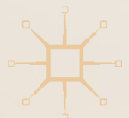
INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHING RIVAL HISTORIES

Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars

Edited by Henrik Åström Elmersjö . Anna Clark . Monika Vinterek



International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories

Henrik Åström Elmersjö • Anna Clark • Monika Vinterek
Editors

International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories

Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Henrik Åström Elmersjö
Umeå University
Umeå, Sweden

Anna Clark
University of Technology Sydney
Sydney, NSW, Australia

Monika Vinterek
Dalarna University
Falun, Sweden

ISBN 978-1-137-55431-4 ISBN 978-1-137-55432-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017935965

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image © Maarten Wouters, DigitalVision / Getty

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Foreword

This book was first conceived during a short Swedish spring in 2013, while I was enjoying a sabbatical at Umeå University. I had been sharing an office with fellow Australian, and Visiting Professor, Anna Clark, whose work on the History Wars in Australia is internationally renowned. I had also just completed editing "History Curriculum, Geschichtsdidaktik, and the Problem of the Nation," a special issue of *Education Sciences* with Professor Monika Vinterek. During this sojourn with the History and Education Research Group in the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Umeå University, I had the opportunity to meet Professor Sirkka Ahonen, who was in town to be part of the examination committee at Henrik Åström Elmersjö's doctoral defense. I enjoyed meeting Sirkka very much, as her work on multiperspectivity and the teaching of history in nations with contested pasts was something we had mutual interest in. Henrik's doctoral work on the Nordic textbook revision, where neighboring Nordic nations were seeking agreement on representations of their shared pasts, seemed to be addressing the same kind of problem. *What can teachers do when there are conflicting narratives of the same past in circulation?* It seemed obvious that this momentary confluence of scholars concerned with history education in the context of contested narratives should not be ignored and that some sort of edited volume exploring the issues around the teaching of contested pasts was in order.

Educators have long been aware of the role that schools, and specific school subjects, play in nation-building, including the ways in which national consciousness is perceived to be shaped within the classroom. Inherently political, histories are frequently studied and taught in national

categories; and history as a school subject is regularly an area of public debate, government disquiet, and a site of struggle over collective memory and cultural literacy. Because a nation's history is always open to interpretation, many nations have, in recent times, been forced to rethink their past amidst competing interpretations, rival narratives, and revisionist histories. The emergence and recognition of counter-memories from indigenous, ethnic, and national minorities, and sometimes regional neighbors, have interrupted the incontestability of the nation-building project, and debates over the national narrative have frequently led to very public skirmishes over what history is being taught in schools. In some nation-states, these debates have become so intense that they have been described as "history" and "culture wars."

With an idea about a possible edited collection developing, I began exploring the literature and found that the texts that thematize the history or culture wars often explore their impact upon the curriculum but tend to treat their subject matter from a national, historical, and/or political point of view, rather than a pedagogical one. There were a couple of notable exceptions. The late Roger Simon's (2005) *The Touch of the Past: Remembrance, Learning, and Ethics* is an important book that explores competing historical narratives in the classroom and argues the case for developing a critical pedagogy of remembrance learning. Sirkka Ahonen's (2012) *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History* is an excellent monograph that again addresses the problem of history teaching amidst contested narratives, with a specific focus on South Africa, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Finland. I had also concerned myself with the problem of teaching rival historical narratives in my book, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after 'the End of History'* (Parkes, 2011), though the principal framing of that book was about history and history education after the encounter with postmodernism and thus the problem of rival histories appears as one among many issues for the postmodern history educator. It did, however, allow me to articulate the idea of the "historiographic gaze" which has been picked up by colleagues facing similar issues in different parts of the world and is taken up by Swedish colleagues in this volume. As a concept, the historiographic gaze suggests that historians have a job of historicizing all the way down, of turning their historical gaze upon themselves, and recognizing that the narratives about the past they generate are themselves historical. This approach aims toward what might be called a "critical pluralist" position, in which the inevitability of multiple historical narratives

is recognized, but where the right to approach them all with a critical eye is reserved, particularly examining the processes by which they were produced. Thus, I would argue that history teaching is about helping students understand their own perspective and the perspective of the other; what gives these perspectives purchase; and how have they developed. This seems to me to be the ethical purpose of history education.

Unfortunately, while I was able to participate in the recruitment of some of the authors for this volume, my circumstances shifted during the book's production, when I took up the role of Deputy Head of School, in the School of Education, at the University of Newcastle. Between a dozen research higher degree students, two journal editorships, and a demanding administrative role, something had to give, and for me it was my part on the editorial team of this volume. I am very thankful that Henrik agreed to take on the role of lead editor and that Anna and Monika were able to support him in that task. While there are many books published on the topic of the history and culture wars, there has been relatively less attention to how teachers might respond to the problem of teaching rival narratives or competing histories. Concerns seem to have stalled at the question of *whose history is being taught*? and have only rarely moved on to the question of *how do/could teachers engage with rival histories*? This edited volume was conceived as a response to the second question and was proposed as an intervention into the repetitive debate of the history and culture wars. It brings together scholars from different parts of the world who have given exclusive and sustained attention to the problem of pedagogical responses to the history and culture wars, and I hope it will make a significant contribution in this regard.

Robert J. Parkes
University of Newcastle
Callaghan, NSW, Australia

Contents

1 **Introduction: Epistemology of Rival Histories** 1
Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek

Part I Historical Cultures and National Histories 15

2 **An Early Attempt to Approach Rival Histories: Epistemological Impediments to Transnational History Teaching—A Scandinavian Example** 17
Henrik Åström Elmersjö

3 **The Lure of Grand Narratives: A Dilemma for History Teachers** 41
Sirkka Ahonen

4 **Bridging History Education and the Diversity of Historical Cultures** 63
Arja Virta

Part II Official Histories in Multicultural Societies 85

5 **Text and Contexts: Pedagogical Practices for a History Textbook Lesson on the 1947 British India Partition** 87
Meenakshi Chhabra

6 **Teaching History for Narrative Space and Vitality: Historical Consciousness, Templates, and English-Speaking Quebec** 107
Paul Zanazanian

7 **Mediating Collective Memories and Official Histories in Conflict-Affected Societies: Pedagogical Responses to "Individual" Narratives and Competing Collective Memories** 133
Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas

Part III Critical Thinking and Multiperspectivity 155

8 **How to Make School History More Controversial? Controversies in History Education in Poland** 157
Joanna Wojdon

9 **Teaching About the First World War in England: Exploring Controversy and Competing Historical Interpretations** 181
Stuart Foster

10 **Promoting a Historiographic Gaze through Multiperspectivity in History Teaching** 207
Thomas Nygren, Monika Vinterek, Robert Thorp, and Margaret Taylor

11 After the Ideological Battles: Student Views on Sources Representing the Gallipoli Conflict 229
Heather Sharp

Part IV Epilogue 251

12 Teaching Rival Histories: In Search of Narrative Plausibility 253
Peter Seixas

Selected Bibliography 269

Index 289

Notes on Contributors

Sirkka Ahonen is Professor Emerita of History and Social Sciences Education at the Department of Teacher Education, University of Helsinki, Finland. Her research interests include the form of historical knowledge in education, the construction of historical identity among the young people, and the problems of history education in transitional and post-conflict countries. Moreover, she has conducted research into school politics and education for civic society. She has participated in Nordic and European research projects on school politics and history didactics. She has published, as examples of work relevant to this book, the monographs *Clio Sans Uniform: A Study of the Post-Marxist Transformation of the History Curricula in East Germany and Estonia, 1986–1991* (1992) and *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History* (2012).

Zvi Bekerman teaches anthropology of education at the School of Education and The Melton Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a faculty member with the Mandel Leadership Institute. His interests lie in human learning processes, their development, and practice, both in formal/informal and real/virtual environments, processes which, from the socio-historical perspectives within which he has been raised, comprise a large portion of human activity. More specifically he studies cultural, ethnic, and national identity, including identity processes and negotiation during intercultural encounters and in formal/informal learning contexts. He is further interested in how concepts such as culture and identity intersect with issues of social justice, intercultural and peace education, and citizenship education. He has published numerous papers in these fields of study and is the founding editor of the refereed journal *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education: An International Journal* (2007). His recent books include *The Promise of Integrated Multicultural and Bilingual Education* (2016).

Meenakshi Chhabra is an associate professor in the Department of Global Interdisciplinary Studies in the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences at Lesley University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. She is a Fulbright Specialist in the field of Peace and Conflict studies and has also been a Fulbright Senior scholar. Dr Chhabra integrates scholarship and practice in community with her work in peace education in conflict contexts. She has conducted research and workshops with youth and educators from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Israel, and Palestine. Her recent research focuses on history education related to events of collective violence and its implications for peace education in contexts of conflict and post-conflict societies.

Anna Clark holds an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship and is Co-Director of the Australian Centre for Public History at the University of Technology, Sydney. She has written extensively on history education, historiography, and historical consciousness, including *Teaching the Nation: Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History* (2006), *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (2008), *Private Lives, Public History* (2016), the *History Wars* (2003) with Stuart Macintyre, as well as two history books for children, *Convicted!* and *Explored!* Reflecting her love of fish and fishing, she has also recently finished a history of fishing in Australia, which will be published later this year.

Henrik Åström Elmersjö is a researcher at the Department of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies, Umeå University, Sweden. Elmersjö holds a PhD in History and Education (2013), and researches issues regarding educational history as well as historical culture and history education. Elmersjö has published on issues regarding revision of history textbooks, peace education, historical cultures, and internationalization of history teaching, as well as on the organizational history of governmental authorization of school textbooks. He teaches both educational history and history didactics to undergraduate as well as postgraduate students. He is also on the editorial team of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History.*

Stuart Foster is Professor of History in Education at University College London (UCL), where he is Executive Director of both the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education and the First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme. His research interests include the teaching, learning and assessment of history, Holocaust education, and the study of school history textbooks, nationally and internationally. He has written more than 50 scholarly articles and book chapters focused on teaching and learning history, and he has authored 6 books. His most recent publication was the landmark national study: *What Do Students Know and Understand About the* Holocaust? (2016).He is the series editor of the *International Review of History Education*, one of the leading journals in the field of history education. Foster has been an influential figure in history education at UCL's

Institute of Education since 2001. He has served as an MA course leader, tutored on the Initial Teacher Education program, and supervised doctoral candidates from across the world. From 1996 to 2001, he was a tenured associate professor at the University of Georgia.

Thomas Nygren is Associate Professor of History and Education at the Department of Education, Uppsala University. He has a long-term background as a high school teacher and as a researcher in history education. As a researcher in history and education, he is associated with Stanford Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis (CESTA) and the Stanford History and Education Group (SHEG) conducting research funded by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg foundation. Research presented in this book was primarily conducted when he was employed by Dalarna University and participated as a Swedish coordinator and researcher in the EU-funded research program EHISTO, directed by Professor Susanne Popp. Nygren's research interests focus on international understanding, history education, the digital impact on education, historiography, critical thinking, and human rights education. His previous research, conducted also at Umeå University and Stanford University, has been published in books and journals of history, education, and digital humanities.

Peter Seixas is a professor emeritus in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia (UBC). He taught in high schools in Vancouver for 15 years and holds a PhD in History from the University of California at Los Angeles. He is an editor of *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (2004), co-editor with Peter Stearns and Sam Wineburg of *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (2000), co-author with Tom Morton of *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (2013), and co-editor with Kadriye Ercikan of *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking* (2015). He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and held the Canada Research Chair in Historical Consciousness at UBC. He was the director of *The Historical Thinking Project* (2006–2014), which worked successfully to infuse historical thinking into provincial curricula, professional development, classroom materials, and assessments across Canada. He retired from UBC in June 2016 but continues to write.

Heather Sharp is Lecturer in Education at the University of Newcastle, Australia. She is also First Year Support Convenor, History Network for Teachers and Researchers (HNTR) Convenor, and a Special Issues Editor of *Historical Encounters*. Her current research investigates historical representations (including historical conflict trauma) in school curriculum, particularly textbooks, and also examines the written and visual texts in picture books that deal with conflict. Dr Sharp's research has included analysis of the representations of Indigenous Australians and British heritages in history textbooks and, more recently, the exploration of competing representations of the First World War in history

textbooks, children's books, and other curriculum materials. She has taught and coordinated education courses in the areas of transformative pedagogies, philosophies of education, history curriculum and pedagogies, literacies, education as a professional career, assessment, and professional experience, and has led history-based study tours for tertiary students.

Margaret Taylor is a lead practitioner in history, teacher in-charge of history and sixth-form mentor at Hellesdon High School in Norwich, UK. Her current teaching and research interests include practical strategies for teaching for independence across departmental subjects, spatial-visual thinking and learning, and the use of academic language to support analytical thinking. She also contributes to the University of East Anglia's History PGCE (Post-Graduate Certificate in Education) History seminar program for trainee teachers. She holds a PhD in History from Queen Mary, University of London after attaining a Master's Degree in Literary History and Cultural Discourse from the University of Sussex.

Robert Thorp is a lecturer at Dalarna University in Falun, Sweden, where he teaches history and pedagogy to teacher students. He has also been a research fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Thorp has mainly done research on textbooks, popular history magazines, history teachers' understanding of history, and history didactical theory. He recently published his doctoral thesis *Uses of History in History Education*.

Monika Vinterek is Professor of Educational Work at Dalarna University, Sweden, where she is Director of Education and Learning which is a research environment of about 40 researchers and more than 20 PhD students. Her main research interests are general questions of teaching and learning and also specifically on teaching and learning of history. She has been involved in several international research projects, for example: European history crossroads as pathways to intercultural and media education, Comparing Our Pasts International Pilot Project, popular history magazines, and history textbooks and teaching aids from a user perspective. Vinterek is often appointed by The Swedish Schools Inspectorate and The Swedish National Agency for Education as an expert on educational issues. She has also been engaged by the Swedish government on educational matters.

Arja Virta is Professor of History and Social Science Education in the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Turku, Finland. She started her research career in history, studying Finnish overseas migration, but has since the 1980s focused on history and social science education, assessment, and teacher education, especially questions concerning learning in history and social sciences. Her current research interests include linguistic challenges and multiple literacies from the point of view of history and social studies, as well as the challenges of cultural

diversity for history education. Virta has a long experience of educating history and social studies teachers, as well as primary school teachers. She has also been the Head of the Department of Teacher Education and Vice-Dean, responsible for education, in the Faculty of Education, at the University of Turku. She has been active in the International Society for History Didactics as its Vice-President and a Board member, 2010–2015.

Joanna Wojdon is an associate professor at the Department of Methodology of Teaching History and Civic Education, Institute of History, University of Wrocław, Poland. She is also a Fulbright alumna, a board member of the International Society for History Didactics, and managing editor of its yearbook *International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and History Culture*. She also specializes in the post-Second World War history of Poland and of the Polish Americans and co-authored the first history e-textbook in Poland.

Paul Zanazanian is an assistant professor in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University, in Montreal, Canada. He is greatly captivated by better grasping the workings of historical consciousness in social actors' means of knowing and acting when constructing social reality for the purposes of living life. His research expertise centers on explorations of the workings of historical consciousness in the development of ethno-cultural, civic, and national identities, with a particular focus on the dynamics of such processes in both formal and informal school settings. Dr Zanazanian has also contributed to an understanding of the ways in which educational practitioners use their historical consciousness for developing a sense of professional identity and agency. He has particular interest in the politics of history teaching; official historical narratives and issues of inclusion and exclusion; and specialized expertise in problems of history, community vitality, and identity in complex communities, such as English-speaking Quebec as well as in narrative analysis.

Michalinos Zembylas is Associate Professor of Educational Theory and Curriculum Studies at the Open University of Cyprus. He is also a visiting professor and research fellow at the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice, University of the Free State, South Africa. He has written extensively on emotion and affect in relation to social justice pedagogies, intercultural and peace education, human rights education, and citizenship education. Recent books include *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict: Re-claiming Healing in Education* (2015), *Methodological Advances in Research on Emotion and Education* (with P. Schutz; Springer, 2016), *and Peace Education in a Conflict-Troubled Society* (with C. Charalambous and P. Charalambous; 2016).

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1 Fields of making history 44

List of Tables

Table 10.1 Categories of students' responses answering question 3 "What started World War One?" 213

Table 10.2 Categories of students' responses answering the question "Please describe different perspectives on what caused World War One?" 216

Table 10.3 Categories of students' responses answering question 3 "What can you learn from popular history magazines?" 219

Table 10.4 Students' responses by categories in post-test question 2 "Please describe different perspectives on what caused World War One?" versus categories in post-test question 3 "What can you learn from popular history magazines?" 221

Table 12.1 Narrative plausibility and the Canadian historical thinking model 263

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Epistemology of Rival Histories

Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek

The problem of rival narratives is a recurring topic in publications on history education. Some focus on post-conflict reconciliation in a broader sense, where history education is one part of a complicated and intractable equation.[1] Some explore how history is made out to reconstruct the nation and—in a sense—resist globalization.[2] Others, meanwhile, hone in on the classroom in particular and what history is being taught or is supposed to be taught given the curriculum or the textbooks.[3] These studies

H.Å. Elmersjö (✉)
Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden

A. Clark
University of Technology Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia

M. Vinterek
Dalarna University, Falun, Sweden

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_1

have mapped the landscape of the history wars and the negotiated nature of history education.

A common feature in almost all these publications is that there is an assumption of a single narrative: "Whose history is being taught and what histories are left out?" seems to be the common question. Yet the question of how teachers could approach these rival histories is seldom debated. Clearly, the emergence of new histories and perspectives has interrupted the narrative of the nation-building project, and the resulting history or culture wars are well researched in many different contexts.[4] However, the different ways history teachers may approach the problem at hand, dealing with rival histories in the classroom, have been largely overlooked.

The Approach

This volume aims to present a survey of approaches to dealing with rival histories in the classroom. Utilizing different national, educational, and narrative contexts, we set out to make a contribution to the field of history education by posing the question: "How do, or should, teachers pedagogically engage with rival histories?" Furthermore, we seek to put an epistemological issue at the heart of the question: what does it mean for the epistemology of history to teach more than one narrative? What does it mean to present different versions, and advocate for one of them? And what does it mean when you don't take a stand?

The point of departure for this book is the three ways of conceptualizing history teaching—based on three different epistemological assumptions—proposed by Peter Seixas in 2000.[5] The first, *the best story approach*, serves the enhancement of collective memory (also called "the collective memory approach"). This conceptualization of history teaching is based on the logic of teaching to children the best possible (i.e. singular) narrative and presenting it as an objective, unmediated account of the past. It does not mean that everyone agrees on the best story but that there *is* a best story to make an argument for and that the process of how that story was conceived is not elaborated upon. Needless to say, with this approach, teachers are not encouraged to make an effort to engage the students in the modes of inquiry related to the historical disciplines.[6] In such an approach, history education becomes an arena for control over questions such as "who are we?" and "who is the protagonist of our narrative?" It is an approach to history teaching, that is, telling the story of students

as a part of "us," and therefore making them part of the project of constructing collective memory.[7] The pedagogy utilized to instruct students according to this orientation of history teaching might be driven by textbooks or teacher narration, and much of its approach is devoted to the memorization of already established narratives. The establishment of the shared narrative itself is treated as beyond the reach of the student, and therefore not something to devote time and effort on in the classroom.

The second orientation of history teaching proposed by Seixas is *the disciplinary approach*. There, instead of presenting the best story, multiple stories are presented, and students are taught to assess them by utilizing historians' approaches to historical research. This way of teaching history is also underpinned by the epistemological assumption that historians can develop relatively reliable and correct narratives from the evidence. Still, there is an acknowledgment of a gap between the past itself and the histories about the past, an acknowledgment that is inherently missing from the "collective memory approach." Coinciding with some of the reforms made concerning history education during the period 1970–2000,[8] this methodology also adheres to new approaches to children's learning in a broad pedagogical sense. Rather than viewing students as passive receivers of information to memorize, the methodology locates the student at the center of the learning process, where they become active cocreators of knowledge. In other words, students are encouraged and expected to *do* history (in all its complexity), to learn the skills of actual historians and apply them in the classroom—hence, the increasing adoption of teaching programs such as the Schools History Project (SHP) in the UK, which emphasized the use of primary sources in the classroom, along with depth studies and thematic readings of the past.[9]

The capacity to "read" narratives, as well as understand their formation and structure, is at the heart of this methodology, and the students are encouraged to take part in both distinguishing between narratives and understanding the process of research behind their establishment. The materials utilized to teach according to this approach are more likely to involve materials other than the textbooks, or at least other types of textbooks such as those not driven by narrative, but by explanations of the process behind historical scholarship. Advocates for what could be considered versions of the "best story" approach to history teaching have criticized the disciplinary approach for not foregrounding the identity aspect of history pedagogy.[10] Such critiques implicitly ask: "How can a history

education that is deliberately disinterested in the students' desire of connecting to their roots be successful?" Instead, the disciplinary approach challenges the very notion that history education is first and foremost about identity, and instead makes it about critical thinking.[11]

The third way of teaching history identified by Seixas is *the postmodern approach*. Stemming from "the postmodern challenge," he argued, it had yet to be made a contender in history syllabi, textbooks, and teaching and was (at least in 2000, when Seixas's text was published) the least explored way of teaching history. Like the disciplinary approach, students are also invited to reflect upon different historical narratives. Yet these narratives are not scrutinized with regard to their soundness based on disciplinary criteria; instead, the students are requested to elaborate on their diverse utility in contemporary society, in different political or cultural contexts. If these stories are compared to anything, it is not to any "true past," but to each other. History might not even be seen as the study of the past but as the study of traces, memories, and other's descriptions of the past.[12] If the disciplinary approach acknowledges a gap between the past and history, the postmodern approach takes this to the next level, claiming that historians do not use the story to describe a past but make the past *into stories*.[13] This approach effectively makes history and collective memory epistemologically equivalent, and the moral authority of history is therefore effectively reduced. This has been a recurring critique of the postmodern challenge to history teaching.[14]

As has been evident, these three orientations of history teaching have counterparts in epistemological issues faced by historians. Following Robert Parkes, one might combine Seixas's approaches to history teaching with the epistemological issues of historical scholarship as genre positions proposed by Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow.[15] According to Jenkins and Munslow, there are three genre positions generally taken by historians: *reconstructionist*, *constructionist*, and *deconstructionist*. The reconstructionist position is basically characterized by the belief that the past has an innate meaning, open for the historian to discover. It is a genre that is inherently hostile to theory, since theory is only regarded as a distortion of the meaning that is innate in the past itself. Not only does the reconstructionist position entail the belief that truth can (and will) be found in the sources by impartial historians standing outside his or her own existence but it also entails the belief that this truth can be perfectly embodied in a narrative.[16]

The constructionist position is characterized by the assertion that the relationship between the past and historical scholarship is complex, and that the theory of correspondence between the sources and the past is inconsistent. However, historians of the constructionist position maintain a respect for empiricism while recognizing that there is a gap between the past and the narratives historians produce. From the constructionist genre position, it is still stressed that this gap can be overcome, by the utilization of theoretical instruments at the disposal of the historian. This makes the epistemological assumptions of the constructivist genre position similar to the ones assumed in a disciplinary approach to history education. Like its educational counterparts, reconstructionist and constructionist positions share the belief in empiricism and the mission of the historian to get as close as he or she can.

Meanwhile, the deconstructionist position assumes—like its educational counterpart, the postmodern approach—that history is "as much a narrative-linguistic aesthetic as it is an empirical-analytical activity."[17] This position holds that it is not possible to mine the sources for any meaning. All meaning is applied to history by the needs of the present, by historians and others who engage with past occurrences in any way. This means that when deconstructionists "do history," they go about it in a different way compared to constructionists. They might go about "doing history" in the same manner as literary scholars go about "doing literature," not by writing novels themselves but by analyzing how it is or has been done, and what that means, in a deeper sense, for the ongoing activity of writing novels (or history).

How one wants history to be taught is generally very much dependent on the epistemological assumptions about the relation between the past and history that one has. Why would you want history to be taught as if there were multiple, equally true narratives about the past if you believe that the past has an innate meaning? And why would you want history to be taught as if there was a single true story about the past if you did not hold that as true? The combination of Seixas's description of history teaching orientations and Jenkins and Munslow's genre positions of historical scholarship are therefore convenient to combine, since one primarily addresses issues of teaching and the other issues of epistemology. It shows how the ideas of how to teach history are embedded in basic views of history not only as a subject but also as an academic discipline in schools.

In his article, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," Seixas sees a temporal order between the three approaches to history teaching, with older notions of the subject being "challenged" by newer, not only in the order in which he describes the different approaches (the same order as we have presented them here) but also in the general description of them. Seixas presents the trajectory of the three conceptualizations as an arc, proposing that there was something less good predating the disciplinary approach and that the "new" (postmodern) directions also have inherent problems. However, connecting the teaching orientations to the genre positions of historians, it seems pretty clear that someone who took the deconstructionist approach to knowledge creation and therefore advocated for the postmodern approach of history teaching probably would name *that* approach the "disciplinary approach," in the way that history educationist Avner Segall has argued. In other words, the approach that gets the disciplinary name must of course be dependent on the view of the discipline.[18] The postmodern approach may also be divided into a radical and a moderate approach. The radical approach goes "all the way" with the acknowledgment of the gap between history and the past, asserting an unbridgeable gap between the past and *any* way of knowing or interpreting it in the present. The moderate approach distinguishes between referential statements—verifiable but inherently "meaningless" statements about the past—and narrative substances—proposals of how we should understand the past, applying meaning to it. While the referential statements are meaningful to distinguish between as true or false, that is not possible regarding narrative substances.[19]

Rather than invoking that disciplinary arc, there is a sense of a more linear trajectory appearing in some of the chapters of this volume. Postmodernist teaching approaches to history may be considered a step in the right direction for someone holding a deconstructionist position, a step toward even better history teaching by its tenacity in making students historicize history itself. There are also clear-cut examples of dialogue between contrasting approaches illuminated in the chapters. This might make it even more rewarding to look at Seixas's three-way pedagogical paradigm of teaching rival histories as a triangle: where there is an open field with three borders but no predetermined directions.

Since most of the literature on topics regarding rival narratives has not moved beyond mapping what histories are being taught and what histories are being left out, they have also seldom moved beyond a description of history in schools as something other than a subject cemented in the

"best story approach." In the idea that we can debate history teaching and stay focused on what *the history* is, there is embedded a very specific epistemological idea of what the subject constitutes. The criticism of the collective memory approach has therefore been more about the content of the best story and more seldom directed at the epistemological assumptions that underpin its ideas on what history is. Replacing "the best story" with a "better story," where new voices are added to make an even grander narrative, does not challenge this epistemology.[20] An advocate for the disciplinary approach might instead answer the question "Whose history is being taught?" by stating: "*Whose* history? We are not teaching anyone's history; we are teaching ways of approximating the past and make sense of it." This is instead a challenge toward the very idea of a best story, in that it challenges the innate meaning of history. An advocate for the postmodern approach might answer the same question: "Whose history? That is exactly what we try to answer in the history classroom; whose history is this, and why do we know it? Under what discursive conventions was it made?" This is also a challenge directed at the epistemological assumptions but in a different way, challenging the epistemology not only of the collective memory approach but also of the disciplinary approach. And perhaps also, of itself, challenging the very idea of a best anything, including a best way of teaching history.[21]

In other words, the discussion over rival histories has not encompassed the entirety of the problem, but has let one way of conceptualizing what history is guide the inquiries on the issue. We hope that this volume will be of some use in an effort to broaden the outlook on these issues and open up for new perspectives when we try to pinpoint better ways of dealing with each other's histories.

The Parts of the Book

This book is divided into three parts. These parts touch upon some different aspects of rival narratives, but they all engage in debates over different ways of approaching issues of differing narratives—connecting to the frame worked out above. And, critically, they focus approaches to contested narratives from a distinctly pedagogical perspective. In the epilogue, Peter Seixas takes the book as a whole as a point of departure in revisiting "Schweigen! die Kinder!" and presents some new ideas regarding the primacy of narrative in historical consciousness.

In the first part, there is a focus on historical cultures, how they might clash and what directions have been taken to make bridges between different historical cultures and what directions might be taken in the future. Going back to the first half of the twentieth century, Henrik Åström Elmersjö explores the epistemological problems faced by reconstructionist historians attempting to reach agreement across borders where different narratives met in open debate in an attempt to make sense of history from a supra-national perspective. These attempts may be considered useful even today in the sense that it reveals the subtle difference between a historian's genre position and his or her political view on how history should be taught. The chapter also reveals an elusive connection between reconstructionist epistemology and a seemingly postmodern approach to history education (long before the term was invented), leading to the acknowledgment of a need to teach different histories in different cultural settings.

The disciplinary approach's failure—at least in the minds of politicians—to create social cohesion is also addressed in the first part. This failure has in later years been the outspoken reason for politicians to make history education once again focus on a grand national narrative, a canon, with the intended purpose of enhancing the collective memory of the citizens as part of a great nation. In her chapter, Sirkka Ahonen states that grand narratives are unsustainable as true depictions of the past, and that they are socially exclusive as identity builders. The social cohesion achieved by it is centered around the majority and the political elite's way of conceptualizing the nation. She calls instead for Habermasian deliberation as the way forward for history education, perhaps a hybrid of the disciplinary and the postmodern approaches.

In her chapter, Arja Virta discusses the variety of historical cultures that students encounter outside of school, related to both collective memory and multiple forms of historical entertainment. Since historical cultures are not unified, and it is unclear to what degree it is significant for individual students as a component of their identity, the relationship between historical culture and history education is very complex. History education itself being an integral part of the historical culture of the surrounding society makes it difficult to separate the two. Even if Virta is discussing historical literacy, and the disciplinary approach as an obvious way of coping with divergent narratives, she also engages with postmodern thought when emphasizing training in multiple historical literacies. One conclusion is that history education needs to be aware of itself, and teachers need to be

aware of how they conceive and teach the nature of historical knowledge in order for students to be able to unlock the relationship between history and identity.

The second part of the book focuses on specific cases in multicultural societies, and especially the official histories in these societies, as well as their discordant narratives. One of the more salient features of this part is how emotionally embedded responses to history affect how history is performed and taught in classrooms, as well as how history affects life in general.

Meenakshi Chhabra writes specifically about the practices of history teachers, and how what they *do* in the history classroom affects much of the epistemology that comes out of that classroom. More specifically, Chhabra engages in the complex dynamic between collective memory, textbook content, school context, and the teachers' multiple pedagogical practices of challenging, appropriating, and reframing or adapting textbook narratives and narratives of collective memories in society at large. With examples from teaching about the 1947 British India Partition, Chhabra also shows how the pedagogical practices of individual teachers are embedded in their emotionality about the event itself and their aspiration in a specific learning outcome for their students. Like Virta, Chhabra also identifies a form of history teaching that is aware of itself, as a way to make teachers see how important their own conceptions are—who they are will affect how they practically perform a specific historic event, especially when they are emotionally entangled in it.

Paul Zanazanian touches upon similar matters in his chapter on English-speaking Québec. Drawing on James Wertsch's ideas of narrative templates, Zanazanian explores the potential for history teaching to provide narrative space and encourage identity building, but at the same time complicating the sense-making aspects of the narrative in order to expand horizons in multicultural societies. In a way, these ideas for history teaching combine an approach for the enhancement of collective memory with a disciplinary approach—in finding the disciplinary evidence to support emerging knowledge claims—and a postmodern approach—in complicating the naturalness of the narrative and bringing to the fore their actual functioning in society.

The individual attachment to a certain narrative, and what teachers and students bring to the classroom in terms of a narrative is also the main subject of the chapter by Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas on history education in Israel and Cyprus. The negotiation between different

collective memories that has to take place in a classroom in a divided society really illuminates the challenges of teaching history with any approach. Teachers and students alike might even be seen as trying to enhance their own collective memory, failing to see how other's experience differ. The influence of historical cultures outside the classroom makes it very difficult for any curriculum to make students question the assumptions they are facing outside of schools. This also suggests that a reconstructionist approach to history teaching won't be able to unrestrictedly enhance collective memory.

The chapters of the third part focus on multiperspectivity and critical thinking in relation to different aspects of history teaching. Joanna Wojdon's chapter explores the problematic issue of disciplinary conformism and suggests history teaching that is not controversial will have enormous obstacles to overcome if teachers try to become more critical and disciplinary. It is not easy introducing critical thinking into a school when the teaching faculty is trained in a conception of history that is not critical, but designed to promote social cohesion. Teaching for a final exam that does not assess critical thinking provides little incentive to incorporate controversial and problematic history into the classroom. Increasing levels of critical understanding of narratives, how they function, and how they relate to contemporary needs in society take a long time if that is not part of the teaching tradition.

The last three chapters of the third part are all about the teaching of the First World War. By outlining how the enormous First World War Battlefield Programme commemorative initiative from the British government was implemented, and the thoughts behind it, the Executive Director of the program, Stuart Foster, gives us a glimpse into some of the thinking behind the commemoration of the Great War and how it was embedded in a critical and multiperspectival approach. As somewhat of a counter-example to Wojdon's description of the lack of controversy in Polish schools, Foster shows how it is also possible to build on existing positive and innovative traditions of disciplinary history in cases where such traditions exist. When students are used to being engaged in competing narratives, where they are "traditionally" seen as an integral part of history and their views are embraced by teachers, it is of course easier to also make students see them as a "natural" part of education. (Although reaching a meta-understanding of how narratives are deployed in societies and to what end might be more challenging.)

In a very practically oriented example, Thomas Nygren, Monika Vinterek, Robert Thorp, and Margaret Taylor deal with questions on how to promote students' awareness of different perspectives as well as critical awareness and the existence of multiple understandings. The results of the study show that the abilities of history students to engage with differing narratives and draw conclusions from them can be greatly increased if open-minded ideas on multiperspectivity are included in the teaching program. The authors are able to show how the ability to identify multiple causes for historical events, as well as the ability to recognize the impact that different perspectives have on how these events are narrated, increased significantly when the students were subjected to an exercise in assessing popular history magazines and their differing approaches to the outbreak of the First World War. The study shows that awareness regarding different perspectives among students can be low, but at the same time even limited educational efforts can change this in quite a dramatic way.

In the last chapter, Heather Sharp argues for a world history approach for delicate and traumatic events, utilizing Australian commemoration and teaching of the First World War's Gallipoli campaign. Analyzing students' descriptions of the campaign, based on original sources, she shows how these students, who largely understand contrasting Australian historical narratives as a binary conflict, are able to discuss history in a sophisticated way. The students in the study are interested in not only a more complex historical understanding of the event itself but also how it is narrated and why. Sharp suggests that taking emotionally charged historical events out of the national history and inserting them into a global history may leave room for the deepening of historical understanding, instead of deepening the emotional attachment to one side of the story.

In the epilogue, Peter Seixas takes as his point of departure the affordance of signposts for teachers trying to find ways to make sure students have some "disciplinary" tools to evaluate differing narratives. Utilizing both Rüsen's terminology of multidimensional criteria of plausibility and the Canadian model of historical thinking concepts, Seixas opens up a discussion about how students of history can learn about "getting narrative interpretations right," and at the same time make sense of themselves with all the moral implications that come with that. Building on the work of Carr, Seixas also points to the ontological implications of narrative and highlights the need for a more nuanced history education that is able to engage with questions of narrative plausibility in history education, as well as the realization of its limitations.

All chapters of this book have engaged in the teaching of rival histories with open minds, not only looking for what histories are being taught but also looking for what epistemological assumptions lie behind them. How is history seen in different societies and what does that mean for history teaching, especially regarding how rival narratives are handled? The different chapters of this book show that this is contextually dependent.

Beyond different approaches to history teaching, perhaps the starting point for teaching rival histories is teachers who are aware of where they stand epistemologically, emotionally, and discursively. Regardless of how they teach, the most important thing might be that they are aware of what they are doing, and why, as these chapters show. To raise the awareness of teachers' performances in the classroom from an epistemological standpoint is one place to start and making sure students have the cognitive, ontological, and epistemological tools to evaluate differing narratives is another. The different cultural contexts that are described in this book also show how the different teaching traditions and societal debates in different contexts exercise a tremendous impact on how students conceive differing narratives and even conceptualize history itself. Many of the authors in this book point to how the way history has been traditionally taught in the last 30–40 years impacts the way new reforms are being implemented in schools, and also how debates outside schools have a decisive influence over dialogue regarding contested narratives in the classroom. Given these findings, we would like to emphasize that there is a need to look for different ways of teaching rival histories, not one universal way, that fit the needs of different societies. We hope this book might inspire a first step to finding new ways of teaching each other's histories.

Notes

1. See, for example, Steffi Richter, ed., *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008); Sirkka Ahonen, *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012); Han Un-suk, Takahiro Kondo, Yang Biao and Falk Pingel, eds., *History Education and Reconciliation: Comparative Perspectives on East Asia* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012); Karina V. Korostelina and Simone Lässig, eds. *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

2. James H. Williams, ed., *(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014).
3. Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, eds., *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Charlotte: IAP, 2012).
4. Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003); Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1997); Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, eds., *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Anna Clark, *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008).
5. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37. See also Peter Seixas, "Who Needs a Canon?" in *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 19–30.
6. Ibid., 20–21.
7. See also Peter Carrier, ed., *School & Nation: Identity Politics and Educational Media in an Age of Diversity* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013).
8. See, for example. David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 156–66.
9. Denis Shemilt, *History 13–16: Evaluation Study. School Council (GB) History 13–16 Project* (Edinburgh: Holmes, Mc Dougall Ltd, 1980); Denis Shemilt, "The Devil's Locomotive," *Australian History Teacher*, no. 7 (1980): 13.
10. See, for example, Jack L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998). Cf. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 23.
11. Cf. Avner Segall, "What's the Purpose of Teaching a Discipline, Anyway? The Case of History," in *Social Studies – the Next Generation: Re-searching in the Postmodern*, ed. Avner Segall,

Elizabeth E. Heilman and Cleo H. Cherryholmes (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 125.

12. Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 5.
13. See, for example, Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History* (New York: Routledge, 1991).
14. See, for example, Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 30–31.
15. Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, "Introduction," in *The Nature of History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Robert Parkes, "Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum," *The International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–32.
16. Jenkins and Munslow, "Introduction," 7.
17. Ibid., 12.
18. Segall, "Purpose of Teaching a Discipline," 128.
19. See Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*; Frank Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). See also Robert Parkes, "Postmodernism, Historical Denial, and History Education: What Frank Ankersmit can Offer to History Didactics," *Nordidactica* 3, no. 2 (2013), where Parkes makes a case for the moderate postmodernism in history education. Peter Seixas has called the radical notion of postmodernism "logically self-contradictory and pedagogically useless." Seixas, "Who Needs a Canon?," 29 (n. 5).
20. See also Siep Stuurman and Maria Grever, "Introduction: Old Canons and New Histories," in *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
21. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 28–29; Segall, "Purpose of Teaching a Discipline," 132.

PART I

Historical Cultures and National Histories

CHAPTER 2

An Early Attempt to Approach Rival Histories: Epistemological Impediments to Transnational History Teaching—A Scandinavian Example

Henrik Åström Elmersjö

Introduction

A lot has been said about the problems inherent in international attempts to revise history education. A history embedded in nationalistic sentiment does of course make it very difficult to reach agreements on how historical events should be understood across borders, especially in conflict-ridden areas of the world.[1] The problems are similar in so-called history wars—or culture wars—within nations, where identity politics has strengthened the position of marginalized groups in their struggle for recognition of their conception and experience of history.[2]

This chapter focuses on the Norden Associations (first established in 1919), which began their work on changing history education for Scandinavian youth in a more "Pan-Nordic" direction in the 1920s.[3] By

H.Å. Elmersjö (✉)
Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_2

engaging historians in the different Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) and instructing them to not only move history in a "Pan-Nordic" direction but also take a stand for the nationally conceived history of their own country, the Norden Associations also directed attention toward political issues. However, the continuous work on history textbooks of these associations' "commissions of experts," which went on for over 50 years, highlights some epistemological issues as well.

This chapter will focus on the discussions within this textbook revision between 1920 and 1950, its relation to other interwar efforts to change history education, and what could be seen as halting steps toward the teaching of multiple narratives. Furthermore, my intention is to shed some light on how issues of agency in history teaching are related to these epistemological issues: how the fragmentation of the grand national narrative is related to the emergence of identity politics, or in this case the self-proclaimed representatives of different nations, making claims for their own agency, and hence for their particular perspectives on history.

The organization of the Norden Associations' textbook revision had political, national, and ethnic divisions built into it. The key actors were organized according to a predefined national divide, best described as so-called methodological nationalism—the assumption that the nation-state is the natural entity that social inquiry should be concerned with.[4] Since the actors were assumed to be in disagreement on particular nationally important issues, these were the issues that were discussed, and—since their disagreement was preconceived—they did of course not agree. Even though an Inter-Nordic committee was founded in 1932, this committee immediately decided to split up into national commissions in order to scrutinize textbooks, not only from a Nordic but also from a national perspective, in an effort to reduce the number of inaccurate and unfair descriptions of the other Nordic peoples in each other's history textbooks.

The Norden Associations continued their work on history education after the Second World War, and even though their efforts faded in intensity, a book on how to teach Nordic history was published as late as 1992. One of the more pervading features of this book is nonetheless the inability to move beyond the national framework. Even though the Nordic holistic perspective is deemed immensely important in the introductory chapters,[5] the book itself is still divided into chapters and subchapters which deal with Nordic history on a national basis; that is, Icelandic history in one chapter and Norwegian in another. This national

fixation is also built into the structure of the associations themselves; there is not a single Norden Association but nationally separated ones—one Danish (established in 1919), one Finnish (1924), one Icelandic (1922), one Norwegian (1919), and one Swedish (1919). After the Second World War, associations were also established in the Faroe Islands and Åland, and later in the Baltic states.

Utilizing contemporary history didactical concepts, this early attempt at teaching history beyond, or at least *between*, national divides will be discussed in terms of the epistemological problems that arise.[6] In the first half of the twentieth century, the nature of historical truth was not really debated on relativistic grounds within the community of historical scholars in Scandinavia. The belief in all of history as one was a legacy from the nineteenth century and it was not yet substantially questioned. Even if there was an increasing understanding in the inability of historians to ever reach substantive knowledge of this one history, all particular histories were still seen as part of the One History.[7] This might have led to an ambiguous relation between the different narratives that were articulated in the discussions—which of these were true? How could the truthfulness of two rivaling narratives be upheld without acknowledging the conception of different narrative versions of truth? And was it possible to establish one true Nordic narrative, beyond national perspectives?

Historians of any period need to consider how and if truth is realized in their professional work; any historian has some sort of perception of the status of facts in relation to empirical evidence: that is, the epistemological questions of "what can we know and how can we know it?" Jenkins and Munslow have argued that there are three different genre positions that historians have taken in regard to these questions: reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist.[8] These have corresponding categories in Seixas' view of different approaches to history teaching: the collective memory approach, the disciplinary approach, and the postmodern approach.[9]

In this chapter, I examine historians working to make sure that texts written to be used in educational settings for children (of different ages) met the standards of their particular view of scientific accuracy. This view sometimes met with epistemological problems, and it is my ambition to show how the historians engaged in the problems that arose, related to the knowledge of history as such. This means that the alignment of Jenkins and Munslow's view and Seixas' view is especially interesting. The three genre positions posited by Jenkins and Munslow will be utilized to

understand the way the historians saw themselves in relation to historical empiricism and epistemology. The three categories of history education suggested by Seixas will be utilized to understand the outlook the same historians had on history education.

Moreover, there are also considerations to be made as to the conditions of textbook revision. Pingel has argued that there are two different phases of international textbook revision, the first of which is a phase where commissions agreed on a harmonious, shared version of history. The second phase is characterized by the development of principles for presenting disputed issues without the creation of a joint "ultimate" narrative.[10] The former phase is also characterized by a reluctance to accept more than one truth, while there is an inclination in the latter phase to view truth as a process of communication.

Chronologically, this chapter is mainly about the interwar years and the historical sciences of this period. Even if the period is stretched to 1950, this chapter does not really capture any post-war ideas, since most of the work done after 1945 consisted of picking up the threads left in 1940 when Denmark and Norway were occupied by Nazi Germany.

Novick has contended that the interwar years were a time when the objectivity of the historians' profession was challenged and the advocates of scientific objectivity were on the defense against "scepticist" critique. However, Novick distinguishes between relativism and skepticism in that both may question the possibility of knowing objective truth but on different grounds. While skepticism is based on the notion of true knowledge being impossible, relativism is based on the notion of a "plurality of criteria for knowledge;" that is, the possibility of different narrative versions of truth derived from different cultural and social contexts or different conceptual systems.[11] The interwar period was also a time of internationalization of the historian's profession,[12] and a pronounced positivistic sentiment, questioning nationalistic narratives on the grounds of professionalism and disinterested critical inquiry.[13]

However, the school subject of history of this time was not entirely reliant on historical scholarship. On the contrary, some schoolteachers saw an obvious discrepancy between scholarship and education; where scholarship might have been tilting toward objectivistic ideals, history education must utilize history differently with emphasis on moral and national pride, and hence not be objective at all.[14]

On a methodological note, this chapter is based on the analysis of publications made by the Norden Associations in the first half of the twentieth

century, focused on discussions related to epistemological and pedagogical issues (and the relationship between them) that took place during the interwar period. I focus on the asymmetric relations between the epistemology of historical research, put forward by historians working with the Norden Associations' textbook revision, and the epistemological implications of the solutions they presented for history education.

Truth and Different Versions of It

The Norwegian Norden Association made its first attempt to try to influence the history textbooks in a Nordic direction in 1920. In response to what was considered a poor description of Norwegian history in Swedish history textbooks, a Norwegian committee was formed and tasked to look into the Norwegian textbooks to "investigate whether the textbooks' description of our country's relationship with Denmark and Sweden is such that it gives a wrongful description of the neighbouring peoples."[15]

As the establishment (1814) and dissolution (1905) of the Swedish-Norwegian union was at the heart of the criticism of Swedish textbooks that was brought to the attention of the Norwegian Association, it was probably inevitable that this issue was especially targeted by the Norwegian committee. The committee could not see a problem concerning the overall truthfulness of the Norwegian textbooks' general narrative about the union and its dissolution. However, they could see a potential problem in the lack of efforts made to try to see the "Swedish point of view." The solution offered to Norwegian textbook authors was not to incorporate a different perspective or change the general conception of the Norwegian people's struggle for independence. Instead, the solution was to incorporate *one* new sentence into the narrative: "The correction is easily made: one line which explains that the Swedes did not see the union agreement as unilaterally dissolvable is enough."[16]

The Swedish Norden Association's report on the state of Nordic sentiment in Swedish textbooks, which was delivered to Swedish publishers in May 1922, included some similar ideas on how to approach the fact that the Swedish-Norwegian union was perceived differently in both countries, even if it was draped in very ambiguous language:

> In full compliance with the point made by the Norwegian committee regarding the struggles within the union it would seemingly be possible, from a Swedish perspective, to claim that the description of conflicts within the

> union should not lack a declaration of the judicial points of view on which the Norwegian position was grounded. Such a declaration is obviously not a statement on whether this position is correct, it is only an observation of a factual circumstance.[17]

From this statement, it is fairly obvious that the author is trying not to take a clear stance on the issue. Instead, it is a statement that is imbued with hesitant language: It "would seemingly be possible" to "claim" that descriptions "should not lack." The end of the statement holds a fairly clear proclamation of the possibility of maintaining the traditional Swedish narrative about the union as the true description of the events.

Both the Swedish and the Norwegian statements constitute examples of both the acknowledgement of other points of view and at the same time a solid conviction of the truthfulness of one of the narratives. It is considered a factual circumstance that others might have had different ideas on how to interpret different judicial documents, but their interpretation may very well be considered false. The Swedish and Norwegian historians and teachers engaged in this survey of textbooks seem to be in agreement regarding the right of textbook authors in the different countries to establish their (national) perspective as truthful, as long as they also acknowledged that there was another perspective.

This line of reasoning focuses on the truth about facts and the teaching of facts in schools as two different things. The argument goes halfway in observing the cultural conceptualization of history on the part of the other, but not on the part of the self, in virtually saying that what *we* teach is the truth, what *they* teach is a culturally inclined version of that truth (which by default is not true), but which we can understand that they have to teach. By keeping one narrative, which is implicitly understood as the historical truth, but at the same time incorporating "the factual circumstance" that others might see things differently, the one true national narrative survived even though it was challenged by inter-Nordic sentiments.

The idea that history education needed some kind of national "gatekeeper" permeated discussions on less nationalistic history teaching both in other Nordic contexts and within the League of Nations. This could be considered a consequence of hegemonic nationalistic thought at the time, and most peace-striving efforts in the interwar period were imbued with patriotic vocabulary and the peace educating efforts were draped in notions like "sensible patriotism."[18] In congruence with Pingel, Stöber has made a distinction between different steps in the context of textbook

revision in the twentieth century and relates the interwar period to a period of "classical" textbook revision where international input was used to modify national narratives. This would result in "compromise narratives." At a much later stage, the inclusion of other perspectives was opted for, but this had little or no impact in the interwar period since "[t]he development and acceptance of a multiperspective approach in history teaching seems to be a precondition for such a development."[19] However, there was no "compromise narrative" in the Nordic effort. Instead, the construction of a "Pan-Nordic" narrative was abandoned and a restrained dose of other perspectives were suggested instead.

In 1940, the first volume of *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia* (Disputed questions in Nordic history) was published by the Norden Associations. Since historians, organized in national commissions, had reviewed all Nordic history textbooks between 1933 and 1935,[20] they were now in a position to evaluate which parts of Nordic history were problematic. A second volume was published after the war, in 1950, even though most of the essays in it had been written between 1938 and 1940. The discussions on the most difficult issues had dragged on and most of these had been left out of the first volume and planned for a second, a year or two later, but the war intervened and they were not published until 1950.

Most essays in both volumes were attempts to write about the issues at hand, describing the problems and which scholars were in disagreement and which sources were disputed. In a sense, this was a more constructionist, or disciplinary, way of approaching the subject. In the second volume, published in 1950, there was one essay by Norwegian historian Arne Bergsgård (1886–1954) and Swedish historian Sigfrid Andgren (1892–1978) about the union between Sweden and Norway (written in the late 1930s). In line with the advice put forward on the issue by both Norwegian and Swedish historians in the 1920s, the conclusion was that Norwegian and Swedish children could very well learn different things, but in each narrative there should also be an acknowledgement of the other. However, Andgren and Bergsgård also meant that their description of the questions that were disputed might help bring about a better understanding for the other part in the conflict.[21]

Even if the line of reasoning on matters of truth was fairly similar to the reasoning behind the statements in the 1920s, there were also some differences in the article by Andgren and Bergsgård. Since it was written by one Swedish and one Norwegian scholar, it did not conclusively identify

any self or other, but it was written in a way that opened up for multiple interpretations on which of the narratives were true. For example, they did address the question: "How is it possible, [...] that two such diametrically different perceptions [...] could be, and still are, read into historical documents?"[22] Without going too deeply into the historical details of this conflict, there were basically different ideas on what the treaty of the union actually stipulated and which other documents the treaty had made void. The solution proposed by Andgren and Bergsgård was not solely to teach different narratives and acknowledge the other's but to emphasize that the actions derived from different readings of the documents that the union was based on rendered—not just different conceptions of events that followed but—different conceptions of the reality of what the union was, even during the period when the union was in effect. What is interesting for the purposes here is the notion put forward that different readings of the same document made different realities, by the fact that the Norwegian and Swedish governments acted in accordance with their respective reading of the treaty. Even if this was not elaborated upon any further, it still represented a different idea of how the conflicts within the union should be addressed. It became impossible to understand the differences of opinion if it was not acknowledged that both sides in the conflict acted according to their understanding of what the treaty said, thus creating a new reality not described in the document itself. The interpretations created different versions of truth, which historians later interpreted differently in Norway and Sweden, in accordance with their respective realties.

The idea of different narrative versions of truth was never hypothesized in the Norden Associations' textbook revision. However, the idea of different points of view and an understanding of what it meant to teach history from different points of view were used from time to time in the introductions to different essays on disputed questions. The Finnish historian Jalmari Jaakkola (1885–1964) wrote in an essay on the overlaps between Finnish and Swedish history published in the second volume of "Disputed questions in Nordic history" in 1950:

> It is not only in relation to a few disputed questions that the views in Sweden and Finland are different, but the views are also different on a larger scale, when it comes to the definition of historical problems themselves. It is hardly probable that the images of Sweden-Finland, this powerful kingdom that was flourishing just two or three hundred years ago, would appear in

> the same light if you look at it from the east, as it would if the viewpoint is from the west.[23]

This quote highlights the cultural contextualization of historical narration; questions about history are obviously seen to be asked to fulfill the needs of a cultural community. This way of conceptualizing history is comparable to a deconstructionist reading of history, where not only answers to historical questions are culturally embedded, but the questions themselves are too.[24] The collective memory as reconstructed by Jaakkola in his very nationalist and politically driven text also shows how the "collective memory approach,"[25] when viewed in an intercultural context, easily lends itself to deconstructionist application—even by the reconstructionist Jaakkola himself. Provocatively put, one might say that his defense of a very Finnish point of view is not that this view renders a true version of the past, but that it renders a Finnish version, told for a Finnish public.

The attempt to resolve differences between Swedish and Finnish historians was not very successful, and none of the articles on these issues in the second volume of "Disputed questions in Nordic history" was co-written by Swedish and Finnish scholars. Instead, there were three Finnish articles and two Swedish ones, and they basically refuted each other's claims.[26] This might be seen as an opening to a deconstruction of the cultural elements involved in narrating and teaching history, but the texts themselves were not written as interpretations. They were instead closed off from this discussion and written as the untouchable truth, from a clearly reconstructionist genre position.

It seems as if the concept of narratives themselves being culturally, politically, and methodologically contingent, as proposed in postmodernist views of history some 50 years later,[27] was overlooked in this debate. The validity of the national narrative of the historians' home country was not questioned beyond the recognition of different points of view in defining historical problems, quoted above. However, through the recognition of the cultural aspects of defining historical problems, attention was brought to the connection between these definitions and the cultural context which was to be explained by history. There seems to have been a gap between a reconstructionist and a deconstructionist viewpoint that was partly bridged, but the bridge was not really recognized. The debate itself forced recognition of the cultural dependency of historical inquiry, but the epistemological consequences were ignored. The small steps that were taken toward a constructionist, disciplinary approach, with attempts

to acknowledge exactly where historians were in disagreement, seem to have been halted by the fact that the historians involved were not really tasked to engage in any objective, disinterested inquiry. On the contrary, they were actually recruited into national commissions on the grounds of "defending" the national narrative of their home country in an international debate.

Agency, Groups, and Responsibility

Related to culturally contingent thoughts on historical facts and truth is the complex phenomenon of historical agency. By relating agency to groups, or even entire nations, historical social cohesion within that group (or nation) is established. The cultural sense-making efforts of history is clearly tied to the conveyance of a group of people whose history is seen as interlinked, and the common destiny of this group is emphasized through the narration of them acting *as* a group in history.[28] The inclusion and exclusion that accompanies this kind of narrative might have affirmative outcomes, for example, making oppressed, and seemingly powerless individuals or small groups, see themselves as part of a larger collective that is in a position to resist and start struggles for change. Nevertheless, just speaking of people in terms of a group, and especially in narrating the history of the group as *one* history, there is a problematic equivalence attributed to the group that hides inequalities and conflicts within it.

This is by no means a thing of the past in history teaching. On the contrary, even today, agency is not often elaborated upon in any complex manner in history education.[29] Paradoxically, this might even be a consequence of teaching history with an expanding range of different people and groups seen as historical agents. When kings and queens were the agents, this might have been less problematic. However, when a wider range of people, acting collectively, are acknowledged as historical agents, it is easy to misrepresent—or even disregard—division within these larger collectives. Historically, and often based on racist thought, actions ascribed to (other) ethnic groups have also been explained in terms of their collective mentality.[30] Furthermore, oppressed groups might not even be seen as agents at all, only described as passive victims of active oppression.[31]

Yet, even without apparent racism and depictions of the mentality of ethnicities, and despite a vast improvement in the accuracy of attributed agency in some textbooks, groups are still every so often represented as cohesive by assertions of their agency *as* a group without any representation

of discord within that group, as in this example from a Swedish twenty-first-century history textbook: "the Serbs in Bosnia, […], were opposed to independence […]."[32] This statement underlines the group's collective opinion and agency without saying anything about division within the group.

Within the context of history textbook revision, where the antagonists are taken for granted and the lines of disagreement are established beforehand, the issue of agency is related to the issue of epistemology. The Norden Associations' history textbook revision was established with the basic assumption that history was told differently in different countries and that this was based on different assumptions on the part of historians in different countries. It was considered self-evident that disagreements were based in nationality. Little attention was paid to disagreements between historians of the same nationality based on methodology or even epistemology, even if these disagreements were acknowledged. This also translates into perspectives in history teaching. The nation-states were often seen as the only important historical agents, as the history of the nation was the focal point of history teaching.

For example, in the case of the union between Norway and Sweden, there were two acknowledged agents in the history textbooks in both countries: the Norwegians and the Swedes. However, this problem was recognized early in the revision, at least when discussing "the other." The Norwegian committee (reviewing Norwegian textbooks in the 1920s) recognized that "the Swedes" was not a very good designation for the opposite side to "the Norwegians" in the struggle for Norwegian independence since the demands made on "the Norwegians" were not demands made by all of the Swedish people: "'The Swedes' is a misrepresentation of the Swedish workers' stance in 1905. It seems to us that the [Norwegian] textbooks sometimes use the general term 'the Swedes' when they actually mean a government or a political party in Sweden."[33] However, in the statement made by the Swedish Norden Association aimed at Swedish textbook authors and publishers, as a relay of the Norwegian committee's statement, the division of the Swedish people on the issue was not referred to.[34] From the point of view of historical agency, it is also interesting that the Norwegian committee saw no fault in representing *parts* of the Swedish labor movement as "the Swedish workers" and they also seemed oblivious to the fact that they described the Norwegian people as a united agent by the pervading references to "the Norwegians" as the main

actor.[35] In short, the Swedish people were seen as divided on the issue, but the Norwegians were not.

The issue did not resurface in the 1930s when the textbook revision was made mutual, and Swedish textbooks were reviewed by scholars in Norway and vice versa. In the statement regarding Swedish textbooks, made by the Norwegian commission of experts, the division of the Swedish people on the issue was not mentioned, and the same goes for the Swedish statement on Norwegian textbooks. However, the issue was briefly elaborated upon by Andgren and Bergsgård in their co-written essay on the union issue in "Disputed questions in Nordic history," where they stated that the Norwegians had moral support from "Swedish radicals and democratic elements."[36] However, the way the two narratives they tried to reconcile were explicitly called Swedish and Norwegian, Andgren and Bergsgård's text exhibited two undivided nations, where the main (if not only) conflictual relation was between the nations. They also utilized anthropomorphic personification when referring to the two countries in examples like "Norway felt dissatisfied" and "Sweden, on its part, felt unfairly judged."[37] This in turn gave full responsibility and agency to the nations as a whole and disregarded any division or conflicts within each nation.

A similar problem arose in the discussions about the dissolution of the Kalmar Union, the union between Denmark, Norway (with Iceland), and Sweden (with Finland) in 1397–1523. This problem was mostly recognized as a problem for Danish historians reading Swedish textbooks and vice versa. The Swedish commission saw a problem with the Danish textbooks' unwillingness to tell the story of an enduring Danish attempt to create a feudal empire in Scandinavia, under Danish rule. This was pivotal in the Swedish narrative as it set the stage for the free Swedish peasants as the guardians of freedom, in relation to what was perceived as serfdom in Denmark.[38]

Much like the Norwegian committee in the 1920s had seen division in the Swedish nation in 1905, the Danish commission of the 1930s wrote in their statement about the Swedish textbooks' portrayal of the situation for the Kalmar Union in the beginning of the sixteenth century: "[T]he Swedish textbooks put too much emphasis on *the National Party*, so much that the powerful Swedish *Union Party* [the part of the Swedish aristocracy that wanted to stay in the union with Denmark] is perceived as non-Swedish."[39] The Danish commission pinpoints a very important issue; the national narrative is dependent on alienating historical agents that were not acting according to the unity of the nation. The Swedish aristocracy

within the Union Party *had* to be made non-Swedish—depicted as traitors, associated with other nations, or in other ways made foreign—for the unity of the nation to be apparent in the narrative.

Both the "Norwegian-Swedish" and the "Danish-Swedish" discussions illustrate the connection between agency and the epistemology of historical narration, especially related to the history of specific groups. In both these cases, the history taught in different countries was different because it was supposed to create national and social cohesion and therefore had different agents as the protagonists of the narrative. By directing attention to how the nation had acted as a unit in history, the narrative made sense in the national setting and in the story of a united nation. When confronted with other national perspectives, the unity did not hold up. The division of the Swedish people was a prerequisite for understanding the historical events portrayed from the Norwegian and Danish perspectives, while the unity of the Swedish people was a prerequisite for understanding the same events from a Swedish perspective. In other words, agency was projected onto historical actors to correlate to the truth associated with answering historical questions asked in a certain contemporary cultural context; "who are *we*?" or "where did *we* come from?"

One proposed solution to the problems of agency and truth in different cultural contexts is to utilize the passive voice. This was also applied to difficulties within the Norden Associations' textbook revision. The commissions were assigned to move history education in a "Pan-Nordic" direction, while also defending the national conception of history, and they obviously had trouble aligning their respective reconstructionist national narratives with each other's. One way of going beyond the divide was to tell history in a passive voice. For example, the narrative of the Norwegian-Swedish union could be made less problematic by making sure that the Norwegian narrative of independence was not focused on a struggle *against* Sweden, the Swedish people, or the Swedish government but *for* independence. The "Swedish" actions were made passive—things were said to have "happened" to the Norwegians, without any outspoken agent doing it to them.[40]

The consequences of this line of reasoning can be seen in the changes made in a Swedish textbook's depiction of the union in two different editions: one published in 1930, before it was reviewed by the scholars of the Norwegian Norden Association's commission of experts, and the other published in 1935, after a revision made in line with comments from the Norwegian commission of experts.[41] In the 1930 edition, the Norwegians

are depicted as objects in a Swedish narrative. The limited agency ascribed to them is given a negative connotation: "They did not care at all about the fact that the union with Sweden gave their country much greater security, they just wanted to gain full independence."[42] In the 1935 edition, the agency is given to the Norwegians and their struggle for independence is depicted as a consequence of "development" outside the control of any agent: "They probably realized the benefits of the security that the union gave both themselves and Sweden. But the more Norwegian trade and industry evolved, the more their confidence grew."[43]

The change may also be seen in Norwegian textbooks, and it has been argued that the narrative changed from a narrative of suffering to a narrative of growth, and the Norden Associations may have played a part in that transformation as well.[44]

By not focusing on the conflict between two agents, but rather on the agency of one part acting in accordance with "the development," the conflict went away and the dissolution of the union became more or less a consequence of historical evolution, without any struggle between "Swedes" and "Norwegians," effectively hiding both the conflict between nations and, what has later been acknowledged as the deep rift within Swedish society on this issue.[45]

Another type of passive voice was elaborated upon in discussions on the history of the wars between the Nordic countries. The Swedish narrative in most textbooks, as well as Swedish research during the interwar period, made use of geopolitical theory, where nations are seen as organisms that have to expand in order to survive.[46] After the Second World War, this theoretical construct was associated with the justification of German and Japanese expansion policies and basically abandoned.[47] In the second issue of "Disputed questions in Nordic history," the Swedish colonel and war historian Olof Ribbing (1887–1964) wrote about the wars between Nordic countries from 1521 to 1814, and his text was highly influenced by notions of geopolitical theory. After some criticism from military historians and general historians in the other Nordic countries, this was toned down.[48] However, part of the geopolitical theory was still used to conceal free active agents; Ribbing wrote: "If military policy and military geographical points of view were allowed to appear more in historical narratives, hardly any room would be left for speculations about the hatred between nations and people, of betrayal, retribution, and retaliation."[49]

By pointing to geopolitical considerations, Ribbing seems to have made free active agents invisible in the narrative, and therefore, he concluded,

history could not be utilized in order to adjudge accountability upon neither peoples nor individuals. According to the general opinion in the commissions, however, this line of reasoning was deemed useless in history teaching since it was seen as impossible to learn anything about how to *not* wage war, if war was always unpreventable, on account of the organic nature of nations.[50] This was also one of few instances where the argumentation within the Norden Associations' history textbook revision bordered on a constructionist genre position in that the argumentation focused on how different *theoretical* assumptions made different histories.

Conclusions

The historians engaged in the Norden Associations' history textbook revision all argued from a reconstructionist perspective and they had different cultural contexts to describe and explain. They were supposed to be representative of their respective historical culture, and at the same time debate in a friendly manner in order to reach agreement in the spirit of Nordic cohesion. When they were confronted with each other under these circumstances, they got into an epistemological bind. The idea might have been to create a new reconstructionist narrative, a Nordic narrative of Nordic collective memory. However, there was no neutral viewpoint from where to perceive this new history; all events deemed significant in Nordic history were already spoken for in one or more national narratives.

As revealed in some of the articles in "Disputed questions in Nordic history," the debates seemingly forced these historians into a constructionist genre position in trying to establish which national narrative was true enough to constitute the Nordic narrative, or alternatively construct a new Nordic narrative. Held as they were in both their reconstructionist perspective on history and their assignment as guardians of the collective memory of their own nation, this led them to an impasse. Instead, they turned to the ambiguous effort of trying to establish their one (national) truth, and at the same time acknowledge other narratives as at least defensible in their particular cultural contexts. However, the truthfulness of these "other" narratives was conveyed as limited to the cultural context they were supposed to explain. The lesson that might have been learnt from this in the interwar classrooms of Scandinavia was that other narratives of important historical events could be considered culturally contingent interpretations, while our own narrative was the historical truth.

In this endeavor, there were certain principles at work that pre-empt elements of a postmodern or deconstructionist approach: the acknowledgement of different cultural settings where different narratives are needed in order to tell history congruently, and the acknowledgement of the need for different questions in different cultural contexts, which also led to different answers. However, the historians involved in the textbook revision never really abandoned their epistemological approach based on the assumption that the past has an inner, given meaning that is not open for relativistic interpretation. The historians in the commissions made some approaches to what Seixas has called a postmodern approach to history teaching, but without abandoning their reconstructionist genre position.

The issue of agency in history was also of great concern for the commissions of experts, and this concern was related to the epistemological discussions on truth and different narratives. It could be argued that it was by experimenting with agency that the commissions were able to make different narratives meet. By not acknowledging the same agents in different narratives, it was possible to maintain the national narrative without offending others. This was accomplished by either utilizing passive voice or by making "opposing nations" diverse and divided, thereby avoiding implicating entire nations as culprits or adversaries. At the same time, the protagonist of each narrative was still an undivided nation, which made it possible to tell the story of the nation with less animosity toward other nations.

The epistemological problems faced by the Norden Associations, and how the historians engaged in the revision of textbooks grasped them, might teach us something about the way divergent narratives can be conceptualized without them being deconstructed. The collective memory approach of a reconstructionist genre position, when faced with other collective memories, answering other collective questions, may have a smaller gap to at least acknowledging the possibility of other perspectives than we might think, and perhaps the gap is smaller than from the constructionist genre position. The national narratives kept their hold on both textbooks and historians in the first half of the twentieth century, but they had to acknowledge other collective memories as, if not legitimate, at least conceivable. What seems to have been the case in this situation was a difficulty in reconciling these assorted collective memories with a disciplinary constructionist approach, showing the methodological and theoretical tools needed in order to establish historical facts. Instead, the differences

were in some sense acknowledged, due to the (perceived) need to teach different histories in different cultural settings. Nationalism is in a sense universal; the nationalist can recognize other nationalistic interpretations. However, in the logic of nationalism (as described by Anderson), there is a formal universal applicability of nation; that is, everyone belongs to (or should belong to) a nation, but at the same time the nation of any given nationalist is irrevocably exclusive in that, for example, the Danish nation is one of a kind.[51] This leads into the ability to acknowledge other's need to tell history differently, but at the same time it leads into the failure to acknowledge the contingency of history itself, because one way of telling the story (our way) is the right way and the contingency is only inherent in others' narratives.

The constructionist question "How do we get to an even better history, a 'Pan-Nordic' history?" was largely obscured behind the nationalistic hegemony of the time, most obviously implanted in the national organization of the textbook revision itself. However, it was also difficult to get to that question with historians who were not really open to a constructionist genre position.

Notes

1. See, for example, Karina V. Korostelina and Simone Lässig, eds., *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects* (London: Routledge, 2013); Gi Woon Shin and Daniel C. Sneider, eds., *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia* (London: Routledge, 2011); Steffi Richter, ed., *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008). I have also elaborated on this in Henrik Åström Elmersjö, "Historical Culture and Peace Education: Some Issues for History Teaching as a Means of Conflict Resolution," in *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives in Global Education*, ed. Ruth Reynolds et al. (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015), 161–72.
2. Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003); Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Knopf, 1997); Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also, Mario Carretero, Mikel

Asensio, and María Rodríguez-Moneo, eds., *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte: IAP, 2012).
3. Henrik Åström Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien: Perspektiv på föreningarna Nordens historieläroboksrevision 1919–1972* [Nordic national history: Perspectives on the revision of history textbooks by the Norden Associations, 1919–1972] (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013). I use the terms "Scandinavia/Scandinavian" and "Norden/Nordic" interchangeably, meaning the countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and their respective realms.
4. Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 302. See also Henrik Åström Elmersjö, "The Norden Associations and International Efforts to Change History Education, 1919–1970: International Organisations, Education, and Hegemonic Nationalism," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 6 (2015).
5. Harald Sundberg, "Om Nordens historia i skolundervisningen" [Nordic history in education], in *Att studera Nordens historia* [Studying Nordic history], ed. Nils Andrén et al. (Stockholm: Norden Association, 1992), 17–23.
6. For a discussion on the differences between *beyond* and *between*, see Marcelo Caruso, "Within, Between, Above, and Beyond: (Pre) positions for a History of the Internationalisation of Educational Practices and Knowledge," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014): 10–26.
7. See, for example, Simon Larsson, *Intelligensaristokrater och arkivmartyrer: Normerna för vetenskaplig skicklighet i svensk historieforskning 1900–1945* [Aristocrats of the intellect and martyrs of the archive: The norms of academic excellence in the Swedish discipline of history, 1900–1945] (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2010), 11–16.
8. Keith Jenkins and Alan Munslow, "Introduction," in *The Nature of History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins and Alan Munslow (London: Routledge, 2004), 1–18.
9. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in Schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York

University Press, 2000), 19–37. For a comprehensive discussion about these concepts, see the introduction (Chap. 1) to this volume.

10. Falk Pingel, "Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbooks as a Means to Reconciliation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 181–98.
11. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 167.
12. Rolf Torstendahl, *The Rise and Propagation of Historical Professionalism* (London: Routledge, 2015), 129–41; Jan Eyvind Myhre, "Wider Connections: International Networks among European Historians," in *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, ed. Ilara Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 266–87.
13. For Nordic historiography see, Frank Meyer and Jan Eivind Myhre, eds., *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2000).
14. Göran Andolf, "Nationalism och objektivitet i historieböckerna" [Nationalism and objectivity in the history textbooks], in *Att vara svensk: Föredrag vid Vitterhetsakademiens symposium 12–13 april 1984* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985), 7.
15. Memorandum from the (Norwegian) Norden Association, "Det nordiske samarbeide og historieundervisningen" [Nordic cooperation and history education], *Den høiere skole*, no. 8 (1922): 308. My translation.
16. Ibid., 310. My translation.
17. Ibid., 314. My translation.
18. See, for example, Ingela Nilsson, *Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsfostran och historieundervisning 1919–1939* [Nationalism in the service of peace: The Swedish school peace league, peace education, and history teaching, 1919–1939] (Umeå: Umeå University, 2015); Mona Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1919–1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO* (Wrocław: Polskiej Akademii, 1962).

19. Georg Stöber, "From Textbook Comparison to Common Textbooks? Changing Patterns in International Textbook Revision," in *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, ed. Karina V. Korostelina and Simone Lässig (London: Routledge, 2013), 34.
20. Wilhelm Carlgren, A. R. Cederberg, Knud Kretzschmer, and Haakon Vigander, eds., *Nordens läroböcker i historia: Ömsesidig granskning verkställd av Föreningarna Nordens facknämnder* [Nordic history textbooks: Reciprocal review carried out by the Norden Associations' commissions of experts] (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1937).
21. Sigfrid Andgren and Arne Bergsgård, "Den svensk-norska unionen 1814–1905" [The Swedish-Norwegian union, 1814–1905], in *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia II* [Disputed questions in Nordic history II], ed. Alexander Mickwitz et al. (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1950), 125–220, especially 126.
22. Ibid., 143. My translation.
23. Jalmari Jaakkola, "Till frågan om Sverige och Finland under medeltiden" [On the issue of Sweden and Finland during the Middle Ages], in *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia II* [Disputed questions in Nordic history II], ed. Alexander Mickwitz et al. (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1950), 25. My translation.
24. This might be true in any academic discipline if we consider culture as an internal part of academic scholarship and not merely external. See David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 88.
25. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!"
26. Jaakkola, "Till frågan"; A. R. Cederberg, "Sverige och Finland 1523–1809"; Gunnar Sarva, "Nationalitetsfrågan i Finland efter skilsmässan från Sverige" [The question of nationality in Finland after the partition from Sweden]; Åke Stille, "Sverige-Finland från äldsta tid till 1809" [Sweden-Finland from ancient times to 1809]; Ingvar Peterzén, "Nationalitetsfrågan i Finland efter skilsmässan från Sverige: Några randanmärkningar" [The question of nationality in Finland after the partition from Sweden: A few annotations], in *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia II* [Disputed questions in Nordic history II], ed. Alexander Mickwitz et al. (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1950).

27. See, for example, Frank Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History?* (London: Routledge, 2003 [1991]); Robert J. Parkes, "Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum," *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–32.
28. For a discussion on the problematic concept of "group," see Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity Without Groups," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 163–89.
29. Keith C. Barton, "Agency, Choice, and Historical Action: How History Teaching Can Help Students Think About Democratic Decision Making," *Citizenship Teaching & Learning* 7, no. 2 (2012): 131–42.
30. See, for example, Luis Ajagán-Lester, *"De Andra:" Afrikaner i svenska pedagogiska texter (1768–1965)* ["The Others:" Africans in Swedish pedagogical texts (1768–1965)] (Stockholm: HLS Förlag, 2000); Stuart Foster, "Whose History? Portrayal of Immigrant Groups in U.S. History Textbooks, 1800–Present," in *What Shall We Tell the Children: International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*, ed. Stuart Foster and Keith A. Crawford (Greenwich: IAP, 2006), 155–78; Keith A. Crawford, "A Vicious and Barbarous Enemy: Germans and Germany in British History Textbooks, 1930–1960," *International Textbook Research*, 30, no. 1 (2008): 522–23; Bente Aamotsbakken, "Pictures of Greenlanders and Samis in Norwegian and Danish Textbooks," in *Opening the Mind or Drawing Boundaries? History Texts in Nordic Schools*, ed. Þorsteinn Helgason and Simone Lässig (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010).
31. See, for example, Peter Seixas, "Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding," in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, ed. David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance (New York: Blackwell, 1996), 765–83; Stuart Foster and Adrian Burgess, "Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content: Representations of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 2 (2013): 20–38; Barton, "Agency, Choice, and Historical Action."
32. Hans Almgren, Börje Bergström and Arne Löwgren, *Alla tiders historia Maxi*, 2nd ed. (Malmö: Gleerups, 2007), 534.

33. The (Norwegian) Norden Association, “Det nordiske samarbeide,” 310. My translation.
34. Carlgren et al., *Nordens läroböcker i historia*, 14–17.
35. Ibid.
36. Andgren and Bergsgård, “Den svensk-norska unionen,” 219. My translation.
37. Ibid. My translation.
38. Carlgren et al., *Nordens läroböcker i historia*, 178–79.
39. Ibid., 30. My translation, their emphasis.
40. Another example of the utility of the passive voice has been shown with regard to Finnish textbooks’ depiction of the Finnish civil war (1918). By utilizing the passive voice, the victimhood of one side in the conflict could be recognized without implicating the other side directly. Katri Annika Wessel, “Aspects of the Representation of the Finnish War of 1918 and the Winter War (1939–1940) in Finnish Textbooks,” in *Freund- und Feindbilder in Schulbüchern*, ed. Arsen Djurović and Eva Matthes (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2010).
41. The impact of the revision on this textbook is elaborated upon in the foreword, see Carl Grimberg, *Sveriges historia för folkskolan* [Swedish history for primary school], 11th edition (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1935), III. See also Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien*, 226–27.
42. Carl Grimberg, *Sveriges historia för folkskolan* [Swedish history for primary school], 8th edition (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1930), 332.
43. Grimberg, *Sveriges historia*, 11th edition, 305–6.
44. Brit Marie Hovland, “From a Narrative of Suffering to a Narrative of Growth: Norwegian History Textbooks in the Inter-War Period,” *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 57, no. 6 (2013): 625–38.
45. A recent study engages with the division of the Swedish people on the matter of the dissolution of the union, with special attention paid to the Swedish labour movement’s dedication to the Norwegian cause. Kalle Holmqvist, *Fred med Norge: Arbetarrörelsen och unionsupplösningen 1905* [Peace with Norway: The labour movement and the dissolution of the union in 1905] (Stockholm: Murbruk förlag, 2015).
46. See Rudolf Kjellén, *Världskrigets politiska problem* [The political problem of the World War] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag,

1915); Geoffrey Parker, *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

47. Parker, *Western Geopolitical Thought*; David Thomas Murphy, *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997), vii.
48. See Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien*, 240–44.
49. Olof Ribbing, "De nordiska rikenas inbördes militära förhållanden under tiden 1521–1814 i nutida framställningar" [The Nordic countries' internal military conflicts during the period 1521–1814, in contemporary accounts], in *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia II* [Disputed questions in Nordic history II], ed. Alexander Mickwitz et al. (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1950), 12. My translation.
50. Georg Landberg and Poul Colding, "Danmark-Norge og Sverige 1523–1814" [Denmark-Norway and Sweden, 1523–1814], in *Omstridda spörsmål i Nordens historia I* [Disputed questions in Nordic history I], ed. Alexander Mickwitz et al. (Helsinki: Norden Association, 1940), 77–98. See also Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien*, 242. The responsibility of historians to acknowledge choices is also elaborated upon in modern history didactical research. It has even been considered recklessly irresponsible to present the past as predetermined. Jörn Rüsen, *Kann gestern besser warden? Zum Bedenken der Geschichte* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2002), 47–87.
51. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]), 5.

CHAPTER 3

The Lure of Grand Narratives: A Dilemma for History Teachers

Sirkka Ahonen

Introduction

The last few decades have been marked by debates about instrumentalization of the past in history education. In the background of the debate, there is the double function of history lessons: they are, firstly, expected to provide people with elements of historical identity and, secondly, to foster critical skills in judging evidence and explaining events. The first function, related to identity building and called "reconstructionist" in the introduction of this book, tends to appeal to authoritarian political leaders, while the critical lessons, called "a disciplinary approach" by Seixas, is considered the most essential in liberal societies. The liberal, "disciplinary" approach flourished in the western countries between 1970 and 2000. Curricula were focused on critical faculties, and textbooks included contradictory sources and accounts. Students were taught to be suspicious toward monoperspectival linear histories, and teachers were encouraged to be problem-oriented instead of story-reproductive.

S. Ahonen (✉)
University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_3

After 2000, a post-liberal era dawned. The liberal approach, that in the 1990s had been adopted also in the secessionist countries of post-Soviet Eastern Central Europe, was eventually replaced by educational pursuits related to nation-building projects. Nationalistic politics of history overtook the liberal idea of critical and multiperspectival history education.

In the post-liberal phase, teachers experience a pressure by political leaders to resume hegemonic national canons as the backbones of history syllabi. Instead of the focus on critical skills, curricula of the 2000s provide lists of nationally significant events and periods, the selection of which is based on the experience of the mainstream population. Russia and Hungary provide striking examples of post-liberal history curricula. In Russia, the Kremlin conducts a project of making history a source of national pride and, in Hungary, Viktor Orbán's government has included in the constitution a mandatory interpretation of the past, which elevates the national cause, including aspirations of territorial restitution. In both cases, school curricula are expected to be the main tools of history politics. In Russia, Vladimir Putin has employed a team to compose a hegemonic, common textbook with a national ethos.

Eastern Central Europe is not alone in taking a post-liberal turn. For example, in France, Nicolas Sarkozy, during his presidency, proposed a law in 2007, according to which history education should emphasize the glory of the nation instead of fostering shame of the country's colonial past. The recovery of national grand narratives and equivalent educational canons have been urged by right-wing politicians in many countries, where previously a critical and multiperspectival approach had been established. The new history politics constitute a dilemma to teachers, who in many cases have stood up to resist them. In this chapter, the politics of history education is studied in theory and practice.

The first subchapter studies the role of grand narratives in the different fields of history, above all, in public and vernacular presentations of the past, including history education. The second and third subchapters explain why grand narratives are unsustainable, first, epistemologically and, secondly, ethically. The fourth subchapter discusses hegemonic curricular canons as politics of history education, while the fifth subchapter introduces examples of history educators combating the grand narratives and canons. Finally, the sixth chapter advocates deliberation as the appropriate discourse in history teaching. Concluding remarks return to the problem of the politically urged grand narratives, as they are resisted by educators.

In the chapter, I will refer to a number of European examples, the acquaintance with which is based on my comparative study on the use of history in post-conflict societies and my long-term interest in history politics in post-Soviet Eastern and Eastern Central Europe.[1]

The Fields of Making History, Narrative Form and Grand Narratives

History, as representations of the past, is an existential, life-relevant human activity. All humans rewind and forward their life as a necessary precondition for orientation to changes in time. Therefore, history in its broad sense is not an antagonism to memory. History is produced and processed, apart from academic research, in the public culture of history and in vernacular, social memory. The academic field of making history is the narrowest field of the three.

Public history, called "the culture of history" in German and Nordic discussion, consists of cultural artifacts like museum exhibitions, monuments, commemoration rituals and different kinds of historical fiction. Some artifacts are commercially and some administratively produced. Within the public history, there is a domain of "official history," the extension of which depends on the degree of authoritarianism in a society.

History education in school is part of public history. It is not a spin-off of academic history, as its contents are influenced by political power and its form as knowledge by pedagogical considerations. In teaching, history educators combine the basic requirements of epistemological validity to the demands of social relevance and pedagogical feasibility. In order to integrate students' experiences, history teachers refer to public history and social memory in their teaching.

The three fields of making history interact. Academic historians share the social memory of their community. Neither are they independent of public political concerns when choosing what to research. Reciprocally, their research results influence public history and eventually also social memory (Fig. 3.1).[2]

The form of knowledge differs between the fields of history. While academic historians often resort to the structural explanation of events and write analytically organized texts, public history and social memory are characterized by the narrative form of knowledge. According to the

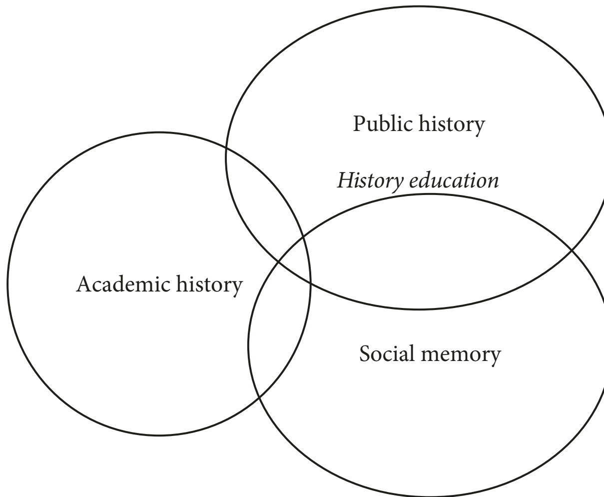


Fig. 3.1 Fields of making history

current theories of history and to the psychology of cognition, both forms are legitimate.

When defining the narrative mode of explanation, theoreticians of history refer back as far as to Aristotle, who differentiated between making inferences from empirical observations of the physical nature and pursuing an understanding of the intentions of human actors. While natural phenomena were explained causally, human action was made sense of by means of finalistic reasoning. Natural events had causes, social acts reasons. The Finnish philosopher Georg Henrik von Wright has formulated the finalist reasoning as "practical syllogisms," the syntax of which is as follows:

> an agent wants to bring about P;
> the agent considers that he cannot bring about P unless he performs action G;
> therefore, the agent sets himself to perform G.[3]

In the clause, P is the reason, the explicant, and G is the act to be explained. A narrative typically incorporates an agent and a reason.

Beside philosophers, also cognitive psychologists acknowledge the narrative mode of knowledge. Jerome Bruner distinguishes between two

paradigms of thinking, namely a deductive-causal mode of explanation, required in sciences, and a narrative mode, necessary in humanities.[4]

In social memory and public history, a narrative form is essential as it enables people to see coherence in episodes and events. In other words, narratives provide a community with a discursive togetherness.

The narrative accounts of human action are susceptible to moral judgment. The intentions of actors may be morally good or bad. The moral distinctions customarily make the narratives of the past meaningful. Moral narratives abound in the history classrooms of post-conflict societies, where claims of guilt and victimhood rule the views of the past. Moreover, globally traveling morally loaded arch-myths are used to bolster the narratives. The Old Testament has provided narrators with myths of a promised land, God-chosen people, David versus Goliath and Divine Redemption. Moral polarization makes rhetorically powerful narratives that may eventually turn performative, mobilizing people to political action.[5]

Grand narratives are ideologically framed representations of the past. Epistemologically, they exit the mode of intentional explanation, as they refer to transcendental forces, above all to ideologies, as drivers of history. In grand narratives, the course of events looks inevitable and deterministic. The narratives cover a long stretch of time and encompass the whole of a community, the grandest of them being the whole humanity. They appear as canons in history curricula and monuments in public history. The most common grand narratives are those framed by nationalism, liberalism and Marxism.

For example, the grand narrative of a nation-state starts with the assumption of the primordial origins of a nation, which are ethnic or linguistic and therefore exclude the groups which do not fit the criteria because of being a minority or having entered the territory later. The nation as the supreme historical actor is portrayed enduring in the struggle for survival and valiant in combating “the other.”[6]

The grand narrative of freedom is traditionally told with Europe acting in the main role. The narrative starts from the Athenian democracy, proceeds to English Magna Carta, further to the French Revolution and its Declaration of Human Rights, and finally triumphs as the global expansion of the Western liberal democracy after the Second World War. In historiography, the grand narrative of freedom was elegantly articulated by British Whig historians of the nineteenth century, and, in the end of the

twentieth century, manifested by Francis Fukuyama in his widely known book *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992).

The grand narrative of Marxism was based on a theoretical construction of a dialectical law of revolutions as the driving force of history. Slave society was revolved to feudal society, which was turned into a bourgeois society and, inevitably and conclusively, into a communist society. In the case of Russia, V.I. Lenin adjusted the theory to suit a society where the stage of a bourgeois revolution had not been reached before a communist revolution. Instead of the disappearance of state, which according to Karl Marx was a criterion of communism, the revolutionaries of 1917 assumed the inevitability of a proletarian state dictatorship.

The grand ideological narratives are a heritage from the nineteenth century. An addition to the list was constituted by the post-Second World War narrative of welfare states, that is, the progress of social and economic security—especially in the Nordic countries, where the period from the 1930s up to the 1980s can be characterized as "a social democratic era," the previous past being presented in textbooks and popular history culture as inhumanly poor and insecure. The bright times dawned when universal welfare legislation was passed. Up to the end of the twentieth century, the supporters of the narrative assumed that welfare would inevitably be growing forever.

The grand narratives were materialized in school curricula as substantive canons. History syllabi were organized in terms of the ideologically most significant events. For example, the grand story of nation-state characteristically started with a foundation story, based on a unified ethnic origin, proceeded with the representation of the golden age of cultural achievements with episodes of resilient defense of self-determination, the ultimate fulfillment being the nation-state. Temporary lapses from the progressive line were put within parentheses and dealt with as undue exceptions of the predetermined development. The ordeal of the excluded "other" was ignored.

The grand narratives crumbled one by one in the course of the late twentieth century. The triumph of liberty proved questionable in the course of totalitarian developments during the European inter-war period. The idea of a nation-state lost credibility due to the dark mission of the Nazi army in the Second World War, and the Marxist law of the inevitability of a communist revolution proved untenable when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

All the grand narratives were progressive. Nation-state, liberty and welfare state were bound to triumph. After the crumbling of the narratives, both historians and the public became occupied with the idea of decline, evidence of which appeared in different domains of life.[7] However, the grand narrative of nationalism had a new momentum in post-1990 Eastern Central Europe, where nation-building projects resumed after the collapse of the communist order. Before looking at the recent materializations of the grand narrative as canons in history curricula, the sustainability of grand narratives as knowledge deserves theoretical scrutiny.

Epistemological Unsustainability of Grand Narratives

The epistemological questionability of the grand narratives is connected to the use of transcendental ideas to account for the course of events in the narratives. Transcendental ideas are not evidential in the way the intentions of human actors of the past are. This is obvious in the light of the epistemology of historical knowledge.

History as accounts of the past is not straightforward objective knowledge. Frank Ankersmit has articulated the epistemological nature of history by distinguishing between "referential statements" and "narrative substances." Referential statements are "facts," founded on source-based evidence, while narrative substances are constructed by historians, who attach meaning to the facts, connect them to each other and construct a meaningful account of what happened in the past. The narrative substances do not meet the truth criteria in the way singular facts do. The "facts" objectively refer to evidence, whereas a historian, when accounting for past events, attributes meaning to the facts and uses subjective judgment.[8] When judging the intentions of the past actors and the impact of their choices, the historian is dependent on his or her own cultural context and human capacity of hermeneutic interaction with the past actors. If he or she derives the meaning of the events from transcendental ideas, like he or she composes a grand narrative, the account is totally non-evidential.

In relativizing the historical narratives, the post-modern theoretician of history Hayden White went as far as applying the notion of a linguistic turn to historical knowledge. According to him, history is not a reconstruction of the past but, instead, a textual construction. All history, from scholarly to vernacular representations, consists of rhetorical elements,

among them value-loaded emplotments, like the stories of the victory of freedom or nationhood.[9]

Unlike White, the German philosopher of history Jörn Rüsen regards history different from literary narratives. According to him, a historical explanation is factual, that is, based on evidence. Therefore, transcendent ideas cannot be accepted as explanations.[10] Consequently, the grand narratives anchored in the ideas of freedom, nationhood and class struggle exit the domain of plausible historical representations. Lacking a concern for factuality, grand narratives are misuses of history.

Rüsen categorizes narratives into traditional, exemplary, genetic, and critical accounts. Traditional narratives are the most pregnant with meaning which is derived from big ideas, believed to be imbedded in the course of events. The exemplary approach implies picking events and acts from the past on the basis of their moral meaning, while a genetic narrative impregnated the past with meanings that are relevant for the posterity. The critical accounts imply the deconstruction of the ideological meaning-content of traditional narratives. Subsequently, grand narratives have been eroded by critical multiperspectival dealings with the past.[11]

Ethical Questionability of Grand Narratives

Grand narratives traditionally served the social purpose of unifying communities by means of ethical codes they conveyed. The codes were imposed on people to make elements of collective identity. According to the German culturalist Jan Assmann, "The group acquires its identity as a group by reconstructing its past togetherness."[12] The moral tenets are essential in the reconstructed narrative. The need of social belonging and moral assurance make the big public receptive to grand narratives.

However, in the post-modern fragmented world, the chances of a uniform collective identity are thinner than before. The past has consequentially lost much of its symbolic potential in building collective identity.[13] It may look as individuals would rather assume changeable social roles than lasting identities. French post-modernist sociologists characterize current societies as masquerades, where persons choose roles rather on the basis of desire than social expediency. Still, political elites trust the power of collective identity and keep attempting to impose it, including the imbedded moral values, on people.

The ethical problem of the use of grand narratives for building collective identities is constituted by their social exclusiveness. The core requirement

of the ethics of history is to be fair to the past people. Fairness means social inclusiveness. The experiences of the different groups of the society need to be equitably included in a historical narrative for it to be fair. The grand narratives are not fair, as they reflect the interests of the dominant group in a society and tend to compromise "the other" as culturally and morally inferior to the dominant group.

The ethical deficit embedded in grand narratives was acknowledged after the post-colonial turn in history and social sciences. According to social philosophers like Jean-François Lyotard, the grand narratives lost their legitimation as knowledge because of not acknowledging the discursive multiplicity of the "post-modern," that is, post-colonial, era. In the post-colonial historiography, previously repressed groups, among them colonised people, women, blue-collar workers and cultural minorities, are recognized as actors of history and encouraged to compose and present their own histories. "Macronarratives" are asked to be substituted by post-colonial "micronarratives" which minority groups can identify with. The inclusion of stories about common people became the criterion for the validity of post-colonial history.[14]

In public history, including school textbooks, the ethical quest for fairness brought up the white spots in the grand narratives. Whenever an act did not fit into the narrative of progressive nationhood, liberty or class struggle, it was left as a white spot. White spots were numerous. In the Soviet grand narrative, with the Second World War as its high point, no space was given to the Hitler–Stalin Pact of 1939, which was fatal to the Baltic peoples. In the grand narrative of France, the participation in Holocaust or the grim side of the colonial period were not included. In Israel, the textbooks long ignored the existence of Palestine, even in the context of the inter-war period when Palestine was the official name of the Mandate. Such omissions offend the historical identity of "the others" in a society.[15]

The post-colonial approach to history rendered the white spots ethically questionable and the grand narratives in general obsolete. In the terms of the ethics of history, grand narratives were not fair accounts of the past, as they excluded the rivaling narratives of marginalized groups.

Hegemonic Canons as Politics of History Education

In the post-liberal era, grand narratives, despite their epistemological and ethical unsustainability, still appeal to political leaders. In the post-communist countries of Eastern, Eastern Central and South Eastern Europe, the leaders urge a revival of national grand narratives. In education, they want to convert the narratives into hegemonic curricular canons, which consist of the high points of the narratives, meant to be identified with by all citizens, as examples from Russia and Hungary will show in the following.

In Russia, Vladimir Putin established a commission in 2009 to rebuff "the falsification of history." Above all, he wanted to maintain the iconic story of the Second World War, in Russia known as "the great patriotic war" as a testimony of national tenacity and heroism. The Russians would be forever entitled to be proud of their fatherland. The schools would be the key agent of patriotic reconstruction.[16]

On the pretext, that teachers in the post-Soviet situation were "confused" about how to deal with Russian history, Putin advocated a common textbook obligatory for all schools, with the mission of defending the grand national narrative. The Kremlin employed in 2013 a special team to compose a list of topics necessarily required in all textbooks. The topics would form a moral canon that would mold loyal citizens for Russia. The textbooks were expected to "stress the heroic acts by Russians as examples of great patriotism and sacrifices for the fatherland," instead of "mourning past mistake and crimes."[17] "The pupils have to be convinced, that what is presented is the true history, and build a wall against other interpretations," commented the head of the History Institute of the Moscow Academy of Sciences on the textbook project.[18]

Putin's history project was institutionalized in 2014 by "a law to counter attempts to infringe on historical memory in relation to events of World War II."[19] This meant the sanctioning of the nationalistic canon in the official school curriculum. The *leitmotif* of the aspired common textbook would consist of the greatness of Russia, which lasted through centuries independently of changing regimes and social formations. The textbook would start from the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Moscow as the result of military conquests in the fifteenth century and continue as a story of invincible rulers. The narrative would testify of the necessity and

blessing of a strong state and would be the foundation of an all-Russian national identity.[20]

In another post-communist country, Hungary, an equivalent revival of the grand national narrative, has been pursued by the political elites since 1990. The first post-communist Hungarian parliament, elected in 1990 by free and open vote, promptly passed a law that sanctioned the new official interpretation of history, according to which the Trianon peace settlement from 1920 was the morally obliging core of the national narrative. In the peace settlement which followed the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary was split between Rump-Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Italy. Nationalist Hungarians regarded the dismembered areas, inhabited with substantial Hungarian populations, as unjustly stripped parts of the fatherland. In the 2000s, the dismemberment was mourned in the connection to the political revival of the grand narrative of the Hungarian nation. The narrative was institutionalized in the *preamble* of Hungary's new constitution of 2011, which included "a national confession" solemnly signed by "We, the members of the Hungarian nation." The constitution stipulated four obliging causes of pride for Hungarians: The heritage of St Stephen, the founder of Hungary, the struggle for independence over centuries, the cultural achievements of the nation and the centuries-long defense of Europe against Islam.[21] The topics were to be duly introduced to school history as the tenets of the grand national narrative.

"The national confession" was received by the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries as a call to undo the Trianon settlement and led to history wars and political unrest.[22] The developments constituted an example of symbolic history wars turning performative.

The rewriting of history in Russia and Hungary reflects general developments in Eastern Central and South Eastern Europe since the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In the secessionist countries, liberal democracy was adopted as the form of government, but in culture and politics, a liberal discourse competed with nationalistic aspirations. In the former Soviet Socialist Republic of Estonia, the Marxist grand narrative was substituted by a nationalistic grand narrative in the civil society of the late 1980s. The Soviet Union as "the fatherland" was replaced by Estonia, the annexation to the Soviet Union renamed "an occupation" and the historical icons of nationhood from the short national independence in 1918–1940 re-installed in history culture and education.[23] The subsequent severe contradiction with Russian-speaking Estonians, nearly

40 per cent of the population, was manifested in 2007 by a history war about the Bronze Soldier, a Soviet-era monument to the Red Army. Most of the Soviet-era history culture had been removed from the public sphere already in the course of the 1990s. The violent schism around the Bronze Soldier reified the collision of Estonian and Russian nationalisms.[24]

In the other example of a secessionist state, Bosnia-Herzegovina, a history war between the Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs accompanied a three-year-long and exceptionally bloody armed conflict. Mythically bolstered ethnic grand narratives were used by political leaders to flame and lengthen the war. Apart from regarding themselves as victims of ethnic cleansing and even genocide, all parties referred back to the past to prove the historical victimhood of oneself and the guilt of the other. The Serbs began their story of victimhood with the battle of Kosovo in 1389 and continued it through the subsequent centuries of oppression by the Ottoman rulers and landowners. Croats stressed their centuries-long bravery as *antemurale christianitatis*. All parties used the compromising terms assumed in the ethnic clashes during the Second World War: Muslims were called “Turks,” Croats “Ustashas” and Serbs “Chetniks.” The animosities of that period had not been openly dealt with, as the autocratic post-war leader of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, in the name of socialist “brotherhood and unity,” had prohibited the mediation and discussion on the ethnic narratives. The post-Titoist leaders did not hesitate to revitalize the narratives of guilt and victimhood and advocate their use in public history and textbooks.[25]

History Educators Combating Grand Narratives and Hegemonic Canons

In the ideological age, when public schools were harnessed to spread faith in common grand narratives, history had been a hegemonic subject, highly regarded in school curriculum. However, late in the 1970s, educationists renounced the sustainability of the narratives as the canons of history curricula.

British educators led the transition from substantive canons to critical lessons. They wanted history education to adhere to the positivist theory of knowledge, which would in teaching imply references to evidence instead of ideas. In the project *The Schools History*, the teaching material consisted of authentic sources and mutually contradictory texts. The

pupils were asked to critically judge the evidence and individually find their way among the contradictory texts. The curriculum of the *Schools History* project did not provide any vertical long line history of Britain, Europe or the world, as long as linear stories were considered non-evidential.[26]

The positivistic, anti-ideological *Schools History* came under attack from British conservative politicians already before the actual post-liberal turn of the 2000s. The politicians wanted the big boys and the glorious moments of the nation back to the school curriculum. Why teach history if it did not empower people with pride of the past and provide bright prospects for the future? However, history teachers in general favored problem-based and skills-training teaching, which they found intellectually sound and civically useful. History was considered to be a hard but rewarding subject by its students.[27] Therefore, the critical anti-grand-narratives ethos was sustained in history teaching also when the curricula were centralized and unified in the 1990s.[28]

Similar battles were fought in many other countries. A socially critical, anti-colonialist "history from below" approach was adopted by history educators in countries like the USA[29] and Australia,[30] and became predictably attacked by conservative politicians and cultural critics. "Micronarratives" were accused of blurring the national identity for young people. In the USA, Ronald Reagan blamed teachers for making young Americans more knowledgeable of exotic tribes than pilgrim fathers. In Australia, the conservative prime minister John Howard called the critics of Australian grand pioneer narrative "black armband historians," who denied Australia's Western heritage. The history war was continuously fought between the political parties, Labour and the Conservative Party.[31]

In France, the post-liberal turn of the 2000s became personified by Nicolas Sarkozy and materialized by his proposal for special history laws that would commit history teachers to a constructively positive national narrative. However, teachers proved resilient in their defense of socially critical history lessons and joined mass demonstrations in support of their professionally critical ethos, as widely reported by the international mass media.

In the transitional societies of Europe, teachers' reactions to the political revival of grand national narratives have varied. In Russia, during the liberal era of the1990s, many teachers had internalized the critical approach to historical interpretation and now find it hard to be receptive to the call for Putin's call for uniform, ideologically framed lessons. They rather dodge the Kremlin's history politics and insist on the freedom of

choice regarding textbooks and classroom discourse. Minority communities, for example, the Crimean Tatars, continued to author their own textbooks. For the minorities, it was the universal right to ethnic identity rather than the didactics of critical thinking which was at stake, but in any case, the refusal of uniform history indicates a resistance to authoritative grand narratives. The aspired recognition of minority narratives would imply a symbolic redistribution of power.[32]

Hegemonic narratives constitute an especially severe problem in the societies where they were antagonistic to social memory. History wars are in such cases fought asymmetrically between those in power and those seeking recognition. Estonia after 1990 and Bosnia-Herzegovina after 1995 are striking examples of history used for symbolical power struggle.

In Estonia, the new independence, achieved in 1990, was manifested by history syllabi that left the Soviet period in parenthesis and thus denounced the Russian-speaking minority as invaders. The syllabi elevated the short Estonian independence of the inter-war period into an essential part of the grand narrative of the nation, while the 40 years of Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was portrayed as ruthless occupation and cultural decline. As a result, the Russian-speaking schools opted for textbooks imported from Moscow, and their pupils were taught to revere the Soviet performance in the Second World War. The duality of lessons lasted up to 1996, when a common curriculum was imposed on all schools.[33]

The enlargement of the European Union as the prospect, the international community pursued the introduction of a dialogical approach to Estonian history education. The EUROCLIO started the project Baltic Matra, with the purpose of making history teachers acquainted with the critical use of contradictory sources and the approach of the "history from below." The pursuit was materialized in a package of teaching material, produced in cooperation between local teachers and European experts, consisting of evidence from the daily life of ordinary people during the Soviet period.[34] The evidence was expected to show the universality of human needs and desires and, on that ground, enable a reconciling dialogue in the classrooms.

The impact of the intervention by EUROCLIO has not been empirically surveyed. As one of the European experts of the project, I witnessed varied responses by the teachers who were summoned by EUROCLIO to in-service training seminars in different towns of Estonia. "As we now finally can teach the real truth about the past, we do not need multiple perspectives to it," was a typical response.

Bosnia-Herzegovina provides an example of multiple attempts by the international community to intervene in history education. The international community regarded itself responsible for the peace settlement that had been orchestrated by it in Dayton, USA, in 1995, and organized the country into autonomous entities, entitled to their own institutions. Consequently, Muslims, Croats and Serbs each established their own schools, including ethnically specific curricula, teachers and teaching materials. Therefore, physical preconditions for an open dialogue about the difficult past did not exist.

The intervention by the international community included projects by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe, the Soros Fund, Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook Research and the EUROCLIO. The international, civic intervention was reminiscent of the above-mentioned efforts of the EUROCLIO in the Baltics to introduce critical and multiperspectival skills of historical interpretation and explanation and, moreover, to integrate social memory and history education.[35] The EUROCLIO educators thus aligned with the view of history as a social pursuit of fulfilling the existential needs of orientation in a community.

Throughout the 2000s, the Council of Europe organized teachers' seminars, where source criticism and multiperspectival explanation of historical events were practized with the purpose of providing tools for the deconstruction of biased and mythical representations of the past. However, the textbooks, even those written in the 2000s, consisted of straightforwardly linear accounts of the events, accompanied by an ethno-specific selection of facts. The EUROCLIO, for its part, adopted the "history from below" approach to the Bosnia-Herzegovinian situation. In cooperation with local teachers, representing Muslims, Croats and Serbs, the EUROCLIO experts produced teaching material to integrate the ethnically different experiences of the past by means of focusing on the history of ordinary life and in that way invited school students to a dialogue about the past.[36]

In the mid-2000s OSCE tackled the problem of divisive history lessons by means of law and official curriculum. The Framework Law of Primary and Secondary Education, launched by the Ministry of Education in 2003, urged a common history curriculum and became materialized by the official state syllabus.[37] However, Serbs and Croats widely refused to accept a common history syllabus.[38] According to Heike Karge's analysis of textbooks, most textbooks maintained an ethno-national bias.[39]

Teachers' response to the guidelines was surveyed in the subsequent years. Tomaso Diegoli's research reveals that teachers insisted on the stereotypical view of conflicts and wars as inherent in Bosnia-Herzegovinian people. They were hesitant about multiperspectival history education, some of them wanting even more ethno-national history in the syllabi.[40] Diegoli's finding was, however, balanced by the survey of parents and pupils by the Open Society Fund, according to which more than half of the respondents regarded the school lessons one-sided and were ready for a multiperspectival discourse.[41]

The Bosnia-Herzegovinian example shows how hard a reconciliation of rivaling histories is to combat from above. Teachers' attitudes are crucial. In the recent cases of Russia and Hungary, no international projects have been launched to support the autonomy of history teachers. However, unofficial encounters with Russian and Hungarian teachers reveal the existence of a professional resistance. According to international media, Russian teachers openly antagonized Putin's Russian-nationalistic interpretation of Ukrainian history.[42] Using the EUROCLIO as the forum, Hungarian teachers have expressed professional criticism against government's history politics.[43] Teacher professionalism has proved resistant to history politics. Enlightened teachers want to assume an open dialogue about the difficult past.

Deliberative Discourse for History Classrooms

In reference to my personal experience of teaching history in the conflict-stricken Bosnia-Herzegovina, I will elaborate the concept of a healing dialogue and advocate "deliberation" as a history-didactical concept.

Jürgen Habermas, who, unlike the French sociologists of the so-called new wave in the 1980s, adheres to the idea of social progress, has introduced the concept of "deliberative democracy" into politics and elaborated "deliberative communication" as its discursive tool. Deliberative democracy is antagonistic to majority votes in decision-making. A multilateral open dialogue, instead of majority votes, would be the adequate mode of decision-making. Decisions would be made only after sufficient reflection and discussion. Resulting decisions would not inevitably satisfy everybody, but everybody would have discursively participated in the decision. No stakeholder would have been reduced to a mute vote. Deliberation would create a truly democratic community and sustain its

capacity of rational choices. In a sustainably democratic community, the power struggle between the majority and minorities would be avoided.

In a school class, the application of Habermas' theory implies a process where the student participation is maximized. In a deliberative school class, every student is given an opportunity to reflect on the topic of discussion.[44] In the history education of conflict-ridden societies, deliberation as a didactic practice enables a healing dialogue. Both the imposture of a hegemonic grand narrative and the pursuit of an opportunely neutral narrative are in a deliberative classroom substituted by a multilateral exchange of different views and arguments. History education would be an arena for dialogue between identity narratives.

The difference between a debate and a deliberative discussion deserves to be clarified. In a debate, opposite positions are taken by the participants beforehand, and the parties concentrate on defending and advocating their own arguments. The debate ends with one party winning and the other losing. In contrast, in a deliberative discussion, the positions of the participants are held open as long as possible. The participants are expected to actively listen to each other. "Before you express your view, please give a summary of what the previous speaker just said," is a customary call by the teacher as the chairperson. By listening to each other, the students learn to acknowledge the rivaling narratives.

Depending on how burdening a past faced by the classroom is, a deliberation is prompted either by the participants telling their own versions of the past or by the teacher introducing a controversial issue (e.g. "Why did the Serbs bomb the national library in Sarajevo?"). In the latter case, the discussion is continued by the analysis of the episode, and eventually ends with a reflection on mutual guilt and victimhood in general. Participants remain entitled to their own identity stories, but will have acknowledged and recognized the others' stories.

The requirements of a deliberative communication are briefly as follows: (1) conflicting stories of the past are exposed and exchanged, (2) the evidence and the epistemological sustainability of the stories are discussed and assessed and (3) the parties are expected to mutually recognize the conflicting arguments embedded in the stories. Thus, the deliberative process does not leave the community as victors and defeated but as partners of an ongoing dialogue.

In my Bosnia-Herzegovinian teaching experience, deliberative communication helped to put the rivaling ethnic grand narratives in reasonable proportions. No straightforward iconoclasm was pursued, as the relevance

of the narratives as the source of social identity was recognized by the teacher. Every student was regarded as entitled to an identity as a member of a historical community, but was expected to recognize the identity stories of "the others." Deliberation was expected to rebuff the abuse of history for hate incitement or political agitation. Conflict-ridden, divided community would hopefully settle in the state of sustained dialogue.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, history was introduced as a broad, life-relevant activity that comprises both scholarly research, production of public history and mediation of social memory. History education was regarded as a domain of public history, with a special exposure to history politics.

I was prompted to write this chapter by the appearance of a "post-liberal turn" in the use of history, in Eastern and Eastern Central Europe in the early 2000s, after the era of universal crumbling of ideological grand narratives and the subsequent period of liberal discourse. Nationalistic leaders in Russia and Hungary have resumed the grand narrative of nationalism as a tool of politics. History educators, who as professionals have an intellectual and social duty to guard the social memory by means of critical thinking, have in the post-liberal situation been urged to bolster the political pursuits of hegemony and state-centrism. Hegemonic canons, framed by the grand narrative of nation-state, have been imposed by political elites on school curricula.

The grand narratives are unsustainable as truths and socially exclusive as identity builders. Both Russian and Hungarian history educators have duly defended their professional ethics and resisted hegemonic history politics. Historical knowledge is by its true nature multiperspectival and history education subsequently dialogical.

In a community where rivaling narratives of the past cruise and often collide, a dialogue is not easy to maintain. Drawing on the Habermasian theory of deliberative communication as the means of democracy, and on my experience of teaching history in conflict-stricken Bosnia-Herzegovina, I ended the chapter with an advocacy for deliberation as the adequate discourse for history teaching.

In a deliberative discussion, the participants are not expected to give up the tenets of their historical identity. In a community, the social need of connectedness is undeniable and bolstered by the narratives of the past. The identity needs of the young people deserve to be recognized in history

education. Nevertheless, in order to meet the requirements of intellectual sanity and social fairness, the identity narratives require an accommodation by a deliberative discourse. Deliberative history classrooms make an arena for a multiperspectival approach to a difficult past and for resistance against hegemonic history politics.

Notes

1. Sirkka Ahonen, *Clio Sans Uniform: A Study of the Post-Marxist Transformation of the History Curricula in East Germany and Estonia, 1986–1991* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1992); Sirkka Ahonen, *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012); Sirkka Ahonen, "Historiaa ilman suuria kertomuksia–historianopetuksen politiikan ongelma," *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 113, no. 1 (2015): 60–73.
2. Jorma Kalela, *Making History: The Historian and the Uses of the Past* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 47–49; Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory," *History & Theory* 41 (2002): 184.
3. Georg Henrik von Wright, *Explanation and Understanding* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), chapter III.
4. Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986).
5. George Schöpflin, "The Function of Myth and Taxonomy of Myths," in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. George Schöpflin and Geoffrey Hosking (London: Hurst, 1997), 19–54; Paul Kolstø, *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe* (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), passim.
6. See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
7. See, for example, Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966); Clive Ponting, *The Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of the Great Civilisations* (London: Penguin, 1991); Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: A History of the World from the 1920s to the 1980s* (London: Weidenfeld and

Nicolson, 1983); Assaf Razin, *The Decline of the Welfare State: Demography and Globalisation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

8. Frank Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
9. Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History & Theory* 23 (1984): 1–33.
10. Jörn Rüsen, *Historik: Theorie der Geschichtwissenschaft* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 158–160.
11. Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 63–85; David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 63–85.
12. Jan Assmann and Rodney Livingstone, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 94.
13. Carr, *Time, Narrative and History*, 233.
14. Jean-François Lyotard, *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979), 7.
15. About Palestine in historiography, see Asima A. Ghazi-Bouillon, *Understanding the Middle East Peace Process. Israeli Academia and the Struggle for Identity* (London: Routledge, 2009), 131.
16. Istoriko-kul'turny standart. Proekt, 2013: 10. Alexander Khodnev, "The History of Colonialism and Decolonization in the Russian Educational Curriculum and the Challenges to History Didactics," in *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2014* (Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2014), 185; Markku Kangaspuro, "Pääkirjoitus," *Idäntutkimus* 4 (2013), 1–2; Jukka Mallinen, "Venäjälle luodaan mahtikäskyllä uutta historiaa," *Kanava* 6 (2013), 21–24.
17. Quoted in Jussi Niemeläinen, "Venäjä yhtenäistää historiankirjojaan," *Helsingin Sanomat*, August 28, 2013, A 22.
18. Quoted in Mallinen, "Venäjälle luodaan mahtikäskyllä uutta historiaa," 23.
19. http://eng.kremlin.ru/acts/7117/ (President of Russia).
20. Kangaspuro, *Idäntutkimus*, 1–2; Mallinen, *Kanava*, 21–24.
21. Katalyn Miklossy, "Unkarin perustuslaki ja valikoiva muisti," *Idäntutkimus* 4 (2013): 3–10.
22. Heino Nyyssönen, "Ungarn i skuggan av Trianon," *Nordisk østforum* 18 (2004): 43–57.

23. Ahonen, *Clio Sans Uniform*, 119–21.
24. Pilvi Torsti, "Why do History Politics Matter? The Case of the Estonian Bronze Soldier," in *The Cold War and the Politics of History*, ed. Juhana Aunesluoma and Pauli Kettunen (Helsinki: Edita, 2008), 19–36.
25. Ahonen, *Coming to Terms*, 120–33.
26. Denis Shemilt, *History 13–16: Evaluation Study* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1980), passim.
27. Richard Harris and Terry Haydn, "Pupils' Enjoyment of History: What lessons Can Teachers Learn from Their Pupils?" *Curriculum Journal* 17 (2006): 315–33.
28. Robert Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* (London: Cassell, 1998), passim.
29. Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), passim.
30. Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), passim.
31. Ibid.
32. Dissident views and aspirations were expressed by Russian teachers in the all-European history education conference in Erfurt, Germany, organised by the EUROCLIO, the standing conference of history educators in Europe in April 2013.
33. Ahonen, *Clio Sans Uniform*, 126–28; Mare Oja, "Changing Approach Toward the Past. How Do History Teachers Assess the Changes in History Education in General Education in Estonia from the Middle of the 1980s to Today?," in *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2014* (Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2014), 263–92.
34. See the handbook *Tagasivaade minevikku – erinevad vaatenurgat: Ajalooõpetaja käsiraamat* (Amsterdam: Euroclio, 2000).
35. Ahonen, *Coming to Terms*, 138–41.
36. Ahonen, *Coming to Terms*, 140; see the handbook *Obične ljudi u neobičnoj zemlji. Svakodnevni život u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hvartskoj i Srbiji* (Amsterdam: Euroclio, 2007).
37. See the official curricula *Zajednička jezgra nastavnih planova i programa za oznovnu skolu (8. august 2003 godine); Zajednička jezgra nastavnih planova i programa za gimnaziju (8. August 2003*

godine) (Sarajevo: Ministry of Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2003).
38. Falk Pingel, "Can Truth Be Negotiated: History Textbook Revision as a Means to Reconciliation," in *Grenzgänger/ Transcending Boundaries: Essays by Falk Pingel* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2009), 271, 277–78.
39. Heike Karge, *20th Century History in the Textbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2008), 24–25.
40. Tomaso Diegoli, *Collective Memory and Social Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina*. (Denver: University of Denver, School of International Studies, 2007), passim.
41. *Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina: What do we teach our children?* (Sarajevo: Open Society Fund, 2007) 51–2; Ahonen, *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past*, 142–45.
42. "Venäläisopettajat syyttävät hallitusta koulujen valjastamisesta propagandaan," *Helsingin Sanomat* May 8, 2014.
43. Tiina Rajamäki, "Unkari kaitsee koulukirjoja," *Helsingin Sanomat* February 16, 2014, B 7.
44. Tomas Englund, "Deliberative Communication: A Pragmatist Proposal," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 38 (2006): 503–20.

CHAPTER 4

Bridging History Education and the Diversity of Historical Cultures

Arja Virta

Introduction

It is obvious that schools and other traditional institutions have lost something of their importance in the lives and minds of young people, as Thomas Ziehe argued in the 1980s.[1] For some students, at least in Western countries, school represents all that is dusty and boring, including textbooks and established subjects such as history. The situation may be totally different in societies where children have limited access to education. However, there are multiple ways in which young people in any economic context encounter the past in their surroundings outside of school (in informal settings) for the sole reason that reality is historically constructed. A multitude of genres and forms mediate images of the past, not least of all the channels that young people presently prioritize—and these channels which also present various types of rival histories. In other words, students encounter a variety of historical cultures. Very briefly, historical culture can be defined as all the ways in which history is used and expressed in society; thus, history education can also be seen as part of

A. Virta (✉)
University of Turku, Turku, Finland

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_4

a society's historical culture. However, the field is complicated. History education represents a formal expression of historical culture, while there are a number of informal or extracurricular variations of historical culture, which are also available to students.[2] This situation corresponds with the socio-constructivist and socio-cultural theories of learning that emphasize individual agency in the selection and construction of knowledge, as well as the role of broad cultural and social contexts in the formation of one's worldview.

This chapter deals with the challenges history teachers experience and the methods or strategies they can use to overcome those challenges, especially when facing a multitude of historical cultures that can lead to conflicting versions of the past, and the abundant commercial and popular expressions of historical cultures students frequently come into contact with. Here, the various forms of narratives, also popular and commercial, are seen as rival histories that history educators have to deal with. The chapter begins by discussing the historical cultures that children and adolescents encounter and then examines the relationship between history education (as an academic, educational expression of historical culture) and other forms of historical culture in the context of the three approaches to history education framed by Peter Seixas: the best story or collective memory, the disciplinary, and the postmodern approaches.[3]

The relationship between history education and other forms of historical culture is complex because historical culture often includes myriads of parallel stories, small and large, offering their own representations of the past. Therefore, the following are key questions for history educators: *whose history* and *what kind of construction of the past* should be taught? These questions directly relate to the purpose of history education and its relevance for young people. Although it can be very difficult to measure and prove the impact of educational institutions and influences outside of school, it can be presumed that students use widely differing intellectual frameworks to view history lessons and learning materials. Young people who are from minorities or have migrant backgrounds represent a special case because they experience a unique historical culture, imparted by their families and communities. This chapter emphasizes and analyzes the bridges, or relationships, between history education and various expressions of historical culture(s). The main questions are what challenges and opportunities extracurricular or informal historical cultures create for history lessons and how they can be approached for the purposes of constructing students' historical consciousness and historical literacy.

Children, Young People, and Historical Cultures

There is already a rich research base detailing how children and adolescents understand and learn history and their historical consciousness.[4] However, their relationship to the various forms of historical cultures have seldom been addressed. There are also a number of studies that address the impact of cultural or ethnic background on conceptions of national history or significant historical events,[5] but we do not know very much about the role of historical culture for children and young people.

The foundation for engaging with history is often laid in childhood, when informal encounters with history, or with the past, play a more important role than they do later in life. Children receive masses of images and information about the past, sometimes years before they participate in formal history lessons. In childhood, a cognitive relationship to history is not primary, as fantasy and imagination play more important roles. What is important, however, is the role of family, media, and the variety of cultural products that children encounter—such forms of historical culture that are visible and available in everyday life. Rantala investigated children's "consumption of historical culture" and collected a large body of interviews with children aged from seven to ten (174 children in total). These children stated that they had seen films that dealt with the past such as *Time of the Dinosaurs* and *Jurassic Park* and also mentioned a number of examples of children's literature that dealt with life in the past.[6] In another study, prospective history teachers wrote essays in which they described how their engagement with history began in childhood and recalled the sources of their initial historical inspiration as similar to those of the primary school children in Rantala's study. These teacher students described the influence of various socio-cultural factors on the formation of their view of history and how their encounters with history often included joyful feelings and a sense of existential meaningfulness.[7] These reflections, although retrospective, indicate the impact of informal processes on learning history, mediated either by popular culture or by memory cultures; this has also been pointed out by several previous studies.[8] All in all, communication between generations seems to also be important for children and young people's historical consciousness. Anna Clark underlines the hereditary or transgenerational role of historical consciousness, which helps individuals to see their place in a chain of generations and make sense of the past in a way that is relevant to their families.[9]

The experience of the significance of the past can vary across generations, and younger generations do not necessarily share their parents' or grandparents' view of history or an interest in similar products of historical entertainment. Different generations see different world events as important depending on their life experiences—perspectives also vary on the past. For instance, World War II is not crucial in the lives of those who were born, say, in the 1970s or afterward in the same way as it is for those born in the 1930s or 1940s, and perhaps burdens of past cruelties fade in the memories of younger generations.[10] Furthermore, as Clark reminds us, an individual's relationship to the past can also change over time, and historical consciousness can get new tones with aging.[11] Another factor that has likely reshaped people's access to information and images of the past are the powerful cultural and technological developments that have taken place during the past few decades. All this has changed the mediums for entertainment and communication, as well as the possibilities for communicating historical information and images, but we do not yet know much about the impact of this transformation on people's reception of history and how this can vary across generations.

In a Finnish survey on people's relationship to history, young people (15–19 years old) in general seemed to find the past meaningful. They thought that all civilized people ought to share some basic knowledge of history, but this youngest group of participants supported the idea of the past as a source of excitement, which captivates their imagination, less than those in older age groups. Only a few in the younger group seemed to have a passionate interest in history, but they were not totally disinterested either. They were perhaps more used to living in the present and looking toward the future rather than the past, as they seemed to believe less strongly than the older respondents in the usefulness of historical knowledge for understanding the present.[12]

As to young people's engagement with history, those who have a migrant or minority background are a specific case. Abundant research indicates that students' national, ethnic, and cultural background can impact their understanding of the past and the significance they attribute to specific historical events.[13] Epstein found that adolescents with African-American and European-American backgrounds had different schemas of American history,[14] and Barton and McCully saw differences in the way that Protestant and Catholic students in Northern Ireland interpreted the history of the area.[15] Grever, Pelzer, and Haydn reported the results of a comparative study in which data was collected in three countries (from

678 participants from the UK, the Netherlands, and Belgium). History content aimed to create collective, for instance national, identity that was not necessarily important to young people, whether from minority or majority backgrounds. It was obvious, for instance, that the history of religions was more important for students with minority backgrounds than those belonging to the majority.[16]

History can thus mean different things to different people, depending on their ethnicity, region, religion, political orientation, educational background, gender, or social class; the viability of collective identities can thus also be questioned, as can the viability of a single shared national history.[17] Furthermore, it is unclear to what degree historical cultures are significant for individual students as components of their identities. Individual interpretations of history cannot be derived directly from a person's cultural or ethnic background because individual motivation, capacity and thinking, as well as situational factors, are influential. Neither do teenagers always share their parents' view of their home country's past—all parents are not necessarily interested in or informed about history, and the process of socialization is seldom straightforward. Some adolescents may feel that they are outsiders in history, and this can result in historical apathy and a superficial relationship to history, consisting of nothing more than fragmented school knowledge with no personal or existential significance. This is described in Harinen's study about young people with dual citizenship (due to having parents of two different nationalities):

> The national myths of both the father's homeland and mother's homeland seem to be irrelevant; nor are the heroic stories of past generations true to dual citizens in the same way as to "ordinary Finnish" adolescents. History is something they read, not experience. What is a real experience arises from the present day and from numerous perspectives; commitment to history is inflated – or at least not defined as something that belongs to them.[18]

Children belonging to ethnic or national minorities may feel that they are not recognized in history lessons and not included in national narratives. These students struggle with diffused, competing pieces of information instead of a coherent view of history,[19] as well as incongruent elements within formal and informal histories, but they do not necessarily recognize the contradictions. It may also be difficult for a young person to decide which version of history to believe, and he or she may struggle to

determine whether the history of the new country is his/her "own" or if it is "foreign."[20]

Young persons, irrespective of their cultural background, may feel confused if the history that is presented in school lessons contradicts other sources of history. Any student can be influenced by extracurricular historical cultures, which often carry the elements of collective memory more strongly than the school curriculum.[21] Nevertheless, informal channels of historical information may have an even greater impact on minority students' historical consciousness than on those belonging to the majority.[22]

Young people inevitably live in the middle of historical culture(s), but some can still remain "historically apathetic" or ignorant,[23] which is certainly not a new phenomenon. History—or the past—does not make sense to all; it can be uninteresting, too painful, or too difficult, and therefore it can be ignored. Nevertheless, historically apathetic persons can be influenced on the basis of the past, and they can be vulnerable to propaganda related to the past. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how children and young people encounter the past and attribute significance to it.

School Education: Encountering the Multiple Genres and Levels of Historical Culture(s)

If we think about challenges to school history lessons, the main one may be adolescents' historical apathy or disinterest. However, this apathy can very well be cumulative so that students who are unconcerned with history in school are also unconcerned with historical entertainment. Otherwise, the main rivals to school history can be roughly split into two categories. On the one hand, there are the multiple versions of collective memories that children hear from their families and other spheres outside of school and, on the other hand, the commercial and entertaining historical cultures. It is important to remember that these two categories can be inseparable and are often also embedded in history teaching.

How deep is the gap then between history education and its rivals? In the following sections, a tentative effort is made to sketch the differences between informal historical cultures and history education, using a framework of different approaches to history education. If the forms of historical culture that adolescents encounter outside of school are classified using the trichotomy of the best story, disciplinary, and postmodern approaches,

only very rough ideas can be expressed because there are innumerable alternative forms.

History Education and Collective Memory

First, what is the relationship between history education and collective identity formation outside of school? Most of the recent debates on history education have dealt with the position of national history or master narratives in school education.[24] The question of rival histories deals with different versions of the past—perhaps a more neutral or critical approach contra the best story or collective memory approach, fostered, for instance, by some political groupings. The problem can also be related to the majority's collective ethos or the hegemonic story contra the ethos of minorities, both of which foster shared beliefs and cultural and collective memories for the purpose of enhancing cohesion within the group, but they do this from different perspectives. Shared beliefs about the past can be powerful both among majority populations, but similarly also within minority or migrant communities.

History education is not immune to historical cultures, but the values of community and cultures are inevitably reflected in history education in any society. History has, in most societies, been used to create a national identity or feelings of solidarity toward the nation and the state, although there are a multitude of variations on this theme, its intensity, and its visibility. National curricula can differ widely across countries. In some countries, the history curriculum is totally restricted to the nationalist best story approach, but the main trend of history education in Western educational systems tends to emphasize the disciplinary approach, focusing on historical thinking skills, at least in steering documents. Today, it would be too simple to maintain that history teaching is a direct instrument for mediating national or nationalistic values. Take, for instance, the emphasis on critical competence or multiperspectivity.[25] Although in many societies, school curricula and instructional goals are written without emphasizing the nation, the content is still chosen from a national, if not a nationalist, point of view. Official curricular documents do not tell the whole truth about history education in classrooms. The issue is complex, and much depends on how history is taught and whether teachers emphasize facts or challenge critical thinking processes. Individual teachers' personal teaching philosophies and professional expertise, in addition to how the written

curriculum is put into practice, therefore also affect students' experiences and understanding of history.

Students' ethnocentric, specific, and multiple narratives may be very different from and even contradictory to the official curriculum. This may be awkward for students. Constructing national narratives, or narratives that might be shared by all, is challenging in a globalizing world.[26] A very common criticism has been that history textbooks tell a straightforward story without offering alternative interpretations—that they neglect, for instance, the histories of minorities or the history of women.[27]

Multicultural education scholars have paid attention to history and social studies and have criticized history textbooks for narrow ethnocentrism and for a lack or paucity of multicultural content. They maintain that although new history books can be more diversified, the teaching tradition can still be ethnocentric, national, and narrow.[28] However, simply adding details to the traditional canon in order to illustrate other cultures is not considered adequate; instead, what the multicultural education movement ultimately emphasizes is that the construction of knowledge and perspectives of knowledge have to be changed.[29] One possible solution is to develop approaches that deal with global questions or developments that are common in various settings and develop intercultural approaches in history education.[30] History education is thus understood as a means of contributing to intercultural and global understanding and enhancing the appreciation of diversity among students and in society more broadly.

History Education and Popular Historical Cultures

Alternatives to history in school have, during the past few decades, become more and more multifaceted, not only due to growing diversity but also due to developments in cultural production that embrace the mediation and commercial uses of history. This polyphony can perhaps be interpreted as an expression of postmodernism. Historical information can be popularized, distributed, and consumed through various channels and in various manners. Furthermore, in addition to the ethos of remembrance, there are light and entertaining versions of history. This genre has become more and more powerful because we live in a media-saturated culture. Most of our images of the world around us, and also of the past, arise from various media forms: magazines, popular films, documentary films, news, videogames, and the internet.[31] Consequently, there can be multiple sources for our historical knowledge or attitudes that are legitimized on

the basis of the past. Our views of say early nineteenth-century history may be mediated by film versions of Jane Austen's novels, or our views of World War II may be shaped by Hollywood films or war games.

These two approaches, collective memory and entertaining types of history, are not mutually exclusive; they can also be combined. Also, light and commercial versions of the past can be connected to memory cultures and the remembrance of key events meaningful for a nation or individual families. This "light history" can be amusing and constitutes a postmodern presentation of history, but it can also hide messages based on powerful ideological ethos. For instance, computer games that are based on history can contain hidden attitudes and stereotypes, sometimes even more than traditional forms of the best story approach. Similarly, old Westerns could be based on a racist framework and wartime films on a one-sided depiction of enemies. Therefore, the entertaining genre must be understood in the context of its background, for instance, as a reflection of the polarization of the world.[32]

A myriad of films and literature tell various national stories of countries around the world—heroic or victimizing, romantic or tragic. However, popular culture is currently highly global, and this is also true for the reproduction of the past.[33] This is not in principle a new phenomenon. Take, for instance, such classic Hollywood spectacles as *Ben Hur* or *Spartacus*. The histories of Ancient Greece and Rome are used in a number of feature films and series, literature, and games. Stories, or their film versions, are generally national stories for one nation, often the United States, although they are distributed globally and therefore influence historical perceptions of people in other countries.

The entertaining genre of historical culture often uses images of the past, which are connected to a historical past more or less loosely, and sometimes commercial interests may be more powerful in determining content than the pursuit for historical veracity. This is the case, for instance, when the connection that a historical novel or film has to historical events or contexts is very thin, and the main purpose may be just to reach a large audience. Historical entertainment can function the same way as any commercial entertainment, only the content is more or less rooted in the past.

Specific Tasks of History Education Between Historical Cultures

Positioning history education between historical cultures is a challenge for schools because such a multitude of rival histories exists, distributed

through various genres and channels. This multiplicity can be seen as an expression of postmodernity, which challenges objectivity and undisputable facts and, instead, can create skepticism regarding the relationship between history and the past, when all versions of history can be seen as provisional hypotheses. However, history education and informal, or extracurricular, historical cultures need not be in opposition, but it is necessary to explicate the specific purposes of history education. In this context, teachers have not only more possibilities but also more challenges: they have more approaches not only to pay attention to but also more teaching instruments than before. Could extracurricular forms of historical cultures, given all their variations, be not only a rival to but also an instructional ally for history education? Perhaps they can, under two conditions: if it is possible to build bridges and if it is as such meaningful for the youth. Several scholars of historical thinking and historical consciousness have pointed out that history teachers in schools do not pay very much attention to students' exposure to influences about the past outside of school.[34] Therefore, young people do not necessarily receive tools for dealing with alternative histories or even become aware of them.

History education is not isolated from informal historical culture, and some characteristics of informal historical culture can be beneficial for history education, as well. There can be bad versions of history, but history can be popularized in attractive, enjoyable, and aesthetic ways. In principle, all historical knowledge (its academic quality notwithstanding) can contribute to the growth of students' historical consciousness, identity, and self-understanding.[35] On the other hand, Lowenthal,[36] for instance, makes a clear distinction between heritage, or lay history, and professional academic history. What is crucial, of course, is the quality of the form and content.

Some traits are more common in history outside of schools than in history education, and coordinating different approaches might be effective. Due to its close relationship to collective memory, and also due to the existential significance it can have for individuals, history can contain strong emotional and attitudinal elements. The informal versions of history often mediate these traits more overtly than formal history curricula. One of the strengths of popular history is that it is often dressed in the form of effective stories, including components of fantasy, pathos, and even nostalgia. Informal historical culture often and openly emphasizes emotions and individual approaches; it can be romanticizing, exciting, adventurous, and can even pose ethical issues in a more straightforward way than school

history can. It can also be populistic, lacking reflective and critical historical dimensions. History education, then, can often neglect individual emotions, the context in which teenagers live, and the attitudes they bring to history lessons. There is evidence that young people tend to analyze historical issues from an emotional and moral standpoint with the help of psychological concepts instead of historical contextualization.[37]

As to the framework of three approaches to history education—collective memory, disciplinarity, and postmodernism—[38]history education and historical cultures are logically connected on the basis of the first and third approaches. History lessons often apply some characteristics of both collective memory and popular historical culture, or informal history, because they are embedded in the social context of teaching. However, the disciplinary approach represents the specific task of engaging in disciplinary critical thinking, which is associated with history education in many societies today. The kind of critical thinking associated with the disciplinary approach is very seldom gained in students' informal encounters with history cultures but is rather left to the responsibility of history education. Its main purpose is to teach students historical skills and show them how to reach as sustainable an interpretation of the past as possible. The task of training students to think historically in history lessons is even more important amidst the polyphony of different voices and interpretations of the past. This is perhaps the most important intellectual tool that history teachers can impart on their students for dealing with and also enjoying the variety of historical cultures. Critical analysis of sources and understanding the existence of multiple and parallel perspectives, for instance, are skills that students need, not only when they read traditional historical sources but also when they encounter any products where history is used or misused.

Bridges Between History Education and the Variety of Historical Cultures: The Disciplinary Approach as an Option

A major question that arises when history education tries to embrace and appreciate multiple historical cultures is the problem of veracity: what is true if there are different interpretations and different portrayals of the same event? How can one teach about the limits of knowing while still trying to convince students that the principle of veracity is important?

When history is more and more like a mosaic of multiple versions and approaches, and multiple truths, what can be considered certain and trustworthy? If nothing is certain, the reader should in principle have a skeptical attitude toward everything, not least to entertaining forms of history.[39]

The relationship between truth and history education is more complicated than is apparent in ordinary history lessons. Many of the limitations of veracity in history education are based on the challenges of history as an academic domain in relation to truth. These include both the epistemological challenges that can be seen as internal to the discipline such as the tentative nature of interpretation and the social and ideological challenges typical in each society, which more or less limit possibilities for historians and teachers while binding them to official knowledge. History education is epistemologically challenging because it always presents a limited selection of content, and it is still more confined to the present and the political climate of the society than history as science. Each history curriculum is basically telling the truth relevant for its time and societal conditions. It includes a selection of historical content that is considered the most relevant while also following topical pedagogical trends. However, one guiding principle for history teachers as professionals is the methodological rationality of history as science, although historians cannot avoid their connections to social values either. A central criterion of historical quality, in both history as science and history education, could be awareness of the epistemology of history and the need for critical analysis of evidence. Segall discusses Seixas's three perspectives of history education and adds the critical perspective that is closely related to the disciplinary approach. It focuses on the construction of history and to critical examination of historical texts and other expressions. Important questions in this regard are as follows: "who has produced this, what is the background, and what is the purpose?"[40] This disciplinary or critical approach could be extended in history education to cover all types of sources, including messages that arise from extracurricular, or popular, dimensions of historical culture.

Not all informal encounters with the past are experienced or dealt with as learning experiences. For instance, consuming historical entertainment is perhaps not seen as learning, and its content is not always perceived as cognitively significant. A family's nostalgic trip to a country or region of origin is not seen as a learning experience; it is more likely experienced as an existential and emotional rather than cognitive encounter with the past. These informal encounters could also be made pedagogical, which means

that students could learn to see the multilayered nature of history, or in other words, learn about history as if they were peeling an onion.

It is not effective to teach students to only criticize and reject the historical representations offered in media because media is a natural part of their environment—instead, they should learn to realize their possibilities. Walker addresses three approaches to using popular culture in social studies instruction. The first is more like a traditional pedagogical approach: media is used for instruction as a cultural tool for enhancing students' motivation and emotional engagement with the content. This approach can make lessons more visual and enjoyable, as well as enhance students' learning, but this is not sufficient.[41] Marcus and Stoddard point out that history teachers who use documentary films in their lessons often ignore the fact that these sources can contain attitudes and values and thus are far from objective sources about the past. Students also seem to uncritically accept these channels as trustworthy and accurate. As an implication of their study, Marcus and Stoddard suggest some tools for discussing the controversial content of films in order to help students recognize the filmmakers' perspectives.[42]

The second approach to popular culture, according to Walker, is to use it for demystification, self-defense, and social understanding. Here, educators broaden students' capacity to read between the lines, recognizing fallacies and biases, thus encouraging them to become active, critical citizens instead of passive consumers of popular culture. The overall attitude toward popular culture is thus a criticism of its fallacies. The third approach is critical and postmodern; according to this approach, educators accept and recognize the significance of popular culture in students' lives and let them enjoy it while understanding its character. The way of reading media is decided together with the students, giving them autonomy rather than prescribed direction. The answers are not known by the teachers but are constructed with the students, critically and authentically. Popular culture is used with consciousness of its character, asking critical questions, and trying to find hidden messages.[43]

The main conclusion of this discussion is the necessity of training in historical literacy, or rather multiple and challenging historical literacies, in order to enable students to cope with the variety of versions and forms in which they encounter historical information or disinformation. One dimension of historical understanding is close to functional literacy, as well as critical literacy, because the reader has to test the veracity of the information. The reader needs to go beyond the text, or its manifest

expressions, and reflect on its messages within a broader background or, in other words, contextualize it. Critical cultural literacy can be seen as a part of the goals of history education. It is thus not only a subject-specific skill but also necessary for any active citizen in everyday life and democratic participation, for instance, when reading newspapers, watching news on TV, or surfing the internet. Literacy cannot be left only to language teachers either, but the specific types of historical reading should be dealt with in history lessons.

Furthermore, more attention should be given to the capacity of reading visuals and other genres of historical presentation, not only texts.[44] History education has traditionally used texts, and the concept of literacy has been limited to written texts. Technological changes require broadening the concept of literacy, and therefore multiple types of texts should be integrated into history courses.

Another useful approach to dealing with the diversity of voices and forms of postmodern historical cultures could be offered from the concept of historical empathy because critical literacy can exclude the emotional aspects of human history that are often emphasized in historical culture. Basically, the complexity of human life and action, past or present, cannot be fully grasped without understanding that the people in the past were also emotional beings. Empathy is a widely discussed, and often debated, approach to history education.[45] There are different definitions of it, but in short, it can be understood as the process of situating oneself in the position of others (living in the past) and understanding their living conditions, beliefs, and attitudes from their own point of view. Strictly speaking, this is epistemologically difficult, even impossible, but this mental exercise could be characterized, as Bellino and Selman suggest, as the "recognition of the shared humanity among the past and present actors and understanding the differences of the situations and beliefs."[46]

Endacott and Brooks have elaborated on the conceptualization of historical empathy to include both cognitive and affective dimensions. First, historical empathy is based on historical contextualization. This implies "a temporal sense of difference that includes a deep understanding of the social, political and cultural norms of the time period under investigation, as well as of knowledge of the events leading up to the historical situation and other relevant events that happened concurrently." A second important dimension is perspective taking or the "understanding of another's prior lived experience, principles, positions, attitudes and beliefs in order to understand how that person might have thought about the situation

in question." These represent the cognitive and critical dimensions. The third component is the affective connection of empathy or "consideration on how the historical figure's lived experiences, situations or actions may have been influenced by their affective response based on the connection made to one's own similar yet different life experiences."[47] These three dimensions could be used as a framework for dealing with the multiplicity of historical cultures in history education, helping to analyze, contextualize, and understand, for instance, popular historical culture on the basis of the period it describes and the time in which it was created.

Conclusion

Adolescents encounter different forms of historical culture outside school; some of them are of a high quality, some are more or less unhistorical, but most can be connected to history teaching, used to both motivate historical study and as objects for analysis. This is possible on the condition that history education can build bridges between the informal historical cultures that adolescents encounter outside of history lessons. Here, it is important to keep in mind that history education is closely connected to the historical culture of the society in which it is taught and often reflects its basic social values. However, the multitude of historical cultures constitutes a challenge for history education. If we analyze the purposes of history education in a multicultural society using the framework of Seixas's three approaches, history education can no longer limit its focus on one form of "best story" or one variation of collective memory. Accepting the polyphony of historical cultures and various versions, for instance, minorities' cultural memories, implies finding a balance between different "best stories."

In this context, history education presents specific tools that students cannot gain through other forms of historical culture. These are based on the disciplinary approach to history education, which as Seixas concludes "provides students with standards for inquiry, investigation and debate."[48] What might be most significant, then, would be that students learn about the nature of history, receive practice in historical thinking, and deal with alternative interpretations. The complicated question about the nature of historical knowledge is often ignored in history education, especially if it tends to emphasize factual content or superficial descriptions. However, if this complex issue is dealt with in a simplified manner, it would turn against its purpose, and history, in its entirety, would be deemed a worthless and

unreliable form of knowledge, creating suspicion, and advocating relativism. Perhaps one solution is Jenkins's idea of learning to see the difference between "a history that is aware of what it is doing and a history that is not."[49]

One main responsibility of history education is creating a cognitive framework for understanding the past that helps students contextualize the products of popular historical culture, as well as the expressions of collective memory. Very often, images created from popular historical cultures remain fragmented and haphazard. History education should help students to understand the historical contexts in which they are created and give them the tools to analyze the past.

Another requirement is reading and seeing in a way that enables students to grasp and compare various interpretations and accept that there may be no simple truths but rather a number of possible approaches. The need to understand multiple perspectives is even more important in multicultural societies. A major challenge for modern schools and history education is to prepare students to read various kinds of texts and understand multiple forms and channels of communication. Another important task already at the school level is to familiarize students with the concept of using history: how is history used in the present, for instance, as a tool for politics and economics, who has produced various kinds of sources (entertaining or documentary), and for what purpose? Students should not remain naïve to history.

Notes

1. Thomas Ziehe and Herbert Stubenrauch, *Plädoyer für ungewöhnliches Lernen: Ideen zur Jugendsituation* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1982).
2. Peter Aronsson, "Historiekultur i förändring" [Changing Historical Culture], in *Makten över minnet: Historiekultur i förändring* [Power over Memory: Changing Historical Culture], ed. Peter Aronsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), 19.
3. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in The Schools," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives.* ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.
4. Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries, eds., *Youth and History. A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and*

Political Attitudes among Adolescents (Hamburg: Körber Stiftung, 1997); Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts. Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004).

5. Bettina Alavi, *Geschichtsunterricht in der multiethnischen Gesellschaft: Eine fachdidaktische Studie zur Modifikation des Geschichtsunterrichts aufgrund migrationsbedingter Veränderungen. Interdisziplinäre Studien zum Verhältnis von Migrationen, Ethnizität und gesellschaftiger Multikulturalität, Band 9* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1998); Terrie Epstein, *Interpreting National History: Race, Identity, and Pedagogy in Classrooms and Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Maria Grever, Ben Pelzer, and Terry Haydn, “High School Students’ Views on History,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 2 (2011): 207–29.
6. Jukka Rantala, “Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 4 (2011): 493–506.
7. Arja Virta, “Learning History Before it is Taught,” in *Antike – Bilder – Welt: Forschungserträge internationaler Vernetzung*, ed. Charlotte Bühl-Gramer, Wolfgang Hasberg and Susanne Popp, (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft, 2013), 205–14.
8. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History*, 17–19.
9. Anna Clark, “Inheriting the Past: Exploring Historical Consciousness across Generations,” *Historical Encounters* 1 (2014): 92–94.
10. Sirkka Ahonen, *Historiaton sukupolvi? Historian vastaanotto ja historiallisen identiteetin rakentuminen 1990-luvun nuorison keskuudessa* [No-History Generation? Reception of History and Construction of Historical Identity by Young People in the 1990’s] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 129–32; Pilvi Torsti, *Suomalaiset ja historia* [The Finnish people and history] (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2012), 63–69.
11. Clark, “Inheriting the Past,” 89.

12. Torsti, *Suomalaiset ja historia*, 22–23.
13. Angvik and von Borries, *Youth and History*, passim; Terrie Epstein, "Adolescents' Perspectives on Racial Diversity in U.S. History: Case Studies from an Urban Classroom," *American Educational Research Journal* 37 (2000): 185–214; Keith C. Barton and Alan W. McCully, "History, Identity, and The School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students' Ideas and Perspectives," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37 (2005): 85–116; Carla Peck, "Peering through a Kaleidoscope: Identity, Historical Understanding and Citizenship in Canada," *International Journal of Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 5 (2009): 62–75; Grever et al., "High School Students' views."
14. Epstein, "Adolescents' Perspectives."
15. Barton and McCully, "History, Identity."
16. Grever et al., "High school students' views"
17. Ian Grosvenor, "'History For The Nation': Multiculturalism and The Teaching of History," in *Issues in History Teaching*, ed. James Arthur and Robert Phillips (London: Routledge, 2000), 148–59; Peck, "Peering through."
18. Päivi Harinen, *Valmiiseen tulleet: tutkimus nuoruudesta, kansallisuudesta ja kansalaisuudesta.* [A study on youth, nationality, and citizenship] (Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, 2000) 165–66. My translation.
19. Peter Seixas, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting," *Curriculum Inquiry* 22 (1993): 301–27.
20. Viola B. Georgi, *Entliehene Erinnerungen: Geschichtsbilder junger Migranter in Deutschland* (Hamburg, Hamburger Edition, 2003), 35–36.
21. Ahonen, *Historiaton sukupolvi*, 48, 129–30.
22. Cf. Seixas, "Historical understanding"; Terrie Epstein, "The Effects of Family/Community and School Discourses on Children's and Adolescents' Interpretations of United States History," *International Journal for Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 6 (2006).
23. David Lowenthal, "Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 65.

24. Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003); Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004); Anna Clark, *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008).
25. For example, Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 19–37; Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2003); Mario Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (Charlotte: IAP, 2011).
26. Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism*; Maria Grever, "Dilemmas of Common and Plural History. Reflections on History Education and Heritage in a Globalizing World," in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikael, Asensio, and Maria Rodrigues-Monea (Charlotte: IAP, 2012), 75–91.
27. James Andres LaSpina, "Designing Diversity: Globalization, Textbooks, and the Story of Nations," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35, no. 6 (2003): 667–96; Kenneth Nordgren, *Vems är historien? Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige* [Whom does history belong to? History as consciousness, culture and action in multicultural Sweden] (Karlstad: Umeå universitet/Karlstad universitet, 2006); cf. Christine A. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, "Race, Class, Gender and Disability in Current Textbooks," in *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*, ed. Michael W. Apple (New York: Routledge 1991), 78–110.
28. For example, Geneva Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000).
29. James A. Banks, "Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, ed. James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks (2nd edition) (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 2004), 3–29; Sonia Nieto and Patty Bode, *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*. (5th edition) (Boston: Pearson Educational, 2008).
30. For example, Paul Bracey, Alison Gove-Humphries and Darius Jackson, "Teaching Diversity in the History Classroom," in *Debates in history teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (London: Routledge, 2011),

172–85; Edda Sant, Antoni Santisteban and Joan Pagès, "How Can We Contribute to Intercultural Education through Teaching History," in *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2014* (Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft, 2013), 127–46; Urte Kocka, "Is Globalizing History in The Classroom a Way of Dealing with Increasing Global Diversity?" (ibid. Yearbook, 2013), 117–25.

31. Keith Jenkins, *Re-thinking History* (London: Routledge, 1991), 65–66; Peter Aronsson, *Historiebruk: Att använda det förflutna* [Use of history: To utilize the past] (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004), passim; Trenia Walker, "Adventures in Metropolis: Popular Culture in Social Studies," in *Social Studies – the Next Generation: Researching the Postmodern*, ed. Avner Segall, Elisabeth E. Heineman and Cleo H. Cherryholmes (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 171–87.
32. Ulf Zander, "Historiekulturella manifestationer: Historia i ord, bilder och musik" [Manifestations of historical culture in words, pictures and music], in *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning* [History is present: History didactics as theory and practice], ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014).
33. Walker, "Adventures in Metropolis," 171–76.
34. Seixas, "Historical Understanding," 320–21; Terrie Epstein, "Sociocultural Aspects to Young People's Historical Understanding," *Social Education* 61 (1997): 28–31; Sam Wineburg, "Making Historical Sense," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns et al. (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 306–25; Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg and Dan Porat, "What Can Forrest Gump Tell Us about Students Historical Understanding," *Social Education* 65 (2001): 55–58.
35. Aronsson, "Historiekultur," 19.
36. David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim.
37. Michelle J. Bellino and Robert L. Selman, "The Intersection of Historical Understanding and Ethical Reflection during Early Adolescence," in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero et al. (Charlotte: IAP, 2012), 189–202. Arja Virta and Elina Kouki, "Dimensions of

Historical Empathy in Upper Secondary Students' Essays," *Nordidactica* 2 (2014): 137–60.

38. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!"
39. Beverley Southgate, *History: What and Why? Ancient, Modern and Postmodern Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1996), 7–8.
40. Avner Segall, "What's the Purpose of Teaching a Subject, Anyway? The Case of History," in *Social Studies – the Next Generation: Researching the Postmodern*, ed. Avner Segall et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 125–39.
41. Walker, "Adventures in Metropolis," 176–78.
42. Alan S. Marcus and Jeremy D. Stoddard, "The Inconvenient Truth about Teaching History with Documentary Film: Strategies for Presenting Multiple Perspectives and Teaching Controversial Issues," *The Social Studies* 100 (2009): 279–84.
43. Walker, "Adventures in Metropolis," 178–85.
44. Suzette Youngs, "Understanding history through the visual images in historical fiction," *Language Arts* 89 (2012): 379–95.
45. Rosalyn Ashby and Peter Lee, "Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History," in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Christopher Portal (London: Falmer Press), 62–89; Stuart Foster, "Using Historical Empathy to Excite Students about the Study of History: Can You Empathize with Neville Chamberlain," *The Social Studies*, 90 (1999): 18–24; Peter Lee and Dennis Shemilt, "The Concept that Dares not Speak Its Name: Should Empathy Come out of the Closet?" *Teaching History* 143 (2011): 39–49.
46. Bellino and Selman, "The Intersection," 190.
47. Jason Endacott and Sarah Brooks, "An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8 (2013): 41–58 (esp. 42–45).
48. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 34.
49. Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*, 69.

PART II

Official Histories in Multicultural Societies

CHAPTER 5

Text and Contexts: Pedagogical Practices for a History Textbook Lesson on the 1947 British India Partition

Meenakshi Chhabra

Introduction: Practice, Memory and History Education

The role of memory, especially that of collective memory in the teaching of history, has been a topic of considerable interest to both scholars and practitioners of history education. This is particularly true with regard to historical events of conflict and collective violence. Research has offered perspectives on the connection between collective memory, history textbooks' content and the younger generations' meaning making about these historical events.[1] Although these frames appear to be complementary, there has been limited research overlapping these lenses of inquiry. Further, teachers who are the main conduits between textbook content

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the support from Seeds of Peace, the Fulbright Nehru Fellowship and Georg Eckert Institute for the research and writing of this chapter.

M. Chhabra (✉)
Lesley University, Cambridge, MA, USA

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_5

and pupils' understanding of history have seldom been the focus of this inquiry.[2]

In this chapter, I seek to extend the current discourse on the interplay between collective memory[3] and history education. I do this by connecting the frames of memory and *practice,* with Seixas's concepts of teaching history as "collective memory," as "disciplinary history" or as guided by post-modern thought.[4] To understand the link between memory and practice, I turn to practice theory as described by Reckwitz, Schatzki and Shove et al. Reckwitz's defines practice "as a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge."[5] Further, practices are temporal, geographic and shared in communities and largely implicit. Practices are mostly learned through seeing and doing. They have to be visible to be reproduced, changed or adapted.[6]

If history is "the major site for construction of collective memory in contemporary society,"[7] it is important to understand what practices are involved in the construction of collective memory. In this chapter, I put the spotlight on what teachers are doing and saying[8] in relation to a historical event of collective violence. Through interviews with history teachers, I specifically examine the pedagogical practices that these teachers engage in to negotiate the meaning they ascribe to a history textbook lesson on mass violence, an event, which is also firmly embedded in collective memory. I offer insights into the following questions: How do history teachers engage with memories of a violent past? What practices do they adopt? What do they discard and adjust, in talking about transmitting the memory and knowledge of the event to the next generation? The subject of discussion is the historical event of the 1947 British India Partition of Punjab.

I argue that teachers' enactments in the classroom of events of historical violence are practices interacting with collective memories. These practices are like any other social practices, which are embedded in individual, social, cultural, and historical contexts. They are shaped by what gets remembered, what gets suppressed, forgotten, or reshaped about the event in a given community. They draw on the underlying message individuals (in this case the teachers) or communities want to convey to the young, about how to think about the event and more importantly how to think about "the other." While these practices are implicit, they are also

explicit models of action in the way teachers choose to remember and talk about the event. Like any other practice, these classroom practices are dynamic and open to change, "creativity, invention, and the production of the New."[9] It is this dynamic nature of practice that offers possibilities of intercepting hegemonic memories of rival histories.

To provide a context for the study, I offer a brief explanation of the 1947 British India Partition and history education in India. A detailed analysis of the textbook content is not the focus of this chapter. Hence, I present here an overview of the textbook content on Partition as a backdrop to analyze the interviews with the teachers.

Context: 1947 Memories of Conflict and Collective Violence

The British India Partition of 1947 is a watershed event for South Asia. It redefined the geographical boundaries in the region and also shaped the identity of the people living in the two newly formed nations, India and Pakistan. The event of Partition was marked by violence between Hindus and Sikhs on one hand and the Muslims on the other. Perpetrators and victims were on both sides of the conflict. It is estimated that 12 million people were displaced, and more than a million died in the process. Thousands of women were reported to have been abducted or raped, and those who were never accounted for went missing. Borders between the two countries were indefinitely closed, providing almost no access to the other side and creating a clear divide between "us" and "them."

The two countries emerged from the 1947 Partition as enemy nations with a divided historical memory. They have fought three wars since 1947. In addition, any act of communal violence in each of the countries is attributed to the other. The nuclearization of the two countries in 1998 and the rise of terrorism have added to tension in the region. People-to-people interactions across the borders have opened up only in the last decade or so. It still, however, continues to be an arduous process, resisted by the governments and long bureaucratic delays on both sides.

I grew up in Delhi,[10] as a member of the post-Partition second generation. Although the violence during Partition had impacted the lives of millions of people in both India and Pakistan, there is no memorialization of the event on either side of the border. However, in the quiet of the homes of those who experienced the event, the memory of Partition was actively transferred in the sharing of personal stories of the brutality of Partition, which were passed down from one generation to another. For many of us

from my generation whose families had moved across borders, the event of Partition was a marker of life "before" and "after." Our grandparents and parents shared with us stories of how they were forced to leave their homes and the names of streets and places they had known, lest we forget them. They would often talk about the family members they had lost during Partition and those who were brutally killed by the Muslims in Pakistan. They blamed the British and the Muslims for causing the division of the country. Their indignation, pain and anger toward the other when they shared these personal memories were palpable. This remembering created a curiosity in some of us about the place that our families called "back home," and at the same time also instilled feelings of hatred for the other side.

Post-independence, the institutional remembering of Partition also resonated with feelings of animosity against the other. For the newly formed nations of India and Pakistan, nation building was foremost on the agenda, and the collective memory of victimhood and fear about the other was institutionalized and practiced to support that. In 1961, the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT)[11] was set up with the intent to solidify a unified and secular nationalist rhetoric. The NCERT history textbook lesson on the 1947 Partition echoed feelings of loss, of losing a part of the homeland, whereby "the dream of Indian unity had been shattered and brother had been torn from brother."[12] In the same chapter, the Congress Party, the dominant political party, was praised for its patriotic spirit while the British and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, were blamed for communalism and the division of India. Jinnah was accused of "releasing the genie if communalism [in India]."[13] Secular nationalism was the prime focus of the narration. The lesson speaks to the "collective memory approach"[14] where the collective memory of Partition was enforced as *historical truth* and discouraged children from thinking for themselves.[15]

There was only one sentence in the entire lesson that acknowledged the brutality of Partition on the common people. This read, "even at the very moment of freedom, a communal orgy, accompanied by indescribable brutalities was consuming thousands of lives in both India and Pakistan."[16] No oral histories were included, and only this sentence described the horror of Partition. The ubiquitous Bollywood films and the news media reinforced the same collective memory of the conflict. In the absence of any contrastive personal, political and historical remembering,

the hegemonic collective memory of the other was firmly planted in young people's minds.

Shifting Narratives of Partition Memories in School Textbooks

History education in India, particularly school textbooks, had been a contestation ground between secular and communal historians since the 1960s.[17] Despite these controversies, history textbooks remained the same for almost 40 years, with some minor revisions. For a brief period between 2002 and 2004, when the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was the majority political party in power, there was a movement to *saffronize*[18] the curriculum and the textbooks. The BJP government was defeated in elections in 2004. The new United Alliance (UA) government that came into power undertook the task of desaffronizing the textbooks. New textbooks that mirrored the one prior to the 2002 change were reintroduced in 2004. Following this, with the support of the UA government in a bid to revise the curriculum in 2005, the NCERT undertook a major school curriculum reform. The new curriculum was implemented in 2008 and new textbooks were introduced after almost 40 years of using the same textbook.[19] The new curriculum of 2008 advocates treating "social sciences, environment studies, language and literature as sites for discovering the self in relation to others … The curriculum aims at providing classroom opportunities to examine rival perspectives."[20] The secondary school history textbooks were intended to encourage the pupils to develop their own interpretation of the past rather than memorize information from the textbook and further relate their new understanding to the present context[21] Embedded in this articulation, there seems to be an expectation that by introducing the new curriculum, teachers will encourage their students to think historically and bring to their history classroom what Seixas calls a "disciplinary" and a "post-modern perspective" to teaching history.

A new lesson titled "Understanding Partition-Politics, Memories and Experiences"[22] was introduced in the secondary school textbook. It is in the form of a narrative and draws on multiple historical documents as well as oral narratives and popular media, including literature and film. There are a few sources, most of them secondary oral history sources, describing the personal experiences of the common people: Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs during Partition. In these experiences, victims, perpetrators, and saviors are represented in all three groups. The lesson also brings to light

the treatment of women during the event, a voice that was missing in the earlier textbook.

> This chapter will examine the history of Partition: why and how it happened as well as the harrowing experiences of ordinary people during the period 1946–50 and beyond. It will also discuss how the history of these experiences can be reconstructed by talking to people and interviewing them; that is, through the use of oral history.[23]

For the first time in the NCERT history textbook, Partition is neither presented solely as a communal event initiated by the Muslim League and Jinnah nor attributed to the "divide and rule" policy of the British. The chapter instead offers a narrative explanation of the historical complexity of Partition, the multiple social and political factors that made Partition "inevitable."

> Yet it would be incorrect to see Partition as the outcome of a simple unfolding of communal tensions … Communal discord happened even before 1947 but it had never led to the uprooting of millions from their homes … Partition was a qualitatively different phenomenon from earlier communal politics, and to understand it we need to look carefully at the events of the last decade of British rule.[24]

It is worth acknowledging that the uniqueness of the chapter lies in the fact not only that the oral histories of both the self and the other, and a complex narrative of Partition, are presented for the first time in a high school history textbook but also that this narrative is sponsored and approved by the Indian government. It is perhaps for this reason that although the chapter complicates the earlier singular narrative on Partition, it does this while maintaining the tone of secular nationalism. A modified "single best story"[25] of Partition enforcing the rhetoric of a secular and united India is presented in the form of a sifted analysis. Quotes from Gandhi, reiterating the message of opposition to Partition and the virtue of upholding secular nationalism, are provided as sources to complement the text.

> But I am firmly convinced that the Pakistan demand as put forward by the Muslim League is un-Islamic and I have not hesitated to call it sinful. Islam stands for the unity and brotherhood of mankind, not for disrupting the oneness of the human family. Therefore, those who want to divide India into possible warring groups are enemies alike of Islam and India. They may

> cut me to pieces but they cannot make me subscribe to something, which, I consider to be wrong. Harijan, 26 September 1946, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. Vol. 92, p. 229.[26]

Nonetheless, in moving away from a simplistic rendition of Partition, the chapter offers an opportunity for the teachers to engage the students in a "historical discipline mode of inquiry."[27] The chapter concludes with a note on historiography in terms of the different sources, including oral narratives and official documents used to construct and shape historical narratives, thus, opening the way for a post-modern exchange on questions such as whose voice is missing in the narrative and why. How teachers enact the complexity of the content and how they respond to the invitation to engage the students in the post-modern and historical disciplinary understanding of the event are questions to be considered.

Methodological Considerations: Three Teachers

In 2011, as part of a Fulbright research project, I conducted an ethnographic study in schools in India related to the teaching and learning of the revised textbook content on Partition. I collected data via participant observation and semi-directed interviews with social studies teachers and adolescent high school students. The study was conducted in formal and informal educational spaces, including interactions in classrooms, school events and family dialogues. I have aimed to generate new understanding directly from the data and connect this understanding to Seixas' model of "approaches for teaching histories."[28]

The work I present here draws from the interviews I conducted with 15 history teachers from different schools: eight government schools and seven private schools that adopted the new NCERT curriculum and textbooks. Through these recorded interviews, I sought to understand participants' intellectual biographies,[29] including their knowledge and experiences of Partition, as well as their views on using the new textbook in teaching the lesson on Partition to their students. All interviews were transcribed and coded with participant pseudonyms. After coding the data, I utilized a recursive, constant comparative process of examining the data, noting evident similarities, differences, categories, concepts and ideas. This inductive method[30] ensured participants' voices and ideas, determined the patterns and themes and subsequently, the findings found

in this chapter. Cross-case analysis was used to improve external and internal validity for this study.

Three of the 15 teachers comprise the focal point of the data for this chapter. These three teachers are demonstrative of the main themes that emerged in the data. I offer a brief introduction to these three teachers. While the three schools that these teachers belong to adopt the same curriculum and textbooks, they also represent the range of differences in the school contexts.

Rashmi

The school Rashmi teaches in is located in Old Delhi and is one of the many government-sponsored schools. The school is lacking in funds and resources. Students attending the school are from the surrounding areas, which are marked by poverty. Many of these students work after school to support their family income. This particular government school is in a Muslim neighborhood and the majority of the students attending the school are Muslims. The medium of instruction is *Urdu,* one of the official languages in India associated with Muslims. Rashmi has been teaching history in the high school for four years. She is aware of her religious, social class and language difference with her students. Rashmi is Hindu and belongs to a middle-class family.

Rashmi's family has been living in Delhi since before Partition. She remembers hearing from her parents about how "the refugees (those who fled from Pakistan) came and occupied many areas in Delhi." Rashmi's education was in a Hindi language government school, which used the NCERT curriculum and textbooks. She completed a Bachelor's and Master's degree in Education through correspondence. The Partition lesson in the revised textbook was her first exposure to a different discourse about the event.

Samira

Samira teaches at an elite private school in New Delhi. She has been teaching high school history in the same school for 11 years. The majority of the students attending this school belong to an upper social class and are predominantly Hindus. Only one percent of the students are Muslims. History is offered as an elective subject in this high school. This is true for many other private schools.

Samira grew up in Calcutta in the eastern part of India. Her parents and grandparents had experienced the 1947 Partition of Bengal, which did not witness the kind of violence that took place in Punjab. Samira was educated in a convent school, which at the time were preferred schools in the country. She moved to New Delhi for undergraduate studies and majored in history from a prestigious college in Delhi University. As an undergraduate student, Samira was introduced to the alternative discourse on Partition, much like what was offered in the revised NCERT high school history textbook. She had also participated in an oral history research project, where the students were required to collect narratives from families who had experienced Partition. Samira shared with me that for the project she interviewed a Muslim friend's grandmother to "know why they did not leave India and go to Pakistan during the 1947 Partition and what was their experience then and what is it now…This was the first time I had heard their (Muslims who stayed back in India during the Partition) story. I remember thinking about it for a long time…just how much I did not know." Before she started teaching as a history teacher, Samira completed a Master's degree in History and in Education both from reputed programs in Delhi University.

Pema Choden

Pema identifies as a Tibetan refugee. Her parents fled from Tibet in the early 1960s. They lived in refugee camps and Pema attended one of the special schools set up for Tibetan refugees. These schools adopt the NCERT curriculum and textbooks in their high school. After graduating from high school, Pema attended Delhi University to complete her Bachelor's and Master's degree in Education. Pema teaches in one of the Tibetan residential schools. The students who attend these schools belong to Tibetan families who are living in India and abroad. Pema has been teaching history for 25 years. She has no personal connection with Partition. Her knowledge about the event comes from her high school history education.

Teachers' Voices

In the interviews with the 15 teachers about teaching the new lesson on Partition, three themes emerged in relation to the textbook content and the collective memory of the event: reproducing the collective memory

and rejecting the textbook content, challenging the collective memory and appropriating the textbook content, and reframing the collective memory and the textbook content. Examples from interviews with Samira, Rashmi, and Pema reflect the three different pedagogical practices the teachers draw upon to teach about the event.

Reproducing the Collective Memory and Rejecting the Textbook Content

This is what Rashmi, the government school teacher, had to say in her response to teaching about Partition:

> I want to teach the children about the past and present. How they are connected, how they are different. What are things that are continuing from the past, what they must learn from the past. That is very important. Children here (in this school)…don't take history seriously. I had told them that they will not be able to go ahead with this attitude. They must learn facts and memorize them. When we were young you could ask us any date and we knew it, correct, you remember that don't you. And now you have these kids just want to pass without learning dates in history … they need 33% to pass and even that is hard for most of them… I have 45 in one class and 40 in the other. And History is a compulsory subject in our school. 99% of the children are Urdu speaking here. So that is another problem… I first tell them the main ideas of the chapter, like a summary of the chapter. Then I give them questions on the chapter and the answers to those questions. I have to dictate to them in Hindi and easy Urdu otherwise they will not understand. There is usually one question in the board exam on Partition so I make sure I cover it. At least that way I know they will write something on that. This (Partition) is [an] important event. I tell them the detailed story of how Partition happened. Of how the British played their games of "divide and rule" and therefore divided the country. Before that the Hindus and Muslims were living without any problems. They [the British] sowed the seeds of division in the people. I tell them about this. …The causes of Partition in the new book are not given clearly. It can confuse the children. First it was simple: so easy to remember. In the new textbook children are not able to understand why it happened. And what can we tell them when so many reasons are given? So for the exam, I tell them to remember the British and Muslim League. That is the most important … I tell my students what is happening today between Hindus and Muslims is because of the British. We did not have enmity between us.
>
> (From an interview with Rashmi, government schoolteacher, Delhi, 15 April 2011, transcript).

Rashmi is a graduate from a correspondence education program. She has not been trained in the disciplinary knowledge of history, and her understanding of Partition is informed by her high school education on the subject. Rashmi's pedagogy of providing questions and answers to the lesson is guided by her desire to prepare the students for the national exams and her low expectations of her students about their ability to pass this exam.

Rashmi clearly struggles with the new content. In her mind, the complexity of the many causes of Partition, is "confusing" for her students. In an attempt to simplify the content for the benefit of her students, the memory practice she chooses to adopt in her teaching of Partition resonates with the earlier textbook content, which also echoes the collective remembering of the event. According to this, the blame of Partition is attributed to the British and the Muslim League. Causal connections are made between role of the British and the present-day communal problems between Hindus and Muslims.

Rashmi's religious identity as a Hindu who is teaching Muslim students is perhaps another factor that influences her choice of pedagogical practice. The collective memory among the Hindus of the role of the Muslim League during the freedom struggle as Muslim betrayal ascribes Partition to Muslims. Hence, the collective narrative perceives Muslims as being loyal to Pakistan. Muslim identity in India is predominantly understood to be synonymous with Pakistani identity and is often used to justify perceptions about Muslims.[31] Rashmi is not aware that her practice might be evoking these popular stereotypes, without questioning or complicating them. The majority of the government schoolteachers I interviewed spoke to the same practice.

Challenging the Collective Memory and Appropriating the Textbook Content

This is what Samira, the private schoolteacher shared with me about what she felt was important to her in teaching the new lesson on Partition,

> at the end of everything else I want the students to score well. That's always at the back of my mind… the kids have come to history by choice so that makes your life easier. To know that this is something they want to do, so

> you are not struggling to build interest. I have at the most 20 students in my class … For me, as a history teacher, I think it (Partition) was inevitable because historical processes are larger than the players. So neither Gandhi nor Jinnah had total control over the process; nor Nehru: none of the people can be held solely responsible for Partition. … I think there are multiple historical events and people that shape the progress of history … not a single person. …It's not a linear event…This is what I tell them… I have still not found a student who comes with a complex understanding of the issue… They come with what they hear in their families…I tell them about the different reasons leading to Partition, but then I also say, let's see what the textbooks are saying. So in the earlier textbooks they would put the blame on the British, Jinnah and the Muslim League. I would then talk to my pupils about that. But the new books gives them (the different reasons), so they get the same information as I am teaching them…I would like to spend more time on the lesson but the pressure of the Board exams comes in the way. We have to focus on teaching the students to answer the questions on the exam. There is so much pressure on them to do well and get into good colleges.
>
> (From an interview with Samira, private school teacher, New Delhi, 22 April 2011, transcript).

A class size of 20 students who have all taken history "by choice," as Samira states, makes her practice of teaching history "easy." As a history major in college, Samira has an in-depth knowledge about Partition. As such, she is confident about embracing the alternative pedagogical practice on Partition of introducing the event as a phenomenon with multiple causes. In fact, as she states, Samira has been applying this practice in teaching about Partition even with the earlier textbook. The present textbook helps her reinforce the message with her students. This practice challenges the collective memory discourse on the event. However, it is important to note Samira is merely transmitting to her students what she has learned about Partition through her college education. She does not attempt to encourage them to conduct a historical analysis or construct their own understanding of Partition. Her primary focus is on preparing her students to perform well in the national exams so they can seek admission into "good colleges." Although Samira's approach disturbs the existing collective memory discourse, it does not encourage the students to engage with historical sources and evidence in a way that can allow them a disciplinary or a post-modern understanding of the event.

Unlike the school Rashmi teaches in, only an estimated one percent of students are Muslims in Samira's school. This was also the case in the other private schools that I visited. It speaks to a kind of silent *othering* of the Muslim minority in schools like Samira's. In my question to Samira about teaching the lesson in a classroom with Muslim students, Samira responds "I have not considered what it would mean to teach Partition in a classroom with Muslim students." Samira is clearly not conscious of the absence of Muslims in the classroom, or how that might impact her practice of teaching the lesson on Partition, or even the fact she has always taught the event the same way, irrespective of the textbook content.

Reframing the Collective Memory and Textbook Content

Pema shares her account of teaching Partition in the following words:

> So when I teach Partition I go back to the history of Tibet and what happened to our people and to my family. I tell the children how difficult it was to come to India and what difficulties the Tibetans faced. These children don't know about it, they have grown up here. I tell them how on the way the Chinese were always there. And I tell them how Hindus when they were crossing the border or the Muslims when they were crossing how they had fear. Similarly we had the fear of the Chinese when we were crossing the border to come to India or the fear for being caught by the Indians…the Partition history is very similar to ours the way we suffered. I also tell them about the different experiences the Tibetan people had, just like in the new lesson on Partition. I tell them about my mother and father. My mother has very fond memory of Chinese. She did not think bad about them. and when we will say, "we hate Chinese" she will always say, "why you say like this." "Don't say like that." The Chinese soldiers used to live in our home. And she saw one Chinese soldier crying. He was looking at a photograph of his family and he was crying. He said, since 1936, I think it was the Long March…he said he has been moving around and not seen his family. My mother said they were very kind also. At that time in Tibet we did not have any water so we had to fill up and bring from far and they would bring water for my mother. So she had good memories of Chinese. My father had a very different view. He got very attracted to Maoists idea as a youth member, the meetings and working together, when they started… Then he realized that no one was safe. The children started telling about their parents and the parents were send to jail. So no one could trust anyone. When I tell them (the students) these stories, they can understand what was happening during Partition. It is hard for them (students), as they have no idea about

> the Indian history. They don't hear about it in their families…. I think the new lesson is very good as it gives many reasons for Partition. I tell them about these… When I studied about it in school, we only learned about the Muslim League and the British. This lesson also talks about the role of the Congress. I tell my students it is like Tibet. There are many reasons for what happened and is still happening. They can make a connection and understand. They should know, as they have no idea about our (Tibetan) history…. I also want them to learn about Indian history so they can do well in the exams and get admission in colleges in India.
>
> (From an interview with Pema Choden, history schoolteacher, Tibetan School, 10 May 2011, transcript).

Among the 15 teachers I interviewed, Pema was the only teacher who had no prior connection with the 1947 Partition. It was not a part of her collective memory or experience. The first time she learned about it was when she was in high school. In her practice in teaching about Partition, Pema draws on the Tibetan collective memory of fleeing from Tibet to India as a result of the Chinese aggression. For her, the Partition lesson provides an opportunity to share with her students the memory of the collective violence faced by the Tibetans. She uses it to teach about Tibetan history and introduce her students to the Tibetan collective memory of forced migration. While embracing the new textbook lesson on Partition, she reframes it and explains it in relation to the Tibetan collective remembering of the mass violence during the Chinese invasion. In this narrative, the Tibetan refugees are the victims and the Chinese, the oppressors. Although Pema provides a complex description of the Chinese oppressor, nonetheless, the identities of the oppressor and victim are clearly assigned. Like Rashmi and Samira, Pema also focuses her teaching on supporting her students for the national exams.

It is evident from the data that irrespective of the same textbook content, the three teachers adopt varied forms of pedagogical practices in the teaching of the 1947 Partition. None of them approach the topic from a disciplinary or a post-modern perspective. In that they do not teach their students to analyze the historical account of Partition presented in the textbook, assess the evidence and records on which these accounts are based or allow them to make connections between the event and its politics in the present. Each teacher presents the story of Partition, based on her own memory and understanding of the event.

While Samira, the private school teacher trained in historical analysis in college, introduces her students to the multiple causes leading to Partition, she does not, however, engage them in a critical inquiry using historical methods. Presumably, she makes a distinction between history education in college and high school. Hence, while she introduces her students to a multivocality on Partition, she presents the event as an "inevitable… historical process." This is her analysis, interpretation and her "best story" of the event.

Rashmi focuses on simplifying the content to address the needs of her students She transfers what she has learned by reiterating the popular discourse of blaming the Muslims and of conveying a moral lesson on preserving the unity of the country. Pema, who has no prior connection with Partition, is motivated to leverage the event to educate the Tibetan students about the collective memory of forced migration and oppression by the Chinese, lest they forget. Both Rashmi's and Pema's memory practice can be positioned as "enhancing collective memory." All three teachers justify the way they teach Partition and are convinced of their practice being the best practice for their students. Without interrogating or reflecting on them, they continue these practices as unconscious habits.

Discussion and Conclusion

The three teachers engage in pedagogical practices of the 1947 Partition, which are grounded in their epistemological assumptions. Preparation for the national board exams is a common motivation that resonates for all of them and influences their pedagogy of the event. In addition, their different levels of history education and knowledge of the content, their perception about history education and about their role as history teachers, the positionality and epistemic cognition that they bring to the understanding of the event, and the contexts of their schools, all filter into their practices. In applying the lens of *practice theory,* it is evident that these pedagogical practices of historic events of violence are rooted in each teacher's perspective and emotionality about the event, their surrounding context, their desire of an outcome or the need to avoid another, and the knowledge and confidence of how to make it happen.[32]

These practices are also acts by each teacher to keep a perceived sense of social order. In other words, the three teachers are not passively adopting a memory practice. Indeed, to a significant if varying degree, they are energizing and orchestrating the practice they embrace, anchoring it and

organizing it in a way that is meaningful and provides each of them a sense of "visible orderliness"[33] about the event in question.

The teachers' relationships with their students and their identities, in relation to their students, are also critical in the way they routinize their practices of Partition in the classroom. In a sense, these practices become performances played out repeatedly in the exchanges and interactions between the teachers and their students.[34]

Teachers' chosen practices of historical events of mass violence can be seen as a knot in a tangle of lines that are trajectories of the interplay between the social discourse on these event and the teachers' personal lives. The understanding the teachers bring to their choice of practice is historically and culturally specific and is also largely implicit.[35] Hence, although teachers continue to perform these practices, they take these for granted without examining or reflecting on why they choose a particular practice and discard another. They fail to see these practices both as something deeply embedded in their worldview and as something that they can still alter and change.[36] In the absence of such a reflective inquiry by the teachers, their chosen practices about historic events of violence remain unchallenged and unchanged.

Engaging in creative pedagogical practices requires more than just a textbook content change or simply a methodological focus on pedagogies. While these are important, since teachers teach who they are, without a consideration of the interplay between the personal and the social and historical contexts, teachers will be able to transmit only a mechanistic view of historic events. This is especially true for events of collective violence or conflict, which are closely tied to issues of identity. In order for the teachers to develop new ways of engaging their students, which can begin to interrupt well-entrenched ideologies about violent histories, it is important that they have the spaces and platforms to critically explore their practices and examine why and how they teach what they teach about such events. These spaces can be in pre-service and in-service teacher trainings, through professional development, or in unstructured settings. It is critical that teachers are made conscious of and invited to interrogate and reflect on their existing practices related to historical events of conflict and violence; are they teaching to enhance collective memory, enforce disciplinary history, draw on post-modern thought or enacting a different approach within their given context. It is also vital that teachers are made aware of the limitations of their pedagogical practices of such events, in the way that they are discourses framed by nationalism or its critique.

Further, it is important that teachers are able to examine the ways in which these practices might be fragmented, while also recognizing the interplay between them.[37] It is through such critical and authentic inquiries that teachers will be able to discover innovative practices of teaching about historic events of violence—practices that are academically and contextually sound and socially just, inclusive and humanizing.

Notes

1. See Peter Seixas, "Collective Memory, History Education, and Historical Consciousness," *Historically Speaking*, November/December (2005); Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948–2000)," *History and Memory*, 12, no. 1 (2000): 66–100; Karina Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (New York: Palgrave, 2013); Peter Stearns, Peter Sexias, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo, eds., *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2012).
2. See, Peter Seixas, Dan Fromowitz, and Petra Hill, "History, Memory and Learning to Teach," *Encounters on Education* 3 (2002): 43–60; Cynthia Salinas and Brooke Erin Blevin, "Enacting Critical Historical Thinking: Decision Making Among Preservice Social Studies Teachers," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2013):7–24; Cynthia Salinas and Brooke Blevins, "Critical Historical Inquiry: How Might Pre-Service Teachers Confront Master Historical Narratives?" *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9, no. 3 (2014): 35–50; Linda, S. Levstik, "Articulating The Silences: Teachers' and Adolescents' Conceptions of Historical Significance," in *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Sexias, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 284–305; Ruth Sandwell, "History Is a Verb: Teaching Historical Practice to Teacher Education Students," *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed.

Penney Clark (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press 2011), 24–42.

3. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis Coser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1952]).
4. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives,* ed, Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg. (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.
5. Andreas Reckwitz, "Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 243–63.
6. See, Elizabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar, and Matt Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes* (Los Angeles: Sage 2012); Theodore R. Schatzki, "Introduction: Practice theory," *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, ed. Theodore R. Schatzki, Karen Knorr Cetina, and Eike von Savigny (New York: Routledge, 2001), 10–23.
7. Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, Learning*, 2.
8. Theodor Schatzki describes practice as "a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings." This "nexus" becomes the unit of analysis instead of the individual actor. See, Theodore R. Schatzki, *Social Practices: a Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 89; Schatzki, *The Practice Turn*.
9. Nigel Thrift, *Non-representational Theory: Space/Politics/Affect* (London: Routledge, 2006), 124.
10. The 1947 Partition of Punjab in the north western region of British India was a bloody event on both sides of the border, unlike the partition of Bengal. Most of the refugees from Punjab on the Pakistan side migrated to Delhi. My family was one of them.
11. The National Council of Education Research and Training was established in 1961 by the government of India as an apex resource organization to frame national syllabi and publish nationally prescribed textbooks.
12. Bipan Chandra, "Struggle for Swaraj-Part II (1927–1947)" in *Modern India*: *A History Textbook for Class XII* (first edition 1970, New Delhi: NCERT), 1996, 246–274.
13. Bipan Chandra, "Struggle for Swaraj-Part II (1927–1947)" 270.

14. Seixas, “Schweigen! die Kinder!,” 21.
15. Krishna Kumar, *Prejudice and Pride* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2001).
16. Chandra, “Struggle for Swaraj-Part II,” 271.
17. See Romila Thapar, “The History Debate and School Textbooks in India: A Personal Memoir.” *History Workshop Journal* 67 (2009): 87–98.
18. Saffronization refers to the policies of right wing Hindu nationalists also called Hindutva that seeks to interpret and enforce a Hindu nationalist version of history.
19. For a detailed exposition of the changes in history education in India, see, Thapar, “The History Debate,” 87–98; Neeladri Bhattacharya, “Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India,” *History Workshop Journal* 67 (2009): 99–110; Basabi Khan Banerjee and Georg Stöber, “Textbook Revision and Beyond: New Challenges for Contemporary Textbook Activities,” *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (2010): 13–28.
20. Krishna Kumar, “Education and the Nation,” (lecture, Institute of Education, University of London, November, 2010).
21. See Bhattacharya, “Teaching History in Schools,” 100; *National Curriculum Framework 2005,* National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi (2005).
22. Anil Sethi, “Understanding Partition. Politics, Memories and Experiences,” in *Themes in Indian History Part III: Textbook in History for Class XII* (first edition 2007, New Delhi: NCERT, 2009), 376–404.
23. Ibid., 377.
24. Ibid., 390.
25. Seixas, “Schweigen! die Kinder!,” 21.
26. Sethi, “Understanding Partition-Politics,” 390.
27. Seixas, “Schweigen! die Kinder!,” 20.
28. Ibid., 22.
29. See, Lee. S. Shulman, *The Wisdom of Practice: Essays on Teaching, Learning, and Learning to Teach*, ed. S. Wilson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 2004).
30. Mathew B. Miles, Michael A. Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook (3rd ed.)* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2013).

31. See Kumar, *Prejudice and Pride*; Latika Gupta, "Growing up Hindu and Muslim: How Early Does it Happen," *Economic and Political Weekly* (online, 8 February 2008).
32. Reckwitz, "Toward a Theory of Social Practices," 243–63.
33. Ibid., 251.
34. Thrift, *Non-representational Theory*, 124.
35. Reckwitz, "Toward a Theory of Social Practices," 243–63.
36. See, John Shotter, "Embodiment, abduction, and expressive movement: A new realm of inquiry?" *Theory & Psychology* 21, no. 4 (2011): 439–56.
37. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 19–37.

CHAPTER 6

Teaching History for Narrative Space and Vitality: Historical Consciousness, Templates, and English-Speaking Quebec

Paul Zanazanian

Teaching a state's official history to students from marginalized historic minorities can be challenging when seeking to strengthen their civic engagement and social integration. School history programs in many Western countries transfer usable master narratives that configure coherent historical understandings of national pasts. The content of these usually

The template-like narrative tool presented in this chapter is based on the findings of a study funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), which was awarded to Dr. Paul Zanazanian in 2013 for his research project entitled: "Historical Consciousness and Community Education: How English-Speaking Community Leaders in Quebec Make Sense of the Past for Fostering Community Vitality and Civic Engagement."

P. Zanazanian (✉)
McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_6

reflects the main identity markers of a given state's dominant group and can be influential in how young people employ history when negotiating their sense of national identity and agency.[1] As the presence and contributions of historic minorities are often left out or considered peripherally at most, especially if these perspectives are seen as threatening what Seixas describes as "the tight sphere [of] the *single* best story," the denial of alternative pasts can particularly limit marginalized students' feelings of attachment and commitment to the state.[2] Sentiments of alienation can become all the more amplified when reduced group depictions contradict a minority community's self-awareness and relegate particular (demeaning) roles to its members.

Canada's only official French-language province of Quebec is not an exception to this dynamic and provides a unique context for closely examining the politics of narrative control and inclusion in the teaching of school history, especially with regard to its historic English-speaking minority and Indigenous populations. One important challenge when seeking to make curricular space for these (alienated) communities is to help them find a voice—a voice that permits sharing information about their presence and contributions to the state as protagonists of their story and one that enables their youth to know and act as members of larger society in their own right as individuals from legitimate historic communities.[3]

Fulfilling such a task is not that straightforward. At a societal level, it entails navigating complex political group interests and different interplays of power. Pedagogically, it requires promoting the need to complicate the past—for nothing in social reality is black and white—while also acknowledging the necessity for some sort of simplification or shortcut formula for helping community members make sense of their place in larger society and the world. The real underlying challenge however is to make room for minority group experiences without instigating close-mindedness that reified understandings of the past can inadvertently reproduce when used as claimed counter-histories.[4]

With its focus on English-speaking Quebec's unusual "minority-within-a-minority" setting, this chapter conceptualizes the creation of a usable narrative tool for helping make room for minority group experiences in the teaching of school history. The intended outcome is to give a much-needed voice to a weakening community and to assist it in its quest for vitality, or autonomous and distinct regeneration, while encouraging openness to others who inhabit the same territorial unit.[5] In exploring the interactive links between the workings of historical consciousness

and James Wertsch's ideas on narrative and collective remembering, this chapter specifically provides an underlying rationale for the need and possibility of democratically producing open-ended, template-like narrative scripts—or *readily available, core skeleton plots of generalizable storylines*—of English-speaking Quebec's diverse historical realities and contributions. These template-like scripts are envisioned as springboards and frameworks that would help minority students structure personal narratives of belonging and offer them much-needed confidence and agency for civic engagement. To promote democratic and peaceful co-existence, the goal nevertheless is for students to employ these scripts conscientiously and responsibly in well-informed and well-reasoned ways so that they not only forge an understanding of their presence and contributions but also are able to take critical distance from their knowledge claims and to account for their perspectives.

In the following sections, I contextualize English-speaking Quebec's need for narrative vitality by discussing its treatment in the teaching of official history. I then develop my line of argument within a historical consciousness and narrative mindset, with a focus on the workings of schematic narrative templates and its potential uses for regenerating weakening communities. I end with describing the general function of such core identity scripts and discuss their implicit uses for fulfilling their intended purposes. In doing so, I limit myself to sketching an outline of what the tool could look like and how it could be used. Although what I propose is designed specifically for English-speaking Quebec's minority context, similar template-like scripts could conceivably be developed to help empower Canada's Indigenous populations and other deeply rooted national minorities elsewhere that feel their capacity to regenerate is waning and a form of remedial-type work is needed for improving their existing condition.

English-Speaking Quebec, the Teaching of Official History, and a Quest for Narrative Vitality

In the 1960s, Quebec's Francophone majority restructured the balance of power with the province's historic, previously dominant, English-speaking minority in a bid to create a modern democratic welfare state as a way to remedy French-speakers' poor socioeconomic status and felt experiences of subordination. As part of this process, Francophones asserted their

educational authority over the province by developing a common school curriculum for all Quebec students, including those from its English- and French-language communities. A new history program was created, but instead of integrating both groups' historical memories together (along with those of aboriginals and other minority groups), only the collective experiences of the French-speaking majority were employed to configure Quebec's master narrative. With a conventional Franco-Québécois storyline in place, the portrayal of English-speakers in successive history programs has (unwittingly) reinforced a simplistic and limited vision of the community. Presented as a monolithic group, English-speakers are devoid of their differing realities and contributions, and sometimes portrayed as the general antagonist to Quebec's national survival.[6] Such a casting has contributed to making English-speakers feel excluded from the province's national projects, conflicting with their self-perceptions as a community. Consequently, English-speaking Quebec's vitality is negatively affected. The lack of adequate content knowledge weakens feelings of valued inclusion as well as those of connectivity to English-speakers at large.[7]

Core challenges exist to making room and regenerating the community through the teaching of school history. A shared history of difficulties in defining a common civic project, memories of often-unequal intergroup power relations, mainly as viewed by Francophones, and ongoing identity politics between the two communities regarding language use in the public sphere all play a role. Today, Francophone imperatives of cultural renewal as a French-speaking society in North America coincide with English-speakers' concern for survival as a distinct Quebec entity. Whereas many Francophones view themselves as forming a fragile majority and thus needing special protection, challenges to English-speakers' vitality include the group's increasing out-of-province youth migration and slow fragmentation of social institutions, which have resulted from the language laws that were put into place in the 1970s as a means of bolstering French from fears of eventual assimilation or disappearance.[8] The dissembling of English-speaking Quebec's social institutions, particularly its school system, would potentially spell its rapid decline.

While Quebec's official history program promotes the main markers of the Francophone majority's collective identity, one way in which it has tried to make room for narrative diversity, and English-speaking Quebec as an extension, is by offering disciplinary-based thinking methods as a means of exercising students' critical faculties. This, however, has been a challenge given the pressures of competing interest groups with differing

ideas on how and why the past should be taught. Nationalist-leaning advocates have recently been successful in controlling the shape and form of the history program. The "urgency" of remaining true and promoting Francophone Quebec's own collective experiences seems to supersede the task of making room for minority viewpoints that may differ from the main markers of the state's master narrative. Similar to Seixas' description of two of his opposing orientations for teaching history—enhancing collective memory and the disciplinary approach—the challenge in Quebec since the 1960s has been to adequately harmonize the necessities of both.[9] This can be seen with how the current *History and Citizenship Education Program* is slowly being phased out. This program makes room for a more disciplinary-based approach with the ultimate aim of producing civically engaged adults capable of constructing well-informed autonomous perspectives on the past. It is to be replaced as of the fall of 2016 by the new *History of Quebec and Canada* program, which in turn offers an orientation that primarily reinforces the transmission of Quebec's conventional narrative as *the* collective framework for fully integrating social diversity, including the province's English-speakers.

While teaching history via a disciplinary-based approach may help make room, structural, practical, and cognitive limits exist. Alan Sears provides three main obstacles that make teaching historical thinking a complex task: little-to-no familiarity with the workings of history as discipline; powerful cognitive frames or mental representations of what history is and how it should be taught; and strongly ingrained teacher identities as passive transferors of content knowledge.[10] Research in Quebec supports his claims. Discomfort with historical epistemology and its methodological workings generally hinder teachers from fully sharing such knowledge skills and from transmitting differing perspectives on the past, including those of English-speakers.[11] Many (Francophone) teachers particularly end up relying on Quebec's traditional narrative and conventional ways of thinking historically. Despite recognizing the importance of multiple perspectives, teachers' grasp of differing viewpoints tend to remain rather simplistic and basic and, as a result, are not fully complicated for all their intricacies and nuances.[12]

Although disciplinary-based understandings of history may help unpack Quebec's master narrative, the more fundamental question remains of whether such an approach can really help make room and vitalize English-speaking Quebec when the community's experiences, contributions, and presence are fundamentally left out. At heart lies the relevance of solely

relying on a competency-based approach to teaching official state history when reliable content knowledge on marginalized minorities is greatly missing. Indeed, history teachers generally lack adequate resources and curricular time to make room for English-speaking Quebec, as well as the time and motivation to independently obtain necessary information on their own. The implicit aims of the Secondary Four, end-of-year ministerial exam, which students need to pass to graduate secondary school, further complicate matters. Its Franco-centric framework continues to inadvertently reinforce the *othering* of English-speakers, and in feeling compelled to teach to the test, many teachers in English-language schools end up covering core aspects of the master narrative, which they may or may not complicate depending on their own individual sense of purpose or motivation.[13]

In light of these challenges, teachers need assistance in making room for English-speaking Quebec. I argue that access to some form of narrative frame, or receptacle of sorts, would help, especially if it encourages English-speaking students to weave together those parts of the master narrative that are questioned and complicated for purposes of making room. Without some form of narrative framework to hold the problematized and reclaimed pieces together, the chances that complicating the official state narrative would reinforce the majority group's norms or narrative control of history remain high. Empirically developed, grounds-up, cultural scripts, or receptacles for clasping together fragmented bits of information of their community's presence and contributions they may possess would thus offer students coherency, meaning, and an ability to narrativize and verbalize their experiences.

English-Speaking Quebec's Need for a Narrative Tool

Key for the community's vibrancy and for fostering an attachment to Quebec, the need for such narrative assistance is empirically grounded. English-speaking teachers, principals, and students feel misrepresented, rejected, and disappointed with the perceived indifference to their community's experiences and feel negatively distanced from the state's master narrative.[14] Students specifically tend to possess a negative vision of Quebec's history.[15] A predominant theme of tense French-English relations emerges, with English-speakers seen as victims of Francophone

unease or frustration with the arrival of the British in 1760. As notions of diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, and Canada seem to foster positive attitudes, those of Francophone separation, independence, assimilation, persecution, being a constrained minority, and hatred of the English lead to distancing French-speakers, and to possibly even othering them. Another study suggests that English-speaking students are able to think the (Quebec) nation in its intended terms, as per the official narrative, but may not necessarily develop a sense of connectivity to it.[16] They may not appropriate the narrative fully and completely as their own (in an emotional attachment sense) and may even outright resist it, seeking a fuller, more credible, picture of the past that includes their language group's realities and experiences.

Although further research is needed to better qualify these findings, none of these studies point to students' explicit use of a distinct narrative of their community's own Quebec past as a way of countering or discrediting what is offered in schools and elsewhere or for even simply reciting the history of the nation as they believe is adequate. Research on how English-speakers remember their historical past nonetheless suggests that the community does indeed possess the contours of a shared historical memory.[17] Contrary to some pundits' views, the group seems to form what Jocelyn Létourneau calls a "community of communication and reference" within the province.[18] English-speakers can be seen as forming a community that is specific to Quebec and that holds somewhat of a different memory than other Canadian English-speakers. As these studies reveal, the key unifying marker is the period of the restructuring of intergroup power dynamics in the 1960s, also known as the Quiet Revolution, along with its related rise of Francophone nationalism and the resulting emergence of the province's language laws in the 1970s. As an era of change that negatively affected the community, this turning point represents the cornerstone of the group's collective identity. With this event, English-speakers progressively renegotiated their presence in the province in relation to the more powerful Francophone community and started to view themselves as Québécois for purposes of social and political integration.[19] Today, having eventually secured some linguistic rights and now facing newer challenges, English-speaking Quebec is moving toward imagining itself as a diversely constituted group for purposes of self-preservation.[20]

At this juncture, based on my research and interactions with the community, English-speaking Quebec requires help, or, for my purposes, pedagogical assistance if it is to find some grounding and continuity as a

self-perpetuating (and imagined) minority. Stronger narrative direction is needed for establishing a larger sense of group coherency among the community's diversity.

Historical Consciousness and Narrative Templates

As a theoretical framework, the notion of historical consciousness permits visualizing how room can be made for English-speaking Quebec in the teaching of school history, and for consequently developing template-like narrative scripts for civic engagement and community vitality purposes. It permits developing the kind of historical notions and storylines that English-speakers can engage with for knowing and acting in time as Quebec citizens, but for also imagining the future of their community differently so that they can improve the quality of their presence in the province, while also reaching out to Francophones.

At its core, historical consciousness amounts to historical sense-making for orientation in time. Such a use of history points to an individual's capacity to employ representational frames that give meaning to the past for making the necessary moral decisions for guiding oneself socially.[21] Such an engagement involves mobilizing both the necessary content configurations of the past and the interpretive filters used to make sense of that past. The underlying assumption here is that individuals are inserted in the historical sense-making process and that they grasp and enact historical reality for purposes of living life. When faced with ethical, political, or practical dilemmas, individuals consult past ideas, events, and experiences for giving meaning to *what once was* and for establishing *what could have been, should, and shall be*. By thus helping to locate oneself in the larger scheme of things, historical consciousness offers a sense of cohesion between past, present, and future, enabling sense-making of who one is, where one fits, how one should act, and what one's destiny should be.

In such historicizing, the significations of the past individuals refer to are usually located in the collective consciousness of one's group(s) and wider culture(s) of belonging, and are constantly established, refined, and transmitted through the various processes and outlets of group socialization.[22] Underlying this conceptualization of historical consciousness is a narrative approach to human meaning making, which presupposes humans are storytelling animals who construct reality and configure their sense of knowing and acting in time by drawing on narrative resources from personal cultural toolkits. In short, humans tell stories to make meaning

and to shape action.[23] On this view, individuals actuate their actions in the world by manipulating and mobilizing already available (narrative) forms of knowing and doing.[24] In terms of power and control, these negotiations are particularly located in struggles among cultural trendsetters (those persons and entities in positions of influence), who seek to control the conceptual resources—patterns of thought, symbols, stories, images, terms, and ideals—that individuals use for giving meaning to and participating in social reality.[25]

From a cognitive perspective, one way to operationalize these functions of historical consciousness is by drawing on Wertsch's approach to sociocultural analysis and his notion of mediated action.[26] Espousing such a perspective can help explain how the templates I call for work as cultural tools. Sociocultural analysis connects social actors' ability to think and act in the world to the cultural, institutional, and historical contexts that form part of their everyday lives. To better grasp how individual minds or mental functioning relate to their various contexts, the notion of mediated action serves as a unit of analysis. It refers to an engagement and exchange between social actors and the readily available tools they employ for directing action toward sought-out endpoints. This permits moving away from individuals as sole authors of their agency to one where there is joint authorship between individuals and the cultural tools they use for knowing and acting in concrete situations. On this view, it is the tools that are the "mediators of action" between individuals and their environment that impact the outcome of such interactions.[27]

As important cultural tools, pre-given narrative elements play a central role in humans' historical sense-making, enabling them to give meaning and enunciate their understanding of how the past once was for orientation in time.[28] As "mediators of action," these already available narrative forms not only offer a mechanism to give voice to individuals but also hold the power to influence how individuals using them see the world as exterior lenses for making historical sense of the past.

While Wertsch's work on cultural tools mainly centers on the processes of collective memory, his views on how mnemonic communities remember and narrate their collective pasts are similar to how historical consciousness can be employed for encouraging group-centric understandings of reality and maintaining group identity in time.[29] When viewed similarly to collective memory, historical consciousness can indeed promote subjective beliefs in common beginnings and ensuing shared memories of group experiences. These beliefs permit members to know and narrate themselves as

well as to acknowledge and narrate their peers.[30] Collective memory variants of historical consciousness further make way for group trendsetters to mobilize group action through manipulating simplified understandings of the past that help reduce and navigate the complexities of social reality. While needing to resonate with lived realities of the past if they are to be effective, such reified historical memories nonetheless become assets as well as strong instruments for pushing various group interests by competing elites, trendsetters, and/or grassroots movements.[31]

In analyzing the workings of collective memory and individuals' engagement in collective remembering, Wertsch distinguishes between two levels of narrative organization for giving meaning to the past. He differentiates between specific narratives and wider, sense-making frames, which he calls schematic narrative templates. Specific narratives are narrative constructs that provide concrete content-specific information. These comprise such input as key dates, places, actors, settings as well as sequences of events that generally involve both a selection of events about the past and their descriptions.[32] Specific narratives are moreover episodic and configurational. Episodic in that the events they offer are placed in some form of chronological sequencing, and configurational in that the ordering or emplotment of these events provides an intended meaning or story by "'grasp[ing] together' the detailed actions or … the story's incidents."[33]

In contrast, schematic narrative templates constitute a form of narrative organization at a more abstract degree of representation and provide few if any concrete details regarding narrational/story content-matter that are found in specific narratives.[34] As cultural and cognitive constructions, they comprise patterned devices that help forge group memory. They resemble schema-like knowledge structures that act as easy, shortcut, simplifications required for making sense of the past, representing "a particular way of pursuing 'effort after meaning.'"[35] In following a basic storyline format, but at a much deeper level than those of specific narratives, schematic narrative templates can be understood as forming core, skeletal narrative patterns that underlie or inform many instances of specific narratives about a given past. Schematic narrative templates can be instantiated by many different specific narratives or by their differing content-matter that may be elaborated to differing degrees. The impact of schematic templates on human consciousness is so pervasive that they assist individuals to narrate historical pasts even in those instances where they lack important content-knowledge details that others may recite in their own differing specific

narratives about the same historical past. This speaks to templates' further partial and emotional features.

The power of templates is that they tend to be employed unconsciously, in "unreflective, unanalytical, and unwitting" ways.[36] They infiltrate so deeply that they eventually gain essential, truth-like properties that develop a life of their own and that are never really questioned because they are always taken for granted. Because of this, users do not realize the power schematic templates hold over how they give meaning to the past. They are so prevalent that they seem to possess a second nature quality to them—as timeless and always current. To function though, schematic narrative templates need to resonate with a group's historical experiences for them to be meaningful, hence explaining their prevalence among given cultural groupings and the strong emotional hold they have over adherents.[37] Because of their abstract, prevalent, invisible, and shortcut practicality, schematic narrative templates appear to be resistant to change and are seen as a conservative force for collective remembering.[38]

Wertsch provides an example of a schematic narrative template, one that is prevalent among the Russian mnemonic community and that its members tend to use for giving meaning to their history. He names it the Expulsion-Of-Foreign-Enemies template, which he outlines as holding the following plotline:

> (1) Russia is peaceful and not interfering with others. (2) Russia is viciously and wantonly attacked without provocation. (3) Russia almost loses everything in total defeat as the enemy attempts to destroy it as a civilization. (4) Through heroism and exceptionalism, and against all odds, Russia triumphs and succeeds in expelling the foreign enemy.[39]

Wertsch claims that this general pattern underlies, helps structure, and gives meaning to many specific narratives that speak to differing episodes of Russia's national past—be they fully detailed or fragmented in members' differing imaginations and enunciations. Even when content-matter details in members' specific narratives are missing, the overriding schematic narrative template helps to fill in the blanks, thus acting as building blocks of collective memory. The use of such templates is developed through various processes of group socialization that help to give members a core understanding of who they are as a people, grouping, nation, or collective.

Similar work to that of Wertsch's can be found in Quebec through Jocelyn Létourneau's extensive research on how Quebeckers, mainly Quebec youth of French-Canadian descent, remember their community's history. In his writings, Létourneau talks about meta-representations or general frameworks as ways of providing "intellectual crutches" that help students make sense of the past.[40] He also talks about mythistories and how these determine young people's historical minds. He describes them as simple but powerful statements that provide the essentials of what one needs to know about what once was.[41] According to him, mythistories are simultaneously "a realist fiction, a system of explication and a mobilizing message that meets a demand for meaning, if not a desire for belief, among its recipients."[42] More specifically, they constitute the nodal points of narrative and discursive complexes and are organized according to novel-like patterns. In some instances, Létourneau concedes that mythistorical structures follow a meta-type of narrative patterns, which he states are similar to Wertsch's work on templates. With some convergence with Wertsch's cognitive approach, Létourneau's research is helpful in better understanding Quebec Francophones' historical consciousness and how it relates to inadvertently othering English-speakers in the province.

Through his research, the following core storyline or template of how Francophones give meaning to Quebec's history emerges: (1) An initial situation (New France, when the French settled the territory today known as Quebec), which represents a golden age; (2) A time of crisis (the conquest by the British), which represents a reversal of destiny; (3) The awakening (the Quiet Revolution, as a means of improving their quality of common future life), which represents a resumption of destiny; and (4) The uncertainty (a period of indecision, with the momentum of the Quiet Revolution withering away and with losing Quebec's two sovereignty referendums), which represents hesitation. This core storyline has four main variations, each of which Létourneau describes as pillars for narrating the history of Quebec. This means that the general pattern above can be instantiated in many ways and according to differing levels of complexity and detail, but by following each of these guiding themes: (1) Survival, (2) The quest for Self, (3) The deviated destiny, and (4) The fault of the Other.[43]

While this template-like structure is deeply engrained in Francophones' historical consciousness, it would seem that it did not always underlie how French-speakers remembered their past in the past. Work by historians seems to suggest that the schematic-like templates that Quebec Francophones recite, as presented by Létourneau, are historical products

or constructions that have evolved over time.[44] The basic outline of Francophone Quebec's narrative experiences seems to have been initiated and eventually consolidated by successive (nationalist leaning) historians starting with François-Xavier Garneau and his *Histoire du Canada* (published between 1845 and 1852), which for political reasons was brought to the fore in the 1840s, serving as ammunition for countering British dominance.[45] Since then, it has developed a life of its own and now has come to populate Francophones' toolkits or repertoires for knowing and acting as Québécois in time (with other historians picking up and adding onto it). In having settled as part of Francophone Quebec's collective memory, this template has come to form the core storyline of the master narrative presented in the province's school history programs as well as the narratives that various interest groups continue to push to mobilize concerted social action for their own political ends.[46]

My key point of interest here is to figure out how historical understandings (or storylines) of a group's past that emerge for political reasons (at some point in time) actually do take hold via template-like structures. Especially those that eventually become so abstract and resistant to change that they seem to be conservative in force and are used unreflectively by their adherents, which, for example, appears to be the case for many Francophones as per Létourneau's extensive research. Does schematic templates' abstractness reflect the power of a deeper, collective conscience that serves to connect human and culturally felt notions of right and wrong to core storylines of human experiences that emerge for maintaining a group in time? Does a larger cultural awareness of right or wrong, a sense of (human) dignity and justice, that also evolve across time, act as a glue that enables such storylines to stick or latch onto people's own workings of historical consciousness? Are older or wider cultural-specific ways of story-building at play for capturing the essence of group experiences and their underlying beliefs in it? Do such processes involve a deeper influence of other knowledge frames, such as myths or folktales and other sources of information that foster deep ethical understandings related to sentiments of virtue, happiness, self-worth, and prestige? Do these give templates their credibility and hence eternal-like quality? While answers to these questions go beyond the scope of this chapter, they do call for caution when developing remedial-type narrative tools as I attempt to do for English-speaking Quebec. Given schematic narrative templates' high level of abstractedness, can one ultimately create such easy, shortcut, simplifications required for making sense of the past cognitively, but that latch on

and resonate emotionally? For this to happen I venture to assume, at this stage of my thinking, that template-like tools can certainly be produced, but their adoption by a community of memory has to happen organically (in a grounds-up manner where emerging identity markers resonate and “naturally” connect with lived experiences) and not be imposed from above. In the Quebec case, the storylines that early historians had developed possibly gave words to the experiences that everyday people were feeling but had theretofore not had the means to do so.

In developing narrative tools that speak to group members’ sociocultural setting, these template-like narrative tools would need to tap into group members’ general sense of cultural awareness of their presence for them to be effective. Creating core storylines of English-speaking Quebec’s presence and contributions thus needs to build on already established ways of knowing and acting in order to bolster the templates’ outreach and to attain their positive outcomes. Such templates should be developed following a grounds-up approach through constant collaborative research with the community so that they are relevant and that the chances group members adopt them increase.

Inspired by Wertsch, and similar to what Létourneau provides, what I call for are template-like structures for making room and vitalizing English-speaking Quebec. Ones that do not pretend to be abstract, but that are developed with group members’ historical memories in mind and are open to be adopted if group members so freely choose to. These template-like structures can be defined as: *culturally available skeleton plots of generalizable storylines that provide core narrative frameworks for underlying many instances of a broad range of community narratives that group members may recite and relate to.* In offering a basic workable plotline that resonates with group members’ experiences (and those of the Franco-Québécois by extension), English-speakers would be better prepared to give meaning to the past for guiding their sense of identity and agency. If these tools take off and resonate with group members’ sentiments of English-speaking Quebec’s past experiences and current realities as a minority community, then they may eventually come to populate students’ repertoires of know-how for giving meaning to social reality and hence may inform the workings of their historical consciousness. This would of course be a gradual process and would have to relate to group members’ worldviews and differing positionalities. This means that if developed templates are to take off and be useful then they must resonate with group experiences and members’ wider collective values and epistemologies.

Once created, these template-like tools must however be used in ways that their users are not only able to connect to them but also able to take critical distance from their knowledge claims and to account for or justify the reasoning of the narratives of belonging they produce. The assumption here is that making room for oneself should not be done at the expense of alienating the Other. Unless, of course, users choose to personally maintain distance and continue to differentiate between English and French-speakers in the province for ethical, practical, or political reasons.

Taking Critical Distance from Knowledge Claims as a Responsible Use of Templates

The point of developing such template-like narrative scripts is to give a boost in populating English-speaking Quebec's cultural toolkits for social justice purposes of teaching history. While these templates may offer a sense of group coherency to English-speaking students, they can also run the risk of being misused, especially if they are not employed flexibly. There will always be a danger of promoting reified understandings of the past to "evil" ends and which may (inadvertently or not, depending on the teacher) serve to differentiate, distance, and stereotype Francophones and to even deny the presence of the community's own in-group diversity.

In order to make room for English-speakers but not promote closed-mindedness, the issue here—and the challenge in writing this chapter—is to find a way to reconcile the need for complicating the past with that of promoting required simplifications that serve to encourage community vitality and foster self-confidence and agency as group members. Moving away from the collective memory features of historical consciousness to those that anticipate more plausible-like understandings of the past can be useful.[47] Such a move involves being able to problematize, de-essentialize, and build on pre-given means of knowing and acting that the workings of historical consciousness offer for purposes of group regeneration and to do so in a healthy manner according to society's changing dynamics and needs.

As employing simplified understandings of the past is important for group coherency and maintenance, so is the promotion of inquisitiveness and curiosity as a means of freeing social actors from pre-given narrative elements of knowing and acting that are imposed from above.[48] In being open to question the rigidity of essentialized and reclaimed group

histories—or the template-like narratives or scripts that I propose—the chances that group members would come to grasp the processes and politics involved in developing and maintaining group identity when using already available cultural tools would likely increase.

In order to implement these core narrative scripts, a mechanism is thus called for to explicitly avoid closed-mindedness and indoctrination. To activate inquisitiveness and curiosity and to counter such negative potentials, teaching students about the workings of historical consciousness, and thus about the practical, political, and cultural workings of narratives, their relationship to historical consciousness, and their particular relevance for making sense of and acting in reality (as moral and historical actors inserted in the flow of time) would help. This would require an open use of the templates to ensure that students are able to develop well-informed and reasoned arguments for supporting their narratives of belonging and to moreover be able to take critical distance from their knowledge claims and to hence be open to the Other, or to be able of account for one's positionality if they refuse to at the very least.

Such an open-ended use of template-like scripts can be developed through exercising students' historical imagination and can help open attitudes to include differing realities and experiences of the past, and to consequently seek fuller comprehensions of what once was. In possessing inquisitive minds, students can undo and move beyond imposed narrative visions telling them how to make sense of the past. By developing a reflex to question the solidity of simplified group histories, the power processes involved in the construction of group identity could be grasped and the value of multiple perspectives for considering alternative possibilities when signifying and narrating the past could be appreciated. Equipped with this information, students would be aware of the dangers of thoughtlessly accepting pre-given narratives at face value. By poking and problematizing, they might instead reinvigorate these storylines according to changing realities and the needs of the day. It is in this process that they may come to further realize that pre-given narratives are sometimes necessary for community survival, especially for historic minorities. The key would be for students to see the benefits and drawbacks of developing community narratives and to not feel guilty in how they develop their standpoint or in how they view the relevance of history for making sense of and acting in reality, be it different from their peers or not. Students would thus be in an informed position to be able to accept, reject, or adapt the general historical visions that narrate their community and its relations with

the Other. In using already available narrative tools, they would either promote already established narratives or eventually recite new ones that reconfigure the past according to both its complexity and updated ethical considerations.

Conclusion

Three main steps are needed for producing the template-like scripts I have put forth in this chapter. The first is conducting empirical research on the workings of community members' historical consciousness, preferably in collaboration with key group actors, and analyzing the data in a rigorous manner (following a recognized methodological approach and espousing at least two methods of analysis for triangulation purposes). A central aim here is to gain content knowledge regarding members' historical memory of their group's past. The second step involves developing strategies to help students create and account for their personal narratives, which can be done through having them conduct historical research and grasp the workings of history and its epistemological and cultural uses. The third relates to preparing relevant unit plans in collaboration with history teachers, who would then pilot the template and help with analyzing its effects on students for upgrading the tool. The input of professional historians throughout the whole process would ensure the templates do not stray too far from the historical record while indeed resonating with the community's lived experiences. Using legitimate external government mandated guidelines or regulations and recommendations would moreover help justify and arrange the structure of the emerging templates.

The data used to create the initial English-speaking Quebec template-like script that is presented here emerged from a large qualitative study I conducted on the workings of English-speaking community leaders' historical consciousness.[49] Community leaders are important trendsetters holding the strong potential of informing group members' toolkits for knowing and acting as English-speakers. An official report by the Canadian Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, outlining a call for both English and French speakers in the province to specifically work together to address their respective vitality issues, moreover gave me the legitimated direction I needed for framing the tool.[50]

Participants' answers to an open-ended historical writing task, where they wrote the history of English-speaking Quebec from the very beginnings until current times, which I adopted from Jocelyn Létourneau's

research, served to develop the template's schematic structure.[51] In using content analysis to analyze the data and a narrative data reduction technique for triangulating my findings, I was able to attain input regarding the main dates, events, actors, and periods as well as central turning points and structural narrative patterns that emerged in participants' histories.[52] I placed the main turning points that surfaced in chronological order and selectively picked the emerging narrative threads that were the most conducive to fostering a positive sense of Self and living together with Francophones. The *Diversification through immigration* thread as a thematic undercurrent of participants' narratives and the smaller theme of *Working together with Francophones to build a common civic project* were favored over *Group duality* representing a history of two homogeneous entities in constant competition. I thus segmented the English-speaking Quebec template into the following periods, viewing the two adopted themes as threads interlacing across them: (1) *Beginnings* (Prior to 1760: from New France to the Change of Empire)—initial contact; (2) *Presence and Contributions* (1760-1960s: from the Change of Empire to the Quiet Revolution)—arrival, diversification, common quest for responsible government; (3) *Change and Challenges* (1960s-1990s: from the Quiet Revolution to Current Times)—social realignment, protection of French, English-speaking Quebec at a crossroads; (4) *Adaptation* (Today: Current Times)—embracing new realities, working with Francophones to make things work; (5) *Promise* (Today into tomorrow: The Future)—toward forging a common civic project based on mutual respect and dialogue.

Although testing and further research are certainly needed to help upgrade the tool, this initial structure presents an important receptacle students could use for weaving together their stories of inclusion. Other template-like scripts could undoubtedly be developed using different techniques or entry points but they would need to be based on empirical research and constantly developed with the community's involvement if they are to be perceived as democratic. The aim is to give a voice to the community and to make room for their experiences, while also maintaining a relationship with Francophones and other communities that inhabit the same territory

In terms of employing this tool, a disciplinary-based approach would help students autonomously develop their histories in well-informed and well-reasoned ways through inquiry-based projects, which would involve conducting original research and using source-based evidence—assessed for their reliability and validity—to build their narratives.[53] To avoid the

dangers of narrow-mindedness or indoctrination, a complementary aim for students would be to learn about the functioning of (historical) narratives (templates) in societies. Somewhat similar to the organization of histories and their rhetorical and political uses in the present that underlie what Seixas describes as the post-modern orientation to history teaching, the purpose here would be to go beyond the contentiousness of historical knowledge as emanating from the written work of historians, and to mostly focus on the spoken word of everyday people.[54] In espousing a historical consciousness approach—not as it relates to historiography but to human life purposes—students can come to understand how people use history in their everyday lives and grasp how group practices of historical sense-making emerge and function.[55] Accordingly, teachers can help students understand the different promises of history, including benefits and drawbacks, which influence their positionality as individuals and future citizens. The key result of this would be to generate a habit of mind that would motivate students to critically and conscientiously appropriate history for guidance, while also being answerable to their decisions regarding attitudes and consequent behaviors in their uses of the past.

Notes

1. Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004); Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011); Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo, eds., *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2012); Paul Zanazanian and Sabrina Moisan, "Harmonizing Two of History Teaching's Main Social Functions: Franco-Québécois History Teachers and their Predispositions to Catering to Narrative Diversity," *Education Sciences, Special issue: History Curriculum, Geschichtsdidaktik, and the Problem of the Nation* 2, no. 4 (2012): 255–75.
2. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 22; Sirkka Ahonen, "Politics of Identity Through History Curriculum:

Narratives of the Past for Social Exclusion - or Inclusion?" *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 179–94; Terrie Epstein, *Interpreting National History: Race, Identity, and Pedagogy in Classrooms and Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

3. *Creating Spaces for Young Quebecers: Strategic Orientations for English-Speaking Youth in Quebec* (Montreal: Quebec Community Groups Network's Youth Standing Committee and Canadian Heritage, 2009); *The Vitality of Quebec's English-speaking Communities: From Myth to Reality* (Ottawa, Senate of Canada: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2011).
4. Paul Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Ethnicity: How Signifying the Past Influences the Fluctuations in Ethnic Boundary Maintenance," *Ethnic Studies Review* 33, no. 2 (2010); Paul Zanazanian, "Towards Developing an 'Anglo-Québécois' Information Resource Book for School History Teachers in Quebec: Thoughts from a Qualitative Study," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, 36 (Spring 2011): 69–95; Paul Zanazanian, "History Teaching and Narrative Tools: Towards Integrating English-Speaking Youth into Quebec's Social Fabric," *Minorités linguistiques et société/ Linguistic Minorities and Society*, no. 7 (2016): 70–96.
5. For an overview of the concept of community vitality, please refer to: Richard Y. Bourhis, ed., *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2012).
6. Marie McAndrew, *Les majorités fragiles et l'éducation* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'université de Montréal, 2010); Paul Zanazanian, "Information Resource Book."
7. *Creating Spaces for Young Quebecers* (QCGN and Canadian Heritage).
8. McAndrew, *Les majorités fragiles*; Bourhis, *Decline and Prospects*; Standing Senate Committee Report.
9. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!"
10. Alan Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, ed. Ruth Sandwell

and Amy Von Heyking (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

11. Zanazanian and Moisan, "Harmonizing."
12. Stéphanie Demers, "Relations entre le cadre normative et les dimensions téléologique, épistémologique, et praxéologique des pratiques d'enseignants d'histoire et éducation a la citoyenneté: étude multi-cas" (doctoral dissertation, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2011); Zanazanian and Moisan, "Harmonizing;" Vincent Boutonnet, "Les ressources didactiques: typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire" (doctoral dissertation, Université de Montréal, 2013); Alexandre Lanoix, "Finalités de l'enseignement de l'histoire et nation dans les représentations sociales des enseignants d'histoire du Québec au secondaire" (doctoral dissertation, Université de Montréal, 2015).
13. Zanazanian, "Information Resource Book;" Zanazanian and Moisan, "Harmonizing."
14. *Overview of the Teaching of Elementary Social Studies and Secondary History within the Anglophone Community of the Province of Quebec: A Report by the History Task Force* (Quebec City: Ministère de l'éducation du Québec, 1998); Jocelyn Létourneau and Sabrina Moisan, "Young People's Assimilation of a Collective Historical Memory: A Case Study of Quebeckers of French-Canadian Heritage," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004); Francine Lemire, Marie McAndrew, and Will Smith, "L'éducation et les relations entre les francophones et les anglophones au Québec: les perceptions des directeurs d'école," *Brusselse Thema: Politiek, Taal, Onderwijs en Samenleving in Beweging* 14 (2006): 335–59; Paul Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and the 'French-English' Divide Among Quebec History Teachers," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40, no. 3 (2008): 109–30; Paul Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries: A Look at Two Francophone School History Teachers Regarding Quebec's Anglophone Minority," *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (2012): 215–39; Paul Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Being Québécois: Exploring Young English-Speaking Students' Interaction with Quebec's Master Historical Narrative," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada* 47, no. 2 (2015):

113–35; Jocelyn Létourneau, *Je me souviens? Le passé du Québec dans la conscience de sa jeunesse* (Montréal, Fides, 2014).
15. Létourneau, *Je me souviens?*
16. Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Québécois."
17. Evelyne Bougie, Esther Usborne, Roxane de la Sablonnière, and Donald M Taylor, "The Cultural Narratives of Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers: Using a Historical Perspective to Explore the Relationships among Collective Relative Deprivation, In-Group Entitativity, and Collective Esteem," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 50, no. 4 (2011): 726–46.
18. Gary Caldwell, "Le Québec anglais: prélude à la disparition ou au renouveau," in *Le Québec en jeu: Comprendre les grands défi*, ed. Gérard Daigle and Guy Rocher (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992); Marie-Odile Magnan, "Anglos du Québec et autruis privilégiés: référence identitaire en mutation," *Aspects sociologiques* 11, no. 1 (2004): 124–43; Jack Jedwab and Hugh Maynard, "Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-Speaking Quebecers," in *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, ed. Richard Y. Bourhis (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2012), 277–311; Jocelyn Létourneau, "Remembering Our Past: An Examination of the Historical Memory of Young Québécois," in *To the Past: History Education, Public memory, and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 79.
19. Michael Stein, "Changing Anglo-Quebecer Self Consciousness," in *The English of Quebec: From Majority to Minority Status*, ed. Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell (Quebec City: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982) 107–41; Magnan, "Anglos du Québec;" Jedwab and Maynard, "Politics of Community."
20. Zanazanian, "Community Leaders and the Uses of History."
21. Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).
22. Peter Seixas, ed., *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2004); Jürgen Straub, ed., *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).
23. Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Donald Polkinghorne, *Narrative*

Knowing and the Human Sciences (Albany: State University of New York, 1988); James V. Wertsch, *Mind as Action* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Straub, *Narration, Identity.*

24. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967); Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).
25. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*; Kent den Heyer, "Between Every 'Now' and 'Then': A Role for the Study of Historical Agency in History and Citizenship Education," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31, no. 4 (2003): 411–34.
26. Wertsch, *Mind as Action.*
27. Ibid., 24.
28. James V. Wertsch and Kevin O'Connor, "Multivoicedness in Historical Representation: American College Students' Accounts of the Origins of the United States," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 4, no. 4 (1994): 295–309; James V. Wertsch, "Collective Memory and Narrative Templates," *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 13356; Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Ethnicity;" Zanazanian, "Structuring of Group Boundaries."
29. Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Ethnicity."
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*; James V. Wertsch, "Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Wertsch, "Collective Memory and Narrative Templates."
33. Paul Ricoeur in Wertsch, "Specific Narratives," 51.
34. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*; "Collective Memory and Narrative Templates;" "Specific Narratives."
35. James V. Wertsch, "National Narratives and the Conservative Nature of Collective Memory," *Neohelicon* 34, no. 2 (2007): 23–33, 30.
36. Frederic Bartlett in Wertsch, "Specific Narratives," 57.

37. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*; "National Narratives;" "Collective Memory and Narrative Templates."
38. Ibid.
39. Wertsch, "National Narratives," 30.
40. Létourneau, "Remembering Our Past," 71.
41. Jocelyn Létourneau, "Mythistoires de 'Losers': introduction au roman historial des Québécois d'héritage canadien-français," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 157–80.
42. Létourneau, "Mythistoires de 'Losers'," 162 (my translation).
43. Létourneau, "Mythistoires de 'Losers';" "Remembering our Past;" Stéphane Lévesque and Jocelyn Létourneau "'A Giant with Clay Feet': Quebec Students and their Historical Consciousness of the Nation," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 11, no. 2 (2013): 156–72.
44. Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth Century Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Michel Ducharme, "Interpreting the Past, Shaping the Present, and Envisioning the Future: Remembering the Conquest in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," in *Remembering 1759: The Conquest of Canada in Historical Memory*, ed. Phillip Buckner and John G. Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
45. Ducharme, "Interpreting the Past."
46. Bulletin d'histoire politique, *Débat sur le programme d'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec*, 15, no. 2 (2007); Félix Bouvier, Michel Allard, Paul Aubin, and Marie-Claude Larouche, ed., *L'histoire nationale à l'école québécoise: Regards sur deux siècles d'enseignement* (Quebec City: Septentrion, 2012).
47. Zanazanian, "Historical Consciousness and Ethnicity;" "Structuring of Group Boundaries."
48. Ibid.
49. Paul Zanazanian, "English-Speaking Quebec Community Leaders and the Uses of History: A One Day Symposium," Research Findings presented at a Knowledge Mobilization Conference, McGill University, Montreal, May 19 2016.
50. Standing Senate Committee Report.
51. Létourneau and Moisan, "Young People's Assimilation."
52. Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1993); Amia Lieblich, Rivka Tuval-Mashiach, and Tamar Zilber, *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and*

Interpretation (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1998); Barbara Czarniawska, *Narratives in Social Science Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2004); Létourneau and Moisan, "Young People's Assimilation;" Margrit Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2012).

53. The *Big Six* methodology developed by Peter Seixas and Tom Morton could be helpful here: Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education Ltd., 2013).
54. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!"
55. Adapting the Use-Of-History concept as developed by Kenneth Nordgren and Maria Johansson can also be helpful here: Kenneth Nordgren and Maria Johansson, "Intercultural Historical Learning: A Conceptual Framework," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 47, no. 1 (2015): 1–25.

CHAPTER 7

Mediating Collective Memories and Official Histories in Conflict-Affected Societies: Pedagogical Responses to "Individual" Narratives and Competing Collective Memories

Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas

Introduction

Societal beliefs about a conflict do not (always) provide an "objective" history of the past, but they tell about the past as it is functional and often suitable to the society's political needs and purposes.[1] History educators have long been aware about the use of history teaching to enhance

This chapter is an extended and revised version of chapter 6 in our book entitled *Teaching contested narratives: Identity, memory and reconciliation in peace education and beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Z. Bekerman (✉)
Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

M. Zembylas
Open University, Latsia, Cyprus

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_7

collective memory and serve the goals of national unity or social cohesion against an "enemy."[2] These "master-narratives" of the past have some basis in actual events but they are still perspectival and biased, as they omit certain facts while highlighting others, add doubtful ones, change the accounts of events and offer a selective interpretation of the events that took place.[3] Yet, societal beliefs of collective memory are often shared by society members and are treated by many of them as "truthful" accounts of the past.[4] These accounts may even dominate school textbooks and pedagogical practices, as they are presented as "the history" of the past.[5] While there has been considerable work showing that history textbooks and curricula in conflict-affected societies often promote biased and one-sided "histories," there has been less attention on *how* this is done, that is, how teachers engage pedagogically with rival histories.

This chapter provides ethnographic descriptions of classroom events which bring to the surface the pedagogical challenges of finding ways that talk about social remembering and rival histories without putting aside "individual/personal" narratives or presenting it as less important than collective memory.[6] The data come from our long-time research in multicultural schools in Cyprus and bilingual integrated schools in Israel where correspondingly Turkish and Greek Cypriots and Palestinian and Jewish Israelis learn together. These settings are particularly interesting because they are among the few places where individuals coming from opposing groups come together and actually have opportunities to engage with rival histories. This chapter shows the complexities in teachers' and students' efforts to negotiate individual stories and collective narratives, and more particularly the limits and possibilities of teachers in conflict-affected societies to engage with rival histories in integrated settings.

Before introducing the ethnographic data to be discussed here, we offer a brief description of the sociopolitical backgrounds surrounding the educational initiatives under study and a short note on methodology.

Sociopolitical Backgrounds

Israel

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be traced to the beginning of Zionist colonialization of Palestine, claimed by Jews as the land of their birthright, toward the end of the nineteenth century. The seemingly intractable conflict resulted out of at least two dominant ideological discourses (one

Jewish, one Palestinian) on the control of the land and recognition of group sovereignty. Historically, the region was never autonomously controlled, having a long history of colonial and imperial rule.[7] The 1948 war, called the War of Independence by the Israelis and the Naqba (the Catastrophe) by the Palestinians, was the first open military clash between the Zionist and Palestinian nationalist movements. Palestinians in Israel (20%) are an indigenous minority, who formed the majority in Palestine (two-thirds of the population) until 1947.

Four major wars have erupted since then, in 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. The Intifada outbreaks in 1997 and 2000, organized in the administered territories under the flag of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), brought about even bloodier events. Even after the Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO in 1993 and the recent disengagement from the Gaza Strip, it is unclear whether Israel and the Palestinians will achieve peace. The 2006 second Lebanese war, the takeover of the Gaza area by Hamas, together with the 2008 attack on Gaza by Israel and the recent 2014 Israel Gaza war, leave little room for optimism.

Since its inception, Israel, as is clearly stated in its Declaration of Independence, has been committed to full political and social equality for all its citizens irrespective of their religion or ethnic affiliation.[8] Yet, even the Israeli government agrees that it has not been fully successful in implementing this ideal and has, for the most part, implemented segregationist policies toward its non-Jewish minorities, policies which only recently are starting to be challenged in the courts of justice.[9] *In general,* the Palestinian Israeli population is geographically segregated and institutionally and legally discriminated against.[10]

Not only are the school systems segregated, but so too are the curricula. Israel has no official multicultural educational policies till today. The Jewish curriculum focuses on national Jewish content and Jewish nation-building and the Palestinian curriculum is sanitized of any national Palestinian content. While Jewish students are called to engage in the collective Jewish national enterprise, Palestinian students are called on to accept the definition of Israel as a Jewish Democratic state.[11] All in all, the Palestinian educational system in Israel lacks the preferential support given by the government to the Jewish educational system, thus creating an enormous gap and leaving the Palestinian educational system behind.

Cyprus

The Republic of Cyprus emerged as an independent state in 1960 after a Greek-Cypriot guerilla struggle against the British colonial rule. This anti-colonial rebellion, however, did not aim toward independence but *enosis*, union with Greece. During that time, the Turkish Cypriots, the largest minority on the island (18%), aimed at *taksim*, ethnic partition. The traumas of ethnic division, first in the 1960s when the Turkish Cypriots were the main victims forced into ethnic enclaves and then in 1974, when Turkey invaded and divided the island, with 200,000 Greek Cypriots and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots displaced, came to signify an intractable conflict in the politics of the region. Since 1974, the country is divided, separating the two communities—Greek Cypriots in the south and Turkish Cypriots in the north.

The intractability of the conflict and the persisting status quo, despite numerous diplomatic efforts, leads to many tensions on both sides of the island. A major aspect of this tension comes from the fact that the two communities have been raised apart for a long time, despite the partial lift of restrictions on movement across the dividing "Green Line"[12] in 2003. In April 2004, the Greek Cypriots rejected a proposed solution put in referendum by the United Nations, while the Turkish Cypriots accepted it; a few days later, Cyprus joined the European Union as a divided state with its problem still unresolved. Currently, there is another diplomatic effort for a political solution—under the auspices of the United Nations—in the long-term efforts for a peaceful settlement.

Since British colonial times, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have always been educated in segregated schools, instilling the Greek and Turkish nationalisms, respectively, to children and youth of both communities.[13] Recent studies have shown that school textbooks and national rituals, symbols and celebrations, and everyday school practices, systematically create dehumanized images of the Other[14] and ethnographic evidence indicates how individuals as well as organized groups from both communities systematically attempt to nationalize suffering and highlight the need to remember the past.[15]

A Brief Note on Methodology

The data, from Israel, analyzed in this chapter were gathered in one of the six recently created integrated bilingual schools which aim at overcoming some of the difficulties we have described above for the Israeli educational system.[16] The data, from Cyprus, were gathered in one of the multicultural schools which aim at overcoming similar educational issues.[17] All data analyzed belong to a larger corpus of data we have gathered over the last ten years at these schools using qualitative ethnographic principles.[18]

The qualitative data, observational data and video recordings were carefully analyzed, looking for patterns and thematic issues of relevance, which were then coded so as to allow for further analysis.[19] The present chapter focuses exclusively on two classroom events from the data gathered over the years. The first event takes place in a third-grade classroom of one, out of the six, bilingual integrated school in Israel in which the Palestinian and Jewish teachers are teaching the events which took place in Kafur Kassem on 29 October 1956. The second event takes place in a sixth-grade classroom of one of the few multicultural schools in Cyprus in which there are also Turkish-Cypriot students; the Greek-Cypriot teacher talks to the children about the Greek-Cypriot missing persons as a result of the Turkish invasion of 1974.

Two Classroom Events

Event One

The incident addressed in this class refers to a massacre that took place in the Israeli Arab village of Kafur Kassem—situated on the Green Line which, at that time, was the de facto border between Israel and Jordan. The incident resulted in the death of 49 Palestinian civilians, including six women and 23 children aged 8–17 at the hands of the Israeli army. The discussion was led by two third-grade homeroom teachers. Uki, the Palestinian teacher, worked at the school for the last four years and was much appreciated by the school authorities. Dalia, the Jewish teacher, was a newcomer to the school and had no Arabic proficiencies at the time of the events related.

An interesting observation about this classroom session is that the students are not very much involved. For the most part, very short strings of students' conversation are recorded in which they mention recollections

by family relatives of the events. Though they are promised by the teachers several times, the floor is never open for their questions or comments. The teachers embark on long descriptive and informational strings of conversation and these are not only translated but also repeated through the session. In this rather long example of which we present only a small extract, we want to highlight the "hidden" dialogue sustained by the two teachers when presenting the events of the massacre.

After her effort to clarify the historical events that envelope the episode of Kafur Kassem, Uki explains in great detail "the curfew" which brought about the massacre, emphasizing its harshness:

> the Palestinians, all the Arabs didn't agree, that the Palestinian land will be split between the Palestinians, [calls class to attention], and the Jews and that is why after they declared the state the Je- the Arabs protested, and they declared the war against Israel, the point is that during the period of this war Israel decided, [calls class to attention], that there will be a curfew. What is a curfew, it is the first time you hear it, what word does it come from? … excellent so [you can] only stay at home, it is forbidden to go outside, forbidden to open the windows, forbidden to open the door and this is how it was decided that there will be a curfew over Kafur Kassem – which is called? Yes D. a curfew … in the night from five o'clock till the morning till the morning hours from five in the evening till the morning hours, the Arabs are forbidden to walk, even to go into their village it is forbidden, like even if you need food for the small children, you want to buy it for them it is forbidden to go out during these hours because the most important thing – because whoever violates the law or whoever does not … has a fate – do you know what was his fate? His fate was he is shot, killed.

In the following segments and in response to a Jewish student inquiring about the meaning of what had been said so far, the Jewish teacher takes the floor. Under the pretext of an explanation/translation, she offers her take on the events. Her presentation represents a radical shift both in the language used and in the way the events are described. The terms used for the wars are now those used by the Israeli hegemony. The 1956 war[20] turns into the Mivtza Kadesh (the Israeli 1956 Sinai Campaign) as a result of the Arab countries' refusal to agree on the creation of the State of Israel. Dalia also seems to be preparing for what has not yet been described by Uki regarding the specific events of the massacre. She asks the students to remember that what is being discussed occurred during a time of war and not during just "regular times." Dalia also focuses on a specific population.

She explains that what is being described relates to the army and not to the totality of the (Jewish) population. In addition, the situation was such that the army in charge of the area might have been justified in declaring the curfew, which ultimately brought about the massacre

> OK, sorry, I see children who maybe did not exactly understand everything or not all has been translated … so to help the ear I will say some things. Uki has reminded us that in 1956 there was a war, Mivtza Kadesh, part of the wars the State of Israel had with those that did not agree with the existence of Israel. These were neighboring countries and also people within. Ah T, T stop it, it's disrupting. Please remember it was a state of war. Israel was at war it was not a regular time, an every day event. It was not just that an order was announced from anywhere. That's to say there was tension in the land … remember the people there [in the villages mentioned] were under military supervision, that's to say the army was in charge there. An order was given for there was a war … it was not a regular situation … an order was not just given to stop people and they are not allowed … it seems there was tension in the area before the war started … L is there anything you know that you want to add, not now (this last statement is said disallowing any further responses from participating students)?

At this point, Dalia is determined to put things straight and she does not allow for any more interruptions; questions are postponed for later. Dalia justifies and supports Uki's account but Uki, sensing that her story might be co-opted by Dalia, injects a sentence again emphasizing the inhumane acts of the military. Dalia follows by making a new effort to alleviate the potential blame. She reminds the students that there have been other cases where more flexibility was shown during curfews. Dalia never negates the facts. Rather, she seems to be working toward safeguarding the emotional well-being of the (Jewish) children who will be soon confronted with some hard "facts." A few moments later, Dalia seems to present a last effort to readdress the issue by asking a math question "how many years back was it?" However, this question ends up enabling Dalia to present some more alleviating information: "Forty-nine years ago," she says. She explains that technologies were not as available as they are today to transmit important information. She hints at a possible confusion in the orders announced by the military.

The session is over and a difficult topic has been covered. Dialogue was absent among teachers and students. If at all present, there was a hidden, contesting dialogue between the teachers. The teachers never openly

disagreed with each other but tensions were perceived. Kafur Kassem is a Palestinian issue. It is Uki's task to present it and she does so forcefully. She seems to strongly believe that all the children should know the facts and she will not allow anything to prevent her from presenting them, in full. Dalia is partially supportive. She never openly negates any of the "facts" presented but throughout seems to try and ameliorate their potential negative meaning. Yes, Kafur Kassem was a horrible event. However, it is not representative of the full picture but rather an exception to the different, much more humane, Israeli military government.

Indeed, the above episode is a daring example of introducing students to the unspoken history of Zionist colonization and (Jewish-Zionist) Israeli statehood as well as introducing them to conflicting perspectives and controversial issues. Yet, the students were never allowed to become engaged in a critical inquiry though if given the opportunity, they could have done so with ease. They had personal histories to offer. They reacted to particular elements in the story and were able to humorously relate to difficult events, as the following brief example shows.

Dalia takes the floor and tries once more to reframe the events without ever denying them. She mentions that curfews were ordered in other villages insinuating that the same order in other places resulted in different behaviors and outcomes. This allows for the possible interpretation that something might have happened in Kafur Kassem that removes full responsibility from the Israeli army. As before, throughout, she rejects questions, mentioning that she understands their importance but that they should be kept for later.

> We are talking about people that did not know about the curfew and walked around in the streets. In general, when they heard there was a curfew over the loudspeakers … and it is also not about someone who opened the door and pulled people out from their homes and massacred them. We are not speaking about such events. We are talking about an order given on the curfew that has to be fully kept and that anyone walking on the streets would be shot … but we need to mention… Put down your hands now, when time comes we will give you time to ask questions. I know it is urgent and that it is important to you, but later. It is important to mention that the curfew order was not only given in Kafur Kassem and that it was given in some other villages in the neighborhood. But when such an order is given. An order that comes from above from a high ranking officer in the area and now the soldier has to fulfill the order …, for example, here in class when we

the teachers tell you to find a solution to a math problem … you look for a solution to the problem because if don't….

Palestinian student: tshs tshs tshs [the student makes sounds simulating a machinegun, and the class all laughs]

The students react with humor, suggesting that they can approach difficult events in different ways than adults who are locked into predetermined emotional reactions. However, the teachers do not allow students' inquiries to take the floor. The teachers' sense that the "facts" needed to be presented combined with their hiding of their fears, uncertainties and suspicions made the day a sad example of an exclusively teacher-centered dialogic (i.e. between the teachers) monologue.

Event Two

The following event is taken from a discussion in a sixth-grade classroom of a multicultural school in Cyprus; in this class, there are two Turkish-Cypriot students. The teacher, Maria, has 20 years of teaching experience and is a refugee from a city in the north that is presently occupied by the Turkish military forces. In today's lesson, she talks to the children about the Greek-Cypriot missing persons as a result of the Turkish invasion of 1974. The topic of missing persons[21] has gained wide societal publicity in both communities of Cyprus during the last few years, after the remains of hundreds of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are being discovered in mass graves, wells and other places. These findings bring to the surface once again the violence and trauma that each side inflicted on the other in the past. The issue of the missing persons has always been a taboo in Cyprus.[22] Nevertheless, Greek-Cypriot schools have taught this topic as another indication of Turkish barbarism.[23] Here, we present only a small extract of the lesson in which we highlight the tensions between individual stories and collective narratives and examine their pedagogical consequences.

After Maria's effort to clarify the historical events around the Turkish invasion, she explains in greater detail how Turkish soldiers captured many Greek Cypriots (men, women and children) and killed them instead of keeping them prisoners.

The Turkish soldiers arrested our people, there are pictures about this… there is a famous picture, here it is [shows a well-known picture of four

> Greek Cypriots in the village Tzaos, kneeling down with their hands behind their heads] … until recently we thought [calls attention to the class], we thought they were alive, but apparently the Turks killed all of them, after this picture was taken. They could have kept them prisoners and give them back to their families, like *we* did with their soldiers and other civilians, but unfortunately… [stops for a moment] the barbaric invader does not have a human face … The Turks are Turks … Our people suffered a lot during and after the Turkish invasion. As you know, I am a refugee, I come from Ammohostos, I lost my house, I lost my land … This is very painful to overcome … Some of you are also children of refugees. Your parents are refugees, some lost loved ones during the invasion. But we are peaceful people and we want peace, right? [some children say "yes, mum"]. The Turks continue to occupy our land but we don't want war, we want peace for all. War is a very bad thing. We still suffer as a result of war, and the children suffer most when there is war, right?

The Turkish-Cypriot children stood silent all this time. As soon as Maria stopped for a few moments, a Turkish-Cypriot girl, Gul (who spoke Greek very well), asked: "Mum, my parents told me that there are also Turkish Cypriot missing persons. My father's uncle has disappeared too." The teacher seemed initially surprised with Gul's intervention. Many Greek-Cypriot students reacted by saying to Gul, "You're lying! This is not true" or turned to the teacher and said, "Mum, she invented all this! She invents things all the time."

The teacher told the children to keep quiet and engaged in another rather long monologue in response to Gul's comment:

> Ok, there are Turkish Cypriots who also disappeared but today we are talking about *our own* [she emphasizes this] missing persons. We should not forget that this tragedy is the result of the Turkish invasion in Cyprus. Before the invasion, we used to live peacefully with Turkish Cypriots. If Turkey leaved us alone, we would continue to live in peace. But with the ongoing occupation of our land and properties, it's difficult to have peace … I know a family, they are my friends, who buried the remains of a loved one from 1974. He went missing a few days after the invasion. Their pain cannot be described … We should remember the sacrifice of these people for our Cyprus, right? We should never forget these individuals … That's why we make statues for them and memorial services at churches. They gave to Cyprus the most valuable thing they had, their own life.

Maria seemed determined to put things straight and so she dismissed Gul's comment: on this day, the topic was about the Greek-Cypriot missing persons. Maria did not explicitly address her Greek-Cypriot students' comments whether Gul was "inventing" the story about Turkish-Cypriot missing persons and essentially left those comments hanging in the air. She simply admitted that there were missing persons from the other side but all this tragedy was the result of the Turkish invasion (a usual argument by most politicians in the Greek-Cypriot community). An important opening for talking about the common suffering of both communities in Cyprus was lost.

A second chance to do so was also lost when Gul asked the thought-provoking question, "Who killed the Turkish Cypriots, if Greek Cypriots were living in peace with Turkish Cypriots?" in response to her teacher's previous intervention. Maria seemed to realize that there was a hidden, contesting narrative between her and Gul and responded:

> This is a really difficult question, alright? I think you are not ready for it. Not yet. You need to grow up some more. When you grow up you'll learn more things about the history of Cyprus, OK? For the time being, it's important to remember today's lesson about the suffering from war and the missing persons and how we should honor their memory. Thirty-four years after the invasion and we still find out about the barbarism of the Turkish invaders.

Maria felt obliged to remind the students several times that the lesson was about Greek-Cypriot missing persons and the Greek-Cypriot tragedy, but missed a number of opportunities to build bridges with Turkish-Cypriot suffering. Dialogue was essentially absent between the teacher and the students, as was the case with the classroom event from Israel.

Although Maria did not negate the facts that Gul put forward, she undermined and essentially dismissed Gul's interventions—interventions which were remarkable, considering that she was a student in the minority challenging the narrative of her teacher (who was in the majority group). Gul reacted to particular elements of her teacher's story; however, the students were generally not allowed to become engaged in a critical dialogue, although some opportunities were offered to do so. Gul, other students and the teacher had certainly personal stories to offer; however, these stories seemed to be absorbed by the hegemonic narrative of the Greek-Cypriot collective memory. The teacher's insistence to convey the

"facts" about Greek-Cypriot missing persons was combined with her diachronic feelings about the other side's barbarism ("The Turks are Turks").

Analysis of the Two Events

Both classroom events highlight many issues but two in particular deserve further attention in terms of how teachers engage with rival histories emerging in these settings: first, it is the process by which teachers serve the aims of the nation-state by eliminating the individual (student), and second, it is the teachers' pedagogical response that children need to "develop" in order to understand some aspects of collective memory—which constitutes another mechanism of sustaining master—or hegemonic narratives. Each of these issues is discussed below in an effort to engage in a deeper analysis of the two events that are narrated here.

As shown in both events, the teachers highlight collective hegemonic narratives whenever they find the opportunity to do so, while individual/personal narratives or competing collective memories are somehow delegitimized or disallowed. For example, although students have individual stories to tell—either based on their own experiences or on the collective memory of their families—even when they (rarely) get a chance to share those stories, the teachers retreat to collective hegemonic narratives. That is, the whole "system" in these classrooms is well geared toward a specific kind of domination through the construction of subjugated self to the collective narrative.

In relation to the pedagogical approaches identified by Seixas, both teachers engage in a "best story approach," that is, an approach emphasizing a single truthful story that promotes collective memory.[24] At its best, this approach by the teachers does not escape from the national goals of identity, cohesion and political purpose in these conflict-affected societies; at its worst, these teachers' approach promotes a nationalistic pedagogy that disallows any potential to legitimate differentiated forms of historical consciousness. But it is interesting to examine the process of how this is done in practice.

Pedagogically speaking, the process of dismissing the individual in favor of the collective is secured through long teacher monologues that preach to the students the truth about what had happened in the past. The teacher's insistence to convey the historical "facts" ends up reiterating existing stereotypes and prejudices against the adversary side, such as the Greek-Cypriot proclamation that "The Turks are [after all] Turks;"

that is, no matter what Greek Cypriots do, the Turks will always be the same "barbaric" group. The collective narrative about who the victims and who the perpetrators are and the impossibility for any symmetry despite the fact that both communities have missing persons are once again confirmed. Any opportunities for acknowledging the other's pain are lost in an effort to teach to the students the (selective) "facts" of their community's suffering.

It seems more preferable—perhaps more "safe" for the teachers—not to offer any opportunities to the students to become engaged in a critical inquiry and share their personal stories. Even in the few chances the students get to ask a critical question or share a personal story, the teachers in both settings retreat to psychologizing the situation: "You are not ready for it. You need to grow up [that is 'develop']." When teachers speak in defense of children, as if children need defense, what seems to happen is that teachers—who have difficulties as adults to cope with certain problems/issues—prefer to speak about "children problems" (need of defense) instead of dealing with the problems as adults. For example, when they do not know what to say, for different social or political reasons, they tell children they will understand when they grow up or that they have to wait and "develop" before certain issues can be discussed with them. In both events, the teachers believe that the children need "development," as if developmental perspectives (the traditional ones) are built only for the sake of hegemonic powers, for they allow justifying what adults expect or need children to believe (ideologically).

These "psychologized" perspectives—that is, the effort to invoke psychological vocabularies and explanatory schemes—are lacking, in our view, in that the reality of the nation-state is not sufficiently accounted for. Also, such perspectives fail to recognize that national ethnic categories, though at times functional, are generated under conditions which have been shaped by the nation-state's political and ideological needs and purposes. Western monologic paradigmatic perspectives not only organize and interpret the political field through irreducible essentialist dichotomous national ethnic categories but also organize social spheres according to gender, age and multiple other categories. These perspectives, which have been only recently approached critically,[25] are also responsible for the view of children as innocent (if not "primitive savages") and developing toward adulthood. Even when acknowledging the need to account for biological maturity, it would be difficult to subscribe to traditional developmental perspectives, because they have for long now positioned

children (together with women and multiple others) as unable to reach the intellectual heights of the (white middle-class male) eye (I) from nowhere.

Our teachers seem to be captive to traditional hierarchical (age) perspectives on operational capacities. They seem so at least in their rhetoric when asking children to wait for later to understand or stating that the "truth"—the teachers' "truth"—not understood at this point will become apparent as they develop, grow older, fall more into the grip of hegemonic perspectives. We could take their words as innocent statements which express their true feelings about the needs of children. Yet, the places in which these statements appear in the excerpts above make this approach difficult to carry. The teachers' doubts about children's developmental level to properly understand the "truth" appear in those places which seem difficult for the adults to discuss. It is as if developmental perspectives are built conveniently for the sake of hegemonic powers (just as are the essentialized categories), for they allow adults (teachers in our case) to justify their fundamental belief; that is, children might not yet be ready to believe, but in time (after long socialization process in hegemonic discourses) they will eventually get there. In this way, adults/teachers are enabled to prevent or explain "deviations." Paradoxically, then, the meaning that is constructed for these events is one which sustains power relations and mistrust rather than promoting tolerance and recognition. We now want to conclude with some reflections on the pedagogical implications of this analysis.

Pedagogical Implications

In conflict-affected societies, such as the ones we are coming from, there is little interest in "critical thinking"—at least in all that relates to the foundations of any in-group involved in the conflict; groupness has to be constantly (re)affirmed and sustained, there is little place for ambivalence. Teachers in conflict-affected societies seem to be mainly oriented by conflict and ideology (their group's ideology) allowing for little space, if at all, for serious questions regarding evidence, epistemology, significance, empathy and change. In such societies, the past is never allowed to be (only) past; it needs to constantly *become* a present that avoids multiperspectival questioning and analysis or what is discussed by Seixas as "post-modern pedagogy."[26] For example, in the classroom events we have depicted it seemed extremely difficult for the teachers to engage in a constructivist

or postmodern approach or develop a postmodern pedagogy in which the past could be reinterpreted through other perspectives.

Yet, in a sense history is paradoxically practiced at the schools described here. This practice might not involve "reworking, analyzing, and interpreting traces and accounts of the past," but it does work toward the construction of narratives "which will have meaning for particular contemporary audiences."[27] It may not be the meaning some scholars and educators would like, but that of the powers involved in the conflict, yet the accounts produced are historical "content" that serves the purposes of nation-centric pedagogy. Construction of knowledge always takes place—both the one we like and the one we dislike are constructed knowledges. The reified knowledge served by the teachers whose classes we described is achieved by the effort invested in hiding all that which Seixas describes as essential for the development of historical thinking, that is, significance, epistemology and evidence or empathy and moral judgment among others.[28]

However, it seems that teachers in the case of conflict-affected societies engage with rival histories in ways that present *the history* of the conflict to society members.[29] This narrative develops over time, and describes the conflict's beginning and its course, providing a coherent and meaningful picture.[30] The presentation of the history of the conflict has a number of important characteristics that determine its pedagogical engagement. First, the intention is not necessarily to provide an "objective" history of the past, but rather to tell about the past as it is functional to the society's present existence, especially given its confrontation with the rival society. Second, collective memory is treated as truthful account of the past and a valid history of the society.[31] This narrative often dominates school textbooks and curricula, being presented as the history of the society. But it seems that this narrative is already a form of "public pedagogy" aiming to educate society members about *the history* of the conflict. By selectively including or excluding certain historical events and processes from the collective memory, a society characterizes itself and its historical experiences that count in unique and exclusive ways.[32] In short, the narrative of collective memories relating to an intractable conflict provides a black and white picture, which enables parsimonious, fast, unequivocal and simple understanding of the history of the conflict. The purpose is not to teach historical thinking but rather to teach a particular narrative that serves the political purposes of the nation-state.

In the present chapter, both classroom events whose descriptions are provided here bring to the surface the pedagogical challenge of finding ways that talk about social remembering without putting aside individual stories or presenting them as less important than hegemonic collective memory.[33] Collective memory has the tendency to conflate all manifestations of memory (e.g. recollection, commemoration and mourning rituals) and collapse them into one concept that reifies *the* memory as an entity. Collective memory may be a social "fact," yet individuals have minds and emotions that are part of the narratives constructed; all these need to be constantly acknowledged and interrogated. When societal beliefs of collective memory "invade" school spaces, then, something extraordinary happens: the "individual" is lost or is considered not in the proper developmental stage to comprehend the "collective." Therefore, the first thing the individual has to do is to simply follow that societal belief of collective memory; he/she can "understand" later (when socialization mechanisms essentially "finish" the job).

Yet things might not be gloomy altogether. To add another level of complexity to our discussion, we want to remind the reader about recent studies on the relationship between historical narrative accounts (e.g. through textbooks) and students' historical memory and how they show that students comprehend narratives with the help of previously acquired knowledge combined with their perceptions of the surrounding cultural milieu. Students also try to reduce any possible tensions created by perceived disparities between them.[34] In spite of the expectations set on textbooks and curricula to secure certain types of historical memory, culture at large and its multiple mediational tools seem to greatly influence "individual" stories.[35] Textbooks and curricula are political tools but their influence is not necessarily greater than that of other mass media apparatuses promoting "alternative" or "counter-memories." Consequently, individual/personal narratives or competing collective memories may be put aside in school spaces but it is not at all clear that it is eliminated altogether—as seen in the examples narrated here in which students have raised such alternatives or counter-memories despite that they are eventually delegitimized.

In general, it might seem as though people living in any society have no choice but to form memories in line with that which is considered the collective memory of that society. Doing so implies an alignment with a particular social group and its accompanying sense of belonging and affiliation. Yet, Halbwachs[36] rightfully points out the lightness of individual

stories and their tendency to vanish, if they are not supported through social interaction within a material cultural framework. From his perspective, memories are not individual but social. They are collective not because there is a collective psychology to societies but because they are practiced, acted and reenacted in the social sphere through multiple venues of activity. Many are involved in what we ultimately identify as historical knowledge, popular culture, official activities, family agents, friends, and foes.

Conclusion

Our discussion in this chapter is not an attempt to measure the historical knowledge of the teachers and students observed. Rather, it is an attempt to comprehend how teachers and students engage with rival histories in conflict-affected societies, especially in light of formal curricular efforts that shape their historical recollections. We show teachers providing narratives which have meaning for particular audiences within a society. Yet, we also show students gleaning their knowledge from the "cultural curriculum,"[37] that is, the multiple sources that produce cultural work in their surroundings. This is shown, for example, in the Turkish-Cypriot student intervention in the second event narrated in this chapter. This example also helps us question whether students, in the future, after being exposed to a state-mandated curriculum—be this a "critical" one or not—will ever reconsider their present positions. For some, the possibility of children not being influenced by state-mandated curriculum might sound appealing because they see in this curriculum the reflection of the hegemonic power they might oppose. Paradoxically, even if we are right in our argument and children will not necessarily change their perspectives as a result of learning the mandated curriculum, sovereignty is secured. For the most part, the "cultural curriculum" is as much a reflection of hegemonic power as the curriculum from which our children might not learn. The argument is similar to the one suggested by Tulviest and Wertsch.[38] They argue that official accounts tend to be built around central themes and actors, whereas unofficial histories seem to be more fragmented, focusing on anecdotes directly experienced. They suggest that these unofficial accounts might be organized in response to official ones; most importantly, they are inherently dialogical and not independent of official depictions.

Therefore, to reverse somewhat the argument put forward by Parkes,[39] even when not teaching history as historiography—that is, even when a

reconstructionist approach is used—it is possible that alternative interpretations may arise from the "cultural curriculum." We are unable to pass judgment about the eventual trajectory of unofficial accounts in a context that seems to be overwhelmed by official accounts. Yet, the fact that alternative interpretations find their way into a monolithic stance cannot be altogether gloomy and hopeless. Just like when history pedagogy emphasizing the historiographic and interpretive dimensions of history is not left at the mercy of an uncritical relativism,[40] similarly it can be suggested that history pedagogy as reconstructionist is not left at the mercy of collective memory.

Notes

1. See, for example, Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social memory studies: From 'collective memory' to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* (1998): 105–40.
2. Peter N. Stearns, Peter C. Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning history: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
3. Brian Conway, "Active Remembering, Selective Forgetting, and Collective Identity: The Case of Bloody Sunday," *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 3 (2003): 305–23.
4. Conway, "Active Remembering," 305–23.
5. Peter Seixas, "Beyond 'Content' and 'Pedagogy': In Search of a Way to Talk about History Education," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, no. 3 (1999): 317–37.
6. We do not want to leave the impression here that we set up a dichotomy between "personal" and "collective" memory, because these are often interrelated and they are difficult to separate. However, by using the term "individual" or "personal," we want to highlight the individual stories of students or teachers that may or may not be directly related to collective memories. In the events we describe later in the chapter, this distinction will become clearer.
7. Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

8. Yoav Peled, "Restoring Ethnic Democracy: The Or Commission and Palestinian Citizenship in Israel," *Citizenship Studies* 9, no. 1 (2005): 89–105.
9. Ruth Gavison, "Does Equality Require Integration," *Democratic Culture* 3 (2000): 37–87.
10. Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
11. Majid Al-Haj, "National Ethos, Multicultural Education, and the New History Textbooks in Israel," *Curriculum Inquiry* 35, no. 1 (2005): 48–71.
12. The term "Green Line" is used in both Israel and Cyprus to indicate the Armistice lines after the end of the official hostilities between the group in conflict.
13. Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004).
14. Michalinos Zembylas, *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict: Reclaiming Healing in Education* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
15. See Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); Peter Loizos, "How Might Turkish and Greek Cypriots See Each Other more Clearly?" in *Cyprus and its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, ed. Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 35–52.
16. For a full description of the schools, see Zvi Bekerman, *The Promise of Integrated Multicultural and Bilingual Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
17. For a full description of multicultural schools in Cyprus, see Zembylas, *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict*.
18. Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998); Soyini D. Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, Performance* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005).
19. For full details regarding methodology, see Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

20. The 1956 war, known according to the parties as the Suez Crisis, or the Tripartite Aggression, or the Sinai Campaign.
21. Between 1963 and 1974, over 2000 persons from both communities disappeared in Cyprus. Officially, the Greek Cypriots claim 1619 and the Turkish Cypriots 803 missing persons.
22. Sant Cassia, *Bodies of evidence*.
23. Michalinos Zembylas, *The Politics of Trauma in Education* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Zembylas, *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict*.
24. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
25. See, for example, Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation–state Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–34; Anssi Paasi, "Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity'," *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 93, no. 2 (2002): 137–48; Martin J. Packer and Jessie Goicoechea, "Sociocultural and Constructivist Theories of Learning: Ontology, not just Epistemology," *Educational Psychologist* 35, no. 4 (2000): 227–41; Ray McDermott, "Does 'Learning' Exist?," *WORD* 61, no. 4 (2015): 335–49.
26. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!"
27. Seixas, "Beyond 'content' and 'pedagogy'," 332.
28. Peter Seixas and Carla Peck, "Teaching Historical Thinking," in *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Allan Sears and Ian Wright (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004), 109–17.
29. Ed Cairns, and Mícheál D. Roe, eds., *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
30. Patrick Devine-Wright, "A Theoretical Overview of Memory and Conflict," in *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Ed Cairns and Mícheál D. Roe. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

31. See Jan Assman, "Transformations between History and Memory," *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (2008): 49–72.
32. Gavriel Salomon, "A Narrative-Based View of Coexistence Education," *Journal of Social Issues* 60, no. 2 (2004): 273–87.
33. Jeffrey K. Olick, "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17 (1999): 333–48.
34. Dan A. Porat, "From the Scandal to the Holocaust in Israeli Education," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 4 (2004): 619–36.
35. James V. Wertsch and Joseph L. Polman, "The Intuitive Mind and Knowledge About History," in *Understanding and Teaching the Intuitive Mind: Student and Teacher Learning*, ed. Bruce Torff and Robert J. Sternberg (Nahwah: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, 2001).
36. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. F. J. Didder and V. Y. Ditter (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980).
37. Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg, Dan Porat, and Ariel Duncan, "Common Belief and the Cultural Curriculum: An Intergenerational Study of Historical Consciousness," *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (2007): 40–76.
38. Peeter Tulviest and James V. Wertsch, "Official and Unofficial Histories: The Case of Estonia," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 4, no. 4 (1994): 311–29.
39. Robert J. Parkes, "Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no.2 (2009): 118–32.
40. Ibid.

PART III

Critical Thinking and Multiperspectivity

CHAPTER 8

How to Make School History More Controversial? Controversies in History Education in Poland

Joanna Wojdon

Introduction

Controversies about the past have always played an important role in the Polish public debate. In the 25-year period after the collapse of the communist regime, the most important topics included the Polish attitude toward the Holocaust and the legacy of communism in Poland.[1] They are epitomized in the issue of the Jedwabne pogrom and the case of Colonel Ryszard Kukliński. In this chapter, they are used as a litmus test of how controversial issues are presented in Polish history education. The aim of the chapter is to show that the heated debates stop at the academic, political and media level, and as a rule do not enter schools where history concentrates on what Peter Seixas calls teaching "the best" story of the past, told by teachers and textbooks in order to "enhance collective memory."[2] Both academics involved in teacher training and teachers themselves claim to modernize history education, and most of them do

J. Wojdon (✉)
University of Wroclav, Wroclav, Poland

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_8

close in on a disciplinary approach where the pupils are offered various interpretations of the past with the task to decide which one is the most valid. To use the words of Seixas, "rather than being told simply to believe a single story, students come to understand what makes a valid historical account."[3] Some modest attempts to introduce postmodern elements (where, according to Seixas' categorization, pupils are not supposed to find the best story but reflect who organizes the past into a certain story and how it can be related to the present-day purposes) are undertaken by the educational authorities and public history institutions but not so much by teachers and teacher trainers.

Two Controversial Issues from the Contemporary History of Poland

Jedwabne is a town in central Poland where under Nazi occupation during World War II a group of Poles murdered over 300 Jews in a pogrom on July 10, 1941. The crime was brought to public attention only in 2000 by a Polish Jewish American historian Jan Tomasz Gross in his book *Neighbors* which evoked fierce debate not only among historians but also in the Polish press and other media.[4] Gross questioned the image of the Polish people rescuing Jews during World War II that had been instilled in Polish school history education since the communist times. Instead, he accused the Poles of supporting the Holocaust and participating in it. The Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw held a special investigation of the massacre in 2001–2003 which questioned some of the detailed findings of Gross (including numbers of perpetrators and victims) but confirmed that the crime had been committed by the Poles.[5] However, some Polish historians still point to the German inspiration of the pogrom and the generally permissive attitude of the German military present in Jedwabne, while Gross in the publications that followed *Neighbors* presented more examples of the Polish anti-Semitism during World War II.[6] The debate continued far beyond the academic world and was further strengthened by the films *Aftermath (Pokłosie,* 2012) and *Ida* (2013).[7]

Ryszard Kukliński (1930–2004) was a Polish army officer who spied for the CIA between 1972 and 1981. He revealed thousands of pages of top-secret documents of the Warsaw Pact to NATO, including the plans to introduce Martial law in Poland in 1981. Just before the Martial law was proclaimed in December 1981, he and his family were evacuated to the

USA. In Poland, he was sentenced to death in absentia in 1984. However, after the collapse of the communist regime, this decision was questioned by his advocates who had been active in the anti-communist opposition in the 1970s and 1980s. When Poland applied for NATO-membership, he was called the first Polish officer in NATO and promoted as a national hero especially by the former political émigrés. However, his former army colleagues called him a traitor and argued for non-patriotic motives of his spy activities. The debate had both public and legal dimensions. Only in 1995, Kukliński's death sentence was formally canceled, and he could visit Poland. The debate on the character of his activities continued, books were written and films made even after his death. The main point of the disputes was the character of the Polish state between 1944 and 1989. If it was a Soviet colony, then Kukliński betrayed the Warsaw Pact and not Poland. But what about those who loyally lived and worked on the Polish territory at that time? Were they traitors?[8]

Both cases are controversial, both have multiple primary and secondary sources that can serve as a basis for pupils' activities and both fall into the scope of the first-grade upper secondary school curriculum which deals with the history of Poland from 1918 (Poland's independence after World War I) until 2004 (Poland's accession to the European Union).[9] However, I have not been able to find any meaningful examples of them being used in school practice.

Scope of Research

For the purpose of this chapter, I have analyzed school curriculum[10] and textbooks for the first grade of upper secondary school in Poland, national upper secondary school final exams (*matura*) of the period 2005–2015,[11] academic textbooks for initial teacher training of history teachers,[12] a selection of pupils' notebooks, a recorded lesson dealing with a controversial issue of the events of 1968 in Poland,[13] a sample of essays written by pupils of the last grade of secondary school and field notes from history teachers' meetings of the Wrocław area[14] and from conferences of Polish history didacticians that I participated in during 2015.[15] Curriculum, textbooks and exam papers reflect the official policy of the authorities regarding history education in Poland. Notebooks and a video recording of a lesson document school reality while essays and commentaries of the examination board present the results achieved (or not achieved). They all give some insights into teachers' mentality(ies), expressed also during the

teachers' meetings. Academic textbooks and discussions with colleagues show dominant trends promoted by teacher trainers' and theorists of history education in Poland.

Teaching Controversy in Poland: The Officially Approved Materials

History as a separate subject is taught in lower secondary and in the first grade of upper secondary schools in Poland. In primary school, it is combined with civics in the subject "history and society" addressed to 10–12-year-olds. In the last two grades of upper secondary school (pupils aged 17–18), it is an elective subject. Most of those who major in maths or sciences needs to attend "history and society" lessons that deal with chosen periods of time (e.g., only antiquity and the middle ages) or with chosen modules covering processes from the past, such as history of family, of media, of science, of war and so on. "National Pantheon and national disputes" covering the key elements of Poland's political history is a compulsory module that everyone has to learn. There is no final exam after "history and society" while there is one after the elective "history." The first grade of upper secondary school has been chosen to be presented in this chapter as at this level all the Polish pupils learn the history of the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Curriculum

The Ministry of Education sets the framework and controls education below the university level. It publishes national curricula for all the school subjects, including history. They are usually constructed by teachers or academic professionals in history didactics nominated by the minister at his own discretion. Drafts are presented for public consultation before being accepted as official documents but usually only slight modifications are introduced to original projects.

The last curriculum was introduced in 2012. History is taught in the chronological order starting from antiquity in the first grade of lower secondary school and finishes at this level of education with World War I. The twentieth century is continued in upper secondary school. This solution was designed as a remedy for the problem of contemporary history not being taught because of lack of time in the previous system when it had

to fit in the last part of the three-year cycle of lower secondary school.[16] The curriculum not only covers the historical contents (facts, issues, processes) but also explicitly mentions the skills that the pupils are supposed to master and therefore suggests the teaching methods to be used. As for the Holocaust, a pupil is supposed to "*present causes and consequences* [my emphases] of the Holocaust and *describe* the examples of the resistance of the Jewish population."[17] None of these skills are related to dealing with controversies. And this is true also for most other topics. Verbs, such as *presents, characterizes, describes, explains* and *recognizes*, dominate in the curriculum. Even if the word *assess* is used, the context usually suggests the expected outcome of the assessment rather than a debatable issue, for example, "assess the historical role of the Home Army [the Polish underground army during World War II]," or "assess the policy of the great powers towards the Polish cause."[18] As for the communist period, Pope John Paul II is the only person explicitly mentioned in the curriculum,[19] Kukliński is not, and no discussion on the nature of the communist regime is suggested.

The curriculum is followed by a commentary by the authors. This document stresses the need of discussion and of constructing pupils' own arguments. It reads: "The matter of contemporary history, with the ongoing debates about this recent past, both among its researchers and in the public sphere, supports the intellectual development of the students by presenting to them various interpretations of the past and familiarizing them with the complexity of the historical process."[20] This may seem like a call for a postmodernist model of history teaching. The authors further openly suggest to abandon the traditional teaching model based on lecturing about the facts in favor of more active methods, including both pupils' discussions and research projects. These ideas, however, are not reflected in the main body of the curriculum and, as we will see, are hardly implemented in school practice.

Textbooks

The Ministry of Education not only commissions and issues national curricula but also approves textbooks to be used in schools. However, there is no limit on the number of textbooks approved nor of the publishers involved in their publication. The books only have to comply with the national curriculum. When the first major reform of education after the collapse of the communist regime was introduced in 1999, textbook

publishers mushroomed and the number of history textbooks for each grade in some cases exceeded 20. The ministerial approval is based on reviews by professional historians, history didacticians and linguists. The reviewers are chosen by the Ministry from a list compiled of candidates proposed by the Polish Historical Society, Polish Academy of Sciences, and other professional bodies. They are paid by the ministry from a special fund supported by the fees taken from the publishers. Once a textbook has been approved, teachers can choose it to be used by their pupils.[21] In 1999, the most traditional textbooks gained the most popularity while the avant-gardist ones did not sell very well. As a result, only the four or five most popular publishers remain on the market, some of them publishing more than one textbook series.[22]

Traditionally, textbooks are the dominating teaching tools in Polish schools. Recent research has shown that they are used during the majority of history lessons.[23]

Textbook Content Analysis

There is no systematic research on the popularity of particular history textbooks in the Polish schools. Therefore, I have chosen five titles published by the renowned publishers (WSiP, Nowa Era, Operon and PWN),[24] and one which more than any other emphasized controversial interpretations.[25] All of them follow the recommendations of the curriculum regarding the sequence of issues discussed and therefore their tables of content are almost identical. All of them use a traditional framework of the dominating authors' narrative, supporting illustrations with short captions, summarizing questions and from time to time excerpts from primary or secondary sources with accompanying questions. Only one of them, by Brzozowski and Szczepański, suggests a controversial issue to be discussed after each chapter. They are presented in a form of a blog, with the first three, contradictory, entries provided. The opinions look as if they were posted by the users, but not by professional historians. Pupils are asked to formulate their own posts. Roszak and Kłaczkow present contradictory opinions of professional historians but only in the summaries after each larger section of the textbook (that comprises several chapters). Topics for discussion are also suggested there. Such topics can also be found in the section summaries of the book by Janusz Ustrzycki, though most of the topics provided there do not contain any controversies, they just try to summarize some issues that appeared in various chapters of the section.

The topics are printed with tiny fonts at the very end of the section which makes them very easy to omit. Other textbooks do not include controversial issues in their structure. They appear from time to time in general exercises, more often in the book by Stola, less often in the others.

As for the Holocaust, the textbooks do not mention any controversies regarding the attitudes of the Polish people. In general, the assistance of individuals, families and organizations to the suffering Jews is exposed, while the instances of persecuting Jews are rather marginalized. Only one textbook, by Dolecki, Gutowski and Smoleński, states that indifference toward the fate of Jews was predominant among the Poles during World War II. The anti-Jewish crimes are ascribed in this book to minor partisan groups, especially communist and nationalist. The task for the pupils is to "*present* various attitudes of the Poles towards the Holocaust."[26] Roszak and Kłaczków choose the word *characterize* instead of *present* and mention the crime in Jedwabne but only state that it happened and say that it was the only such crime committed by the Poles.[27] Brzozowski and Szczepański go further. They present factual details about the pogrom in Jedwabne but also conclude that despite the fact that this crime (and some others) was inspired and organized by the German occupants, the Poles participated which make it one of the shameful events in the history of Poland.[28] This is the only textbook that can make Polish pupils feel uneasy about the Polish war past. All the other narratives provide some kind of excuse or at least explanation. Burda et al. do not use the name of Jedwabne but mention, with a sort of regret, anti-Jewish pogroms committed by the "Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian" population that according to them were the result of the decay of moral norms during the war and were inspired by the Germans who played on some old antagonisms between the Poles and the Jews.[29] Janusz Ustrzycki concentrates on the Polish aid offered to the Jews, both individual and institutional. He notices that some people did not follow moral principles imposed on the Polish society by the Polish secret state but such instances were reported to the Polish underground courts and subsequently punished.[30] Stola argues that in order to help one Jewish family survive a lot of Poles had to cooperate in the course of the war while a betrayal of only one could ruin their accomplishments. As in some other instances, instead of providing controversial opinions himself, he asks pupils to prepare a paper on various attitudes of the Polish people toward the Jews during the war. He makes it clear that they should include examples of both heroism in rescuing and of taking part in persecutions or using the difficult situation of Jews for one's own purposes.[31]

As for Kukliński, he is mentioned only by Roszak and Kłaczków, but in a very "factual" way: he collaborated with CIA and passed the information about the plans to introduce the Martial law; however, the USA did not share this information with Solidarity in Poland.[32] It was one of the arguments against Kukliński used in the public debate (that the Poles had no benefits from his activities, he served exclusively the American interests), but if no other argument is mentioned it is hard to imagine any discussion. Only sporadically any controversies regarding the introduction of the Martial law are mentioned. Dariusz Stola's textbook is the least "authoritarian." Stola gives pupils a task to present the controversies about the Martial law as they appear in the public debate. In another activity, he encourages readers to ask their relatives about what they remember from the Martial law and to compare those testimonies with the three that he cites in his textbook. In the next chapter, he proposes pupils to assess the whole "People's Poland" (Poland under communist rule) and suggests how to deal with this task: to look at the criteria and at the arguments already present in the public debate.[33] In the book by Brzozowski and Szczepański, the validity of the Marital law is a topic of a discussion in the "blog" at the end of the chapter: whether the authorities tried to avoid the Soviet military intervention or just followed the Soviet recommendations in order to save their own position.[34] One of the summarizing exercises asks pupils to *present* the circumstances and the goal of introducing the Martial law, but reminds them that it still is a controversial issue. A question about if the authorities successfully achieved the goals of the Marital law follows. In an additional exercise, pupils are encouraged to interview people who actively participated in the political events of 1980–1981 and present the interviewees' opinions about the main actors of those processes.[35] Ustrzycki asks readers in one of his tiny section summaries to assess the validity of the introduction of the Martial law.[36]

In the textbook by Roszak and Kłaczków, the Martial law itself is just reported, with no controversies mentioned, but in the section summary, an interesting confrontation of two opinions about Poland under communism appears: by Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, who spent the 45 years of the communist regime in exile, and Andrzej Drawicz, an oppositional intellectual who lived in Poland. The former regarded "People's Poland" as a Soviet colony and its authorities of any kind as Soviet puppets while the latter stressed the Polish character of the country and could not deny its citizens and even some of the communist leaders' genuine patriotism

which they simply adjusted to the reality. Readers are asked to decide which opinion better corresponds with their own views.[37]

Thus, we can see that the Polish textbooks generally tend not to bother pupils with historians' dilemmas. The reconstructionist paradigm absolutely dominates. Readers are expected to read, understand and memorize the information. The word "remember," often in bold script or otherwise emphasized, precedes many summaries. Questions in the exercise sections usually only check pupils' comprehension of data presented earlier in the text. Some constructivist elements can be found in some exercises, which are separated from the main text, however, and one could easily go through the book omitting them. Even if contradictory opinions are presented, "the better" one is chosen by the author or is to be chosen by pupils.

Teaching Controversy in Poland: A Glance at the School Practice

Notebooks

Nine pupils' notebooks from the 2014/2015 school year have been analyzed. They come from five different teachers who work in three different schools in Wrocław—ranging between top- and middle-ranking. I am aware that the sample is very small and that pupils have a lot of freedom in taking their notes so they cannot be regarded as minutes of the lessons. However, they so uniformly lack any traces of discussion or presentation of contradictory findings that this lack becomes meaningful and suggests that there were no debates on contradictions during the lessons. The notebooks point in the same direction as the conclusions of Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji that secondary school teachers mostly lecture and their pupils are supposed to "acquire knowledge."[38] The notes are full of dates, names, places and facts. Many of them are of secondary if not tertiary importance to understand the historical processes they refer to. The lengthy names of about ten various centers of power created in autumn 1918 on the future territory of Poland, together with their leaders and locations can serve as an example. I was able to find no more than two instances of any questionable issues noted during the whole school year. These notes are extremely short, for example: "Stanisław Mikołajczyk [prime minister of the Polish government in exile during World War II] – positive and negative aspects

of his policy," with no arguments presented, however. An example of a short paragraph answering the "controversial" question "Was the battle of Warsaw [in 1920] decisive for world history?" proves how shallow argumentation sufficed: "I think the Battle of Warsaw was decisive because it made sure that the Bolsheviks did not come to power and did not introduce communism."

Neither Holocaust nor the Martial law notes bear any traces of postmodernist nor constructivist approach by the teacher. This may explain why about one third of young people has no opinion whether the introduction of the Martial law was justified or not (vs. 15% of 45-year-olds and older).[39] They may not be aware of any controversies and the way they are taught in schools does not make this event (nor other events) from the past meaningful for them.

Lesson Recording

It is not popular in Poland to record lessons for documentary nor for didactical purposes. Thanks to the courtesy of Maria Jadczak from the secondary school in Toruń I was able to use the recording she made as an illustration for her conference presentation during the "XI Toruń Didactical Meetings" in 2015.[40] The lesson dealt with the events of 1968 in Poland when the internal conflict in the Communist Party coincided with the students' protests and with the anti-Semitic propaganda campaign.[41] The teacher used a multitude of materials and techniques to establish the international context of the Polish events, presented oral testimonies of participants from the Yad Vashem Institute Archives and kept pupils' attention and participation in the lesson by assigning tasks and asking questions. At the end of the lesson, they were asked to judge which of the three interpretations of the so-called Polish March (students' revolt, anti-Semitic campaign, or struggle for power in the party) is "true" in their opinion.

Apparently, the teacher presented the topic of the lesson as a controversial one. There were various interpretations, conflicting interests (students, party leaders, Poles, Jews), and emotions of the witnesses of history. However, the pupils seemed indifferent to all those elements. No real discussion took place. Pupils may have been stressed by the two cameras recording in their classroom, but when I discussed it with the teacher, she assured me that they were not and that they behaved as usual. The problem for her was not the lack of discussion, however, but the fact that the conclusions of the lesson did not fully coincide with what she had planned

to achieve: that the most important factor of March 1968 was the conflict within the Communist Party. I think this is the core of the problem: the goals of the lesson set by the teacher. She was concentrated on instilling in pupils the knowledge about the events and not on provoking the discussion. Moreover, she seemed to be distressed by the fact that she could have lost total control of the thinking process of the pupils. This is why she herself carefully chose the elements of the international background that the pupils were supposed to place on a kind of a poster or mind-map—without proposing their own. This is why most questions could be answered with a yes or no, and pupils answered "Yes" or "No," sometimes with short justifications for their opinions. The questions did not provoke the pupils to discuss but rather controlled if they followed the teaching process. The summarizing question: "What do you think the events of 1968 were about…" [and three options given] ended with a statement "because I think it was…"

Reflecting on the teacher's approach, I thought of the following explanations. First, she might have been concentrated on the pace of the lesson that must have finished before the bell (especially that she "borrowed" a lesson from another teacher to have 90 minutes instead of the usual 45 for the topic). Leaving discussions for the last minutes of the lesson poses a danger that it will actually never happen or will be only superficial because of lack of time. Debates on controversies need time.

Second, she may be preoccupied with the curriculum and final exam criteria that do introduce a disciplinary approach, but factual knowledge still plays the most crucial role in the examinees' success. Moreover, teaching facts is deeply rooted in the Polish tradition of teaching history while developing historical thinking and inquiry skills may be regarded as just an addition.

Third, some teachers cannot stand moments of silence. Already in the 1970s, the observations on "questions and answers" sessions in the American schools proved that as a rule teachers do not wait longer than a second for the pupils' reply.[42] Such a habit has, for me, been confirmed during school visits to the history lessons of my teacher trainees. If there is no response, teachers start replying themselves, thus discouraging pupils from the intellectual effort of trying to elaborate answers also in the future. Pupils simply wait for the teachers' interpretations which turn the lessons into a dialogue between the teacher and him/herself.

Fourth, Polish history didactics has traditionally discouraged teachers from giving pupils too much freedom in interpreting historical sources.

Pupils have been regarded as too inexperienced and lacking historical basics to conduct their own research. Primary sources might have been introduced mostly for illustrative purposes, and only occasionally for a more in-depth interpretation which was still concentrated on finding "the best" or rather "the proper" meaning of the text that had already been established by professional historians and their "scientific" methods.[43]

Fifth, following the recommendations of history didactics, teachers may truly want to save their pupils from making mistakes and therefore ask to follow the "right" way of reaching the "right" conclusions (that the teachers themselves have mastered).

Sixth, allowing free discussion could result in sharing or even undermining teacher's authority, and not only on this issue but also more generally. For some teachers that is a challenge.

Teaching Controversy in Poland: (No) Representation in the Pupils' Narratives

Predominance of the traditional, "collective memory" approach in school history education in Poland is reflected in the pupils' own narratives about the past.

Pupils' Stories on Poland's Past

This subchapter is based on the analysis of a written assignment that reads as follows: "Imagine that you have to tell your friend from abroad about the history of Poland. What would you tell him/her?" The idea of this inquiry came from Kaat Wills and Karel van Nieuwenhuyse from the Catholic University of Leuven who are planning a transnational research project within this framework. Browsing through the first pile of responses, from only one school—which is none of those that the notebooks or the teacher mentioned above come from—I was not surprised by the fact that most narratives dealt with political history and that military events dominated. I was surprised by the number of pupils who could not construct any narrative. Half of the 38 answers did not exceed one short paragraph and four more did not provide any narrative at all. The longer texts in some cases simply enumerated dates and events from the past. As Jocelyn Létourneau and Arthur Chapman point it out, even such "deficient" narratives tell us something about what the young people know.[44] The enumerated facts

may be their "memory hooks," reproduced in this short way due to the lack of time. But we can also guess that history teaching was in case of those pupils concentrated on memorizing dates rather than on ways to construct narratives and that they probably believe this is what history is about.

Almost all the narratives presented the positive image of Poland. Young people are either proud of Poland's past, especially of its military elements: triumphant victories or endurance in oppression; or compassionate about her sufferings, especially in the nineteenth century when Poland was partitioned among Russia, Germany and Austria and during World War II. Very few critical remarks were formulated and no controversies mentioned at all.[45]

Final Exams

Final secondary school exam (*matura*) in history is the elective one. Those who take it have history courses on the advanced level for two more years, in second and third grade of upper secondary school. They have five history lessons a week that are supposed to cover all the historical periods, from antiquity to contemporary times, in a more in-depth manner than before. Since 2005 the exam is organized nation-wide by an examination board (Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna) and it is identical for all Polish graduates in a certain year. It consists of a test (with various types of questions, including, among others, multiple-choice, gap-filling, true/false statements, short answers) and an essay on a given subject. Questions in the first part are related to various historical sources that are presented to the pupils. Four observations regarding the *matura* are relevant to the topic of this chapter.

First, since the very beginning of the exam in today's formula, the essay has been the most difficult. The examinees have problems both with factual knowledge and with constructing coherent narratives. As an examiner, I could very rarely read a paper that would present varying points of view. In the comments issued after each year's session, the examination board gives recommendations to the teachers and prospective examinees on how to prepare better. Usually, the essay question raises most concern. In some years, the comments were quite detailed and gave instructions on how to build the argumentation, present pupil's own opinions or use the opinions from historiography.[46]

Second, final exams set standards both for pupils and teachers. Therefore, if they ask for interpretation of controversial issues, teachers and pupils will practice dealing with them. Today many teachers excuse their negligence in discussing historical controversies and dilemmas of historiography because they have to teach for the exam, which concentrates on dates and names, and on getting information from maps, cartoons, texts and other sources.[47] It does not matter that most first graders of secondary schools will not choose history as their examination subject—the teachers are preoccupied with the exams and feel responsible for preparing their pupils.

Third, teachers are right in that most test questions do not deal with any controversies. The examinees are supposed to *prove*, *present*, *compare, find* or *cite* something from the sources. The 2012 test has been the only one so far that concentrated on the contradictory opinions about historical figures and asked pupils to point to their reasons, to interpret the changing images of certain people or to assess their achievements: Casimir the Great—the king of Poland of the fourteenth century, Thaddeus Kościuszko and Napoleon.[48] Since 2011 at least one of the proposed essay topics suggests that contradictory interpretations of the past exist and the examinee's task is to choose the "right" one and to present arguments in support of their judgment. In some cases, the "right" answer is self-evident, for example, "Characterize the political changes in Poland between 1764 and 1795. Assess if they corresponded with the ideology of Enlightenment" (2011) or "Present and assess the position of Great Britain toward the policies of the Third Reich in 1933–1940 and comment on the words of Winston Churchill: 'You were given the choice between war and dishonour. You chose dishonour, and you will have war.'" (2015). Others, however, are truly open-ended, such as: "Do you agree with the opinion that interwar Poland was a democratic country?" (2011) or "A commander striving for power or a far-sighted politician? Present and assess the role played by Alexander the Great in the history of the ancient world" (2012). In the 2015 exam, four out of five essay topics gave the examinees freedom to present their own opinions on the issue.

Fourth, the number of pupils who chose history for their final exam was dropping year by year between 2005 and 2014, and so did the percentage of those who chose history as related to the general number of examinees.[49] The changes were caused partly by the changing examination rules (especially the number of disciplines pupils had to take on their finals),[50] but probably also partly by the fact that the exam was quite difficult (on

average pupils scored about 50%), that the universities do not require candidates to pass *matura* in history in order to enroll to any bachelor programs (history included) and that school history is seen as boring.[51]

Teachers: Toward the Conclusion

As we could see, educational authorities in Poland seem to encourage making school history more controversial. There are events and programs that can help achieve this goal. Euroclio is cooperating with Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji (Center for the Development of Education, a governmental institution that monitors and assists teachers' practices) in Warsaw on a series of seminars for the teachers that promote the Historiana—an educational portal where multiperspectivity is the core concept.[52] The Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, IPN) organizes an Oxford-style debates championship for the secondary school pupils on issues from the twentieth history. The final round takes place in Warsaw and IPN's President awards the winners.[53] In Wrocław, the city-funded Future and Remembrance Institute organized an oral history contest "Historical Testimonies" in 2007–2013 for secondary school pupils where participants were asked to record testimonies on a particular topic (which changed each year) and comment on them.[54] There are opportunities for both pupils and teachers to go beyond the national collective memory paradigm of school history. Why aren't these opportunities reflected in the analyzed examples?

Let us start with teacher training. All teachers in Poland are supposed to have university degrees in the subjects they teach and a university program of teacher training completed. It includes basics of pedagogy and psychology, subject didactics and practical training at schools.[55]

Today's academic textbooks for history didactics present various trends and concepts of history education, including postmodernism. However, this is done in an introductory theoretical section[56] while the core of those books deals with the issues of school practice and concentrates on instilling "factual knowledge" and values—especially patriotism—and to some extent on constructivist exercises, such as acquiring information from written sources, reading maps, schemes or pictures.

Some teacher trainers, though familiar with the constructivist (disciplinary) and deconstructivist (postmodern) approaches, prefer "good old school" and write that teaching is about "transferring scientific findings of a certain discipline to the pupils so that they can understand and memorize

the message"[57] or claim that primary school children can understand primary sources only as an illustration to the teacher's story.[58] One can suppose that they present this kind of opinions also to their trainees.

During the in-service teacher-training, most attention is paid to the results of the final exams. They are regarded as a measure of teacher's achievements. Surprisingly, however, the most important point of discussion is not the ways to improve essay-writing, but to make pupils memorize and use facts, dates and terminology. Saying that one can survive without knowing dates and names of the figures and institutions of the past sounds like heresy in teachers' meetings.

Teachers live with an idea that universities expect them to train "good history pupils," which means people generally familiar with the past.[59] They resent the fact that many academic history programs do not require candidates to pass history exams and in order to increase the number of students (which is crucial for financial reasons) those who passed *matura* in any subject (not necessarily history) are accepted as students. It makes school history less popular among the pupils, according to teachers. Only external motivation seems to count for them. They seem not to care if their pupils enjoy history or feel like doing something meaningful. Pupils are perceived rather as a problem than as co-authors of lessons. The idea that the university may be interested rather in having many enthusiastic, though maybe imperfect, students than in working with only few, yet very good ones, did not evoke teachers' ovation.[60]

One may wonder to what extent the heritage of the communist past may have some influence on today's concepts of school history education in Poland. The communist authorities controlled education very carefully. Only one textbook was approved for each grade, and in some cases, the same books were used even for more than ten years without any changes. In those days, textbook narratives adopted an authoritarian style. No doubts were allowed. Only one interpretation was "right," others were either not mentioned or presented as "wrong."[61] When in the 1980s the anti-communist opposition promoted independent history education, it usually presented another set of "right" interpretations. They opposed the official ones but were almost as authoritative. The first textbooks after the collapse of the communist regime simply omitted some paragraphs or replaced a few sentences with others. The structure remained unchanged.[62] Changes introduced later were not as deep as in the case of civics, which was totally politicized under communism, and then a non-governmental

organization “Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej” implemented American experiences of teaching civics in Poland.[63]

This is not to say that nothing has changed in the history education in Poland for the last 25 years. Teachers have been given much more freedom to construct their lessons. The free textbook market emerged and the governmental control of the textbooks has been limited to professional issues, political ones excluded. The new form of the final exams promotes a disciplinary approach to teaching history. Analysis and interpretation of a wide variety of primary and secondary sources are required: texts, images, maps, graphs and so on, and more recently, pupils are also required to formulate their own opinions on contradictory interpretations. This approach has also been promoted in teachers’ journals and professional literature. Teachers must implement it if they want to prepare their pupils for the exams. Textbooks help them in doing so. Not only have their overall appearance changed, with the introduction of numerous colorful illustrations, and new layout diverging from the monolithic text blocs. The material is selected and commented in order to facilitate a disciplinary, “historical thinking” approach. It can be noticed in the image captions, blocs of exercises or in breaking the authors’ narratives with thought-provoking questions. The lessons that I observe with the teacher trainees reflect the shift toward a constructivist approach in the Polish school practice. Teachers’ lecturing gave way to more active methods. Individual, pair- and group-work on some source material has become a rule.

I concur with the title of ORE’s report on education of 2012: *Teachers Matter*.[64] Teachers decide what and how to teach. Because of their attitude, the communist indoctrination in Poland was not particularly effective.[65] After the collapse of the communist regime, they started introducing the constructivist, disciplinary approach. Today, they could re-think the objectives of their teaching again and translate contemporary pedagogical and historiographical theories into everyday school practice. Before it can be done, however, a serious public debate on school history education should take place. So far, the demands to use history for “patriotic education” have been voiced much more loudly than to introduce a postmodernist approach, to accept various interpretations and admit that each one serves certain present-day purposes, interests and people.[66]

Notes

1. Paweł Machcewicz, *Spory o historię 2000–2011* (Kraków: Znak, 2012). Cf. Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman, eds., *The Convolutions of Historical Politics* (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2012); Maciej Górny, "From the Splendid Past into the Unknown Future: Historical Studies in Poland after 1989," in *Narratives Unbound: Historical Studies in Post-communist Eastern Europe*, ed. Sorin Antohi, Balázs Trencsényi and Péter Apor (Budapest/New York: CEU Press, 2007).
2. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!, or Does Postmodern History have a Place in the Schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: NYU Press, 2000), 20.
3. Ibid., 20–21.
4. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001 [in Polish 2000]).
5. Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: IPN, 2002).
6. Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 2006); Jan T. Gross, *Golden Harvest: Events at the Periphery of the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
7. In July 2016 in a TV show, the Minister of Education denied to admit the nationality of the perpetrators of the Jedwabne massacre, which was immediately criticized not only by the political opposition but also by the historians. There is no doubt, the debate will continue.
8. Benjamin Weiser, *A Secret Life: The Polish Officer, his Covert Mission, and the Price He Paid to Save His Country* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004); Franciszek Puchała. *Szpieg CIA w polskim Sztabie Generalnym* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2014); Joanna Wojdon, "Colonel Ryszard Kukliński (Jack Strong). A Case Study of the Polish Debates on the Cold War," in Markus Furrer and Peter Gautchi, eds, *Rembering and Recounting the Cold War. Commonly Shared History?* (Szwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau Verlag, 2016), 175–188.

9. "Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla gimnazjów i szkół ponadgimnazjalnych, których ukończenie umożliwia uzyskanie świadectwa dojrzałości po zdaniu egzaminu maturalnego" (National curriculum for secondary schools), http://men.gov.pl/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/zalaczniknr4.pdf (accessed Dec. 30, 2015). New system of education, curricula and textbooks will be introduced in Poland in September 2017, but they were not available when the chapter was submitted.
10. "Podstawa programowa," 133–36.
11. Available at http://cke.edu.pl/index.php/egzamin-maturalny-left/arkusze-z-lat-2005-2015 (accessed 30.12.2015).
12. Jerzy Maternicki, Czesław Majorek and Adam Suchoński, *Dydaktyka historii* (Warsaw: PWN, 1993); Ewa Chorąży, Danuta Konieczka-Śliwińska and Stanisław Roszak, *Edukacja historyczna w szkole: Teoria i praktyka* (Warsaw: PWN, 2009).
13. Presented by Maria Jadczak in Toruń on September 26, 2015.
14. January 24–25, 2015 – a training for the *matura* examiners, Opole; October 1, 2015 – a meeting organized by Dolnośląskie Centrum Kształcenia Nauczycieli (Lower Silesian Center for In-Service Teacher Training); November 24, 2015, *Matura z przedmiotów społecznych i humanistycznych – diagnoza i perspektywy* – a teacher conference organized by Okręgowa Komisja Egzaminacyjna we Wrocławiu (Wrocław Examination Board).
15. XI Toruńskie Spotkania Dydaktyczne, Toruń, September 25–26, 2015; Edukacja – Kultura – Społeczeństwo, Wrocław, September 8–10, 2015; Doktoranckie Seminarium Dydaktyczno-Historyczne, Wrocław, November 21, 2015.
16. See, e.g., Jolanta Choińska-Mika and Anna Radziwiłł, "Końca historii nie będzie," *Rzeczpospolita*, 30 December 2008.
17. "Podstawa programowa," 135.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 136.
20. Dorota Babiańska et al., "Komentarz do podstawy programowej przedmiotów historia oraz historia i społeczeństwo," in *Podstawa programowa z komentarzami*. (Warsaw: MEN, 2012), Vol. 4: 79.
21. Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu z dnia 5 lutego 2004 r. w sprawie dopuszczania do użytku szkolnego programów wychowania przedszkolnego, programów nauczania

i podręczników oraz cofania dopuszczenia *Dziennik Ustaw* 2004, No. 25, pos. 220.

22. Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, Nowa Era, Operon, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN.
23. Jolanta Choińska-Mika et al. "Nauczyciele historii," in *Liczą się nauczyciele: Raport o stanie edukacji 2013*, ed. Michał Federowicz et al. (Warsaw: IBE, 2014), 227.
24. Rafał Dolecki, Krzysztof Gutowski and Jędrzej Smoleński, *Po prostu historia: szkoły ponadgimnazjalne: zakres podstawowy* (Warsaw: WSiP, 2013); Stanisław Roszak and Jarosław Kłaczków, *Poznać przeszłość: wiek XX: Podręcznik do historii dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych: zakres podstawowy* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2012); Janusz Ustrzycki, *Historia: Zakres podstawowy: podręcznik dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych* (Gdynia: Operon, 2013); Bogumiła Burda et al., *Historia najnowsza: Podręcznik dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych: Zakres podstawowy* (Gdynia: Operon, 2014); Dariusz Stola. *Historia: Wiek XX: Szkoły ponadgimnazjalne: Zakres podstawowy* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, 2012).
25. Andrzej Brzozowski and Grzegorz Szczepański, *Ku współczesności: Dzieje najnowsze 1918–2006: Podręcznik do historii dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych – zakres podstawowy* (Warsaw: Stentor, 2012).
26. Dolecki, Gutowski and Smoleński, *Po prostu historia,* 215–16.
27. Roszak and Kłaczków, *Poznać przeszłość,*154–57.
28. Brzozowski and Szczepański, *Ku współczesności,*142.
29. Burda et al., *Historia współczesna,* vol. 1, 186.
30. Ustrzycki, *Historia*, 193.
31. Stola, *Historia: Wiek XX, 88.*
32. Roszak and Kłaczków, *Poznać przeszłość,* 334.
33. Stola, *Historia: Wiek XX,* 206, 210.
34. Brzozowski and Szczepański, *Ku współczesności,* 249.
35. Ibid.
36. Ustrzycki, *Historia*, 349.
37. Roszak and Kłaczków, *Poznać przeszłość,* 375.
38. Choińska-Mika, "Nauczyciele historii," 228–29.
39. Tadeusz Kowalski, "Sondaż CBOS: Polacy coraz krytyczniej o stanie wojennym." http://www.wiadomosci24.pl/artykul/sondaz_cbos_polacy_coraz_krytyczniej_o_stanie_wojennym_219736.html (accessed December 30, 2015).

40. Notwithstanding some critical comments presented further in the text, I am deeply grateful and indebted to M. Jadczak.
41. See, e.g., Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours: Poland and Poles from Occupation to Freedom* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 323–43.
42. Mary Budd Rowe, "Wait Time: Slowing Down May Be A Way of Speeding Up!," *Journal of Teacher Education* 37, no. 1 (1986): 43–50.
43. See, e.g., a classical text on historical sources in school practice, Julia Tazbirowa, *Źródło historyczne w nauczaniu szkolnym* (Warszawa: PZWS, 1971).
44. Jocelyn Létourneau and Arthur Chapman, "Is a little knowledge a dangerous thing? Students, national narratives and history education," *IoE London Blog*, November 26, 2015, https://ioelondonblog.wordpress.com/2015/11/26/is-a-little-knowledge-a-dangerous-thing-young-people-national-narratives-and-history-education/ (July 15, 2016).
45. The whole set of 220 narratives will be analyzed further by Agnieszka Fic, a public history student at the University of Wrocław, as a part of her MA thesis.
46. The comments are available at http://cke.edu.pl/index.php/egzamin-maturalny-left/informacje-o-wynikach-z-lat-2005-2015 (accessed 30.12.2015).
47. Notes from teachers' meetings in 2015.
48. http://cke.edu.pl/images/_EGZAMIN_MATURALNY_OD_2015/Arkusze_egzaminacyjne/2012/maj/hist/historia_pr.pdf (accessed 30.12.2015)
49. In 2005, 68,160 students took history on *matura* (22.1% of the total number of examinees in that year), in 2006, 68,697 (17.1%), in 2007—57,514 (13.5%), in 2008—49,060 (11%), in 2009—40,912 (9.6%), in 2010—27,640 (7.5%), in 2011—23,449 (6.6%), in 2012—10,713 (3.1%), in 2013—9,403 (2.8%), in 2014—8,444 (2.8%), and in 2015—19,378 (7%). All date based on the annual reports of Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna (central examination board) available at http://cke.edu.pl/index.php/egzamin-maturalny-left/informacje-o-wynikach-z-lat-2005-2015 (accessed December 30, 2015).
50. Hence, the dramatic drop in 2012–2014 when the students had to take only compulsory Polish, mathematics and foreign language

on basic level. In 2015, between 1 and 5 additional exams on the extended level had to be chosen.

51. A report from the research on historical consciousness of secondary school students in Warsaw area was published in 2015 that dealt also with the issue of popularity of history as a school subject. It was conducted, however, in 2007 when history as a *matura* subject was almost at its peak, before its popularity dropped almost five-fold. According to the report, in 2007, history ranked fourth among the most popular school subjects, after foreign languages, maths and physical education (Łukasz Michalski, *Świadomość historyczna uczniów szkół ponadpodstawowych w aglomeracji warszawskiej: Raport z badań* (Warsaw: IPN, 2015), 33).
52. www.historiana.eu.
53. The 2015 final debate dealt with the issue if the twentieth-century Polish history was mostly the history of martyrdom: http://ipn.gov.pl/aktualnosci/2015/centrala/debata-oksfordzka-o-puchar-prezesa-instytutu-pamieci-narodowej-dr.-lukasza-kaminskiego-warszawa,-17-czerwca-2015. The 2016 dealt with the issues of the role of the Catholic Church in abolishing communism, the character of the Martial law in Poland, the nature of the events of 1956 in Poland and Hungary.
54. The topics included: Our town/village after the war; From August 1980 to June 1989—society's disenchantment and revolt; Vanishing professions. See, e.g., http://www.pamieciprzyszlosc.pl/konkurs-historyczny-dla-szkol/, http://www.pamieciprzyszlosc.pl/konkurs-plastyczny-30-lat-solidarnosci/ (accessed December 30, 2015).
55. Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 17 stycznia 2012 r. w sprawie standardów kształcenia przygotowującego do wykonywania zawodu nauczyciela, Dziennik Ustaw RP z 6 lutego 2012 r., poz. 131.
56. Maternicki, Majorek and Suchoński, *Dydaktyka*, 10–100; Chorąży, Konieczka-Śliwińska and Roszak, *Edukacja*, 13–51.
57. Michalski, *Świadomość*, 7.
58. A comment from the audience (a teacher trainer) during the conference *Historical policy and education in East-Central Europe*, Wrocław, September 30, 2014.
59. There was no research conducted in Poland similar to Anna Clark's *History's Children: History wars in the classroom* (Sydney: University

of New South Wales Press, 2008), but I believe the Polish students are no different than Australian. The degree of their not-knowing, as proved by Michalski, *Świadomość,* 93–129, resembles Clark's findings.

60. PhD seminar on history didactics (Doktoranckie Spotkanie Dydaktyczno-Historyczne) in Wrocław, November 13, 2015 and a conference of history teachers and didacticians at the Warsaw University (Ku czemu zmierzamy?—Edukacja historyczna w szkole a kształcenie akademickie—What are we aiming at?—History education at school and academic training), March 11–12, 2016.
61. Joanna Wojdon, "The System of Textbook Approval in Poland Under Communist Rule (1944–1989) as a Tool of Power of the Regime," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 1–2 (2015): 181–96.
62. See, e.g., Joanna Wojdon and Jakub Tyszkiewicz, "The Image of Tadeusz Kościuszko in Postwar Polish Education." *The Polish Review* 59, no. 3 (2014): 81–94; Joanna Wojdon, "History Textbooks Facing Controversial Issues – Case Study of the Martial Law in Poland," *Yesterday and Today* 12 (2014): 75–89.
63. *Kształcenie Obywatelskie w Szkole Samorządowej.* Warsaw: CEO, since 1995.
64. Federowicz, *Liczą się nauczyciele.*
65. Joanna Wojdon, "The Impact of Communist Rule on History Education in Poland," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 4, no. 1 (2012): 69–71.
66. See, e.g., Paweł Wroński. "Prezydent Duda bierze się za politykę historyczną, czyli skończyć z tą pedagogiką wstydu." *Gazeta Wyborcza*, November 18, 2015 (http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,19204298,prezydent-duda-bierze-sie-za-polityke-historyczna-czyli-skonczyc.html#ixzz3w0eCVCYS).

CHAPTER 9

Teaching About the First World War in England: Exploring Controversy and Competing Historical Interpretations

Stuart Foster

Introduction

Between 2014 and 2019 millions of people across the UK will witness and participate in an extensive array of events, commemorations and civic and educational programs to mark the centenary of the First World War. A key collective agent in this ambitious national commemoration is the government-supported First World War Centenary Partnership led by Imperial War Museum and backed by an extensive network of more than 3000 not-for-profit organizations. In addition, during this period, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) will include 130 specially commissioned programs and produce more than 2500 hours of bespoke First World War features. The former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, who was a keen supporter of the commemoration, repeatedly stressed the importance of remembering the First World War and its impact on society,

S. Foster (✉)
University College London, London, UK

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_9

additionally claiming, "There is something about the First World War that makes it a fundamental part of our national consciousness."[1]

Significantly, however, the ubiquitous focus on the First World War also has led to bitter ideological debates about the conduct, relevance and impact of the war. Competing interpretations of how the war should be remembered and understood were, for example, typified in bruising exchanges in January 2014 between the Conservative government's education secretary, Michael Gove, and the Labour shadow spokesman for education, Tristram Hunt.[2] Gove argued that dramas such as *Oh! What a Lovely War* and satirical programs such as *Blackadder*, combined with left-wing interpretations of the war, had allowed deeply unpatriotic myths to take hold, and had led some to denigrate the "patriotism, honor and courage" of those who served and died. Gove and his supporters similarly expressed concerns that young people would incorrectly learn about the Great War as "a series of catastrophic mistakes perpetrated by an out-of-touch elite." Rebutting Gove's position, Hunt accused the education minister of a "shocking attempt" to employ "ugly" and politically motivated interventions to diminish what should be a time of sober national reflection. The clashes between these two political leaders were of course symptomatic of a vast array of other competing and ongoing views of how the war should be remembered and understood. They also formed part of a long-standing practice in which history, and more significantly school history, repeatedly has appeared as the focal point for acrimonious cultural and ideological struggles over collective memory and the formation of national consciousness both in England and beyond.[3]

Set within this fraught political climate and following an open, competitive and complex tendering process, in 2013, University College London's (UCL) Institute of Education was awarded a £5.3 million contract to lead the government's flagship First World War Centenary program for secondary schools in England. An essential feature of the government tender was that the selected educational program should provide the opportunity for one teacher and two students from every secondary school in the country (approximately 4000 schools) to take part in a three-night, four-day tour of the battlefields and sites of the Western Front in Belgium and France. The program was also charged with the remit of deepening students' knowledge and understanding of the First World War in schools across the country. As one of the lead authors of the successful bid and, subsequently, as Executive Director of what became known as the *First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme*, I was very

conscious of the enormous responsibilities of leading such a high profile and potentially high impact national educational enterprise. Furthermore, I was acutely aware that the program would have to skillfully navigate and respond to existing tensions and debates over what students should know and understand specifically about the First World War and more generally about their national past. Central to these tensions and ideological debates are, of course, contrasting views about what history is and what it is for. Indeed, in respect to the specific focus on what and why history should be taught in schools such disputes have often been particularly acute and acrimonious.

In overview, it may be argued that two distinctive and polarized positions have emerged in recent decades. On one side of the debate stand, those advocates (often from the political right) who consider history to be a collection of universally accepted "truths" to be absorbed by young people. In simple terms, their aim is often to use school history as a means to instill in the young a sense of unity and patriotism and a veneration of the nation's glorious heritage and accomplishments. Peter Seixas has characterized this approach as teaching a highly selective and unashamedly positive "best story" of the national past in order to enhance "collective memory," buttress "group identity" and stimulate "social cohesion."[4]

In contrast, others, typically of a more progressive political persuasion, view history as "contested" terrain in which few absolute truths exist. For them, history is interpretive, complex and open to diverse perspectives, debate and contest. According to this stance, school history should focus on historical inquiry, the intelligent discernment and critical application of historical evidence, and narrative construction. Seixas has characterized this approach to teaching and learning history as "disciplinary." Essentially, the focus shifts the emphasis away from students learning a single, authoritative account of the past and, instead, requires young people to understand and critically evaluate what "makes a valid historical account."[5]

In addition to these two competing positions, Seixas and others have identified a third orientation to the study of the past that he has termed the "postmodern" approach. The essence of this approach is to not to require young people to adjudicate between competing interpretations of the past, but rather to help them understand how "different groups organize the past into histories." Such an orientation is as Robert Parkes reminds us, "distinctively historiographic"[6] and demands attention to the complex ways that the past is narrated and represented.

In our efforts to establish a national educational program focused on the First World War, the existence of these contrasting views on the nature and purpose of school history undoubtedly provided us with some serious and complex challenges. Critical questions we were compelled to address included: How should we portray and narrate the events of the First World War? Should we focus on a core chronological narrative of "agreed" and salient issues or should we encourage multiple interpretations and perspectives? To what extent and in what way should we encourage active historical inquiry in the program? When selecting events on which to focus, against what criteria would we judge them to be historically "significant"? Similarly, in selecting sites to visit in France and Belgium, on what basis would we determine their educational and historical importance? In addition, we had to consider the role that historians, historical agencies and historical resources would play in the program.

Our internal debates at this time also gave rise to broader political and cultural issues. For example, given that this educational initiative was part of a funded national centenary program of commemoration, what obligations did we have to the current government and its own political agenda? How would we (should we?) differentiate between history, commemoration and remembrance in our program? To what extent should the program encourage students to appreciate contrasting representations and narrations of the war? More provocatively we also considered: To what extent should students be encouraged to critically consider whether or not it is important to commemorate the war? And, to what extent should we invite students to reflect on why the British government was investing significant amounts of money in this program and other similar initiatives in the first place? We also considered the potential importance of students critically considering why the program's remit primarily was focused on the Western front and military actions and events in which British and Empire troops principally were involved. This consideration also raised the important issue of the extent to which our program should be viewed through a national (i.e., British) lens, rather than one that was transnational and inclusive of diverse regional, cultural, ethnic and geo-political perspectives.

Aside from these serious educational and historical matters we also had to consider the many challenging logistical and practical issues associated with taking more than 12,000 people (4000 teachers and 8000 students) from secondary schools across England to France and Belgium in an extensive series of four-day tours from 2014 to 2019. It is not within

the compass of this chapter to detail these significant issues and considerations, nevertheless it is important to acknowledge that logistical matters (e.g., location and access of particular sites, travel times and distance, provision of suitable food and accommodation, and the expertise and availability of program staff) all impacted the design and development of the program. Above all, however, we agreed the importance of establishing a series of educational aims and principles that would underpin our program and would provide rich opportunities for schools to navigate the complex and contested histories of the First World War. Consequently, the main focus of the remainder of this chapter is to develop in more detail the pedagogical strategies and educational principles that were central to the development of the program. Before, turning to these important issues, however, it is important to briefly view the development of this national program in the context of changes to teaching and learning history in schools that have taken place in England in the past five decades. Indeed, an appreciation of this context is vital to understanding the decisions we made and the central approach that was adopted in developing our First World War program.

Developments in History Education in England Since the 1970s

Notwithstanding some exceptions, prior to the late 1970s history teaching in England broadly followed a "great tradition" characterized by its distinctively Anglocentric, nationalistic and conservative emphasis.[7] Indeed, for most of the twentieth century, history teaching and learning was based upon a chronological journey through Britain's imperial past with primary focus given to constitutional, military and political events, the achievements of great men and the contributions of ruling monarchs. John Slater's parody of the "great tradition" further testified to its narrow focus and limitations:

> Content was largely British, or rather Southern English; Celts looked in to starve, emigrate or rebel; the North to invent looms or work in mills; abroad was of interest once it was part of the Empire; foreigners were either, sensibly, allies, or, rightly, defeated. Skills – did we even use the word? – were mainly those of recalling accepted facts about famous dead Englishmen, and communicated in a very eccentric literary form in examination-length essay. It was inherited consensus, based on largely hidden assumptions.[8]

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, important developments took place in history education in England that resulted in a fascinating and bitter clash between advocates of "traditional history" teaching and what became known as "new history." At its core, the "clash" resulted in a fierce and ideologically driven debate between proponents of a traditional chronological and nationalistic approach to school history and those who argued for a "new" history that placed greater emphasis on the structure of the discipline and the interpretive nature of history.[9]

The reasons why "new history" offered a serious challenge to traditional practices are complex. Undoubtedly the cognitive revolution in the psychology of learning proved influential in challenging existing theories of how children acquired knowledge and understandings. Indeed, constructivist approaches to learning seriously questioned the widespread use of didactic teaching methods common in the period before the 1970s. Furthermore, a number of influential researchers in England (e.g., Booth, Fines, Lee, Shemilt) both challenged the domination of Piagetian thinking that had placed limits on young people's capabilities and demonstrated that many students across the age range could and should acquire a greater appreciation of history as a discipline.

Developments in "new history" also emerged at a time when the socio-political and cultural landscape in Britain was rapidly changing and challenges to the status quo and traditional practices were increasingly evident. Understandably, therefore, an important additional ingredient of the "new history" revolution was a widespread demand for more social, inclusive and critical history. Significantly, the emergence of "new history" occurred at a time when history education was perceived to be seriously under threat. Undoubtedly, a growing anxiety existed among history educators that the subject was in crisis and that traditional history appeared increasingly irrelevant to young people.

As a result of these multifaceted developments, "new history" gained increasing status and credibility among history teachers in the 1970s and 1980s. Fundamentally, "new history" challenged the notion of history as a "received" subject based upon an agreed, authoritative narrative and promoted "the idea that students could be active disciplinary learners."[10] Advocates of "new history" argued that in order to know history, pupils must understand the structure of the discipline and eschew the idea that history is "fixed" or "given." As Peter Lee asserted,

> It is absurd … to say that schoolchildren know any history if they have no understanding of how historical knowledge is attained. … The ability to recall accounts without any understanding of the problems involved in constructing them or the criteria involved in evaluating them has nothing historical about it.[11]

As a consequence, proponents of "new history" suggested that history teaching should give more focus to helping students acquire a deeper understanding of history's disciplinary nature. Key aims included providing students with an appreciation that history is not the past, but a reconstruction of the past. An awareness that although history provides us with stories and explanations, the past did not happen in stories and explanations any more than it does in the present. And, as a result of these understandings, the desire that students should begin to appreciate what sort of knowledge history is and to understand the legitimacy of that knowledge.

The most effective embodiment of these changes was the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) that, from the late 1970s onwards, offered teachers and students an innovative, dynamic, and publicly examined curriculum.[12] As a consequence "new history" and teaching approaches advocated by the SCHP gradually grew in popularity among teachers.[13] According to John Slater, the project remained,

> … the most significant and beneficent influence on the learning of history and the raising of its standard to emerge this century. It gives young people not just knowledge, but the tools to reflect on, critically to evaluate, and to apply that knowledge. It proclaims the crucial distinction between knowing the past and thinking historically. It sums up what is often called 'the new history.'[14]

Despite the general enthusiasm for new history among the teaching profession, traditionalists—including leading members of the ruling Conservative government—were highly suspicious of its rationale and ideology.[15] Not surprisingly, therefore, fierce political battles over history teaching became particularly acute during the late 1980s when proposals for a National Curriculum were first introduced.

Shunning the long-standing practice in which schools primarily decided their own curriculum, radical proposals by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government to introduce England's first National Curriculum in the late 1980s proved highly controversial and divisive. In

particular, debates over what and how history should be taught were bitterly contested during the period between 1988 and 1990 when a series of proposals and consultation papers focused on the history curriculum were passionately discussed.

Alarmed by what was perceived as the potentially corrosive influence of "new history" in the original draft proposal (published in July 1989) many politicians of the political right raised their concerns. "I was appalled," remarked Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "It put the emphasis on interpretation and enquiry as against content and knowledge. There was insufficient weight given to British history. There was not enough emphasis on chronological study."[16] Echoing the concerns of others, Conservative Member of Parliament, John Stokes, also declared with exasperation "Why can't we go back to the good old days when we learnt by heart the names of kings and queens of England, the feats of our warriors and our battles and the glorious deeds of the past?"[17]

Ultimately, following a protracted period of dispute and negotiation, the National Curriculum for history was introduced in September 1991. Overall, the original resulting curriculum can be viewed as a compromise between the two competing traditions outlined above. Husbands et al. suggested that the two traditions appeared to be held "in creative tension"[18] whereas Haydn considered the compromise to be "an uneasy mix of old and new."[19] In many respects, the curriculum represented a negotiated settlement. On the one hand, the traditionalists were appeased by the curriculum's primary attention to a chronological study of British history. On the other hand, advocates of "new history" applauded the central requirement that students be taught to understand and evaluate historical evidence.

The National Curriculum for history has been in place now for more than a quarter of a century. It has been through five separate iterations (1991, 1995, 1999, 2007, 2013) and governments of contrasting political persuasions have made various revisions to suit their political leaning. In overview, however, the history curriculum broadly remains a compromise between the two traditions. For the most part history teachers, leading professional organizations such as the Historical Association, textbook authors and university-led teacher education courses remain supportive of the principles and practice of disciplinary history and inquiry-based learning. In contrast, numerous critics and members of the current Conservative government hark back to the "golden era" of traditional history teaching

based firmly upon the exposition of a singular, robust and largely uncritical national narrative.

In designing and developing our First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme, we were acutely aware of the contentious and potentially challenging context in which we were operating. Furthermore, we were mindful of the demands of the national history curriculum that had been revised for the fifth time in 2013. Ironically however, given the political context, the new national curriculum for history offered opportunities and flexibility not readily apparent in earlier versions. To begin with, students at Key Stage 3 (specified for students aged 11–14) were only required to study a broad unit focused on general issues associated with "challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day."[20] Although commonly taught in schools across the country, it was notable that "First World War and the Peace Settlement" was one of eight "non-statutory" historical subjects that students might learn about in a chronological study of the twentieth century. In other words, study of the First World War was optional, not compulsory.

Of further significance, it was very evident that the current national curriculum was heavily influenced by the principles of "new history" or disciplinary history. For example, the 2013 National Curriculum emphasized that secondary school students should "understand historical concepts such as continuity and change, cause and consequence, similarity, difference and significance" and "equip pupils to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement."[21] Furthermore, one of the five explicitly stated core aims of the history National Curriculum was that pupils should,

> understand the methods of historical enquiry, including how evidence is used rigorously to make historical claims, and discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed.[22]

Encouraged by the apparent flexibility of the 2013 curriculum and the strong emphasis on disciplinary history we framed our approach to the First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme around three overarching and interrelated ideas. First, teaching and learning about the First World War would be underpinned by an inquiry-based approach. Second, emphasis on teaching a singular, fixed narrative would be eschewed in favor of an approach that invited critical appreciation of multiple narratives, multiple perspectives and multiple interpretations of the

First World War. Third, attention would be paid to helping teachers and students understand and critically evaluate contrasting representations of the war. Accordingly, the following three sections offer a broad overview of some of our primary considerations and the various approaches we adopted in our attempt to construct a program that was intellectually robust, age-appropriate, academically sound and in keeping with the innovative developments of pedagogical practice in history teaching over the past five decades.

Stimulating Historical Inquiry

Although the First World War holds a prominent place in the broad historical consciousness of the British people, paradoxically for many it remains remote and unknown. Certainly, no individual is old enough to "remember" the war and public surveys have consistently shown that specific knowledge of the causes, conduct and consequences of the war are limited. As a consequence, one of the key principles of our program was to encourage young people to find out and learn more about the First World War. Essentially to help them "discover" the war rather than to "remember it." For this reason, in keeping with the disciplinary methods identified by Seixas,[23] existing pedagogical practice in England and the aims of the National Curriculum, the program adopted an inquiry-based approach to learning about the Great War.

In developing the educational program, we structured our inquiry-based approach in three ways. First, members of our team, with the support of experienced history educators, devised a series of First World War inquiries appropriate for use in the classroom. Broadly aimed at teachers of students in Year 9 (aged 14) in total 11 of these detailed enquiries were developed and hosted on our website (http://www.centenarybattlefieldtours.org).[24]

The primary aim of these inquiries was to provide teachers with high quality, practical, age-appropriate lesson plans for classroom use. The inquiries were also deliberately focused in such a way that they would invite students and teachers to confront and consider some of the fundamental and overarching questions essential to an informed understanding of the war. In this respect, we were influenced by the writing and perspectives of Sir Hew Strachan, the eminent Oxford historian of the First World War, who expressed the need to move beyond a local, parochial and micro focus on the war and engage with and debate broader and more

controversial issues. For Strachan, it was important to "seize the opportunity to review the First World War afresh, to shake out the clichés and tired preconceptions and to develop new understandings of a global conflict that had long-term repercussions for the entire world."[25] In response to these aims and aspirations, the 11 inquiries that we developed were framed by investigative questions that required students to appreciate broader, large-scale issues. For example, the first inquiry, "Why was Tommy Atkins stuck in a trench in 1914?", examines the long and short term causes of the First World War and the origins of trench warfare. It both personalizes the beginnings of the conflict by focusing on the experiences of an officer and a private soldier in the very first trenches on the River Aisne in September 1914 and also raises much broader questions about how Europe descended into war.

Other historical enquiries similarly focus on broad historical questions. For example, central questions include: What was life really like for a British soldier on the Western Front? Was the First World War really a world war? Why is Ypres such a focal point for First World War remembrance? How much did the First World War change the lives of women in Britain? How great was the impact of the First World War? Each inquiry is also supported by teacher notes, lesson plans and a wealth of resources (e.g., maps, photographs, drawings, letters, diary extracts, official documents). In addition, the inquiries available on the program website typically provide teachers with interactive PowerPoint presentations and video clips suitable for classroom use.

An essential aspect of these classroom-based activities is that they compel students to find answers to key questions about the war by using available evidence. In this way, students learn to appreciate that any narrative of the First World War is open to interpretation, debate, and contest. For example, the historical inquiry that focuses on the extent to which the First World deserves its title as a "World War" invites students to examine and analyze a range of historical evidence from various geographic locations. Accordingly, on the one hand, students, learn that the war was indeed worldwide and involved participants from North America, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. On the other hand, however, they analyze further evidence which suggests that, although the war involved nations across the world, fundamentally it was a European conflict. In this particular inquiry, students are invited to weigh the evidence from both sides of the argument and reach personal and collective conclusions to be shared and discussed in the classroom.

Although the historical inquiries are an important aspect of our program offer and one we encourage teachers to use, we are in no position to insist that history teachers across the country follow the inquiry approach or use the specific inquiries we developed. Indeed, any influence on teaching and learning in schools that we have had in this respect can only be indirect as individual teacher in individual contexts are free to choose how to teach their subject. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that many teachers have downloaded these materials from the program website and it seems likely they have influenced and supported classroom practice.

The area where we undoubtedly could ensure that an inquiry-based pedagogy was explicitly featured was on the tours themselves. Essentially, teachers in schools across the country were asked to register their school for their free, four-day Centenary battlefield tour to the sites of the Western Front. As places became available schools were allocated three seats (for one teacher and two students) on a particular tour and typically traveled to France and Belgium in a coach containing program staff and representatives from 15 different schools. Prior to traveling each group was issued with a detailed tour itinerary and an on-site learning booklet full of activities, maps, diagrams and core information about each site. Very aware that over the next few days these teachers and students would receive an enormous amount of information, we decided to frame the tour program around three broad inquiry questions to ensure coherence and focus. Initially, these three overarching inquiry questions were:

- What can we learn about life on the Western Front from visiting the battlefields?
- Why is the First World War known as the Great War?
- What is left of the First World War today and how should we (should we?) continue to remember it after 100 years?

In addition, to more specific focus on individual sites visited throughout the day, typically these three broad inquiry questions were used to frame individual tours and, during each day, time was taken to consider and discuss these broader issues. In particular, the inquiry-based focus proved very effective in encouraging students to use the evidence they encountered when visiting sites to reach thoughtful and informed judgments.

The third way we encouraged an inquiry-based approach to a study of the First World War was arguably the most effective and serves as the cornerstone of the program—indeed, colleagues often refer to this

element as the "Big Idea." In simple terms, the "Big Idea" behind the program requires each of the 4000 participating schools to engage in a meaningful First World War inquiry of their choosing which they explore and develop before, during and after the battlefield tour. The "before" element is founded on the requirement that every participating teacher must either attend a one-day professional development course organized by the program or complete an equivalent on-line course several months prior to departure. In overview, this professional development component is focused on helping teachers design, develop, and facilitate meaningful historical inquiries in their classroom. The "during" aspect of the inquiry involves the teacher and his or her students (who act as agents or ambassadors for others in the school) using the site visits in France and Belgium to gather material, record key information (in audio, visual and written formats) and further extend and develop inquiry. The "after" requires schools to further develop their enquiries and to share the fruits of their work (often via presentations, talks and exhibitions) with other members of the school and, more desirably, with others in the wider community as part of a national legacy project.

To date hundreds of schools have participated in a diverse array of inquiry-based legacy projects and it is not possible to do justice here to their range and complexity. However, at the most fundamental level, many schools have used a visit to their local war memorial as a catalyst for further inquiry. Often, using guidance received on our professional development courses, schools have used the historical data-bases offered by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, The Imperial War Museum, the National Archives and other sources to find out more about how local soldiers experienced war. Schools also have broadened their inquiries and used materials from local and national newspapers, local records offices, census returns, war diaries and a range of military service records to further extend and develop their investigations. In addition, our battlefield tour visits allow students both to capture and to understand in greater detail the context and circumstance in which particular soldiers and/or local regiments served. Often, such visits also involve somber and critical reflection at sites where so many soldiers lost their lives.

Not all inquiries, however, focus on specific individuals or local regiments. Some schools directed their inquiries at broader issues such as the role of women in the war, the impact of the war on local communities, the fate of conscientious objectors and the impact of the war on national sports like cricket, football and rugby. Other schools devoted enquiries to

an examination of the multiethnic and multinational character of the war. Indeed, one investigation of soldiers buried at Lijssenthoek cemetery in Belgium focused on the role played by men from 30 different countries including Australia, Canada, China, New Zealand, India, the USA and the West Indies.

In overview, therefore, the program is underpinned by an inquiry-based pedagogical approach to education. It encourages students and teachers to ask critical questions of the past, provides the guidance and resources necessary to explore key issues further and supports them in finding appropriate and considered answers. More than this, however, the program encourages a constructivist approach to the study of the First World War in which students encounter and "discover" the past in rich and meaningful ways. During the first years of the program, the enquiries and legacy projects developed by schools across the country have been both impressive and diverse and suggest that our inquiry-based approach is particularly effective in helping young people acquire a deeper and more meaningful understanding of the First World War.

Appreciating Multiple Perspectives and Multiple Interpretations

In developing our battlefield tours initiative, we were very conscious that it formed an integral part of a national program of commemoration that heralded key dates and landmark events as particularly significant in the chronology of the war (e.g., Gallipoli, the Battle of the Somme, the Battle of Jutland). We were also aware that many of these selected events were focused on issues in which the interests of Britain and her Empire were primarily at stake. Unsurprisingly, therefore, it was very evident that influential supporters of the commemoration reasoned that it was an appropriate vehicle both to enhance collective memory and also to engender feelings of national unity, pride and shared endeavor. In many ways, we accepted the overarching framework of the national First World War commemoration, but we did so by invoking a critical and interpretive perspective. In so doing we shared the view of Sir Hew Strachan who argued that examination of the war "was an opportunity for discovery and debate and for education" and we agreed with his proposition that "we shouldn't be frightened" of trying "to understand the history of a war … that remains controversial."[26]

As a result, the program attempted, wherever possible, to engage teachers and students in key areas where historical events and issues were subject to interpretation and debate. Indeed, a central aspect of our program was to make it clear that the narrative of the First World War was not fixed and authoritative, but one that was subject to debate, contest and change. A good example of this approach is evident in relation to how the program examines the leadership of Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig and, in particular, his command at the Battle of the Somme in July 1916. On the one hand, many commentators view Haig's leadership as an abject failure and consider the 420,000 British and Commonwealth casualties as evidence of a battle that has often become synonymous with "butchery and bungling." On the other hand, some commentators have argued that although the battle was undoubtedly costly, it did severely weaken the German army (and potentially contributed to her ultimate defeat) and it greatly relieved pressure on Allied forces fighting in other theaters of war. As a result, the program introduces students to this important debate in three ways. First, before participating on the tour many students engage in a carefully crafted historical inquiry that focuses on the significance of the Battle of the Somme—both at the time and since. It puts the devastating events of July 1916 into their wider military context, examines the impact of the battle on different communities around the world and provides historical evidence which students draw on to assess different interpretations of the battle. The second way that students encounter debates about the Somme is on the actual site visits. Most tours center their site visit to the Somme on the question: Was the Battle of the Somme really a disaster for the British Army? On-site teachers and students learn about the battle in relation to the wider war, engage with the personal narratives of those who experienced the battle, and more fully appreciate the physical and geographical context in which the brutal battle was fought.

The third way that students learn about the Somme and its multiple and competing perspectives is through engagement with the interpretations of historians, typically through podcasts and film. Indeed, an important strategic and operational element of our program was the appointment of an academic advisory board of leading First World War historians[27] with whom we regularly consult. Many of these historians not only advise on the accuracy and appropriateness of our educational materials but also help develop new resources. In particular, many have contributed to a series of excellent podcasts looking at different interpretations of the First World War. For example, in respect to debates over the Somme, Mark

Connelly, Professor of Modern British Military History at the University of Kent, has created for the program an accessible and informative podcast on different interpretations of the leadership of Sir Douglas Haig. Professor Connolly's podcasts not only skillfully help students appreciate the different viewpoints on Haig but also provide a clear historiographical understanding of how portrayals of Haig have changed over time. Indeed, Connolly's examination of shifting interpretations of Haig dovetail with Parkes' concerns[28] for more attention to historiographical study and also serve as a powerful reminder that the historian is, as Peter Seixas insightfully remarks, "a temporal being immersed in time" and that "there is no stepping outside of history in order to do history."[29]

In overview, the podcasts alert students to how, during the 1920s, Haig was initially lionized by historians. However, Professor Connolly explains that in the decades after the Second World War new interpretations offered by historians such as Leon Wolff, Alan Clarke and A.J.P. Taylor[30] led to a reassessment of Haig's position and the widespread belief that his leadership was marked by incompetence and insensitivity. However, reflecting the twisted path of First World War historiography, Connolly thoughtfully explains that by the 1980s some revisionist historians offered a more generous evaluation of Haig's leadership and concludes that important current scholarship such as, *Douglas Haig and the First World War,* by J.P. Harris[31] reflects a more balanced and insightful interpretation of the Field Marshall.

Other similar podcasts and educational resources invite students to engage with contrasting interpretations of the First World War. For example, Dr. Nick Lloyd and Dr. Robert Foley of the Defence Studies Department at King's College London, provide a fascinating podcast focused on the Battle of Loos in September 1915. Whereas Lloyd assesses the catastrophic battle from an Allied viewpoint, Graves evaluates how the battle was and is viewed very differently from the German perspective. Ultimately, both historians provide teachers and students with an informed and thoughtful appreciation of how one event can be interpreted and understood in different ways.

Overall, therefore, one of the key aims of adopting a pedagogical approach which introduces students to different interpretations of the First World War is to help them appreciate that the past is not "given" but is contested and debated. It also compels students to appreciate how historical narratives are constructed and the vital role that evidence plays in this process.[32] Fundamentally, it invites students to consider that,

although different interpretations of the past are often presented, some are more valid, robust and defensible than others. Ultimately, therefore, this disciplinary orientation demands that students develop a reflexive approach to knowledge and the intellectual habits necessary to strive for well-grounded, evidence-based, judgments about the legitimacy of the interpretations they encounter when studying the past.

Analyzing Representations of the Past

Inexorably related to the first two elements illustrated above, the third feature of our tours program is to encourage students to critically evaluate historical sites in more sophisticated and nuanced ways than was (and is) commonly practiced on existing school visits to the sites of the Western Front. In our planning, we were exceedingly conscious that through the program students would encounter a dizzying array of interpretations and representations of the First World War (e.g., via memorials, cemeteries, museums, archeological reconstructions, guided talks) and they would require considerable support in understanding, navigating and critically evaluating these phenomena. We also knew that, despite the national history curriculum's expectation that pupils should, "discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed," our collective experience, pilot tours and background research suggested that many students and teachers often failed to engage with historical sites in critical and reflective ways.

In this respect, the work of Barnaby Nemko[33] was particularly instructive. Drawing on the scholarship of Lee and Shemilt, Seixas and Clark[34] and other historians and critical commentators concerned with the relationships between history, memory, heritage and collective identity (e.g., Wulf Kansteiner, David Lowenthal, Pierre Nora, James Young), Nemko raised key concerns about how school visits to sites of the First World War often lacked critical engagement. In the title of one article, Nemko provocatively asked, "Are we creating a generation of historical tourists?" and somberly concluded that students' attitudes to sites and memorials are often uncritical, decontextualized and typically, "fail to recognize that the memorials are authored and constructed by an architect, curator or historian for a purpose."[35] Furthermore, mirroring the findings of Andrew Wrenn[36] who recognized the powerful, and potentially inhibiting, impact of students' emotional responses to commemorative sites, Nemko's study also intelligently critiqued students "reverential" responses to memorials

which, he argued, seemed, "to cloud their ability to think about the monuments historically."[37]

As a consequence, a key goal of our tour program was to help students appreciate that most of the memorial and museum sites they were visiting were human constructions established to serve particular purposes in particular historical contexts. In other words, it was important for students to understand these sites as "historical texts" or representations of the past and not as some form of objective reality or "truth." In this sense, we drew heavily on the work of Seixas and Clark[38] and their typology of children's responses to historical monuments. In particular, our approach closely identified with their "modern type" in which sites are "historicized" and studied as "products of their time" rather than appreciated as spaces for collective memorialization and remembrance.

Ultimately our goal was not, in Nemko's words, to bring back "coach-loads of historical tourists" unprepared to engage critically with what they had encountered. Rather the goal was to encourage students to intelligently understand and evaluate sites as products of their time and, in most cases, of a nation's desire to buttress collective memory and to celebrate and commemorate a selected view of the past. Given the scope, scale and practical considerations associated with operating a four-day tour, an explicit focus on issues of interpretation and representation was not always possible or desirable at every location. Nevertheless, it remains a salient feature of our program as the following cases briefly illustrate.

For example, a visit to the British and Commonwealth cemetery at Tyne Cot and the not too distant German cemetery at Langemark is included in the itineraries of every tour. Officially opened in July 1927, almost 12,000 soldiers are buried at Tyne Cot and a further 35,000 commemorated. As such, it is the largest cemetery for Commonwealth soldiers in the world. Similarly, more than 44,000 soldiers are buried or commemorated at Langemark, which was first used as a burial place at the end of the war and was officially established in 1932. Situated on the Ypres Salient in Belgium these two iconic cemeteries offer vivid and powerful contrasts and invite critical reflection on issues of representation and interpretation. As Jerome Freeman[39] has written, "Tyne Cot reflects the egalitarian principles laid down by Fabian Ware and has in some respects the appearance of an English country garden, whereas Langemark is dark and somber," reflecting perhaps what Wrenn (1998) terms the "psychology of defeat."[40]

During the tours at these sites, students are encouraged to consider the contrasting nature of the cemeteries, the ways in which the war dead are

represented and to critically explore the theme of remembrance. In addition, students are asked to consider the socio-political context in which the two cemeteries were established (e.g., the late 1920s for Tyne Cot and the early 1930s for Langemark) and to reflect on how and in what ways this context might have influenced their layout and design.

Throughout the tours, teachers and students are also encouraged to use and share key contextual information about particular sites to deepen and extend understanding. For example, following the suggestion of Nemko (2009),[41] a number of teachers consider and analyze the life-size bronze statue of four mourning soldiers situated at Langemark. Completed in the late 1950s by Munich sculptor, Emil Krieger, students are asked to reflect on the extent to which the experiences of twentieth-century German history—for example, defeat in 1918, Nazi rule and postwar uncertainty—may have influenced Krieger's sculpture and the decision of the German government to situate this work at Langemark.

As a further example, during our tours, teachers and students are also encouraged to reflect on different attitudes and representations of the Menin Gate in Ypres and its associated Last Post Ceremony. Designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield, this impressive tribute to the memory of the 54,406 British and Commonwealth soldiers who have no known grave in this part of Belgium, was unveiled in July 1927. Not surprisingly it remains a popular attraction for visitors and is a staple feature of most school tours to Belgium. However, despite its enormous contemporary resonance, few schools critically explore the Menin Gate as a particular representation of the past located in a particular historical context. Furthermore, as Freeman has argued, very few "take the trouble to examine how attitudes towards remembrance and commemoration have changed over time."[42]

A core feature of our tour program, therefore, is to address these shortcomings and provide students with the opportunity to critically reflect on these important issues. With reference to the Menin Gate, therefore, focus is not only given to helping students "read" the architectural symbolism of the memorial but also in encouraging them to examine other "texts" such as Siegfried Sassoon's bitter poem, *On Passing the Menin Gate* and the Australian War artist Will Longstaff's spiritual painting, *The Menin Gate at Midnight*, both produced in 1927.

Other approaches which encourage students to critically "read" and evaluate specific "texts" and sites feature at other key locations. For example, a school visit to the Indian Memorial at Neuve Chapelle which commemorates the 4742 soldiers of the British Indian army who were killed

in the First World War raises profound questions about the relationship between the British Empire and its "subjects."

Designed by Sir Herbert Baker and unveiled in 1927, the memorial portrays a positive relationship between Britain and India that is carefully symbolized in carvings that link the Star of India and the Imperial Crown. Offering further evidence of the government's desire to use the memorial to celebrate unity and shared destiny, on a central column the words "God is One, He is the Victory" are inscribed in English, with similar texts in Arabic, Hindi and Gurmukhi. Other clues which allow students to critically consider the historical context in which the memorial was established are the absence of references to soldiers from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal—all subsumed under the name of India, which at that time was part of the British Empire. It is also revealing that all the British names on the memorial are those of officers commanding different elements of the Indian Army. This reality offers insights into the power relations between the British rulers and the ruled and intriguing perspectives on Britain's imperial past.

In a similar vein, an examination of Newfoundland Memorial Park which commemorated the terrible fate of the Newfoundland regiment that was almost entirely obliterated on the first day of the Somme in July 1916, offers the opportunity for students to consider why Newfoundland and, later, Canadian governments have consistently chosen to preserve this particular site in this particular way. Indeed, critical reflection on the iconic Caribou Memorial, unveiled by Field Marshal Haig in 1925, compels students to consider the extent to which and ways in which the site symbolizes sacrifice, heroism and national pride.

To some extent, therefore, this pedagogical and philosophical approach to historical sites that encourages students to critically deconstruct particular representations of the past (e.g., a cemetery, memorial, museum) is informed by postmodernist influences[43] and shares commonalities with those who advocate a historiographic approach to historical representation.[44] In this vein, a central goal of our site visits was to ensure that students understood that the historical "texts" they encountered were in fact representations of the past constructed in a particular context at a particular time for a particular purpose. It was fundamentally important, therefore, to ensure that we helped students develop the ability to analyze these texts in critically and thoughtful ways.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined how our First World War Battlefield Tours Programme sought to address the pedagogical, epistemological and philosophical complexities of teaching about the Great War in the English educational and political context. In particular, I have attempted to provide practical pedagogical examples of the various ways the program engaged students in a study of a past which is often contested, controversial and subject to multiple interpretations and representations.

Engaging students in a meaningful understanding of the past is, however, far from straightforward. Indeed, it is enormously difficult for any single program or educational intervention to quickly develop in young people the sophisticated conceptual understandings necessary even to begin to address the complexities of historical study, particularly when the average age of students participating in the tours was 14. Fortunately, however, the study of history is not an “all” or “nothing” enterprise. Arguably, effective history teachers are those who recognize that key conceptual understandings and appropriate substantive knowledge need to be developed over time and in progressive, age-appropriate ways. In this respect, our program did not attempt to re-invent the pedagogical wheel. Rather, it built on existing good practice and the innovative pedagogical traditions of disciplinary history. It also attempted to wrestle with some of the issues and challenges raised by postmodernism. For example, the program recognized that it was essential for young people to acquire an initial, but nevertheless critical, understanding of how individuals, groups and nations consciously choose to narrate and represent a particular version of the past to serve particular agendas in the present. A fundamental aspect of the program therefore was that students would not only appreciate that different interpretations of the past existed but also begin to evaluate how and why these representations were constructed, organized and deployed.

Above all, the program attempted to engage students in an active, thought-provoking and compelling approach to the study of the First World War. An approach in which competing narratives and rival histories were not avoided or deemed irrelevant. But, rather, were thoughtfully embraced, critically explored and intelligently deconstructed. In some small way, therefore, it is hoped that over the next few years the First World War Battlefield Tours Programme will make a modest, although

hopefully important, contribution to the progressive development of history teaching and learning in secondary schools throughout England.

Notes

1. David Cameron, "Speech at the Imperial World Museum on First World War Centenary Plans," (Speech, Imperial War Museum, October 11, 2012) The Cabinet Office, https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-at-imperial-war-museum-on-first-world-war-centenary-plans.
2. Toby Helm, Vanessa Thorpe, and Philip Oltermann, "Labour Condemns Michael Gove's 'Crass' Comments on First World War," *The Guardian*, January 4, 2014.
3. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo, eds., *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte: IAP, 2010); Anna Clark, *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008); Keith Crawford, "A History of the Right: The Battle for the National Curriculum History 1989–1994," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 43 (1996); Keith Crawford and Stuart Foster, *War, Nation, Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks* (Charlotte: IAP, 2007); Stuart Foster, "Politics, Parallels, and Perennial Curriculum Questions: The Battle over School History in England and the United States," *The Curriculum Journal* 9 (1998); Gary Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross Dunn, ed., *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Alfred A. Knopff, 1998); Mosato Ogawa and Sherry Field, "Causation, Controversy and Contrition: Recent Developments in the Japanese History Textbook Content and Selection Process," in *School History Textbooks Across Cultures: International Perspectives and Debates*, ed. Jason Nicholls (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2006); Robert J. Parkes, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after 'the End of History'* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011); Robert Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood, and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* (London: Cassell, 1998); Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut, eds., *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of History Teaching* (Charlotte: IAP, 2009); Tony Taylor, "Disputed Territory: The Politics of Historical Consciousness in Australia," in

Theorizing Historical Consciousness, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, ed., *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Charlotte: IAP, 2011).

4. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?," in *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 22–23.
5. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 20.
6. Robert J. Parkes, "Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum," *International Journal of History Teaching, Learning and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 127.
7. William Marsden, *The School Textbook: Geography, History and the Social Studies* (London: Woburn Press, 2001); Alaric Dickinson, "What Should History Be?," in *School Subject Teaching: The History and Future of the Curriculum*, ed. Ashley Kent (London: KoganPage, 2000); David Sylvester, "Change and Continuity in History Teaching, 1900-93," in *Teaching History* ed. Hilary Bourdillon (London Routledge, 1994); Valerie Chancellor, *History for Their Masters: Opinion in the English History Textbook 1800-1914* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970).
8. John Slater, *The Politics of History Teaching: A Humanity Dehumanized?* (London: Institute of Education, 1989), 1.
9. Peter Seixas, "A Model of Historical Thinking," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* (2015); Terry Haydn, "History," in *Rethinking the School Curriculum*, ed. John White (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004); Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Dickinson, "What Should History Be?;" Phillips, *History Teaching*; Foster, "Politics, Parallels;" Crawford, "History of the Right;" Sylvester, "Change and Continuity."
10. Seixas, "Model of Historical Thinking," 2.
11. Peter Lee, "Historical Knowledge and the National Curriculum," in *Teaching History*, ed. Hilary Bourdillon (London: Routledge, 1994).
12. Haydn, "History;" Wineburg, *Historical Thinking*; Dickinson, "What Should History Be?"; Phillips, *History Teaching*; Sylvester, "Change and Continuity."

13. Haydn, "History;" Dickinson, "What Should History Be?"
14. Slater, *Politics of History Teaching*, 2–3.
15. Crawford, "History of the Right."
16. Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 596.
17. Haydn, "History," 89.
18. Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson, and Anna Pendry, *Understanding History Teaching: Teaching and Learning About the Past in Secondary Schools* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003), 13.
19. Haydn, "History," 90.
20. Department for Education, *National Curriculum in England: History Programme of Study – key stage 3*, (2013), https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study.
21. Department for Education, *National Curriculum in England: History.*
22. Ibid.
23. Seixas, "Model of Historical Thinking."
24. Typically, the First World War is taught in schools to students in Year 9 (aged 14). Our initial research into pedagogical practice in schools that was conducted in 2013 also revealed that the war was commonly taught about in Year 9. Accordingly, classroom materials were developed with this age group as the primary focus. However, the materials and resources were originally designed so that they could be adapted to suit different ages and abilities.
25. Hew Strachan, "First World War Anniversary: We Must Do More Than Remember," *The Telegraph*, January 11, 2013.
26. Strachan, "First World War Anniversary."
27. Dr. Dan Todman, Queen Mary University (Chair); Professor Mark Connelly, University of Kent; Professor Richard Grayson, Goldsmiths, University of London; Dr. Edward Madigan, Royal Holloway; Dr. Helen McCarthy, King's College, London; Dr. Catriona Pennell, University of Exeter.
28. Parkes, "Teaching History."
29. Seixas, "Model of Historical Thinking," 6.
30. A. J. P. Taylor, *The First World War: An Illustrated History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963); Alan Clark, *The Donkeys* (London: Hutchinson, 1961); Leon Wolff, *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1959).

31. Paul Harris, *Douglas Haig and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
32. Stuart Foster, "Teaching Controversial Issues in the Classroom: The Exciting Potential of Disciplinary History," in *Controversial History Education in Asian Contexts*, ed. Kah Seng Loh Mark Baidon, Ivy Maria Lim, Gül İnanç and Junaidah Jaffar (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); Wineburg, *Historical Thinking*.
33. Barnaby Nemko, "Are We Creating a Generation of Historical Tourists?" *Teaching History*, no. 137 (2009).
34. Peter Seixas and Penny Clark, "Murals as Monuments: Students' Ideas About Depictions of Civilization in British Columbia," *American Journal of Education* 110, no. 2 (2004); Peter Lee and Dennis Shemilt, "'I Just Wish We Could Go Back in the Past and Find out What Really Happened': Progression in Understanding About Historical Accounts," *Teaching History*, no. 117 (2004).
35. Nemko, "Are We Creating?," 38.
36. Andrew Wrenn, "Emotional Response or Objective Enquiry? Using Shared Stories and a Sense of Place in the Study of Interpretation for GCSE," *Teaching History* 91 (1998).
37. Nemko, "Are We Creating a Generation of Historical Tourists?," 37.
38. Seixas and Clark, "Murals as Monuments."
39. Jerome Freeman, "Remembering the First World War: Using a Battlefield Tour of the Western Front to Help Pupils Take a More Critical Approach to What They Encounter," *Teaching History* 155 (2014): 50.
40. Wrenn, "Emotional Response," 30.
41. Nemko, "Are We Creating?"
42. Jerome Freeman, "Remembering the First World War," 50.
43. Frank Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997); Keith Jenkins, *On "What Is History?": From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (London: Routledge, 1995); Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse* ed. Hayden White (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978).
44. Parkes, *Interrupting History*; "Teaching History."

CHAPTER 10

Promoting a Historiographic Gaze through Multiperspectivity in History Teaching

Thomas Nygren, Monika Vinterek, Robert Thorp, and Margaret Taylor

Introduction

International guidelines and scholars of history education emphasize how students need to be able to identify, learn from, and critically reflect upon divergent perspectives and popularized representations of the past.[1] Robert Parkes states that promoting students historiographic gaze is a construc-

We owe great gratitude to the teachers and students participating in this study. We would also like to direct a special thanks to our colleagues within the European History Crossroads as Pathways to Intercultural and Media Education (EHISTO) project and the teachers participating in the design of the lesson unit.

T. Nygren (✉)
Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

M. Vinterek • R. Thorp
Dalarna University, Falun, Sweden

M. Taylor
Hellesdon High School, Norwich, UK

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_10

tive way to take on what Peter Seixas calls "the postmodern challenge to history in the schools."[2] Through the historiographic gaze, Parkes argues that the historian (or individual) extends the gaze "to everything, even [herself], revealing the historical specificity of all forms of historical knowledge and practice."[3] This approach to history and historical knowledge acknowledges that all history is subject to the historian's conscious choice, interpretation, and representation. Therefore, it is necessary to be able to identify and critically scrutinize multiple perspectives of the past. This skill, often described as multiperspectivity, can be defined as an ability to see history in the light of different theoretical positions, for instance a gender or social perspective, and also as an ability to take into account conflicting national and cultural perspectives.[4] As defined by Bodo von Borries, multiperspectivity is a way to reach "an integrative and less exclusive perspective."[5] Advocates of multiperspectivity also emphasize how divergent perspectives "have to be tested against evidence, and accounted for in judgments and conclusions."[6] Consequently, multiperspectivity can be defined as a predisposition to critically view history and historical accounts from a variety of perspectives.

We chose to focus on a combination of two aspects of multiperspectivity in this study, that is temporal and spatial multiperspectivity, and how they are fundamental in an advanced understanding of history. By temporal multiperspectivity, we mean an approach to history that takes different temporal perspectives into account. For instance, we can approach history prospectively or retrospectively and identify different short- and long-term causes of change as more or less important. Spatial multiperspectivity focuses on the importance of the spatial context of the historical agent or historian. It can either refer to geographical context or what can be labeled as ideological context. By ideological context, we mean a predisposition or justification for viewing a certain social order and how individuals' beliefs and predispositions (conscious and subconscious) affect how they view the world.[7] An exposure to multiple temporal and spatial perspectives could, at least in theory, give students a meta-historical understanding of the representational aspects of history. In this study, we wanted to explore whether this is possible in practice.

While multiperspectivity has been emphasized in theory and guidelines issued by the Council of Europe, it has been little studied in practice, perhaps because it has been described as complicated and "time consuming" to implement in education.[8] This study seeks to engage with these difficulties in practice through what we believe to be a fruitful way to promote

a historiographic gaze in history education. Collaborating with experienced teachers from different countries, we designed and tested a limited educational effort to stimulate the students' (1) multiple understandings of the causes of World War One, (2) ability to see different perspectives regarding the start of World War One, and (3) reflective and critical view of popular historical magazines as sources of learning.

Noting how historical cultures and history teaching may differ between countries, we also studied how the start of World War One may be understood by students in a country deeply involved with the history of the Great War (England) and a country with a more distant, and perhaps more neutral, perspective (Sweden). The aim of the study was to find out if students' initial understandings of these matters could be changed by a limited educational effort. In this chapter, we raise two questions, one about the status of students' awareness of multiple understandings and different perspectives and the other question is about the possibility to increase their critical awareness. We have also been interested in finding out if such possibilities might differ between different groups of students, students from different educational settings (England and Sweden), gender dimensions, and students with high and low grades.

Syllabi for History in Secondary Schools in Sweden and England

Sweden and England have national syllabi for history teaching. Both countries' syllabi emphasize the importance of teaching students historical thinking. This is evident in formulations highlighting the importance of students' critical scrutiny of different sources, understanding historical change, and being able to contextualize historical phenomena. The main differences that can be found in the syllabi are how the English syllabus emphasizes a national historical canon more than its Swedish counterpart, and the Swedish syllabus advises teachers to link the past to the present and the future while the English recommendations do not advise teachers to include links to the future.

Both countries focus on teaching students disciplinary understanding and, to critically scrutinize different historical accounts, are much in line with the notion of multiperspectivity. The English syllabus emphasizes how students should be able to "discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed"[9] and, in Sweden, it is stated that history teaching should give students the ability to "investigate, explain and assess the use of history in different contexts."[10]

Differences in syllabi and national historical experiences give a stronger emphasis on teaching about World War One in England than in Sweden. In Swedish schools, the teaching about the War may be just a few hours in secondary schooling and, in English schools, half a term may be devoted to the events surrounding the First World War, according to the teachers involved in this study.

A Limited Educational Effort to Stimulate Multiperspectivity and Critical Attitudes

To explore the complicated matter of stimulating multiperspectivity and critical thinking, we designed, within the EU funded project European History Crossroads as Pathways to Intercultural and Media Education (EHISTO),[11] a limited educational effort in collaboration with in-service history teachers from Sweden, England, and Germany. In the educational design, we used articles where professional historians emphasize different perspectives and popularize the events leading to the First World War. The articles by Christopher Clark,[12] Peter Englund,[13] Stig Förster,[14] and Julio Gil Pecharromán[15] were translated into the native languages of the students. The educational design and articles were posted online, free for teachers to use.[16]

The design and material was tested in on-going history teaching in five high school groups, with students aged 14–16. Three Swedish groups and two English ones were studying the First World War according to their current curricula. The exploratory nature of our study made us prioritize investigating outcomes from the learning process as a whole, in the complex reality of history teaching, rather than setting up a controlled experiment to test the impact of single factors, using experiment and control groups. The groups, supervised by five experienced in-service teachers, used approximately two times 120 minutes to manage the pre-test, exercise, and post-test. The teachers were informed about the design, and they helped us manage the pre- and post-test in their groups.

All students were informed by their teacher about the purpose of the study, how participation was voluntary and anonymous, and how collected data would only be used for scientific purposes. The students were asked to answer a pre-test handed out by the teacher containing questions regarding the topic and popular history magazines in general, namely: (1) What started World War One?; (2) Please describe different perspectives

on what caused World War One; and (3) What can you learn from history magazines?

After this, the students were assigned to individually compare the synopses of two articles with different perspectives on the causes of the First World War; this starter was designed to awaken interest in the topic and highlight the existence of different perspectives on the processes leading to the war.

Thereafter the students were divided into groups with different articles to close-read. Each group had one article that they were to read thoroughly and identify causes of the war. When identifying different causes and perspectives, they were encouraged to highlight this with coded colors and notes. Next, the articles were distributed between small groups of students who were instructed to formulate arguments from the perspective of their single article. Each group had to try to convince members of the other groups that their article offered the best explanations of what caused World War One. The point of this debate was to enable students to see and meet multiple perspectives. Finally, the students were assigned to individually read a single article with a single, traditional and popular, perspective of the start of World War One. This final critical reading task was designed to enable students individually to problematize their own representation in light of the other perspectives introduced within the debate. It was also designed to help the students begin to problematize the uses of history in history magazines. After finishing the task, they were asked to fill out post-tests containing identical questions to the pre-tests.

The pre-test took approximately 20 minutes. The close reading in group and preparing to present "their" perspective took some 45–60 minutes. The debate and comparison in new groups took another 45–60 minutes, the close reading of one article took approximately 30–45 minutes, and finally, the post-test took about 30 minutes.

The Effects of the Limited Educational Effort

In a total of 80 students filled in the pre-test before and the post-test after participating in the lesson unit. Eleven students who filled in only one of the tests or participated in only parts of the teaching were not considered in the analysis. In this group, we found some students who have a history of not attending lessons frequently, making the analyzed responses part of a positive selection, which may to some extent influence the results of this

study. Responses from the 80 students, ranging from very short sentences to longer paragraphs, were analyzed in the study.

The process of coding and analyzing the data was conducted in a primarily problem- and theory-driven approach.[17] Responses were analyzed using both given categories from theories of history didactics and categories found in the responses. Thus, the pre- and post-questions were analyzed using both inductive and deductive processes of coding and categorization. The students' answers were written in their native language. However, in the analysis, we translated their answers to English before coding and categorization. After multiple readings of the data, bearing in mind the research questions and theories of historical understanding and multiperspectivity, we formulated and implemented categories for each of the questions in the pre- and post-test. Categories were constructed in collaboration to ensure validity. A very limited number of discernible categories were defined on the basis of a multitude of initially identified categories. Limiting the number of codes contained in-depth discussions among all participating researchers. In the process of modifying coding, the material was re-coded by all researchers multiple times to test and guarantee inter-reliability in the codes and categories.

Students' Awareness of Multiple Possible Causes of World War One

The students' ability to see and understand different causes of First World War were evident in their answers to question number one (What started World War One?) in the pre- and post-test. Students could describe single events (SEs) and structural factors (SFs), both before and after the lesson unit. In our coding of the material, we identified four different categories of causes noted by the students: (1) single event (SE): one SE or actor that triggered the war, for example, the "Shot in Sarajevo"; (2) structural factors (SFs): SF caused the war, for example, nationalism; (3) combined causality (CC): the answer indicated that the student acknowledged that there can be different kinds of causes to the war and identified how SEs can interact with different types of SF. Failure to answer the question and irrelevant answers were coded as no/irrelevant answer (NA).

In the pre-test, it was evident that students hold different preconceptions regarding what caused World War One. Approximately, one-third of the 80 students entered the study with an understanding that a combination of SFs and events can explain the start of the war. Almost as many students stated that an SE started the war and only one-sixth mentioned

structural causes, and 15 students gave no or an irrelevant answer to this question.

In the post-test, we noted a move away from a lack of responses, irrelevant responses (NA), and single explanations (SE) to more complex explanations highlighting combined causes (CC). We find that there was a significant increase in students' responses stating combined causes (CC) for the war, a rise from one-third to almost two-thirds (see Table 10.1). The drop in irrelevant and missing responses (NA) is also significant, dropping from 15 to 5 students.

Looking at the coding of individual responses it can be noted that as many as 23 students moved from SE and NA to CC. For instance, one student stated before the teaching unit that what started the war was the "Shot in Sarajevo"; however, after the lesson unit, the same student instead described how "[a] number of factors, for example Balkan wars, alliances and the shots in Sarajevo" caused the war. Also 11 students who before the lesson unit were unable to give or gave an irrelevant response to the question were in the post-test able to give a complex answer, a move from NA to CC. For instance, one student stated in the pre-test how World War One was triggered by Japan: "Japan started a nuclear war by surprising the United States with bombs/aircraft attacks and dropping bombs and blowing up large areas outside the coast of Hawaii." After the lesson unit, she instead emphasized the importance of military power relations and a SE:

> Serbia and Austria had long been in "the war zone". But it is believed that what started it was that the Black Alliance in Serbia decided to shoot the Arch Duke and Duchess and when he succeeded in shooting them that was the start. They saw a chance to start a war.

Table 10.1 Categories of students' responses answering question 3 "What started World War One?"

Category of answer	*Pre-test (N)*	*Post-test (N)*
Combined causes (CC)	29	48
Structural factor (SF)	12	8
Single event (SE)	24	19
No/irrelevant answer (NA)	15	5

Still being a bit confused about actors and events leading to World War One, it is evident how she got a better historical understanding by participating in the teaching unit.

Another nine students moved from pointing out SF toward highlighting combined causes (CC). One of them stated in the pre-test how "The First World War broke out because of differences among people and they wanted to have power and more land," but after the lesson unit she instead explained how

> [t]here were a number of things that contributed to the outbreak of the First World War and why it became such a big war. The shot that killed the heir to the Crown in Sarajevo was the starter of the war. In the early part of the 20th century (and even before) different countries had formed alliances and 'ties'. But because of revolutions and more industrial development in some countries, there were also countries that did not get along well and even quarreled with each other. All the little bickering between different countries meant that when the war began there were a lot of armies in different regions. The Balkan crisis was also a reason for the war. Economic crises in some countries meant that the other countries thought they had more power. The UK entered the war so that Belgium could stay neutral; they were already in dispute with Germany, which meant that they were [in allegiance] with France.

The move from NA, SE, and SF to CC indicates a more complex understanding of the topic among 32 of 80 students participating. Quite a few students, 16, entered the teaching unit and continued to hold an understanding of how a combination of causes started the war resulting in almost two-thirds of the students holding a complex understanding of the start of the First World War after the lesson unit compared to one-third before.

However, there is also a movement from complexity to single explanation. Nine students from the English classes gave more complex explanations in the pre-test than in the post-test and moved from CC to SE in their explanations of the causes of the First World War. When comparing the English and Swedish groups, it is evident how the SE, shots in Sarajevo, was more emphasized by English students. The move from more complex explanations toward a SE as explanation may be an effect of the authority of the British historian in their last reading before the post-test. In the article, English historian Christopher Clark presents a strong argument supporting the view that the killing of Franz Ferdinand was the reason "above all others" to start the war. One student that in the pre-test

described a combination of causes, concluded in the post-test a more singular event explanation stating that: "I now see the assassination of Franz Ferdinand as a key factor of the first world war." She clearly moved toward an understanding of the causes of war in line with Clark's article. It is possible that the English students moving from CC to SE took for granted that there are multiple causes, but they perceived the killing in Sarajevo to be the most important cause. Students in England seem to have had a better content knowledge before the teaching unit, whereas Swedish students understanding moved toward a more complex understanding to a higher extent.

Evidently, adolescent students in Sweden and England are able to see different historical explanations to the start of the First World War. In their responses, they highlight events and different SFs and driving forces propelling the development. Moving forward into a deeper historical understanding regarding the causes of the First World War, it is also important to see whether students are able to see how different historians may emphasize different perspectives.

Students' Abilities to Identify Multiple Perspectives

The second question, "Please describe different perspectives on what caused World War One," was designed to study whether students could identify divergent perspectives on a historical phenomenon. Their two sets of responses to this question (pre- and post-test) allowed us to analyze the ways in which this educational effort could have an impact on students' ability to see different perspectives on the start of World War One. Our analysis of the students' responses to this question focused on how they regarded different perspectives on the causes of war. Considering both theories of multiperspectivity and responses in the collected data, we developed categories to code students' responses. Students giving an answer indicating that the student realizes that there can be different perspectives on what caused the war were noted as an answer highlighting multiple perspectives (MP), for example, some may think the shot in Sarajevo, others may think social unrest. The important matter here is the awareness of how historians—and people in general—can hold different stances on a historical issue. In the material, we also found how students may identify how different actors in a historical event may hold different perspectives. Answers indicating that the student realizes that different agents can have different motives for going to war were coded as multiple

perspectives on agency (MPA). For instance, the Germans wanted to have more power, the Serbs wanted independence, and the English wanted to protect Belgium. The important matter in this category was to highlight the students' awareness of how different agents may have an interest in a certain direction and be actors in that direction, the agency of someone. We registered students who did not seem to understand what a perspective is, thus giving irrelevant answers as NA; for example, they might have written something that corresponds to the question of what caused the war but not mentioned any perspectives on the causes.

Students' answers regarding different perspectives on the causes of First World War after the teaching unit show a move toward a better understanding of the existence of different perspectives on the matter. Eighteen students were able to describe different perspectives prior to the exercise, whereas after the exercise 42 described MP (see Table 10.2).

This is a significant increase in multiperspectivity, MP, and shows how the conflicting perspectives on the causes of World War One in the lesson unit made more students aware of how historians may perceive a historical event differently depending on their point of view. This increase of multiperspectivity goes hand in hand with a significant decrease of irrelevant and missing responses (NA) from 56 to 33 (see Table 10.2).

A more thorough analysis of this move from NA to MP shows how 30 students were unable to see different perspectives prior to the educational effort, registered as NA, but after the lesson unit they were able to describe at least two different perspectives on the causes of the war, MP.

For instance, one student moving from NA to MP was unable to identify any perspectives in the pre-test described the following perspectives after the teaching unit: "Some believe it was random chance. Some believe it was only shots fired in Sarajevo. Some believe there were several underlying factors." Another student unable to identify different perspectives before the lesson unit afterwards found MP in the history magazines and

Table 10.2 Categories of students' responses answering the question "Please describe different perspectives on what caused World War One?"

Category of answer	*Pre-test (N)*	*Post-test (N)*
Multiple perspectives (MP)	18	42
Multiple perspectives on agency (MPA)	6	5
No/irrelevant answer (NA)	56	33

stated in a critical way how "some of them are biased and perspectives change the facts." The number of students' describing different actors' agency was stable, but only one student was coded as MPA before and after the lesson unit. Three students went from MP to MPA and two students from NA to MPA.

Evidently, not all students were able to identify MP, 25 students were marked as NA before and after the exercise and six students went from MP to NA. Students mentioning fewer perspectives after the lessons can only be found in one group from England. However, a negative trend in that group was followed by a very positive trend from NA to MP in the other English group. For example, one of the students just naming different causes to the war in the pre-test identified in the post-test how "the articles from the different countries thought that different topics were the most important and deserved to be focused on the most; and also some countries thought that some causes weren't worth remembering." In this English group, five out of seven students moved from NA to MP. This indicates how students' ability to identify different perspectives also may be influenced by the teacher. The result may moreover be influenced by the efforts made by students when filling in the post-test. The high degree of irrelevant answers before, but especially after the teaching unit, highlights the complicated act of identifying multiple historiographical perspectives.

Five students emphasized coincidence and random chance as a possible perspective when describing MP. Thus, this historical perspective was uncommon in students' responses. This perspective, coming from a Swedish historian, was only mentioned by Swedish students suggesting an impact of authority of the national historian. The fact that history teaching, according to the syllabi, should not necessarily teach about coincidence as a force that can propel change can also make it hard for students to acknowledge this perspective.

The number of students describing MPA was stable, six before and after the lessons. However, only one student was noted as MPA in the pre- and post-test. Two students moved from NA to MPA and three students' answers noted as MP in the pre-test were noted as MPA in the post-test. Interestingly, the lesson unit seems to have had little impact on students' perceptions regarding national perspectives of the causes of the war. This may be an effect of the fact that none of the articles hold a nationalistic view on the matter. Even though the articles are written in a popular style they do not make it a blame game.

The meta-level of understanding necessary to identify how history is constructed can be a challenge, but this meta-historical approach to historical writing seem to be promoted by this teaching unit in most groups. All groups, except one English group, have a noticeable trend toward multiperspectivity. Closely reading the students responses, we find that students' responses in the post-test became more complex. Some answers coded as MP also hold formulations that might also be coded as MPA. Especially students in one of the Swedish groups touch upon both MP and MPA in their post-test answers. The more complex answers in the post-test are part of the trend in the post-test which indicates how a majority of the students after the lesson unit understand how historians may hold different and competing perspectives on historical topics.

Students' Critical Attitudes

To better understand, if this educational effort had any effect on students' view of popular historical magazines as sources of learning we construed and analyzed their responses to the question "What can you learn from popular history magazines?" Their responses were coded as indicating: (1) an unreserved attitude (URA), when they refer to the histories in the magazines as a matter of fact, with no kind of reservation about reliability and different perspectives or students stating that the magazine is sufficient in itself as a source of historical knowledge; (2) an intermediary attitude (I), when students identify how magazines may (re)present history in various ways. Indicating a, perhaps limited, understanding among students that magazines make selections and describe different perspectives and narratives when presenting the past; and (3) a reserved attitude (RA), when students responses included a "but" or a "depends on," suggesting a reserved or critical attitude toward the accounts of the articles.

Many of the students, almost one-third of them, had an unclear opinion about what you can learn from historical magazines (NA) and even more of the students had a URA toward history presented in this type of popular media in the pre-test. This proposes that a majority of the students had an uncritical attitude toward this type of historical writing. However, after the teaching unit, we find how more than two-thirds of the students hold a critical attitude noted as intermediary (I) and reserved attitudes (RA). Students present critical perspectives on historical magazines identifying for instance how "Various articles describe the same event in different

ways" and how "You can learn about different countries' perspectives on things, how they think and act. You can learn that everything is not true."

Table 10.3 shows a change toward more students having a reserved or intermediary attitude after the teaching unit. We find a significant rise of students' responses indicating a RA after the lesson unit and also a significant rise of intermediary attitudes; increases also evident in Table 10.3. The number of responses with an URA toward historical writing in history magazines dropped in a significant way and a highly significant drop can also be noted in students' responses noted as irrelevant or absent (NA) after the lessons (see Table 10.3).

A more detailed analysis of individual responses shows how as many as 34 students who in the pre-test were noted as NA or URA had a more critical attitude in the post-test, noted as I or RA. For example, one student showed in the pre-test an URA stating that from historical magazines you can "learn important details about major historical events." After the lessons, he instead emphasized how "Popular history magazines often describe very specific events in detail. Popular history magazines, however, is better as entertainment reading than as reliable historical sources."

But there were also a number of students that were stable in their attitudes toward history magazines as learning material, 16 students had a URA and 14 had an intermediary attitude before and after the lesson unit. This indicates more than one-third of students did not get a more critical attitude toward historical writing in history magazines. The stability of URAs was especially apparent in one of the Swedish groups whereas the English groups had most students noting divergent perspectives, an intermediary attitude, before and after the lesson unit.

In the pre-test, students from England were clearly more critical toward using popular history magazines as sources for learning history. In English

Table 10.3 Categories of students' responses answering question 3 "What can you learn from popular history magazines?"

Category of answer	*Pre-test (N)*	*Post-test (N)*
Reserved attitude (RA)	6	21
Intermediary attitude (I)	19	35
Unreserved attitude (URA)	30	19
No/irrelevant answer (NA)	25	5

groups, a vast majority were noted as RA or I in the pre-test, whereas in the Swedish groups only one in ten students made critical statements in the pre-test. After the teaching unit, a majority of the Swedish students were coded as either RA or I. In terms of positive impact on students' critical thinking about historical writing, it is evident that the students entering the teaching unit with less critical attitudes, primarily Swedish students, benefitted more from the teaching than students already aware of problems in history magazines, primarily English students.

In general, there was a significant move toward more critical attitudes. Reflections about what you can learn from popular history magazines became more complex, and a number of the students discussed both divergent perspectives as well as biases in their post-test responses. In sum, students' critical thinking seems to have been stimulated by this educational effort.

Links Between Students' Different Abilities and Attitudes

One would assume that there should be a strong link between the acknowledging of different perspectives and the ability to hold a critical attitude toward popular historical writing among students. The data from this study confirm this assumption and show a link between the categories highlighting multiple perspectives (MP and MPA) and categories indicating a critical attitude (RA and I).

Table 10.4 shows how 35 students combine MP/MPA and RA/I in their responses. But the table also shows how 21 students with critical attitudes (RA/I) did not describe MP in their post-test (noted as NA in Table 10.4). Especially an intermediary attitude (I) was combined with an inability to see MP. Also, 11 students identified MP in combination with an URA. This means that even if there seems to be a link between students' abilities to identify MP and critical attitudes, there are also quite a few students' responses that only fit into one of the two. There is also a difference between female and male students regarding their ability to recognize relativism in popular historical narratives. After the teaching unit, about half of the female students hold a combination of MP/MPA and RA/I while approximately one-third of the male students show this combination of multiperspectivity and critical attitudes. In both cases, this was a rise from about one-sixth of students. Hence, the teaching seems to have had a positive impact on many students' critical understanding of diversity in historical writing, but cross-correlations highlight a complex reality.

Table 10.4 Students' responses by categories in post-test question 2 "Please describe different perspectives on what caused World War One?" versus categories in post-test question 3 "What can you learn from popular history magazines?"

Category of answer	*RA*	*I*	*URA*	*NA*	*Total*
MP	14	17	11	0	*42*
MPA	3	1	1	0	*5*
NA	4	17	*7*	5	*33*
Total	*21*	*35*	*19*	*5*	*N* = 80

Note: *MP* multiple perspectives, *MPA* multiple perspectives on agency, *RA* reserved attitude, *I* intermediary attitude, *NA* no or irrelevant response. *N* = 80

When adding also a third set of categories, the complexity becomes even greater. Correlating students' responses on all three questions makes it evident that they to a larger extent identify different causes of the war (CC), different perspectives (MP, MPA) and the relativity of historical writing (RA, I) after the educational effort. In the post-test, 11 students identify combined causes (CC), MP with a RA. This is a major difference in comparison to the pre-test where only one student's responses were noted as CC, MP, and RA. Furthermore, more students identify different causes and perspectives with an intermediary attitude highlighting diversity in historical writing, five in the pre-test and 11 in the post-test. There is a trend toward more complexity from the unclear and singular assumption, here coded as NA, URA, SF, and SE, toward a more relativistic approach acknowledging diversity and biases in the writing of history, here coded as MP, RA, MPA, I, and CC.

Especially female students express a more complex understanding of historical writing. Ten out of 55 female students find, after the teaching unit, CC, MP, and hold RAs; a substantial rise from only one in the pre-test. For instance, one student with pre-test responses noted as SF, NA, and NA described multiple causes to World War One after the lesson unit:

> Nationalism, since every country wanted to be the best and to win the war would increase the pride. Franz Ferdinand was shot which was a provocative spark. The arms race created anxiety, social tension. Ethnic groups who wanted to form a separate country. Money problems with widespread poverty in the lower classes–political tension. The great power, i.e. the United Kingdom, was challenged by the Germans because of envy. Inspiration from the revolutions, the liberal and the industrial.

In her post-test, she was also able to identify MP in how history is written stating that: “You can have a nationalistic point of view. Put all the responsibility on an event. You can blame society, class differences, politics, military/power etc.” and she also expressed a RA when considering what you can learn from history magazines noting how: “Nearly all have a biased opinion, and you therefore need to be source-critical and take various texts in contemplation and create your own opinion.” She is one of 11 students, ten female and one male noted as CC, MP, and RA in the post-test, who can be found to have a very complex meta-historical understanding after the teaching unit. Another eight of the female students identify multiple causes and perspectives in combination with an intermediary attitude (CC, MP, and I). As mentioned above, more female students than male students moved toward multiperspectivity and critical attitudes.

What becomes evident in our data analysis is how especially male students after the lesson unit set forth a SE, the shots in Sarajevo, as causing the war. Five out of 25 of the male students named a SE as causing the war, did not identify different historians’ perspectives on the matter, and had an intermediary attitude toward learning from magazines (SE, NA, and I). Furthermore, four out of five with this combination are English students.

Grades and Impact of the Lesson Unit

What becomes evident in our data analysis is how the move toward a more complex historical understanding seems to hold cultural and gender dimensions and not all students in every classroom were affected by the lesson unit. Acknowledging how the grading of students is a complex matter of subjectivity, we still think grades can tell us something about students’ performance and therefore also might let us find out how students’ responses correlate with high and low performing students and how they may have been affected by the teaching.

All students in this study were given a final grade on a six-grade scale. In Sweden, the grades ranged from F “low” to A “high” and in England grades ranged from 6C “low” to 7A “high.” We have translated the final grades given by the teachers as part of ordinary teaching to a scale from one (lowest) to six (highest) to be able to see how students on different grade levels were affected by the teaching. To determine the impact of teaching, we analyzed individual students move to more perspectives and critical attitudes.

Looking at the distribution of grades, we find an impact on students on all grade levels. A move toward a more meta-historical approach was evident among students given all grades. Almost half of the students graded five to one moved from NA, SE, and SF to CC after the teaching. Students given a final top grade did not have this progress to the same extent. This can be explained by the fact that most students with the highest grade, 10 of 13 students, already in their pre-test identified a combination of causes to the start of the First World War.

In a similar way did two out of three students with the highest grade describe multiple perspectives (MP and MPA) in the pre-test when only one in five of the students with lower grades were able to do so. Also regarding multiperspectivity, it is evident how students with different grades moved from no or irrelevant responses (NA) to identifying different historiographical perspectives (MP/MPA). Identifying MP was harder for students with lower grades. A third of the students given grades 1–4 did not identify MP (NA) before or after the lesson unit, whereas only two of the students given higher grades, 5–6, failed to do this. However, more than half of the students with lower grades noted as NA before the lesson unit were after the unit able to identify MP.

A move toward more critical attitudes regarding media representation of history was evident in all groups. The results suggest a development from unclear, simple, and single perceptions toward a more complex understanding of representations of the past, not only among students given higher grades. The fact that a student may be able to identify multiple causes, perspectives and hold a critical attitude and still get the lowest grade highlights the complexity of history education, and also the fact that this lesson unit was only a small part of the students' history education.

In sum, after the teaching, more students were able to identify a combination of causes to the war, historians' divergent perspectives and problems in information in history magazines. A positive development was found among students across groups and national borders.

Concluding Discussion

The results from the study presented here identify that the awareness of multiple understandings and different perspectives among students can be low. But at the same time, it also shows how this can be changed by small educational efforts. The study highlights how students' processing of different historical perspectives in history magazines can be used to stimulate

multiperspectivity and critical attitudes toward historical accounts. After the teaching unit, a majority of the students were able to identify multiple perspectives on the causes of World War One. There was a highly significant rise in the number of students able to identify how different historians may hold different perspectives on a central historical event. Reading and processing professional historians' contrasting perspectives in this student active educational design seem to have promoted an awareness of how history can be presented in various ways. The lesson unit did not in the same sense support multiple perspectives on agency. This kind of multiperspectivity, often emphasized in peace-making processes,[18] focusing on students' abilities to identify conflicting national perspectives on history was not central to our study. However, we find that history magazines from different countries may not contain conflicting national perspectives and therefore not necessarily stimulate students to see multiple national perspectives. Students in this study were able to identify historiography beyond national borders. This suggests that an awareness of multiple perspectives in historical representations is central to deepening a historical understanding of the uses of history; an awareness that is probably more complex than recognizing nationalist uses of history.

Our findings suggest that this limited educational effort stimulated many students' ability to identify different historical perspectives and also be more critical toward what can be learned from various historical accounts. The combination of multiperspectivity and critical attitudes, that significantly more students set forth after the teaching unit, is a development in line with Parkes call for a historiographic gaze, a skill necessary in the contemporary media landscape. It seems like more students after the lesson unit could understand relativism in accounts and also treat them with a critical attitude. The frequency of temporal and spatial multiperspectivity was significantly higher among the students after the lesson unit. Especially female students forefronted more causes, perspectives, and RAs after the lesson unit. Thus, more research is needed to clarify if there is a more general gender difference in more advanced procedural understandings of history.

Acknowledging that history is a cultural construct, we decided to conduct this study in countries with somewhat different history and school cultures. Our results show how the English students had a better preconception about the causes of World War One and how, prior to the lessons, they had a more critical attitude than the Swedish students. This difference can, at least partly, be explained by the fact that history teaching about the

First World War is more comprehensive in English schools. This could also be explained by the fact that the United Kingdom participated in the war and therefore hold a stronger cultural connection to the events, since narratives from the war are more prevalent in England than in Sweden. The more critical perspective on historical magazines may, at least partly, be explained by the fact that English history education has emphasized the importance of historical thinking to a higher degree. A teaching underlining the critical scrutiny of sources from a young age (13) has been underscored in England since the 1970s Schools History Project.[19] Even if critical scrutiny of sources has a long tradition in Sweden,[20] this was more emphasized in the curriculum in 2011 and was at the same time also more directed toward students in primary and secondary schools. Thus, the teaching culture with a critical focus may be stronger in England, especially among students in the age group studied here. Important to note is that especially Swedish students coming to the teaching unit with scarce critical thinking seem to have benefitted the most from the educational effort. Both Swedish and English students were more critical in their statements about what can be learnt from popular history magazines after the unit, but the most noteworthy change can be found among the previously not so critical Swedish students.

Another important cultural difference is the emphasis on the shots in Sarajevo after the teaching unit, especially among English male students. This emphasis is in line with the argument presented by English historian Christopher Clark, stated in the last text read by all students. It seems like especially English students paid respect to the arguments made by this authority, indicating how national historians may have a stronger impact on students' historical understanding than foreign ones. A similar effect can be found among Swedish students. Only Swedish students set forth coincidence as a perspective on the causes of war, in line with the argument made by the Swedish historian Peter Englund. Even though Clark was read as a final text by all students his opinion mostly impacted English students, perhaps they were fostered in a tradition with a stronger narrative regarding the shots as the main cause. Swedish students' post-test responses were seemingly not affected by having most recently read Clark before taking the test, suggesting that this may be more a cultural effect than an effect from the design of the study. However, it would still be very interesting in future research to compare groups with and without the final reading of Clark's single event narrative. Of even greater importance for teachers is to note the impact of national historians' narratives on the

conceptions of students. To side with your countrymen may not be the best solution when analyzing conflicting perspectives and this may even hinder multiperspectivity in history education.

In this study, it is made evident that students enter the classroom with a variety of preconceptions and historical thinking skills. The responses to the pre-test and post-test suggest that some students, highly knowledgeable, came into the teaching unit with quite an extensive understanding about different causes to the First World War, an ability to see different perspectives and a critical attitude toward historical representations. Thus, a few students have what we might call a meta-historical approach already when they start the lesson unit. Other students enter the classroom with more limited understanding and uncritical attitudes. In general, the teaching unit seems to have had a positive impact on students' meta-historical approach, such as their abilities to see multiple perspectives, identify a combination of causes and hold a more reserved attitude toward historical writing. Students with grades from the lowest to the highest benefitted from this lesson unit.

The correlation between abilities to identify multiple causes and perspectives before the lesson unit and higher grades suggests that temporal and spatial multiperspectivity are keys to get higher grades. These abilities seem to be stimulated by this educational effort and not least students with lower grades seem to gain a more advanced disciplinary understanding of history from this educational effort. The link found between multiperspectivity and critical attitudes further underlines the importance of combining what Seixas calls a disciplinary approach with a more postmodern approach in education. However, there is a small group of five students who still after the teaching combined simple explanations with a lack of perspectives and unreflective attitudes in their responses. Acknowledging that it is certainly a challenge for adolescent students to historiographically analyze historians' writing, this is quite an encouraging result. But in a world of frequent uses and misuses of history, this is not enough. The historiographic gaze that some students with higher grades already possessed when coming into teaching can and ought to become part of the historical understanding among more students. We need to further investigate the complexity of multiperspectivity in school practices and find more ways to support students' historiographic gaze.

Notes

1. Council of Europe, *Recommendation Rec(2001)15 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on History Teaching in Twenty-First-Century Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2001); Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37; Robert Parkes, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum After 'The End of History'* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2011).
2. Parkes, *Interrupting History;* Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 26.
3. Parkes, Interrupting History, 102.
4. Discussed also in other chapters of this book; Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003).
5. Bodo von Borries, "'Multiperspectivity:' Utopian Pretension or Feasible Fundament of Historical Learning in Europe?" in *History for Today and Tomorrow: What Does Europe Mean for School History*, ed. Joke van der Leeuw-Roord (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 2001), 289.
6. Ann Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997), 54.
7. Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York: Verso, 2008).
8. Council of Europe, *Recommendation*; Borries, "Multiperspectivity," 269.
9. National curriculum in England: history programmes of study (Department of Education, 2013), 1.
10. *National syllabus in history* (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011), 2. http://www.skolverket.se/polopoly_fs/1.174546!/Menu/article/attachment/History.pdf.
11. The project directed by Susanne Popp was supported by the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union 2012–2014.
12. Christopher Clark, "The shot that sparked the First World War," *BBC History Magazine* 11 (2012): 18–23.

13. Peter Englund, “En oundviklig katastrof? [An inevitable disaster?]” *Populär Historia* 10 (2008): 24–30.
14. Stig Förster, “Die Juli-Krise 1914, Wochen der Entscheidung [The July-crisis 1914, Weeks of decisions],” *Damals* 5 (2004): 14–19.
15. Julio Gil Pecharromán, “Magnicidio en Sarajevo: El pretexto [The assassination in Sarajevo, The Pretext],” *La Aventura de la Historia* 69 (2004): 24–29.
16. A slightly updated version of the lesson unit we describe in this chapter can be found here: https://media.sodis.de/ehisto/wwI/multinational_wwI/en/multiple_perspectives.html.
17. Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2013).
18. See Ahonen’s chapter in this book.
19. See Foster’s chapter in this book.
20. Thomas Nygren, “UNESCO Teaches History: Implementing International Understanding in Sweden,” in *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*, ed. Poul Duedahl (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 201–75.

CHAPTER 11

After the Ideological Battles: Student Views on Sources Representing the Gallipoli Conflict

Heather Sharp

Introduction: Transnational Contexts

Ongoing public debates significant for creating shifts in understanding and facilitating deep thinking about the perspective on and selection of events in national and cultural histories were carried out across a number of nations in the 1990s to the first decade of the twenty-first century. Examples can be found over a sustained time period in a number of nations such as Australia, the United States, Germany, Japan, Canada, United Kingdom, and Austria,[1] who each engaged in these, at times, vitriolic debates.

Where some events in each nation's historical past which could be described as shameful had largely been omitted from mainstream or dominant national history discourses over time, and a case for their inclusion by some sections of the community was made, controversy often resulted in specific, localized nation-focused debates. So, a feature of the

H. Sharp (✉)
University of Newcastle, Newcastle, NSW, Australia

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_11

history/culture wars in a global sense is that they remained uniquely nation-specific. Similar themes of aligning national histories and cultural values with discourses related to the "progress" and nationalism in a Western paradigm of thinking emerged. The notion that history could move from a modernist, static narrative to one that deconstructs grand narratives and provides multiple perspectives (not just in the sense of contradicting sources) created alarm for some historians, History educators, journalists, social commentators, and the general public.

This chapter provides a context for teaching the contested topic of Australia's involvement and achievements at Gallipoli during World War I (WWI), framed within the history/culture wars and the implementation of a national History curriculum. Utilizing Seixas' framework of approaches to History teaching, the chapter looks to how, and if, a world history approach is incorporated into the current History curriculum and provides a critique of the current context of the commemorations of the Gallipoli campaign, popularly lauded as Australia's "coming of age" as a nation. This chapter then links these contexts to a case study of high school students' perspectives on how they view the representations of Gallipoli that take into consideration their formal school learning and their out-of-school public pedagogical experiences. It then concludes by analyzing student responses within Seixas' approaches to provide an understanding of how current high school students think Gallipoli should be represented.

Public Debates in Australia: History/Culture Wars

Referred to in this chapter as the history/culture wars, these very public and ongoing debates between historians, academics, journalists, commentators, politicians, and other high-profile public figures were concerned with the ideologies that underpin particular versions of Australian national history recorded and published and made easily accessible to the general population. Peaking between 1993 (when historian Geoffrey Blainey[2] gave his now (in)famous speech, "The Black Armband view of history") and 2007 (the defeat of conservative Prime Minister, John Howard, to the Labor Party opposition), this was a period of time that saw the commencement and proliferation of these very public debates. Originating as a result of the contestation of the different versions of the impact on Indigenous Australians of British colonization, particularly issues of land and cultural displacement commencing from 1788, and whether this period in Australian history should be seen as settlement or invasion,

the debates broadened significantly as more key stakeholders became involved. This is a topic that remains of interest with tabloid newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph,* reporting in 2016 negatively and sensationally on a draft University of New South Wales diversity training unit that used the term *invaded* to describe what occurred in Australia in the 1700s when the British arrived in Australia. In a classic ironic, but perhaps not surprising, headline the sensationalist newspaper mixed its metaphors and historical facts, declaring "Whitewash: UNSW rewrites the history books to state Cook 'invaded' Australia."[3]

The history/culture wars debates had gone on to encompass a variety of topics including those between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, such as land rights, social justice, and equity; experiences of minority immigrants; Australia's relationship with Asia; and topics of national interest relating to cultural events such as Anzac Day[4] and Australia Day. These debates became so significant outside of the usual closed academic doors that their impact on schooling, particularly curriculum, occurred in significant ways, not least of all the development and implementation of the Australian Curriculum, the first nation-wide school curriculum in the country's history.

In Australia, it is unusual for academic debates to cross over into the general public sphere, and much less common for these debates to then have such a direct impact on education, as evidenced by the bi-partisan political support the National Curriculum received. Of course, the climate change debate is another example of crossover between government, academic, public, religious, and popular culture concerns, but the fact remains that it does not occur as a matter of course in the Australian public sphere. With the history/culture wars, not only did it cross over into a range of domains but also it was sustained for over a decade and has had a number of attempts to reignite debate at various times since 2007, recently experiencing an albeit smaller resurgence with the centenary commemorative events of WWI. Events, publications, documentaries, and other audiovisual media such as television shows, and even sporting matches that represent WWI to an Australian audience have been numerous in the years leading up to and during the centenary of WWI, so much so that there has been created, as Adorno and Horkheimer might describe, a cultural industry associated with the commemoration (with the assertion made in this chapter that these commemorations frequently have the attributes of a celebration) that "the culture industry remains the entertainment business."[5] They explain:

> The culture industry in technological terms…is alleged that because millions participate in it, certain reproduction processes are necessary that inevitably require identical needs in innumerable places to be satisfied with identical goods. … It has made the technology of the culture industry no more than the achievement of standardization and mass production.[6]

Whatever merit there is in remembering past conflicts through remembrance events such as parades, dawn services, and other ceremonies held annually on April 25, Anzac Day, the commodification of this event and the businesses that acculturate the key commonly expressed messages of Anzac Day, such as mateship, courage, patriotism, redemption, and sacrifice, cannot be ignored for their pervasiveness in advertising, media stories, services, television and film, and products emblazed with Anzac symbols.

Although it appeared in 2007 with the defeat of conservative prime minister, John Howard, that the history/culture wars had ended, perhaps with an ambiguous victor, the pot shots fired once or twice every year, and still garnering public attention, demonstrates that the ideological battle has not ever been fully resolved. This non-nuanced, only black or white, understanding of Australia's past and its relevance to the nation today and into future is a convenient discourse for tabloid newspapers to exploit when running stories it considers to be against its understanding of the interplay between Australia's past and how historical events should be remembered (indeed, if at all) today. On the topic of the polarization caused by the history/culture wars, and the recognition of the complexity of history, Australian writer Tom Keneally states, "you have to choose celebration or lamentation, triumphalism or black grief, but it's possible for it to be two things at once."[7] In many ways, this can be seen as a dilemma of remembrance and of teaching Australia's involvement in WWI: for a conflict that killed so many of the nation's young, irrevocably changing the social fabric of many communities across the continent, it is difficult to reconcile the remembering of this event, which has turned almost celebratory with the binary option of not remembering at all, and for the waste of human life to be in complete vain.

Seixas' three approaches, *collective memory*, *disciplinary*, and *postmodern*[8] which were developed in the same time and *zeitgeist* context as the history/culture wars operating across many nations, looked at categorizing the types of learning approaches that were, or might be, relevant and present in school-based History education. Seixas had a particular focus

on assessing whether or not postmodern history was applicable to students' learning. Seixas' three approaches include:

> The first is simply to teach the best story as the way it happened, an approach I will call "enhancing collective memory," since it does not engage students in the historical disciplines' modes of inquiry. The second is to present both versions and to teach students to reach conclusions about which one is the better interpretation on the basis of a series of documents, historians' assessments, and other materials…In the process they learn disciplinary criteria for deciding what makes good history; thus, I will call this approach a "disciplinary" one. The third orientation reflects uncertainty about the notion of a "best story." Here, students consider both versions with the supporting documentation but then relate the versions of the past to their political uses in the present. The task for students in the third orientation is not so much to arrive at a "best" or most valid position on the basis of historical evidence as to understand how different groups organize the past into histories and how their rhetorical and narratological strategies serve present day purposes. This I will call the "postmodern" approach.[9]

Australian Curriculum Context

These ideological battles that made up the history/culture wars had a direct and enduring impact on the education of young people in Australian schools, particularly in relation to the content and quantity of Australian history that is now taught in schools. The *Australian Curriculum: History* is one of the biggest single outcomes and educationally speaking, arguably the most tangible as it reaches all school students across Australia. This curriculum can be understood as a clear and direct pedagogical response to the history/culture wars. One of the leading reasons that this attempt, after numerous failed ones dating back to at least the 1940s, to introduce the national curriculum was successful was due to the ideological battles that occurred in the media from the late 1990s to mid-2000s, whereby outcome-based education, critical literacy, the postmodern turn in school curriculum, and the alleged failures of history content were regularly under attack by a range of conservative commentators, such as Andrew Bolt, Kevin Donnelly, and Archbishop George Pell. These conservative commentators were given license to have such an influential voice due to the political conservatism of the time.

Throughout the history/culture wars, many social commentators—who were education experts—have projected their views on teaching in

schools. Similarly, Seixas reports on the Canadian experience of the "right-wing populist radio talk-show host Rafe Mair"[10] voicing opinions about traumatic historical events in Canada's history. Appropriately, Seixas holds all sides to account for the perspectives they present, writing:

> From what do such differences arise? What are the consequences? These questions provide an opening to move from the disciplinary orientation into questions about the relationship between historical knowledge and power and thus into the thick of postmodernism. Nobody – not the Nisga's participants, nor Rafe Mair, nor the purportedly objective and disinterested historian of Lowenthal's ideal – is exempt from these questions.[11]

Seixas discusses the curriculum changes that occurred in Canada across a substantial time period, writing "School history's story of progress has been modified over the past twenty-five years, most notably with the marginal and episodic inclusion of women and the much more central inclusion of non-British immigrants…*But, while these complicate the nation-building story, they do not necessarily upset it*. That is – not without some difficulty – they can be incorporated in a more inclusive best story of the past."[12]

What Seixas is discussing here can be seen as operating on the fringe of what fits into pre-existing agendas of curriculum. Fringe content is sometimes included as a way to pacify others. This is especially the case for those who are on the fringe of society or who belong to minority groups, but have made (explicit and noticed) moves to have their perspectives and experiences included as part of the official knowledge in the school curriculum. This information is often included as a tokenistic gesture, and does not usually cover topics with any real substance or encourage depth of understanding. This is what Michael Apple refers to as *mentioning*, writing:

> Dominance is partly maintained here through compromise and the process of 'mentioning'. Here, limited and isolated elements of the history and culture of less powerful groups are included in the texts. Thus, for example, a small and often separate section is included on 'the contribution of women' and 'minority groups', but without any substantive elaboration of the view of the world as seen from their perspectives.[13]

Returning to the specificities of Australia's national curriculum, a specific rationale, as stated in its *Overview,* is to incorporate a *world history*

approach to the teaching of history. A *world history approach* is commonly and broadly understood to mean:

> World history is macrohistory. It is transregional, transnational, and transcultural. Although it is important for students of world history to have a deep and nuanced understanding of each of the various cultures, states, and other entities that have been part of the vast mosaic of human history, the world historian stands back from these individual elements in that mosaic to take in the entire picture, or at least a large part of that picture. Consequently, the world historian studies phenomena that transcend single states, regions, and cultures, such as cultural contact and exchange and movements that have had a global or at least a transregional impact.[14]

The *Australian Curriculum: History* also discusses this term:

> The curriculum *generally takes a world history approach within which the history of Australia is taught*. It does this in order to equip students for the world (local, regional and global) in which they live. *An understanding of world history enhances students' appreciation of Australian history*. It enables them 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. It also helps students to appreciate Australia's distinctive path of social, economic and political development, its position in the Asia-Pacific region, and its global interrelationships. This knowledge and understanding is essential for informed and active participation in Australia's diverse society.[15]

It is interesting to note that the inclusion of a world history approach is still framed within an understanding of Australian history, so that the history taught is used as a way to "enhance students' appreciation of Australian history"[16] rather than to understand history more broadly with the inclusion of Australian content; Australian history is being privileged above an actual world history approach. Within this curriculum context then, how students view the very nationalistic Gallipoli campaign is of interest: do they position it within a world history approach, or do they see it as the uniquely Australian (and, sometimes New Zealand) event that the media and other sources of public and popular culture present it as. This positioning of Australian history privileged within a world history approach is further reinforced in the *Content Structure* section of the curriculum's *Overview*, whereby the strand of *Historical Knowledge and*

Understanding reads, “This strand includes personal, family, local, state or territory, national, regional and world history. There is an emphasis on Australian history in its world history context at Foundation to Year 10 and a focus on world history in the senior secondary years.”[17]

Australia’s involvement in WWI remains, for many people, a pivotal moment in Australia’s national story. This is demonstrated, in part, by the sheer volume of commemorative events that are being held to recognize the events that now form a prominent part of Australia’s twentieth century history. In commemorating (although some events have an air of celebration about them), government funding has been allocated for remembrance projects, and there is much attention being paid to the various aspects of service of men and women 100 years ago. There is a sense, though, of *commemoration fatigue*, as some of the events have not been as well attended as hoped and planned. Despite this, and in the mix with all the remembrance activities, there is still much hype that surrounds Australia’s involvement in WWI, that many citizens themselves have difficulty separating fact from fiction in relation to events and outcomes of the actual conflict itself. In addition to false understandings regarding the battle plan and the order of command, a misunderstanding about whose command the Australian troops were under also surfaces frequently in discussions.

For a topic that is as emotionally charged as Australia’s involvement in the Gallipoli campaign, whether or not the new curriculum is taught from parochial, nationalistic perspectives or from a more all-encompassing world history approach is a worthwhile question to pursue. Therefore, whether there is evidence of a world history approach, in students’ understanding of how Gallipoli should be represented is of interest. The world history approach can be categorized into a postmodern approach, rather than a strictly disciplinary approach, as it takes into consideration the socio-political context of the time, especially in regard to how nation-states represent themselves. Of interest is how the school students, who participated in the research, view significant events in their nation’s history and their perspectives about how they think the conflict should be represented, including perspectives they think are missing from common and mainstream representations.

Context of Commemoration of Gallipoli

The raised profile of the Anzac legend (and in particular contextualized in the role of the infantry of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in Gallipoli, Turkey, during WWI) can largely be attributed to John Howard, as aligned with his "three cheers" view of Australian history. It is evidenced through a number of key activities undertaken by a growing number of Australians each year. First, traveling to Gallipoli which is increasingly portrayed as being a rite of passage—a type of pilgrimage—for young Australians and, second, increased attendance at annual Anzac day events, services, and commemorations, in particular the somber Dawn Service. While it is the case, that a resurgence of interest in Gallipoli occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s beginning with a feature film portrayal of the famous campaign, directed by Peter Weir and screenplay written by David Williamson, titled simply as *Gallipoli*, it is Howard's commitment to raising its profile that ensured its commemoration flourished and grew under his prime ministership.[18]

By far, the most common way Gallipoli is memoralized and commemorated in contemporary times is through a collective memory approach. Even a quick survey of popular culture, media, publications, and other sources accessible by the general public demonstrates the way this conflict is mythologized. It is done so in a way to show the unification of Australia and there is a general trope applied to describing soldiers' actions which reverberate from official Anzac Day ceremonies, to commemorative sporting matches, news articles, and television programs. This trope is one that describes soldiers invariably as *brave*, *self-sacrificing*, *having a love of their country*, and of *mateship*. Participating in Anzac Day activities is increasingly aligned with a normalized "Australian" way to demonstrate patriotism broadly, rather than solely as a remembrance of Australian war service.

Peter Seixas: Rival Approaches to History Teaching

When the term postmodernism was being applied to curriculum studies in the 1990s, it became popular and common, particularly for those who were against this type of deconstructionist approach to knowledge, to assert this approach would result in a paralyzing effect on student learning: how were the students able to tell which account of history was valid and which was not, were all accounts and all sources equally valid, and

how could students ever reach any conclusions if the status of knowledge was in such a state of flux? Fast forward a couple of decades, and scholars now have available a more nuanced understanding of how postmodernism applies to History education (as indeed there is recognition that it has different meanings for art, architecture, literacy studies, etc.). Although this is not to say that all the concerns some educators have about postmodernism have been allayed, particularly in the area of relativism and the controversial issue of holocaust denial. Of these types of concerns, Parkes writes: "History educators frequently ignore, or engage only reluctantly and cautiously with postmodernism."[19]

Drawing on Ankersmit, Parkes asserts the view that a moderate postmodern approach can assist students to develop the critical historical skills needed when studying the subject:

> Far from leaving us silent in the face of historical denial, Ankersmit's moderate postmodern philosophy of history arms us with a useful approach for distinguishing between adequate and inadequate historical accounts of the past without returning to the modernist assumption that histories unproblematically describe the past as it was.[20]

One of the difficulties of approaching postmodernism as a topic is that how it is viewed can be very disciplinary specific, for example, between the study of literature and historical studies, and confusion between and within disciplines also exists. In the Australian school context, English and History is a common teaching combination of subjects teachers are qualified to teach, which may also contribute to educators' misunderstandings.

When Seixas' seminal text *Schweigen! Die Kinder!* was originally written and published, the term postmodern, applied to the History education context, was only emerging. For some, it presented as an epistemological threat to their own understandings of the purposes of education. There was arguably confusion over how the term applied to history and its application to the History education context. Parkes acknowledges that concerns about postmodernism have changed so they are not as alarming to educators and scholars as they may once have been, recently writing,

> Seixas appears to have evaded his earlier concern with postmodern relativism in this latest offering. Drawing on Jörn Rüsen's thoughtful conceptualisation of the workings of "history culture", Seixas' latest contribution provides the possibility for critical engagement with rival historical representations as

they emerge from the variety of historical methodologies in the blue zone, and critical engagement with the plethora of collective memories in the red zone.[21]

Case Study: High School Students' Understanding of Historical Representations

To coincide with the beginning of the centenary events to recognize Australia's involvement in WWI in 2015, high schools across New South Wales, Australia,[22] were invited to participate in a project that required school students to respond to three questions posed to them in relation to source documents. The aim of the research was to understand how high school students (participants) think about Gallipoli, in the year of its centenary commemorative events. Of interest were the responses participants provided to a series of three questions about Gallipoli as an historical and cultural event, including the value placed on this campaign by high school aged students in terms of (a) how it should be remembered, (b) its significance to them as individuals, and (c) viewpoints they think should be included in Gallipoli discourses. Participants were provided with a five-page work booklet designed specifically for the project, in which they were invited to answer a few brief biographical questions, and to answer the three questions in the provided booklet within 45 minutes. In total, 82 students participated in the research across three high schools, including an all boys' high school, an all girls' high school, and a co-ed (mixed sex) high school.

Participants' responses, after undergoing preliminary and intermediate coding and analysis, are reported here as themes and categorized according to how they fit with Seixas' three approaches to teaching history. The first approach of collective memory is dangerous to invoke in schools as a stand-alone, singular representation of history as it has the potential to move with the political whims of the day that potentially facilitate, or at least mythologize, how historical events are viewed from only the dominant perspectives of the day. It also has the potential to present as a non-disciplinary and anti-theoretical approach to History teaching. The second approach, a disciplinary one, as it is described by Seixas, runs the risk of becoming a Whig approach to History teaching, one where the progressive nature of human history is privileged above others. For example, a "coming of age" discourse is frequently attributed to understandings of Australia's involvement in WWI; a type of progressivist view can be applied

uncritically to this international conflict, even if more than one perspective is presented the idea of a *best story* potentially limits historical thinking. The third approach, the postmodern approach, then enables students to see how "different groups organize the past into histories and how their rhetorical and narratological strategies serve present-day purposes."[23] This is especially relevant to the study reported in this chapter as it seeks to understand the various perspectives high school students have about how, and if, Gallipoli should be represented. It is the case, however, that the postmodern approach can also present a history that is disjointed in its narrative structure and therefore boring or not of interest to the majority of high school students who arguably enjoy learning from a coherent narrative approach to this subject area.

This chapter reports on the findings from the third (and final) question the participants were asked to respond. The first two questions required participants to respond directly to the sources provided, but the third question went beyond that, by having them consider the conflict at Gallipoli from their own perspective, to consider the types of commemoration surrounding this event, and how they would like Gallipoli to be commemorated, if at all. The third question reads: *Describe any perspectives/viewpoints you feel are missing from sources A to E* and invited participants to consider the commemoration of Gallipoli, not in a historical sense, but to think about how this historical event is represented through current day representations. They then had the opportunity to explicitly state what they thought was missing from the five sources they were provided with, which included a variety of images and written text: photograph of wounded troops on the beach at Gallipoli, promotional poster for a 2015 television miniseries about nurses in WWI, a soldier's diary extract, photograph of a student cadet participating in a school Anzac Day ceremony, and a media photograph of young Australians and New Zealanders at the Gallipoli 2013 Dawn Service. Having participants respond to a question that invites them to critique the types of messages they have received from the provided sources is an attempt to empower them to communicate their understanding of this topic and to see whether or not the public pedagogical teaching of this topic and the school teaching of this topic, through the curriculum, is evident in their responses. The provided sources were all mainstream, publically and commonly available, and ones that the participants are likely to be familiar with both within and outside of the school context.

From the analysis of participant responses, the following main topics emerged: the need to look at multiple perspectives of Gallipoli; an opposition to war discourse; an identification of Australian Indigenous, British, New Zealand, and Turkish perspectives missing coupled with an interest in learning more about alternatives perspectives of the Gallipoli conflict; variety of sources missing; identification of home front perspectives not included; realities of conflict were seen as not being included; animals in conflict not included; students wanted more primary source materials from the time including from soldiers or from nurses; a military perspective was seen as missing; an interest in seeing other conflicts also represented; the "fighting spirit" of soldiers not included; and support for the war not evident in the sources. Included in this chapter are the four most frequent themes that have emerged from the analysis of participants' responses, and a fifth, anomaly theme. This theme, *Fighting spirit of soldiers*, is included as all participants who included a response that could be categorized here did so from a collective memory approach.

Overall, the analysis demonstrated that students were aware of the variety of perspectives of different groups who participated, or were otherwise involved in Gallipoli, and wanted to see those experiences included more in source materials. This demonstrates that students understand that rather than a meta-narrative of history being important to be privileged in learning about historical events, multiple perspectives are important to consider. This then extends beyond a disciplinary history approach as defined by Seixas as the participants communicated an interest in a range of perspectives and experiences not to arrive at a common or "best story"[24] historical narrative, but rather one that branches into a postmodern approach as they are keen to understand how different groups are both represented and how these groups represent themselves, using their own voices to report their histories. The analysis reported below demonstrates the types of histories the participants are interested in learning about, and how they see history as constructed, based on what they think is missing from the sources provided.

International Perspectives

Demonstrating an understanding that there are more perspectives than those presented in the nationalistic-based sources purposefully presented to the participants as part of this research, they identified others they would like to see included. Approximately 12 participants' understandings (in

response to question 3 at least) are generally framed as seeing perspectives being linked to an international experience. The inclusion of Indigenous Australian experiences is the only domestic-based additional perspectives participants routinely identified as needing to be included. The participants' understanding of the conflict in and surrounding Gallipoli as encompassing more than just Australian troops demonstrates that they see beyond the collective memory approach to this important event in Australia's history and even extend to a postmodern approach—albeit perhaps muted—as they are concerned with a world history approach to learning about what occurred on this Turkish peninsula in 1915.

Demonstrating a disciplinary approach to history teaching, participant 9AGHS1 wrote, "We only get a one-sided view on what Gallipoli meant and means to this day. We need to acknowledge the other sides to the story." A number of participants identified that this was a deficit in the sources provided, with 9AGHS3 affirming, "There were also no views on the perspectives of other countries of the Anzacs." A call for a broader range of perspectives to be included in the sources was evident, with 9AGHS7 writing, "Get perspectives from a range of people going through Gallipoli, not just the soldiers." Finally, 9AGHS9 felt that, "We should focus on remembering everybody who fought and died, regardless of nationality, and that we should commemorate more battles and wars than Gallipoli alone."

Moving into a postmodern approach that clearly shows participants are interested in learning about Gallipoli beyond the populist discourses that are dominant in public representations and commemorations of this conflict, a number of participants wrote that they would like to see French, British, Turkish, and German perspectives included. 9AGHS10 clearly identified that, "The English and French are typically depicted as idiots and only seen from Australian perspective – so to get a more well-rounded view, we should look at multiple perspectives." This participant understands that within Australian public discourses, for example, as evident in the film *Gallipoli*, the British are oftentimes accused of incompetence which led to the tragic and enormous loss of Australian lives. In recognizing that multiple perspectives are required but not those that seek to create a binary like the ones this participant has identified, she is calling for a postmodern method of the kind that encompasses a world history approach. In agreement is 12WC46 who identifies, "The perspective of the enemy has not been covered in the sources with no source relating to the Ottoman Empire or Germans…If a source was used showing how

the victorious side felt about Gallipoli would provide some interesting information." Likewise, 12WC53 writes, "These sources all centre around Australian and/or New Zealanders. My whole argument has been about ethnic groups and this trend will continue. It does not give us a real 'well-rounded' perspective of what happened on the days in Gallipoli, if they are left out." Other participants also noted this as a deficit of the sources provided. For example, 10WC58 identified that it is important to consider how, "Gallipoli is seen around the world not just throughout Australia and New Zealand," and 10WC61 wrote that what needs to be considered is "The international perspective (not Australian, Turkish or New Zealand)."

Opposition to War

It is common, in contemporary representations of Australia's involvement in WWI and more specifically in Gallipoli, to not report on the variety of debates and arguments that were held in Australian society in 1915 about whether or not Australia should participate; instead it is popularly presented as a singular perspective of Australians being very enthusiastic to participate in WWI, mainly through the supplying of troops to fight in Europe. Apart from covering conscription debates, other viewpoints against Australia's participation are often not included. Identified as a disciplinary approach, 9AGHS1 was one of two participants who wanted sources included that questioned Australia's participation in the conflict writing, "We need to acknowledge the other sides to the story and see that Australia was not necessarily right in its decision to partake in war." Similarly, 9AGHS9 wrote "I think that we should be exposed to perspectives of people who opposed the war."

Turkish Perspectives

Australia has an unusual relationship toward its former enemy, a relationship that deals with its past conflict in certainly not the same as any of Australia's other former enemies, for example, Japan during the Pacific Theatre of WWII. Australia's and Turkey's post-war relationship to each other has been quite cordial, although the two were enemies during WWI. This is exemplified by Turkey allowing Australia and New Zealand to use Anzac Cove as a place of commemoration culminating in the annual Anzac Day morning service and ceremonies on 25 April. It is reciprocated, in part, by Australia officially allowing and inviting Turkish soldiers and

their descendants to march in Australia's Anzac Day parades each year—a very unusual situation for any nation's military parades, and the only former enemy permitted to march in Australia's Anzac Day parades.[25]

Linked to the international perspectives theme already identified, 24 participants felt a Turkish perspective was missing from the sources provided. These responses listed a number of reasons for the inclusion of a Turkish perspective when considering the Gallipoli campaign. Many of these are in a disciplinary approach. As an indication, 12WC32 felt that the Turkish perspective "Is significant as they had an equal part in the battle as we did, thus their perspective is also important for understanding the Turkish perspective and also understanding the Australian perspective to a greater extent." Furthermore, 12WC44 highlights how "The lack of a Turkish perspective affects the usefulness and reliability of these sources." Many students gave the impression that they consider it important to gain an understanding of the Turkish experience at Gallipoli so that we may have a greater understanding of the event itself. As 12WC48 wrote, "Some of us fail to remember that the Anzacs were an invading force and all the Turkish were doing was defending their homeland. But I guess if we put that perspective in there it would make the Anzac legend and Gallipoli a lot less rich and chivalrous." Another participant built on this point arguing that "These perspectives are often missing from Australian media" (12WC47). 9AGHS1 urged against seeing the Turkish people from a singular perspective writing, "We need to see the other side not as 'enemies' but living breathing people with motivations that were valid too." The disciplinary approach was also evident in 10WC58's response, who wrote, "An enemy perspective is missing, it is very likely that an Ottoman soldier would have had a similar experience to an Anzac lived in similar conditions, felt similar emotions. To truly understand the full story of Gallipoli it is important to see it from both sides."

Although there was a strong focus on the disciplinary approach, there was also the inclusion of a collective memory approach and a postmodern approach. Repeating the type of information that is popular in pubic discourses, and one that is promoted through exhibition objects at the Australian War Memorial, and can be attributed to a collective memory approach, one participant felt that a missing perspective was that of the Turkish military leadership. 12WC51 wrote, "The perspective of the Turkish soldiers are what is missing as the leader of the Turks Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had great respect for the Australian soldiers." Clearly identifying within a postmodern approach, aside from improving understanding

of the historical context surrounding the Gallipoli conflict, one participant highlighted how the inclusion of a Turkish perspective can impact how we perceive other nations today. 12WC43 wrote, "If we want to transcend and improve international relations then we must focus on our similarities and build upon those. Even though we previously saw them as the enemy we must learn to us the strong power of forgiveness not the evil forces of anger, resentment, revenge."

Realities of Conflict

This theme, which also includes experiences of war and depictions of death at Gallipoli, was included in 13 participants' responses. In her response, 9AGHS4 felt that the images presented did not effectively convey the realities of war, rather showing Gallipoli as, "A nice place where people could go and relax but in reality Gallipoli was the complete opposite. It was a valley of death." Similarly, 9AGHS6 felt that there should have been "a source that depicts the deaths at Gallipoli." Many participants feel that it is important to consider the brutality and harsh conditions endured during the Gallipoli campaign. For example, 9AGHS9 felt that source C, which was a diary entry by Gallipoli soldier HV Reynolds, portrayed a more realistic version of these events, stating that "I think that that realistic perspective should be promoted." Some of the responses indicated that it is important to be exposed to the more graphic descriptions of the experiences of conflict. As an indication, 8WC21 describes, "I think that it would have been very scary with dead bodies all over the floor guts out limbs torn off all the bullets going just past your face. Seeing friends you have made…die right in front of your face." Moreover, as 12WC47 stated, "I believe all of the sources fail to capture the pointless and brutal violence the Anzacs experienced." Overall, the participants' responses are placed within a disciplinary approach to history teaching and learning. They are interested in learning more about the brutality of conflict, perhaps as a reaction against the collective memory of this military campaign which could be accused of sometimes being sanitized to appeal to a large audience, or if not sanitized, perhaps the lack of visual images may dull students' senses to how the conflict was experienced by soldiers.

Fighting Spirit of Soldiers

Although only mentioned by three participants in their responses to question 3, it is worthwhile including their responses in this chapter, as it demonstrates the minority of participants who maintain a collective memory approach to how they think Gallipoli should be remembered, and the types of sources that can be included to present this information. A perspective that three of the participants felt was missing from the sources provided was that of the attribute of the Anzac soldiers. For example, 9WC4 felt that, "None of the sources display the spirit that the soldiers had." In a similar response, 12WC47 regarded that, "extreme bravery of the legendary Anzacs, which is also missing from the sources." While 10WC60 argued that it is important to see the "bravery and courage of the Australians." These are common tropes conveyed to public audiences, especially around the time of Anzac Day each year, by media and other organizations.

Conclusion

From the analysis of participants' responses to the statement: *Describe any perspectives/viewpoints about Gallipoli that you feel are missing from the Sources A to E*, the most common approach to understanding history is through a disciplinary approach, followed closely by a postmodern understanding of what sources should be used to convey more representative histories, particularly with an emphasis on international perspectives. For these students, who have grown up during the binary debates of the history/culture wars, and whose History education in schools is a direct result of these ideological battles, it is clear that students are, in the main, learning Australian history from a disciplinary and a postmodern approach. There were a limited number of responses that communicated a jingoistic perspective of Australia's involvement in Gallipoli, demonstrating participants' understanding that this conflict extends far beyond the simplistic public discourse messages they would invariably receive every year around the time of April 25, Anzac Day.

Overall, the participants have displayed quite a sophisticated understanding of the commemoration of Gallipoli and subsequently what might be missing from contemporary sources that could be rectified through the inclusion of different sources that encompass broader perspectives. The postmodern approach is evident and demonstrates that students are

interested in learning about their nation's histories in ways that extend beyond a collective memory approach, an inwardly nationalistic focus, taking into consideration more than a disciplinary history approach to this subject. Unlike the first of Seixas' approaches, participants in the main are not constructing history as a binary or as an extension of mythology, rather students engage in the complexity of a history discipline that is mature and nuanced, at an age and stage appropriate level.

The data suggests that students are interested in engaging in a more complex historical understanding of Gallipoli and representations of WWI more widely. As has been demonstrated in their responses, participants understand various perspectives of historical representations. Participants have shown that they are interested in learning about rival narratives in history. The world history approach then is an important component to this learning, as it incorporates a postmodern approach to history without discarding historical methodologies and ways of producing and presenting history. Rather, it is an indication that in the postmodern turn that occurred several decades ago, history as a discipline is able to be flexible to new ideas of how to write a history that is relevant and one that reports with trustworthiness, histories in this globalized world with all the varieties of knowledges that living in a globalized context brings. The participants have shown that there is the possibility for a world history approach on topics that are so emotionally charged in a nation's psyche, and such an approach is needed across historical topics. As happens frequently in the teaching of Gallipoli, students at both the secondary and tertiary levels mismatch mythology with historical facts so blatantly and consistently, so clearly there is an issue with the nationalistic approach, or at least nation-focused approach, taken to teaching this important world event. The fact that the WWI unit of work in textbooks now contains a substantial historiography section after the main content has been learnt, whereby the legacy of Anzac is critiqued, points to flexibility in the minds of curriculum writers, Departments of Education, and the social license schools have with the wider community to critique this topic that is so frequently inextricably linked to a deep sense of Australian national identity.

Developing the notion of a world history approach in nationally sentimental historical topics, a history project that looks to examine multiple perspectives, written by educators and historians from the nations impacted by the conflict, with a focus on sustainable global communities privileging notions of peace, could provide a world history approach to

History education that is more likely to be earnestly taken up, rather than a token attempt to include others' experiences.

Notes

1. See, for example, Sirkka Ahonen, "The Past, History, and Education," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no. 6 (2001): 737–51; Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London, United Kingdom: SAGE, 2001), 63–94; Jurgen Tampke, "The Years 1914–1945 in the History Textbooks of the Federal Republic of Germany," *Teaching History* (2006): 21–31; Fouad Moughrabi, "The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 1 (2001): 5–19; John Issitt, "Reflection on the Study of Textbooks," *History of Education* 33, no. 6 (2004): 683–96; Ken Osborne, "Teaching History in Schools: A Canadian Debate," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35, no. 5 (2003): 585–626; Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).
2. Geoffrey Blainey, "The Black Armband View of History," in *"Men and Women of Australia!" Our Greatest Modern Speeches*, ed. Michael Fullilove (Sydney: Vintage Books, 2005), 30–37.
3. Clarissa Bye, "Whitewash: UNSW Rewrites the History Books to State Cook 'Invaded' Australia," *The Daily Telegraph*, March 30, 2016.
4. Anzac Day is held annually on April 25. The Australian War Memorial describes it in the following way, "[Anzac Day] is probably Australia's most important national occasion. It marks the anniversary of the first major military action fought by Australian and New Zealand forces during the First World War. Anzac stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps…Although the Gallipoli campaign failed in its military objectives of capturing Constantinople and knocking Turkey out of the war, the Australian and New Zealand actions during the campaign bequeathed an intangible but powerful legacy. The creation of what became known as the 'Anzac legend' became an important part of the national identity of both nations. This shaped the ways they viewed both their past and future." "The Anzac Day Tradition,"

www.awm.gov.au, accessed March 30, 2016. www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac/anzac-tradition/.

5. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cummin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), 136.
6. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 121.
7. Deborah Hope, "Ripping Tales From the Vault," *The Weekend Australian,* March 18–19, 2006.
8. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.
9. Ibid., 20–21.
10. Ibid., 26.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 22, emphasis added.
13. Michael Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge Press, 2000), 53.
14. "What is World History," www.thewha.org, accessed March 30, 2016. http://www.thewha.org/about-wha/what-is-world-history.
15. Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), The Australian Curriculum: History (2015), accessed November 30, 2015, http://www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/learning-areas-subjects/humanities-and-social-sciences/history: 13, emphasis added.
16. ACARA, "History Curriculum," 13.
17. Ibid.
18. For a discussion of this topic, refer to Robert Parkes and Heather Sharp, "Nietzschean Perspectives on Representations of National History in Australian School Textbooks: What Should We do with Gallipoli?" *Ensayos: Revista de la Facultad de Educación de Albacete [Spain]* 29, no. 1 (2014): 159–81.
19. Robert Parkes, "Postmodernism, Historical Denial, and History Education: What Frank Ankersmit Can Offer to History Didactics" *Nordidactica* 2 (2013): 21.
20. Ibid., 21.
21. Robert Parkes, "Response to a History/Memory Matrix for History Education," *Public History Weekly*, (online post), posted

March 01, 2016, accessed March 30, 2016, http://public-history-weekly.oldenbourg-verlag.de/4-2016-6/a-historymemory-matrix-for-history-education/.

22. New South Wales is Australia's most populous state with a population, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistic, of 7.6 million as of December 2015, out of a national total population of 24.1 million people. It is also considered Australia's First State, being the site of the first British colony on the continent, and has also maintained discreet History and Geography subjects in schools throughout the history/culture wars period, unlike other state-based educational jurisdictions in Australia.
23. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 21.
24. Ibid., 20.
25. Heather Sharp, "Historical Representation of Gallipoli in the Australian Curriculum," *Agora* 49, no. 2 (2014): 16.

PART IV

Epilogue

CHAPTER 12

Teaching Rival Histories: In Search of Narrative Plausibility

Peter Seixas

Introduction

In a paper published in 2000, I grappled with the pedagogical problem raised by two rival narrative interpretations of indigenous-settler relations in British Columbia: a "virgin land" thesis, which had provided the basis for nineteenth century European appropriation of territory and settlement versus a "nation-to-nation" recognition that was the basis of the recent Nisga'a treaty negotiations, the first in British Columbia since it became part of the Canadian Confederation.[1] I presented this as a case of the ubiquitous problem of discrepancy, conflict, and contradiction among historical interpretations—the lifeblood of academic history. I asked how we should think about the teaching of history in light of this undeniable reality. Should we, like the textbooks I read in my childhood, present one narrative that historians, curriculum boards, or other experts had concluded was the best? Alternatively, should we present students with conflicting interpretations and teach them the disciplinary tools to be able to judge for themselves the merits and shortcomings of each (a "disciplinary"

P. Seixas (✉)
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1_12

approach)? Or, I asked finally, are we forced to accept the Foucauldian claim that all knowledge is an expression of position and power, to believe Hayden White's influential argument that historians impose narratives on the inchoate past as a literary trick akin to the work of novelists, to place "truth" always in quotation marks, and thus to teach students "postmodern" history?[2]

After presenting the cogency and drawbacks of each of these three solutions to the problem of history education, I concluded,

> To historicize history is to understand that today's methods for establishing truth are no more than today's methods. And yet, that is not to say that we have no way of establishing a complex, multiperspectival historical truth for our time. To deny students an education in those methods, then, is to exclude them from full participation in contemporary culture.[3]

In other words, to summarize all too briefly, I accepted the challenges of postmodernist thinkers—up to a point—and then retreated to a chastened but enriched disciplinary approach as the final statement. But I left for another time and another place the question of defining exactly what were "those methods" for establishing "a complex, multiperspectival historical truth for our time," or what criteria might help teachers and students to define such a historical truth.

During the decade after the publication of "Schweigen! die Kinder!," I assembled with colleagues a framework for history curriculum and assessment, mobilizing the British notion of "second-order concepts" or historical thinking concepts.[4] We did not include as one of the concepts, either historical accounts (as British researchers had), or closely related candidates, historical narratives, and interpretations. These, we surmised, were related to all six of the concepts that we did include, and were thus operating in a somewhat different way. We did not, therefore, make substantial progress on the question of "teaching rival histories" to which the chapters in this volume are addressed.

In the first section of this commentary following the introduction, I will summarize some of those chapters' key contributions toward understanding and addressing the question. Doing so will also enable me to point to an important aspect of the problem that they have largely sidestepped. In order to confront the problem more directly, in the second section, "Towards a consensus on terms and propositions," I will sort through the implications of a variety of terms used to refer to "histories"

in the education literature: accounts, interpretations, and narratives. In a third section, "The plausibility of interpretive narratives," I will present the core of my argument in what I believe to be a promising approach to the problem, drawing upon, revising, and extending the work of Jörn Rüsen. The final section of the chapter, "Narrative interpretation in life," leans on the work of David Carr to move from epistemological to ontological considerations of narratives in history education.

The Contributions of *Teaching Rival Histories* and a Missing Piece

The organization of this volume into parts helps in a dramatic way to lay out key aspects of the problem. Part I, "Historical cultures and national histories," consists of three chapters. Though the first two deal with particular cases, Elmersjö's Nordic countries' textbook reform between 1920 and 1950 in the first, and Ahonen's eastern and southern central Europe in the second, the conclusions are more general. They lay out in a stark way the political forces contributing to reconstructionist teaching of grand narratives. Ahonen sees teacher professionalism and organizations like EUROCLIO as hopeful counterforces. Virta's third chapter in this part makes the argument, common in the education literature but less so in classroom practice, that history education must address the diverse historical cultures that students encounter outside of school. These three chapters set the stage for what is to follow in Part II.

"Official histories in multicultural societies" again consists of three chapters, each grounded in specific cases (the British Partition of India, Anglophone Quebec, and Cyprus and Israel), and each aiming toward more generalized conclusions. Social, cultural, and political divisions create the problems here. The authors of the first two chapters propose educational solutions: Chhabra that teachers be given "spaces and platforms to critically explore their practices," and Zanazanian, that new "open-ended… narrative scripts" are possible that Anglophone teachers in Quebec can teach their students. Bekerman and Zembylas are less hopeful, showcasing the limits, rather than the possibilities, of "teachers' in conflict-affected societies [propensity] to engage with rival histories in integrated settings."

The chapters of Part III, "Critical thinking and multiperspectivity," offer a sharp contrast. While all the authors pay attention to the contexts

of the cases they examine, the problem of "rival histories" in these chapters is not rooted in social and cultural division. Rather, it is an intellectual and pedagogical problem. Wojdon looks at multiple levels where potentially controversial issues that should enliven history education are glossed over, suppressed, sidelined, or ignored: in curriculum, textbooks, and examinations, and by teachers and students alike. The remaining three chapters in this part all deal substantively with teaching the First World War, Foster's battlefield tours for English students, Nygren et al.'s for English and Swedish students, and Sharp's for Australian students. Controversies over the war were lively among politicians, but remain several generations removed for these students. This subject matter, in these settings, turned out to provide a series of intellectual exercises: whether students could grasp multiple perspectives was more a question of whether they could rise to the intellectual challenge, not whether they could transcend ethnic or national loyalties, or had empathy for other cultures. Seeing the contrast between Parts II and III: they deal with two different, but both crucial, aspects of the challenge of rival histories.

In earlier studies, Peter Lee and his fellow researchers on the English Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches (CHATA) project provided some of the most extensive analysis of students' handling of rival accounts (Foster's chapter, in particular, benefits from this legacy). But the CHATA research team deliberately chose narratives that were far enough removed from current concerns—even further than the First World War—that political questions and identity issues would not be an element in students' reading.[5]

The CHATA tasks all stopped short of asking students actually to *evaluate* the competing narratives: was one better than the other, and why? Notwithstanding Ahonen's call for Habermasian deliberation in the history classroom, the chapters in *Rival Histories*, like the CHATA project, have not provided guideposts that would aid teachers in guiding students' evaluation of competing narratives.[6] In order to make that leap (which I will attempt in the penultimate section), we must first establish some consensus.

Toward a Consensus on Terms and Propositions

Definitions of three often-overlapping terms are important: *account*, *narrative*, and *interpretation*. Each of these can be preceded by the adjective "historical" and they can be combined. The major implied attribute of

an *account*, as in "accounting for X," is that it coherently explains how or why something happened. The coherence is largely a consequence of the causative links among events: things don't just happen in a temporal sequence, but what follows in the account is in part caused by, enabled by, or a development of, what happened earlier.[7] *Narrative* is an account that goes further, in that it suggests a story, with a beginning and an ending, and moral valences unevenly but significantly distributed among various actors and their actions. *Interpretation* introduces the active stance of the interpreter (or narrator, or historian) in the creation of her construct, along with the suggestion that there is a concomitant element of subjectivity: any one interpretation means that there might also be other interpretations. Thinking about the interpreter (along with the interpretation) opens the door to what Jon Levisohn helpfully calls "interpretive virtues," in a "virtue theory account of the epistemology of historical narratives." In respect to teaching history, Levisohn specifies two pairs of interpretive virtues: responsibility and creativity, and boldness and humility.[8]

The adjective *historical* modifies accounts, narratives, and interpretations in two ways. First, it makes explicit the retrospective dimension, written about a past from the perspective of a later time. In fact, the retrospective dimension is what enables *any* narrative to be more than a serially recorded journal or a record of events. It allows selectivity in the telling that is somewhat shaped by knowledge of "how the story turned out." This knowledge on the part of the narrator enables such terms as climax, crisis, or turning point.[9] Secondly, a historical narrative makes a claim to represent things that really happened, as opposed to a fictional narrative. We will return to these propositions below.

Each of the terms brings with it the legacy of important and somewhat distinctive research, discussions, and debates. "Account" is central in the British education literature and has generated an important body of empirical research on children's ideas. "Narrative" theory is the site of crucial debates that helped to define the problem that opened this chapter. And "interpretation" bears the legacy of the discussion of hermeneutics that is crucial for conceptualizing how we deal in the present with texts and remnants from a past that is both different and gone.[10] In the remainder of this chapter, I use combinations of "interpretation" and "narrative" to help recall the overlapping traditions, questions, and dilemmas that lie behind them.

The period of intense hand-wringing among historians that followed Hayden White's challenges is now largely over. What has replaced it is a

deep consensus about three propositions about what interpretive narratives are and how they work:

(1) Interpretive narratives in history and the past itself are of such different ontological status—that is, they are such different kinds of things—that "concordance" between the two is not a workable criterion for judging narratives.[11] Since we cannot speak of the vanished "past" at all *except* through other narratives, any attempt to compare for concordance is impossible from the start. As Arthur Danto put it, "Not being what it is a picture of is not a defect in pictures, but a necessary condition for something to be a picture at all."[12] History is not an imitation or a duplication of the past. This is the starting point for understanding narratives. But it also sets up the larger problem that we are addressing here. If comparative approximations of the "past" cannot serve as our fundamental criterion for the adequacy of narratives, then what can? How do we get from the search for the "true story" to "plausible interpretation?"

(2) Multiple narratives are possible for any set of events, centring different actors, using different theoretical lenses, and employing different periodization. There is no such thing as a "perfect" history that encompasses all aspects of a particular piece of the past (e.g., the Second World War). There are simply too many aspects, too many vantage points, too many scales, and so on, from which the phenomenon can be viewed.[13]

(3) All narratives can be criticized for their plausibility, and some narratives lie entirely outside of the realm of plausible history: there are standards of epistemological veracity, even while we recognize the potentially infinite plurality of simultaneous accounts.

In light of the three propositions above, "plausibility" emerges as the central criterion for assessing interpretive narratives in history. And this is where we join Jörn Rüsen's crucial contribution, the concept of *Triftigkeit*, roughly translated as plausibility. I rely throughout on Andreas Körber's exposition of Rüsen, in English.[14]

The Plausibility of Interpretive Narratives in History

In 1992, at a time when North American historians were perhaps most troubled by the challenges of Hayden White and his acolytes, William Cronon (an environmental historian and subsequently the president of the American Historical Association) juxtaposed numerous accounts of the American West in the 1930s—the catastrophe of the "dustbowl"—written over the five decades since the events. Observing the radical differences in interpretation, he asked, "If our choice of narratives reflects only our power to impose our preferred version of reality on a past that cannot resist us, then what is left of history?"[15] He proposed three criteria for the plausibility of historical narratives. They cannot contravene "known facts." They must make "ecological sense" (how natural systems work). And they must be accepted by the critical community of scholars. Less precisely, but most eloquently, he ended by articulating a fourth, moral dimension to the criteria:

> narratives remain our chief moral compass in the world. Because we use them to motivate and explain our actions, the stories we tell change the way we act in the world … The end of these human stories creates their unity, the telos against which we judge the efficacy, wisdom, and morality of human actions.[16]

We will return to this below.

Cronon's brief articulation comes as a Band-Aid over the gaping wound that Hayden White (*inter alia*) had created. Rüsen's more confident multifaceted criterion of "plausibility" offers a clear and communicable set of criteria for evaluating accounts, not unrelated to Cronon's, but more powerful. Rüsen includes four dimensions: empirical, normative, narrative, and theoretical. I will briefly point out how these go beyond Cronon's proposals and how they offer to advance discussions of history education in English. I also suggest that they can best do so with some revisions, both terminological and substantive.

Rüsen's empirical plausibility corresponds roughly to Cronon's "known facts," that is, that the account cannot contradict widely accepted facts. It is an improvement, however, in that it acknowledges the contestability of many factual claims. Thus, a narrative enhances its "empirical plausibility" through the explicit listing of sources, increasing the number of sources,

and providing analysis of the sources' relevance and utility. Empirical plausibility has already been well explored, though not under that term, particularly in the work of Sam Wineburg and his students. For example, in her study of students' historical writing, Chauncey Monte-Sano provides detailed lists of indicators for factual and interpretive accuracy, persuasiveness of evidence, sourcing of evidence, corroboration of evidence, and contextualization of evidence.[17] Perhaps, this might be called, in English, "evidentiary plausibility," referring neither to "facts" as in Cronon, nor "sources," as in Rüsen, but to the body of evidence whose interpretation supports a particular narrative.

Rüsen's normative plausibility is somewhat related to Cronon's "community of scholars," in that it looks to the audience or to the readership for recognition and acceptance of the norms and values underlying the account. It differs from Cronon in that it moves beyond academia to check for consistency with the norms and values of various audiences. The larger the audience for whom the account is normatively plausible, the better. Of course, in settings where potential audiences maintain deeply divided normative commitments, it may be less helpful, and those are precisely the settings where educators most urgently need powerful guidelines.

Normative plausibility is poorly mapped territory in English-speaking history education. Teachers and curriculum specialists are less likely to accept explicit treatment of moral or ethical values in history education than any other aspect of historical thinking.[18] In a recent Delphi study to define "core practices for teaching history," with 26 expert American history educators, Bradley Fogo found almost no interest in teaching the ethical dimension of history or history as orientation in time.[19] But this tendency to avoid the issues only means that normative and ethical commitments lie beneath the surface.

Despite this state of affairs, there are the beginnings of promising work toward guideposts for the articulation of values within historical narratives. Caroline Coffin provides a complex taxonomy of textual moves comprising responses, judgements, and assessments of past events, both in history textbooks and in students' writing.[20] Its very complexity may limit its uptake in educational settings. Lindsay Gibson provides an array of codes, derived from analysis of students' writing on a task seeking ethical judgements about a historical event. These include consideration of whether students offer explicit ethical judgements that a historical action was justified, general principles of ethics, fairness or human rights, or responses to injustices of the past.[21]

Gibson's work extends the treatment of the "ethical dimension" in the Canadian model of historical thinking.[22] It focuses not on the readership's norms and values (*per* Rüsen) but rather on the historian's difficult negotiation between the norms and values of historical actors from another time and the judgements of their actions according to contemporary standards in the present. The normative plausibility of a historical narrative, in this line of thinking, would be the result of a successful interpretation, between sensitivities of the past and values of the present, informing everything from collective identities to forms of commemoration and restorative justice. Rüsen's normative plausibility is entirely complementary to this conception.

What Rüsen calls narrative plausibility appears in Körber's text to be very roughly analogous to Cronon's "ecological sense" (consistent with "how nature works"), yet both broader and more problematic. As Körber writes, narrative plausibility depends upon "the patterns and logics of narrative construction (e.g. the ideas of typical principles of human perception, behaviour and action)."[23] Cronon's "how nature works," is an expression of natural laws of, for example, biology, climatology, and geology. But the "natural laws" of human perception, behavior, and action are exactly what historians seek to historicize! Otherwise, the job of historians would be quite limited. On the other hand, historians must assume *some* transhistorical notions of how humans feel and behave (e.g., in the face of injury, hunger, love) when they seek to understand people from past eras. As I have explained this conundrum elsewhere,

> Without these assumptions, we would be unable to make sense of human experience. And yet a judgment of where the boundary lies between the historically malleable and humanly universal must be assumed before the investigation that is supposed to tell us where to draw that line.[24]

Thus, if I correctly understand the problems at the center of Rüsen's narrative plausibility, it seems that they are extensively explored by the English language literature under various categories including "perspective-taking" in the Canadian model, "rational understanding" in the British, and "empathy" in the Australian.[25] In English, however, it is problematic to assign "narrative" plausibility to this dimension alone. I propose that this dimension be called "empathetic plausibility" so that "narrative plausibility" can be reserved as an overarching concept for all of the ways that a narrative interpretation can be judged for its validity.

Körber notes three other candidates for dimensions of plausibility: theoretical (suggested by Rüsen), authoritative, and scale-related.[26] As they appear only in a footnote, without further development, I won't take them up here.

In sum, the major concerns of the three dimensions of plausibility in Rüsen's scheme, as explained by Körber in English, are not unknown in the Anglophone history education literature. In the Canadian model, they are related specifically to the historical thinking concepts of evidence, the ethical dimension, and perspective-taking. The fact that Rüsen's dimensions map so well onto three of the concepts opens the question of whether any of the remaining concepts in the Canadian scheme can also be viewed as contributions to what I will now call (as the overarching term, *pace* Rüsen) narrative plausibility.

Certainly, the fourth of the six historical thinking concepts, cause and consequence, suggests the criterion, "causal plausibility:" to what degree do the conditions and events assembled as causes in a particular narrative convincingly determine the events and conditions identified as consequences? Given the centrality of causality in establishing coherence in historical narratives, the case for "causal plausibility" as a key criterion in constructing and analyzing historical narratives is compelling.

Continuity and change is similarly fundamental to narrative interpretation. The chronological order of events, convincing designations of beginnings, endings, and periods, coherently linked with assessments of development, devolution, progress and decline: these are basic elements of a coherent narrative, contributing, (in the translated German) to sense making.[27] This dimension might be called "temporal plausibility."

All of this is not to say that the Canadian model of historical thinking concepts has already dealt with the problems of the plausibility of interpretive narratives. Rather, a focus on the construction and critique of narratives adds a crucial new aspect to the concepts. The Canadian model has heretofore omitted discussion of how these historical thinking concepts (and perhaps "significance" as well) can contribute to the construction and critique of narrative interpretations.[28] Rüsen's terminology—the multidimensional criteria of plausibility—offers a starting point for understanding how this works. As these criteria are developed, in English, history educators will have some powerful tools for approaching rival histories in the classroom (Table 12.1).[29]

Table 12.1 Narrative plausibility and the Canadian historical thinking model

Historical thinking concept (Canadian model)	*Dimension of narrative plausibility*
Significance	See note 28
Evidence	Evidentiary plausibility
Continuity and change	Temporal plausibility
Cause and consequence	Causative plausibility
Perspective taking	Empathetic plausibility
The ethical dimension	Normative plausibility

A Further Thought: Narrative Interpretation in Life

Here, we return to William Cronon's claim that narratives are "our chief moral compass," that "they change the way we act in the world," and that their endings create "the telos against which we judge the efficacy, wisdom, and morality of human actions."[30] Rüsen targets something very similar when he defines narrative competence, in translated words, as "the ability of human consciousness to carry out procedures that make sense of the past, effecting a temporal orientation in present practical life by means of the recollection of past actuality."[31] Likewise, Körber discusses a "narrativist theory of history" which "identified temporal orientation of identity and actions as the function of historical thinking for individuals and collectives."[32]

Cronon, Rüsen, and Körber all raise the stakes involved with getting narrative interpretations right. They concern not only the past, but provide us with a sense of ourselves in a present that has a temporal—and moral—relationship with the past and the future. The focus here is less on thinking and knowing, and more on experiencing and being. The work of David Carr is useful here.

Carr's *Time, Narrative and History* stands as an important rejoinder to Hayden White's assertion that historians creatively impose literary narratives on a meaningless past in order to make sense of it. In his 1986 volume, Carr made the case that human action becomes part of a narrative, not only from a retrospective historical distance but also in the living of it. Human activity has a narrative form, in that we are influenced by the past as we plan and act in the present, with expectations and intentions of the future: the stories we tell about ourselves shape the way we act in the

world, both individually and as members of collectives. Historians, in this argument, write in a way that has an underlying unity with the subjects that they are writing about.[33]

Carr's recent volume, *Experience and History*, extends the argument.[34] He shifts the question of historicity from "how do we know history?" to "what is it to be historical?"

> What we want to know is what it means to be a "historical being," in Dilthey's sense, and in what sense we are intertwined with history. We want to know how history is encountered, how it enters our lives, and in what forms of consciousness and experience it does so.[35]

Human experience is, itself, already in a narrative form: "The human reality of actions and experiences … are shaped into configurations (with beginnings, middles and endings) by intentions that span future and past" (p. 69). Or, as he puts it elsewhere, "the human world manifests a concrete version of the narrative form in the very structure of action itself. … If this is so, then the narrative form inheres not only in the telling of history but also in what is told about" (p. 209).

History education scholars have aimed at the abilities of students to analyze, evaluate, and construct narratives about the past. But what if narrative has not only an epistemological but also an ontological dimension? Carr suggests that human life—as actively experienced, with its use of the past for plans, actions, compromises, adjustments to unintended consequences, and so on—is already narrative, in both the lives of individuals and the collective lives of communities (families, groups, tribes, nations). The ontological dimension of narrative competence is potentially a conceptualization for a more expansive and ambitious history education (perhaps, admittedly, at such an abstract level that it has little use, practically). Here, in words I wrote in 2012, is how Carr's bridge between narratives in history and life suggests their significance for history education:

> Students will grapple with multiple narratives, and if there is not one grand narrative that they memorize uncritically, they should still understand the necessity of the quest for larger stories in order to make sense of their lives, and the importance of the search for good ones. The education of students as historical agents operating in their own historical moment means this: that they understand the impossibility of knowing once and for all the story of which they might be a part, and yet have the tools to steer between

mindless pie-in-the-sky utopianism and deadly despair as they shape themselves into the historical agents of their own futures.[36]

Notes

1. Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! Or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
2. See, for example, Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).
3. Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder!," 34–35.
4. Over time, these were explored, refined, and published as Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013).
5. Peter Lee, "History in an Information Culture," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 1, no. 2 (2001); Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
6. On an explanation task, for example, the CHATA task asked subjects, hypothetically, "How could you check to see if one explanation is better than the other?" and "How could you check to find out if either explanation is a good or bad explanation?" but not "Which is the better explanation, and why?" Lee, "History in an Information Culture," 4.
7. Caroline Coffin makes a distinction between account and recount, with the latter providing a linked series of events with no explanatory element. This remains a technical distinction. Caroline Coffin, *Historical Discourse* (London: Continuum, 2006), 58. It may be the same qualified distinction that Arthur Danto makes between "plain" and "significant" narratives, Arthur C. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge (Including the Integral Text of Analytical Philosophy of History)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 131–41.

8. Jon A. Levisohn, *The Interpretive Virtues: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Teaching and Learning of Historical Narratives* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, forthcoming), Chapter 6, pp. 1 and 3.
9. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 356.
10. Working within the British tradition, Chapman has made an important step in moving the discourse from "accounts" to "interpretations." Arthur Chapman, "Historical Interpretations," in *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).
11. Andreas Körber, "Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (2016): 449.
12. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 114.
13. Interestingly, as recently as 1985, with the publication of Danto, pp. 114ff, such a consensus apparently did not exist.
14. Körber, "Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective."
15. William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (1992): 1371.
16. Ibid., 1375.
17. Chauncey Monte-Sano, "Disciplinary Literacy in History: An Exploration of the Historical Nature of Adolescents' Writing," *The Journal of the Learning Sciences* 19, no. 4 (2010): 548.
18. Peter Seixas and Kadriye Ercikan, "Historical Thinking in Canadian Schools," *Canadian Journal of Social Research* 4, no. 1 (2011).
19. Bradley Fogo, "Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 177–78.
20. Coffin, *Historical Discourse*, 139–66.
21. Lindsay Gibson, "Understanding Ethical Judgments in Secondary School History Classes" (University of British Columbia, 2014), 180–84.
22. Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*, 168ff; Peter Seixas, "A Model of Historical Thinking," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* (2015).
23. Körber, "Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective."
24. Seixas, "A Model of Historical Thinking," 9.

25. Tyson A. Retz, "The History and Function of Empathy in Historical Studies: Re-Enactment and Hermeneutics" (University of Melbourne, 2016).
26. Körber, "Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective," 453, note 10.
27. Körber and Meyer-Hamme, as part of the HiTCH Project, present an assessment exercise that examines students' facility in working with narrative coherence and meaning: asking students to consider various plausible arrangements of the elements of a narrative, and identifying the resulting stories' meanings or conclusions. Andreas Körber and Johannes Meyer-Hamme, "Historical Thinking, Competencies, and Their Measurement," in *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking*, ed. Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas (New York: Routledge, 2015).
28. In the Canadian model, historical significance is a question about how particular events or people fit within larger narratives: they achieve significance through their part in a larger story which is meaningful for its audiences today. To introduce "significance" as a dimension of plausibility for the larger narratives themselves might introduce confusion about the earlier definition of historical significance.
29. Jon Levisohn's "interpretive virtues" complement these dimensions of narrative plausibility.
30. Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," 1375.
31. Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 69.
32. Körber, "Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective," 441.
33. David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
34. Of less cogency in the context of this chapter is Carr's placing "experience," rather than "narrative" at the center of the argument. This allows him to delve into the philosophical tradition of phenomenology, and to make the case that the category of "experience" solves the problems of "representation" and "memory" that have dominated the philosophy of history in recent decades.

I may be accused of distorting his writing by declining a full engagement with this line of thought, but note Chapter 9, p. 199: “Nothing in this chapter contradicts the basic theory of narrative [in *Time, Narrative and History*] … but add[s] new dimensions to … those discussions.” *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World*, (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014). doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199377657.001.0001.

35. Ibid., 47.
36. Peter Seixas, “Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness: Confronting Past, Present and Future in Postmodern Time,” *Paedagogica Historica* (2012), 871.

Selected Bibliography

Aamotsbakken, Bente. 2010. Pictures of Greenlanders and Samis in Norwegian and Danish Textbooks. In *Opening the Mind or Drawing Boundaries? History Texts in Nordic Schools*, ed. Þorsteinn Helgason and Simone Lässig. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.

Ahonen, Sirkka. 1992. *Clio Sans Uniform: A Study of the Post-Marxist Transformation of the History Curricula in East Germany and Estonia, 1986–1991*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

———. 2001a. Politics of Identity Through History Curriculum: Narratives of the Past for Social Exclusion – Or Inclusion? *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33 (2): 179–194.

———. 2001b. The Past, History, and Education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33 (6): 737–751.

———. 2012. *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Ajagán-Lester, Luis. 2000. *"De Andra:" Afrikaner i svenska pedagogiska texter (1768–1965)* ["The Others:" Africans in Swedish Pedagogical Texts (1768–1965)]. Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Alavi, Bettina. 1998. *Geschichtsunterricht in der multiethnischen Gesellschaft: Eine fachdidaktische Studie zur Modifikation des Geschichtsunterrichts aufgrund migrationsbedingter Veränderungen. Interdisziplinäre Studien zum Verhältnis von Migrationen, Ethnizität und gesellschaftiger Multikulturalität, Band 9.* Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation.

Alfred, Taiaiake. 1999. *Peace, Power, and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1

Al-Haj, Majid. 2005. National Ethos, Multicultural Education, and the New History Textbooks in Israel. *Curriculum Inquiry* 35 (1): 48–71.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition. London: Verso.

Angvik, Magne, and Bodo von Borries (eds.). 1997. *Youth and History. A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes Among Adolescents*. Hamburg: Körber Stiftung.

Ankersmit, Frank. 2001. *Historical Representation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Apple, Michael. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge Press, 2000.

Aronsson, Peter. 2004. *Historiebruk: Att använda det förflutna* [Use of History: To Utilize the Past]. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Ashby, Rosalyn, and Peter Lee. 1987. Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History. In *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Christopher Portal, 62–89. London: Falmer Press.

Assman, Jan. 2008. Transformations Between History and Memory. *Social Research* 75 (1): 49–72.

Assmann, Jan, and Rodney Livingstone. 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Banerjee, Basabi Khan, and Georg Stöber. 2010. Textbook Revision and Beyond: New Challenges for Contemporary Textbook Activities. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2 (2): 13–28.

Banks, James A. 2004. Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice. In *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, 2nd ed., ed. James A. Banks, A. Cherry, and McGee Banks, 3–29. New York: Macmillan Publishing.

Barton, Keith C. 2012. Agency, Choice, and Historical Action: How History Teaching Can Help Students Think About Democratic Decision Making. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning* 7 (2): 131–142.

Barton, Keith C., and Linda S. Levstik. 2004. *Teaching History for the Common Good*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Barton, Keith C., and Alan W. McCully. 2005. History, Identity, and the School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students' Ideas and Perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37: 85–116.

Bekerman, Zvi. 2016. *The Promise of Integrated Multicultural and Bilingual Education*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bekerman, Zvi, and Michalinos Zembylas. 2012. *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bellino, Michelle J., and Robert L. Selman. 2012. The Intersection of Historical Understanding and Ethical Reflection During Early Adolescence. In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Asensio Mikael, and Maria Rodrigues-Monea, 189–202. Charlotte: IAP.

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.

Bhattacharya, Neeladri. 2009. Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India. *History Workshop Journal* 67: 99–110.

Blainey, Geoffrey. 2005. The Black Armband View of History. In *"Men and Women of Australia!" Our Greatest Modern Speeches*, ed. Michael Fullilove. Sydney: Vintage Books.

Bougie, Evelyne, Esther Usborne, Roxane de la Sablonnière, and Donald M. Taylor. 2011. The Cultural Narratives of Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers: Using a Historical Perspective to Explore the Relationships Among Collective Relative Deprivation, In-Group Entitativity, and Collective Esteem. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 50 (4): 726–746.

Bourhis, Richard Y. (ed.). 2012. *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Bouvier, Félix, Michel Allard, Paul Aubin, and Marie-Claude Larouche (eds.). 2012. *L'histoire nationale à l'école québécoise: Regards sur deux siècles d'enseignement*. Quebec City: Septentrion.

Bracey, Paul, Alison Gove-Humphries, and Darius Jackson. 2011. Teaching Diversity in the History Classroom. In *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies, 172–185. London: Routledge.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2002. Ethnicity Without Groups. *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 43 (2): 163–189.

Bruner, Jerome. 1986. *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bryant, Rebecca. 2004. *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Cairns, Ed, and Mícheál D. Roe (eds.). 2003. *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caldwell, Gary. 1992. Le Québec anglais: prélude à la disparition ou au renouveau. In *Le Québec en jeu: Comprendre les grands défi*, ed. Gérard Daigle and Guy Rocher. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Cannadine, David, Jenny Keating, and Nicola Sheldon. 2011. *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carr, David. 2006 [1986]. *Time, Narrative and History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 2014. *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199377657.001.0001.

Carretero, Mario. 2011. *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds*. Charlotte: IAP.

Carretero, Mario, Mikel Asensio, and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo (eds.). 2010. *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*. Charlotte: IAP.

Carrier, Peter (ed.). 2013. *School & Nation: Identity Politics and Educational Media in an Age of Diversity*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Caruso, Marcelo. 2014. Within, Between, Above, and Beyond: (Pre)positions for a History of the Internationalisation of Educational Practices and Knowledge. *Paedagogica Historica* 50 (1–2): 10–26.

Chancellor, Valerie. 1970. *History for Their Masters: Opinion in the English History Textbook 1800–1914*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley.

Chapman, Arthur. 2011. Historical Interpretations. In *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies, 96–108. London/New York: Routledge.

Chartier, Roger. 1988. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Clark, Alan. 1961. *The Donkeys*. London: Hutchinson.

Clark, Anna. 2008. *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom*. Sydney: Univeristy of New South Wales Press.

Clark, Penney (ed.). 2011. *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Clark, Anna. 2014. Inheriting the Past: Exploring Historical Consciousness Across Generations. *Historical Encounters* 1: 92–94.

Coffin, Caroline. 2006. *Historical Discourse*. London: Continuum.

Conway, Brian. 2003. Active Remembering, Selective Forgetting, and Collective Identity: The Case of Bloody Sunday. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 3: 305–323.

Crawford, Keith. 1996. A History of the Right: The Battle for the National Curriculum History 1989–1994. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 43: 12–24.

Crawford, Keith A. 2008. A Vicious and Barbarous Enemy: Germans and Germany in British History Textbooks, 1930–1960. *International Textbook Research* 30 (1): 515–534.

Crawford, Keith, and Stuart Foster. 2007. *War, Nation, Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks*. Charlotte: IAP.

Cronon, William. 1992. A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative. *Journal of American History* 78 (4): 1347–1376.

Czarniawska, Barbara. 2004. *Narratives in Social Science Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Danto, Arthur C. 1985. *Narration and Knowledge (Including the Integral Text of Analytical Philosophy of History)*. New York: Columbia University Press.
den Heyer, Kent. 2003. Between Every 'Now' and 'Then': A Role for the Study of Historical Agency in History and Citizenship Education. *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31 (4): 411–434.
Devine-Wright, Patrick. 2003. A Theoretical Overview of Memory and Conflict. In *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Ed Cairns and Mícheál D. Roe. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Dickinson, Alaric. 2000. What Should History Be? In *School Subject Teaching: The History and Future of the Curriculum*, ed. Ashley Kent, 86–110. London: KoganPage.
Donnelly, Mark, and Claire Norton. 2011. *Doing History*. New York: Routledge.
Ducharme, Michel. 2012. Interpreting the Past, Shaping the Present, and Envisioning the Future: Remembering the Conquest in Nineteenth-Century Quebec. In *Remembering 1759: The Conquest of Canada in Historical Memory*, ed. Phillip Buckner and John G. Reid. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Elizabeth, Shove, Mika Pantzar, and Matt Watson. 2012. *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How It Changes*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
Elmersjö, Henrik Åström. 2015a. Historical Culture and Peace Education: Some Issues for History Teaching as a Means of Conflict Resolution. In *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives in Global Education*, ed. Ruth Reynolds et al., 161–172. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
———. 2015b. The Norden Associations and International Efforts to Change History Education, 1919–1970: International Organisations, Education, and Hegemonic Nationalism. *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (6): 727–743.
Endacott, Jason, and Sarah Brooks. 2013. An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy. *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8: 41–58.
Englund, Tomas. 2006. Deliberative Communication: A Pragmatist Proposal. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 38: 503–520.
Epstein, Terrie. 1997. Sociocultural Aspects to Young People's Historical Understanding. *Social Education* 61: 28–31.
———. 2000. Adolescents' Perspectives on Racial Diversity in U.S. History: Case Studies from an Urban Classroom. *American Educational Research Journal* 37: 185–214.
———. 2006. The Effects of Family/Community and School Discourses on Children's and Adolescents' Interpretations of United States History. *International Journal for Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 6: 1–9.
———. 2009. *Interpreting National History: Race, Identity, and Pedagogy in Classrooms and Communities*. New York: Routledge.
Evans, Ronald W. 2004. *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children*. New York: Teachers College Press.

FitzGerald, Frances. 1979. *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fogo, Bradley. 2014. Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey. *Theory & Research in Social Education* 42 (2): 151–196.

Foster, Stuart. 1998. Politics, Parallels, and Perennial Curriculum Questions: The Battle over School History in England and the United States. *The Curriculum Journal* 9: 153–164.

———. 1999. Using Historical Empathy to Excite Students About the Study of History: Can You Empathize with Neville Chamberlain. *The Social Studies* 90: 18–24.

———. 2006. Whose History? Portrayal of Immigrant Groups in U.S. History Textbooks, 1800–Present. In *What Shall We Tell the Children: International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*, ed. Stuart Foster and Keith A. Crawford, 155–178. Greenwich: IAP.

———. 2014. Teaching Controversial Issues in the Classroom: The Exciting Potential of Disciplinary History. In *Controversial History Education in Asian Contexts*, ed. Kah Seng Loh Mark Baidon, Ivy Maria Lim, Gül İnanç, and Junaidah Jaffar, 19–38. Abingdon: Routledge.

Foster, Stuart, and Adrian Burgess. 2013. Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content: Representations of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5 (2): 20–38.

Foucault, Michel. 1966. *Les Mots et les Choses*. Paris: Gallimard.

Freeman, Jerome. 2014. Remembering the First World War: Using a Battlefield Tour of the Western Front to Help Pupils Take a More Critical Approach to What They Encounter. *Teaching History* 155: 45–54.

Gavison, Ruth. 2000. Does Equality Require Integration. *Democratic Culture* 3: 37–87.

Gay, Geneva. 2000. *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Ghazi-Bouillon, Asima A. 2009. *Understanding the Middle East Peace Process. Israeli Academia and the Struggle for Identity*. London: Routledge.

Gibson, Lindsay. 2014. *Understanding Ethical Judgments in Secondary School History Classes*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Górny, Maciej. 2007. From the Splendid Past into the Unknown Future: Historical Studies in Poland After 1989. In *Narratives Unbound: Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, ed. Sorin Antohi, Balázs Trencsényi, and Péter Apor. Budapest/New York: CEU Press.

Granatstein, Jack L. 1998. *Who Killed Canadian History?* Toronto: HarperCollins.

Grever, Maria. 2012. Dilemmas of Common and Plural History. Reflections on History Education and Heritage in a Globalizing World. In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Asensio Mikael, and Maria Rodrigues-Monea, 75–91. Charlotte: IAP.

Grever, Maria, and Siep Stuurman (eds.). 2007. *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grever, Maria, Ben Pelzer, and Terry Haydn. 2011. High School Students' Views on History. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43 (2): 207–229.

Gross, Jan T. 2001. *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 2006. *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation*. New York: Random House.

———. 2012. *Golden Harvest: Events at the Periphery of the Holocaust*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Grosvenor, Ian. 2000. 'History For The Nation': Multiculturalism and The Teaching of History. In *Issues in History Teaching*, ed. James Arthur and Robert Phillips, 148–159. London: Routledge.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1980. *The Collective Memory*. Trans. F.J. Didder and V.Y. Ditter. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Han, Un-suk, Takahiro Kondo, Yang Biao, and Falk Pingel (eds.). 2012. *History Education and Reconciliation: Comparative Perspectives on East Asia*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Harinen, Päivi. 2000. *Valmiiseen tulleet: tutkimus nuoruudesta, kansallisuudesta ja kansalaisuudesta*. [A Study on Youth, Nationality, and Citizenship]. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.

Harris, Paul. 2009. *Douglas Haig and the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, Richard, and Terry Haydn. 2006. Pupils' Enjoyment of History: What Lessons Can Teachers Learn from Their Pupils? *Curriculum Journal* 17: 315–333.

Haydn, Terry. 2004. History. In *Rethinking the School Curriculum*, ed. John White, 87–103. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Helm, Toby, Vanessa Thorpe, and Philip Oltermann. 2014. Labour Condemns Michael Gove's 'Crass' Comments on First World War. *The Guardian*, January 4.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor Adorno. 1972. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Trans. John Cummin. New York: Herder and Herder.

Hovland, Brit Marie. 2013. From a Narrative of Suffering to a Narrative of Growth: Norwegian History Textbooks in the Inter-War Period. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 57 (6): 625–638.

Husbands, Chris, Alison Kitson, and Anna Pendry. 2003. *Understanding History Teaching: Teaching and Learning About the Past in Secondary Schools*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Issitt, John. 2004. Reflection on the Study of Textbooks. *History of Education* 33 (6): 683–696.

Jedwab, Jack, and Hugh Maynard. 2012. Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-Speaking Quebecers. In *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, ed. Richard Y. Bourhis, 277–311. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Jenkins, Keith. 1991. *Re-thinking History*. New York: Routledge.

———. 1995. *On 'What Is History?': From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, Ketih, and Alan Munslow (eds.). 2004. *The Nature of History Reader*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, Paul. 1983. *Modern Times: A History of the World from the 1920s to the 1980s*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Kalela, Jorma. 2012. *Making History: The Historian and the Uses of the Past*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kansteiner, Wulf. 2002. Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory. *History & Theory* 41: 179–197.

Karge, Heike. 2008. *20th Century History in the Textbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Khalidi, Rashid. 2010. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Khodnev, Alexander. 2014. The History of Colonialism and Decolonization in the Russian Educational Curriculum and the Challenges to History Didactics. In *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2014*. Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft.

Kjellén, Rudolf. 1915. *Världskrigets politiska problem* [The Political Problem of the World War]. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag.

Kocka, Urte. 2013. Is Globalizing History in the Classroom a Way of Dealing with Increasing Global Diversity? In *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2013*. Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft.

Kohler Riessman, Catherine. 1993. *Narrative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Kolasa, Jan. 1962. *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO*. Wrocław: Polskiej Akademii.

Kolstø, Paul. 2005. *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*. London: Hurst & Company.

Körber, Andreas. 2016. Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48 (4): 440–456.

Körber, Andreas, and Johannes Meyer-Hamme. 2015. Historical Thinking, Competencies, and Their Measurement. In *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking*, ed. Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas, 89–101. New York: Routledge.

Korostelina, Karina. 2013. *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace*. New York: Palgrave.

Korostelina, Karina V., and Simone Lässig (eds.). 2013. *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*. London: Routledge.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 2013. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Kumar, Krishna. 2001. *Prejudice and Pride*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Larsson, Simon. 2010. *Intelligensaristokrater och arkivmartyrer: Normerna för vetenskaplig skicklighet i svensk historieforskning 1900–1945* [Aristocrats of the Intellect and Martyrs of the Archive: The Norms of Academic Excellence in the Swedish Discipline of History, 1900–1945]. Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag.

LaSpina, James Andres. 2003. Designing Diversity: Globalization, Textbooks, and the Story of Nations. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35 (6): 667–696.

Lee, Peter. 1994. Historical Knowledge and the National Curriculum. In *Teaching History*, ed. Hilary Bourdillon, 41–49. London: Routledge.

———. 2001. History in an Information Culture: Project Chata. *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research* 1 (2): 75–98.

Lee, Peter, and Rosalyn Ashby. 2000. Progression in Historical Understanding Among Students Ages 7–14. In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Samuel S. Wineburg, 199–222. New York: New York University Press.

Lee, Peter, and Dennis Shemilt. 2004. 'I Just Wish We Could Go Back in the Past and Find Out What Really Happened': Progression in Understanding About Historical Accounts. *Teaching History* 117: 25–31.

———. 2011. The Concept That Dares Not Speak Its Name: Should Empathy Come Out of the Closet? *Teaching History* 143: 39–49.

Lemire, Francine, Marie McAndrew, and Will Smith. 2006. L'éducation et les relations entre les francophones et les anglophones au Québec: les perceptions des directeurs d'école. *Brusselse Thema: Politiek, Taal, Onderwijs en Samenleving in Beweging* 14: 335–359.

Létourneau, Jocelyn. 2006a. Remembering Our Past: An Examination of the Historical Memory of Young Québécois. In *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Ruth Sandwell. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2006b. Mythistoires de 'Losers': Introduction au roman historial des Québécois d'héritage canadien-français. *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39 (77): 157–180.

———. 2014. *Je me souviens? Le passé du Québec dans la conscience de sa jeunesse*. Montréal: Fides.

Létourneau, Jocelyn, and Sabrina Moisan. 2004. Young People's Assimilation of a Collective Historical Memory: A Case Study of Quebeckers of French-Canadian

Heritage. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Lévesque, Stéphane, and Jocelyn Létourneau. 2013. 'A Giant with Clay Feet': Quebec Students and Their Historical Consciousness of the Nation. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 11 (2): 156–172.

Levisohn, Jon A. Forthcoming. *The Interpretive Virtues: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Teaching and Learning of Historical Narratives.* New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Levstik, Linda S. 2000. Articulating the Silences: Teachers' and Adolescents' Conceptions of Historical Significance. In *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, 284–305. New York: New York University Press.

Lieblich, Amia, Rivka Tuval-Mashiach, and Tamar Zilber. 1998. *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and Interpretation.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Livingstone, David N. 2003. *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Loizos, Peter. 1998. How Might Turkish and Greek Cypriots See Each Other More Clearly? In *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, ed. Vangelis Calotychos, 35–52. Boulder: Westview Press.

Low-Beer, Ann. 1997. *The Council of Europe and School History.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Lowenthal, David. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2000. Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History. In *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg. New York: New York University Press.

Lyotard, Jean-François. 1979. *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Macintyre, Stuart, and Anna Clark. 2003. *The History Wars.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Madison, Soyini D. 2005. *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, Performance.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2004. Anglos du Québec et autruis privilégiés: référence identitaire en mutation. *Aspects sociologiques* 11 (1): 124–143.

Marcus, Alan S., and Jeremy D. Stoddard. 2009. The Inconvenient Truth About Teaching History with Documentary Film: Strategies for Presenting Multiple Perspectives and Teaching Controversial Issues. *The Social Studies* 100: 279–284.

Marsden, William. 2001. *The School Textbook: Geography, History and the Social Studies*. London: Woburn Press.

McAndrew, Marie. 2010. *Les majorités fragiles et l'éducation*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'université de Montréal.

McDermott, Ray. 2015. Does 'Learning' Exist? *WORD* 61 (4): 335–349.

Merriam, Sharan B. 1998. *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyer, Frank, and Jan Eivind Myhre (eds.). 2000. *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century*. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Miles, Mathew B, Michael A. Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. 2013. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Monte-Sano, Chauncey. 2010. Disciplinary Literacy in History: An Exploration of the Historical Nature of Adolescents' Writing. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences* 19 (4): 539–568.

Moughrabi, Fouad. 2001. The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31 (1): 5–19.

Munslow, Alun. 1997. *Deconstructing History*. London: Routledge.

Murphy, David Thomas. 1997. *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933*. Kent: Kent State University Press.

Myhre, Jan Eyvind. 2012. Wider Connections: International Networks Among European Historians. In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, ed. Ilara Porciani and Jo Tollebeek. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nash, Gary B., Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn. 1997. *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*. New York: A.A. Knopf.

Nemko, Barnaby. 2009. Are We Creating a Generation of Historical Tourists? *Teaching History* 137: 32–39.

Nieto, Sonia and Patty Bode. 2008. *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*, 5th ed. Boston: Pearson Educational.

Nilsson, Ingela. 2015. *Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsfostran och historieundervisning 1919–1939* [Nationalism in the Service of Peace: The Swedish School Peace League, Peace Education, and History Teaching, 1919–1939]. Umeå: Umeå University.

Nordgren, Kenneth. 2006. *Vems är historien? Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige* [Whom Does History Belong To? History as Consciousness, Culture and Action in Multicultural Sweden]. Karlstad: Umeå universitet/Karlstad universitet.

Nordgren, Kenneth, and Maria Johansson. 2015. Intercultural Historical Learning: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 47 (1): 1–25.

Novick, Peter. 1988. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nygren, Thomas. 2016. UNESCO Teaches History: Implementing International Understanding in Sweden. In *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*, ed. Poul Duedahl. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ogawa, Mosato, and Sherry Field. 2006. Causation, Controversy and Contrition: Recent Developments in the Japanese History Textbook Content and Selection Process. In *School History Textbooks Across Cultures: International Perspectives and Debates*, ed. Jason Nicholls, 43–60. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Oja, Mare. 2014. Changing Approach Toward the Past. How Do History Teachers Assess the Changes in History Education in General Education in Estonia from the Middle of the 1980s to Today? In *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2014*. Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Verlag.

Olick, Jeffrey K. 1999. Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory* 17: 333–348.

Olick, Jeffrey K., and Joyce Robbins. 1998. Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Memonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105–140.

Osborne, Ken. 2003. Teaching History in Schools: A Canadian Debate. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35 (5): 585–626.

Paasi, Anssi. 2002. Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity'. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 93 (2): 137–148.

Packer, Martin J., and Jessie Goicoechea. 2000. Sociocultural and Constructivist Theories of Learning: Ontology, Not Just Epistemology. *Educational Psychologist* 35 (4): 227–241.

Paczkowski, Andrzej. 2003. *The Spring Will Be Ours: Poland and Poles from Occupation to Freedom*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Parker, Geoffrey. 1985. *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century*. London: Croom Helm.

Parkes, Robert. 2009. Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum. *The International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8 (2): 118–132.

———. 2011. *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum After 'the End of History'*. New York: Peter Lang.

———. 2013. Postmodernism, Historical Denial, and History Education: What Frank Ankersmit Can Offer to History Didactics. *Nordidactica* 3 (2): 20–37.

Parkes, Robert, and Heather Sharp. 2014. Nietzchean Perspectives on Representations of National History in Australian School Textbooks: What Should We Do with Gallipoli? *Ensayos: Revista de la Facultad de Educación de Albacete [Spain]* 29 (1): 159–181.

Paul, Sant Cassia. 2005. *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Peck, Carla. 2009. Peering Through a Kaleidoscope: Identity, Historical Understanding and Citizenship in Canada. *International Journal of Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 5: 62–75.

Peled, Yoav. 2005. Restoring Ethnic Democracy: The or Commission and Palestinian Citizenship in Israel. *Citizenship Studies* 9 (1): 89–105.

Phillips, Robert. 1998. *History Teaching, Nationhood, and the State: A Study in Educational Politics*. London: Cassell.

Pingel, Falk. 2008. Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbooks as a Means to Reconciliation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617: 181–198.

Podeh, Elie. 2000. History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948–2000). *History and Memory* 12 (1): 66–100.

Polkinghorne, Donald. 1988. *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. Albany: State University of New York.

Ponting, Clive. 1991. *The Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of the Great Civilisations*. London: Penguin.

Porat, Dan A. 2004. From the Scandal to the Holocaust in Israeli Education. *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (4): 619–636.

Rantala, Jukka. 2011. Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43 (4): 493–506.

Razin, Assaf. 2005. *The Decline of the Welfare State: Demography and Globalisation*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Reckwitz, Andreas. 2002. Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(2): 243–263.

Retz, Tyson A. 2016. *The History and Function of Empathy in Historical Studies: Re-Enactment and Hermeneutics*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.

Richter, Steffi (ed.). 2008. *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Ricoeur, Paul. 2004. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rosenzweig, Roy, and David Thelen. 2000. *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rowe, Mary Budd. 1986. Wait Time: Slowing Down May Be a Way of Speeding Up! *Journal of Teacher Education* 37 (1): 43–50.

Rudin, Ronald. 1997. *Making History in Twentieth Century Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rüsen, Jörn. 2002. *Kann gestern besser warden? Zum Bedenken der Geschichte*. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos.

———. 2004. Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas, 63–85. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2005. *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. New York: Berghahn Books.

———. 2013. *Historik: Theorie der Geschichtwissenschaft*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.

Salinas, Cynthia, and Brooke Erin Blevins. 2013. Enacting Critical Historical Thinking: Decision Making Among Pre-Service Social Studies Teachers. *Teacher Education Quarterly* 40 (1): 7–24.

———. 2014. Critical Historical Inquiry: How Might Pre-Service Teachers Confront Master Historical Narratives? *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9 (3): 35–50.

Salomon, Gavriel. 2004. A Narrative-Based View of Coexistence Education. *Journal of Social Issues* 60 (2): 273–287.

Sandwell, Ruth. 2011. History Is a Verb: Teaching Historical Practice to Teacher Education Students. In *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penny Clark, 24–42. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Sant, Edda, Antoni Santisteban, and Joan Pagès. 2013. How Can We Contribute to Intercultural Education Through Teaching History. In *International Society for History Didactics, Yearbook 2013*. Schwahlbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft.

Schatzki, Theodore R. 1996. *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2001. Introduction: Practice Theory. In *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, ed. Theodore R. Schatzki, Karen Knorr Cetina, and Eike von Savigny, 10–23. New York: Routledge.

Schöpflin, George. 1997. The Function of Myth and Taxonomy of Myths. In *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. George Schöpflin and Geoffrey Hosking, 19–54. London: Hurst.

Schreier, Margrit. 2012. *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Sears, Alan. 2014. Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education. In *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, ed. Ruth Sandwell and Amy Von Heyking. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Segall, Avner. 2006. What's the Purpose of Teaching a Discipline, Anyway? The Case of History. In *Social Studies – The Next Generation: Re-searching in the Postmodern*, ed. Avner Segall, Elizabeth E. Heilman, and Cleo H. Cherryholmes. New York: Peter Lang.

Seixas, Peter. 1993. Historical Understanding Among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting. *Curriculum Inquiry* 22: 301–327.

———. 1996. Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding. In *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, ed. David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance. New York: Blackwell.

———. 1999. Beyond ‘Content’ and ‘Pedagogy’: In Search of a Way to Talk About History Education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31 (3): 317–337.

———. 2000. Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools? In *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, 19–37. New York: New York University Press.

——— (ed.). 2004. *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2005. Collective Memory, History Education, and Historical Consciousness. *Historically Speaking* 7: 17–19.

———. 2007. Who Needs a Canon? In *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2012. Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness: Confronting Past, Present and Future in Postmodern Time. *Paedagogica Historica* 48: 1–14.

———. 2015. A Model of Historical Thinking. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*: 1–13. doi:10.1080/00131857.2015.1101363.

Seixas, Peter, and Penny Clark. 2004. Murals as Monuments: Students’ Ideas About Depictions of Civilization in British Columbia. *American Journal of Education* 110 (2): 146–171.

Seixas, Peter, and Kadriye Ercikan. 2011. Historical Thinking in Canadian Schools. *Canadian Journal of Social Research* 4 (1): 31–41.

Seixas, Peter, and Tom Morton. 2013. *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*. Toronto: Nelson Education Ltd.

Seixas, Peter, and Carla Peck. 2004. Teaching Historical Thinking. In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Allan Sears and Ian Wright, 109–117. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Seixas, Peter, Dan Fromowitz, and Petra Hill. 2002. History, Memory and Learning to Teach. *Encounters on Education* 3: 43–60.

Sethi, Anil. 2009. Understanding Partition. Politics, Memories and Experiences. In *Themes in Indian History Part III: Textbook in History for Class XII*, first edition 2007, 376–404. New Delhi: NCERT.

Shafir, Gershon, and Yoav Peled. 2002. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharp, Heather. 2014. Historical Representation of Gallipoli in the Australian Curriculum. *Agora* 49 (2): 14–23.

Shemilt, Denis. 1980a. *History 13–16: Evaluation Study. School Council (GB) History 13–16 Project*. Edinburgh: Holmes, Mc Dougall Ltd.

———. 1980b. The Devil’s Locomotive’. *Australian History Teacher* 7: 12–25.

Shin, Gi Woon, and Daniel C. Sneider (eds.). 2011. *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia*. London: Routledge.

Shotter, John. 2011. Embodiment, Abduction, and Expressive Movement: A New Realm of Inquiry? *Theory & Psychology* 21 (4): 439–456.

Shulman, Lee S. 2004. *The Wisdom of Practice: Essays on Teaching, Learning, and Learning to Teach*, ed. S. Wilson. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.

Siegel, Mona. 2004. *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1919–1940.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Simon, Roger I. 2005. *The Touch of the Past: Remembrance, Learning, and Ethics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Slater, John. 1989. *The Politics of History Teaching: A Humanity Dehumanized?* London: Institute of Education.

Sleeter, Christine A., and Carl A. Grant. 1991. Race, Class, Gender and Disablility in Current Textbooks. In *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*, ed. Michael W. Apple, 78–110. New York: Routledge.

Southgate, Beverley. 1996. *History: What and Why? Ancient, Modern and Postmodern Perspectives.* London: Routledge.

Stearns, Peter N., Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (eds.). 2000. *Knowing Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives.* New York: New York University Press.

Stein, Michael. 1982. Changing Anglo-Quebecer Self Consciousness. In *The English of Quebec: From Majority to Minority Status*, ed. Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell, 107–141. Quebec City: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture.

Stöber, Georg. 2013. From Textbook Comparison to Common Textbooks? Changing Patterns in International Textbook Revision. In *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, ed. Karina V. Korostelina and Simone Lässig. London: Routledge.

Strachan, Hew. 2013. First World War Anniversary: We Must Do More Than Remember. *The Telegraph*, January 11.

Stradling, Robert. 2003. *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Straub, Jürgen (ed.). 2005. *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Stuurman, Siep, and Maria Grever. 2007. Introduction: Old Canons and New Histories. In *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sylvester, David. 1994. Change and Continuity in History Teaching, 1900–93. In *Teaching History*, ed. Hilary Bourdillon, 9–23. London: Routledge.

Symcox, Linda, and Arie Wilschut (eds.). 2009. *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of History Teaching.* Charlotte: IAP.

Tampke, Jurgen. 2006. The Years 1914–1945 in the History Textbooks of the Federal Republic of Germany. *Teaching History*: 21–31.

Taylor, A.J.P. 1963. *The First World War: An Illustrated History*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Taylor, Tony. 2004. Disputed Territory: The Politics of Historical Consciousness in Australia. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas, 217–239. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Taylor, Tony, and Robert Guyver (eds.). 2012. *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives*. Charlotte: IAP.

Thapar, Romila. 2009. The History Debate and School Textbooks in India: A Personal Memoir. *History Workshop Journal* 67: 87–98.

Thatcher, Margaret. 1993. *The Downing Street Years*. New York: HarperCollins.

Thrift, Nigel. 2006. *Non-Representational Theory: Space/Politics/Affect*. London: Routledge.

Torstendahl, Rolf. 2015. *The Rise and Propagation of Historical Professionalism*. London: Routledge.

Torsti, Pilvi. 2008. Why Do History Politics Matter? The Case of the Estonian Bronze Soldier. In *The Cold War and the Politics of History*, ed. Juhana Aunesluoma and Pauli Kettunen, 19–36. Helsinki: Edita.

Tulviest, Peeter, and James V. Wertsch. 1994. Official and Unofficial Histories: The Case of Estonia. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 4 (4): 311–329.

Virta, Arja. 2013. Learning History Before It Is Taught. In *Antike – Bilder – Welt: Forschungserträge internationaler Vernetzung*, ed. Charlotte Bühl-Gramer, Wolfgang Hasberg, and Susanne Popp, 205–214. Schwalbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft.

Virta, Arja, and Elina Kouki. 2014. Dimensions of Historical Empathy in Upper Secondary Students' Essays. *Nordidactica* 2: 137–160.

von Borries, Bodo. 2001. 'Multiperspectivity:' Utopian Pretension or Feasible Fundament of Historical Learning in Europe? In *History for Today and Tomorrow: What Does Europe Mean for School History*, ed. Joke van der Leeuw-Roord. Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung.

Walker, Trenia. 2006. Adventures in Metropolis: Popular Culture in Social Studies. In *Social Studies – The Next Generation: Researching the Postmodern*, ed. Avner Segall, Elisabeth E. Heineman, and Cleo H. Cherryholmes, 171–187. New York: Peter Lang.

Weiser, Benjamin. 2004. *A Secret Life: The Polish Officer, His Covert Mission, and the Price He Paid to Save His Country*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Wertsch, James V. 1998. *Mind as Action*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2002. *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2004. Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2008. Collective Memory and Narrative Templates. *Social Research* 75 (1): 133–156.

Wertsch, James V., and Kevin O'Connor. 1994. Multivoicedness in Historical Representation: American College Students' Accounts of the Origins of the United States. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 4 (4): 295–309.

Wertsch, James V., and Joseph L. Polman. 2001. The Intuitive Mind and Knowledge About History. In *Understanding and Teaching the Intuitive Mind: Student and Teacher Learning*, ed. Bruce Torff and Robert J. Sternberg. Nahwah: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

Wessel, Katri Annika. 2010. Aspects of the Representation of the Finnish War of 1918 and the Winter War (1939–1940) in Finnish Textbooks. In *Freund- und Feindbilder in Schulbüchern*, ed. Arsen Djurović and Eva Matthes. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

White, Hayden. 1973. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1978. The Historical Text as Literary Artifact. In *Tropics of Discourse*, ed. Hayden White, 81–100. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press.

———. 1984. The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory. *History & Theory* 23: 1–33.

Williams, James H. (ed.). 2014. *(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2002. Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks* 2 (4): 301–334.

Wineburg, Sam. 2000. Making Historical Sense. In *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, 306–325. New York: New York University Press.

———. 2001. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wineburg, Sam, Susan Mosborg, and Dan Porat. 2001. What Can Forrest Gump Tell Us About Students Historical Understanding. *Social Education* 65: 55–58.

Wineburg, Sam, Susan Mosborg, Dan Porat, and Ariel Duncan. 2007. Common Belief and the Cultural Curriculum: An Intergenerational Study of Historical Consciousness. *American Educational Research Journal* 44 (1): 40–76.

Wodak, Ruth. 2001. The Discourse-Historical Approach. In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 63–94. London: SAGE.

Wojdon, Joanna. 2012. The Impact of Communist Rule on History Education in Poland. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 4 (1): 61–77.

———. 2014. History Textbooks Facing Controversial Issues – Case Study of the Martial Law in Poland. *Yesterday and Today* 12: 75–89.

———. 2015. The System of Textbook Approval in Poland Under Communist Rule (1944–1989) as a Tool of Power of the Regime. *Paedagogica Historica* 51 (1–2): 181–196.

Wojdon, Joanna, and Jakub Tyszkiewicz. 2014. The Image of Tadeusz Kościuszko in Postwar Polish Education. *The Polish Review* 59 (3): 81–94.

Wolff, Leon. 1959. *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign*. London: Longmans Green and Co.

Wrenn, Andrew. 1998. Emotional Response or Objective Enquiry? Using Shared Stories and a Sense of Place in the Study of Interpretation for GCSE. *Teaching History* 91: 25–30.

Wright, Georg Henrik. 1971. *Explanation and Understanding*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Youngs, Suzette. 2012. Understanding History Through the Visual Images in Historical Fiction. *Language Arts* 89: 379–395.

Zanazanian, Paul. 2008. Historical Consciousness and the 'French-English' Divide Among Quebec History Teachers. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40 (3): 109–130.

———. 2010. Historical Consciousness and Ethnicity: How Signifying the Past Influences the Fluctuations in Ethnic Boundary Maintenance. *Ethnic Studies Review* 33 (2): 123–141.

———. 2011. Towards Developing an 'Anglo-Québécois' Information Resource Book for School History Teachers in Quebec: Thoughts from a Qualitative Study. *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 36: 69–95.

———. 2012. Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries: A Look at Two Francophone School History Teachers Regarding Quebec's Anglophone Minority. *Curriculum Inquiry* 42 (2): 215–239.

———. 2015. Historical Consciousness and Being Québécois: Exploring Young English-Speaking Students' Interaction with Quebec's Master Historical Narrative. *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada* 47 (2): 113–135.

———. 2016. History Teaching and Narrative Tools: Towards Integrating English-Speaking Youth into Quebec's Social Fabric. *Minorités linguistiques et société/ Linguistic Minorities and Society* 7: 70–96.

Zanazanian, Paul, and Sabrina Moisan. 2012. Harmonizing Two of History Teaching's Main Social Functions: Franco-Québécois History Teachers and Their Predispositions to Catering to Narrative Diversity. *Education Sciences, Special Issue: History Curriculum, Geschichtsdidaktik, and the Problem of the Nation* 2 (4): 255–275.

Zembylas, Michalinos. 2008. *The Politics of Trauma in Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2015. *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict: Re-claiming Healing in Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ziehe, Thomas, and Herbert Stubenrauch. 1982. *Plädoyer für ungewöhnliches Lernen: Ideen zur Jugendsituation*. Berlin: Rowohlt.

Žižek, Slavoj. 2008. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. New York: Verso.

Index

A
Adorno, Theodor W., 231, 249n5, 249n6
Ahonen, Sirkka, 8, 12n1, 41–62, 79n10, 80n21, 125n2, 228n18, 248n1, 255, 256
Andgren, Sigfrid, 23, 24, 28, 36n21, 38n36
Ankersmit, Frank, 14n19, 37n27, 47, 60n8, 205n43, 238, 249n19
Apple, Michael W., 81n27, 234, 249n13
Assmann, Jan, 48, 60n12
Austen, Jane, 71

B
Baker, Herbert, 200
Barton, Ketih C., 37n29, 37n31, 66, 79n4, 79n8, 80n13, 80n15, 125n1
Bekerman, Zvi, 9, 133–53, 255
Bellino, Michelle J., 76, 82n37, 83n46
Bergsgård, Arne, 23, 24, 28, 36n21, 38n36
Blainey, Geoffrey, 230, 248n2
Blomfield, Reginald, 199
Bolt, Andrew, 233
Booth, Martin, 186
Brooks, Sarah, 76, 83n47
Bruner, Jerome, 44, 59n4, 128n23

C
Cameron, David, 181, 202n1
Carr, David, 11, 60n11, 60n13, 255, 263, 264, 267n33
Casimir the Great (king of Poland), 170
Chapman, Arthur, 168, 177n44, 266n10
Chhabra, Meenakshi, 9, 87–106, 255
Churchill, Winston, 170

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” denote notes.

© The Author(s) 2017

H.Å. Elmersjö et al. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55432-1

Clark, Anna, 1–14, 33n2, 61n30, 65, 66, 79n9, 79n11, 81n24, 178–9n59, 202n3
Clark, Christopher, 210, 214, 215, 225, 227n12
Clark, Penny, 104n2, 125n1, 197, 198, 205n34, 205n38
Clarke, Alan, 196, 204n30
Coffin, Caroline, 260, 265n7, 266n20
Connelly, Mark, 196, 204n27
Cook, James, 231
Cronon, William, 259–61, 263, 266n15, 267n30

D
Danto, Arthur, 258, 265n7, 266n9, 266n12, 266n13
Diegoli, Tomaso, 56, 62n40
Dilthey, Wilhelm, 264
Donnelly, Kevin, 233
Drawicz, Andrzej, 164

E
Elmersjö, Henrik Åström, 1–14, 17–39, 255
Endacott, Jason, 76, 83n47
Englund, Peter, 210, 225, 228n13

F
Ferdinand, Franz (Arch Duke), 214, 215, 221
Fines, John, 186
Fogo, Bradley, 260, 266
Foley, Robert, 196
Förster, Stig, 210, 228n14
Foster, Stuart, 10, 37n30, 37n31, 83n45, 181–205, 228n19, 256
Freeman, Jerome, 198, 199, 205n39, 205n42
Fukuyama, Francis, 46

G
Gandhi, Mahatma, 92, 93, 98
Garneau, Xavier, 119
Gibson, Lindsay, 260, 261, 266n21
Gove, Michael, 182
Grever, Maria, 13n4, 14n20, 66, 79n5, 80n13, 80n16, 81n26
Gross, Jan Tomasz, 158, 174n4, 174n6

H
Habermas, Jürgen, 8, 56–8, 256
Haig, Douglas, 195, 196, 200
Halbwachs, Maurice, 104n3, 148, 153n36
Harinen, Päivi, 67, 80n18
Harris, John Paul, 196, 205n31
Haydn, Terry, 61n27, 66, 79n5, 188, 203n9, 203n12, 204n13, 204n17, 204n19
Hitler, Adolf, 49
Horkheimer, Max, 231, 249n5, 249n6
Howard, John, 53, 230, 232, 237
Hunt, Tristram, 182

J
Jaakkola, Jalmari, 24, 25, 36n23, 36n26
Jenkins, Keith, 4, 5, 14n13, 14n15, 14n16, 14n19, 19, 34n8, 37n27, 78, 82n31, 83n49, 205n43
Jinnah, Mohammad Ali, 90, 92, 98

K
Kansteiner, Wulf, 59n2, 197
Karge, Heike, 55, 62n39
Keneally, Tom, 232

Körber, Andreas, 258, 261–3, 266n11, 266n14, 266n23, 267n26, 267n27, 267n32
Kościuszko, Thaddeus, 170
Krieger, Emil, 199
Kukliński, Ryszard, 157–9, 161, 164

L
Lee, Peter, 83n45, 186, 197, 203n11, 205n34, 256, 265n5, 265n6
Lenin, Vladimir I., 46
Létourneau, Jocelyn, 113, 118–20, 123, 127–8n14, 128n15, 128n18, 130n40, 130n41–3, 130n51, 131n52, 168, 177n44
Levisohn, Jon, 257, 266n8, 267n29
Lloyd, Nick, 196
Longstaff, Will, 199
Lowenthal, David, 72, 80n23, 82n36, 197, 234
Lyotard, Jean-Francois, 49, 60n14

M
Mair, Rafe, 234
Marcus, Alan S., 75, 83n42
Marx, Karl, 46
McCully, Alan W., 66, 80n13, 80n15
Mikołajczyk, Stanisław, 165
Monte-Sano, Chauncey, 260, 266n17
Munslow, Alun, 4, 5, 14n15, 14n16, 19, 34n8, 205n43

N
Napoleon (Bonaparte), 170
Nemko, Barnaby, 197–9, 205n33, 205n35, 205n37, 205n41
Nora, Pierre, 197
Novick, Peter, 20, 35n11
Nowak-Jeziorański, Jan, 164
Nygren, Thomas, 11, 207–28, 256

O
Orbán, Viktor, 42

P
Parkes, Robert, 4, 14n15, 14n19, 37n27, 149, 153n39, 183, 196, 202n3, 203n6, 204n28, 205n44, 207, 208, 224, 227n1–3, 238, 249n18, 249n19, 249n21
Pecharromán, Julio Gil, 210, 228n15
Pell, George, 233
Pelzer, Ben, 66, 79n5
Piaget, Jean, 186
Pingel, Falk, 12n1, 20, 22, 35n10, 62n38
Putin, Vladimir, 42, 50, 53, 56

R
Reckwitz, Andreas, 88, 104n5, 106n32, 106n35
Ribbing, Olof, 30, 39n49
Rüsen, Jörn, 39n50, 48, 60n10, 60n11, 128n21, 238, 255, 258–63, 267n31

S
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 42, 53
Sassoon, Siegfried, 199
Schatzki, Theodore R., 88, 104n6, 104n8
Segall, Avner, 6, 13n11, 14n18, 14n21, 74, 82n31, 83n40

Seixas, Peter, 2–7, 11, 13n5, 14n14, 14n19, 14n21, 19, 20, 32, 34n9, 36, 37n31, 41, 60n11, 64, 74, 77, 78n3, 80n19, 80n22, 80n23, 81n25, 82n34, 83n38, 83n48, 88, 91, 93, 103n1, 103n2, 104n4, 104n7, 105n14, 105n25, 105n27, 106n37, 108, 111, 125, 125n2, 126n9, 127n14, 128n22, 129n32, 131n53, 131n54, 144, 146, 147, 150n2, 150n5, 152n24, 152n26–8, 157, 158, 174n2, 174n3, 183, 190, 196–8, 203n3–5, 203n9, 203n10, 204n23, 204n29, 205n34, 205n38, 208, 226, 227n1, 227n2, 230, 232–4, 237–9, 241, 247, 249n8, 250, 253–68
Selman, Robert L., 76, 82n37, 83n46
Sharp, Heather, 11, 229–50, 256
Shemilt, Denis, 13n9, 61n26, 83n45, 186, 197, 205n34
Shove, Elisabeth, 88, 104n6
Simon, Roger, vi, 284
Slater, John, 185, 187, 203n8, 204n14
Spartacus, 71
Stalin, Josef, 49
Stoddard, Jeremy D., 75, 83n42
Stokes, John, 188
Strachan, Hew, 190, 191, 194, 204n25, 204n26

T
Taylor, A.J.P., 196, 204n30
Taylor, Margaret, 11, 207–28
Thatcher, Margaret, 187, 188, 204n16
Thorp, Robert, 11, 207–28
Tito, Josip Broz, 52

V
van Nieuwenhuyse, Karel, 168
Vinterek, Monika, 1–14, 207–28
Virta, Arja, 8, 9, 63–83, 255
von Borries, Bodo, 78n4, 80n13, 208, 227n5, 227n8
von Wright, Georg Henrik, 44, 59n3

W
Walker, Trenia, 75, 82n31, 82n33, 83n41, 83n43
Ware, Fabian, 198
Weir, Peter, 237
Wertsch, James, 9, 109, 115–18, 120, 129n23, 129n26, 129n28, 129n32–6, 130n37, 130n39, 149, 152n29, 153n35, 153n38
White, Hayden, 14n13, 47–9, 60n9, 205n43, 254, 257, 259, 263, 265n2
Williamson, David, 237
Wills, Kaat, 168
Wineburg, Sam, 13n5, 34n9, 78n3, 79n4, 80n23, 82n34, 103n1, 103n2, 104n4, 104n7, 125n2, 150n2, 152n24, 153n37, 174n2, 203n4, 203n9, 203n12, 205n32, 227n1, 248n1, 260
Wojdon, Joanna, 10, 157–79, 256
Wolff, Leon, 196, 204n30
Wrenn, Andrew, 197, 198, 205n36, 205n40

Y
Young, James, 197

Z
Zanazanian, Paul, 9, 107–31, 255
Zembylas, Michalinos, 9, 133–53, 255
Ziehe, Thomas, 63, 78n1