years. In regards to education, the USMG mainly embedded the American school structure, teaching methods, curricula design, and educational philosophy into a Korean context. Apropos of this initiative, the Education Bureau of the USMG created a new tentative curriculum in 1947, which introduced the subject of "Social Studies" for the first time in Korean history. This laid the foundation for later developments in the curriculum, most notably the period following the establishment of a pro-American government in the southern half of the Peninsula.

The adaptation of a US educational model in Korea was delayed by the Korean War (1950–1953), which prolonged the tutelage of the US in South Korea and rekindled strong anti-communism sentiments exemplified by a growing hostility toward North Korea. Meanwhile, President Rhee's dictatorship during the late 1950s severely distorted the democratic principles of the new government. After he was expelled from power by the student revolution in 1960, the newly established parliamentary government showed powerful tendencies toward a real democracy. However, a military coup d'état in 1961 put an end to such prospects. The new military regime sought to attain internal and external legitimacy. Internally, the military leaders planned rapid industrialization and promised a better quality of living in order to pacify complaints about their violent usurpation of power. Externally, the new regime worked hard at satisfying the most important foreign sponsor, the United States, by offering continuous loyalty as a front-line nation against the Communist power bloc of the Soviet Union in East Asia. Such exertions of solidarity mainly consisted of military preparation and an ideological emphasis on anti-communism.

In 1972, President Park, a former general, enforced a series of reforms called "Yushin" (literally "Rejuvenation"), which extended his dictatorship through a violation of democratic principles. Yushin, putting special emphasis on national identity, mandated the curricular reform in 1973. Anti-communist education, national security, and patriotism were stressed along with a continuous push toward economic development. As a corollary to these educational directions, Korean history was separated from social studies. This effectively meant that Korean history was taught as an independent subject; a pedagogical orientation that was heavily emphasized in secondary schools. This marked the first use of a national unitary textbook on Korean history.

Park's dictatorship ended with his assassination in 1979. However, the prospect of a real democracy was negated once more through another military coup in the same year. The new military regime also continued to emphasize an anti-communist ideology. The authoritarian government continued in spite of people's growing demand for democratization, reaching its peak with a massive uprising in 1987. Even though another former general succeeded to win the presidential election, democratization gradually grew apace. Finally in 1998, Kim Dae-Jung, a longtime opposition leader from a more progressive-leaning party, became president after a peaceful power transition. His successor, Noh Moo-Hyun who won a very close election in 2003, continued Kim's appeasement policy toward North Korea in a strong progressive direction. His

reforms included changes in the high school KMCHT publishing system—that is, from a government-designated unitary textbook system to a government-authorization system. With the conservative government obtaining power after Noh, the newly published KMCHTs was placed under review and then criticized for its "leftist" perspectives and historical accounts. The controversy concerning the national Korean History textbook was reignited under the newly elected president Park Geun-Hye, after the former president Park Jung-Hee, her father, had decided to publish the government-designated Korean history textbooks in 1973.

Relevant Influential Factors on Korean History Education

In addition to this brief historical background, further explanations are necessary to illuminate the issues concerning Korea's history education since the Liberation of 1945. First, Korean history textbooks are a recognized and respectful source of knowledge and should adhere to a standard interpretation. Its actual contents serve as the reference and criteria to various test materials including the College Scholastic Ability Test, the Achievement Test, and the regular school exams. The importance of these tests further strengthens the dominant role and function of history textbooks in classroom teaching.

Second, the selection and organization of textbook contents are overseen by the national curriculum. This system has been reformed several times as a direct consequence of the aforementioned political changes. New regimes have regarded educational reform as one of their major strategies for the proclaimed renovation of state affairs. The strategy often included changing the onerous college entrance exam system, revising the national curriculum to redefine educational aims, rearranging required or elective subjects, modifying classroom time-schedules, and reframing the organization and contents of textbooks. In almost all curriculum reforms, the subject of Korean history finds itself at the center of public debate on the definition and articulation of national legitimacy and identity. This clearly shows that a lot depends on the political orientation of any given new regime—a reorientation which is often dubbed as "the desirable historical view". Once the history curriculum was established, central government provided "a guideline for textbook writing", which authors and publishers had to comply with for textbook authorization. Furthermore, specific "teaching points" were recommended for each subject. The content, sequence, teaching, and evaluation have indeed been entirely dependent on the curriculum.

Third, the textbook publishing system can be described as "subordinate" to the curricular decisions, because the new or revised textbooks for each subject have to be written and published according to the modified curricular organization. All textbooks used in schools at all grade levels need to be authorized by the government. In most subject areas, the commercial publishers prepare textbooks with their choice of authors and in agreement with the official curriculum and other curricular manuals concerning text-

book writing. Schools can adopt one of the textbooks that passed the government authorization process. For both Korean history and Korean language, one national textbook has often been mandated to provide standardized and "unbiased" contents for national language and history. For these subjects, the government commissioned specific scholars to write the textbook contents, according to the format and topics organized in consultation with the relevant government department.

Changing Perspectives on Using and Reading History Textbooks

Major Trends in Textbook Research

As the dominant teaching tool, history textbooks invited research early on. The main question of earlier studies was whether the content of the textbook appropriately accommodated the results of historians' research on the related topics. This, of course, is important as newly found facts or changes in interpretations may be expected. However, these textbook studies did not consider their educational purpose, which may very well differ from their academic objectives. In other words, the priority was not duly set on the importance of the selection and the organization of textbook content for teaching students. History textbooks were regarded as "a reduced edition" of the compiled research monographs.

Another issue addressed in textbook analysis research was ideological bias. Especially after the publication of the national textbook in the mid-1970s, the Association of Korean History Teachers (AKHT) criticized that this textbook was written from the perspective of the dominant class throughout Korean history, thus legitimizing the present oppressive and authoritarian government rule and disregarding the continued struggles of the subjugated class for emancipation (The Association of Korean History Teachers, 1998).

Starting in the 1990s, a new trend in textbook research emerged. Introducing Barthes's characterization of "historical discourse" and Wineburg's exploration of its implication on students' reading of historical texts, Yang tried to draw attention to the characteristics and nature of historical accounts in textbooks, taking the concepts of meta-discourse, author's presence, and rhetorical devices into consideration (Roland Barthes, 1970; Wineburg, 1991; Yang, 1996).

The "objectivity" of historical accounts in textbooks also went under critical scrutiny. In keeping with postmodernist skepticism, the author's absence in relation to the pretended objectivity in historical writing now had to be considered. As Roland Barthes (1970) argues,

> Where the author seeks to stand aside from *his (sic)* own discourse by systematically omitting any direct allusions to the originator of the text; the history seems

> to write itself. This approach is widely used, since it fits the so-called 'objective' mode of historical discourse, in which the historian never appears *himself (sic)*. (pp. 148–149)

Furthermore, with "objective" history, the historian "tries to give the impression that the referent is speaking for itself" thus causing "referential illusion" or "reality effect" (Barthes, 1970: 149). This is maximized in history textbook writing by hiding the author's presence and perspective and omitting such elements of meta-discourse as hedges, a rhetorical device used to indicate authorial reservation or tentativeness in arguments and justification (Crismore, 1984).

Barthes's distinction of the two types of text was also applied to understanding the characteristics of the history textbook. "Readerly" texts, such as manuals for changing tires or explanations about volcanic lava eruption process communicate information clearly. "Writerly" texts, on the other hand, invite readers to actively participate in its meaning making. This way, reading the writerly text involves the reader's writing process. Readers can also be divided into two groups. A "mock reader" accepts the text's meaning implied by the author as is or is easily influenced by the author's rhetorical devices. On the other hand, an "actual reader" actively constructs meaning in reading and critically monitors his or her comprehension (Gibson, 1950, as cited in Wineburg, 1991).

By crossing these two different types of texts and readers, we can produce four different reader-text relations as categorized in Table 33.1.

Section 1 of the diagram refers to passive readers' acceptance of plain, written meaning of texts. National textbooks, regarded as a typical example of readerly texts, have, in effect, imposed non-critical reading. Korean history textbooks have mainly been used in this way and the earlier research on history textbooks has also assumed the Section 1 type of reader-text relationship. The consequence of such an approach is that it concentrates on a factual basis of textbook accounts without the proper consideration of the supposed readers and their modes of reading.

It can be argued that recent research on textbooks in Korea has begun to explore other aspects of reader-text relations. For example, the AKHT tried to make up for the deficiency of the readerly national textbook by publishing its own "alternative textbook". By using source documents and other historical texts, some researchers are investigating the possibility of students' ability to recognize the history textbook as merely one type of historical text that can be presented in various forms. With respect to the implication of the reader-text relationship in Section 4, other researchers are addressing the following

Table 33.1 Reader-text relation

	Readerly text	*Writerly text*
Mock reader	1	2
Actual reader	3	4

question: how can the meaning of textbook be critically or deconstructively read in the student's own active meaning making process? These approaches are intertwined with each other in their common pursuit of history education beyond the textbook.

The Alternative Textbook

Political changes in the late 1980s inspired the educational democratization movement pushed forward by the reform-minded teachers. Under the newly found National Teachers Conference in 1988, subject-based teachers' associations, such as the Association of Korean Language Teachers and the Association of Korean History Teachers (AKHT), were organized in quick succession. The AKHT pursued a number of aims: to overcome the "untruthful" and "biased" national history textbook, to reform the college-entrance-exam-centered classroom teaching, and to promote a history education that helps build students' self-awareness and orientate them toward purposeful life-activity. The association asserted that history teachers, hitherto excluded in the decision-making process which selects and organizes the appropriate content for history textbooks, should be the main driving force behind the renovation of an open-minded, critically engaged approach to textbooks and teaching.

The government neither acknowledged the claims for abolishing the national history textbook nor approved the teachers' organization itself. In order to justify its appeal for reform, the AKHT investigated both the national curriculum and the national history textbooks, and criticized the ideological bias of national textbooks: particularly the ideologically freighted valorization of the ruling class without taking into account the crucial matter of the "people (*minjoong*)'s hardships and efforts". The AKHT also tried to introduce diverse teaching methods such as the use of source materials, role-playing, and historical dramatization. Despite the authoritarian government's intervention and prohibition of teachers devising their own teaching materials and content in the 1990s, the AKHT eventually published an alternative textbook, titled respectively "Korean History Alive" and "World History Alive", in 2002 and 2004. These texts' declared aim was to enliven history teaching by encouraging students' historical thinking as proactive alternative to the indoctrination of "dead" historical accounts promulgated in the national textbook.

The alternative textbooks were planned and written solely by history teachers, who not only had first-hand knowledge of students' curiosity about history but also their palpable distress at having to memorize mundane textbook facts. Instead of socially detached professors writing textbooks based on their academic expertise or specific, often esoteric, topics of personal research interest, teachers were encouraged to produce more vivid historical accounts of past events by accessing a diverse array of historical documents, pictures, episodes, and so on. These "textbooks written from the classroom" were lauded as the main achievement of the AKHT and were purchased by students, parents, and

the general public, making them a commercial success. At about the same time, the progressive government approved the textbook authorization system for the KMCHT.

The alternative textbook, which literally presented an alternative to the national textbook, also highlighted the issue of a textbook's importance and role in the teaching of history in the classroom. By extension, the issue also amplified the teacher's role and their relationship to textbook teaching. Can the alternative textbook be the solution for the, still, pervasive non-active history teaching? What should teachers do to reconstruct their own teaching content as the curriculum gatekeeper (Thornton, 1991) in a system that implements a top-down, national curriculum? Responding to these questions, the AKHT extended its activities to collect and propagate diverse classroom activities for teachers' own reflections on teaching practices. The argument strengthening the educators' more active and creative role in preparing and teaching lessons garnered support and consensus from the profession itself, regardless of AKHT membership. With this movement for history teaching beyond the textbook, two interrelated tasks of school history came to the fore. First, how do you teach students to think historically? And second, how do you promote a subject-focused thinking that enables students to read historical texts critically?

Historical Thinking and Reorientation of Reading Historical Texts

Too Much Expectation? Reconsidering Debates on Historical Thinking

From the early 1990s, history education as a nascent field of research was mainly focused on the curriculum and textbook issues; it then extended its purview by introducing the debates and controversies on the Piaget-Peel-Hallam model in Britain and the USA (Wineburg, 1996). Since this time, historical thinking has become one of the most important research issues in history teaching and learning in Korea. This trend reflected the attempt to confer proper value and meaning on teaching history by examining the nature and procedure of historical knowledge production.

The concept of historical thinking was not unfamiliar in Korea. Tholfsen emphasized in his book, *Historical Thinking*, the uniqueness of the concept of historical thinking by quoting L.P. Hartley's famous phrase, "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there" (Tholfsen, 1967). As was the case in other countries, it was widely accepted belief that history teaching should encourage and promote students' active thinking rather than limit knowledge acquisition to the mere remembering of names, dates, and other historical facts. First, historical consciousness was considered as a useful conceptual tool to renovate this inactive history teaching. Not clearly distinguished from historical thinking, historical consciousness was a heuristic tool for students to learn and achieve. For example, in the 1970s, historical consciousness

was broadly defined as a "critical awareness of one's own belonging to and positioning in time and space". This consciousness ranged from a lower-level of consciousness, recognizing the simple distinction between the past and the present, to the higher-level consciousness, understanding historical periodization such as ancient, medieval, and modern (Kang, 1978). The implication of defining and categorizing historical consciousness was that students could be provided with appropriate topics and materials according to their developmental levels, which was theoretically, but not yet experimentally, established.

In contrast to this static and fixed stage of historical consciousness, historical thinking—a revised theoretical construction that eclipsed the Piaget-Peel-Hallam model controversy—drew Korean researchers' attention because of its emphasis on students' active thinking process. Thus, the important research topics were as follows: how do you promote this thinking ability or attitude, and what is the special nature of historical thinking once it adheres to this new paradigm? The short answer to these questions would be: historical thinking is the subject-engaged and domain-specific thought process in which practicing historians can read historical texts. Students were supposed to learn to read like a historian (Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2012). The adoption of such methodology was considered aphoristically as "doing history".

However, in accepting the concept of historical thinking, it was often categorized as thinking skills, as was done in the National Standards in the USA (National Center for History in Schools, 1994). In this vein, many papers tried to categorize thinking skills systematically in order to establish the hierarchy of each component and to match specified skills to appropriate historical contents (Choi, 2000). Some Korean researchers and educational policy makers, in order to evade ideological tensions surrounding the continuing debates on the national history textbook content, tended to diminish the ideological implications of teaching history by stressing these thinking skills as value neutral. According to them, students are to learn basic historical facts and frames of the official national history. It is only after reaching maturity that they are expected to have the appropriate interpretative and evaluative skills to fully cognize controversial historical issues. Of course, this seemingly neutral position was aimed to fend off the alternative views on the nationalized or authorized textbook content.

Thus, it was indicated that researchers on historical thinking rather tended to emphasize thinking skills instead of investigating the meaning of the term "historical" in historical thinking. Peter Lee (2010) pointed out that, in teaching history, "skills are not unproblematic generic terms, which can be easily practiced or easily transferred". According to Lee, what matters in learning history is learning "to handle new concepts and think in different ways" (2010: xiii). In a similar vein, Rosalyn Ashby and Christopher Edwards (2010) indicated that "doing what historians do" or behaving like "mini-historians" has shifted attention away "from the understanding of historical knowledge towards a skills and activities history".

> This shift has in some instances been accompanied by a belief that their own historical claims take priority, with students being encouraged to believe that everyone is entitled to an opinion in a subject that has no answers. While history may not work with right answers, it does work with an understanding of validity, and within a context of public scrutiny where claims about the past are held to account within a field of expertise. (Ashby & Edwards, 2010: 39)

The assumptions and premises about historical thinking were also criticized in relation to its disciplinary basis. If the nature and procedure of history, as a discipline and a historians' specific way of knowing things respectively, are taken to be the basis or model for historical thinking, then what are the disciplinary aspects and to which historians does this actually refer (Yang, 2003)? Most research does not often question the disciplinary nature of history nor the positions and interests of historians as they pursue their research; nevertheless, different views and voices cast doubt upon the epistemological foundations of a conventional and disciplined history. According to Joan Scott (1989), we should problematize the historical and social context in which the knowledge and theories are produced and articulated. This "problematization" also entails criticism of the social and linguistic conventions by which the specific knowledge is defined. In advocating for the "critical approach", distinguished from the disciplinary approach, Avner Segall (2006) also insists that "history is produced by the socially constructed operations and mechanism of a discipline, thus the production of meaning in history is always human and mutable". According to Segall, it is important to ask students to first examine any given historical interpretation "according to what conventional and methodological practices, whose discourse, whose standards, whose past?" so that they can "consider why and how different discursive communities produce different truths about a supposedly common past" (2006: 138–139).

Thus, historical thinking gradually came to be defined and approached not as a kind of thinking skill but as something to be attained as a conceptual apparatus, while more and more emphasis was laid on reading historical texts. This change in the research focus, in part, was influenced by the introduction of postmodern perspectives on historical epistemology.

Critical Reading and the Deconstruction of Textbooks

Criticism on textbooks' ideological fixations corresponded with growing skepticism on positivistic historical knowledge as represented in textbook accounts. The research on history teaching and its practical applications have reflected, if not premised on, positivistic assumptions which seek to deliberate on objective historical knowledge. As a consequence, the discourse on history teaching has limited itself only to confined methodological aspects without broadening its purview into historical epistemology. Skepticism on the veracity of "universal knowledge"—along with critiques on the dichotomy of subject and object and the denial of "objective historical writing", "totality of history" theories, and

so on—raised the question whether there is a standard historical knowledge which should be taught in schools. Positivistic assumptions about reality, historical facts, and objectivity came under attack from the younger generation of history education researchers, who insisted that text doesn't represent reality and "history text doesn't represent historical facts as they really took place, but just one interpretation produced by historians" (Lee, 2000: 30).

The textbook accounts seem to be objective only due to the aforementioned reality effect, in which "reality is always an unformulated meaning sheltering behind the apparent omnipotence of the referent" (Barthes, 1970: 154). Given this ostensible objectivity when it comes to reality, reading history should be a reinterpretation and reconstruction by the reader. Students who read history texts should construct historical knowledge through critical reading, and produce their own interpretation (Lee, 2000). In this approach, students do not see history as fixed; they are rather made to consider that between the "facts" and the text (book) lie "analysis, interpretation, and narration [...] shaped by values, skills, questions, and understandings of a particular teller" (Segall, 1999: 368).

Influenced by this theoretically postmodern background, researchers and teachers began to explore students' understandings or ways of reading historical texts with an added emphasis on critical reading. Here, "critical" means to be skeptical about the superficial content of the text and to try to understand the hidden meaning by paying attention to the author's intention and interest, the attributes of the text, and the context of its (re) production. In 2002, Kim and Lee tried to develop a method of enhancing students' critical reading and writing history by investigating high school students' response to various types of historical texts such as primary sources, expository texts based on textbook contents, and storytelling or author-manifested essays. They found that most students, lacking prior knowledge for understanding the text and the attributes of various text types, could not read texts critically. However, there were differences in students' responses according to the types of text; students most actively responded to the storytelling or author-manifested essays. They concluded that diverse types of texts should be developed and be used for classroom teaching with more time dedicated to students' critical reading (Kim & Lee, 2002).

In another study, most high school students were diagnosed as deficient in critical reading of the source materials. They tended to trust the given texts uncritically without recognizing the implanted writer's perspectives and interpretations. This study insisted that teachers should first lead students to doubt the reliability of historical documents and identify the source by selectively presenting documents with manifested narrators and actors, or opposing interpretations or the evaluation of historians (Choi, 2006).

Kang (2013) investigated the characteristic aspects of high school students' reading of historical texts. She selected three historical texts on the creation of the written Korean language (*Hangul*) and the controversy about replacing the Chinese characters. She analyzed how 10th graders read these familiar

texts. Test items included identifying the writers, their intentions and motives, contemporary opinions about the topics addressed in the documents, and the contemporaries' mentality. She found that "the students' previous knowledge and the prejudice on the writers" strongly influenced their interpretation of the texts as well as inferences about the writers' intention. This flawed methodology overwhelmed their capacity to understand or analyze the arguments described in the documents, not least their reasoning about the "logical structure" of the texts.

Kim (2013) tried to find an effective way of presenting historical documents by investigating students' responses to different text organizations. Three types of text organization were used: (1) interpreted summaries of historical documents fused in main body of the text like in many textbook writing; (2) original sentences of historical documents quoted between main bodies of the text; (3) historical documents presented separately from the body of the text as additional learning materials. While students reading type one tended to accept the content uncritically, those who responded to type three showed some potential for analyzing the provided document with a "pluralistic view and understanding the nature of historical facts" (Kim, 2013: 210). Type two was effective in drawing the student's attention to the specific aspects of content emphasized by the quotation, but students usually did not care much about the intention of quotations or the distinction between the author's interpretation and meaning of the quotation. This study pointed out the students' limited capability in analyzing or interpreting the viewpoints and intention of the writers of the provided source materials, implying that students easily accept the meaning of the texts as given and fixed. Conclusively, the research suggested that it is necessary for students to practice reading source materials and develop inquiry questions to promote their understandings.

Responding to these research results, some history teachers proposed teaching models to promote critical reading. For example, one study intended to activate the student's "schema" for reading history textbooks by providing background information or familiar concepts analogous to unfamiliar concepts to be learned, followed by phases of text analysis, evaluation, and meaning construction (i.e. presentation of student's opinion about the topic and essay writing). In addition to the students' improvement in critical reading and writing, it was noted that they were inclined to be more responsive or influenced by the author's rhetorical expressions (Nam, 2010). In a similar vein, another high school teacher reported his teaching experiences after applying the "Learning Model of Critical Reading". He developed his own "Thinking Strategies for Critical Reading and Writing in History Education (TSCRWH)", composed of finding the author's arguments regarding historical facts, establishing the students' own judgment criteria on historical facts and the author's argument, raising issues, and making their own logical argument (Yang, 2014). These last two studies are notable in the sense that the specific teaching models with detailed procedures to enhance students' critical reading were provided by the teachers themselves.

The Institute of History Education, an affiliate of the AKHT, began to publish journals that carried reports on classroom practice. Recently, its special seminar team, jointly composed of history education professors and teachers, presented the result of their yearlong replica study on "Reading Like a Historian" as suggested by Wineburg et al. (2012). They chose the March First Movement[3] of 1919 as their main topic and collected source materials with different perspectives. They covered facts which were not included in textbooks, such as criminal records, diaries, and so on. By encouraging students to source, corroborate, and contextualize the provided documents, they hoped students would evaluate the Movement's leaders more critically, and not depict historical figures as one-dimensional national heroes.

Two discussants, a historian specialized in the period around the March First Movement and an experienced history teacher question the purpose of the replica study project, the feasibility of implementing these scenarios, and the interrelatedness of the source materials. In particular, the history teacher who had been using a similar type of the source documents asked what the distinctive benefit of the project materials would be. For students to read like a historian, he argued that teachers at the beginning of the lesson should probe students with questions pertinent to their reading assignments. The requirement that students should demonstrate a prior knowledge for contextualization, and what it entails in terms of interpretation, was another debated issue (The Institute of History Education-Special Project Team, 2014).

Another interesting study showed a disparity between students' understanding of the subjective nature of historical accounts and the recognition of this subjectivity in dealing with the source materials. Students were frequently informed that historical documents can reflect a writer's perspective, and accepted this as a kind of common sense. However, in the actual reading process, they were not very mindful about the writer's presence. Due to a lack of meta-knowledge and experience, they rarely read historical documents from a critically informed position; because of this they failed to understand what critical reading entailed. Students also gravitated toward the more factual basis of historical accounts when the material dealt with ethnically or nationally controversial issues like "comfort women".[4] Thus, while students recognize that textbooks, both Korean and Japanese, often legitimize or glorify the respective nation's history and therefore cannot be trusted as true interpretations, they were inclined to criticize the Japanese textbook description or other historical documents related to the topic as factually wrong and insisted that their history textbooks should be written "objectively" or "not be fictionalized" (Park, 2014).

Future Research Directions

Spurred on by the new trend of historical thinking studies, and in line with the prevailing reconsideration of the unitary national history textbook, research on the critical reading of historical documents in Korea now provides opportuni-

ties to reflect on how to teach students on the basis of their understanding of and response to historical texts. However, this also disclosed theoretical and methodological shortcomings that need to be considered carefully for future studies.

First, critical writing has been stressed in parallel relation to critical reading. Kim and Lee (2002) argue that the capacity to critically read leads to writing history and telling student's own narrative as a way of producing active historical knowledge. It is interesting that while the researchers found more deficiency in students' critical writing than reading, teachers have reported a positive improvement in students' writing after monitoring activities in guided lesson plans, such as TSCRWH (Yang, 2014). The potential for student improvement and its lasting effects on critical reading and writing should be more actively investigated. It should be examined also whether students responded more sensitively to the rhetorical expressions or to evaluative terms, and whether this inclination was related to or has affected their writing. Researchers should also be careful not to use students' written works to evaluate the effects of their teaching on the pitfalls of reading documents too hastily without having interviewed students regarding their answers.

Second, the question of contextualization should be more clearly defined. Contextualization has always been emphasized in critical reading. It is said that historians and students alike should try to understand the source documents in context. Upon closer examination, however, it is not very clear what understanding context means. In Korean research trends, contextualization means to locate events in the time and place that they occur in order to attain proper understanding or to analyze and interpret documents by considering the writer's own position in the contemporary political, social, and cultural milieu. The questions that follows is: how could students possibly know this context without having first studied it? For example, in the aforementioned study by Kang (2013), students were asked to infer the writer's intentions by using information about the given texts, their knowledge about the period, events, authors, and so on. Simultaneously, they were asked to express their understanding of the people's thoughts and culture during the period relevant to the excerpt under analysis. In other words, they had to know both the text and the context.

This approach of evaluating student's capacity for contextualization is flawed because "there is no way to know the past prior to reading text" (Ziemann & Dobson, 2009: 13). As Gabrielle Spiegel has insisted, "historical contexts do not exist in themselves: they must be defined, and in that sense constructed, by the historian before the interpretive work of producing meaning, of interpreting the past, can begin" (1997: xix). How should students be expected to "contextualize" the documents or events without considering the *textuality* of the past or *intertexuality*? That is, the past can only be interpreted by the surviving texts, and the text can be written only by reading other texts, which interrelate and interact. The questions usually asked to students, such as "Why does a writer say this?", "What does that mean?" or "What is the writer's inten-

tion?" are suggestive of much more complicated issues surrounding the multiplicity of meanings and interpretations. These questions can hardly be reduced to just identifying the right clues or missing parts of puzzles. In addition, the surplus of meaning—that is, the meaning contained in the text is always much more than an author could have intended to invest—may produce misinterpretation (Skinner, 2002: 113).

This does not mean encouraging students to think that the context is worthless. Rather, it is important to note that they cannot contextualize without reflecting what it means or how to do it. Context and text cannot be clearly distinguished as assumed and premised in the aforementioned studies. Text is not just a reflection of context; writer's utterance can also cause changes. So both a diachronic perspective of meaning that changes over time and a synchronic perspective of competing connotations of a term's usage at any historical moment should be considered (Ziemann & Dobson, 2009: 6). Future studies should pay attention to the writer's "engagement in an act of communication". A writer's intentions should be recognized as an intervention "to uphold some particular position in argument, to contribute to the treatment of some particular topic, and so on" and a writer's utterance can never be viewed as just strings of propositions but as an argument for or against a certain assumption or point of view (Skinner, 2002: 102). By dealing with more specific questions like, "What is the topic or issue that the writer is talking about?", "For or against whom is the writer speaking?", "What question is she or he trying to answer?", "What is she or he trying to do by saying this?", students are better equipped to investigate the convention and the situation of the writer's discourse instead of simply picking up phrases or sentences in the texts that fit their preexisting assumptions or reasoning.

Thirdly, text reading is also related with the tradition of writing and researching history. In Korea, past dynasties authorized official historiographers to produce detailed, official "annals" on state affairs, of which the most typical case is "the Annals of Joseon dynasty (1392–1910)". They recorded what they saw and heard in line with the spirit of Confucian historiographical tradition of "transmitting but not creating". These annals, which remain in almost perfect legible condition and compiled in the order of the successive reign of kings, have been used as confirmed sources of reliability. It is not yet part of the tradition of Korean history research to read a text critically in the ways discussed above. The traditional posture of regarding source documents as evidence for the reality of the past has prevailed in history classroom in a similar ways. So, historical documents have usually been used as source evidence for validating and confirming the related textbook accounts. Such a position hinders the possibility of revealing multiple perspectives and interpretations, or, for that matter, raising doubts on the "reality effects". Without taking this culture of reading "true records"[5] into account, recent studies on the critical reading of historical texts exposed insufficient consideration for the selection, editing, and presentation of source documents. Merely relating the temporary and tentative characteristics of historical knowledge or the nature of the histori-

cal account to students can hardly stand for the actual practice of critical reading. Future studies, therefore, are expected to investigate how to apply critical reading to source documents like annals.

Conclusion

Textbooks are often compared to documentary films, of which it is also conventionally assumed that they show what really happened. It is usually not mentioned that a camera is limited to certain kinds of perspective, and so transmits a crafted motion picture of what happened, followed by a thorough editing process of selection and exclusion. Likewise, a writer's perspective and intention are also limited and constrained. However, if there is no camera, there can be no documentary. The same can be said about historiography: no writer, no historical writing of any kind.

The recent controversy surrounding the national history textbook is a good opportunity for deciding the core meaning and value of Korean national identity. Since the controversy has also extended to the ideological confrontation between the so-called "rightist" and "leftist" views, some politicians have exploited this occasion in order to establish and strengthen their political interests. The controversy on the national history textbook, now politicized, does not give sufficient regard to the value and function of the history textbook for a better history education. In addition, the debate has stubbornly concentrated on the positivistic verification of historical facts while different or conflicting interpretations have been criticized for being error strewn and factually "wrong". In the current situation of emphasizing national identity, students seldom have an opportunity to think about their own identity. Their identity can vary by gender, race, class, sexualities, and, in fact, by much more identities beyond these. Identity cannot be reduced to the single category of nationality. Moreover, this category itself can hardly be defined exclusively. Studying history as collective memory, in which belonging to and having membership of a nation are emphasized, students are precluded from the opportunity to reflect on the orientation of their life through an identification with people in the past.

Returning to the question raised in the Introduction about the necessity for the present government to have the "one and only" interpretation about the Korea's past, it cannot be denied that the government wants students to learn about the "right" history so as to form a solid Korean identity. Under the circumstances, the national textbook issue is likely to be settled by political consideration while its consequent implications for classroom teaching may be serious. The issue of reading text as discussed in this chapter may not be a strong factor in swaying the government's history textbook policy.

However, this decision about a nationalized history textbook will certainly cause a more acute and, hopefully, more enlightened concerns about history education as well as—again hopefully—instigate once again vibrant discussions about how to read history textbook. The publication of the national

Korean history textbook in the 1970s and its related controversies sparked more studies on the content and publishing system of the textbook, a phenomenon which has contributed to the main current of Korean history education research. Since then, the AKHT has produced the alternative textbook resulting from its teachers' continuous efforts to compensate for the defects of the "one and only" national history textbook. Simultaneously, a new generation of more professionalized researchers on history education, inspired by the introduction of new concepts in historical thinking, began to investigate the importance of reading historical texts and explore the meaning and method of "reading like a historian". Since the 1990s, with political reforms changing the wind, history education research in Korea has been extended while the practice of history teaching has improved through the active participation of many teachers. There is now no turning back to the type of mock reading of the readerly text outlined in section "Textbook Policy and History Education in Korea" [Table 33.1], even if the "one and only" national textbook returns. Teachers and students will try to "read against the grain" and researchers will continue to explore ways of doing this.

In the future, students and teachers will be more prepared in history education research due to their participation in historical knowledge production. Students are not just passive recipients of fixed historical facts. It is well known that a historical fact has two meanings: "what actually happened" and "records about what happened". Nevertheless, these two meanings of historical facts are not so far apart from each other and its distinction is often controversial: because selecting and silencing some historical facts are the very politics of historical writing and its recognition as the official text (Trouillot, 1995). There are successive stages of (trans)forming historical knowledge, in which different agents of producing and consuming historical presentations intervene and interact. Historians, curriculum developers, textbook publishers, and teachers participate in this process of fact selection and evaluation of "what happened" for historical rewriting and teaching. Even students themselves participate in this selective meaning making of historical facts as they are presented by different texts and genres. The critical reading of the text is the essential part of this participation. Thus, it is important to teach students to recognize these characteristics of delivered historical facts: facts are not merely found but are selected/silenced, and are transmitted to them through textbooks and teachers.

The new approach to history teaching should also focus on the history teacher's own recognition of and reflection on her role and position in this transmission. Instead of an alternative textbook, the alternative to textbook should be teachers who teach students how to read history written in the textbook. It is history teachers, not textbooks, who, with the proper knowledge of what history is, can lead students to learn that history could have unfolded differently from how it actually has and to think about how history has led to the present.

Notes

1. As of November 3, 2015, the MOE announced its decision for the government-designated Korean history textbooks for all junior and senior high schools.
2. The New Right is a movement which came to prominence in the changing political atmosphere of 2004 after its condemning of the revisionist historical perception of the progressive government.
3. This refers to a popular uprising in which Koreans protested against the oppressive Japanese colonial rule and demanded independence in a wave of massive rallies and demonstrations all over the country.
4. This refers to Korean women forced into military brothels by the Japanese officials. The Japanese government has not yet recognized this as forced mobilization.
5. The literal meaning of "the Annals" is "true records".

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CHAPTER 34

History Education Reform in Twenty-First Century China

Side Wang, Yueqin Li, Chencheng Shen, and Zhongjie Meng

As one of the cradles of classical civilizations, China is known by its profound ancient history. History education has also boasted a long tradition in the country. Ancient Chinese elites, especially the Confucians, not only paid attention to history writing, but also attached essential social and political importance to history mediation inside society. The earliest rudiment of history teaching can be traced back to the Shang dynasty (c.1600–c.1046 BC), when written records first emerged in the country (see Su, 1995).

As the realm was gradually unified, history education was established by the centralized empire together with history recording as one of the major approaches to shape political identification, according to contemporary classical records: 'education was affiliated by political authority' and 'officials were regarded as the teacher'.[1] Then, the semi-official tradition of history education had been inherited by successive dynasties ruling China, as historians have summarized: 'Official historians are institutionalized by one generation of Chinese rulers after another, historical records have been systematically collected by one Chinese dynastic regime after another' (see Jin, 1994: 19). As a result, history was one of the indispensable subjects in pre-modern educational institutions, from *Sixue* (private schools) in the time of Confucius to *Shuyuan* (academies) until the twentieth century.

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Traditionally, history was taught with documentary records and historiographical works, including a series of classical texts: *Shangshu* (*Book of Documents*), *Chunqiu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals*), *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), *Hanshu* (*Book of Han*), *Zizhi Tongjian* (*History as a Mirror*), *Tongdian* (*Encyclopedia of Politics*), *Tongzhi* (*Encyclopedia of Historical Personages*), *Wenxian Tongkao* (*Encyclopedia of Institutions*) and the *Twenty-Four Histories* as the complete collection of dynastic history.

Furthermore, history education was framed and reformed time after time in pre-modern China by the country's leading thinkers with profound thoughts on historiography and education, from Confucius' exploration on 'teaching students in accordance with their aptitudes' in 500 BC to Liang Qichao's (1873–1929) introduction of social evolutionism to history education at the end of the nineteenth century. As teaching practices ceaselessly evolved for a millennium alongside the evolution of Chinese society, traditional history education gradually developed a whole set of institutions of history mediation including history teachers, teaching materials, teaching objectives and history didactic methods.

Throughout this period, history instruction has played a fundamental role in shaping the communal identity of Chinese society, just as Joseph Needham concluded in one of his works on the history of science: it is historiography rather than theology or physics that seizes the mighty throne in all sciences. Traditional history education continued until the end of the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, during the modernization transformation of Chinese society, the education system of China witnessed a fundamental reform with a westernized concept. In 1901, a modernized school system was introduced into China as a part of the modernization reforms of the Qing regime (1644–1911). In 1902–1904, the first two westernized curricular standards: *Qinding Xuetang Zhangcheng* (*First Authorized Regulations for Schools*) and *Zouding Xuetang Zhangcheng* (*Second Authorized Regulations for Schools*) were implemented nationwide, which defined the objective, framework, contents and plan of teaching and learning in schools. The enforcement of curricula marked the beginning of modernized school education in China.

From 1904 on, for over 100 years, Chinese primary and secondary school curricula have been administered within a centralized system. The aim, setting, content and standard of education in elementary and middle schools have been regulated by the central political authority, published in the name of central educational administration and carried out all over the country as the uniform standard for education in all Chinese primary and secondary schools.

In 1912–1921, school curricula were made uniform by the newly founded central administration of the Republic of China (1912–1949) in the form of *Instructions on primary and secondary schools* and relevant directions. During 1922–1949, teaching objective, content and standard of elementary and sec-

ondary education were included in the national *Curriculum Standard* published by the educational administration of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China (1927–1949) (see Chen, 1997). Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the former curriculum was replaced by the *Teaching Plan* and *Teaching Outline*, initially with the history syllabus of the USSR as the model, authorized by the Ministry of Education (abbreviated as MOEd in the remainder of this chapter) and the State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China (PRC) (see Jones, 2005; Shan, 2002; Yang, 2012).

In general, history as a school subject was institutionalized in most of the national curricula as one of the compulsory courses for Chinese students. These files also elaborated the aim, content, class time and suggested didactic approaches of history education at school. Obviously, history education was always endowed with substantial importance in the view of Chinese governments in the twentieth century. Meanwhile, history education in school had also been reconstructed as a tool to support some national master narratives of the government just as the role history education plays in many European countries (Berger, 2013).

By the end of the twentieth century, though basic education had achieved noticeable success in China, it was no longer capable of addressing new challenges in social development, and meeting the new requirements of 'quality-oriented education', the aim of education is to improve learner's quality rather than their examination performance (see Yu, 1996; Yu, Ye, & Zhao, 2000; Zhao, 1999). Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, fundamental reformations of the existing system of basic education were carried out, which were unprecedented in either depth or breadth in the history of the PRC (see Chen, 2010; Nie, 2003).

In June 2001, MOEd elaborated the aims and guiding principles of the curriculum reform of primary and secondary education in the *Outline of Curriculum Reform of Basic Education* (Trial).[2] According to the Outline, history education in schools experienced systematic reform as well. In 2001 and 2003, MOEd published *History Curriculum for Nine-Year Compulsory Education* (Grade 1–9) and then *History Curriculum for Ordinary Senior Secondary Schools* (Grade 10–12) (see Committee of History Curriculum, 2003; Gong, 2006; Ji, 2005).[3] The last revision of the former was finished in 2011 and the latter is now in the process of revision. The national curriculum is the guiding principle of textbook compilation, teaching and assessment and serves as the foundation of the centralized administration on curriculum and assessments (see Wang & Ji, 2012). After 15 years, history education in Chinese middle schools has changed significantly. This change will be addressed in detail in the current chapter, in terms of a changing history education in general, curriculum and textbook reform, as well as changes in the textbook publishing system.

History in the Context of Education

In terms of the overall aim of history education, in the curricula reform in the twenty-first century, the guiding principle is that the educational concept should be centered on the development of the learners. The new curriculum emphasizes the comprehensive educational function of history education, especially 'its significance in nurturing the humanistic accomplishment of the modernized civilian' rather than knowledge instructions and pan-political education which were stressed in the past. It is explicitly stated that memorizing historical knowledge is no longer the only and ultimate aim of the history curriculum, but the supportive foundation of the improvements in humanistic quality. The focus of history education shifts from the imparting historical knowledge to guiding learners to understand historical concepts, to form historical competences and to improve students' integrated development including *learning to learn* as well as *learning to behave* (see Qi & Zhao, 2003). The reformed history curriculum not only provides basic historical knowledge but also expects learners to nurture 'healthy personality', to establish the correct outlook on the world, life and values by 'drawing wisdom from history' and to concern the future of China and humanity as a whole by 'learning to understand and reflect on the relation between the self and other, the individual and society as well as humanity and nature, from the perspective of history' (MOEd, 2010a: 1–4).

In terms of the concrete objective of history education, curriculum reform classifies the goal of history teaching and learning in elementary and secondary schools into three major dimensions: *knowledge and competence*; *process and methods*; *sentiments, attitudes and values*. In particular, *sentiments, attitudes and values* are extended significantly from the ideological doctrine of patriotism, collectivism, socialism and preserving the profound legacy of traditional culture to healthy personality, sense of historical mission, sense of social responsibility, sense of democracy, sense of law, sense of science, sense of diversity and sense of the globalizing world (see Xu, 2012). Furthermore, the three-dimensional objectives should be regarded as a continuous process and organic integrity that is inseparable, integrated and interpenetrative in history teaching according to the curriculum. In the course of knowledge instruction, students should also understand historical methodologies (see Shao, 2009) and experience the cultivation of 'sentiments, attitudes and values' (MOEd, 2010a: 5–8).

Curriculum Reform

In terms of the framework of history education, the curriculum reallocates the disciplinary system and class time of each discipline in nine-year compulsory education and senior secondary school as a whole so as to avoid the existing shortcomings of previous disciplinary systems such as the isolation of individual subjects, too many academic disciplines and lack of integration between the courses. In addition, the balance, integrity and selectivity are given special importance in order to satisfy the various demands of students from different

regional areas all round the country. Integrated curricula play an important role in elementary schools, in lower grades (Grade 1–3), ethics, Chinese, mathematics, physical education and art, while in higher grades (Grade 3–6), ethics, Chinese, mathematics, science, foreign languages, comprehensive practices, PE, art and other courses. The junior secondary schools' curriculum (Grade 7–9) consists of disciplinary and integrated courses, including ethics, Chinese, mathematics, science (or disciplinary physics, chemistry and biology), foreign languages, PE, art, practical activities and the integrated course of 'history and society' (or history curriculum and geography curriculum). In senior secondary schools (Grade 10–12), disciplinary courses hold a significant role including the compulsory module, selective module and professional training integrated with a new credit system.

In total, history as a school subject covers 414 class hours in the overall curriculum framework of both junior secondary schools (206) and senior secondary schools (108 periods of the compulsory module). The history curriculum is differentiated into two alternatives in junior secondary schools: *history* as one of the disciplinary curricula and *history and society* as integrated curriculum. Schools from each region are authorized to select one curriculum from the two different options. At present, the *history and society* curriculum is being piloted by middle schools in the Zhejiang Province and other pilot schools all over the country. In senior secondary schools, the history curriculum is classified into the compulsory module and the elective module.

In junior secondary schools, the history curriculum takes popularity, fundamentality, humanity and integrity as guiding principles. The basic aim is to acquire historical knowledge and competence, but mastering systematic knowledge of the history discipline is no longer a compulsory requirement. The history curriculum is filled with content close to the contemporary students' cognitive level, daily life and social reality in order to echo the 'Zeitgeist'. Learners are encouraged to adopt new learning methods such as independent learning, cooperative learning and inquiry learning. The history curriculum consists of six modules: ancient Chinese history (China until 1840), modern Chinese history (China in 1840–1949), contemporary Chinese history (China after 1949), ancient world history (world until the fifteenth century), modern world history (the world in the sixteenth to nineteenth century) and contemporary world history (the world in the twentieth century). In total, the six modules contain 44 units: nine for ancient China before the nineteenth century, seven for China during 1840–1949, seven for contemporary China, five for pre-modern world, eight for world during the sixteenth to nineteenth century and eight for history in the twentieth century. For example, there are eight thematic units listed in the module of *contemporary world history*, including: Socialistic Exploration of USSR, Western World in the Versailles-Washington System, World War II, Postwar Development of Western World, Postwar Reformation of Socialistic States, Liberation and Development of Asia, Africa & Latin America, Postwar International Configuration and Science, Technology and Culture (MOEd, 2010a). The organization of thematic units

gives consideration to both chronological sequence and periodic theme so as to popularize basic historical knowledge. In the latest revised version of the History Curriculum for nine-year Compulsory Education in 2011, the six modules are arranged along chronological sequence rather than thematic categorization. Each module is presented in the structure combining *points* and *lines* in the curriculum. *Points* are vivid historical concepts, *lines* are important historical developments. Learners are expected to understand the historical *lines* by linking correlated historical *points*, so that historical developments can be understood on the foundation of historical concepts.

In junior secondary schools, the history and society curriculum is an innovative exploration integrating knowledge and competence in history, geography and other humanistic disciplines. Two experimental curricula are being piloted so as to explore the integrated humanistic curriculum. The *History and Society Curriculum I* contains six thematic modules, including: Society around Us, Economy in our Daily Life, Geographic Environment around Us, History and Culture of China, History and Culture of the World and the last module about competence of social practice, which is inserted in the progressive teaching and learning of the five above-mentioned modules. *History and Society Curriculum II* includes three thematic modules: Our World, Our Civilizations and Opportunities and Challenges. Each module again divides the learning objects into two levels with concrete learning content. History is of substantial importance in both of the two curricula. In the latest revision of curriculum, the two *history and society* curricula are integrated as one (MOEd, 2010b).

In senior secondary school, the history curriculum takes fundamentality, diversity and selectivity as its guiding principles. The structure of the history curriculum is reframed into compulsory and elective modules and thematic units so that students can further re-explore the historical knowledge acquired in junior secondary schools rather than simple repetition of the previous history curriculum. The compulsory part of the history curriculum contains three learning modules of 25 themes in total. Thematic units elaborate transnational-integrated historical development of different domains, including politics (module I), economy (module II) and thoughts, culture and science (module III), which is compulsory for all students to learn in ordinary senior secondary schools in China today. The elective part extends students' historical vision and improves their individualized development with six thematic modules: Reforms in History, Democracy Ideas and Practice in Modern Period, War and Peace in twentieth century, Historical Personalities, Exploring Secrets in History (archeology) and World Cultural Heritage. A Credit system is introduced in the senior secondary school curriculum. Each compulsory module consists of 2 credits and 36 periods (in total, 6 credits and 108 class hours). Each elective module consists of 2 credits and 36 class hours. It is necessary for students in *Humanity* to finish at least six elective credits. The introduction of the credit system is to improve the social demand of diversified talents and the individualized development of students (MOEd, 2006).[4]

Textbook Reform

For 100 years, chapters and sections have dominated the design of the Chinese history textbook. The history textbook can be regarded as a typical representation of the 'discipline-centered curriculum'. It follows the style of 'general history' in which historical concepts are organized according to chronological sequence and periodical theme to present the mechanism of historical development. In the curriculum reform, history textbooks explore new styles in framing the content. Chapters and sections are replaced by decentralized units and topics with the correlated theme. Instead of complicated academic norms from the disciplinary system of scientific history research, the 'topic' is outlined as the center of the textbook so as to meet the needs of teaching and learning (see Zhu & Zhang, 2003).

Unlike the previous curriculum centered on the disciplinary system of scientific history research, the new secondary school history curriculum reconstructs history teaching with learners at the center, by bridging the gap between historical content and social reality as well as students' daily life. Meanwhile, previous textbooks were reluctant to introduce new innovations from history research, even though new thoughts and results emerged continuously from academic exploration. The representation of late nineteenth–early twentieth century China could be regarded as a typical example. Scientific history research has revealed the vivid, dynamic and complicated confrontations between internal, external, traditional and modernized factors in the politics, economics and culture of China, but existing history textbooks follow the ideological narrative centered on the struggle against external imperialistic invasion and internal feudalist autocracy, which is biased, monotonous and separated from the social demands of contemporary China and in turn limits the social function of history education. Newly published textbooks make great efforts to overcome these problems. For example, new history textbooks published by the East China Normal University Press in 2002–2014 could be identified as typical of these trends. These textbooks have been redesigned according to curriculum reformation of the twenty-first century (see Education Commission of Shanghai, 2004) and consist of two series: textbooks for junior secondary schools (Wang, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d, 2003a, 2003b) and textbooks for senior secondary schools in Shanghai (Yu, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2009, 2010). The latter have been designed according to an innovative globalized framework with the idea of integrating 'Chinese history' and 'world history', traditionally separated in history textbooks in China. In the following, the first band of junior secondary school (Wang, 2002a) is used as an illustration.

In terms of developments in history within universities, new academic achievements and newly revealed historical materials were introduced into textbooks as a bridge between history education and scientific innovations. For instance, textbooks make a series of new explorations in the thematic module concerning pre-historic human activities in today's China alongside traditional

narrative to inspire patriotism. The textbook brings back the excavation of Homo erectus Pekinensis and 'the missing skull', in the Second World War, so as to inspire further reflection on national identity shaping process with archeological discoveries (Wang, 2002a: 5). Meanwhile, the textbook illustrates the geographic distribution of pre-historic sites in China based on the latest archeological sources so that learners can understand the integrity as well as the diversity of early Chinese civilization.

In term of content, textbook designers attach importance to the culture and technology of pre-modern China as the precious treasure of human society as a whole from a globalized vision instead of the accustomed instructions over patriotism and the 'excellent national culture'. In Unit Five *Technology and Culture of Ancient China*, the textbook takes seven class hours (28 % in all) to present a panorama of the cultural and technological evolution of pre-modern China so that learners can systematically understand the correlation between sciences, culture and the background of politics and economy (Wang, 2002a: 101–125).

In term of competence cultivation, the textbook puts emphasis on improving students' competence in analysis and creative thinking by question design. Learners are encouraged to imagine ancient craftsmen's application of the physical law of gravity by observing the unique design of the 'pointed bottom bottle' found in the Neolithic Banpo relic (Wang, 2002a: 9). They are expected to reflect on the relation between human society and nature by comparing the different ways of legendary ancestors to tame the flooding river recorded in classical literature (Wang, 2002a: 22). Learners are guided to shape dialectical thinking on historical events and personalities by critically reviewing previous evaluations on individual historical events and personalities.

Furthermore, textbook designers insert a series of quotes from ancient literature in the text, including the Book of Rites, one of the Five Classics of Confucianism, The Red Cliff Ode by Sushi (1037–1101) and Chu Shi Biao by Zhuge Liang (181–234), so as to improve the humanistic accomplishment of students and their understanding of historical literature in ancient China.

Diachronic continuity is another focal point in the framing of the history textbook. In periodization, the guiding principle is to find a balance between vital knowledge point and important points in the historical development. The chronological framework of the new textbook is reclassified with periodical themes instead of the traditional classification of rise and fall of dynasties so as to present the continuity of social developments. In the design of the layout, a brief introduction is inserted in front of each thematic module to contextualize a certain period in the macroscopic picture of both Chinese history and world history so that teachers and learners can identify the characteristics of each period as well as correlations between historical periods. Particularly, the textbook extends the historical representation of first to sixth century China to construct the diachronic continuity and integrity of knowledge points.

In terms of exercises, the textbook adopts multiple forms of exercises as a platform for learners and teachers to develop new methods in learning and

teaching. Therefore, after-class exercises and thinking questions are carefully designed to inspire learning initiative and innovative thinking, including 20 kinds of thinking and practicing activities such as discussion, imagination, reflection, extended reading, evaluation, charting, interpretation, periodization, interview et cetera.

The guiding principle in designing the exercises and reflection sections is to inspire students' initiative and creativity in learning by introducing questions close to social reality and daily life. For instance, new textbooks contain an illustration of a restored map of the pre-historic village of Jiangzhai relic, for the first time in middle school textbooks, so that students can construct a visual experience of the pre-historic settlement in China and compare it with the village lifestyle which is still common in most rural areas in China today (Wang, 2002a: 12). Archeological excavation is illustrated in the chapter to enable students to understand the social life of ancestors in the corresponding historical periods. In the section *Ethnic Integration in China during 220–589 AD*, a series of ancient artworks are illustrated to show the multiple different customs between nomads and the agricultural population in clothing, catering and daily life as well as the gradual integration of different ethnic groups (Wang, 2002a: 92–93). Students are able to trace the historical process of ethnic integration with illustrated examples such as how tables and chairs have been introduced into ancient China as a part of exotic culture. Other exercises drawn from daily life include titles of family members, 12 Chinese zodiac signs and Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches (methods of numbering years in pre-modern China; Wang, 2002a: 67), conversion between the Gregorian calendar and the ancient Chinese method of chronological record. By introducing these vivid elements close to daily life, textbook designers expect to inspire learners' interest in history learning, to improve their competence in applying historical competence and to encourage their methods in new knowledge inquiry.

With the rapid progress of information technology, the history curriculum reform has a new task: to develop learners' competence in using the internet as an approach to the study of history. Therefore, textbooks introduce online activities as a part of history learning and recommend online history-learning platforms such as the official sites for major museums.

In order to promote inter-disciplinary integration, a number of knowledge points were highlighted to present the overlapping of literature, history, philosophy, geography and science, which is helpful for learners to construct the multidimensional structure of knowledge.

In term of representations, designers have reformed the illustration and layout of the history textbook. In total, the new textbook inserts 204 images, 13 maps and 10 charts into the textual narration. Illustrations provide visual representation and improve the aesthetics of the textbook. The sources of pictorial illustrations are academic work, classic literature and authentic photography. All illustrations are presented in the original form without unnecessary contemporary revision, for example, ancient toponyms are retained in historical maps illustrated in the history textbooks. Textual notes are added beside photos and

images as the necessary explanation of the content. Together with the text, visual illustrations functions as a tool to inspire students' interest in reading the textbook as well as encouraging further inquiry and study of history.

History textbooks designed according to the reformed curriculum are helpful in inspiring the inquiry-based learning of the students and the innovative teaching methods of history teachers. The frame of textbook content conforms to the physical and psychological features of learners and the new demands generated in the development of society, politics, economy and technology. The representation of textbook content is more varied and vivid together with suggestion on observation, practice, survey and discussion so as to improve students' further study.

Textbook System Reform

History textbook is the concrete carrier of the content of history curriculum. For a long time, the history textbook was a unified product compiled according to the national curriculum standard and published by People's Education Press authorized by the central educational administration. Assessment of history as a school subject was also based on one standardized examination paper nationwide. In the light of recent social and economic developments, a unified educational system is no longer capable of coping with the different economic developments of each region.

In 1985, the city government of Shanghai was authorized autonomy in designing the examination paper of the College Entrance Examination by the Ministry of Education. Since the 1990s, this autonomy was gradually extended from the assessment to the design of textbooks and curriculum replacing the previous long established system of 'one curriculum, one textbook'. In this sense, the Shanghai government's exploration provides experience for nationwide curriculum reform in the twenty-first century (Education Commission of Shanghai, 2004).[5]

In September 1986, the National Committee of elementary and secondary School Textbooks was authorized by MOEd with the jurisdiction to examine textbooks designed by multiple publishers. It is an essential step in the reform on the textbook system of People's Republic of China, since textbooks 'published by the state' were then replaced by textbooks 'censored by the authority'. The reform of the textbook system produced a crucial opportunity in the development of the textbook. In the early 1990s, multiple sets of history textbooks are edited and published by qualified publishers from different provinces such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Sichuan and Hunan, including two sets of history textbooks for senior secondary school. These provincial textbooks cover the regional textbook market through meeting the demand of a wide spectrum of users from coast, inland and urban area.

More recently, the exploration has extended from the regional textbooks to the regional curriculum. For example, in Zhejiang Province, integrated curriculum 'society' and corresponding textbooks are designed and piloted to meet the demands of schools located in rural and mountain areas. The new con-

figuration of 'two curricula and multiple textbooks' marks the transformation of the history textbook system in the People's Republic of China and creates promising pre-conditions for further educational reform.

Since the start of the twenty-first century, the curriculum reform of basic education has improved the textbook system. In 1999, it is mentioned in *Outline of Curriculum Reform on Basic Education* (Trial) of MOEd that the textbook system is expected to be diversified under the regulation of educational administration. Qualified institutes and publishers are encouraged to publish elementary and secondary schools textbooks according to the national curriculum standard. With the institution of textbook approval, textbook editors are allowed to write textbooks with the approval of MOEd according to the interim procedures on elementary and secondary school textbook compilation issued by MOEd.[6] With the institution of textbook censorship, it is necessary for textbooks designed according to the national curriculum standard and implemented in multiple provinces to be approved by the National Committee of elementary and secondary School Textbooks and its provincial branches. It is compulsory for regional textbooks to be approved by the provincial branches of committee. The compilation of the textbook and the censorship of the textbook ought to be conducted separately. From this point, the textbook system transforms into the 'one curriculum and multiple textbooks'. Multiple textbooks are produced for either junior secondary schools or senior secondary schools, including more than ten sets for junior secondary schools and five for senior secondary schools.

The transformation of learning style is another innovational characteristic of the ongoing curriculum reform of basic education. It is emphasized in the new curriculum standard that the history curriculum is expected to improve the transformation of the study strategies of learners. Students are encouraged to participate actively in the process of history teaching and learning. They are expected to raise and analyze questions and explore solutions to the questions instead of mechanical memory and passive acceptance of knowledge delivery. A diversified and open learning environment is expected to inspire learners' subjectivity, initiative and participation, to improve students' competence in the study of historical questions and develop a scientific attitude to seek truth from facts as well as to promote their consciousness of change and innovation and practical competence (see Zhu & Zhang, 2003). In the last 15 years, great effort has been made by teachers in middle schools, in developing multiple new teaching modes to inspire the subjectivity and initiative of pupils and to cultivate students' competence in history inquiry including 'reconstruction of historical context', 'documentary inquiry', 'inquiry-based learning' and 'social study field trip'.

In terms of assessment, the traditional evaluation model to grade students is replaced by the new learning assessment with the purpose of improving the further development of students (see Huang, 2009). The guiding principle of the assessment is that the process is at least as important as the result. Various kinds of scientific and effective methods are applied in the assessment in a flexible way. For instance, the 'portfolio assessment', in which the development

of individual students is traced with the collection and analysis of multiple documents generated in the process of history learning. The diversification of assessment subject, content and criteria enable an individual evaluation on the development of each student in knowledge, competence and humanistic accomplishment (see Chen, He, & Zhao, 2003; Huang, 2005).

Conclusion

In conclusion, we argue that there is some evidence to suggest that history curriculum reform during the twenty-first century has achieved some preliminary success. It significantly promotes improvement of the quality of history education. New ideas carried by the new curriculum are beneficial to the all-round development of students including the cultivation of humanistic accomplishment. It is especially necessary to emphasize that, in contrast to some western European countries (e.g. Erdmann, Maier, & Popp, 2006; Roberts, 2004), in today's China, globalized perspectives and the framework of global history are of significant importance to the continuous reform of history curricula. Although such a tendency could be traced back to Marxist world history, which once played the role of master narrative for decades and then gradually transformed into an integrated global history since 1990s, the less dogmatic framework does actually equip students with an open view toward the outside world.

In terms of outlook on history education in the future, through international comparisons, Chinese scholars have recognized that, in today's China, there are no satisfactory empirical studies on the reception of history by students, such as the research of Grever, Pelzer, and Haydn (2011), as well as the reception of global history narratives on the part of teachers, such as the research of Wils et al. (2011), partly because nationwide surveys carried out by the Ministry of Education are still confidential. Moreover, in recent years, controversies have arisen over new history curricula, their aims and the corresponding agenda of reform. Major unsolved problems include: chronological sequences or thematic categorization, which framework is appropriate for the new senior secondary school history textbooks? How to construct an understandable framework to represent global history without patriotism, which has been the master narrative for decades? (See e.g. Carretero, 2011, for the international development and discussion in the field dealing with patriotism in the classroom under globalization). And last but not least, how to represent controversial and conflicting views of historical events? At this point in time, history didactics in China are continuing to explore these issues.

Notes

1. Sima Qian, *Qinshihuang Benji* (Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qin), *Shiji Records of the Grand Historian*.
2. See http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_309/200412/4672.html. Accessed on 26-03-2015.

3. Reform at elementary and junior secondary schools, see: *Why is the syllabus replaced by the curriculum?* http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_183/200110/1717.html. Accessed on 26-03-2015.
4. See for the new 2006 curriculum for history courses in senior secondary school. http://www.pep.com.cn/rjqk/sjtx/gzls/pg2004_2z2/201101/t20110106_1006740.htm. Accessed on 26-03-2013.
5. For Shanghai's exploration on curriculum autonomy, see: http://www.xhedu.sh.cn/cms/data/html/doc/2003-12/18/36529/. Accessed on 26-03-2015.
6. For the reform of the textbook system as one part of overall curriculum reform, see: http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_309/200412/4672.html. Accessed on 26-03-2015.

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CHAPTER 35

Tools in Teaching Recent Past Conflicts: Constructing Textbooks Beyond National Borders

Robert Maier

When the Russian president Vladimir Putin came to power, his ideas of history were shaped around two key components. In his view, the collapse of the Russian/Soviet Empire was the major catastrophe of the twentieth century and the Soviet 'victory over fascism' the most glorious achievement of the Russian people in the same period. In a marked break with the more nuanced and critical treatment of historical issues during *perestroika*, Putin brought his personal influence to bear in order to secure the unquestioned status of these two, to his mind, essential dicta of Russian history in history textbooks. While interested observers did not fail to notice the zeal with which he advocated these doctrines, they evinced little concern. They regarded these actions as an escape to the past, a backward-looking amalgam of nostalgia, popularity-seeking with veteran organizations and a rather futile attempt to reinforce a sense of identity, community and self-worth among Russians via the reactivation of outdated enmities. Today's perspective gives us a much clearer view on the matter as part of the psychological preparation of the Russian people for the acceptance of imperial ambitions, up to and including Russian aggression toward Ukraine. All that was required was to label the relevant opponent 'fascist', and immediately the emotionally charged myths and argumentations presented on the topic of fascism in the Russian history classroom were available for direct use in legitimizing violent conflict. Russian fighters in eastern Ukraine situate themselves in a tradition of battling fascism in the name of the restoration of the 'unjustly' defunct Russian Empire. Apart from these two key beliefs held by Putin, another essential belief can be mentioned that the president did not need to dictate to textbook authors and publishers: the myth

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of Russia as victim. This myth traditionally permeates the country's textbooks, depicting the country as perpetually suffering from the egotism and ingratitude of its neighbors. This stereotype gains in strength by virtue of the apparently complete lack of empathy toward these people in Russian textbooks (Maier, 2010: 91–92).

The above provides an emphatic demonstration, in the negative, of the connection between depictions of historical circumstances in textbooks and a will to peace. A similar link emerges when observing well-meant attempts to soothe or banish bloody historical conflict, by refusing to discuss it or turning it into a taboo subject. The textbooks of Tito's Yugoslavia stripped their representation of the events of the Second World War on the country's territory almost completely of their ethnic dimension, in the hope, both politically and educationally, that teaching about the war would not add fuel to the fire of ethnic enmities. What they actually succeeded in doing was creating a 'vacuum of memory' (Höpken, 1996: 168) which after the end of the Tito era was instantly and explosively refilled with fragments of memories passed on over generations and myths from collective communicative remembrance, leading to the hostility which became open war as Yugoslavia fell apart.

So much for the potential of history education to inflame conflict and war; might we hope that the reverse effect is possible and it might have the potential to help generate peace and reconciliation? Michael W. Apple has pointed out that to ask whether education can change society is to put the question wrongly; 'education', in his view, cannot be separated from 'society', as the former is always an integral part of the latter (Apple, 2012: 158). We could mention similar arguments in relation to the connection between history teaching and conflict resolution. The history classroom partakes in the construction of the past, in the form of which bygone conflicts appear to us. It is a key factor in the shaping and dissemination of the discourse on history, which takes place within a society and is a part of young people's historical socialization, the power of which should not be underestimated. For many people, the history lessons they experienced at school have been, and continue to be, their closest encounter with history, in terms of both the time spent engaging with the subject, and the didactically supported and systematic approach taken. In addition, school students generally prove to be curious and receptive toward education and show lower levels of preconceptions than do other age groups. It is for these reasons that history education can be considered to have a high potential for the promotion of reconciliation and peace, just as its susceptibility to abuse has, as indicated above, been exploited to considerable effect in the perpetuation and exacerbation of existing conflict. Research has on many occasions highlighted this ambivalence of history education (Lässig, 2013: 2; Pingel, 2010). Apple made no secret of his skepticism toward the idea that there might be simple answers to the general question of how education acts within and affects societies. However, he recommends to use this question as a starting point for differentiated inquiry regarding pedagogical practices, their sustainability and the actors engaged in them (Apple, 2012: 128).

In this spirit, the discussion that now follows will not attempt to tackle history education as a whole, but rather will focus on textbooks, teaching and learning materials, and examples of text on the basis of which teachers might discuss issues in the classroom. There is no doubt that the textbooks produced under national systems aware of the power of education and educational materials can make important contributions to peace education by eliminating images of others driven by enmity, deconstructing negative stereotypes, and helping to establish respect for others and the capacity to seek to understand them as values to aspire to. Nevertheless, such textbooks will inevitably continue to transport national political and cultural codes which stand in the way of a balanced and sensitive depiction and interpretation of historical events acceptable to all sides. This is especially the case in relation to the treatment in educational media of violent and traumatic conflict between particular nations. As a rule, only teams of authors from both or all nations in question find themselves able to overcome these deeply rooted patterns, because only such an authorship is able to embody and reflect the practice of dialogue between the parties to the conflict. It is for this reason that I will focus here on binational activities whose aim has been to defuse conflict and initiate and support processes of reconciliation.

The idea of transcending national borders in the endeavor to compare and reconcile depictions of history as transmitted in schools and in so doing to promote peaceful coexistence among peoples has its origins in the inter-war period, at which time the League of Nations encouraged such activities. We might be surprised in view of this long history at the relative paucity, despite their growth during this period, of endeavors to produce text, materials and books for the history classroom at joint bi- or multinational level. History curricula and historical narratives continue to be substantially entangled in specific national images of the self and others and to be pressed into the service of national identity formation. This said, the diversity of joint projects and initiatives in this regard has increased dramatically; emerging in accordance with the relevant needs of each case, a wide range of specific and detailed models of binational cooperation has become available, each with theoretical grounding and a track record of case studies in practice. It appears to be only states of war that prevent joint activities in this field from proceeding; these are situations of extreme inclusion and exclusion which tend toward making the images each side holds of its enemy so absolute as to effectively preclude dialogue. By contrast, appropriate instruments exist for situations of ongoing conflict that are not in acute phases, post-conflict settings and extant processes of reconciliation.

It is by no means the case that both sides in such endeavors are blessed with democratic contexts from which to conduct the work. It may be important in specific cases for discussions around textbooks to proceed with dictatorships or between states whose ideological bases are opposed. This may lead to asymmetrical relationships between the partners that need to find a balance. There are a number of levels on which state authorities and institutions might be included in such discussions; the primary agents of dialogue might

be appointed by each state or instead be representatives of civil society with varying degrees of official support. Differences in the size or economic power of states engaging in joint textbook projects may place the equality of relationships between the dialogue partners in jeopardy. Further, religious or cultural barriers may prove problematic, as may divergent educational cultures or differing ideas of history's purpose.

This chapter will present a typology of the most significant models of bilateral cooperation in the production of educational media and supplement it with examples illustrating their application, as well as discuss their various strengths and weaknesses. We should observe at this point that evaluation of the effectiveness and success of such measures, particularly with relevance to their effect on the development of historical consciousness among students, is a difficult undertaking. Any inferences we may draw in this regard may therefore be limited to assessments of what is plausible rather than provide 'proof' (Lässig, 2013: 11–14). Studies undertaken thus far, however, appear to support the hypothesis that joint history textbook projects have the potential to act as a key method in peace education (Korostelina, 2013).

Collections of Sources

A concomitant of war and enmity between societal groups or nations is an extreme version of selective perception; this means that the knowledge these groups or nations have of the other can be seriously distorted. Where centuries-old 'arch-enmity' is present, historians have often provided those in political power with 'ammunition' in the shape of historical arguments. To this purpose a number of historical institutions actually owe their existence and from it they have at various times drawn their sense of legitimation. The consequence of this was that historical research was conducted along the dichotomous, adversarial lines dictated by the perceptions held by the national group, and that knowledge running counter to these perceptions remained neglected and obscured. In this situation, carefully compiled collections of sources may represent an initial, tentative step toward rapprochement between warring nations or societal groups. They may provide access to previously unexplored perspectives and aspects of an issue, complete partial images of an event or situation and break up familiar narratives; they can also be produced on the basis of an at least initially minimal level of consensus. What matters in this regard is the willingness of those who engage with them to take seriously the facts, arguments and viewpoints presented by the 'other side' and to regard them as of equal value to those advocated by their 'own side'.

Collections of sources designed for use in schools obviously do not share the academic ambitions and standards of editions produced in and for research, yet they can benefit from their association with academic study; further, where sources are chosen carefully and with an awareness of potential bias, they will be regarded as considerably less tendentious and susceptible to ideological influence than the text that appears in textbooks, written by their authors.

Empirical observations in countries which practice censorship or where political pressure is brought to bear on textbook authors have indicated that sources, as what appear to be objective documents, are frequently exempted from processes of censorship.[1]

Binational source collections are a relatively recent emerging tool for supporting processes of reconciliation, although there have been developments we can consider as forerunners. Enno Meyer, a teacher, issued two books of sources on Polish–German history before the German–Polish textbook commission could be established (Meyer, 1963, 1971). While these books were only published in Germany and were intended for use by teachers there, their origins lay in a dialogue with historians in Poland and Polish historians in exile taking place in the 1950s in the context of Meyer's work 'On the Representation of German-Polish Relations in History Teaching' (Meyer, 1988: 67). These source collections represented a unique teaching aid for German history teachers who were interested in discussing Poland in their classrooms, and found extensive use over a period of more than 20 years. A joint Polish–German source collection would not have been feasible at that point in time nor would it have been absolutely necessary for the communication between the two countries. Whereas teachers in Poland have always had access to sources on German history, including Polish translations, access to Polish sources was extremely difficult for teachers in Germany. This comes as no surprise if we consider the fact that over a period of generations, even German historians took the majority view that Polish historical literature could be dismissed on the basis of an attitude of *Polonica non leguntur*. Enno Meyer's source collections were a specific response to the asymmetry of knowledge to which this situation had given rise.

Another collection of sources intended for schools, issued in 2008 as a joint German–Russian project, had the same aim of filling an extant gap (Chubaryan & Maier, 2008). This project's concern was to provide teachers in Russia with sources on twentieth-century German history in Russian and thus to enable them to arrive with their students at an independently developed idea of the history of a country engaging in war with Russia twice in this period, with devastating consequences. Those involved in the edition on the German side hoped that it would enable Russian historical narratives to break out of their narrow national focus on the Russian 'fatherland' by allowing teachers and students to gain a comparative perspective on a Western European society in relation to a number of events from Russian history. Additionally, they regarded the collection as an invitation to Russian publishers to emulate them. Their hopes were only partly fulfilled. At the project's outset, at the end of the 1990s, Russian textbook publishers, driven by a 'hunger for authentic sources', estimated that they would be able to produce five- or six-figure print runs. In the period that followed, in the context of President Putin's restrictive and xenophobic textbook policies, their interest dwindled. Eventually, thanks to the commitment of the Russian–German Historians' Commission, 2000 copies were printed and distributed. Some sources from the collection have been included in Russian textbooks, and an international conference on textbooks

held in Saratov in 2011 bore impressive witness to the creativity of teachers in Russia in their use of the sources (Devyataykina, 2012). As collections of sources tend not to become outdated, we can be optimistic that the publication will evince long-term effects.

The most ambitious endeavor of this kind is the Joint History Project (Koulouri, 2005); run between 1999 and 2005 by the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE), it transcends the binational. In a four-volume edition of sources for schools, 14 authors from 11 south-eastern European countries sought to present the conflict-ridden history of the Balkans as a shared history and to provide contrasts to the national and ethnocentric narratives appearing in the history books of the Balkan nations, thus opening them up to alternative perspectives. The particular resonance and sensitivity of this endeavor emerged from the fact that, in the very recent past, the region of Yugoslavia had been shattered and traumatized by a violent conflict in whose course history was frequently employed by all sides to legitimize their own position in the conflict and discredit their opponents. The JHP sought to counter this situation by harnessing history education for constructive communication and reconciliation. The topics raised in the edition were selected for their relevance and importance to national curricula and contextualized within European history, while any national bias in sources was balanced out by the addition of other sources from a broad range. Suggestions for questions in the context of the issues were added to the sources for the purpose of encouraging students to reflect upon them. Some parts of the edition, by contrast, limited themselves to juxtaposing divergent positions without comment. Highly controversial topics are included in the edition, but in some cases, where its compilers considered a closer discussion of the issue would prove too challenging to national sensitivities, such closer discussion is avoided. For educational reasons, the most recent war does not figure in the edition. The materials included in the JHP were intended to be highly usable in the classroom context; in order to ensure this, the project team recruited teachers and other educational practitioners to the group of authors and demonstrated and tested the materials at training sessions for teachers while working on the edition. The editors hoped that teachers would specifically select particular sources for use in their classes; and it is not unrealistic to surmise that such use of sources from the edition might fulfill the collection's objective of shattering the inaccurate impression of harmony and continuity given by individual national narratives as they appear in textbooks. This said, such developments depend on the extent to which work with sources, and the ability of students to arrive at historical knowledge through their own active participation in lessons, are valued in the actual teaching. Styles of teaching which have thus far operated with no awareness or inclusion of the principle of source-oriented learning will not derive great benefit from bi- or multinational collections of sources. The JHP was conducted as a typical NGO project, with no involvement on the part of state institutions or authorities; their role was limited to providing support for the implementation of the collection in schools and involvement

with the training sessions given in the context of the edition. The publication has appeared in print and is also available online, free-of-charge in English and in almost all the languages of the countries involved, which can be considered an optimal mode of distribution. The project received a positive evaluation from *CREDA Consulting* in 2009–2010, a company committed to advancing creative development alternatives that provide for sustainable institutions and practices of democratic societies, based in Bulgaria (Creda, 2010).

Joint Recommendations on Textbooks

The oldest form of binational cooperation on peace education via history teaching are the series of bilateral textbook commissions, which first emerged in the inter-war period under the aegis of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, these commissions advanced to become a key instrument in the repertoire of strategies of reconciliation to be found among former enemies. Mostly founded by civil society initiatives, they have received significant support from UNESCO. Textbook commissions are appropriate ways of organizing cooperation in a post-conflict phase, provided there is political support for them or, at the least, no attempt by policymakers to stand in their way. Such commissions work as follows: The initial analysis is conducted by historians from each side on the depiction of the history of the other country. Errors, distortions, demonization, stereotypes and unbalanced content are registered and discussed at conferences with the help of specialist historians. The findings are used to compile recommendations for the educational communities of each country, their textbook publishers and policymakers. The achievement of such commissions consists in their production of an overview, on the foundations of academic research, of the depiction of shared histories in each country and in the concomitant emergence of a discussion of these issues at an academic level. The text of the recommendations produced in these settings essentially represents an initial attempt to bring together divergent narratives. These are meta-level texts, not intended for use in the classroom. However, ideally, they impact upon depictions of history in textbooks and generate, among teachers and the wider public alike, greater openness and acceptance for new perceptions of neighboring nations whose relationship with the country in question had previously been one of enmity.

The most striking example of the potential impact of textbook recommendations may be found in those issued by the Polish–German commission in 1976 (Gemeinsame Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission, 1977) after four years of close cooperation. The agreement reached by the commission on the text of the recommendations amounted to a sensation, subject as it was to the conditions and limitations of the Cold War. The recommendations bore witness to the potential and actual realizability of ideological coexistence, in contrast to the doctrine of vigorously adversarial ideological confrontation held by the Communist states of the time. Among the many challenges it faced, the commission was confronted with the requirement of simultaneously adhering

to the legal reservations held by West Germany in the matter of the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line and respecting the Polish rejection of the German term *Vertreibung* for the expulsion of Germans from formerly German regions of eastern Europe in the closing months and aftermath of the war. The bilateral principle of the commission's work was interpreted in such a strict manner that it excluded any discussion of issues such as the GDR, the USSR and the Jewish population of the region, which was anything but marginal to the issues in any sense.

The text of the recommendations was absolutely justifiable in academic terms, despite essentially being a compromise and its concessions to each side. The process of dialogue that preceded it gave birth to a historical synthesis which later received the epithet of being a 'new form of historiography' (Zernack, 1995: 11). For many of those involved, some of whom were renowned and expert specialists in their respective countries, the experience of working with integrity toward compromise and reconciliation in the commission made a deep impression and permanently changed their ideas of the 'other side'. The open-mindedness, fairness and mutual interest that the commission's members experienced during their work and which frequently grew into personal friendships formed the foundations for a degree and quality of contact and communication between German and Polish historians which continues to exert a positive effect to this day and was vital in creating the relaxed and open spirit in which successive generations of historians from the two countries have been able to approach one another (Borodziej, 2000: 164; Strobel, 2005: 267).

The initial reception of the recommendations, in both Polish and German society, was characterized by considerable animosity and resistance due to the way in which they appeared to dispense with national historical narratives or indeed put their previously canonical character up for grabs. Impassioned debates took place in the German media and continued in federal state parliaments. This level of attention and publicity pushed the print run of the recommendations in Germany to 300,000. It is unlikely that any history teacher in contemporary West Germany who was in the habit of keeping up with developments in the field was unaware of them. This impressive impact can certainly be regarded as a success, bringing the significance of Polish–German relations to the attention of the German public as it did for the first time. In Poland, by contrast, the print run was approximately 6000; most of these copies found their way to the part of the Polish elite with a critical point of view on the socialist system.

In the final analysis, the controversies around the recommendations that took place at a political level in Germany and Poland were as crucial to the process of Polish–German reconciliation as the direct communication between German and Polish historians for which the commission provided a forum. The initial effect of the debate on West German society had been to provoke a distinct polarity of opinion; in the longer term, however, the discussion undergirded the German policy of rapprochement and communication with Poland.

The broad acceptance of the recommendations and the ideas at their core was a strong indicator for the emergence of a new attitude in Germany toward its eastern neighbor. The effect on the political situation within Poland favored the anti-Communist opposition and disarmed those in power as it called into question the habit of playing the 'anti-German card' and conjuring the spectrum of German revisionism in critical situations. Thus, the recommendations initiated a virtuous circle of rapprochement, of the development of confidence and trust, and of reconciliation. Textbooks in Germany literally improved overnight. Indeed, the mere fact of the commission's foundation had been sufficient to prompt publishers to eliminate to a considerable extent the negative stereotypes and myths around Poland which had hitherto been present in the textbooks they issued.

The success story of the German–Polish recommendations cannot simply be reproduced in other countries. We should be aware of the fact that at the beginning of the 1970s, the elites of both Germany and Poland evinced a belief in the essentially dead-end nature of the status quo and a powerful desire for change, from which the commission's discussions around textbooks doubtlessly profited. Additionally, there is certainly substance to Włodzimierz Borodziej's supposition that the willingness of those involved in the commission to break with the tradition of antagonism between Germany and Poland was related to factors connected to their individual lives and to characteristics of their generation. The experience of totalitarianism and the knowledge of historians' entanglement in acts perpetrated by the National Socialists and the Stalinist regime had led a substantial number of contemporary historians to call their own discipline into question and enabled them to develop the sensitivity toward the concerns of their interlocutors without which all dialogue is doomed to failure (Borodziej, 2000: 158–159).

Dual Construction of History Textbooks

During the work on the German–Polish recommendations, the idea emerged to prepare them, if the necessity arose, partially in the form of a juxtaposition of Polish and German positions on specific historical events and processes on which consensus seemed impossible. Had such action been necessary then the emerging recommendations would have been, though less valuable than those eventually published, certainly better than a complete failure of the process. Indeed, any attempt to communicate one's view of a shared and difficult history to the other 'side' of a conflictive relationship, using factual and non-injurious language, represents an initial step toward mutual understanding. This is particularly the case where conflict is ongoing; a situation that tends to put bridging narratives beyond the reach of the imaginations of those involved. One example of such a situation today is the animosity between Israelis and Palestinians.

A team composed of members of each 'side' of the conflict convened in 2002 around Israeli Dan Bar-On and Palestinian Sami Adwan, under the aus-

pices of the binational NGO PRIME (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East) and subsequently sought to undertake just such an attempt. Their intent was not to produce recommendations which would entail a structured juxtaposition of Israeli and Palestinian historical narratives, but rather to create an actual textbook in accordance with this principle.[2] The book's principal educational innovation was to be its layout; the two parallel narratives were to be placed to the left and the right respectively of a central, empty column. In this column the student was to be invited to formulate his or her own version of events, to be arrived at in class over the course of a number of lessons. The PRIME team drew their inspiration from the dual narrative approach used in the field of therapeutic practices in relation to Holocaust research. In this context, seminars using dialogical story-telling had proved to be helpful for the development of mutual recognition and acceptance of opposing narratives, which appears to be a primary intractable issue in the relationship between Palestinians and Israelis.

The textbook was composed between 2002 and 2006 by two subgroups, working on a relatively autonomous basis, each of which formulated one of the two narratives (PRIME, 2006). In the years that followed, numerous meetings and discussions led to modifications, more nuanced and less controversial portrayals, and amendments to the language to make it less inflammatory. Fundamentalist positions had been excluded from the outset. The book's authors constructed a narrative which was purposefully susceptible to inconsistencies and ruptures, in order to reflect in essence the majority view of the event on their 'side'. The narratives are not in complete parallel, as the timeline running through the book features different events on each side at a number of points. The book reflects the conflict between the two sides and the intertwinement of their narratives in the context of the history of their relationship. It is the first set of teaching materials available to teachers to apply the principle of multiperspectivity to the Israel–Palestine conflict. Academic workshops and seminars took place during the process of its creation, and parts of the material were tested in schools. A teachers' guide to accompany the book, available online, both made the project public and increased its transparency, as well as inviting interested parties to become involved (vispo.com/PRIME).

The project, funded by the USA and the EU as well as individual European countries, drew a great deal of attention worldwide. In the region around which it revolved, however, the textbook was less enthusiastically received. Official authorities in Israel and Palestine alike have rejected its use in history teaching on political grounds. Criticism of the book has also come from academic circles; there have been claims that the two narratives it presents are too normative and authoritative in character and that they fail to include minority positions such as that of Israeli Palestinians. A further criticism has been that it would be precisely the overstepping or transcendence of the two narratives with their monolithic structure that would provide a real opportunity to make the ideological boundaries between them more fluid.

In spite of these concerns, Achim Rohde, who acted as an independent observer to the project, considers PRIME's approach to constitute a meaningful innovation; emphasizing this significant character, he regards the project as 'a civil society initiative that creates bottom-up pressure on politicians by juxtaposing conflicting historical narratives in a collectively authored textbook designed for use on both sides of the barricades' and sees in it 'the potential to become a point of reference in the field of peace education' (Rohde, 2013: 189).

Binational Guides for Teachers

A binational teacher's book is a teaching aid, which emerges from collaborative work supported by representatives of the two participating nations and which is designed for use by teachers in both countries. Its purpose is to make available material, prepared for educational use, that can broaden or deepen the scope of the educator's teaching. The intention underlying such a project is to counteract deficits, biases and negative stereotypes which appear in the ideas citizens of each country have of the other country, and which tend to flourish in places marked by a conflict-heavy past. The key challenge facing binational teachers' guides is its need to draw the historical narratives from each country out of their mutual isolation and confrontation, and provide a selection of materials for two national communities within one single publication, within a framework appropriate to teaching. Such an endeavor can only succeed in a very advanced phase of rapprochement between two nations, a phase in which the conflict has been resolved at a political level. In such a setting, binational teachers' guides have the role of providing broadly based societal undergirding for the reconciliation and communication process in the interests of preventing a relapse into the previous state of enmity.

Binational teachers' guides are unlikely to be published in identical form in both countries; there will need to be variations for each group, the extent of which will depend on how much their cultures of teaching and learning differ and the specificity of the guide's planned content. A carefully elaborated educational model geared toward a specific teaching situation will most likely encounter obstacles when applied in other countries. It is for this reason that a binational teacher's book should not contain elaborate lesson plans, but should instead provide raw materials which can be used, abridged or adapted for lesson planning and for structuring and refining learning objectives.

Those compiling a binational teacher's guide should make sure, in the interests of fairness, to include a balanced representation of input from both nations; no one side should be dominant, and consideration needs to be given to the different priorities afforded by each side to the topics covered. Furthermore, binational undertakings in the field of education will almost certainly be doomed to failure in cases where the cooperation partners cannot meet as equals, which they are unlikely enabled to do where funding is not essentially proportionate across the two groups. This does not necessarily mean

that the budget on each side needs to be exactly the same; services often attract different costs in different countries, and the economic strength of a country will need to be taken into account when allocating funding budgets. Another reason for providing the funding for such projects as equally as possible is the fact that a joint endeavor in which one of the parties has not materially invested is likely to be valued less. Generous donors from outside are often met with mistrust, a dictum nowhere truer than in relations between states. Such a lack of trust can only serve to seriously hamper the implementation of any binational project.

Binational guides for teachers are highly flexible in nature; they have the advantage of the ability to concentrate almost exclusively on the history of relations between states and provide space to represent the history of the other country as a continuum. The sections of such guides containing selections of materials, and the didactical considerations, can specifically address their target groups and the prejudices they hold. They can be used selectively in the classroom, linking up with compulsory curricular topics. Furthermore, they are highly suited to up-to-date forms of teaching based on work with sources, and to support teachers in creating distinct and unique lessons for their students. There is no need, particularly in relation to the sources provided, to adhere strictly to boundaries between subjects and disciplines; the sources, for instance, can include literature and art. Such guides can also be used as 'readers', encouraging students to undertake active learning or supplying material for them to hold a class presentation or similar activities. The methodology at the heart of these guides is strictly comparative and encourages work in the same vein. The time and effort involved in creating them is relatively manageable. The lack of bureaucratic obstacles, due to the fact that such guides are not generally subject to the approval procedures student textbooks face, is a key advantage. This circumstance also dispenses with the need for advisory and supervisory bodies to steer the materials through the process. The financial risk of these enterprises is also small. When a guide is produced electronically and made available online, accessibility is optimal and each required language version of the guide can appear side by side and be connected up via linking.

One successful example of bilateral engagement with conflict in an educational context is the guide for teachers 'Germany and Poland in the Twentieth Century' (Becher, Borodziej, & Maier, 2001; Becher, Borodziej, & Ruchniewicz, 2001), which was produced between 1999 and 2001 under the auspices of the Polish–German textbook commission. The guide focused on the twentieth century because this was the period during which the history of relations between the two countries experienced most turbulence and involves most controversy. It concerns events which continue to overshadow the life experiences of teachers and their pupils and touch upon historic events narrated within families in a manner often greatly emotionally charged. The guide contains analysis, educational considerations and sources. The analytical parts present overviews of the current state of research in relation to specific topics, selected in accordance with curricula in both countries and authored jointly

by Polish and German experts. As syntheses of Polish and German historiography, they supply teachers with well-founded information stated factually and are above any suspicion of pushing national agendas. The parts detailing educational considerations were compiled by educationalists in each country for their specific national audiences. The continuous communication in the project team ensured that each side was happy with the work generated by the other. Wherever it was judged to be possible and appropriate, these educational considerations and ideas for teaching were included in both the Polish and the German versions of the guide.

One particularly welcome effect of binational cooperation in this field is the way in which it expands the horizons of national educational cultures and provides an arena for the fruitful emergence and exchange of innovations in history teaching. The source collection included in this Polish–German guide encompasses sources from jointly held corpora, which take the extent of previous knowledge of the subject and the accessibility of the sources into consideration. For instance, the guide accounts for the considerably lower level of knowledge about Poland that exists in Germany than vice versa by including additional sources, bringing the total number of pages in the German version to 432, 140 more than the Polish edition. The references for further reading and research included in the guide—touching on such areas as books for young people, audio-visual media and websites—are different for each country, while the contents of the glossary and the chronological table of events are the same.

The project received strong support from policymakers, including a number of respected figures, such as the foreign ministers of both countries involved warmly recommending teachers on both sides to make use of the guide. Indeed, it was welcomed by educators and those in the educational field able to disseminate new materials and practices. The reviews and demand for the publication—which saw a dynamic development, presumably boosted by word of mouth among teachers—bore witness to this. In total, the guide's print run topped 32,000, with 26,000 of these copies distributed in Germany. This success was partly due to the fact that the project benefited from the expertise and networks of the German–Polish textbook commission and its members, which provided it with authors open to and practiced in binational dialogue and the assurance that both sides of the endeavor were committed to taking a self-critical approach to their own history.

Conventional/Curricular Binational Textbooks

The idea of young people from once-warring nations learning history from one and the same textbook is immensely attractive and redolent with symbolic power at the political level. A bilateral textbook can be regarded as a synecdoche for a highly advanced, successful process of cross-border reconciliation; it is a living proof that this process has reached broad swathes of society on each side and has essentially arrived at a point of no return. It means that both countries involved have given the other permission to help write the history

which will be taught to their upcoming generations. A book of this kind is compiled in accordance with the curricula of each country, enabling it to be used as a regular textbook and to compete on the textbook market and in schools with existing approved works; it will cover general curricular content, which may span a time period from prehistory to the present. In other words, the product of this type of endeavor does not revolve around the history of relations between the two nations of those involved in its conception; instead, it provides an unconventional forum for the perceptions and educational traditions of both these countries.

The production of such a work requires a setting free from acute conflict and featuring political and economic factors that favor the likelihood of the endeavor overcoming national dissent within each society. In this vein, it is not surprising that the only two books of this sort reaching realization are Franco-German and Polish–German history textbooks, the latter of which is still in progress. All three countries which have been involved in these projects share similar values within a common community, have the same political allies and are among those countries within the EU which have essentially synchronous plans for their future development. The communities of historians in each of these three countries have long since abandoned their adversarial starting points in relation to one another's history and have contributed to the deconstruction of images of one another based on enmity, the overcoming of prejudice and the development of nuanced perspectives on historical events. The ideas of history they propagate, particularly in regard to their relations with other countries, are increasingly independent of national paradigms, turning toward European leitmotifs and connective transnational elements. The decades of work put in by the Franco-German and Polish–German textbook commissions have seen these three countries make unprecedented efforts to fundamentally and systematically revise and overhaul the histories they have written of their relations with the others and undertake experimental attempts to produce binational teaching and learning materials. Each of the three countries have additionally experienced changes to the format of textbooks in the context of a general reorientation of education systems in accordance with European standards and an advancing similarity of cultures of teaching and learning across the continent. The workbook has become the predominant medium in history education, primarily characterized by the inclusion of contrasting sources, a multi-perspective and student-centered approach and the presentation to students of plural potential interpretations. A medium of this type is considerably more open to transnational elements and evolving into binational work than were books of the more traditional kind, which tended to follow a closed and unquestioned narrative. We can thus observe that a binational book used as a regular curricular tool can represent the culmination of a long process of rapprochement.

Such a production will only be possible in specific conditions. The political situation in each country will need to be such that there is no prescribed interpretation of history that contradicts the other one. Instead, both nations

will need to share the political will to make the project a success, as well as similar standards in historiography and comparable philosophies in relation to the perceived function of history education, its general learning objectives and curricular stipulations. The history of each country will need to be relevant in a similar way to the other one. Finally, there should not be major divergences in cultures of teaching and learning, predominant educational principles or the cultures of their implementation.

The idea of producing a Franco-German textbook first emerged in 2003 in the context of a civil society initiative and rapidly found support at the top political level (see for more detail Defrance & Pfeil, 2013). The book, whose three volumes were published between 2006 and 2011, was aimed at upper secondary school level and produced via the cooperation between publishers on each side. It has proved highly popular in bilingual schools in both countries and with teachers with an interest in Franco-German interaction. Nevertheless, the high hopes for the book to be used widely in conventional schools were not met. A short time after the third and final volume came onto the market, curricular reform in France rendered parts of it obsolete. Revision adapting to these changed conditions has yet to take place due to the prohibitively high cost of the joint endeavor. At a symbolic level, the book has doubtlessly proved a success, despite its rather limited influence on educational practices in the two countries thus far. Contrary to the ambitions initially bound up with the project, it does not represent a step toward the creation of a 'European history textbook', although it is the publication that has progressed the furthest toward the Europeanization of national narratives and as such certainly has ground-breaking status (Defrance & Pfeil, 2013: 62).

Calls for a Polish–German textbook could be heard at the time the Franco-German project was announced. It was not until 2008, however, that the undertaking was launched after a long period of preliminary discussions at the political level. The German–Polish textbook commission took on the conceptual work on the project along with its coordination and additionally acted in an advisory role, while a publishing house from Poland and one from Germany were commissioned. The resulting book, the first volume due to be published imminently, is designed for lower secondary school students and aims to cast light on the role of history in the formation of identity and allow pupils to approach matters fundamental to European history via engagement with issues of national history and of the relationship between the two countries. The Polish–German setting may well prove ideal in terms of delivering a potential opportunity to analyze and eventually overcome the psychological division of the continent into East and West which has overshadowed the European idea since before the Cold War era.

The Polish–German experience once more demonstrates that the production of a binational textbook requires great investment and effort. An additional complication in this case was the fact that those involved did not always possess bilingual competencies, giving rise to an immense amount of translation. In many respects, however, those carrying out this project were able to

draw lessons from the Franco-German endeavor. For example in the decision to publish the volumes of the Polish–German book in chronological order and to produce it for lower rather than upper secondary level, due to the lesser significance of textbooks in the latter phase of schooling.

Both projects demonstrated the difficulties and issues inherent in the production of a binational textbook and shone a light on the extent of the continuing divergence in the details of the ideas and interpretations of history and traditions of teaching and learning held by different nations. The hurdles to be overcome were doubtlessly higher in the Polish case, because the official political resolution of all conflict between Poland and Germany had taken place as recently as 1990 with the countries' mutual agreement on the course of their shared border. This was also due to the controversies between the two nations that subsequently erupted on an intermittent basis and generally involved the citation of historical arguments. Yet precisely these instances of friction and controversy around particular issues are indicative of struggles and therefore of productive process; all-too-harmonious consensus would tend, in a peace education context, to signal limited actual or potential impact.

Joint Supplementary History Textbooks

The idea of joint history textbooks can be traced back to 1950, where it emerged within international discussions around textbooks in relation to a 'joint European history book' (Pingel, 2013: 155). It was not until the end of the 1980s, however, that it came closer to realization, having drawn attention and acute interest from both the political scene and historians who were passionate about Europe. Political circles considered such an endeavor to have the potential to promote communication and reconciliation and to help secure peaceful coexistence within a Europe primarily conceived as a 'Western' continent via the development of a shared historical narrative. EU policymakers perceived it as a means for the formation of a European identity which might serve to legitimize the exercise of political power at this level. The first such attempt to initiate the development of a 'European textbook', which was conceived of from the outset as a supplementary teaching and learning aid, was driven by Frédéric Delouche (Delouche & Aldebert, 1992). It attracted substantial criticism for its perceived shortcomings, which included a failure to reflect Europe's inherent diversity, the exclusion of populations with smaller numbers and the considerable marginalization of the east of the continent. Despite this, it was translated into a number of languages and supplied emphatic inspiration among historians for its transcendence of national narratives. The debate also cast light on the general issues facing any undertaking to create a supranational textbook and in fact strengthened reservations toward such projects, particularly among history teaching specialists. Indeed, it led many of those participating in the debate to reject the idea outright and saw a European curricular history textbook move further and further away from realization.

It was the Franco-German endeavor that revived the idea and provided encouragement to potential authors. At the same time, the emergence of transnational and 'entangled' history as a research subdiscipline inspired historians to reapproach the potential of binational history textbooks for schools. Projects currently in progress include a German–Czech and a Russian–German history book, each of which are planned for publication in both relevant languages. The latter project has been seeking to produce a book for schools and higher education whose purpose is to contribute to 'a better understanding [in both nations] of the other people, its traditions, values and cultural mentalities', a task, as observed in the book's foreword, 'all the more urgent after a century full of wars, large-scale crimes and tragic events' (Möller & Chubaryan, 2014: 9). The work addresses both a general audience and those with a specific interest in history. This hybrid character is clearly apparent in its third volume, which revolves around the twentieth century and has already been published in Russian and German. The book's approach, which entails exploring the history of the two countries' relationship via investigation of significant sites of shared memory, is of substantial educational value and estimable potential productivity. Its layout, featuring color-coded chapters, maps and sources, and a chronological table of events, is familiar to those accustomed to interacting with teaching and learning materials. By contrast, the tone of its text is highly academic, with a reduction in complexity for educational purposes apparent only in specific chapters. This leads to a rather overwhelming volume of facts, while some of the excursions undertaken by the narrative into subdisciplines such as the history of art go markedly beyond what is required of school students. The book has followed the principle of a Russian and a German author working together tackling each issue. Where this proved impossible, it contains parallel discussions of the issue. This manner of proceeding enables readers to rapidly identify those areas on which consensus was achieved and those of which the assessments on each side remained irreconcilable. The presentation of each position with recognizably equal status is conducive to allowing those working with the book to form their own judgment in the matter.

Since the 1980s, observers in East Asia have kept a close eye on the European activities seeking to promote reconciliation through textbooks. China, South Korea and Japan have repeatedly been sites of conflict around the remembrance and assessment of the sensitive past which has at various points stood in the way of cooperation. The successful processes of reconciliation between Germany and its Second World War opponents have been the particular focus of attention in this part of the world. A number of conferences have explored whether specific activities undertaken by or with Germany might be applied, in adopted or adapted form, to the Asian setting. Likewise, in this context we can situate the decision taken in 2002 by a trilateral forum to create an 'alternative supplementary history textbook' for middle and high school students to learn about the history of relations between the three countries (for more detail see Yang & Sin, 2013). The book was to focus on modern and contemporary history and feature a topic-based structure. The three coun-

tries embarked upon the endeavor from very different starting points due to marked differences in categories, periodization and the use of terms in their historiographies. Also, discrepancies, stemming from divergences in classroom practices and methods of teaching, existed in their ideas of the relative status of narratives by the authors and sources. The participants came to an agreement that authors' narratives would form the backbone of the book and be broken up to a degree by the periodic inclusion of documents and photographs. The book's foreword, composed jointly by the project team members, emphasizes the fact that historiography in each of the three countries has exacerbated violent conflict in the course of their modern history. Apart from indicating where the various perspectives remained divergent it reports that the communication taking place in the work on the book brought about consensus in relation to a considerable number of issues. Each version of the book—one for each country—subsequently contains an introduction for the relevant national audience, written by the appropriate sub-team. The book's chapters encompass a mosaic of topics with text composed by one particular national group of authors. Taken together, they provide readers with a historical overview and enable them to gain a parallel perspective on various developments and events, and the differing ways in which these have been regarded from country to country.

This manner of proceeding did not succeed in generating a shared East Asian view of history that transcends national divides. In view of the tough and robustly conducted negotiations around the text, during which highly divergent views met and collided, it is nothing short of a miracle that the textbook eventually made it to print (*History that Opens the Future*, Hanjoong-il Gongdong Yeoksa Pyeonchanwiweonhoe, 2005). A series of issues remained without consensus. In these cases, the book's editors either pointed explicitly to the disagreement among the various sides and left it to readers to make up their own minds or made use of general and superficial language in discussing the issues. Some events, including the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Incident of 1989, were not included in the book. One of those involved in the process commented that 'compromises had to be made. Thanks to this principle of a "minimum common denominator", cross-national history dialog was able to continue on a regular basis and reach a relatively high level of agreement in various stages' (Yang & Sin, 2013: 216). The book received a generally positive reception from the political establishment in the three countries, the Korean president Ro Moon-Hyun praising it highly. The impressive sales figures for the publication, which reached over 300,000 across the three nations, bear witness to how the book and its objective met latent needs in society and the history teaching community. Nevertheless, those who have engaged with the book and discussed its impact largely appear to be adults, and the actual use in the classroom seems to be sporadic. Since the publication of this pioneering work, Japanese and Korean academics have produced further bilateral history books.

The success of their endeavor encouraged the trilateral team to develop a 'New History Book', intended to transcend national perspectives by taking an approach modeled on global and structural history and avoiding texts authored by particular national groups. The resulting work might be regarded as rather dry and theoretical; a next volume, focusing on the history of everyday life, restored individuals and groups as historical subjects to the reader's horizon. As this book has only recently been published, we cannot yet make statements on its dissemination or reception. It suffices to comment at this point that the outlined activities in this region have doubtlessly enabled the East Asian region to embark upon a path toward a shared understanding of their common history.

Conclusion

The bi- or multinational activities around the production of educational media discussed in this chapter all drew their initial inspiration from the idea of promoting peace and reconciliation through the factual and fair depiction of past conflicts. All the nations involved in these activities have in recent years or decades seen the emergence of processes of mutual communication, which have on occasion taken on impressive dimensions. To claim that these processes have been purely the results of such undertakings would be giving too much credit to efforts made in this direction in the field of history education. The impact of all the examples of binational textbook projects that we have discussed here, most of them starting out as bottom-up initiatives driven by NGOs, has always been dependent on the political and societal contexts in which they came into being and journeyed toward implementation. We should take into account that such activities have very little chance of generating significant effects if they run counter to the political projects of governments. In a functional democracy, as demonstrated in the case of the Polish–German textbook recommendations, a parliamentary opposition might push the project's progression against the resistance of a government majority. The Balkan region's JHP demonstrated how the activities of international NGOs caught the interest of initially indifferent political elites. Activities in North-East Asia generated such curiosity and great expectations that governments preferred to throw in their lot with the project rather than to risk appearing as obstructive. The only project of this kind that met with a political cold shoulder was the Israeli–Palestinian venture, which accordingly found itself limited to the symbolic demonstration that dialogue is possible and that it has the potential to change people and to create at least at atmosphere, if not a culture, of mutual respect and acceptance. The fact that the group gave birth to a new variant of binational teaching and learning media—the dual-construction history book—in the process is testament to its flexibility and creativity. Attempts to resolve conflict via binational educational media will inevitably founder and fail without the enthusiasm their creators bring to the process and without being welcomed by history teachers. Such

passion and commitment on the part of historians and history educators—if it can emerge and become active within a wider context of support—has the potential to disturb ossified ideas and animosities around other peoples and set off a shift in attitudes among the broader population.

It will always be of key importance that those embarking upon such a project select their format in accordance with the conditions in which they are operating. Collections of sources agreed upon by both sides are the most tentative and cautious form of cooperation in this regard and may be suitable even for periods where violent enmity is only just abating or in early post-conflict settings. There are instances in which calculated provocations, such as recommendations on textbooks or dual-construction works, may be appropriate, while in others comprehensive and detailed teachers' guides may be called for. Yet another path might be the creation of a regular curricular textbook. The influence and impact of the financial situation in each case should not be neglected, as it may set limits on the activities possible. All types of cooperation we have enumerated here need acute awareness of the strength of national values in education in the countries involved. The greater the extent to which a nation relies upon its history as a resource for the creation of national cohesion, as a method of generating political legitimation, or as a 'trump card' in its interaction with its neighbors, the more difficult it will be to create room in that national historical narrative for critical reflection on the nation's own role in that history and for empathy for others—and these are two essentials for the success of any journey toward reconciliation and peace.

Despite all this, we can rest reassured by observing that a number of developments which have taken place have been conducive to binational textbook initiatives and indeed have helped boost their incidence over the last two decades. The advance of economic globalization has meant that nation states are no longer in a position to act as isolated entities. Global developments in mass culture have enabled young people in particular to come together in networks of mutual interest, liking and support that transcend national borders. A worldwide discourse on transitional justice and reconciliation has emerged, which very few countries have been able to ignore. The progressive internationalization of the community of historians and the ideas of transnational and global history this has begun to propagate have provided key cornerstones of bi- and multinational ways of teaching the subject, including educational media. At the other end of the continuum, the emergence of local and regional history has likewise left its traces in creating binational teaching materials, although it would go beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss these.[3] Finally, all these activities have seen the development of strong bonds among those who have brought them to life, who have learned from one another during their course and drawn inspiration from one another. This may well prove a highly fertile empirical subject of study for researchers in the field of knowledge production and dissemination.

Notes

1. The authors of a Russian year-9 textbook on the 'History of the Fatherland' made use of this circumstance; although they did not mention the mass Soviet killing of Polish officers at Katyn in the book's text, they supplemented the chapter on the Second World War with selected sources, one of which was an NKVD document on Katyn which bore bald witness to the atrocity (Shestakov, Gorinov, & Vyazemskiy, 2002).
2. The following discussion makes reference to Achim Rohde's essay (Rohde, 2013) and the description of the project given by Dan Bar-On and Sami Adwan (Bar-On & Adwan, 2006).
3. Examples here might be the trinational textbook for the Upper Rhine region, binational classroom materials for the Czech–German border region, and materials, frequently Internet-based, in EUREGIO areas.

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CHAPTER 36

Emotional, Moral, and Symbolic Imagery of Modern History Textbooks

Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Michael Lovorn

Introduction

While citizens of the world pursue communal advancements in technology and information sharing, emerging forces, particularly in the political sphere, seem to be reverting to the tones and postures of previous generations. Superpowers continue to polarize, straining international relations, and one observed side effect of this trend is a sharp escalation in hyper-nationalistic sentiments and rhetoric among the population of these countries (Zajda & Smith, 2013). Not surprisingly, political leaders have looked to their educational systems to perpetuate and even exacerbate this dynamic. Since classroom instruction in many parts of the world is still driven by nationally approved textbooks, it is also no surprise that governments keep a close eye on their content and design. An informational vacuum manifests itself especially in history classrooms wherein instruction is guided by and even centered on grand narrative style textbooks (Lovorn, 2014; Williams, 2014; Zajda, 2015).

There is hardly any other country where this trend is more apparent than in the Russian Federation. Recent studies of Russian history textbooks show that many of them may actually be impeding promulgated endeavors to develop independent and critical-thinking global citizens (Alexashkina, 2014; Korostelina, 2014; Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady, 2015; Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn, 2015; Zajda & Smith, 2013). Studies also support the notion that traditional history textbooks seldom give adequate attention to historical or political

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perspective (Chudakova, 2014; Potapova, 2015). This dichotomy is in no way unique to Russian schools; however, recent military actions coupled with political rhetoric at the governmental level have magnified this dilemma and thrust history education into the forefront of public consciousness. As a new "national priority," Russia's history, particularly that of the past 15 years, is now being presented to students in a way that challenges post-perestroika initiatives to advocate democratic values and global citizenship. As history experts and educators, we consider this a problem of global significance, and our research into this evolving trend is guided by four distinct observations.

First, while the aforementioned military actions and political rhetoric in Russia have fueled a firestorm of fierce, international scrutiny and debate, they have also ushered in an intense, state-supported campaign promoting national identity and patriotism. In turn, this ideological shift continues to alter content, context, and methods of history teaching in Russian schools. A recent study conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center reported that the past few years have been marked by a significant and observable expansion in "regime-like" advancements of hyper-nationalism across Russian society and popular culture (Vladimir Putin: tri goda posle vyborov-2012, pyatnadtst' let vo Glave Rossii, 2015). Other news reports have expressed concern about how sharp increases of ideological content in Russian history classrooms may result in elevated vulnerability of students (Putin vystupaet za yedinuiu kontseptsiu prepodavaniia istorii, 2014).

Second, in this current state of external economic sanctions and constant internal reminders of growing *Western enemies*, Russian officials have seized the opportunity to reconstruct a national history, complete with State-authorized textual sources, intended to shape genuinely nationalistic Russian citizens. The emerging historical narrative prizes military prowess and champions the actions of noted leaders, and simultaneously minimizes or completely erases the memory of the crimes and failures of the State. In some ways, it reminds scholars of the history education of previous generations in Russia, when textbooks, especially in social and humanitarian studies, traditionally served multiple purposes, including fostering strong preferences for developing certain personality traits and types of character (Klokova, 2004).

From its inception, *perestroika*[1] provided teachers with pedagogical and textual options. Schools were considered "ideology-free" zones, and teachers were able to present content the way they deemed appropriate. A paradigm shift began in the early 2000s, as policymakers and politicians started to express interest in redefining Russian identity and promoting a nationalist agenda. Nikitenko, a distinguished textbook author, captured the impetus of this shift when she noted:

> It should not be forgotten that education is an ideology… A future citizen of Russia should be developed in the spirit of his/her own culture: a feeling of patriotism should be formed together with the feeling of pride for one's inner

> circle and one's country, and also an interest to other languages and cultures. (Nikitenko, 2008: 1)

Third, we observe that the current dynamic is one primed for spirited debate among academics and scholars over the nature and purpose of history research and history education in Russia. On several recent occasions, impassioned arguments between these academics, politicians, textbook publishers, and teachers have spilled over into the mainstream media, further publicizing agendas for the manipulation or protection of historical content and narrative. The topic seems to garner so much attention because all sides recognize the inherent power in the story of the nation. Thus, famous Russian historians Petrov and Shnirelman indicated in the publication of the results of the international project on *data falsification and national histories:*

> 'Memory wars', historical appeals and accounts among states, discussions about the results of the conflicts, historical guilt, territorial roots, cultural role and heritage—all these together make history a relevant part of the current politics and a serious factor of public-political life. (2011: 5)

As they further pointed out, this historical, ideological, and pedagogical conundrum had also resulted in an influx of pseudo-academics, and once again raised the question "whether patriotism could successfully replace the ethics of a scientific research" (2011: 6).

Finally, Russia is one of the few world nations wherein the chief executive himself has taken a personal interest in the national history curriculum. President Putin speaks on the topic frequently, makes suggestions, communicates expectations, and keeps an eye on the process of textbook selection. Most recently, following his recommendations, the Russian History Society conducted a contest of new eight history textbook sets and announced three winners (RosVuz, 2015). The impact of this evaluation has been immediate. At the time of Putin's directive, there were about 65 textbooks in circulation around Russia. In September 2015, there are only three so-called *lines/sets* (*lineiki*) of history textbooks left. Still, there are political forces, such as the Great Motherland Party, who are unsatisfied even with this amount and have demanded a return to one unified textbook for all (Serdechnova, 2015). The research discussed in this chapter is therefore focused on history textbooks recently published in Russia.

Research Outline and the Proposed Terminology

Research Relevance and Symbolism

As international expert Nozaki argues, "the meanings that a nation establishes for its past (and so its identity) are always among the most contested, politically charged, and ideologically complex" (2008: 136). Another academic expert

recently commented: “Every regime generates a symbolic programme which seeks to encapsulate the existing symbolic matrices and articulate what both society and regime stand for” (Gill, 2013: 2). Describing the Soviet system in particular, Gill observed that the “extent to which ideological values, assumptions, and ways of thinking permeated all aspects of public and private life” was at the highest level (2013: 3).

Overall, it seems Russian political leadership has taken hold of opportunities to utilize their national history curriculum as one means by which they can advance their various agendas. Recent research shows that “by framing the nation’s history as one of experienced, imagined, or anticipated traumatic events” (Oushakine, 2009: 5), and using certain words or/and visual images not only helps to develop “a sense of belonging” (2009: 5) but also significantly impacts students’ impressions about historical people, eras, and ideas.

Indeed, we have observed a growing use of textbooks characterized by particular text patterns and “extras” that Fairclough (2015), father of Critical Discourse Analysis, collectively calls *visuals.* Together with “verbals” these help establishing emotional bonds to content and demonstrate certain patterns of *correct* behavior, expressed in both direct and indirect (symbolic) ways. Fairclough emphasizes their specific synergy as “very often visuals and ‘verbals’ operate in a mutually reinforcing way which makes them very difficult to disentangle. Moreover, the relative social significance of visual imagery is increasing dramatically…” (2015: 60). In fact, a tendency toward an overall usage of *symbolism*, at both verbal and visual levels, is clearly evolving. As Cooper states, a symbol:

> …goes beyond the individual… It is an external, or lower, expression of the higher truth that is symbolized, and is a means of communicating realities that might otherwise be either obscured by the limitations of language or too complex for adequate expression. (Cooper, 2013: 7)

Thus, while doing our research we also tried to designate and analyze the existing link between the *textual* portrayal of most popular and well established political, national and cultural symbols and their *visual* representation and define primary tendencies of their interactions and interconnections. For the same purposes we were looking for a more comprehensive term which would permit to show those hidden ties which combine text and a symbol, and allow to express an emotional link between the reader (a student in our case) with the textbook and its content, and describe the process of bridging the gap between an initial learner and a committed patriot.

Definition of Emotives and Approaches to Their Study in History Textbooks

We chose to refer to the aforementioned type of text and visuals as *emotives* and defined them as history textbook passages, quotes, narrative, excerpts, photos,

pictures, and posters that build emotional connections to content and/or establish moral models of exceptional behavior, so much so they may even set the textbook scope and tone. Common or emergent emotive themes include attention to conscience, justice, moral/immoral behavior, kindness, adoration, compassion, guilt, and many others. They appear in contexts of promotion of the state or national identity, advocacy for nationalism/jingoism, or support for cults of personality.

Following Maynard's (2002) groundbreaking example of exploring Japanese texts and similar projects based on Russian and English texts by Leontiev (1997), Ionova (1998), Myagkova (2000), Smakhtina (2006), among others, we designed part of this study to examine specific textual emotivity currently being utilized to present or represent famous political leaders in Russian history and today. We also sought to reveal overt and covert uses of words, as well as their connections to moral exemplars (Damon & Colby, 2015; Walker & Frimer, 2007) and moral heroes (Walker, 2014), and consequently, the effect they are supposed to have on the students. Furthermore, we examined uses of emotives as the central focus of the psycholinguistic analysis because, according to Maynard, they are "expressing emotivity" being "closely connected with the expressive function of the language" (2002: 3). Emotives may also include emotional attitudes and responses, feelings of being moved, along with culture-based feelings and sentiment revealed through the use of "linguistic and related signs" (2002: 3).

Following Nussbaum (2013), we gauged political and patriotic feelings and expressions together with moral and civic emotions represented in each textbook, with the knowledge that "while dealing with the sphere of the irrational perception, it is oriented, first and most, towards creating an emotional reaction of the reader" (Smakhtin, 2012: 4). According to recent reviews by Smakhtin (2012) and Strelnitskaya (2010), the analysis of emotives is an effective means by which researchers may identify and explore clear and hidden themes embedded in text.

Considering these readily observable trends in politics and education, it becomes necessary to investigate what is referred to here as the "*problem of an emotionally symbolic imagery in history teaching*." The language, visuals, means, and manners by which students are introduced to and taught about national heroes, political, military, and social leaders and cultural icons will likely form their skills for processing such information many years after they leave the classroom. This includes not only how they perceive the past and their national and moral identity, but also how they perceive political, military, and social engagements in the future (see, for example, Berdyaev, 1990; Lotman, 1996). For this reason, the emotives and a specific design of textbooks, including attention to presentation of moral exemplars and heroes, undoubtedly shape students' initial as well as long-term impressions of those people and events.

Research Purpose, Methods, and Textbooks Used

The *purpose* of our research was to examine representations of emotive text and visuals in six history textbooks, recently published in Russia. These portrayals were selected and observed as to identify and analyze degrees to which those emotions are reflected in historical text and image, and thus introduced to students as moral and civic exemplars. In conducting this exhaustive analysis, we sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do modern Russian history textbooks present key national political leaders of the twentieth—beginning of the twenty-first century in text and illustration?
2. What kind of *verbals* and *visuals* do modern Russian history textbooks use to portray national cultural icons, moral exemplars, and heroes?
3. How do modern Russian history textbooks demonstrate emotionality and emotional connections to content?

In an attempt to find answers to our queries, we investigated emotives in history textbooks by specifically analyzing how they introduce and illustrate the following: (1) patriotism and national pride; (2) national heroes and cultural iconic figures; and (3) biographical heroification of former and current national/political leaders.

We used a *qualitative horizontal analysis* as the methodological approach to conducting this study. Horizontal analysis was deemed the most appropriate method for this study for two reasons. First, we have significant experience in comparative textual content analysis, and acknowledge that applying this model to an analysis of multiple textbooks would likely reveal notable contextualized findings. Secondly, we recognized that we were building on recent dynamic and revealing studies conducted on the topic (Alexashkina, 2014; Katsva, 2013; Zajda, 2015; Zajda & Smith, 2013), and also, in the field of symbolic representations of traditional Soviet/Russian heroes—cosmonauts and athletes (Kohonen, 2011; Mertin, 2009), and, thus determined that comparative content analysis to gauge emotive text and visuals would allow for collection and analysis of data in a manner that simultaneously aligned this study with and distinguished it from existing research. Data for the study were accumulated using a software application called "dtSearch."[2] This application enabled us to find and define each textbook's emotive elements, and also to perform an efficient frequency analysis of the usage of certain related cognates.

First, we examined specific historical figures included in textbooks as a result of their significant contribution to the historical narrative. The photos and textual biographical information of these figures were explored as well. We made a selection of key persons based on the four landmark era/events of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that seem to have been used with an additional purpose to either justify or glorify current political or military actions. Predictably, the periods that received the most textual and graphic attention

were: (1) the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet regime; (2) the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945); (3) the launch of Perestroika; and (4) radical changes and reforms initiated by the current president. The five key individuals associated with these periods were, naturally, Lenin, Stalin, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin.

The six textbooks chosen for this study were published under the same title (in accordance with the state curriculum requirements): *Istoriia Rossii, XX—Nachalo XXI Veka (History of Russia, 20th—beginning of the 21st Century)*. Despite this lack of variety, each was written by different authors and produced by different publishing houses: the first four, by the largest Russian publishing house Prosveschenie: (1) Chubarian, Danilov, and Pivovar (2011); (2) Danilov, Kosulina, and Brandt (2014); (3) Levandovsky, Schetinov, and Mironenko (2014); and (4) Shestakov (2014). Additionally, (5) Kiselev and Popov (2013) was published by Drofa; and (6) Zagladin, Petrov, Minakov, and Kozlenko (2014) was published by Russkoie Slovo. For simplicity and uniformity throughout this paper, each textbook is referred to only by the first author's name.

Of these textbooks, three (Danilov, Kiselev, and Zagladin) have been used in grade 9 (for 15-year-olds). It should be noted that we analyzed the Danilov textbook together with the accompanying students' workbook that has typically been included into the teaching set, Parts 1 and 2 (Danilov & Kosulina, 2014). The remaining three textbooks (Chubarian, Levandovsky, and Shestakov) have been used in grade 11 (for 17-year-olds).

Data Analysis, Findings, and Discussion

Our analysis of the data yielded four substantive sets of findings. We have categorized those sets here as: (A) redefinition of historical figures; (B) examination of particular textual representations; (C) interpretation of non-textual visual symbols; and (D) selection of photos to include in textbooks.

Redefinition of Historical Figures

We began examining each textbook by counting all representations of the previously mentioned political figures and addressing the frequency of their references (see Table 36.1).

We continued the horizontal analysis by identifying and extracting textual passages and examining images of Lenin, Stalin, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin, and evaluating them independently. This investigative practice resulted in several striking observations of the textual presentation of each of these figures, and yielded interesting details about historic identities the textbooks seem to have developed. As described below, in some cases, textbook authors seemed to take liberty in defining and redefining each of these individuals in a way that promotes an overarching positive national image and identity.

Table 36.1 Frequency of mention or reference for political figures

Political figure	*9th grade textbooks*			*11th grade textbooks*		
	Danilov	*Kiselev*	*Zagladin*	*Chubarian*	*Levandovsky*	*Shestakov*
Lenin	76	57	39	45	50	81
Stalin	**149**	**64**	**79**	**120**	**94**	**185**
Gorbachev	30	17	30	41	17	45
Yeltsin	24	29	35	42	24	48
Putin	28	15	11	29	29	51

Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, is introduced and presented similarly in each textbook, with a picture and a short description, analogously to that of the last Russian monarch Nicholas II and President Putin. In some of the textbooks, the image of Tsar Nicholas II is portrayed in color, and is considerably larger than Lenin's, which is especially striking in the Kiselev textbook (p. 5) and in the Danilov workbook (Part 1, p. 11). A concise description of Lenin's character is given by Chubarian who states that Lenin:

> had an iron will, a talent of a leader, and a capacity to concentrate on the most essential elements. He did not possess any moral constraints and swings as some of his opponents, … being devoid of any moral norms and regulations (p. 55)… But at the same time he possessed the highest level of authority in his Party and superb political skills. (p. 80)

Among all texts, Lenin's biography is typically neutral in style and does not include much critique, although there is some irony in the representation of his character. For example, from Danilov the reader will learn that "only due to his mother's efforts Lenin was allowed to take his graduation exams"; and after passing them "he received a modest position"; and "the career of a defense lawyer did not really interest him" (p. 23). In contrast, the same book describes Georgy Lvov, Head of the Provisional Government, as someone "who was known as an honest and decent man. An excellent organizer who had a high reputation…" (p. 75).

Joseph Stalin is presented with a photo in every textbook, but not always with a detailed biography. There is, however, some disparity among textbooks in that the number of his portraits differs—from one (Shestakov) to five (Danilov). Across all textbooks, Stalin's photos convey an image of a sophisticated, kindhearted, and wise man. Interestingly, Kiselev alone includes a friendly caricature of Stalin made by Nikolai Bukharin (p. 102). The most striking portrait which strongly resembles the one published in the first volume of the infamous *History of the Civil War in the USSR* (1937) was found in the Danilov workbook, along with the following assignment: "Looking at the picture and using additional sources, characterize this historical figure." Students are supposed to find his biographic details and also answer the question: *How do our contemporaries evaluate his place in the history of our country?* (Part 2, p. 37).

Clearly, being introduced to Stalin through these visual representations, and considering the overtly positive and patriotic tone of surrounding textual passages and context, students would be inclined to judge him and his regime in a more favorable light. We perceived this uniformity across textbooks in accounting Stalin's contributions to history as a concerted effort to largely redefine his legacy. These findings also supported the theory that images and photographs, when inserted into text and left un-interpreted, are "capable of carrying information beyond—and sometimes against—the verbal rhetoric" (Kohonen, 2011: 105), and become quite powerful in conveying presumptuous knowledge about the subject and may have a significant impact upon students' abilities to recall and understand historical phenomena.

Further, this analysis revealed that as the face of post-Soviet leadership in Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev has also undergone significant historical transformations over the past 20 years, and interestingly, textbooks are less consistent in their presentations of him. Zagladin, for instance, introduces Gorbachev more as a friendly, gentlemanly type of leader (p. 258), and Kiselev presents him in a more neutral way (pp. 259–265). Danilov, however, is quite critical of the former USSR President (p. 326).

Zagladin starts the chapter about Perestroika with the announcement of Gorbachev's new position and the statement that "from his first public presentations people felt sympathy with Gorbachev" (p. 258). In the same spirit, Shestakov reports that: "prioritizing common human values over class-oriented values, Gorbachev began a new phase in the spiritual development of the country" (p. 327). Danilov's approach is different in scope and tone. For example, chapter VIII *Perestroika and the Collapse of the USSR: goals, stages and results* (pp. 317–337) opens with a photo of former KGB head and Brezhnev's successor Andropov. The concluding phrase in his biography reads: "Andropov's actions were not only met with sympathy in the society, but also gave birth to hopes for changes for the better" (p. 317). It is not until the bottom of the page that students are introduced to Gorbachev and his policy: "New leadership came to power without neither a concrete concept, nor a program of changes" (pp. 317–318) with the conclusion that: "None of the reforms started during Perestroika gave positive results" (p. 321). Similar emerging creative reinterpretations are aplenty when one investigates historical treatment of *glasnost*,[3] the Gulags,[4] and other twentieth-century phenomena.

Negativity grows while textbooks move toward the portrayal of the next political leader and the first President of Russia Boris Yeltsin. Danilov is particularly critical of his leadership and legacy, regularly describing Yeltsin as less intelligent, more aggressive, and more erratic (both personally and privately) than his predecessors and successors. The photos support this image, and as with Stalin, the Danilov workbook requires students to characterize Yeltsin based on his photo where he looks weird and foolish, supposedly calling their attention to his body language and actions. However, contrasting the Stalin assignment, this one invites students to "give *their own* assessment of his activities" (p. 93).

Kiselev, on the contrary, presents a famous picture of Yeltsin with his fist up (p. 273), demonstrating his readiness to serve and fight for Russia.

Analyzing the results of Yeltsin's economic policy, Shestakov states that: "the country returned to the common civilization's way of development… Due to liberalization, Russia managed to restore the trust of its foreign partners and started a difficult way towards integration in the world market" (p. 357).

In examining textual passages and graphics related to current President Vladimir Putin, we found a plethora of positive, if not flattering, descriptions of his policy and personality. As an example, Chubarian declares:

> Governmental changes of the 1998–1999 could be explained by the search for a new leader who would replace Yeltsin but be able to preserve a direction towards reforms. At the same time a new president was supposed to provide a strong leadership, a solution of an aggravated Chechen's problem, and a more balanced foreign policy. (p. 268)

In accounting for the Yeltsin/Putin transition of power, Danilov quotes an outgoing Yeltsin admitting that "Russia should enter the new millennium with new politicians, new faces, and with new, smart, powerful, and energetic people" (p. 369). As textbook historical accounts shift in focus to the Putin Administration, in unison, they shower the current President with glowing remarks and judgments. Generally speaking, none of the textbooks analyzed offer even one critique of Putin's policies, actions, or effectiveness as President. Instead, each of the texts quite consistently promotes Putin's orientation toward reforms. Chubarian, for instance, reports that Putin's reforms have been "supported by the majority of the population and raised hopes for the termination of corruption and criminality" (p. 274) while at the same time either blaming foreign or other forces for any possible problems or totally silencing tragic events during Putin's presidency. The 2002 siege of Dubrovka Theater (see Politkovskaya, 2007: 186–229) is not even mentioned in three textbooks (Chubarian, Kiselev, Shestakov), and only one (Levandovsky) admits that the siege resulted in tragic loss of innocent lives (p. 346).

After describing a terrorist act in Beslan, Levandovsky includes a long quote from the Presidential Address to the citizens of Russia on September 4, 2004, where Putin says:

> …We need to admit our failure to understand the complexity and danger of the processes happening in our country and in the world at large. In any case, we did not react to them adequately; we showed weakness. And the weak get beaten… We are dealing with the direct intervention of the international terror against Russia… Under these circumstances we simply cannot and should not live as carelessly as before. (pp. 347–348)

This refrain of the necessity to exhibit strength and power and regain prestige in the world is very typical for every textbook.

Finally, as a glorious apotheosis of Putin's policy, some textbooks portray the events in Crimea. In fact, two out of four books published in 2014 (Danilov, Zagladin) did not just mention but already describe the events in Ukraine in a very Russia-centered way. A close look at Danilov's new 2014 edition shows that it differs from its 2013 version only by a short subchapter "*Russia in 2013–2014.*" It consists of three paragraphs and covers the 2014 Olympic Games and the situation in Ukraine. The text reads:

> On March 6, 2014, The Supreme Council of Crimea decided that the Republic should become part of the Russian Federation and announced the referendum on this issue on March 16. The referendum showed that 96.77 % of the Crimean population and 95.6 % of the citizens of Sevastopol voted for the reunion of Crimea and Sevastopol with Russia… On March 18, 2014, the agreement that the Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol would join Russia as subjects of the Federation was signed. On March 21, 2014, after both sides ratified it, President Putin signed the Act of Accession of Crimea to Russia and of the creation of two new subjects of the Russian Federation—Republic of Crimea and a federal City of Sevastopol. A Crimean federal district was formed. (p. 395)

It is certainly worth mentioning that this textbook was *signed for printing* (this particular phrase and date are mandatory to be indicated in every publication) on April 3, 2014, which means that the authors managed to insert the last paragraphs immediately after the federal law was issued and turned the book in for the publication in less than two weeks. But it is unclear whether this has been the only reason to republish the textbook.

Examination of Particular Textual Representations

We completed our analysis of textual representations of these historical figures and leaders by making a series of observations about the authors' tendencies.

First, none of the leaders are portrayed in textbooks as individuals with strengths and/or sympathies and indifferences. Instead, textbooks were consistent in presenting strength and power as unquestionable virtues, and weakness as an unquestionable detriment. We hypothesized that once these attributes were established, each individual would fit neatly and conveniently into seemingly prescribed biographical frames. Despite several attempts to summarize moral traits of these leaders, we were unable to demonstrate such connections because the only common attribute they shared, at least according to the textbooks, was that they were all patriots. In keeping with earlier observations, this revelation highlighted the concerted emphasis on shaping sense of belonging and pride for one's homeland; more evidence that history education is, in fact, beginning to resemble that of Soviet times (Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady, 2015; Rapoport, 2013).

Nonetheless, while describing national leaders or other famous people/events, we made an attempt to analyze how textbook authors would employ

"*a moral vocabulary*." A frequency analysis (see Table 36.2) shows that common human values like conscience, justice, kindness, care, and compassion hardly ever appear on the textbooks' pages. This is less than ten times per book with the exceptions of Shestakov and Levandovsky volumes which are operating with the term "justice" 13 or 12 times respectively. "Kindness," on the other hand, is mentioned a maximum of nine times in the same two textbooks. Furthermore, expressions of compassion and pity are virtually absent in Zagladin and Levandovsky, and used only three times in Shestakov. Although each author attempted to address some moral issues of guilt and/or shame, most of these efforts did not include specific names or indictments.

Most authors also discuss the topic of censorship and its rebirth in 1947–1948. In fact, many sentiments resemble the following: "… everything going on in culture was under a close censorship and Party attention. As an example, during Stalin's regime, the "Peoples' Leader" personally selected the Stalinist Prize laureates in both sciences and technology, and literature and arts" (Shestakov: 263). We found that currently similar processes appear to be at play: most national awards in different spheres, involving history, are sanctioned or endorsed by President Putin himself. It is sufficient to analyze the official portal of legal information with all the decrees signed by the Russian President (Ofitsialnyi Internet-Portal Pravovoi Informatsii, 2015). Meanwhile, it is perhaps not surprising that the nature and degree of critique of the President have diminished significantly. The absence of critique was especially noticeable in Danilov.

Separately, this analysis demonstrated other glaring absences from the national narrative: notably women as political leaders or moral exemplars, people with physical or mental disabilities, and homosexual communities. Ethnic minorities receive very little mention as well. We found it quite remarkable that

Table 36.2 Frequency of mention or reference of moral vocabulary notions

Notions	*9th grade textbooks*			*11th grade textbooks*		
	Danilov	*Kiselev*	*Zagladin*	*Chubarian*	*Levandovsky*	*Shestakov*
Conscience	9	4	3	4	3	1
Justice	9	9	9	6	12	13
Moral(ity)/ immoral(ity)	6/1	7/0	1/0	1/0	11/0	9/1
Kind, kindness	7	5	4	3	9	9
Care, caring	4	1	4	1	8	2
Love, adoration, adore	12	11	15	12	7	2
Compassion, pity	1	1	–	1	–	3
Guilt, guilty	10	7	11	9	2	11
Distress	2	3	2	–	1	2
Despair	3	4	4	1	–	1
Repent, repentance	1	1	–	2	3	–

Soviet women, who were granted equal rights with men almost 100 ago, are still underrepresented in many ways. For example, the first female cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova is mentioned only once in Zagladin (p. 222), and there is no account of the contributions of Raisa Gorbacheva, who always served as a well-educated advisor to her husband. Clearly, Gorbachev's public displays of loving, caring kindness for his wife, especially when she was dying of cancer could have set a true moral example for the students.

Still hardly mentioned or fully silenced on the pages of textbooks are such issues as: substance abuse, domestic violence, and high rates of suicide among Russian citizens; readaptation to life in freedom for Gulag survivors; atrocities purportedly committed by victorious Soviet soldiers in Eastern Europe and Germany. The Katyn Tragedy (1940), for instance, marked by the murder of 22,000 Polish military and intelligentsia, is briefly mentioned in just three.

Finally, the desire to portray a current President as the national icon and Russian savior, literally devoid of any possible drawbacks, and at the same time critically representing all former leaders of the Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, can hardly be justified. In general, the placing of current events into history textbooks is not common practice, as the scope, sequence, and ramifications of such events cannot be processed in such a short amount of time.

Interpretation of Non-textual Visual Symbols

As mentioned earlier, we found it necessary and appropriate to also include analyses of some significant visuals found in these textbooks, particularly of Russian political, national, and cultural icons. The majority of them are represented in the form of photos, paintings, placards, and posters of famous Russian political, military, and cultural leaders (Shevyrev, 2005). We also examined state symbols especially those that are supposed to help shaping a common mindset of a populace of patriots with a strong sense of belonging to Russia.

Every textbook used in this study relied heavily on symbols that represent the victory in the Great Patriotic War. The overall image of a *patriotic war*, victorious and morally flawless, is supposed to serve as a primary political/cultural icon of the last century. The front covers of Zagladin and Kiselev are well decorated with images of the victory over the German Nazism while Danilov starts with the photo of a November 1941 Moscow military parade. The participants of this parade would leave straight for the trenches to be either killed or wounded defending the national capital. The same picture has been used as an illustration in Levandovsky. Chubarian and other authors represent a famous 1944 *parade of power* with imprisoned Nazis marching through downtown Moscow demonstrating their lack of power and inability to resist. In fact, every book shows Nazi prisoners.

As for the war victims and tragedies, these pictures are definitely less in number, size, and color with mostly small black and white images. There is only one book that visually exhibits victims of Buchenwald and other concentration camps (Chubarian: 148). Most textbooks display posters from 1941 to 1945,

which either call for defending one's Motherland like the most famous "Have you volunteered to join the Army?" or ask to protect women and children, as in the less famous poster "Soldier of the Red Army! Save us!"

Every book in this study presents either on the cover or/and inside, in the form of color reproductions, primary political old Russian, Soviet, and post-Soviet Russian *icons*: the coat of arms, the flag of Russia, the flag of the Soviet Union, the double-headed eagle, and the words of the state anthem. To emphasize the importance of these symbols and the person *behind the scene* almost each book mentions that it was President Putin who managed to successfully resolve a ten-year-old "fruitless confrontation about state symbols." Danilov explained the situation further:

> [The] President suggested a compromise that allowed bringing closer the positions of different social forces. In December 2000, the State Duma ratified a law about national symbols of Russia. A tricolor white-blue-red flag and a coat of arms in the shape of a double-headed eagle remind us of a thousand-year-long history of Russia. A national anthem with the music originally composed for the USSR national anthem serves as a symbol of the unity of generations, of inseparable connections between the past, the present, and the future of our country. (p. 371)

Levandovsky adds that this decision connected "prerevolutionary, Soviet, and modern Russia, helped to reconcile supporters of different political views, and demonstrated the continuity and novelty in the nation's development" (p. 345). In other words, national symbols visually displayed in every textbook are verbally connected with the name of their *creator* and *a wise compromiser* President Putin.

Selection of Photos to Include in Textbooks

The *presence* or *absence* of photos of certain national leaders and other historical figures in the textbooks as well as the *sizes*, *proportions*, and *colors* of their images is worth consideration. In fact, our analysis showed that for many authors, dimensions of photos and colors serve as indicators of the level of importance of a certain historical personality. In some textbooks the photo size is the same and the colors are black and white (BW) not only as a formal confirmation of equality but also because of the psychological effect the black color produces on the reader—that of authority, power, and strength (Birren, 1961; Kaya & Epps, 2004). When the size of the photo is big enough, then the black color may reinforce the textual description and on the contrary, when a BW image is very small and not clear, then more emphasis is put on a passage of text rather than a visual representation. In this regard, our analysis revealed several findings, some of which were anticipated.

Table 36.3 Frequency of portraits in color and BW

Political figure	*9th grade textbooks*			*11th grade textbooks*		
	Danilov	*Kiselev*	*Zagladin*	*Chubarian*	*Levandovsky*	*Shestakov*
Lenin	1	3	1	1	1	1
Stalin	5	3	4	2	1	1
Gorbachev	2	3	1	3	1	1
Yeltsin	1	5	2	3	1	1
Putin	1	2	2	–	1	1

First, we analyzed presence or absence of individual or group portraits of the five selected national leaders and the frequency of their portrayals in different books (see Table 36.3).

Our data reveals that textbooks for Grade 9 in comparison with Grade 11 are much more oriented toward a graphic implementation of famous personalities and meaningful events. As the example of a more in-depth analysis, we chose Kiselev's 305-page textbook to illustrate the difference in picture and color dimensions of individual and group portraits of famous people. Of the total 88 pictures observed, 38 were BW (30 of individuals and 8 of groups), and 50 were color (29 of individuals and 21 of groups). This confirmed our original hypothesis that the most *important personalities* are emphasized by both—color and large sizes where the absolute leader is again Stalin (5.0 × 7.5 cm); following him are Putin, poet Brodsky, and Stalingrad hero General Chuikov (5.0 × 7); Nicholas II (5.5 × 6.5); Yeltsin (5 × 6.5); and finally, Gorbachev and Prime Minister Medvedev (5 × 6).

The analysis performed allowed us to argue three different variants of connections between text and graphic image: (1) the image presented in the book is meant to increase the verbal/textual representation or description; (2) the image does not have any immediate effect on the text and its emotional influence on the reader is minimal or zero; and (3) the graphic image is so powerful that it becomes more meaningful than a surrounding text neutral in emotions.

Conclusion

As Assman reminds us, "during the 1990s, the innovative term 'culture of remembrance' was coined, providing a cultural framework within which we automatically assume that remembering is a beneficial obligation that we must fulfill" (2012: 53). This is what the Russian history textbooks from the 1990s tried to do, revealing historical truths and challenging students' critical thinking. Nevertheless, this tendency is practically gone in Russia today, given the new nationally approved way of composing school history textbooks.

The approach to textbooks analysis advocated in this chapter allowed us to introduce the problem of *emotional and moral symbolism* and *emotives* as tools that may be used to impact students' initial and long-term impres-

sions and knowledge of their country's history, and shape their personal and national identities. Our approach also helped to unveil a number of more or less expected results and tendencies that will be briefly summarized below:

1. The most frequently and positively described key political figures of the 20th—beginning of the twenty-first century are *Stalin* and *Putin*. There is a certain similarity in the way both of them are textually portrayed, each in connection to a serious epoch-making event. Stalin is connected to the WWII victory in the role of a liberator and savior while Putin is connected to the restoration of a powerful Russian state, the acquisition of new lands and regaining Russia's worldwide prestige. In both cases, the dominant values openly demonstrated and praised are *power* and *hyper-patriotism*.
2. Both leaders are represented as characters who played and are still playing most prominent roles in the everyday lives of Russians, causing no (Putin) or hardly any (Stalin) trouble for their populaces. Atrocities during war and peace time are justified by glorious victories on the battlefields and in daily lives, directly in accordance with the famous Latin saying *the end justifies the means*. The analysis of the excerpts from their speeches, used in the textbooks, displays a highly moralizing tone and choice of words. As the Russian researcher and journalist Potsar (2012) claims, "the president's vocabulary demonstrates that the Russian state wants to be responsible for everything, including moral values."
3. All other famous people shown during Stalin's and Putin's regimes practically play one and the same role—that of the *king's entourage*. Our study revealed that the goal of creating a genuine moral personality seems to be overshadowed today by the necessity to shape a patriot with pro-Russian, nationalistic ambitions. Practically no historic examples of those who could have served as Russian moral heroes are presented except for well-known individuals such as Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov. Even these men are only mentioned briefly and never described at length as personalities of high moral standards, courage, and empathy.
4. In the *visual* representation of Stalin and Putin we observe two primary tendencies: Putin's photos are mostly large in size, which helps, together with the grand narrative, to create an overall positive effect on the reader (student). In Stalin's case, his depiction is so powerful that even without a surrounding text it produces the same effect.

Finally, our analysis signals a clear growing threat of the return to the usage of history textbooks as effective conductors of nationalistic values. Treating national history as a vehicle and history textbooks as its major wheels, authoritarian regimes mold and shape minds of younger generations adding whenever necessary, positive emotions, heating the feeling of pride for one's homeland, skillfully manipulating with memories while each time rewriting national history.

Notes

1. The Russian term perestroika means rebuilding, reconstruction or reform and was popularized in English with Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership of the USSR, referring to what for many people was a process of serious changes in all spheres of life in the Soviet Union. With the USSR collapse, people received economic and political freedom but also saw the demise of former ideals and a myriad of shortages. Many were pushed into extreme poverty and faced questions of how to survive in a market economy. The most progressive citizens celebrated their freedoms and new opportunities, while more conservative ones felt that their principles were betrayed and considered perestroika a disaster.
2. See http://www.dtsearch.com/evaluation.html
3. Glasnost is a Russian term referring to 'the declared policy within the Soviet Union of openly and frankly discussing economic and political realities' proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. It was associated with political freedoms and a termination of censorship. It was also understood as a foundation for a new democratic society that would provide freedoms for mass media, allow citizens to openly discuss their opinions, and choose their own ideology.
4. Gulag was not only a Soviet concentration camp for political dissidents but also a symbol of power in the totalitarian state, a dividing point between those who committed themselves to freedom and the supporters of the Soviet regime. It was a strong instrument of repression, which caused physical and emotional fear among the broader population.

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CHAPTER 37

Educational Websites on the Memory of Slavery in Europe: The Ongoing Challenge of History Teaching

Stephan Klein

Around 1960, many history classrooms in Western Europe would look something like this: a history teacher stands in front, looking at his students who sit in rows behind their desks. Their textbooks are open. The teacher starts to tell them about an important historical event and will continue to do so until the end of the lesson. At some point, the teacher uses a visual tool to stimulate the imagination and ask questions. The walls around the blackboard have been decorated with some large colored drawings: the wall charts, visually supporting the teacher's story, and drawing students into the strange worlds of princes and commoners, military leaders and soldiers, and captains and sailors.

Half a century later many of these students—now at a mature age—may hear about the history classrooms of their grandchildren. Some teachers have supposedly stopped telling great stories about important national events and focus more on so-called historical thinking skills. Some of the topics their grandchildren are learning about were absent from teaching around 1960. The schoolbooks are still there, but there is massive new content available in new media, inviting children not to listen in silence but to participate as active learners. History used to be better, the older generation might think. The value of

This article springs for an important part from my research at the Center for Historical Culture, Erasmus University Rotterdam, in the research program *Heritage Education, Plurality of Narratives and Shared Historical Knowledge* (2009–2014), led by Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel. The construction of the website 'Slave Trade in the Atlantic World' (mentioned in this article), which I coordinated, is the valorization of this research project (mail: kleins@iclon.leidenuniv.nl).

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nostalgia for thinking about future education may be debated; but surely in between these periods of coined and recalled memories, fundamental changes have impacted on history classrooms.

This chapter starts with discussing the early twenty-first-century classroom from the angle of two clusters of interrelated developments: (1) the questioning of national narratives and the growth of public interest in the past; (2) the rise of a critical approach in history teaching and the media revolution. Then, we will consider how these developments have impacted on a particular educational context in Europe: the Netherlands. Here, as elsewhere, the questioning of the national narrative has led to major debates about the content and pedagogical approach of school history. To illustrate this point we will focus on the historical issue of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery. After the year 2000, this topic has emerged as an important newcomer in the Dutch national history curriculum. For history teachers in the Netherlands, the new topic raises questions of how to balance respect for present emotions with historical thinking skills, introduced in 1993. What complicates the challenge is that the topic is presented not just in history textbooks but also in various new media on the internet. New media may have much to offer, but they also have great impact on pedagogical decision making by teachers who want their students to work with them in the present age. To show what is at stake, we will analyze the historical narrative and pedagogy embedded in a small number of Dutch educational websites on the transatlantic slave trade and slavery and we will compare these with English websites on the same topic, as transatlantic slavery has recently become an important curriculum topic here as well. The comparison reveals that educational websites are not just learning tools but layered sources, originating from various interests and goals by multiple stakeholders. The rise of these new learning media on new historical topics is but one of many signs testifying to the growing complexity of pedagogical decision-making by history teachers in the twenty-first century.

Questioning National Narratives and the Growth of Public Interest

In several European countries, history wall charts used to support the learning of important events in the unfolding narrative of a nation. Wall charts often show historical events as a visualization of historical actors, actions, and places. Sometimes they show the nation's main locations at home and abroad. On a Dutch wall chart from 1913, for example, we would see large merchant ships anchored at Bantam in the Dutch East Indies in December 1598, their colored flags fully unfolded by a steady monsoon wind; a Danish chart from 1872 shows an idyllic picture of Danish and indigenous people involved in trade on the coast of Ghana around 1700; and a German wall chart of 1911 presents a rustic picture of an East-African village, with a German settlement modestly in the background before Mount Kilimanjaro around 1900. All three wall charts

belong to national series which, as a whole, constitute a visual framework for memorizing national stories (Grever, 2010, 2011).[1]

Wall charts date back to the mid or late nineteenth century. They were made specifically for use in schools, with certain goals and topics in mind: the learning of national history through visualization in a teacher-centered learning process. Looking at the charts and listening to the stories would enable students to remember the major developments in the nation's history. These visual frameworks supported historical narratives which originated after the dramatic political, social, and cultural upheavals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although European countries had quite different trajectories through this revolutionary era, when it was over they all started or continued (in bolder terms) to describe the relationship between territory, inhabitants, and language in terms of nationhood.

European countries differ widely in how exactly they made sense of the fundamental changes that had taken place. Generally speaking, we might interpret the shift as a development from enlightened universal ideals to romantic national notions, but in specific cases such a scheme proves to be more complex and sometimes contradictory. The Netherlands, for example, witnessed a very early phase of nationalism during the 1780s, embedded in the democratic republicanism of a confederal state. This was followed by a revolution, which only then resulted in a contested creation of a unitary state (1798) and a more liberal conception of politics (Grijzenhout, Van Sas, & Velema, 2013; Klein, 1995; Van Sas, 2004). England, in contrast, did not witness a revolution of this kind at all. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, all European nations selectively reached far back to the pre-1800 period to define their roots and the essential values of their inhabitants.

After the nineteenth century, the process of nationalizing European life endured until, in the 1960s, another major socio-cultural shift occurred which impacted on the idea of national histories. This shift changed people's immediate environment, their technical possibilities, and their life conditions in general. Decolonization, migration, and urbanization had major effects on the composition of populations and ushered in new varieties of national memory. The cultural changes produced by generational conflict and secularization opened up new ways of relating to the past. The rise of living standards caused by post-war economic growth and rapid technological innovation created new opportunities for the public at large to investigate, mediate, and produce past–present relationships. The story of the past as a history of unchanging entities called nations could not remain unaffected. In historiography, the nation-state as the main entity for ordering the past was increasingly questioned and unmasked as a fiction (Anderson, 1983; Berger, 2007; Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2008; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Nora, 1984–1992).

Parallel to these historiographical revisions, a spectacular growth of public interest in the material and immaterial remains of the past occurred. Academic and schoolbook histories had to adapt to the historical sensibilities inherent in the memories of immigrant cultures (Gillis, 1994), but were also faced with

neo-nationalist rebuttals and adaptations aiming to counter the debunking of national narratives, as manifested in the so-called history wars affecting school history in several countries (Cajani & Ross, 2007; Carretero, 2011; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). During the last decades, some argue, a historical consumer culture has developed that is more personal, visual, interactive, and hybrid in its approaches to the past than ever before (Black, 2005; De Groot, 2008). A whole range of historical positions toward the past, the present, and the future is being articulated through all sorts of media, making it difficult to disentangle fact and fiction, emotion and analysis, and ethics and politics (Wils & Verschaffel, 2012).

The Rise of a Critical Approach in History Teaching and the Media Revolution

The historical consumer culture mentioned above manifested itself not only in traditional media but also in many new ones. The media revolution, starting roughly around 1970, seemed at first to be about hardware, also in schools. Teachers started to show pictures photocopied onto plastic sheets, and the occasional slide or film projector also entered the building. Within a decade, video recorders and large collections of moving visual materials on VHS (Video Home System) or Betamax cassettes came in. And then, technical possibilities accelerated at a dazzling speed with personal computers, laptops, tablets, smart-boards, smartphones, and online learning environments, all using the Internet. Educational and non-educational software provides abundant possibilities for learning.

Both teachers and students now seem barely able to keep up with the latest trends. New generations of students entering the school building for the first time are already different digital users than students who do their final examinations. In 2015, schools have teachers from professional generations starting their careers as early as 1975 and as late as 2015. Some will just have managed to start up a PowerPoint presentation, while others are fully participating in digital communities, sharing information or giving feedback to their students through the Internet (Haydn, 2010). The possibilities for history teaching seem almost unlimited given time and financial support, but there are important limitations and issues to rethink. One of them is the teacher as a mediator in the production of past–present relationships.

Since the professionalization of history as a discipline in the nineteenth century, the core practice for historians has always been to write books and articles, or better, monographs. As historians, they were the distinguishable authors of narratives with clear beginnings and ends, and proper historical developments in between. Schoolbooks followed this approach, and professional historians were not seldom involved in their production.

The Internet is changing this way of telling stories in favor of more associative forms of 'reading' through linking. Internet users pick up distributed texts, read other texts that are linked to them, watch clips, and move on, often

without noticing what kind of sources exactly they have studied. Some texts are the product of multiple authors working from different locations. According to Ann Rigney (2010), 'emplotment', 'explanation', and 'representation' as key terms in earlier discussions of narrativity have been replaced by terms like 'interactivity', 'accessibility', 'distributed authorship', and 'dynamics'. This forces academic historians to rethink their positions and ask themselves how they should operate in this dynamic field of remembering and forgetting with so many players and approaches (Jonker, 2012; Lorenz, 2010; Rigney, 2000; Tosh, 2008). History teachers have the same questions to answer but for a different context (Wineburg, 2001).

School history as a context of historical mediation has more specific goals and distinct ways of working, although it is entirely interconnected with popular culture at large and (sometimes) with the academic discipline. The rise of history teaching methodology as a separate discipline is part of the same shift which caused national histories to be criticized for being self-congratulatory and imagined. In some West-European countries, history teaching turned, slowly but surely, from educating students to embrace national narratives to teaching them to think more critically about the past as a process of change and interpretation. Concepts derived from the academic discipline entered the teaching vocabulary (Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011); the main concepts in the English language today are historical empathy or perspective recognition, contextualization, evidence, causality and consequences, continuity and change, historical significance, and moral judgment (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Davis, Jr., Yeager, & Foster, 2001; Lévesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Stradling, 2003; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). In England and the Netherlands, these concepts have influenced teaching materials and the way the history curriculum is taught. Where critical approaches of history teaching have developed, history teachers will also need to know how to work critically with the overwhelming number of views in media produced by such different stakeholders as schoolbook publishers, museums, broadcasting companies, churches, cinemas, states, and the various individuals and collectives who produce everyday histories.

If history teachers are supposed to teach under these conditions and with these learning tools, it raises the question what exactly constitutes their knowledge base. Teaching needs not only well-designed teaching materials but above all highly qualified teachers who are able to guide effective student learning and develop their inclination to think historically. Research shows the interrelatedness of several domains of knowledge and the relevance of teachers' personal beliefs. In thinking about teaching approaches for specific contexts, teachers activate epistemological knowledge, subject knowledge, knowledge of learning, knowledge of educational materials, knowledge of students and their cultural backgrounds, knowledge of classroom management, and all kinds of personal beliefs (Cunningham, 2007; Grant, 2003; Hoy, Davis, & Pape, 2006; Husbands, 2011; Husbands, Kitson, & Pendry, 2003; Klein, 2010; Verloop, Van Driel, & Meijer, 2001). Understanding history teaching, so much is clear, cannot do without deep insight into the minds of teachers as human beings and

as historians. Even if history teachers share some of the disciplinary concepts sustaining a critical approach, this knowledge does not easily translate into a teaching methodology without deep reflection on the interconnection between theory and classroom practices. When history teachers are less familiar with disciplinary concepts or come from non-historical disciplinary backgrounds such as geography or social studies, critical approaches to the subjective nature of history often lose out against the 'natural' instinct of transmitting memory disguised as history (Ravitch, 2000).

Due to the media revolution that is still unfolding, teacher knowledge needs to be supplemented with 'digital' knowledge. Digital knowledge is not just about mastering technical skills. It refers to understanding how new technologies mediate between past and present, how they transform the ways narratives are told and students learn. Knowledge of this process is epistemological in nature (Haydn, 2013). The way teachers understand the educational characteristics and cultural contexts of learning tools may prove to be major determinants for pedagogical decisions on how to use them.

How easy is it to use new media tools such as historical websites? Websites containing historical information are not necessarily educational. Teachers would do well to evaluate in advance which websites can be used for particular classrooms. This includes checking not only for graphic visuals and violent messages but also for opportunities to create impact learning. What makes a website—or any learning tool for that matter—'educational' is the teaching methodology it employs or that of the teacher using it. Websites differ widely in what they do to support classroom use: some are almost tailor-made, whereas others only contain useful historical sources.

Educational Websites on Slavery: The Dutch-English Case

Producers of web content on the transatlantic slave trade and slavery are as varied as can be. Information can be obtained from museums and other heritage institutions, from organizations of teachers, commercial publishers, national and international organizations (such as UNESCO), and private individuals. Without source analysis, visitors will be surfing into a web of informative texts, textual and visual sources, and audiovisual materials ranging from historical films and documentaries to privately made videos on places of memory. Teachers looking for interesting learning materials also face this flood of information, with sources being written for adults or children, aiming to educate, to convince, or to disturb, sometimes with references for source verification, but often steeped in unverifiable bias, invention, or sheer lies. All of these could be useful in a critical perspective on history teaching, but pedagogical approaches would need to be developed for each case.

With the number and nature of educational historical websites developing rapidly, I will distinguish some ideal types, and in doing so, I will attempt to

focus on the core idea behind the design of a website, being fully aware that many hybrid types could be found or will appear in the future:

- **Heritage portals** designed to show material and immaterial heritage such as objects of art, photos, audiovisual sources, and written documents. These are often hosted by heritage institutions such as museums, libraries, archives, and broadcasting companies but often do not provide learning assignments.
- **Local projects** designed to show visitors the significance of historical locations such as buildings, military objects, monuments, and landscapes.
- **Websites or applications designed as games** in (quasi-) historical digital environments.
- **Teaching material portals** designed to make available a wide variety of history teaching materials to be used in the classroom. These are often hosted by teachers, organizations of teachers, and non-profit organizations.
- **Educational websites** where learning takes place on the website itself. These will usually contain guiding texts, sources of all kinds, and assignments. They may vary widely in how they connect with the learning objectives of a history curriculum. Two basic subtypes may be distinguished: websites whose design is more linear, based on the concept of an online schoolbook (TYPE A) and websites who are more modular, distributing information in a hierarchical learning design (TYPE B).

Teachers who want to use the Internet will have a lot to ponder. The complexity of such decision-making will be illustrated below, where I analyze Dutch historical websites on the transatlantic slave trade from the perspective of historical narrative and pedagogy and compare these with English websites on the same topic.

The transatlantic slave trade and slavery in general have become important fields of academic research, which are still developing rapidly, both inside and outside Europe (Eltis & Engerman, 2011). This development has its own dynamic, but it is also partly driven by commemorations of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in England (1807–2007), of the slave trade and slavery in the Netherlands (1813/1863–2013), and of slavery in the United States (1865–2015). Research interests and engagements will vary among individual historians and institutions, but the perceived national historical role of being either perpetrator or victim often makes a difference to research agendas as Western European maritime countries were actively involved in slave trading across the globe, whereas other countries faced loss of population or the effects of slavery on their soil for centuries.

The perpetrator–victim scheme explains, for example, debates about the involvement of African slave traders in the Transatlantic system—to debunk European exceptionalism—or about the presence of slaves in European countries and about slavery as a structural and indigenous characteristic there—

to debunk a self-image of European countries as being slave-free societies (Herzog, 2012; Hondius, 2011). Teachers cannot be expected to be fully up to date with the latest research agendas on all topics they teach. It takes time for academic insights to reach the classroom; history textbooks are also said to suffer from a time lag in transforming academic knowledge into knowledge for students.

When, however, certain topics become contested histories, things may change more rapidly. The transatlantic slave trade today is a memory issue in the Netherlands, England, and France, while it is largely absent in the other former slave-trading countries Portugal, Spain, and Denmark (Oostindie, 2009). Where debates have heated up, this is largely because of the presence of minority groups who identify themselves as descendants of enslaved people and who have challenged Dutch, English, and French national narratives for their silence about the forced migration of at least 11 million people as part of chattel slavery. These challenges appear within national contexts and they work out differently. Therefore, in studying educational historical websites it is useful to focus on specific contexts, in this case the Netherlands and England.

In the Netherlands, several new websites appeared in 2013 as part of the national commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. To understand the narrative importance of this phenomenon, a short history of the Dutch national narrative is needed. In the nineteenth century, the main point of reference for thinking about national values in the Netherlands became the time span between the start of its military resistance against Spain (the Eighty Years' War 1568–1648) and the end of its dominance as a world power (after 1700). In the early nineteenth century, Dutch historians invented the concept of the 'Golden Age' for this period. This fitted very well as a specification of the rise-and-fall template in which the history of the Dutch Republic had already been described in the eighteenth century (cf. Zerubavel, 2003). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this template was extended with a revolutionary period (1780–1813), which had to be silenced or condemned as shameful (Los, 2012; Van Sas, 2004). The old confederate Dutch Republic now became the object of remembrance, and the Golden Age in particular was selected for celebration in the arts, in literature, and in historical scholarship.

An important feature of the Golden Age template was its maritime foundation, oriented very strongly toward the East in geographical terms. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) became one of the main objects of national pride, without mentioning how slavery had been an essential part of its colonial empire. The slave trading companies operating on the African and Caribbean coasts gradually lost their place as being key players in the Golden Age altogether. This explains why most Dutch wall charts are devoted to important political moments and places of the Golden Age, with none of them portraying a scene connected with slavery in the East or with the slave trade in the West, both terms obviously expressing a Eurocentric view.

This emphasis on seventeenth-century maritime glory has been challenged fundamentally only since the turn of the millennium (Nimako & Willemsen, 2011; Oostindie, 2011; Van Stipriaan, 2001, 2007). In 2002, a national monument was unveiled in Amsterdam as the central location for a national commemoration of the abolition of slavery on the 1st of July every year. Since then, publicity in books, on television, and in other media has increased (Lechner, 2008). After a decade, history textbooks still hardly mention slavery in the Dutch East Indies, but the transatlantic slave trade has found its place in the curriculum, due to revisions implemented around 2007–2010 (Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011). The Dutch history curriculum is now structured in ten eras with abstract characteristics. European colonialism in the West, the slave trade, and the emergence of abolitionism is placed as characteristic number 29 in Era 7 (1700–1800). For primary and lower secondary education, there is also the Canon of the Netherlands. This addition to the general curriculum presents 50 'windows' (mostly historical) from which to look at the Dutch past. Slavery is topic 23 (right after Spinoza) and is restricted to the Atlantic world under the subtitle 'Human trafficking and forced labor in the New World'. It dates this phenomenon between circa 1637 and 1863. Obviously, the question now is how this topic should be taught. What kind of stories and which historical perspectives will be selected? This change is also accompanied by questions about what vocabulary should be used (e.g. slave/enslaved and abolition/emancipation) and how we should deal with moral judgment.

Part of the increased media exposure is the emergence of a variety of historical websites on the slave trade and slavery in Dutch historical culture. To show what kind of variety teachers will encounter, I will first turn to three new Dutch history websites (2013) with educational purposes. *Slavery and You* (www.slavernijenjij.nl, Dutch language) is an educational website (TYPE B) designed by The National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (NiNsee), which was founded in 2002 and was closely involved in the annual commemoration of the Dutch abolition of slavery. *Slavery and You* provides historical information and examples and is open about its mission and use of terminology. Students can learn about different points of view on slavery and its legacy, in the past and today, and are invited to do research themselves and contribute to a weblog. The website does not include assignments aiming to foster historical thinking skills. Though students are invited to think for themselves, there is also a strong tendency to combat modern racism as emanating from historical forms of slavery. In emphasizing continuity of racism, the website displays the emancipatory mission of the Institute as an active player in the politics of memory in the Netherlands.

The website *Slave Trade in the Atlantic World* (www.atlanticslavetrade.eu, Dutch/English language) was designed as a collaborative effort of Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Royal Tropical Museum Amsterdam, NiNsee, and history teachers in secondary schools. This website (TYPE B) has the same objective of teaching students about transatlantic slavery and its heritage today, but in some ways is the opposite of *Slavery and You*. The website's mission is

to foster awareness of slavery heritage as a dynamic phenomenon to be studied historically. The website is a design with nine separate historical issues and closed assignments that aim to foster historical thinking. Students can choose from the opening screen where they want to start, which means there is no prescribed time order. All sorts of historical sources and heritage materials have been included, and students encounter a plurality of perspectives encouraging them to think about historical contexts and their present significance. The website invites students to form opinions but does not directly connect historical slavery to modern racism. Students can draw such conclusions, but they will need their teachers to organize debates about such topics in the classroom. The results of the assignments, therefore, can be printed or sent by email.

Despite their different approaches, both these websites try to overcome the traditional Eurocentric narrative of the triangular trade as being essentially an economic topic of the past. The TYPE B website of the Zeeland Archives (www.eenigheid.slavenhandelmcc.nl, Dutch language), however, deliberately takes this more traditional view. Archives usually model education activities on the sources they preserve for future generations. In this case, as the province of Zeeland and the town of Middelburg in particular was a major player in the slave trade, the Zeeland Archives contain rich sources from the slave traders' perspective, including ship journals. This explains why the website allows students to follow the slave ship *d'Eenigheid* on its triangular route in 1761–1763, based on the journal of the ship's first mate, to get an idea what a journey was like in terms of locations, speed, and daily routines. Obviously, if you take this angle for an educational design, this makes it more difficult to include other perspectives; where *Slave Trade in the Atlantic World* shows the middle passage from both upper and lower decks, with some fictional biographies of enslaved, the Zeeland Archive website keeps strictly to the journal and the slave trader's perspective. On the other hand, the website does use the more politically correct vocabulary of 'enslaved' instead of 'slave', and the assignments also stimulate children to think about the feelings of the enslaved. Barely supported by contextual evidence, however, such assignments amount to what one might call 'everyday' empathy rather than historical thinking exercises (Lee & Ashby, 2001).

Apart from these three different players with three different ambitions on the same subject, there is more. Teachers may also want to consider the website of the Amsterdam municipal archive, a heritage portal which displays a careful choice of the archive's sources relating to slavery, meaning to support research by young students although it offers no assignments or suggestions. The educational website of the Royal Tropical Museum in Amsterdam focuses on its mission to foster understanding of cultural exchange and wants to be a partner in creating new cultural expressions. This educational website (TYPE B) introduces students to slavery and music, promotes historical knowledge, and encourages students to master particular musical rhythms and to create their own music sampling and mixing. The national *Slavery* television series, which ran in 2012 and provoked much-heated debate, can still be viewed from

a heritage portal website, with five episodes of 55 minutes each. A junior version on a separate portal is available for younger children, linking historical forms of slavery to modern ones.

Finally, the Canon of the Netherlands offers a website, which can best be labeled as an educational website TYPE A. It provides descriptive texts and subtexts for every window, some (audio-) visual sources, links to heritage institutions and—for this topic—references to slavery trails in Amsterdam and Middelburg. The text on slavery is balanced, although it can be interpreted as somewhat inconsequent. It speaks of ‘human trafficking’ in the title, but uses the word ‘slaves’ in the text. This shows the difficulty of language, as the word ‘slave’ in an English version can easily be substituted for ‘enslaved’, whereas the Dutch language only allows for a longer description, literally: ‘those made slaves’ (*tot slaaf gemaakten*). Together, the Dutch websites considered here seem to largely represent the varieties in the memorial landscape of the Netherlands on this topic.

The memorial landscape in England is a little different. Here, the bicentennial of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade was celebrated in 2007, leading to many exhibitions and educational activities (Smith, Cubitt, Fouseki, & Wilson, 2011). The commemoration also stimulated debate about the history curriculum, with as a result that the transatlantic slave trade became a compulsory topic for Key Stage 3 (11–14 years) in the United Kingdom in 2009. Although the topic has lost that status in the new history curriculum in England of 2013 and became a non-statutory topic, it is still being taught in most schools.

Anti-Slavery International played an important role in the curriculum debate, referring to Unesco’s website *Breaking the Silence*, which was online since 1998. *Anti-Slavery International* was founded in 1839 as a successor of the first Anti-Slavery Society in the United Kingdom, with the ambition to continue the anti-slavery mission in the world at large. Its website makes this progressive plot clear through the time line in the ‘About us’ section. The website also offers educational materials under the ‘Resources’ section, in which the rise and progress narrative from slavery to full modern human rights is also dominant. This strong emphasis on continuity between the past and the present is shared by the Dutch *Slavery and You* website hosted by NiNsee, although the latter—due to its recent founding as a Dutch institute—neither has a progressive narrative nor shares the international activism of *Anti-Slavery International.*

A different approach to teaching and learning is promoted by the website *Understanding Slavery Initiative* (www.understandingslavery.com). This website was funded by the government to support teachers and is a unique collaboration of six important English museums, located in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and Bath. All have collections that are connected with the transatlantic slave trade. The website is less a heritage portal than a portal with teaching materials supporting certain learning objectives. Instead of prescribing certain values and ways of thinking, all kinds of heritage materials have been

digitized to make students reflect on past–present relationships for themselves. The website, therefore, covers topics ranging from old African kingdoms in coastal areas to legacies in modern countries everywhere. These have no prescribed narrative order. In all these characteristics, this approach resembles the Dutch website *Slave Trade in the Atlantic World*, although the latter is a product of collaboration between different kinds of stakeholders (not only museums) and is not a portal but an educational website TYPE B.

Next to these two websites, there are also local projects such as slavery trails, showing the heritage of such cities as London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and there are portals giving entrance to teaching materials. Despite differences in national context, teachers in both in the Netherlands and England face the same challenge of having to clear educational paths through the jungle of history and heritage sites on slavery, both on the web and in physical space.

Concluding Remarks

Although many teachers in Europe will still teach traditional national narratives and will favor teacher-centered teaching practices, there is no doubt that history teaching in many schools has fundamentally changed over the last half century. First, Eurocentric national narratives have been challenged and will continue to be challenged in the future, allowing other stories and perspectives to be part of the learning process. The topic of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery provides a compelling example. It has recently entered the school history curriculum of at least two former slave trading countries (the Netherlands and England), which in turn has enriched both public debate and educational research and practice (De Bruijn, 2014; Savenije, 2014).

This means that, in 2015, there is a wide variety of teaching practices, ranging from traditional stories about the triangular trade to practices taking students' historical identities as points of departure. These developments may create tensions, when students' prior knowledge and affections toward slavery are in opposition to each other or when the emotional value of the topic is stronger for one group than for another. Today, researchers, educators, and teachers search for ways of teaching students to negotiate such differences and create sensible past–present relationships, working with historical thinking concepts such as perspective recognition, the significance of the past and the ethical dimension of history.

Second, apart from new didactic approaches, such as historical thinking, the media revolution has complicated these endeavors. Teachers today need to pay attention to an abundance of opinions and emotions, not in the least articulated through the social media students use. Teachers will need to help students to open up to other perspectives and to wanting to know what can and cannot be supported from evidence. The educational historical websites analyzed above are only a fraction of what can be encountered on the internet concerning the transatlantic slave trade. What they have in common is that they share an ambition to foster student learning. But they also differ in important

ways, for example in how the visual and the textual are geared toward one another, how they deal with time and narrative in content distributed over hierarchical ordered web pages, or how they prepare for student engagement and the balancing of emotions. These criteria may be no different from those one would use to analyze a history textbook, but they will yield different results when applied to historical websites.

The analysis of the educational websites on the topic Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery shows that history teachers will need to understand these sources as modern voices in an ongoing historical debate to which students are introduced. This requires not only deep historical subject knowledge and analytical pedagogical skills, but also an understanding of how historical narratives are constructed by website designers and by students using these tools. Future research should focus on these areas of teacher knowledge and student learning, to assist history teachers in a much-needed transformation. They once were narrators of closed national narratives, and then transformed themselves into stimulators of critical historical thinking. They now need an update to version 3.0. History teachers should also become mediators between students studying sensitive historical issues that are being contested in an overwhelming number of audio-visual media, available for anyone, anywhere, anytime.

Note

1. A collection of nineteenth–twentieth century wall charts, used in European classrooms, can be found at: http://historywallcharts.eu

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www.slavernijenjij.nl Website (Dutch) designed by The National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (educational website TYPE B).

www.atlanticslavetrade.eu *Slave Trade in the Atlantic World* (Dutch/English) was a collaborative effort of Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Royal Tropical Museum Amsterdam, NiNsee, and history teachers in secondary schools (educational website type B).

www.eenigheid.slavenhandelmcc.nl Website designed by the Zeeland Archive which holds the archival records of the most important slave trading companies in the province of Zeeland (educational website type B).

www.doremixmax.org Website on slavery and music from the Royal Tropical Museum Amsterdam (educational website type B).

www.entoen.nu/slavernij/en The topic of slavery in the official Canon of the Netherlands (educational website TYPE A).

www.amsterdam-slavernij.nl Website with collection designed by the Amsterdam municipal archive (heritage portal).

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www.npogeschiedenis.nl/dossiers/Slavernij.html Website of the Dutch Public Broadcasting Company (heritage portal) with television series and additional materials.

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Google map with locations in Amsterdam of the houses of plantation owners in 1863 (local project).

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www.discoveringbristol.org.uk/slavery (heritage portal).
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www.slaveryhistorytours.com (Liverpool local project).

UNESCO

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CHAPTER 38

Social Media, New Technologies and History Education

Terry Haydn and Kees Ribbens

Developments in technology, and in particular the emergence of social media technology applications, have had a significant influence on the way in which history is taught and learned in schools, and the ways in which people outside schools and universities find out about the past (e.g. Dron, 2015; Tosh, 2008). A study by the Office for Communications (Ofcom), the telecommunications regulator in the UK, found that over 95 % of 12–15-year-old students in the UK use websites to do their school work and homework; 75 % visit and use social networking sites, and 59 % have used the online encyclopaedia, Wikipedia (Ofcom, 2013). Another UK survey found that only 18 % of adults in the UK do not make use of some form of social media (quoted in Adams, 2015). The 'reach' of popular history websites and history themed content on social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter is much broader than the scholarly volumes of even the most eminent and 'popular' of academic historians. In a recent lecture at the University of Cambridge, 'The past, present and future of eHistory', John Simkin, founder of the *Spartacus* website (http://spartacus-educational.com), pointed out that whereas the book of the academic historian who invited him to do the lecture (Dr Bernhard Fulda, '*Press and politics in the Weimar Republic*') had sold 300 copies, the equivalent content on his website had attracted over a million 'hits' over the past year (Simkin, 2013).

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Moreover, developments in new technology and social media have expanded the *range* of ways in which information about the past is transmitted. In the words of Dron (2015: 1):

> Whether we learn from websites like Wikipedia, our Facebook friends…watching a You Tube video, engaging in a community of practice, observing an expert or simply running a Google search…we swim in an ocean of teachers that guide, influence or shape our learning. To be human is to be a social learner, and the exponential rise in social media gives us exponentially more opportunities to learn from and with others.

Dron goes on to point out that this is not necessarily a positive development: 'We all learn from and with the crowd, and we are all parts of crowds that teach. Sadly however, not all crowds teach well. For every wise crowd, there is a stupid mob, misleading, misdirecting and misinforming' (Dron, 2015: 2). Research in the UK suggests that many young people are not careful and discerning users of the internet:

> They are unable to find the information they are looking for or trust the first thing they do…. They are unable to recognise bias and propaganda…as a result they are too often influenced by information they should probably discard. This makes them vulnerable to the pitfalls and rabbit holes of ignorance, falsehood, cons and scams. Inaccurate content, online misinformation and conspiracy theories…are appearing in the classroom. (Bartlett & Miller, 2011: 3)

Although young people have always learned about the past from sources other than the history teacher, the textbook, and the work of professional historians (Conrad et al., 2013; Wineburg, 2001), it is reasonable to suggest that in a culture where the internet and social media play such a large part in young people's lives (Ofcom, 2013) the proportion of information about the past which young people access which is not mediated by history teachers, historians or history teacher educators is likely to have increased.

The purpose of this chapter of the handbook is to explore the implications of these developments. Although politicians and policymakers in many countries have tended to see new technology as (at least potentially), an inherently positive and beneficent influence on educational outcomes (Convery, 2009; Haydn, 2013; Selwyn, 2002; US Department of Education, 2004), Postman makes the point that most developments in technology have both the potential for some form of improved outcome, and some unintended consequences which may be negative or harmful ('Every technology is both a burden and a blessing, not either-or, but this and that'-Postman, 1993: 5).

The next section of the chapter places the increasing influence and role of the internet and social media in history education in the context of the broader discourse about new technology and history education. This includes some reference to unexamined assumptions, misconceptions and unsubstantiated

rhetorical claims about the affordances of new technology and social media in relation to educational policy and practice.

In the third section of the chapter, attention is drawn to some of the potentially harmful and negative effects which the internet and social media can have on history education. The fourth section of the chapter focuses on the attributes of the internet and social media that are potentially helpful to history teachers, students and history educators. It also suggests ways in which adroit and well-informed use of social media can help to obviate some of the negative consequences of the 'bad' history, and the abuses of history which have resulted from recent developments in the use of the internet and social media to teach about or 'use' the past. In the final section, some conclusions are drawn relating to the implications of developments in new technology and social media for history education, both in terms of the most helpful forms of investment in new technology for history teachers and history teacher educators, and for the part which the 'Information and Communications Technology (ICT)' component of history teacher education courses might play in helping history teachers to make best use of new technology and social media in their teaching. There are also some reflections on what it means 'to be good at ICT' as a history teacher.

Context

In examining the effect, and potential of new technology and social media on history education, it is helpful to address some unexamined assumptions and misconceptions about the effect of new technologies on history education over the past decade.

Consideration of these developments needs to take into account what Convery terms 'the cultural context' in which educational technology research is commissioned and reported, and the lobbying pressure and influence of organisations keen to sell new technology to schools (Convery, 2009; Morozov, 2013). Woolgar also points to the rhetorical nature and language of claims which 'generate irrational optimism' about the potential of new technologies to improve teaching and learning, and which 'help to explain why politicians and policymakers are so receptive to inflated predictions about the effects of ICT in education: 'virtual', 'interactive', 'information', 'global', 'remote', 'distance', 'digital', 'electronic' (or 'e'-), 'cyber', 'network', 'tele-' and so on, appear as an epithet…The implication is that something new, different and (usually) better is happening' (Woolgar, 2002: 3).

Many countries have made significant investments in putting expensive technology in schools (for example, interactive whiteboards, voting technology, e-portfolio software, virtual learning environments and one-to-one provision of tablet computers) in the belief that this will improve educational outcomes. This has sometimes placed considerable pressure on teachers to make extensive use of this technology in order to justify these investments,

and even led to the blaming of 'Luddite' teachers as 'part of the problem' where use of such technology has not been integrated into day to day practice (Convery, 2009; Haydn, 2014). This generalisation misrepresents history teachers' use of new technology. The evidence of technology adoption by history teachers suggests that although many of them do not routinely use the advanced features of interactive whiteboards, voting technology, e-portfolio software or class sets of tablet computers, if the technology is accessible, easy to use and does something useful, then most history teachers will make use of it. There are few history teachers who don't use the data projector in their classroom, or possess at least one memory stick to save and share resources, or use the internet to augment their subject knowledge and get hold of useful teaching materials for classroom use (Haydn, 2013). Research by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) suggests that across many European countries, the real 'killer applications' (in the sense of the applications which have been widely used by teachers), are not of the 'expensive kit' variety, but more prosaic (and cheaper) applications such as the data projector, the memory stick and the internet. Many 'experts' in the educational use of ICT interviewed in the CERI study cited above made the point that Web 2.0 applications have considerable potential for improving teaching and learning (particularly in terms of getting pupils to learn outside the classroom), and for the most part, they cost nothing (CERI, 2010).

There have been calls for teachers who do not use technology to be retired (Cochrane, 1995), and research and policy recommendations frequently argue that the use of new technology is *essential* (our italics) to effective teaching (e.g. Educational Technology Action Group, 2015; Ertmer & Ottenbreit-Leftwich, 2010; Male & Burden, 2014). This in spite of the fact that there are many history and history teacher educators in the UK and elsewhere who are widely acknowledged to be excellent practitioners, and who present to packed audiences of history teachers at major history education conferences, who make little or no use of expensive and sophisticated technology (Haydn, 2013).

There has also been a tendency for policymakers to misconstrue the affordances of new technology in educational contexts. Naughton suggests that politicians see the internet as 'A kind of pipe for pumping things into schools and schoolchildren (Naughton, 1998: 31), underestimating the difficulties involved in turning information into knowledge and understanding (Fullan, 1999). The idea, first mentioned in 2001, that all students are 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001—cited by 14,895, according to Google Scholar, 11 November 2016)—is misleading. Although there are many lurkers, dabblers and joiners, only a small minority of young people actively create content or critique the work of others on social networking sites. The idea that the world of education, whether in history or any other subject, has already been radically transformed by wikis, blogs and texting has been overstated (Crook, 2012; Selwyn, 2012).

Selwyn warns against assuming that because many young people use social media for 'day to day' things, this will automatically translate into high quality educational use:

> This is not to criticise social media based actions as worthless or without merit. However, these issues do point to the difficulties of assuming social media to be ready sites of educational empowerment, democratisation and enhanced freedom. As such, it is important for educationalists to begin to understand social media use and social media users in more realistic—rather than idealistic—terms. (Selwyn, 2012: 13)

Walsh makes the important point that although young people may be more confident and competent with technology than their parents or their teachers 'they are not generally more worldly wise or sophisticated in terms of assessing the validity of the information which reaches them on a daily basis' (Walsh, 2008: 5).

Misconceptions also extend to the ways in which pupils learn history. There is a tendency for those who have not had to teach history to high school students to underestimate the difficulties involved in getting pupils to learn. There are politicians, policymakers think-tank commentators and academic historians on both sides of the Atlantic who have dismissed the idea of pedagogic subject knowledge, and argued for a return to transmission modes of teaching, teacher directed instruction and rote learning. Stanford (1986: 151) cites 'a distinguished professor of history', who 'expressed frank disbelief when I spoke of the need to learn how to teach history. There are no skills to be taught he insisted; you know your history and you just tell them'.

Ideas about what history is, why it is useful, and about how children learn, have implications for the part that new technology and social media might play in developing pupils' historical knowledge and understanding. As Noss and Pachler argue (1999), if learning is seen primarily as a matter of simple transmission, the facility of new technology and social media to increase the volume of information which can be circulated around the educational system, would appear to have a lot to offer. Many potential benefits of using new technologies and social media to develop pupils' historical thinking and understanding are quite different from those claimed by politicians, policymakers and the people who sell technology to schools. Politicians and policymakers are often indifferent to, unaware of, or in some cases complicit in some of the harmful and negative effects of recent developments in technology and social media on historical culture and the historical consciousness of their citizens. This is particularly influential in the sphere of public history, defined by Conrad et al. as 'the enterprise conducted by governments…and increasingly, by activists and corporate interests who wish to promote particular kinds of historical understanding' (Conrad et al., 2013: 154).

New Technologies, Social Media and the Dangers Posed to Public History

One consequence of the information revolution occasioned by the growth of the internet is the massive increase in the volume of information about the past which can be accessed by young people. John Naughton, Professor of Public Understanding of Technology at the Open University in the UK, has warned that the exponential increase in the volume of information available to the public has in some ways made public enquiry into human affairs more problematic, given the overwhelming amount of information now available digitally (Naughton, 2012). Bonnet (1997: 155) also warned of the dangers inherent in this increase in the volume of 'content' which is now available: 'One of the chief dangers of information overload is that it can, at one and the same time, inhibit authentic thinking, and seduce us into believing that all we need to solve problems is yet more information'. Counsell (1997) has made the point that for many learners, 'more stuff', is the last thing they need, as they are already struggling with the 'vastness' of history and the challenge of making sense of it.

Nor does this increase in the volume of information available about the past come with explicit 'quality controls' attached. UK historian John Tosh has argued that 'The diversity and unevenness of the history which is publicly available raises the more profound issue of academic authority' (Tosh, 2008: 136).

Pomerantsev points out that the increasing sophistication with which information can be manipulated through fake news stories, doctored images, staged TV clips, and armies of trolls adds further to the problem of 'getting at the truth' (Pomerantsev, 2015). Shearlaw stresses that such techniques are not limited to totalitarian states, and that, for example, efforts to erase or deflect attention from uncomfortable and embarrassing episodes of the past are common in many states (Shearlaw, 2015). Churchwell (2011: 4) argues that the Tea Party version of the American Revolution is 'Disneyfied, sentimentalised and whitewashed', and Cannadine laments 'the Manichean cultural dichotomies that are peddled by a partisan media', and the 'us versus them' simplification of the past (Cannadine, 2013). Governments worldwide seem determined to engineer a form of school history which, in the words of British historian Richard Evans, promotes 'The wonderfulness of us' as its overarching message, and which attempts to excise inconvenient 'skeletons' of the national past (Evans, 2011).

Of course there has always been some 'bad history', and flawed history, both inside and outside the history classroom and the academy (for further development of this point e.g.: Lowenthal, 2007; Macmillan, 2009; Tosh, 2008), but we would argue that there have never been so many intelligent and well-educated people and organisations writing about the past, who are professionally dedicated to manipulating and distorting evidence without conscience in order to use the past for their own, often unethical purposes. In the words of the late historian Eric Hobsbawn, 'History is being invented in vast quantities…the world is full of people inventing histories and lying about history'

(Hobsbawn, 2002). The 'amplification' effects made possible by new technology and social media, in the form of 'blackhatting', systematic and organised 'retweeting', and the 'viral' potential of social networking sites such as Facebook, make it easy to disseminate 'bad' and unethical history.

Internet and social media providers have no mechanisms for filtering or discerning between 'respectable' and ethically dubious history. Changes to Google's page ranking system, which have reduced the influence of back links and accorded greater weighting to what has been termed 'domain authority' (a metric for how well a given domain is likely to rank in Google's search results) has resulted in significant changes to the 'first page' return of a search enquiry. The result has been to strengthen the profile of large corporations and organisations. Wikipedia and the British Broadcasting Corporation have a score of 100, and perhaps disconcertingly, Amazon (95) and the Daily Mail, a tabloid UK newspaper (94) have a higher score than Cambridge University (Simkin, 2013). Walsh argues that one of the main causes of 'collateral damage' in history teachers' use of ICT has been the failure of history teachers to get students to deploy appropriate historical method and rigour in the use of internet resources, in terms of referencing, provenance, questioning purposes and motives, and cross referencing (Walsh, 2008).

In a chapter of this length, there is only space to provide a handful of examples of people or organisations distorting or grotesquely oversimplifying the past for present day purposes—the profoundly unhistorical attribution of responsibility for the outbreak of World War One in UK newspapers and social media sites[1]—the British National Party's poster depiction of London 1945 and London today[2]—the United Nations High Commissioner's protest against the UK media's coverage of the recent history of immigration to the UK[3]—the political and media use made of the Munich Crisis of 1938 in order to justify aggressive foreign policy (Logevall & Osgood, 2010; Rousseau, 2012).

The proliferation of 'bad history' in the public domain has important implications for those who teach history in schools and colleges, particularly in view of research evidence pointing to the limited digital literacy of young people. In a recent UK survey, 32 % of 12–15-year-olds believed that if a search engine listed a result, it must be truthful (and 23 % had not considered issues of veracity or accuracy). A major Canadian study of adults' ideas about the comparative reliability of information about the past, and their ideas about how to ascertain the reliability of information about the past also revealed that many people leave school without possessing sophisticated strategies for discerning between good history and bad (Conrad et al., 2013).

The chapter does not aim to suggest that developments in new technology and social media have had an entirely negative influence on history education. The argument is rather that recent developments in new technology and social media have led to a situation where there is a lot more ethically dubious and flawed history 'out there' in the public domain, some of it propagated and disseminated by powerful, well-financed politicians and vested interest groups with a view to manufacturing a particular view of the past to promote their own

interests. This is often done with little or no concern for veracity, accuracy, or the disciplinary principles of procedure which are supposed to underpin historical narratives. This raises the question of how history teachers and teacher educators should respond to these developments.

New Technologies and Social Media: A Historical Education for the Twenty-First Century

This section of the chapter outlines some of the more positive attributes of new technologies and social media. It suggests ways in which they can contribute to improving teaching and learning in history classrooms, and respond appropriately to the challenges and problems posed by the threats to public history detailed in the previous section.

'Building learning packages'. (Walsh, 2003)

The combination of the data projector, the memory stick and the Wi-Fi equipped classroom has made it much easier for history teachers to make use of some of the most vivid and powerful historical sources which can be found on the internet. This has reduced history teachers' dependence on textbooks, teacher exposition and teacher produced worksheets and made it much easier to incorporate a wider range of images, sounds and moving image clips into their lessons. As well as increasing the *range* of resources which can be used in the history classroom, it could be argued that this has made more vivid and powerful resources available to the history teacher, compared to those which can be found in traditional history textbooks.[4]

In a sadly under-cited chapter written in 2003, Ben Walsh suggested that the most influential attribute of ICT for history teachers was not sophisticated and expensive ICT equipment such as interactive whiteboards and voting technology, but the facility it offered to make it easier to collect and share high quality resources which could help them to teach topics and make particular points about historical thinking, historical knowledge and historical concepts more effectively (Walsh, 2003). Astute use of the best history education websites, blogs, wikis and Twitter feeds can make it much quicker for a history teacher to build up a powerful collection of high quality resources which (together with high quality teacher exposition and questioning) can help them to teach particular topics effectively. These collections can include images, prose, graphs, maps, datasets, moving image extracts and sound files. The key issue is not quantity—it is about securing and deploying the most powerful and apposite resources which will help to get across a particular idea or point to learners.

In addition to collections which focus on a specific historical issue or problem are more general collections which offer a quick, free and time-saving service to history teachers to enable them to update their subject knowledge. In some cases, other history educators or organisations have spent considerable

time putting together a useful collection or resource on a particular aspect of the past or a particular problem related to historical thinking and understanding. The best-selling popular history magazine, *BBC History*, has recently made available all book reviews in the magazine publicly available (www.historyextra.com/books). As well as the major history education websites and blogs, there are a number of 'niche' sites of interest to history educators, for example, Google n-gram (https://books.google.com/ngrams) provides a useful tool for looking at cultural change over time. The digital archives of broadsheet newspapers also provide access to the writing of many of the world's most eminent historians, who often contribute to newspapers and blogs (see http://historyandict.wikifoundry.com/page/Newspapers for some examples of such contributions).

Social Media and Communities of Practice

Although there is limited evidence of pupils using social media sites to learn history (Crook, 2012; Ofcom, 2013; Selwyn, 2012), there is emerging evidence that history teachers in the UK and the Netherlands are using social media to share ideas and resources.[5] Twitter, in particular, has emerged as an increasingly important form of continuing professional development for teachers (Carpenter & Krutka, 2014), with a wide range of groups under the umbrella of history education. One of the main uses of Twitter is to enable history educators to alert colleagues to examples of 'impact' resources; it is a more modern and efficient equivalent of the American Indian use of smoke signals, and unlike interactive whiteboards, response technology, e-portfolio software and one to one tablet provision, it is cost free.

There are also emerging examples of the use of social media to build connections across communities of practice with an interest in history education, that is to say, between academic historians, history educators and history teachers in schools (Seixas, 1993).[6] Not all communities of practice exert a wholesome influence on public discourse (Dron, 2015), but the use of social media by history educators to share ideas and resources, and the induction of students into mature and intelligent understanding of the internet and social media can help to increase the influence of those 'who believe in history as a rational inquiry into the course of human transformations against those who distort history for political purposes' (Hobsbawn, 2008). Judicious and adroit selection and deployment of some of the examples of 'good' and 'bad history' which are available on the internet and via social media can help students to understand that the teaching of history should take place 'in a spirit which takes seriously the need to pursue truth on the basis of evidence' (Joseph, 1984: 12).

Social Media and 'Impact' Resources

There is still a belief in some quarters that learning in history is an unproblematic and aggregative affair, principally involving amassing a body of substantive

knowledge about the past (Lee & Ashby, 2000). This is the 'petrol pump' metaphor for learning; the more hours of teaching there are, the more knowledge they will accumulate, the cleverer our students will be (a process assisted by the idea that the internet and new technologies will help to accelerate the flow of knowledge). This flies in the face of a considerable body of evidence that learning is not a straightforward matter, and that 'just because you've taught it, doesn't mean that they've learned it' (e.g. Lee & Ashby, 2000; Sadler, 1994; Seixas, 1993). Learning in history, even in the hands of experienced and accomplished teachers, can be a 'hit and miss' affair. In what proportion of lessons do all the learners understand and retain all that the teacher is trying to teach? To what extent are learners able to apply their knowledge and understanding to other contexts? In the words of Wineburg (1997: 256): 'The chasm between knowing x, and using x to think about y'. The idea that knowledge will be steadily and efficiently 'poured into' learners is a misleading one.

As those closer to the real world of the history classroom are probably already aware, the development of historical understanding is not just a matter of the hours spent in the classroom, or the *quantity* of resources available to the history teacher. However, new technologies and social media have increased history teachers' access to what have been termed 'gems' or 'impact' resources (Haydn, 2013). An impact resource might be defined as a resource which enables history teachers to make a particular point about the past in a more vivid and powerful way, something which might enable learners to make a 'micro-Kuhnian' step in some aspect of their understanding of history, or which problematizes a historical issue or concept in a way which makes learners question their preconceptions, and makes them think about the issue on question in a way that aids retention (Willingham, 2009). An impact resource has the potential to evince debate and discussion which might shift learners' thinking, or replace immature ideas about history with more sophisticated ones (Lee & Ashby, 2000). Lee and Shemilt (2004) use the metaphor of pupils being able to make a particular move towards a more sophisticated understanding of a historical concept. This can involve addressing pupil misconceptions, for example, the idea that primary sources are necessarily better than secondary sources, the idea that people in the past were stupid, or the idea that history enables us to predict the future in the same way that science provides 'covering laws'. Thus, in addition to the facility which new technology offers to build up collections of high quality resources on particular historical topics, and to share and exchange ideas with other members of a community of practice, new technology and social media can also be particularly useful for addressing some of the misconceptions, weaknesses and immaturities in students' historical understanding. To give some examples, Russel Tarr's collection of recent media coverage of the debate about responsibility for the outbreak of the First Word War can help to develop learner understanding of the complicated relationship between 'the problem of truth' in history (Conrad et al., 2013), and the idea that there can be different interpretations of aspects of the past which may be in

some respects, contradictory but which nonetheless contain elements of validity (MacMillan, 2014).[7] The Wikipedia entry on 'The Upper Peninsular War' provides a good example of the sophistication with which historical information on Wikipedia can be invented and distorted.[8] (The YouTube clip, 'How Americans live today', combined with the Wikipedia entry on the clip perform a similar function in relation to YouTube as a source of information).[9] Adam Bienkov's article on astroturfing ('What it is and why it matters') provides a helpful and concise explanation of this important development.[10] John B. Sparks Histomap showing 'Four thousand years of world history: the relative power of states, nations and empires' is a powerful resource for showing students that the West was not always pre-eminent in terms of power and influence.[11] The extract from the 'Learn Our History' DVD on 'The Reagan Revolution' which is available on the internet (together with the pages which detail 'How we develop our content' and 'About Learn Our History') can help students to understand how ideological factors can influence historical narratives, and how a veneer of academic plausibility and authority can be promoted.[12]

Given Tosh's point about the very variable quality of history which is now publicly available (Tosh, 2008) it is important that pupils are inducted into the procedures which exist in the community of practice of historians to produce rigorous and 'respectable' accounts of the past. This relates to what John Slater (1989) termed 'objectivity of procedure', the rules and conventions which historians observe in their interpretations of the past (such as respect for evidence, corroboration, acknowledgement of uncertainty, exploration of the negative hypothesis, etc.). The internet offers a rich source of material which can assist teachers' efforts to get across these procedures and conventions to students, and the history education communities of practice which have grown up in recent years can help to guide members of the community to the most powerful and appropriate examples of these resources.

We also want pupils to understand that historians do not recreate a 'photographic' image or account representation of the past which corresponds exactly to what happened in the past, and is the one and only 'true' version of the past, given the impossibility of reconstructing the past (Jenkins, 1991; Seixas, 1993). We want pupils to understand that knowledge is 'differentially secure' (Stenhouse, 1975), and that historians do not discover 'the single and complete truth', but work to get the best answer they can to the questions that they are asking, given the gaps in the historical record and the impossibility of recreating the past. Pupils also need to understand that the past can be approached from different perspectives, and that accounts of the same morsel of history can differ because historians are asking different questions about the past. A particularly important area is pupils' understanding of the status and nature of historical knowledge. As Lee and Ashby state (2000: 200), if we are to take historical knowledge seriously, 'It is essential that students know something of the kind of claims made by historians, and what those different kinds of claims rest on'.

For all these purposes, the internet offers a wide range of 'impact' resources which can help history teachers to make these points in a more powerful and effective way than when they were dependent on the textbook and their own subject knowledge.[13] Social media makes it much easier for history teachers to collect and share powerful examples which might help to dislodge the tenaciously held but flawed beliefs of learners (Rosling, 2010; Sadler, 1994).

Social Media and Dialogic Learning

Luckin et al. (2012) point out that new technologies have made it easier than ever before for teachers to draw on the work of experts in their teaching, whether through podcasts, YouTube clips, blogs, discussion boards or online newspaper and magazine articles. However, it could be argued that a more influential development in new technology is the facility of history teachers to debate these contributions with each other (sometimes termed 'backchanneling' or 'below the line' additions to the original article).

The development of Web 2.0 applications which have resulted in the change from 'one to many' uses of new technology (websites), to 'many to many' social media applications (Twitter, blogging, wikis, Facebook, etc.) have enhanced the possibilities of 'dialogic' learning (Alexander, 2004; Mercer, 2000) using new technology; what Thompson (2013) terms 'conversational thinking'. As Richardson points out, there is something very powerful about *easily* being able to share resources and ideas with a web audience that is willing to share back what they thought of those ideas (Richardson, 2006). In his history of social media, Standage makes the point that although social media in one form or another has existed for over 2000 years, post-internet developments have exponentially extended 'the ability to share one's thoughts with others to a larger and larger proportion of the population' (Standage, 2013: 239). In a review of Clive Thompson's book, *Smarter than you think: how technology is changing our minds for the better* (Thompson, 2013), Robert Collins (2013: 34) suggests that the potential to promote dialogic learning has been one of the most influential benefits of the internet:

> This knack for collaborative cognition or 'conversational thinking' as Thompson calls it (the phenomenon of 'two brains being better than one'), is the wildest success on the web—from question and answer forums, to the use of social-media networks such as Twitter and Facebook as tools for organisation and communication.

A corollary of the development of Web 2.0 and social media applications is that is has increased potential learning time in history beyond that which is available in taught sessions. There are now some students of history who spend more time studying the subject outside taught sessions than during them, as they use blogs, wikis, discussion forums and content creation applications to pur-

sue historical arguments, debates and discussions outside the history classroom (Haydn, 2013).

Conclusions

Luckin et al. (2012) make the point that the proliferation of information provided by the internet and social media makes it more important than ever that teachers act as a 'filter', to sort out the valuable from the trivial, the essential from the spurious, and the concise from the wordy. This makes considerable demands on history teachers' subject knowledge, but it can avoid the danger of simply deluging students with long lists of websites and reading lists which have not been prioritised for appropriateness and quality.

Given the sophistication with which information can be manipulated and distorted in contemporary society, it is more important than ever that history teachers devote some time to educating students in the differences between 'good' and 'bad' history. Students need to be taught to discern between serious and rigorous or 'respectable' history, history which is primarily for entertainment, and history which attempts to distort the past for political purposes. They need to be able to challenge 'manipulative or reductive readings of the past when these are mobilised in support of present day political objectives' (Clark, 2014: 22); they need to be able to question lazy and simplistic analogies (Rollett, 2010); and they need to understand concepts such as confirmation bias and 'the fallacy of selected instances' (Maner, 2000).[14] They must be able to spot 'sweeping generalisations for which there is not adequate evidence' and be able to 'contest the one-sided, even false, histories that are out there in the public domain' (Macmillan, 2009: 37).

It is not realistic for history educators to shield students from dubious and unethical public history, but the internet makes it much easier for history teachers to show pupils examples of 'good' and 'bad' history, to educate them in the differences between the two, and to make them better equipped to treat bad history with an appropriate degree of intellectual scepticism. Inevitably, time spent on cultivating the critical and historical information literacy of students comes at the expense of content coverage, but it is an essential component of a historical education relevant to life in the twenty-first century.

As Wineburg (2001: 7) argues: 'It is much easier to learn names, dates, and stories than it is to change the fundamental mature historical understanding are stacked against us in a world in which Disney and MTV call the shots. But it is precisely because of the uses to which the past is put that these other aims take on even greater importance'. This means that we must ensure that our teaching of 'provenance' goes beyond the traditional points about 'unwitting testimony', 'corroboration' and 'position', and extend to educating pupils to understand that because something is on the internet, this does not guarantee its reliability. They should also be educated to understand the techniques which are used to manipulate information, and how historians attempt to ascertain the reliability of information, including 'peer review', 'communities of practice',

and an understanding of terms such as 'reverse searching', 'astroturfing', 'trolling', 'sockpuppetry' and 'blackhatting'. They also need to understand both the advantages and limitations of online encyclopaedias such as Wikipedia, and search engines such as Google.

The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) has identified the development of young people's ability to handle information intelligently and become intellectually autonomous as one of the most important functions of school history, the ability 'to use evidence critically and with integrity, and present differing views. Above all else, history needs to provide young people with the ability to make up their own minds' (Ofsted, 2006: Section 4.2.7). This has important implications for the health and vitality of our democracies. In the words of Norman Longworth (1981: 19):

> It does require some little imagination to realise what the consequences will be of not educating our children to sort out the differences between essential and non-essential information, raw fact, prejudice, half-truth and untruth, so that they know when they are being manipulated, by whom, and for what purpose.

The Council of Europe's recommendations on history teaching in the twenty-first-century Europe state that given 'the widespread use of information and communications technology by the young, both during their school and out-of-school lives', consideration of digital resources has become an essential part of historical education because:

> They necessitate in-depth consideration of the diversity and reliability of information, they allow teachers and pupils access to original sources and to multiple interpretations, spectacularly broaden access to historical information and facts, increase and facilitate opportunities for exchanges and for dialogue…and contribute to the development of students' critical faculties, ability to think for themselves, objectivity and resistance to being manipulated. (Council of Europe, 2001)

In terms of what it means 'to be good at ICT' as a history teacher, we would argue that it is not primarily about being expert in the use of interactive whiteboards, response technology, e-portfolio software, class sets of tablet computers, website or wiki creating software, or being able to use a wide range of Web 2.0 applications. It is more about being able to use new technologies and social media to improve learning outcomes in history, and being able to develop students' ability to handle information about the past from a range of sources, including those available via the internet, intelligently and discerningly. Investment in history teacher development and the content of pre-service training for history student teachers need to reflect these priorities.

It could be argued that the most important digital divide is between those who are able to make intelligent and 'worthwhile' use of new technology and social media,[15] and those who use it for harmful or meretricious purposes. A historical education, which encompasses an induction into the comparative reliability of different sources of information and into an understanding of the

differential status of knowledge (Stenhouse, 1975), could play a significant part in the development of discerning, responsible and critically aware citizens who are capable of handling information intelligently. For any healthy democracy, this is an essential asset for school leavers to possess.

Notes

1. Citing two other Conservative politicians and one (amateur) historian and right wing journalist, Conservative M.P. Bill Cash argued in the national press, 'Let's get it right, Germany started the First World War (Cash, 2014). For further detail on the debate in the UK about the causes of World War one, see Russel Tarr's collection of sources at www.magzinr.com/user/russeltarr/ib_ww1_causes
2. www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/jun/28/bnp-race-crime-laws-cps
3. www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/apr/24/katie-hopkins-cockroach-migrants-denounced-united-nations-human-rights-commissioner. A recent survey of UK children's views about immigration revealed that 60 % thought that 'asylum seekers and immigrants are stealing our jobs', with 35 % believing that 'Muslims are taking over our country—www.theguardian.com/education/2015/may/19/most-children-think-immigrants-are-stealing-jobs-schools-study-shows
4. A 2004 study (Haydn, 2004) found that the new technology development which history considered to be most useful was the facility to use moving image clips in lessons.
5. An example of history teachers using social media as a community of practice is the History Teachers' Discussion Forum (http://www.schoolhistory.co.uk/forum); at the time of writing, this had 18,449 posts relating to history examination issues, 26,317 posts on 'Requests, ideas and resources', and 9393 posts relating to the use of ICT in the history classroom.
6. See, for example, the '@thenhier' Twitter Group, ('Website linking historians, educators and public history professionals in the improvement of history education in Canada'), and Russel Tarr's group for history teachers, historians and history educators at www.activehistory.co.uk/historyteacherlist/
7. The collection can be accessed at www.magzinr.com/user/russeltarr/ib_ww1_causes
8. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:List_of_hoaxes_on_Wikipedia/Upper_Peninsula_War
9. www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJoQOQHQ8oA, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bias_in_reporting_on_North_Korea_by_Western_news_media
10. www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/feb/08/what-is-astroturfing

11. www.slate.com/features/2013/08/histomapwider.jpg
12. http://learnourhistory.com/The_Reagan_Revolution.html
13. To provide just one example of this; Keith Joseph's justification for the place of history on the school curriculum offers history teachers a really useful counter-argument to historian Sheila Lawlor's argument (1989) that pupils should not be taught about 'interpretations' in history as this would confuse them: www.uea.ac.uk/~m242/historypgce/purposes/purpose_declaring_position.htm
14. Where the historian, researcher, journalist, politician or writer cites supporting evidence but suppresses or omits evidence which does not support the argument or case they are trying to make.
15. The philosopher of education Richard Peters (1967: 27) defined education as 'induction into worthwhile activities'.

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CHAPTER 39

The Never-ending Story About Heritage and Museums: Four Discursive Models

Mikel Asensio and Elena Pol

The present chapter attempts to articulate an integrative perspective on heritage and its models of presentation, particularly on its relation to historical and cultural learning. First, recent developments surrounding heritage and its conceptualization will be analyzed, in addition to some fundamental issues. Second, the citizen as a producer, user, and decision-maker with regard to heritage will be focused upon. Third, heritage presentation spaces will be addressed, that is, in situ heritage, museums, and exhibitions. These presentation spaces are among the current privileged settings for coming into contact with historical knowledge. They are a fundamental tool for history education because they can be accessible to society as a whole and throughout the citizen's life. Heritage presentation spaces gain social relevance. From the economic perspective, they result in very substantial investments, and in many cases, they become the center for processes of urban and territorial distribution. However, they also constitute a field of ideological debate.

From Monumental Heritage to Patrimonial Process

For a variety of important reasons, it is not a simple task to define heritage and museums as historical spaces. In the first place, this is due to the entire scope of museums and heritage. The editor of one of the most influential recent manuals in the field of museology introduces his book with the following statement: 'The absence of a "canon" is paradoxically both a liberating fact and an imposing responsibility' (Carbonell, 2012: 1). Indeed, in this context, the canon

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represents diversity. However, this is a recent issue. In the not-too-distant past, we had a clear model of what a museum or heritage was. One hundred years ago, no one would have argued that the ideal of the museum was the *Ashmolean* in Oxford or the *National Museum of Denmark* (to mention but two examples). In this sense, if someone was asked to give an example of heritage, he or she could mention the Doric temple of *Segesta* in Sicily or the *Pyramid of the Moon* in the Aztec *Teotihuacan*. However, attempting to define museums and heritage is like facing a very complex reality that gathers many expressions from our current society. In general, it can be said that they only have two minimum basic conditions in common. One condition is referring to the past even though it is neither the focus nor the main purpose of its discourse. The second condition is that the reference must be directly or indirectly linked to heritage.

Second, the very definition of heritage is ambiguous. The classical and traditional perspective of heritage was identified with monuments and with uniqueness and value from an artistic or historical perspective. The concept was progressively extended to any object that was a purveyor of culture, which ended up losing even its tangible nature. For example, today, heritage is considered to be the gesture adopted when using a tool, as might be the use of a typical *laia* of the southern Atlantic coast. Thus, considering heritage as intangible (Beier-de Haan, 2006) has helped to include heritage contents hitherto excluded from heritage discourse and hence excluded from the possibility of being preserved and of creating narratives in the future (Roigé & Frigolé, 2010).

The huge advantage of this extension of the concept of heritage is that it allows the possibility of keeping outlooks on aspects of history that hitherto was not taken into consideration (Santacana & Llonch, 2015). That is the case of much of the knowledge associated with everyday life, the world of labor, and rites and beliefs. The challenge of accepting a wide openness of the heritage concept is that it enables including large amounts of heritage items, thus tremendously hindering their selection. However, this openness may also have drawbacks. Indeed, if there is no specific criterion, for example, to determine how many and which battlefields must be preserved among the vast number existing in Europe, this task becomes unsustainable. On the other hand, poor judgment *a fortiori* entails the application of random criteria that have nothing to do with the real significance of the heritage to be preserved for future generations.

Third, in the sphere of museums and heritage, there is a change not only in the manner in which heritage is considered but also in the manner in which it is studied. For example, if a painting by Pieter Brueghel, *De korenoogst* (1565), representing a country scene at harvest time, is displayed in an art museum, then it will be studied for its aesthetic characteristics and artistic technique. However, if it is exhibited in an anthropological museum, then it may generate studies on rural occupations, their tools, and agricultural programs. In the same vein, an astrolabe is very differently perceived, depending on whether it is part of the collections of a museum of history, a museum of decorative

arts, a maritime museum, or a museum of science and technology. In a specific heritage context, each piece in a given museum, and not in another, is studied with a different intention of providing knowledge and with distinct methods, seeking a specific social function.

In this sense, four major disciplinary trends may be identified in the study of collections and in reference disciplines in the museumization of heritage sites, namely, those related to art, science, anthropology and history, and archeology. The latter could be further divided into two, including immovable cultural heritage in archeology. Furthermore, some tendencies are more homogeneous than others. Most likely, the most uniform tendency is that related to art museums, in which the artistic and aesthetic interpretations of collections include the domains of history and sociology. On the other hand, science museums have two models: classic museums of 'natural history' and 'science centers'. Science museums generally provide exclusively scientific interpretations, but they often have a descriptive character of mere classification. However, the most recent science and technology museums, especially thematic museums, often include aspects of history, art, and anthropology. By contrast, archeological sites and history museums are often more interdisciplinary, with a greater influence of artistic contents and, to some extent, of anthropological contents (Leon & Rosenzweig, 1989).[1] For their part, history museums reflect a clear difference between those dedicated to prehistory and archeology[2] and museums of medieval and modern history. Finally, anthropological museums are very different from one another because they vary from classical ethnographic museums to the most intercultural museums, heavily influenced by information from other disciplines. These types of museums are analyzed in the second part of this article. Regardless, the growing tendency is to include views from different disciplines in the same heritage exhibition. However, it is also true that even today, there are very few multidisciplinary and even fewer interdisciplinary interpretations.

Patrimonialization is a process of the re-signification of an item or intangible manifestation that may be performed by experts, a heritage institution, or recipients of heritage. In 1998, a series of conferences was held at the Louvre Museum that scrutinized the objective character of the value of a work of art (Danto et al., 2000) and how it depended on factors and decisions sometimes as futile as its location in the museum, its communication support, contents, or successive historical interpretations (Davallon, 2010).

In the patrimonialization process, some social bias regarding what is considered to be heritage may occur. For example, in Spain, greater importance has traditionally been given to the Roman remains over other Visigoth, Arab, Moorish, or Iberian remains. This bias has in part contributed to a unified vision of a glorious past of the nation itself, which was identified with the Roman Empire, thus producing a false idea of territorial unity by an implicit analogy between the territory of Hispania as a Roman province and present-day Spain.

In the context of this chapter, the perspective of memorial sites (Nora, 1986) warrants special mention as a specific case of the patrimonialization process (Levin, 2007). This perspective, which appeared a few years ago, had the effect of guiding the museumization of heritage sites of periods and events relatively close in time. Much of the thinking that led to this perspective comes from the depletion of museums and heritage sites that attempted to spread awareness of genocides that were recently committed in different parts of the world. Museums dedicated to the annihilation of American Indian tribes in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century are an example of this tendency. The last official campaign against Indians goes back to 1905, but numerous violent altercations subsequently occurred (see the exhibition at the *National Museum of American Indians*) (Bates et al., 2009). Museums dedicated to the Holocaust (*Houston Holocaust Museum*) or the most recent attempts to document and museumize the last Balkan war (*Balkan Museum Network*) may also be mentioned.

It should be noted that the museumization of a heritage site is a bet on the future. It is the same for disciplines such as history (Lowenthal, 1985) and, naturally, historical education (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2012). Julie Higash (2015) describes it very well in her article, which she starts by stating that 'the way of depicting the past is usually determined by what you want to transmit to future generations' (p. 12). Today, the reason why thousands of testimonies are collected for the patrimonialization of September 11 is that we want it to be a significant event in the future. Our concept of heritage conditions the patrimonialization process: what becomes heritage, which direction, with which tangibly and intangibly associated culture, and whether certain evidence is collected. A background for this desire can also be found in the past. For example, when Trajan ordered the construction of his column after his victorious campaigns against the Dacians, he had no other aim than to leave his mark on the future, recalling his exploits and emphasizing aspects that were remarkable according to his own perspective.

Finally, within the general heritage panorama, society has not given the same value to all of its manifestations. Heritage was traditionally at the service of the political and economic authority and of dominant ideologies (Hofmann, 1999). The authority-selected heritage, which was amplified or lost, based on the service it provided in creating a generally elitist discourse of interest to some social groups or self-interested in orientation and often hidden in nationalist positions. For example, in many parts of Spain, and despite complaints,[3] symbols of Franco's fascist dictatorship remain in prominent places in certain public institutions on the ground that they are a heritage and historical relic. However, they are not exhibited in a museum or in a contextualized exhibition, where their meaning is explained. They remain in their original position, without interpretation, as part of the institutional image of the surrounding in which they are included.

Therefore, these manifestations, monuments, and collections, which were likely to support the authority's image, were patrimonialized due to their intrin-

sic value or their artistic or historical significance. That is, they were preserved and gradually enhanced. However, the remaining heritage fell into oblivion until its destruction, without regard for whether it was very important or so as not to re-signify certain periods, groups, or social events. For example, in countries such as France or Spain, a privileged group of tight-knit and exclusive museums and heritage sites related to the royal collections were formed over several centuries. Their aim was to keep the idea of one nation with a centralized power. Simultaneously, insufficient attention was given to the remains of the diversity of societies that inhabited these lands before the creation of the great nation-states. Only recently have tendencies appeared that give up homogenization with regard to heritage conservation and defend an inclusive multiculturalism (Pieterse, 2005).

Thus, all countries have developed national museums used as a central symbolic element of national identity (see the excellent edition by Knell et al., 2011). Indeed, these museums collect heritage, considering it to be the 'crown jewels' or fundamental monuments (Coombes, 2012). In other words, there are museums that attempt to convey national identity and museums that seek to have an influence on this construction in a partisan manner (all of this is related to the nationalization of history and its educational use: Berger & Conrad, 2014; Berger, Eriksonas, & Mycock, 2008; Berger & Lorenz, 2010).

However, this consideration of heritage also occurs beyond national boundaries (Macdonald, 2012), as observed in the development of criteria for granting world heritage sites by transnational organizations such as UNESCO,[4] which have followed criteria and a trajectory similar to that discussed here.

Three Categories of Reasons for Considering Heritage from the Citizen's Perspective

Let us change perspective. Let us consider not heritage itself but who produces it, that is, who potentially enjoys it and, ultimately, who eventually contributes to its preservation: the citizen. Generally speaking, it may be stated that three reasons were defined to consider heritage from this perspective.

The first relates to what was discussed above. Heritage generates identity, as shown by studies that explore the psychological construction of identities through symbolic resources of a historical nature (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012).

The second reason is related to heritage as a first-level tourism generator (MacDonald, 2005). We refer to cultural tourism, which historically began before sun and beach tourism and generated a much more sustainable and less invasive model of development. Furthermore, this type of tourism uses existing social structures and has a multi-purpose behavior according to which global network proposals such as attractors are more significant than certain individual attractors (Dumont, Asensio, & Mortari, 2010) and in which digi-

tal technology plays an important role (Ibáñez, Asensio, Vicent, & Cuenca-López, 2012).

Initially, the public of both trends is different (Eidelman, Roustan, & Goldstein, 2008). Heritage as an identity-shaper has an internal public, whereas heritage as the main attractor of cultural tourism has an external public (without forgetting that in many cases, there is also a significant flow of domestic tourism). The paradox is that each reinforces the other. Attractors of cultural tourism for external visitors end up becoming important reference points of identity for domestic visitors (Santacana & Llonch, 2008). An example close to us is the cultural tourist offer in the city of Mérida (the capital of Hispania in the first century), which, for years, has revolved around the classic Roman heritage. The city transformed its own history and heritage to a current identification with the Roman world that is embodied in a wide participation in events, actions, and cultural programs related to this culture.

The third reason for considering heritage from the citizens' perspective revolves around the following question: What does heritage have that is so appealing?

Robert K. Sutton (2015: 1), a historian and the head of the US National Park Service, raises the following question: 'Why do you think people should visit historic sites? You can get good history from books, but to visit, touch, feel, and experience the places where something happened is the best way to learn history'. Indeed, it has been stated for quite a few years that heritage experience is of important significance to visitors. Thus, regardless of the quality of heritage itself, heritage experience may be very positive or simply trivial or little lasting. However, as recurring visitor assessments show, if a person describes the visit as bad or very bad, then a major issue, typically associated with the quality of services, must have occurred, for example, harsh treatment by one of the managers, frustration over not obtaining some services, and so on. However, heritage experience is barely described in this manner, no matter how traditional or superficial it was. Even if it was unsatisfactory, the rating granted is typically at least 6 out of 10.

Therefore, it seems that heritage has a halo of credibility that helps the experience be positive. Several possible reasons may be considered. Heritage experience always has a positive dimension in itself because heritage has value, and therefore, contact with heritage is always a good thing. Second, heritage always triggers an interpretation of admiration or contemplation that is always possible to be developed. Third, the visit of a heritage site typically occurs in a climate of cultural leisure and is a break from everyday life, which also has intrinsic value. Furthermore, the fact remains that not everyone takes an interest in heritage; there is only a percentage of people that already has a predisposition to consider its value. Several assessments have actually highlighted that there are also negative aspects that lower heritage appraisal. One very clear aspect is the repetition of the offer, and another is the excessive creation of expectations that are not met during the visit.

Heritage is also highly regarded as a social institution of knowledge. American visitors consider museums to be one of the most important resources for education and one of the most reliable sources of objective information. They are even more reliable than textbooks, teachers, or family.[5] Museums uphold their reputation as respectable institutions, and what is collected there is presupposed to be of proven value. Moreover, in recent years, the museum experience has been enriched with numerous activities that help most people remember amazing and spectacular visits by creating a positive world of expectations (Azoulay, 1994).

Considered from the perspective of learning the sciences, heritage experience also has great cognitive power, given that it is a setting for learning and conceptual change (Illeris, 2012; Sawyer, 2014). For years, evidence has been provided that people, students, and families are able to change expectations and preconceived ideas, or even extend beyond formal learning programs, owing to its significance in life (Perret & Perret-Clermont, 2011) and its natural character (Asensio, 2015). The museum experience has been interpreted as a richer scenario for knowledge transmission because it typically has a tangible culture, with a contextualization that illustrates and provides new knowledge (Kavanagh, 1996).

Being aware of what visitors know and do not know about these subjects is essential when designing an exhibition to achieve the objective sought. For instance, one of the most worrying items of data reflected by visitors' assessments of Holocaust museums was that visitors who arrived and were already convinced of the existence and horrors of the genocide were even more convinced when the visit was over. However, the skeptics ended up even more skeptical (MacDonald, 2006). Once more, this double basic psychological mechanism, by which humans naturally tend to both verify and be resistant to the refutation of their own theories and attitudes about history or physics, was activated (Carretero, Castorina, & Levinas, 2013). The real issue was that many museums were designed more to have a visual impact than to change preconceived ideas and that they did not show appropriate experiences to change these ideas (Horwitz, 2012). The contents of these museums were impressive, but they were cognitively ineffective. In other words, they presented a great amount of data, but they had no impact on the visitors' preconceptions.

For example, the *Houston Holocaust Museum* opened its exhibition with the following question written on a map of forced labor and extermination camps in Europe from 1933 to 1945: Did you know that there were so many? It seeks an obvious answer to the question, which is already known in advance by the exhibition curator. The vast majority of visitors think that there were few camps. Thus, when they see so many on the map, visitors are expected to be impressed with the number. However, the exhibition curator did not consider that this high number is consistent with a wide variety of very different considerations. The aim is to convey awareness of the high extent of the extermination plan. However, the amount also explains that a huge number of people of many nationalities and diverse racial and social characteristics died (refuting

the fact that the fundamental objective was only to destroy the Semitic culture). Even that amount may be viewed as an argument according to which the phenomenon was oversized to promote Zionist interests when very different institutions are included on the map, for example, asylums and labor colonies (which would clearly be contradictory to the intention of the exhibition).

Therefore, the set-up can always produce multiple interpretations if the conceptual and attitudinal frameworks of the visitors interpreting them are not previously studied (Weil, 2002). Unfortunately, this issue is often neglected in most exhibitions. In many cases, the setting up of exhibitions to convey the horror of war are used to exalt it, as occurs with some museumizations of battlefields (e.g., the *Caen War Memorial, Center for History and Peace [Mémorial de Caen, Cité de l'histoire pour la paix]*), where many visitors look at images and war material of the D-Day invasion and the Normandy campaign. Children leave the exhibition and audiovisual presentations excited and shooting; military equipment is sold in the museum's store. Regardless, it seems that heritage experience, in either one or another direction, acquires great strength when shaping our historical thinking (Van Boxtel, Grever, & Klein, 2015).

What Is a Museum Discourse Model?

Any analysis of museum discourse and heritage should consider three aspects.

(A) The first aspect is the significance of heritage and its maintenance with particular reference to tangible culture but not forgetting that heritage has an intangible dimension.
(B) The second aspect is the type, characterization, and extent of the disciplinary discourse. To this must be added its adaptation to the recipient's historical understanding (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015), depending on the prior knowledge of the different types of public.
(C) The third aspect is a general museological conception that affects presentation formats, the spatial conception, and the type of museographical resources used in the exhibition, in addition to formats of revitalization, public and education programs supported by the exhibition, and, in general, its communication and management plan (Graham, Aushworth, & Tunbridge, 2005).

In short, the discourse of a museum or heritage site is the integrated set of these three aspects, creating the exhibition offer, which is itself a model of knowledge transfer. Therefore, a model is a functional perspective of the general museological position of the heritage intervention, characterized by orienting (A) the heritage maintenance, organization, and exhibition of collections and their intangible heritage; (B) the associated disciplinary and interdisciplinary knowledge, including its historical dimension; and (C) the museography and set-up, which have a decisive impact on its management and sustainability and which must necessarily take into account the use of communication and tech-

nology intermediaries, in addition to the reception of units and set of units by different types of public. A discourse model may represent a general museological position that decisively orients the transmitted message of an exhibition and that has an essential impact on institutional management.

A Proposal for Analyzing Museum Discourse Models

In general, one can identify several models of knowledge transfer that have evolved over time. The generally implicit nature of these models and their development are considered below. In the following, our view on this evolution was composed according to the three axes discussed and the four general models of the exhibition discourse. These models typically support and orient a certain method of presenting heritage and history in galleries or in open spaces. The four discourse models are as follows: (1) descriptive, (2) explanatory, (3) narrative, and (4) participatory.

It is important to highlight two significant aspects of this proposal. On one hand, it does not reflect the development of museums over time. In general, the descriptive model appeared earlier than others, but it is also true that today, there are museums created from this perspective. Thus, these models may coexist at the same moment in time. On the other hand, this view consists of general models rather than specific cases. That is, the purpose is to provide a view that helps understand the general characteristics of museums and heritage. Therefore, there may be specific cases that are not properly represented in the characteristics above.

Descriptive Models: From Exclusive Heritage to Selective Heritage

Generally speaking, the descriptive model is fundamentally based on the items it displays. These items, as part of a particular collection of tangible culture, orient heritage enhancement and are the basis for producing the main disciplinary reflection on heritage. Therefore, the discipline of reference, be it history, ethnology, art, or other sciences, is limited to the subject related to these items. The cycle of historical thinking is often too short, with very little contextual review and little explanation.

Descriptive discourse is characterized as the most traditional and classical discourse compared to the other three models. Originally, since the eighteenth century, heritage presentation was characterized by a focus on tangible culture and its characteristics. It also took into account its symbolic value, typically linked to its tangible value and often based on uniqueness and monumentality. Thus, great heritage was a monumental remainder of the past, as in the case of great palaces, temples, and urban sculptures, or remains of architectural and technological works. These types of tangible productions were collected in royal and aristocratic collections, leading to the first and main museums,

which represented the normative model for subsequent museums. In a sense, it can be stated that heritage and the monumental remains of the past were the same. Thus, museums also emerge as places of the accumulation of valuable and exotic items from the past and also from remote places as a result of colonial expeditions. Traditional museums are unique museums by and for the elite. Museums and the first heritage visits appear as an activity for the most powerful and influential groups, and they have kept that character for a long period of time. As is seen below, that character still has some validity today.

Much like the historiography of the time, traditional museums share an empiricist view of knowledge based on a cumulative and descriptive view that leads to classification typologies. As an example, we all have in mind the image of classic natural history museums with huge windows where the collections of malacology, insects, and invertebrates are systematically placed, accompanied by their labels in Latin. The descriptive model is based on an epistemological model according to which information is cumulatively acquired. Therefore, it attempts to transmit this information to the recipient according to the belief that the more information is offered, the more you know. It is a naive encyclopedic or culturalist model that, at best, gathers various types of information regarding the heritage resource, ordering the shape of the item itself in a comparative and relational manner.

In the descriptivist discourse model, two different emphases can be distinguished. There is what might be called the 'item-based model', on one hand, and the 'collection-based model', on the other hand. The main reason for the difference between these two models is a change in the museological and museographical field to include a greater diversification of formats and new technologies of mediation. In this regard, the official conception of heritage itself, according to the UNESCO guidelines for its recognition of world heritage, underwent a change. Thus, what was initially recognized as the heritage of humanity was a well-isolated resource, and subsequently, importance was given to 'Monumental Ensembles', 'World Heritage Cites', and 'Heritage Routes'. All these names imply sets of tangible culture, not only isolated resources, no matter how important they may be.

Today, many museums with this type of orientation can still be found. This model is common in art museums, but there are also art museums with other characteristics. For example, among the many possible ones, the *Denver Art Museum*, the *Peabody Essex Museum*, and the *York Art Gallery* can be mentioned. Each has a different style, but they all stand apart from the model discussed and have a strong participatory component.

The main issue of the item or collection-based model is the superficiality of its historiographical discourse and its minimal connection to visitors. Most exhibition criteria and many of the scarce communicative supports that are included in this type of exhibition often share a high level of encryption. Discourse is typically very specialized and typical of experts, so it is often rejected by most people who are interested in heritage but who lack specific training in the collections' content. Assessment data show that only between 1 and 5 % of visitors

to museums are familiar with the contents of the exhibition (Asensio, Pol, & Gomis, 2001).

In conclusion, this museum model does not show any connection to society but is conceived as having meaning in itself based on the conservation of collections and a naive and passive empiricist view of knowledge transfer.

Explanatory Models: From Interpretative Heritage to Comprehensive Heritage

In general, the explanatory model inverts the relationship between tangible culture and the discipline of reference established by the traditional descriptive model. Tangible culture now becomes dependent on the specific discipline because it offers a view of the culture to which items and collections refer. Value rests on the significance of the subject to be developed and equally relies on knowledge regarding this subject and on the pieces and collections exhibited (Herms & Blockley, 2006; Steg, van der Berg, & de Groot, 2013). On the other hand, museology is based on extensive historical themes that must be transmitted without neglecting any reflection on the items. Museography implies a profusion of communication and support resources. Generally, there is a wide revitalization of programs, especially of an educational nature (Cook, Reynolds, & Speight, 2010). Programs contribute to knowledge transfer, which is the ultimate goal of an explanatory exhibition. Collections and the knowledge of the disciplines equally contribute to achieving this goal. The central issue of the explanatory model is to properly solve the problem posed by this relationship.

A prime example of this model is the exhibition held a few years ago on the culture of 'Iberians', a group of villages often undervalued in history, most likely because of their contemporaneity with the Roman world that ended up militarily defeating and culturally assimilating them. However, Iberians were not a set of minor towns with a poorly developed culture. On the contrary, their great statuary reflects a high level of representational power and elaboration. Their bronzes show their military power, their cities a great social structure, their ceramics the stylization of everyday life, and their votive offerings the richness of their world of beliefs. A few years ago, several European museums agreed to hold a major exhibition on Iberians with the goal of changing our perception of this culture. The exhibition design and all of its contents were oriented to provide images and explanations of the huge dimension of the Iberian world and its relationship based on equality, with cultures of the Iberian peninsula of between 2000 and 3000 years ago. The aim of detecting a previous misconception or unsophisticated idea in society and trying to change it through heritage education (Fontal & Ibáñez, 2015; Jiménez-Pérez, Cuenca-López, & Ferreras, 2010) is a new approach. In fact, it is completely different from the endogamic enhancement of architectural heritage of the previous model (Asensio, 2013).

The explanatory model explicitly seeks to connect to the public. It is even referred to as the comprehensive museum, to the extent that it must be cognitively accessible to visitors. From this perspective, heritage and museums set in motion communication procedures with visitors to help convey these contents. Similarly, the sites of heritage presentation and the exhibition itself begin to be filled with communication resources in many different formats: texts and panels, audiovisual supports, hands-on 'interactive' supports. This is a process that is triggered by the development of so-called new technologies, first analogue technologies (virtual theaters, slideshows), then digital technologies (digital games, tactile tables, augmented reality or virtual reality) (Clark, 2011).

An important issue is whether the media or formats used in the exhibition's communication of these new contents are effective, that is, whether they reach their ultimate goal of achieving a conceptual change. The assessments performed on some specific heritage exhibitions and on heritage education (Ibáñez, Fontal, & Cuenca, 2015) show that these informal learning scenarios are often very effective in terms of acquiring new knowledge in general (Asenjo, Asensio, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Schauble et al., 1996), particularly in the area of history (Marcus, Stoodard, & Woodward, 2012; McRainey & Russick, 2010). However, there still is little information as to their capacity to produce deep conceptual changes that include complex and structured theories resulting in a real explanatory change (Ohlsson, 2011). For the moment, some results are optimistic (Crowley, Pierroux, & Knutson, 2014), whereas others are more disappointing and critical (Eshach, 2007; Rogoff, 2012; Ucko, 2010). However, the testimony of many people who have visited explanatory exhibitions and have acquired a substantial knowledge is good evidence (Comas-Quinn, Mardomingo, & Valentine, 2009; Klossteman, 2014; Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2012).

There may also be significant differences among museums that share the explanatory model. Indeed, it is easy to find examples of museums and spaces of heritage presentation that use the explanatory model as a hypertrophy of the descriptive model. That is, they overlap with the previous model's focus on the collection, with a more general explanatory discourse of a broader period or themes. This strategy often results in very comprehensive exhibitions that are stressful for visitors, given that they attempt to use vast amounts of information that are not always relevant or serve a communicative interest.

There have been many successful explanatory museums. We should first mention the *Smithsonian Institution* for its size and influence, which has continued to set standards for best practices in many fields of not only exhibition but also museology. Its exhibitions, which are of a high scientific level, with a socially correct and relevant museology, have been the basis for an explanatory museography that, in each technological period, has used all of the advances available to connect to visitors and convey all types of knowledge. For example, instead of isolating scientific instruments from the nineteenth century in a showcase, the Smithsonian uses Edison's instruments to explain the electrification of the cities and societies of the late nineteenth century. In the same vein,

it is interesting to observe the great success of the method of the National Archives, where each year, millions of visitors go and not only see the original documents but are also informed about the institutional development of the country.

Another example of a best practice is the *American Association for State and Local History*. Many museums that comprise this network explain the state history and local history of the United States, with a profusion of communication media and access to sources. Additionally, the views of not only European minorities but also natives are often included. Many of these institutions underpin the contribution of academics, scholars, associations, and institutions for the greater development of local stories.

In Europe, many museums following this model can be cited, but only three are highlighted here. The first is the *Haus der Geschichte*, the famous museum in Bonn featuring two parallel paths of federal Germany and democratic Germany from WWII to the fall of the Berlin Wall. This *House of History* combines items from that period with primary and secondary documents to create a tour that presents to visitors the dual values of the Cold War. On the other hand, *Crypta Balbi* explains like no other the development of a city of the classical world such as Rome, with its expansions and reductions of urban perimeters and its everyday life and culture, by using analogue tools such as drawings and models and by mixing collections with in situ remains in its discourse. *The Laténium, the Archeological Park and Museum of Neuchâtel* (Parc et Musée d'Achéologie de Neuchâtel), is a museum that includes digital technology tools and modern museography at the service of the reconstruction of a very technical and rigorous historical discourse, but it is well adapted to the needs of visitors.

Finally, the explanatory model also presents some drawbacks. On one hand, it lacks a complex and complete model regarding the manner in which the visitors' understanding works (Templeton, 2011). Indeed, studies on visitors are subsequent to the emergence of the interpretive model (Asensio et al., 2014). Furthermore, it lacks a method of transmitting scientific knowledge. Studies on visitors have advanced a great deal in building a model of the visitor (Daignault, 2011), but exhibitions rarely systematically incorporate it (Aidelman, Gottesdiener, & Le Marec, 2013). On the other hand, there has also been progress in assessing exhibitions by considering not only physical but also sensory and cognitive accessibility (Diamond, Luke, & Uttal, 2009; Falk & Dierking, 2013), although it is not typically taken into consideration in a consistent manner by the designers of the exhibition.

Narrative Models: From Communication Heritage to Immersive Heritage

In general, the narrative model uses a direct relationship between people through a basic mechanism, a conversational strategy that seeks a more effective and natural communication. It is no longer a question of telling what

happened; visitors directly witness what occurred, although they may be marginally part of it. The narrative model is based on a logic of narration that takes into account the subjects provided both by the disciplines of reference and by the tangible culture (Roberts, 1997). However, it builds a sustainable scenario as a communication tool, taking certain references from literature, theater, and cinema.

Value is linked to the significance of the overall context in which the subject and knowledge to be transmitted are developed and in which pieces, collections, and heritage are shown (Tsybulskaya & Camhi, 2009). Museology is also based on these three aspects to support the exhibition narrative. The museography employed is typically not explicit, at least in the perspective of the main scenes, and can have complementary spaces for interpretation or exhibition that often involve the same profusion of communication resources and support that were used in the explanatory model. However, these museum resources are often located in areas adjacent to the main scenes without being part of them. In the narrative model, public and educational programs are also used. They are typically developed in the same narrative environment; thus, it is difficult to separate them from the rest of the elements.

A prototypical example of the narrative model is the so-called '*living history*' environments that help visitors 'live as if' they were characters of that time, working in some simple activities but providing a subjective feeling of immersion (Anderson, 1991).

Fundamentally, the narrative model represents a return to transmission mechanisms based on cognitive analyses of the centrality of narration for the human mind (Bruner, 2003). On the other hand, it is also based on the idea that heritage is the product of a human group and that tangible culture is the result of individuals and societies. From this perspective, heritage recovers people. 'People are more important than objects' reads the theme statement of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) meeting in Melbourne in 1998. On that occasion, a representative of the Maori tribe went before the assembly and argued that when he went to museums presenting his culture, based on the Western cultural model, he saw objects but could not see their spirits. That is, members of his community and the voices of his culture were missing.[6]

This return to the embodiment of heritage is very important because it involves the explicit recognition that tangible culture is a means to a more fundamental end that goes beyond itself. In this sense, one must recall that both the narrative and explanatory models do not imply a loss of value of pieces and collections. Nor do they emphasize their preservation. This argument was sometimes used to hide a lack of deep reflection regarding heritage, its enhancement, and sustainability (Campolmi, 2015).

Moreover, the narrative model recovers the basic psychological mechanism of oral communication, that is, conversational mechanisms such as reiteration or several others that are used to provide the key information to the other person that this specific part is very important. However, in a written explanation, such as those that abound in the explanatory model, reiteration is often

avoided, and many mechanisms of emphasis are also lost when written in a much plainer text. When heritage activity monitors use the explanatory model, they can reintroduce these oral mechanisms, but they are undoubtedly influenced by the initial structure of the discourse and thus necessarily lose conversational value and the capacity for connection to recipients.

'Living History is an idea well known to lay historians and museums interpreters but seldom heard of in academia'. Thus, begins Anderson's famous volume on *Living History* (1991: 3). Initially, it was a practice rather than a reflection, interpretive in nature, to support the explanatory model discussed above. In its current and elaborate levels, it has gradually become a participatory movement, also generating its own resources and characteristic institutions.

Special mention must be made of dioramas for their historical significance. They have become widespread since the 1930s and 1940s because of their effectiveness and remain very attractive and comprehensive for many visitors. Dioramas consist of the scenographic contextualization of originals. In other words, originals are integrated into a 'scene' in which parts of the elements are recreated by using plastic techniques while maintaining the rigor of heritage. The selected scene typically relates a prototypical action. For example, one can cite those reflected in the *Vicksburg National Military Park* on the famous battle of the Civil War or the famous diorama at the *National Museum of American History* on the Vietnam War.[7] Dioramas and scenographies have been and still are very important in history museums (Sherman & Rogoff, 1994). Anyone visiting European Viking museums, for example, will find exhibitions (Moesgaard, Oslo) in which a wide range of scenes are displayed, providing a representation that will be impossible to forget every time visitors' knowledge about the great culture of early medieval northern Europe is activated. Several studies have shown that dioramas still retain great attractiveness for visitors, especially for those who are less experienced, and are still more 'interactive' than many digital proposals (Bitgood, 2011).

The narrative model has evolved, from more contemplative proposals, such as classic dioramas, to proposals for more immersive and participatory recreation, such as *living history* proposals and proposals of the 'natural' contextualization of contents, for example, so-called 'ecomuseums' or 'open air museums'. The narrative model has greatly defended intangible heritage because, in narrative proposals, intangible aspects play a key role in the script of the story. However, tangible culture also plays a fundamental role in the narrative model, as in the case of institutions such as *Colonial Williamsburg* or *Mystic Seaport*, where, for many years, they have insisted on the fact that the enhancement of heritage collections and the rigor of recreations and reproductions are a central aspect in the experience assessment by visitors (Klingler & Graft, 2012). *Living History* represents a useful alternative when tangible heritage is scarce, helping to highlight it far beyond what descriptive and explanatory models would have succeeded in doing. The Danish park of the Iron Age of Lejre is a good example of such an achievement.

As noted above, a central aspect of the narrative model is communication through people and their training is therefore crucial. A very common mistake is to think that people who participate in a living history park are actors and therefore develop a role with stagecraft. On the contrary, people involved in a *living history* have a basis on which they improvise contents, depending on the visitors' involvement and interest. Their action is not a fixed performance, but it varies in each case and adapts to the demand of participants. Hence, they are often called 'interpreters' instead of 'actors'. On the other hand, the descriptive model may have 'guides', the explanatory model has 'monitors', and the participatory model has 'intermediaries', each emphasizing different functions.

Among the successful *living history* museums, the point of reference is undoubtedly *Colonial Williamsburg*. On the other hand, the *Mystic Seaport* best knows how to combine the rigor of maritime heritage with the cultural context in a complex web of cultural, educational, and touristic interests.[8] Museums that are not *living history* but have a strong narrative component may consist of many of the so-called house museums (which do not fall into the descriptive model). A classic example of a classical style may be the *Margaret Mitchell House and Museum* in Atlanta; whereas an example with a more recent approach in many ways may be the *Tenement Museum* in New York.

An interesting case is that of *Shakespeare's Globe*, a project to recreate an English theater from the early seventeenth century, which began as a cultural tourism project but has led to the enhancement of the immediate site of the *Rose Playhouse*, allowing its heritage regeneration. At the *Globe*, classic plays are performed, many guided themed tours are also developed, and the performing actors explain and tell all types of stories in the museum's annex.

In Europe, *living history* parks developed late, and indeed, they are still less relevant than in the United States. The cases of the *Lejre Museum* and *Roskilde Museum* are well-known; these are two areas of the continuously interesting Danish museology that have spent many years restoring heritage from the Iron Age and the Viking Age, respectively, by using *living history*, among other techniques, which are permanent in case of the first and restricted to programs in case of the second.

Compared with all of the others, the narrative model learns to live with technology (Hwang & Tsai, 2011; Tallon, 2012). For example, technology has brought great dynamism not only to classic dioramas (an excellent example is the *Pequot Museum*) but also in ecomuseums or archeological parks or in *living history* parks by providing a significant complement with mobile devices (Ibáñez-Etxeberria, Vicent, Asensio, Cuenca, & Fontal, 2014).

Participatory Models: From Community Heritage to Social Heritage

Generally speaking, the participatory model is mainly interested in enhancing a greater visitor involvement and higher levels of reflection about the museum message (Heath & Lehn, 2010). It is inspired by the idea that the creation

of knowledge, in its different forms is a socio-cultural process in which the number of actors involved necessarily increases. It is determined by a notion of knowledge distributed within a broad notion of 'system' (Chesbrough, 2006), with different participation processes (Gherab, 2012) seeking collective construction (Kelly, 2004).

The participatory model emphasizes the museum-society connection, the social role of museums, and the conviction that tangible culture will be preserved to the extent that each society is able to re-signify heritage in accordance with its own purposes (Frisch, 1997). Tangible culture and intangible culture become dependent on a much more complex patrimonialization process than in previous models. On the other hand, this model also aims at giving heritage significant social functions for reflection, in addition to a proper and external identification of the different groups and societies (Sabaté & Gort, 2012). Enhancement focuses on the social significance of a tangible culture, its themes, and figures (Chittenden, Farmelo, & Lewenstein, 2004).

In this model, the characteristic feature of museology involves a broad reflection that, from the beginning of the planning, covers phases of social participation at various levels and at various stages of the project design, its development, and its subsequent management. Participatory museums have a very different perception of visitors: '*Over time, museum audiences are likely to expect to be part of the narrative an experience at museums*' (Chung, Wilkening, & Johnstone, 2009: 43). An important issue in this type of model is the dialogue among the different narratives: among the narrative of the curator, the narratives provided by users, and a probable negotiated common narrative, not necessarily unique or unitary, created in cooperation with visitors. An interesting possibility is that these narratives may coexist to reach a discourse with multiple voices that may certainly be difficult to represent. In this sense, the underlying museological conceptions necessarily imply settings that involve the participation of different groups of visitors. Indeed, this model refers to participants more than visitors. In analogue museography methods exist for promoting participation, but digital technologies have greatly facilitated the possible interaction of all types of participants, both real and virtual (Tippelt, 2011). Typically, these spaces of heritage presentation use a profusion of communication resources. The expansion of the social functions of heritage institutions also implies maintaining the diversification of public and educational programs. Participatory museums have the ultimate goal of social dialogue, with tolerance as a method, pluralism and difference as a value, and competence and creativity as an instrument (Laishun, 2010).

Clearly, new digital formats play a key role in having enabled and empowered these conceptions (Horton, 2012). The basic starting point would not only give visitors the freedom to contribute and obtain knowledge or not, but also harmonize how participation is undertaken so that it is aware of the final products, with a proactive positioning and scope of the collective contribution. It is essential to take care of the visitors' digital channels contribution so that it is performed through attractive, simple methods adapted to different levels of

users, without entailing a barrier that limits access to only a group of initiates. The new formats are not as focused as were the initial formats on providing access to information (level 1.0), but they facilitate communication between users (level 2.0), and the joint construction of shared knowledge (level 3.0) (Asensio & Asenjo, 2011).[9]

One of the first primary functions of museums with social sensitivity is to create a community (Vagnone & Ryan, 2015) and identity (Crane, 2012; Lubar, 1997), that is, to provide a basis for organizing events and programs around heritage. Doing so means revitalizing cultural life, enhancing certain types of heritage that had hitherto not been sufficiently recognized, for example in the so-called museums of identity and mentality at the time (Asensio, 2012). Another key function of the participatory discourse is to gather testimonies for the creation of exhibitions to honor the memory of recent historical events (Davison, 2005; Kyvig & Marty, 2000).

Participatory models also lead to the development of social and community programs through participation into proposals initially more or less linked to equity (Archivald, 1999). The concept of the social museum,[10] which is very close to the participatory museum, is too vast and recent to assess its extent (Alcaide, Boya, & Roigé, 2010; MECD, 2015). However, it is true that although it still does not produce a particular type of complete and differentiated museological proposal, it does actually influence the ways of considering museums with a new sensitivity (Scheiner, 2010). The model of participatory museums has been more present in anthropology and history museums, but it is also present in all subjects (Bedford, 2014), science, archeology, or art (Campolmi, 2015).

Among the most successful museums of this model are some museums that, clearly, are pioneers in enhancing the relationship with the community and the participation of visitors, in addition to memory and the creation of different and even complementary discourses. In the United States, the *Civil Rights Museum* in Birmingham, Alabama, stands out because it is a center with a truly impressive discourse and an emotionally immersive exhibition, with multiple resources that reflect participants' emotions, memories, and thoughts. In a similar vein, the exhibitions of the *Brooklyn Historical Society* have focused on fostering the community and emphasizing the visitors' demands as a cultural claim. Similar experiences are those of the *Bronx Museum* and the *Museo del Barrio*. Migration museums in general can be mentioned, such as the *Immigration Museum* in Melbourne, *the Immigration Museum (Museo de la Inmigración)* in Buenos Aires, and the *German Immigration Center* in Germany. However, some of them, such as the Ellis Island museum, employ a more explanatory model and involve less participation than those mentioned here.

In Europe, we may start with the *National Museums Liverpool*, a network of seven museums that has managed to go beyond superficial participation (2.0) to generate experiences of a real local involvement in the urban territorial regeneration. In the peninsular part of the Basque Country, the *Bakearen Museoa* is based on the memory of the massacre at Gernika planned by the

fascist Spanish government and executed by the German and Italian air forces in 1937. This museum is an international example of peace work, focused on involvement and the generation of social projects. Among the recent memorial sites, the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Miejsce Pamięci i Muzeum* (Poland) and the *Center for Memory of Oradour sur Glane (Centre de la Mémoire d'Oradour sur Glane)* (France) can be mentioned.

Epilogue: Is Too Much Being Asked of Heritage?

The level of heritage demand most likely goes hand-in-hand with the cultural development level of a society. Visitors become more demanding with heritage presentation spaces and their discourses, asking for monumentality and precious value as well as entertainment, efficient communication, and sustainability. We do not believe it is inappropriate to increase the level of demand, but we do believe it is important to realize that this makes future efforts more complicated than what has been done until now.

A similar situation occurs with the development of the traditional museology, that is the basis of the descriptive model, to the new museology or critical museology, that has progressively inspired new explanatory, narrative, and discursive participatory models. We are well aware of the old museology and its descriptive discourse model. It was and is a coherent model. Many museums keep on operating on the basis of this model and are recognized by the society that enjoys and supports them. On the other hand, new or critical museology has been used to review and suggest new models that have managed to create new solutions (Gurian, 2006; Santacana & Hernández, 2006; Simon, 2010). However, it is true that there has not always been a unanimous opinion on these proposals, without a sufficiently extended explicit agreement among professionals. Museology (without a qualifier), understood as a global view of heritage, has evolved into a more complex model in which the functions of museums and heritage sites become diversified. It has not lost sight of the traditional functions of preserving and enhancing the tangible culture, but they give greater significance to the intangible. It has maintained the rigor of the discipline and also an interdisciplinary view on knowledge construction, with a necessary adaptation to its users and a real cultural, educational, social, community-oriented, and touristic function, in which economic sustainability is critical to its very survival.

This requirement and this awareness are essential because heritage has always been used by the powers that be to influence social attitudes. On the contrary, a more inclusive view of heritage may be required, where various interpretations are possible and difference predominates as a value (Acuff & Evans, 2014). Of the four models reviewed in this study, the participatory model may be closest to meeting this need. This model would be more responsive to memory without discriminations and would be more respectful toward different interpretations. It is, in other words, an inclusive model in which we all view ourselves and that we all consider essential to preserve.

In conclusion, heritage *in situ* or in museums is a privileged arena for being in contact with knowledge and with one's history in an active and thoughtful manner. Heritage presentation spaces are reliable and attractive to citizens, and they are a powerful tool for developing knowledge, values, and identities. The panorama of heritage has been enriched by elaborate proposals through the re-signification of its own culture. Heritage has become the agora of history.

Notes

1. This book contains an interesting reflection despite the elapsed time, especially in the chapter by G. Kulik, pp. 2–37.
2. Museums of paleontology are more similar to museums of natural science.
3. See www.eldiario.es/andalucia/sevilla/escudo-franquista-Arenal_0_429057438.html
4. See http://en.unesco.org/
5. See the study by the American Alliance of Museums, quoted in the 'Museum Facts' section on its website: www.aam-us.org/about-museums/museum-facts
6. 'Voices' was the title of an exhibition with this spirit in the Forum of Cultures (Foro de la Cultura), Barcelona, 2002. See www.monakim-projects.com/projects/voices#slide-21 and www.fundacioforum.org/eng/download/eng/b04.pdf
7. A curious museum, which is now under renovation, mounted around a huge diorama, is the so-called *Atlanta Cyclorama*, which is based on an immense historical canvas (11 meters high by 117 meters long), that represents the Battle of Atlanta in 1864.
8. It must not be forgotten that *living history* parks have a very important tourist dimension and that they often become attractors for an entire territory, with a high economic impact that cannot be assessed in an isolated manner but only as a whole for the tourist destination (Smith, Waterton, & Watson, 2012).
9. These three levels, that is, 1.0 information, 2.0 communication, and 3.0 interaction, with their differentiated final products, are also linked to the four types of discourse. Indeed, 1.0 may be correlated with the descriptive and explanatory models (focusing on information), 2.0 with the narrative model (focusing on communication), and 3.0 with the participatory model (focusing on the collaborative interaction and generation of productions of memory).
10. This is an old label in the Latin American context, especially the Argentine context. It has recently been used in the English-speaking world and in several European countries, linked to the approaches of participatory museums and to social sensitivity.

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