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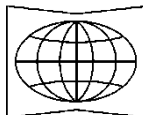
WOCHEN SCHAU VERLAG

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History Teacher Education Facing the Challenges of Professional Development in the 21st Century

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Contents · Inhalt · Table des matieres

PREFACE

The leading theme of this year's JHEC is history teacher education in the changing world. It is proved by the articles in this volume and by other international studies (e.g. conducted by Alois Ecker within the framework of the CHE-ITT project), that the picture of initial teacher training in the world is heterogeneous and not only countries, but even individual universities differ significantly in their initial teacher training programmes. The differences include the proportion of history-related vs didactical courses, the position of teacher training as a part of the undergraduate, graduate or post-graduate programme, the concurrent vs consecutive model of teachers' preparation. Moreover, the existing situation is seldom regarded as satisfactory and, thus, changes are introduced almost instantly.

Two articles in this volume concentrate on presenting the models of history teachers' education in their countries (Czech Republic and Estonia), also in their historical development from Soviet domination to democracy and EU membership. Others depart from the present situation (and its historical roots) but focus on its possible evolution, recommended or just predicted on the basis of empirical research of the teacher-trainees. In doing so they present various methodologies of such research (that can also be implemented to other groups, not only prospective history teachers), from questionnaires – through free narratives produced by the respondents – to drawings accompanied by the authors' comments. They prove that not only the way of getting the empirical data is important, but also the focus of the analysis of raw material, the questions asked and the model(s) of interpretation used, including the comparative approach.

Regardless of the methods used, the research results show that prospective history teachers represent rather traditional approaches to the past and to teaching history. They perceive the role of history at school as a tool of conveying factual knowledge and building the national identity of pupils. Teaching political and military history in chronological order is a widespread model, despite many years of attempts by history didactics to promote a more disciplinary approach, develop critical historical thinking, introduce multiperspectivity and discussion on contested and controversial topics from the past. Prospective teachers seem to be quite reluctant to incorporate those notions and their vision of the past in many

cases seems to be no different from mainstream collective memory (or mythology).

The articles in the *Forum* section deal with teaching history at school. Sara Zamir & Roni Reingold analyse history curricula in today's Israel in search for the multiculturalist approach. Dennis Röder proposes ways to integrate into school history teaching the Internet database of the WWI prisoners of war developed by the International Red Cross. Robert Thorp and Eleonore Törnqvist analyse the historical consciousness of 7 year-old pupils and the implications of its development for school history education. Mario Resch and Manfred Seidenfuß re-examine the taxonomy of learning tasks in history lessons.

It is my pleasure to proudly announce that from 2017 The International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and History Culture. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics (JHEC) will be indexed in the Scopus database. I wish to express my gratitude to all the authors, peer-reviewers, editorial and advisory board members for their contribution to this success. Special thanks should go to Kath and Terry Haydn for the English language proofreading of the texts in the current and past volumes and to David Lefrançois and Priska Kunz for their work on the French and German parts, respectively.

Joanna Wojdon

VORWORT

Das führende Thema des diesjährigen Jahrbuches der Geschichtsdidaktik (*JHEC*) ist die Ausbildung von Geschichtslehrpersonen in einer sich verändernden Welt. Die Artikel dieses Bandes sowie andere internationale Studien (z.B. das von Alois Ecker geleitete Projekt im Rahmen des CHE-ITT) zeigen auf, dass sich ein heterogenes Bild der Erstausbildung zum Lehrer/zur Lehrerin auf der Welt zeigt und nicht nur zwischen Ländern, sondern auch zwischen den einzelnen Universitäten große Unterschiede mit Blick auf die Erstausbildungen von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern bestehen. Die Unterschiede beinhalten das Verhältnis zwischen geschichtsrelevanten versus didaktischen Kursen, die Positionierung der Lehrerausbildung als Teil der lehramtskompatiblen Studienfächer, als Teil der Bachelor- oder Masterprogramme, das Modell der integrierten Ausbildung versus das konsekutive Modell der Lehrerausbildung. Außerdem wird die gegenwärtige Situation selten als befriedigend angesehen, woraus folgt, dass meist unmittelbar Änderungen eingeführt werden.

Zwei Artikel in diesem Band stellen hauptsächlich die Modelle der Geschichtslehrerausbildung ihrer Länder (Tschechien und Estland) vor. Dabei wird auch der geschichtliche Verlauf von der Vorherrschaft der Sowjetunion hin zu Demokratie und EU-Mitgliedschaft aufgezeigt. Andere Artikel gehen von der aktuellen Situation unter Einbezug ihrer jeweiligen historischen Wurzeln aus und konzentrieren sich auf eine mögliche Entwicklung, welche aufgrund von empirischer Forschung von Lehrerausbildnern empfohlen oder als wahrscheinlich eingestuft wird. Dabei präsentieren sie verschiedene Methoden der Forschung (die auch für andere Gruppen und nicht nur für künftige Geschichtslehrpersonen umgesetzt werden können), die von Fragebogen über freie Erzählungen, welche von den Befragten geschrieben werden, bis zu Zeichnungen reichen, die mit einem Kommentar der Befragten versehen sind. Sie halten fest, dass nicht nur das Sammeln der empirischen Daten wichtig ist, sondern ebenso der Schwerpunkt der Datenanalyse, die gestellten Fragen sowie die angewandten Interpretationsmodelle unter Einbezug des vergleichenden Ansatzes.

Unabhängig von den angewandten Methoden zeigen die Forschungsresultate, dass künftige Geschichtslehrpersonen eher traditionelle Zugänge zur Vergangenheit und zur Geschichts-

vermittlung vertreten. Sie betrachten die Rolle der Geschichte in der Schule als ein Mittel der Tatsachenvermittlung und der nationalen Identitätsbildung der Schülerinnen und Schüler. Das Unterrichten von Politik- und Militärgeschichte ist ein weitverbreitetes Modell trotz jahrelanger Bestrebungen der Geschichtsdidaktik zur Förderung eines fächerübergreifenden Ansatzes, des Erschließens kritischen historischen Denkens, des Einbringens von Multiperspektivität und der Diskussion umstrittener und kontroverser Themen aus der Vergangenheit. Künftige Lehrpersonen scheinen zu zögern, jene Meinungen einzubeziehen und ihre Vorstellungen von Vergangenheit scheinen sich in vielen Fällen nicht vom Mainstream des kollektiven Gedächtnisses (oder der Mythologie) zu unterscheiden.

Die Artikel unter *Forum* untersuchen den Geschichtsunterricht in der Schule. Sara Zamir und Roni Reingold analysieren Geschichtslehrpläne im heutigen Israel hinsichtlich des multikulturalistischen Ansatzes. Dennis Röder schlägt Möglichkeiten des Einbezugs der vom Internationalen Roten Kreuz entwickelten Internet-Datenbank über Kriegsgefangene des Ersten Weltkrieges in die Schulgeschichtsvermittlung vor. Robert Thorp und Eleonore Törnqvist analysieren das Geschichtsbewusstsein von 7-jährigen Schülerinnen und Schülern und die Auswirkungen des schulischen Geschichtsunterrichts auf dessen Entwicklung. Mario Resch und Manfred Seidenfuß überprüfen erneut die Klassifizierung von Lernaufgaben in Geschichtsstunden.

Es ist mir ein Vergnügen, anzukündigen, dass *The International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and History Culture. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics (JHEC)* ab diesem Jahr in der Scopus-Datenbank indexiert sein wird. Ich möchte allen Autorinnen und Autoren, Begutachtern, Redaktions- und beratenden Vorstandsmitgliedern meinen Dank für ihren Beitrag zu diesem Erfolg aussprechen. Ein spezieller Dank geht an Kath und Terry Haydn für das Korrekturlesen der englischen Beiträge in diesem und in den letzten Bänden und an David Lefrançois sowie Priska Kunz für ihre Arbeit an den französischen respektive deutschen Texten.

<div align="right">Joanna Wojdon</div>

PRÉFACE

Le thème principal du JHEC de cette année est la formation des enseignants en histoire dans un monde en mutation. Les articles présentés ici, de même que d'autres études internationales (comme celle menée par Alois Ecker dans le cadre du projet du CHE-ITT), montrent que le portrait de la formation des futurs enseignants dans le monde est hétérogène et que non seulement les pays, mais les universités elles-mêmes présentent des différences considérables dans leurs programmes de formation initiale des enseignants. Les différences observées touchent notamment la proportion de cours liés à l'histoire par rapport aux cours didactiques, la place accordée à la formation des enseignants dans le cadre du programme de premier cycle, de baccalauréat ou de troisième cycle et l'utilisation d'un modèle simultané ou consécutif de préparation de l'enseignant. De plus, il est rare que la situation existante soit jugée satisfaisante, de sorte que les changements sont appliqués quasi instantanément.

Deux articles du présent volume portent sur les modèles de formation des enseignants en histoire dans leur pays (en l'occurrence, la République tchèque et l'Estonie), de même que sur l'évolution historique de ces modèles depuis la domination soviétique jusqu'à la démocratie et l'adhésion à l'Union européenne. D'autres s'écartent de la situation actuelle (et de ses racines historiques) et se concentrent sur son évolution possible, recommandée ou simplement prédite selon les recherches empiriques auprès d'enseignants stagiaires. Ces articles présentent diverses méthodologies utilisées pour les recherches en question (qui peuvent également être menées auprès de groupes autres que les futurs professeurs d'histoire), allant de questionnaires – au moyen de récits produits par les répondants – à des dessins commentés par leurs auteurs. Ils prouvent qu'il n'y a pas que la façon d'obtenir les données empiriques qui est importante, il y a aussi l'analyse des données brutes, les questions posées et les modèles d'interprétation utilisés, y compris l'approche comparative.

Indépendamment des méthodes utilisées, les résultats de la recherche montrent que les futurs enseignants en histoire ont des approches plutôt traditionnelles vis-à-vis du passé et de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Selon eux, l'enseignement de l'histoire est un moyen de transmettre des connaissances factuelles et de

construire l'identité nationale des élèves. Enseigner l'histoire politique et militaire selon l'ordre chronologique des évènements demeure une pratique répandue, en dépit des tentatives effectuées depuis bien des années par des didacticiens de l'histoire en vue de promouvoir une approche plus disciplinaire, de développer une pensée historique critique ainsi que d'introduire la multiperspectivité et la discussion sur des sujets contestés et controversés du passé. Les futurs enseignants semblent assez réticents à intégrer ces notions et dans de nombreux cas, leur vision du passé semble correspondre à la mémoire collective dominante (ou à la mythologie).

Les articles de la section Varia traitent de l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école. Sara Zamir et Roni Reingold analysent les programmes d'histoire offerts dans l'Israël d'aujourd'hui en quête d'une approche multiculturaliste. Dennis Roder propose des moyens d'intégrer dans l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école la base de données Internet des prisonniers de guerre de la Première Guerre mondiale mise sur pied par la Croix-Rouge internationale. Robert Thorp et Eleonore Törnqvist analysent la conscience historique d'élèves de 7 ans et les conséquences de son développement sur l'enseignement scolaire de l'histoire. Enfin, Mario Resch et Manfred Seidenfuß réexaminent la taxonomie des tâches d'apprentissage dans les leçons d'histoire.

Je suis heureuse et fière d'annoncer qu'à partir de l'édition 2017, The International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and History Culture (JHEC) – Annales de la Société internationale pour la didactique de l'histoire sera indexé dans la base de données Scopus. Je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude à tous les auteurs, les évaluateurs, les rédacteurs et les membres du comité consultatif qui ont contribué à ce succès. J'adresse aussi un merci bien spécial à Kath et Terry Haydn pour la lecture en langue anglaise des textes publiés dans le volume actuel et dans les précédents ainsi qu'à David Lefrançois et Priska Kunz pour leur travail respectif sur les textes en français et en allemand.

Joanna Wojdon

History Teacher Education Facing the Challenges of Professional Development in the 21st Century

La formation des enseignants d'histoire face aux défis du développement professionnel au 21e siècle

Anforderungen an eine professionelle Ausbildung von Geschichtslehrerinnen und -lehrern im 21. Jahrhundert

UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING
OF HISTORY TEACHERS
AT CZECH UNIVERSITIES AND PROSPECTS
FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Blažena Gracová and Denisa Labischová

This study describes the current situation in undergraduate training for future secondary-level history teachers in the Czech Republic. The first part outlines the general framework for teacher training at Czech universities, including the centrally set standards that apply to all degree programmes. The second part presents the results of empirical research conducted in 2016 to determine the current situation of teacher training at all Czech faculties which train future history teachers. The authors focus particularly on the specific forms and methods of tuition of history didactics and the ways in which students' skills and competencies are verified – whether via seminar-based tasks or final examinations. The text also describes the practical component of teacher training degree programmes and gives examples of thesis topics. It briefly presents two doctoral programmes in history didactics, which represent a platform on which the field can develop as a fully-fledged academic discipline. In the final part of the text, the authors offer a number of recommendations for enhancing the quality of teacher training degree programmes and outline the future prospects for the ongoing professionalization of history teaching in schools.

1. General Characteristics of Teacher Training Programmes at Universities in the Czech Republic

1.1 *Changes in Teacher Training Programmes at Czech Universities since 1989*

The collapse of the communist regime in 1989 brought the need for a fundamental reform of the Czech education system, including university programmes training teachers to work in secondary education (12-19 years). (Secondary education in the Czech Republic is split between two levels of the education system: elementary schools provide primary and lower secondary education, while upper secondary education is provided by upper secondary schools of various types, such as high schools and secondary vocational schools.) However, from the outset there was no consensus on which

changes should be implemented. Views on the Czech education system have remained highly diverse (and frequently incompatible) during the past quarter-century; these differences of opinion divide experts, politicians and decision-makers, the business community, and the broader community including parents.

Approaches to the teaching profession and teacher qualifications fall broadly into two main opposing tendencies. One approach is characterized by a preference for deprofessionalisation. This approach is an evident manifestation of neo-liberal trends in the education sector, characterized by a high degree of individualism and support for deregulation. It is underpinned by a view of education as a commodity – a view rooted in a utilitarianism that emphasizes competitiveness, the needs of the labour market, and the practical requirements of everyday life. Proponents of this view typically emphasize the immediate effects of education. The main consequence of this approach has been a weakening of schools' status, autonomy and cultural function (Štech, 2007).

The opposing view is characterized by a growing tendency towards professionalization, in line with current developments in other countries. This approach is rooted in the assumption that teaching is a profession defined by a set of clearly structured expert competencies, combined with binding professional standards (including teacher training at undergraduate level), a professional code of ethics, professional associations, and a relatively large degree of autonomy for schools (Spilková, 2016). In this context we can mention an empirical research project conducted in 2011 by a team from the Faculty of Education at Charles University in Prague; the findings indicate that both teachers and undergraduates in teacher training programmes consider teachers' autonomy (including their personal responsibility for the content and process of education) to be highly important (Straková et al., 2014).

Since the political changes of 1989, Czech education policy with regard to teachers' professional training has developed in several distinct stages. Up to 1995 there was virtually no central guiding concept for teacher training, and individual faculties had a huge degree of freedom in devising their own curricula, as well as in the forms and methods of teacher training used. The first official document concerning teacher training – entitled Učitel ('Teacher') – was issued by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in November 1995. The central concept set out in the document was

the diversification of teacher training. Universities would cease to be the sole providers of teacher training, the requirements placed on trainee teachers were to become less demanding, and teaching was to be viewed as essentially a practical activity with no need for rigorous academic expertise. However, the principles of this document were never actually implemented, and in 2001 the Czech Government published one of the most important education policy documents of the post-1989 era – the National Programme for the Development of Education (*Národní program rozvoje vzdělání*), which became known as the White Book. In contrast to the 1995 document, the White Book emphasizes the necessity for professionalization, improvements in quality, increased prestige for the teaching profession, and a career progression system to motivate teachers (Spilková, 2016).

Two factors have been particularly influential in the development of teacher training as it exists in the Czech Republic today. The first factor is the gradual shift away from non-structured Master's degree programmes for trainee teachers (i.e. Master's degrees not preceded by Bachelor's degrees; four-year Master's degrees for teaching at the upper level of Czech elementary schools – i.e. at lower secondary level – and five-year degrees for upper secondary schools). These have been replaced by a structured system in accordance with the principles set out in the Bologna Declaration, consisting of a three-year Bachelor's degree followed by a two-year Master's degree. Most of these new degrees were accredited in 2005. The new system was widely criticized by experts from the very outset. The biggest downside of the new system, according to its critics, is the shift away from the concurrent (parallel) model of teacher training, which previously enabled different elements of the degree programme to be combined, integrated and scheduled in a logical order throughout the entire course of a student's studies. Other downsides include the reduced time devoted to the pedagogical/psychological component of the training (which is now restricted to the Master's programmes only), and the possibility of dispensing with Master's programmes entirely, reducing teacher training to a Bachelor-level qualification (Mareš & Beneš, 2013).

The second factor that has influenced the current situation in teacher training is the curricular reform of secondary education introduced in 2005 and 2007, which set out new requirements for undergraduate teacher training. The reform significantly strengthened the autonomy of schools and teachers, giving them greater scope for

decision-making on curriculum content and education strategies. It created a dual-level curriculum, set partly at the national (state) level and partly at the level of individual schools. At the national level there are Framework Education Programmes, which are further specified at the school level; teachers thus play an important role in creating curricula rather than merely implementing centrally imposed requirements.

It was not until 2011 that a comprehensive policy document for teacher training was created. Entitled the Concept for the Undergraduate Training of Elementary and Upper Secondary School Teachers (*Koncepce pregraduální přípravy učitelů základních a středních škol*), this document – authored by Jiří Mareš and Iva Stuchlíková – set out the standards for the accreditation of teacher training degree programmes offered by universities. It stipulated that a minimum of 15-20 % of the programme was to be taken up by the pedagogical/psychological component, and a minimum of 10 % by the practical component (incorporating observation sessions, teaching practice sessions and an intensive practical teaching placement). Training in subject-specific didactics was incorporated into the subject-specific component of the programme without specifying what percentage of this component should consist of didactic training (Mareš & Stuchlíková, 2011).

1.2 *The Current System of Teacher Training in the Czech Republic*

A Master's degree is an essential requirement for teachers working at the upper level of elementary schools (i.e. at lower secondary level) or at upper secondary schools (gymnázium-type high schools or vocational secondary schools). Teacher training degrees are currently provided by several different types of faculties. Faculties of education (pedagogical faculties) offer degree programmes for future elementary school teachers and upper secondary school teachers, while other types of faculties – faculties of arts, sciences and others (such as the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics at Charles University in Prague) – cater mainly for future upper secondary school teachers. Graduates of teacher training degree programmes for upper secondary schools are also qualified to work at elementary schools; however, holders of teacher training degrees for elementary schools must gain additional qualifications (via either full-time or part-time studies) in order to work at upper secondary schools. Most faculties

offer teacher training degrees of both types, and some offer extension studies enabling the holders of teacher training degrees for elementary schools to work at upper secondary schools.

Most teacher training degrees involve the study of two different subjects each of equal importance (e.g. Czech Language – History), though single-subject studies are also available (e.g. the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University in Brno offers single-subject degrees in foreign language teaching for elementary schools and language schools). Students are increasingly adding a third subject module to their degree, which enhances their career prospects in the education sector.

Degrees are based both on the concurrent (parallel) model and on the consecutive model (Janík, 2011; Urbánek, 2004). The concurrent model is used mainly at faculties of education; even at Bachelor level, the degree programme 'Specialization in Pedagogy' incorporates all elements of teacher training, including pedagogical and psychological disciplines and a practical component. In the consecutive model, all the teacher training elements (including both the practical component and the subject-specific didactic training) form part of the Master's degree; at Bachelor level the focus is purely on acquiring subject-specific knowledge (e.g. in the degree programmes 'Historical Sciences', 'Humanities' and 'Philology').

The relative proportion of the different elements of degree programmes varies considerably from faculty to faculty, as do the numbers of credits allocated to each element. In 2015 the Czech Republic's Accreditation Commission therefore introduced a new set of standards that will be binding on all universities offering teacher training degrees for elementary schools and upper secondary schools (Janík & Stuchlíková, 2015). The new standards are essentially an updated version of the 2011 policy document (the Concept for the Undergraduate Training of Elementary and Upper Secondary School Teachers). The most important change is that the subject-specific didactic component for both subjects is now listed separately; it should make up 8-15 % of the total programme.

Table 1 illustrates the relatively high degree of freedom available to universities when determining the relative proportions of the individual components of the programme. It is expected that faculties specializing mainly in training future elementary school teachers will place a greater emphasis on the pedagogical/psychological component, including a range of knowledge from general, special and

social pedagogy. By contrast, teacher training programmes for upper secondary schools will emphasize the subject-specific components. Around one-tenth of the total programme is left to the discretion of the individual faculty; faculties generally provide university-wide tuition in various specialist fields (foreign languages, IT, philosophy, physical education, etc.).

Subject-specific component (both subjects)	44-65 %
Subject-specific didactic component (both subjects)	8-15 %
Pedagogical/psychological component	8-15 %
Practical component	5-10 %
Bachelor's/Master's thesis and subjects at the discretion of the university	10-20 %
Total	100 %

Table 1. Structure of teacher training degree programmes according to the Framework Concept for the Training of Elementary and Upper Secondary School Teachers (2015).

The practical component (incorporating observation sessions, teaching practice sessions and an intensive practical teaching placement) plays a very important role in the 2015 standards. These activities are required to incorporate a strong 'reflective' element; students should reflect upon the practical experience acquired in this way (Janík & Stuchlíková, 2015). Jan Slavík and Stanislav Siňor characterize reflection as "a typically discursive process, i.e. a conscious process that can be expressed verbally," incorporating the re-presentation of pedagogical activity either from memory or with recourse to notes, including a description of the activity, the identification of key elements, assessment and explanation. A key aspect of this process is the prognosis of future developments, along with the identification of necessary next steps and the rectification of any errors (Slavík & Siňor, 1993: 157).

2. The Reality of Teacher Training for History Teachers from the Perspective of Empirical Research

2.1 *Basic Characterization*

The current situation with regard to the training of history teachers in the Czech Republic was determined in 2010 in connection with the publication of a study comparing history teaching in various European Union member states (Gracová & Beneš, 2011). A further questionnaire-based survey was conducted on the initiative of the Accreditation Commission's Working Group for Subject-Specific Didactics in 2012. The survey indicated the prevalence of a methodological concept of history didactics, considerable differences in the organization of the practical component, and differences in the use of secondary literature (some faculties completely disregard literature from other countries, and some faculties still work with older Czech literature that no longer reflects current developments) (Beneš, 2012). In 2016 we conducted research in order to gain a deeper understanding of these issues; we contacted all specialists in history didactics at Czech universities. This is a relatively small professional community, numbering no more than twenty experts. History with a focus on history teaching can be studied at 13 higher education faculties in the Czech Republic, most of them faculties of arts (7) or faculties of education (4), plus one faculty of arts and sciences and one faculty of sciences and humanities. Each faculty typically has one member (a maximum of two members) specializing in history didactics at its history department or institute. All of the faculties have had to make the transition from the non-structured four- or five-year Master's programme to the structured combination of Bachelor's and Master's programmes; only the Faculty of Arts at the University of Hradec Králové still offers an accredited non-structured Master's programme for elementary school teachers. The faculties of arts specialize mainly in training future upper secondary school teachers, but four of them (Hradec Králové, Ústí nad Labem, Olomouc, Ostrava) also offer accredited programmes for elementary school teachers. Faculties of education mainly offer programmes for elementary school teachers, though two of them (Prague, Olomouc) also offer degrees for upper secondary school history teachers. The departments or institutes of history at these faculties offer not only teacher training degrees, but also non-teaching degrees (either history

as a single degree subject or in combination with another subject or subjects). The research did not cover those universities and faculties offering only non-teaching degrees.

At Bachelor level, most faculties' history degree programmes focus on developing students' thorough knowledge of the rudiments of the field, plus an awareness of the broader interdisciplinary context (depending on each faculty's particular area of focus). However, faculties may also decide to incorporate some elements of relevance to the teaching profession into their Bachelor-level degrees – including a practical component. At some faculties, the continuation of studies in the follow-on Master's teacher training degree programme is conditional upon the applicant's completion of the pedagogical/psychological component at Bachelor level; alternatively, applicants for some Master's degree programmes must pass an entrance exam not only in history, but also in pedagogy and psychology (e.g. the Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava). As part of the Master's degree, students expand their historical knowledge via a range of specialist historical courses, as well as studying all necessary disciplines enabling them to work in the teaching profession; these disciplines make up the block of courses known as the 'pedagogical minimum', which includes pedagogical and psychological disciplines, general and subject-specific didactics, and a practical component focusing on both general and subject-specific pedagogical skills). The specialist historical courses are taught by history departments or institutes. At some faculties of arts, students can enrol for an optional block of pedagogical courses that does not form part of the prescribed content of their degree programme.

2.2 *History Didactics*

History didactics is an obligatory discipline in the degree programmes offered by all faculties training future history teachers. In some cases the number of tuition hours allocated to history didactics depends on the type of faculty (i.e. whether it is a faculty of arts or a faculty of education) and the type of degree programme (for elementary school teachers or upper secondary school teachers), while in other cases the time allocation is a matter of established tradition at the faculty. However, the time allocation for history didactics may also be dependent on other, entirely subjective factors – such as the availability of staff who are able to teach the courses, limitations on

the time allocated to particular modules by the faculty as a whole, or the decision of the department or institute responsible for the curriculum (Gracová & Beneš, 2011).

The most common variant at faculties of arts is a history didactics course allocated two tuition periods per week and lasting for two semesters; the course may be structured as a combination of lectures and seminars, or it may be run entirely in seminar form. In exceptional cases the allocation may be more than two periods per week, or history didactics may be taught as a three-semester course differentiating between elementary and upper secondary school levels. Faculties of education allocate up to three periods per week to history didactics, with courses lasting three semesters. The basic history didactics course is accompanied by elective or optional lectures and/or seminars (Didactics of Historical Geography; Didactic Aspects of Teaching Cultural History, History of Science and Technology, and Regional History; Didactics of Contemporary History; Use of Media in History Teaching; Activation Methods in History Teaching; Specialist Seminar). It is rare for historical subjects to be taught separately for teacher training degrees and non-teacher training degrees.

Courses in history didactics follow the completion of a course in general didactics; the lectures and seminars focus on those aspects of didactics that are specific to history teaching. All tutors require students to give 15-20-minute presentations in seminars; longer presentations are rare. Students either choose a topic or are assigned a topic, and they prepare a presentation (in accordance with the guidelines for presentations); they may be required to prepare worksheets or other teaching materials. Presentations given to the seminar group are a form of preparation for students' first attempts at real teaching; the seminar tutor gives analytical feedback and the students in the seminar group discuss the presentation, providing the presenting student with valuable experience that can then be applied in the student's own first attempts at teaching (as part of the practical component of the programme). Another method – used by half of the respondents to the survey questionnaire – involves analysing recordings of students' attempts at teaching; the recordings are made by didactics tutors as part of their observation visits.

History didactics lessons are based primarily on literature by Czech scholars, though most tutors require students to demonstrate knowledge of literature from other countries. Less than half of the

respondents use self-produced materials for tuition purposes. All students have the opportunity to become acquainted with current Czech history textbooks designed for various levels of historical knowledge and various types of schools, including the accompanying methodological handbooks for teachers. Most students also gain knowledge of older (non-current) Czech history textbooks. Around half of the students also encounter textbooks from other countries. Students become acquainted with the curriculum as part of their courses in general didactics; most tutors also refer to the relevant educational area and cross-cutting themes from the Framework Education Programmes. Around one-third of the respondents incorporate older history curricula into their tuition. Most respondents work with internet teaching resources (web portals); between half and two-thirds of respondents acquaint their students with specialist journals, popular educational magazines, and collections of historical source materials published for use by schools. Three-quarters of students become acquainted with current historical atlases as part of their didactics courses. Half of the students use didactic tests as an inspiration for their own didactic tests.

Practical tasks play an important role in the training of future history teachers. Three-quarters of tutors set their students tasks requiring them to demonstrate various didactic methods. Students are frequently required to construct their own didactic tests (three-quarters of respondents); the requirement for students to mark and grade the tests is less common. Students are often required to analyse textbooks according to selected criteria, compile catalogues of questions on historical sources, prepare didactic games, create worksheets, propose projects, and plan and implement field trips (excursions) or teaching based on field trips (over three-quarters of respondents). Less attention is paid to constructing mental maps and creating interview scenarios applying oral history methods; less attention still is paid to assessing tasks contained in textbooks, creating tasks according to given taxonomies, and compiling questionnaires. However, tutors do make use of online resources; students prepare model teaching units and share feedback on them. Some tutors place considerable emphasis on students' development of communication skills, while others require students to submit seminar papers as a condition for the completion of history didactics courses. The use of individual forms and methods of working is limited by the time allocated to history didactics courses.

The most common type of other student activity is participation in didactic workshops and seminars (three-quarters of students). Two-thirds of students gain teaching experience by substituting for absent history teachers at elementary or upper secondary schools, while around half of the students participate in their faculty's didactic projects (ESF; Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports). Most of students' research activities are carried out as part of their Bachelor's or Master's theses. Students are also used by their department or institute for research purposes – whether as respondents, for data processing tasks, or as interviewers collecting research data. Two-fifths of students are involved in research projects (Czech Science Foundation, internal student grant schemes). Around the same proportion of students run history groups in schools or organize history competitions, and a quarter of students help to organize activities as part of the annual 'Academics' Night' events (when Czech universities open their doors to the local community and promote their activities).

The large majority of tutors use oral examination (viva voce) as the preferred means of testing their students at the end of the history didactics course. Colloquiums and written testing are used for assessing coursework during the semester. Other forms of examination include the requirement to submit a portfolio demonstrating the completion of various tasks (around three-fifths of respondents; these may include the production of didactic tests, mental maps, catalogues of questions for analysing various types of historical sources, project proposals, or proposals for field trips (excursions). The portfolio may also include presentations, worksheets used in presentations, seminar papers, analyses of the content or didactic features of textbooks, or proposals for games to reinforce learning. Some tutors also require students to submit proposed solutions for application in specific teaching situations (around two-fifths).

Students are required to demonstrate their theoretical understanding of history didactics by submitting and defending their graduation theses (Bachelor's or Master's theses). Interest in historical didactic topics is considerable; for example, at the University of Ostrava's Faculty of Arts almost 40 theses on historical didactic topics have been defended during the past two decades. Some of these theses present analyses of the content of history textbooks from the Czech Republic and abroad. Authors have analysed the

image of neighbouring (and other) nations and states and their history as presented in textbooks and as perceived by school students, the image of key historical milestones and important figures from Czech history, and young people's perception of European identity. Analyses have also focused on other topics in textbooks from the Czech Republic and abroad – including topics connected with everyday history, the history of women, and the history of childhood. A popular topic has been the presentation of Jewish history in textbooks and school students' awareness of Jewish issues, and other topics have included the image of the Czechoslovak army in textbooks and its perception by school students. Students have analysed the didactic features of history textbooks from the Czech Republic and abroad, the typology of tasks in textbooks, the success of alternative history curricula, and the current situation of history teaching at elementary and upper secondary schools – including the options for integrating topics from history and social sciences as part of project-based teaching. Students have also explored the role of regional history in school curricula as well as forms of teaching taking place outside schools. Recent theses have focused on methods of using various educational media in history teaching (photography, caricature, film, fiction, TV series).

2.3 *The Practical Component – Observation Sessions, Teaching Practice Sessions, Practical Teaching Placements*

 The subject-specific practical component follows on from the initial practical component that students have already undertaken as part of the pedagogical/psychological part of the programme. The sessions held as part of this initial practical component are not linked to any specific subject, but instead illustrate various types of universal teaching situations and are rooted in a general didactic theoretical framework. They are organized at the level of the faculty or university as part of the general pedagogical/psychological component shared by all teacher training programmes, and individual departments have no influence over the process.

The organization of the subject-specific practical component differs greatly among faculties. One option is for students to participate in regular observation sessions and teaching practice sessions over an extended period; these sessions are held every two weeks for a period of two to three semesters, usually at 'faculty

schools' – schools which have collaborative agreements with the faculty, and whose staff include fully qualified, competent and sufficiently experienced history teachers. Groups of up to 10 students from the faculty, accompanied by a history didactics tutor (three-quarters of respondents), observe a number of demonstration lessons of various types, given by various teachers, in order to familiarize themselves with different teaching styles. Two-thirds of students are required to submit a portfolio from these sessions. After each lesson there is an analysis of the lesson by both the teacher and the history didactics tutor, followed by a discussion. This phase of the practical component functions as a preparation and inspiration for students' own subsequent attempts at teaching. The ratio of observation sessions to students' own teaching sessions varies greatly; however, there is a preference for a system in which all students in the group attend all the teaching sessions given by their co-students (including the subsequent analysis and discussion) and keep records of the sessions. If a student's presentation attains a good level of quality, students will share it and may use it in future. Another method that has proved successful is to make video recordings of students' teaching sessions in order to encourage students to engage in self-evaluation (and again, in the case of successful sessions, to re-use the presentation in future). This method is currently subject to legislative limitations which require prior consent from those involved (e.g. from pupils' legal guardians) before video recordings can be made.

The second option is for the observation sessions and teaching practice sessions (on average 10 of each type of session) to be condensed into a shorter period of time known as a 'block'. At some faculties a third option is used; students arrange their own observation sessions and teaching practice sessions on an individual basis. Training for future history teachers culminates in an intensive practical teaching placement lasting between three and five weeks. During this placement, students are required to demonstrate their skills and competence by teaching a larger number of hours (the requirement ranges from 18 to 31 teaching periods). The students are supervised by teachers from the school, with whom they discuss their lesson plans prior to the teaching sessions and conduct an analysis of the completed sessions. The subject-specific didactics tutors at the faculties (and the faculty's centre for practical studies, if such a centre exists) are informed of each student's performance via a written evaluation. Students submit their preparatory materials for the

teaching session (three-quarters of them), a self-evaluative portfolio (four-fifths), and an evaluation questionnaire (one half).

Teacher training degree programmes (both for elementary and upper secondary school teachers) culminate in final examinations – the state examination in pedagogy and psychology, and the state final examination in history. The latter examination includes a set of questions testing students' knowledge of history didactics.

2.4 *Doctoral Studies of History Didactics as a Tool for Improving the Quality of Teacher Training*

While undergraduate-level subject-specific didactics has become established as a professional discipline, doctoral degree programmes represent an important platform for the development of subject-specific didactics as a fully-fledged academic discipline. The purpose of doctoral studies is to develop the field in both theoretical and empirical terms, while remaining in close contact with the everyday realities of educational practice in schools (most current doctoral students have experience of teaching at elementary or upper secondary schools and of conducting field research).

Reinstating doctoral studies of subject-specific didactics after 1989 proved to be a very difficult task. For almost two decades, subject-specific didactics (with the exception of didactics in natural sciences) was considered to be a purely practical discipline, and it was almost impossible to gain accreditation for doctoral degree programmes. It was not until 2007 that the situation changed, when the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague opened a doctoral programme in history didactics; since its inception the programme has been coordinated by Zdeněk Beneš. In accordance with the long-established tradition of Charles University, this programme focuses primarily on philosophical and theoretical issues of the study of historical culture, historical memory and historical awareness, though doctoral dissertations also address topics such as the integration of school history teaching and drama education as a method contributing to the formation of pupils' attitudes. Demand for the programme is relatively low; at the time of writing, it has had a total of two graduates.

The other Czech university centre to offer doctoral studies in history didactics is the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava (programme coordinator Blažena Gracová).

The launch of this programme (in 2015) represented the culmination of two decades of experience in empirical research on various aspects of historical awareness, the history curriculum and the current situation of history teaching in schools. Dissertation topics focus on analysing textbooks, the use of various types of historical sources at elementary and upper secondary schools, links between history and other social science subjects, and selected issues connected with museum pedagogy in relation to the possibilities offered by technical museums both in the Czech Republic and abroad.

Currently, the Czech Republic does not have any binding standards governing the curricula for doctoral studies of didactics. The existing curricula require doctoral students to complete general subjects (philosophy, two foreign languages) and examinations in pedagogy, pedagogical research methodology, and pedagogical psychology. At Charles University, the didactic component of the programme is represented by a subject-specific theoretical-methodological course, a course on media literacy and media education, and a course on empirical research in history didactics. Compulsory subjects at the University of Ostrava are two courses on the theory of history didactics and research in history didactics, while elective courses (selected depending on the topic of the student's dissertation) include courses on historical awareness and historical culture; places of historical memory and school history teaching; historical stereotypes in intercultural education; regional education; history of women and gender studies; educational media in history teaching; introduction to oral history; media literacy and media education.

In addition to the two above-mentioned centres in Prague and Ostrava, doctoral students of pedagogy in Brno (at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University) can also choose to specialize in subject-specific didactics. Among the topics of successfully defended doctoral dissertations are analyses of the didactic features or the European dimension of history textbooks, the use of thematic cooperative teaching in history teaching, and a diachronic analysis of history curricula (Labischová & Gracová, 2015).

3. Future Prospects for the Training of History Teachers in the Czech Republic

This section presents the future prospects for the development of training for history teachers in the Czech Republic and offers a number of recommendations for enhancing the quality of this training.

It would be highly desirable to create standards for undergraduate training of future history teachers which would be supported by a broad consensus across all the faculties offering teacher training programmes – whether faculties of education or faculties or arts. Inspiration could be sought abroad – e.g. in the German standards for teacher training, which apply to all the German Länder (KMK, 2008, 2016). It is essential to move away from the current situation in the Czech Republic, in which each faculty determines the content of the curriculum independently (for both the didactic and non-didactic components); at present, the curriculum is often dictated by the current staffing of the department and the specialist fields of its staff members. This leads to a situation in which some historical perspectives are over-represented, while others are under-represented and neglected. The structure of the non-didactic component of the programme should reflect the requirements of the binding curriculum for elementary and upper secondary schools, in order to ensure that future teachers have a thorough and comprehensive command of the necessary historical knowledge. In order to achieve this, it is essential for certain historical disciplines to be taught separately for teacher training degrees and non-teaching degrees, with different versions of the course for each type of programme – and this can best be ensured by implementing non-structured teacher training degree programmes for future history teachers.

In our opinion it is important to coordinate historical education across all levels of the education system. Currently, teacher training for future secondary-level teachers (at elementary schools and upper secondary schools) is completely separated from the history-oriented training given to future primary-level teachers (i.e. for ages 6-11, at the lower level of Czech elementary schools). At many faculties this primary-level training is provided by experts in primary pedagogy, who are often not specialists in history or social sciences. It is essential to develop excellent standards of quality in history didactics

even at the primary level, so that future primary-level teachers receive training that is informed by modern subject-specific didactic theory.

An important step towards the professionalization of teaching would be the strengthening of the practical component of teacher training degrees, including the reflective element of these practical activities. Teaching observation sessions – which at some faculties are arranged by students themselves, on an individual basis – should be replaced by regular practical sessions at faculty schools, with the emphasis on students' own attempts at teaching, observed by a specialist in subject-specific didactics. Another important source of feedback for trainee teachers is the use of video recordings of their teaching practice sessions, which can be analysed and used as a learning tool.

Another requirement that is becoming evident is the strengthening of communication among stakeholders in teacher training programmes – including regular contacts and meetings of academics specializing in history didactics in order to share knowledge and experience (such as information on individual departments' specialist fields of research and educational methods that have proved successful). Meetings as part of the didactic sections of history conferences – and the publication of proceedings and other outputs from these events – are certainly one way of ensuring that this communication takes place; however, the intervals between these conferences (typically five or six years) are too long, making it difficult to respond rapidly to emerging issues.

The planned revision of the curriculum (which will affect Framework Education Programmes and standards) is set to bring some fundamental changes. The coverage of earlier historical periods in school history lessons will be reduced, to focus on key questions of how civilization developed during the given period. This will be balanced out by a greater emphasis on a coordinated and functional presentation of more recent history. History textbooks must incorporate methodological sections which will motivate teachers to accentuate interpretative methods, develop pupils' skills, and reduce the non-functional presentation of historical facts. Future history teachers must be prepared to implement research-oriented teaching methods (working with various types of historical sources) and to make use of other educational media.

Finally, it is necessary to foster closer cooperation between faculties and recent graduates of teacher training programmes.

Especially during the initial adaptation period (the first two years of a teacher's professional career), recent graduates require effective support – including ongoing feedback – from the faculty.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORY TEACHER CURRICULUM IN TALLINN UNIVERSITY: TRENDS AND CHALLENGES

Mare Oja

Education changes together with changes in the society. Employers expect the ability to cooperate, social skills and readiness for re-training from workers, even more than knowledge. The current national curricula set requirements for teachers: wider teaching environment, increased use of e-learning, changed understanding of learning – student-centred teaching process, etc. Pupils have changed as well. Teachers must be able to recognise pupils with special needs and differentiate their learning.

History education aims to develop critical thinking, identity and consciousness of students, as well as tolerance and other democratic values, to introduce the cultural richness of the world, to respect cultural diversity and national culture. History teaching is expected to prevent conflicts and extremism in today's world.

What should the teachers' preparation include to be ready to face the challenges of the 21st century? What should be introduced in initial training, what in in-service training? During the last six years, the teachers' curriculum has been reviewed several times. The content and proportion of history courses, the priorities of general and history didactics have changed. The use of e-environments has increased. Also, the way university lectures are taught.

The article presents a historical overview about the organisation of the training of history and civic teachers at Tallinn University from its beginning until today, the basis of curriculum development, and how and to what extent have the challenges and changes in education been taken into account in order to meet the expectations set for the teaching profession by the society.

1. The Tasks of Teacher Education

The initial teachers' education should equip teachers for practical work in school. This requires subject knowledge, pedagogical and didactical knowledge and skills, but also the skill to recognise the special needs of children and take these into account, assertiveness and conflict resolution skills and ability to cooperate and participate in educational or school development activities. Since 2013, Estonia has had a professional standard, which describes teacher's work and the necessary skills, knowledge and attitudes, or a set of competencies

for successful performance.[1] To what extent does the teachers' initial training respond to the practical requirements of school life, and how well have teachers actually been prepared for their work? Certainly, this is not guaranteed solely by teacher training. It is influenced by the personality of a young teacher, the school environment, and a lot of other factors outside of training. However, teachers can be encouraged to act in a professional way by teachers' education. To what extent does the teacher's pedagogical preparation respond to changing understanding of teaching and whether teachers have been prepared to implement the requirements of the national curriculum? This is the main question of teachers' initial training and teachers' in-service training. History lessons in school were and are largely as the subject teacher designs them.

2. The Beginning of History Teachers' Training in Estonia: Historical Retrospect

Since the second half of the 1960s until today, teachers, including teachers of history, have been trained in the University of Tartu. History teachers' training in Tallinn University has a much shorter history and for that reason and also to be competitive, Tallinn University needs to focus on curriculum development to ensure that graduates have the relevant preparation and young people choose Tallinn University for their studies. In Soviet times, studies lasted five years and graduates received a diploma: historian, history and civics teacher. In today's programs academic and pedagogical preparation are separated. There is the common core of academic and teacher curriculum, but the academic direction does not include the pedagogic preparation, and students striving to become educators do not study the same number of academic subjects.

Most of the students who graduated university in the Soviet period had to work in schools for three years. It was compulsory and there were few exceptions. For graduates, who did not want to work as a teacher, it was mandatory, which decreased the status of teaching. When the opportunity opened up, some young teachers left school for some other place of work immediately after the end of the compulsory period. In autumn 1986, first-year students of pedagogy of Tartu State University, including historians, were interviewed to explain the motives for their professional choice and their attitude towards a teacher's profession. 62.8 % answered that they did not

want to become teachers, 42.8 % of history students said that they do not like the teaching profession, 20 % said that they didn't know, and only 34.3 % said that they liked the teaching profession (Uring, 1987). The results showed that while the choice of subject is quite deliberate, the choice of profession is quite random. Today, graduates need to find themselves a job, there is no compulsory time and workplace after university any more. In certain regions it is even more difficult, because teachers do not change schools as often as at the end of the Soviet time. Young teachers need to be ready to move in order to find a job, which is also quite a challenge.

Nearly half of the compulsory subjects of the university curriculum in the Soviet times were ideological: the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, scientific communism, dialectical and historical materialism, capitalism and socialism, political economy, scientific communism, scientific atheism and others. However, the Soviet period students do not think today that their studies were only political brainwashing, but consider it as history education at its proper time, that encouraged thinking in spite of the ideological-political falsities. In students' scientific association, they were taught to love Estonia and its history during tours and hikes, which was not possible in lectures.[2] The current university curricula have been prepared in accordance with the challenges of the changing world and the requirements of practical life. The development of curricula is moving in the direction of increasing interdisciplinarity.

3. History Teachers' Initial Training in Tallinn Pedagogical University

Tallinn University started as a pedagogical institute in 1952. The priority of teacher training has become a strong tradition today in Tallinn University.

Competition between Tallinn and Tartu universities contributes to the development of teacher training curricula, to satisfy both students and the schools, where the graduates start working as teachers.

The history and civics teachers' training for basic school, four-year-old primary school history and civics teachers' diploma study was started in Tallinn Pedagogical Institute faculty of Social Sciences in 1999,[3] the curriculum of high school teachers started at the beginning of 2002 according to the two year MA programme.[4] Thus,

today, the tradition is 17 years long. Since 2003, the state has funded eight students every year on the teacher training curriculum. Since 2013, admission to university has been based on a threshold, so all candidates, who received enough points in the entrance examination, can study in the university. First nine graduates defended their MA in 2005. In 2016, we have 57 graduates.[5] Most of the young teachers have already presented themselves positively in the history teachers' community.

History Teachers' preparation in Tallinn University is based on the practical needs of school life, in order to ensure that graduates are prepared for work according to the national curriculum. Silvia Õispuu who designed the first curriculum of teacher training asked the subject council of history teaching[6] to analyse the curriculum and made changes to the curriculum based on the council members' feedback.

The curriculum of basic school history and civic teachers was opened in 1999 under the faculty of social sciences. It included general subjects (20 credit points (CP)) and subjects of history (75 CP), in addition to diploma work (10 CP) on the lowest level of learning history. Knowledge of general history and the history of Estonia were deepened and broadened on the central level. Civics (15 CP) and philosophy (15 CP) could be studied as minor subjects. The teacher training module (40 CP) included subjects of educational science (21 CP), subject didactics (9 CP), didactics of social science (2 CP), and pedagogical practice (10 CP), which was divided into preliminary practice – observation of teachers' lessons, and two main school practices, where students gave the lessons themselves during a certain period (up to four weeks). After that, students had the right to take additional subjects up to 20 CP. All subjects in the curriculum were 1-2 CP. Thus, the students got an overview of diverse disciplines.[7] The didactics subject card, printed in the academic year guide of 2000, provides a review of how well teacher training prepared teachers for work at school. The course of didactics included an overview of the main features of history teaching in the world, and a retrospect of history teaching in Estonia. Key words were: overview of textbooks and other learning materials, history and civics syllabuses, curriculum development and problems in this process, planning of educational process, methods and forms of work, and assessment and evaluation of outcomes. During school practice students had to become familiar with the school

environment and teaching history in general, to observe lessons and to give lessons independently.[8] In 2000, the minor subject curriculum of history was opened: lower level 15 CP and middle level 36 CP. Middle-level included less didactics and practice as in teachers' curriculum and graduates had the right to work only in the basic school level. Students were expected to select the minor subject on the middle-level after the first year and the teacher training program is also a part of the study program, which means that the main subject in this case is not history.[9] The aim of creating alternatives was to provide different possibilities for education and its supplement. In the year 2001 the history module in the central level was increased by 10 CP, the module of civics and philosophy was united and the possibility of taking selective subjects for 5 CP was added. The content of didactics and practice remain the same. Attention was given to past teaching experience, the main questions of didactics, to the subject syllabus, planning, methods, teaching material, control, assessment and evaluation.[10]

The curriculum of history and civic teachers was developed in the Institute of History in 2003. Students, graduates and all lecturers were involved in the curriculum development process, and opinions were asked from teachers and headmasters. Adoption of the teachers' curriculum led teacher training to a new level – graduates had the right to teach at all school levels. The strength of the curriculum is in preparation of teachers in two subjects: civics and history. As in the current national curriculum (2011) there are only five civic lessons per week – three in basic school and two in upper secondary level – the teacher needs to work in several schools at the same time in order to have a normal work load (18-20 lessons per week).

At MA level, where the nominal period of learning is two years, a bachelor's degree in history or other equivalent qualifications became an entrance requirement. The number of subject-content courses was smaller (15 or 21 CP, depending on earlier education, whether they had taken a minor subject at BA level or not).

In the subject module there were subjects, which supported both teaching history and civics. Subjects of general education were still 21 CP, subject didactics 9, pedagogical practice 10 CP. MA theses had to have a practical orientation, either pedagogical or didactical. Students had a right to choose an elective subject of 3CP from six different subjects in a multidisciplinary area.[11]

History was offered as a minor subject (30 CP) at BA level to students from other specialities. Compulsory content was 24 CP and 6 CP was students' choice. Minor subjects had a clause that at MA level extra subjects in didactics and pedagogical practice had to be taken.[12] The new phenomenon of social studies was a minor at the BA level for students who studied to be a teacher, which was supposed to be included in the main speciality of the teacher training module.

The minor subject was developed to support future history teachers with civic competence at all school levels. However, they could also opt for other teachers' disciplines.[13] The need to prepare students for teaching several subjects was discussed in the press in the first half of 1990s in order to resolve the issue of small schools in countryside, where teachers who taught only one subject did not meet the normal work load in rural schools. So, real life dictated the need to study an additional specialty (Leosk, 1994: 6).

There were no changes in the study year 2004/2005 in the preparation of history and civic teachers.[14] The tradition of supporting teachers in the first year after graduation (induction year[15]) began in 2004/2005. In 2005, the Professional Council of Education (*Hariduse Kutsenõukogu*) approved the professional standards, which determined the requirements for the teacher's knowledge and skills.[16] In spring 2016, for the first time, Tallinn University gave the graduates a teachers' certificate, which relied on the professional standard.

4.   From Pedagogical University to Tallinn University: New Findings in History Teachers' Preparation

Since 2005, the Pedagogical University has existed within Tallinn University. The Institute of History joined Tallinn University as well. Coordination of history curricula was left to the Institute of History. Despite the changes in structure, history was still recommended as the minor subject to students of other disciplines. The minor subject of civics, which was approved in 2003, was also proposed.[17]

In 2006, the compulsory module of civics (9 CP) was developed in the curriculum for history and civic teachers. This was for students who had not chosen the minor of civics at BA level. The module had to be partially taken from selective subjects. The content of other modules hasn't changed.[18] There is no compulsory module in the

current teachers' curriculum. All future history teachers are expected to pass the civic minor subject at BA level.

In 2012, different selective modules were included in the teachers' curriculum, which had been developed according to the current National Curriculum (2011) to provide future teachers with knowledge and skills to teach elective subjects of the subject area of social science, but also to give the opportunity to acquire the additional specialty of a pedagogue of museums or archives, which supports both students' and teachers' ability and skills to widen the learning environment, but will also provide additional independent output of the labour market. The pedagogue working in museum or archive also needs pedagogical and didactical preparation.

In 2012, three courses were developed together with colleagues from the Tartu University. The idea was to include lecturers from both universities. The idea didn`t work in practice, because universities have a different system of remuneration. Outside of Tallinn University, researchers and specialists of different topics from Estonian Memory Institute were involved in the teaching, and also practising teachers as well. If researchers lectured on academic content, then teachers contributed as training supervisors and introduced students to e-environments, which they had been using successfully in their teaching, or electronic teaching materials they had worked out themselves or used in their lessons.

In 2012, the Centre of Excellence in Educational Innovation (*Hariduse Innovatsioonikeskus*) was founded to support teacher education. The Centre has been created under the aegis of the Cross-Border Educational Innovation through Technology-Enhanced Research (CEITER) project, which is financed by the European Commission's ERA Chair measures. The purpose of the TU Centre of Excellence in Educational Innovation has been to develop an interdisciplinary research field that focuses on innovative and evidence-based teacher education, school management and educational policy. The Centre views educational innovation from a broader perspective. It addresses the need to create a scientific base for the development of a new learning and teaching culture and to ensure it is firmly rooted in Estonian education. [19]

During 2012-2014, subject-based laboratories worked under the Innovation Centre. The aim of the Centre of Excellence in Educational Innovation in the area of history was to provide support for the launch and application of innovative and interdisciplinary

solutions in both physical and virtual learning environments, developing teacher training and subject didactics, cooperation with partners in various sectors (memory institutions, social organisations, teachers, university students, school students). Expanding the learning environment outside of the classroom, lesson plans for learning in museums and archives were created. Developing, converging and mediating the best practices of history and civic studies (including online solutions), developing and applying new forms of training, methodology, learning material and educational technology in cooperation with students and teachers with the aim of improving the quality of teaching and teacher education in the subject field of History and Civic Studies.[20]

In 2013, the project Eduko was started to support teacher training. Cooperation with the history and civic teachers' division of Tartu University was within the framework of the project. Teacher training curricula were analysed and proposals were made on how to complement these by practising teachers, students and the people responsible for teacher training curriculum development. Compliance with the outcomes of teacher training curriculum to the professional standard was compared and ways of cooperation were worked out. The perceptions of needs and the content of teacher training and retraining were coordinated, and the initial thematic plan for retraining was worked out.[21] School practice was analysed at the conference: universities explained their understanding and applications, schools their expectations, and students their experience during teaching practice. The strengths and weaknesses of students were highlighted and proposals for improving cooperation between schools and university in management were made to better prepare young teachers for everyday situations in schools.[22] Two teachers, Ms Tiia Luuk from Tallinn Secondary School of Science (*Tallinna Reaalkool*)[23] and Ms Siiri Aiaste from Talinn Kuristiku Secondary School (*Kuristiku Gümnaasium*)[24] made a comparative analysis of history and civics teacher curricula in Tallinn and Tartu Universities, based on the focus of school reality. They discovered and underlined that the strengths of Tallinn University were: greater choice of specialty options, that allow student-teachers to be prepared to teach a variety of subjects in school; more attention paid to develop the teacher's professional profile; the development of skills and the willingness to cooperate together with development of knowledge and skills of subject communication; the special preparation for

teaching civics through having civics as a minor subject or the possibility to study optional courses; meaningful and practical content of didactic courses and the in-depth module of educational science. The strengths of Tartu University were: the opportunity to study in-depth specific subject fields and preparation for research of the relevant international scientific compilation; the academic content of subject modules. Both reviewers suggested strengthening the cooperation between universities and with schools. The priority should be that young people come to school to work as a teacher and remain there. Competition is forcing universities to deal with the development within the university. In cooperation between universities, both can use their strengths and could develop solutions, which enrich the opportunities for students. For example the possibility of participating in the study, including e-learning (skype, video), using academic mobility between universities, acceptance of studies at the other university, development of common subjects etc. All these possibilities require stronger cooperation between the development of subject didactics as well. There are still a lot of options for future cooperation.

5. Today's Searches: Stronger Coherence, More Opportunities to Practise

In the last four years, stronger coherence between subject didactics and practice and also subject didactics and educational subjects has been the priority for development in Tallinn University. Topics of didactics in Turku University were studied as an example of teaching (via Professor Arja Virta).[25]

In Tallinn University, subject didactics includes preparation on how to organise a student-centred study environment, how to control and assess the knowledge and skills of pupils, to use different methods and develop teaching material, etc. Subject didactics was supported by practicum which was developed in 2013 as a pilot-project. Students could pilot methods, tasks and activities, which they had studied in subject didactics at university, in a real teaching situation in school. It does not mean that they had to take responsibility for the whole lesson, as during the main practice. They had an opportunity to just pilot a particular method and have support from the subject teacher, if needed. To make practice more effective, distributed practice and practicum of didactics were introduced in

2016 in all subject teachers' curricula. Students can put theory from the course of didactics into practice without taking responsibility for the whole lesson.

Before introducing the idea of the didactic practicum, all teacher-training curricula were analysed to find out the common core and work out tasks for the practicum on the core basis.[26] Tasks for history and civics curriculum were worked out in cooperation with recent graduates, alumni who later became supervisors of the first practicum.[27]

Practicums were valued rather highly by supervisors (teachers) and students. In particular, the simultaneity of subject didactics, practicum and observation practice, based on educational subjects, was highlighted. The opportunity to practise immediately after learning theoretically made learning more meaningful for students. As students were divided between schools in groups of three people, both cooperation and individual support and also evaluation were guaranteed. It was useful for students to observe the lessons of other subjects' teachers, not only history and civics. Student presentations also stimulated experienced teachers. Pupils like to follow the tasks of students, because these are different from their own teachers' tasks. Sometimes pupils even applauded after the students' activities. Teacher-supervisors said in their feedback that students had done well. Teacher-supervisors proposed that there might be more activities planned for cooperative work. For example to work out the teachers' work plan or lesson plan together. The students had to develop it on the study-topic given by teacher, but alone. Both teacher-supervisors and students evaluated flexible management of the practicum. It was possible because the number of students was around 10. One negative aspect which was mentioned was that there was a lack of immediate feedback after the performance, because teachers had to go to the next lesson.[28]

Students were successful in development of tasks and criteria for assessment, but the compilation of teaching material was a challenge. It required knowledge of the school's technical equipment. Not every classroom is well equipped with ICT in most schools. In most cases the teacher has the computer and data projector, but pupils can participate using their personal smart tools. WiFi is not available in all classrooms or the signal can be too weak.

The question of making a practicum in schools outside of Tallinn was raised as well. There are both advantages and disadvantages. It is

more comfortable for students to do a practicum in the school, where they work, especially for students who live and work outside of Tallinn. But there might not be an experienced teacher to supervise. On the other hand, doing a practicum alone does not give an option to analyse and evaluate the performance of other students. Travelling long distance takes time for supervisors from the university. But both cases have some strong and weak aspects.[29]

Students' feedback on all didactic subjects, not only the practicum, has been very positive. Didactic courses are often assessed with maximum marks.[30] The students value most highly getting familiar with active methods, to be better prepared to organise the learner-centred teaching process, which is required by the current national curriculum. It shows that students evaluate subjects which are practical and if they can see the direct link between studies and the situation in school. Students' feedback was also looked at in the curriculum development process. According to their proposals, changes in the organisation of practice were introduced, for example instructions were made clearer and more precise.

Since 2013, cooperation in the curriculum development process between didactic and educational subjects has taken place; the content of courses has been analysed, compared and improved. According to the strategy documents and changed learning environment, new subjects have been developed, for example Design of learning-games. The main aim has been to give student-teachers better preparation for their work in schools.[31]

In 2015, the new curriculum reform started. Fewer and fewer pupils graduate from secondary education and the number of student-candidates has also been decreasing. It is not economically feasible for the university to open small study groups. On the one hand, there is the need to improve cooperation between the academic and teachers' curriculum, because we both have a small number of students, but on the other hand, there is need to develop the content and approach of curricula, because the educational situation is changing. Recently, there have been very big changes in the society and in the world as well. Teaching should be more integrated, development of skills and competences is becoming more and more important and necessary. As integration between different disciplines is a positive tendency, the reduction of students' options is the price. In the new curriculum, teachers' and academic curricula are more strongly connected with common courses, which does not leave

space for optional modules, which were developed in 2013 to prepare students for more flexible choices in the labour market after graduation.

The tendency to integrate subject didactics and educational subjects is also continuing. Practicums are connected with observation practice, which was coordinated by the educational department. There is an idea to strongly connect tasks from educational subjects to tasks from subject didactics. This practice was piloted for the first time this study-year (2017/2018). In the first year we didn't reach substantive integration. Tasks of educational science proceed from their courses and follow the tradition of observation practice. Development of the tasks of didactics was based on the topics of subject didactics.[32]

The common environment used is e-Didaktikum,[33] where all information and also the tasks of students who have practice at the same time are stored. All students take courses in the educational department together, but courses of subject didactics separately, based on the subject. All tasks presented by students are assessed by both the lecturers of educational science and of subject didactics. After every practice day at school, all the lecturers together analysed the tasks given, the successes, what went wrong and the initial feedback from students. After the practice period, teacher-supervisors were also invited to a conclusive seminar to express their feedback.

The students were satisfied with the tasks: which were suitable, practical and useful, also connected strongly to the theoretical concepts of didactics; instructions were clear, teacher-supervisors were supportive. Everything agreed between school and university worked well. Students underlined that they learnt to recognise differences in pupils' age and abilities. Students mentioned that they experienced a variety of school environments and cultures. They studied new methods, strategies of assertiveness. Negative experiences at school also provided opportunities to learn – what not to do. Students missed immediate feedback of supervisor-teachers on lessons or tasks performed. The same problem was mentioned in 2013. It is difficult for schools to remake lesson plans for the period of practice. Supervisor-teachers praised the students' openness, friendliness and courage, as well as the fact that they met the deadlines, but also students' ideas and diversity of methodology, which were used in tasks. Supervisor-teachers found that they gained

new ideas and new insights from students during the practice into the bigger picture of the learning process. Students had some critical notes as well: some observed that lessons were not well planned and structured, some teachers were not informed that they would observe the lesson, lessons were not held because of school activities and students could not follow their tasks.[34] Positive aspects dominated in overall evaluation. In the future, development is planned to reach stronger and more substantive integration between subject didactics and educational sciences. Tasks should become more meaningful, to guarantee that students use knowledge and skills studied in both subjects.

One interesting model of experience in teacher education is the programme *Teach for all*[35]. The programme began in Estonia in February 2007. The aim of the project is to popularize teacher education. The model provides talented and energetic young people, who have been selected through a multi-stage selection process, have been working as a teacher at school for two years, and have been studying at the same time in the training programme, which links teacher and management skills.[36] The programme has an agreement with Tallinn University, that teacher education subjects, including didactics, are studied in Tallinn University. Courses of teaching history and social subjects are studied in a different schedule, but according to the same content as in the history and civic teachers' curricula. Seminars alternating with observations of lessons and subsequent discussions after the lesson take place every month, which allows immediate evaluation of how theoretical knowledge is used at school. The course compiled in 2016 was already 10th in a row. 30 historians are in the program (up to 2016). Four of them continued their studies at Tallinn University on the curriculum of teacher of history and civics (Oja, 2014: 150-152). The programme *Teach for all* is very popular. Competition is intense. A lot of people are keen to participate, much more than those, who enter the university on teachers' curriculum, even though the teachers' curriculum is the same. But in addition to university lectures, young teachers participating in the programme are supported by mentors and alumni. This is one of the strengths of the programme – young teachers are rather well supported. Even if all participants of the programme do not continue as teachers, they will have contributed two years to the development of pupils and popularized the teaching profession among young people. At the same time, using the teacher

curriculum of Tallinn University in the programme has influenced the university to look for new opportunities as well. The idea of practicums is based on the model of *Teach for all*: didactics and pedagogical subjects are taught in seminars during the academic year, theoretical knowledge studied in seminars is applied in lessons, which are regularly observed by the lecturer of didactics. Analysis of the observation provides input to the next seminar, if there is need to support certain aspects or take them into detailed consideration. Teaching, practice and feedback are closely related. It is a privilege for young teachers and lecturers to be working in small groups, i.e. with 2-6 students. The programme shows the path to improving teacher education to meet the requirements of everyday work at school and also make the teaching profession more attractive to young people.

6. Conclusion

Development in teacher education has taken place in light of the requirements posed by schools and also changes in the society, which in turn highlight new expectations of schools and education in general. Recent developments are in movement towards greater cooperation between educational sciences and subject didactics, and between theory and practice, but also between academic history and teachers' education. The negative aspect is the reduction of selection of students, as well as the fact that educational opportunities are linked to economic capability. As a strength it is possible to bring out the aspect that the curriculum gives young teachers preparation and qualification in both areas: history and civics. The teachers' curriculum takes into account the requirements of the labour market, the current national curriculum and other strategy documents of education. At the same time it cannot be expected that the university provides teachers' training at the end of their career. Teachers should be ready for lifelong learning, taking into account changes in society and the paradigmatic changes in education. Graduates of the history and civics curriculum, young teachers, have made themselves noticeable with their active participation in history teachers' community. They compile educational materials, participate in collaborative projects, provide training and supervise the practice of today's students. All of this is the best confirmation that the university provides young teachers with the necessary training and

curriculum development, while taking into account the general trends in education.

Notes

1 Professional standard. Teacher, level 7: http://www.kutsekoda.ee/et/kutseregister/kutsestandardid/10494558 (8.02.2016).

2 Teachers' opinions and examples are from interviews and surveys, which are presented in the PhD thesis, see Oja, 2016, chapter IV.

3 The curriculum was approved at the Council of University 22.03.1999. Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (1999) *Õppeteatmik 1999/2000* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 1999/2000]. Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 1999, 87–88.

4 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2002) *Õppeteatmik 2002/2003* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2002/2003], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 302.

5 Tallinna Ülikooli Õppeinfosüsteem (ÕIS) [Learning Information System]: http://ois.tlu.ee/pls/portal/ois2.ois_public.main (28.09.2016).

6 Subject council worked under the Ministry of Education. Their task was to discuss all questions concerning the development of the subject, for example to evaluate teaching material. Members of the subject council were experienced teachers from different regions of Estonia, academics and people worked in the subject area or in NGOs. Mare Oja (2014) 'Ajalooõpetajate koolitamisest Tallinnas' [Teaching history teachers in Tallinn], *Kakskümmend aastat Eesti Ajaloo- ja Ühiskonnaõpetajate Seltsi* [Twenty years of the Estonian History and Civics Teachers' Society], Tallinn, 150-152.

7 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (1999) *Õppeteatmik 1999/2000* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 1999/2000], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 87-88.

8 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2000) *Õppeteatmik 2000/2001* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2000/2001]. Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 285-286.

9 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2000) *Õppeteatmik 2000/2001* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2000/2001]. Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 274.

10 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2001) *Õppeteatmik 2001/2002* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2001/2002], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 287-288, 307.

11 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2002) *Õppeteatmik 2002/2003* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2002/2003]. Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 302; Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2003) *Õppeteatmik 2003/2004* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2003/2004], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 99-100.

12 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2003) *Õppeteatmik 2003/2004* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2003/2004], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 98.

13 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2003) *Õppeteatmik 2003/2004* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2003/2004], Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 115.

14 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2004) *Õppeteatmik 2004/2005* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2004/2005] Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 98-100.

[15] The aim of the induction year is to foster novice teachers' socialization to the educational organisation, improve professional skills acquired in the course of initial education, and offer support in solving problems that stem from lack of experience. Eisenschmidt E., Köster, K. & Poom-Valickis, K. (2008, 2013) *Implementation of induction year programme in educational institutions in Estonia*, Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool, 4.

[16] Üldharidussüsteemi arengukava aastateks 2007-2013 [Development Plan of the General Education System for 2007-2013], 19: https://www.hm.ee/ sites/default/files/uldharidussusteemi_arengukava_0.pdf (7.05.2015).

[17] Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool (2005). *Õppeteatmik 2005/2006* [Tallinn Pedagogical University. Study directory 2005/2006]. Tallinn: TPÜ kirjastus, 128-130.

[18] Curriculum of history and civic teachers. Institut of History, Tallinn University. Changed 21.03.2006. Manuscript in the Institute of History of Tallinn University.

[19] Centre of Excellence in Educational Innovation: http://www.tlu.ee/en/TU-Centre-of-Excellence-in-Educational-Innovation (28.09.2016).

[20] Centre for Innovation in Education: http://www.tlu.ee/en/centre-for-innovation-in-education/The-Laboratory-of-History-and-civi-studies (28.09.2016).

[21] Meetings: 16.03.2010 in Tallinn, participants: Anu Raudsepp (Tartu University – TU), Ülle Luisk (TU), Mare Oja (Tallinn University – TLU), Toomas Kravik (TLU), Tiia Luuk (Tallinn Secondary School of Science, Estonian History Teachers´ Association), Liis Reier (Lycée de Francais de Tallinn, alumni of TLU), Maarja Tinn (Tallinn Kristiine Gymnasium, TLU alumni); 01.06.2010 in Tallinn, participants: Anu Raudsepp (TU), Mare Oja (TLU), Toomas Kravik (TLU), Tiia Luuk (Tallinn Secondary School of Science, Estonian History Teachers´ Association), Siiri Aiaste (Tallinn Kuristiku Gymnasium), Anneli Kommer (TLU), Maarja Keskpaik (TU, student), Aare Ristikivi (Hugo Treffner Gymnasiumi, TU, tutor of practice); 04.03.2011 videoconference, participants: Anu Raudsepp (TU), Ülle Luisk (TU), Eero Medijainen (TU), Mare Oja (TLU), Toomas Kravik (TLU), Liis Reier (Lycée de Francais de Tallinn, TLU alumni), Maarja Tinn (Tallinn Kristiine Gymnasium, TLU student), Siiri Aiaste (Tallinn Kuristiku Gymnasium). Registration sheets of meetings. – Private archive of the author.

[22] Conference of pedagogical practice 04.11.2010 in Tallinn University, Institute of History (Rüütli 6) – Private archive of the author.

[23] Tiia Luuk. Comparison of initial history teacher training curriculum in Tallinn and Tartu Universities. 30.03.2010 – Private archive of the author.

[24] Siiri Aiaste. Comparison of initial history teacher training curriculum in Tallinn and Tartu Universities. 13.03.2010 – Private archive of the author.

[25] Topics of history didactics and pedagogical practice in Turku University 5.03.2013; electronic correspondence with Arja Virta on 5.02.2013, 15.02.2013. 16.02.2013, 27.02.2013 – Private archive of the author.

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28 Practicum of didactics I. Conclusion of the seminar. 14.12.2013 – Private archive of the author.

29 Practicum of didactics II. Conclusion of the seminar. 16.05.2014 – Private archive of the author.

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33 Õpetajakoolituse praktika I [Teacher training practice I]: http://edidaktikum.ee/et/content/%C3%B5petajakoolituse-praktika-i-iii-r%C3%BChm-aiaom-ekeom-skvom-grvom

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TELL US ABOUT YOUR NATION'S PAST: SWEDISH AND AUSTRALIAN PRE-SERVICE HISTORY TEACHERS' CONCEPTUALISATION OF THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY

Monika Vinterek, Debra Donnelly and Robert Thorp

The Comparing our Pasts (COP) project aimed to determine what Swedish and Australian pre-service history teachers know, understand and believe to be important about their nations' past. In this study pre-service history teachers were asked to write a short history of their nation in their own words without using outside sources of information. This article reports on a preliminary analysis of resulting texts, comparing and contrasting their conceptualisations of Sweden and Australia and what aspects of history were manifest in the analysed data. Given that the participant group is situated in two different national contexts, this study aims to analyse how the pre-service teachers' narratives of the nation can be understood as influenced by the national historical cultures of Sweden and Australia. The results show that the respondents' narratives expressed both similarities and differences that highlight the pertinence of a historical cultural approach to history education and pre-service history teacher training that may be linked to the differing national historical contexts. These results are then used to argue the importance of an awareness of historicity in order to highlight and stress how our views of and approaches to national history is contextually contingent. This poses a challenge to history teacher training both in Sweden and Australia.

1.   Introduction

From a historical perspective, the teaching of history in many nations, including Sweden and Australia, has been associated with the rise of the nation state. The traditional historical narrative of the nation state is frequently characterised by an attempt to present the nation's past in a positive and inspiring manner, and to stress national continuity and homogeneity. Through the study of history, the youth of the nation were supposed to form a national identity and thus promote national cohesion (Carretero, Rodríguez-Moneo, & Asensio, 2012; Johansson, 2012: 10). With the advent of the 1st and 2nd World Wars and the ensuing crisis of nationalism, an international trend in history education was to focus on global aspects of history to avoid

nationalist renderings of history and foster an international rather than national identity (Nygren, 2011). Moreover, there has been a strong trend in international history education stressing both disciplinary and critical aspects of the subject rather than the dissemination of particular national narratives. This means that the purpose of history education in Sweden and Australia (as well as most Western countries) has undergone a fundamental change: instead of fostering proud nationalists, the teaching of history has been aimed at furthering a critical understanding of the subject and an international perspective on history (Foster, 2012; Henderson, 2005; Johansson, 2012: 9-10; Körber, 2016: 441; Nygren, 2011). Despite this aim, research has indicated that a traditional Eurocentric and national narrative plays a dominant role both in Swedish and Australian history education, as well as that of other countries (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 249-51; Lozic, 2010: 217-9; Parkes, 2009; Rantala, 2012), thus indicating the persistence of a traditional historical culture concerning the countries' past in history education. One aim of this article is to further this discussion through an engagement with what renderings of their national history pre-service history teachers in Sweden and Australia have close at hand.

Furthermore, history is a subject that carries political and existential weight that can cause strong emotions and controversy, and particularly so national history (Ahonen, 2014; Breen, 2008; Macintyre & Clark, 2004; Nordgren, 2011; Potapenko, 2010). Teachers and students alike are members of societies that influence what they think and know of history (Danielsson Malmros, 2012: 383-386; Porat, 2004; Thorp, 2015). This makes history education a complex task for teachers. Not only do they have to take the pre-conceptions and views of their students into account when entering the classroom, but they also need to engage with their own pre-conceptions and views of history in order to foster a critical understanding of the subject (Thorp, 2017). Generally speaking, research on how history education may foster critical thinking has been directed towards studying either the history portrayed by educational media or how students may appropriate and develop these competencies (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Lévesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013). In our view, most research concerning pre-service history teachers has been directed towards how they perceive history and has stressed their tendencies to approach history in what could be called a traditional uncritical

manner (Akinoglu, 2009; Hicks, 2005; Lilliestam, 2015; Ludvigsson, 2011; Vansledright & Reddy, 2014; Wansink et al., 2017). This is also addressed in this article.

National history and the teaching thereof are currently controversial issues in Australia. The recent introduction of a national History curriculum has re-ignited concerns over whose history is being taught in schools (Blainey, 1993: 10-11; Donnelly, 1997: 15), and anxieties over what the public knows about their nation's past (Ashton, Connors, Goodall, Hamilton & McCarthy, 2000: 168-170; Ashton & Hamilton, 2007: 45-47). In Sweden, on the other hand, national history does not have a dominant role in public discourse or research on history education. This lack of attention could, however, also be problematic since the dominant national historical narrative is rarely challenged (Lozic, 2010; Nordgren, 2006). Another difference between Swedish and Australian national history is the role the indigenous populations play. Whereas the Aboriginal population of Australia has a rather prominent role in Australian historical cutlure (Parkes, 2013), the Sami perspective on Swedish history is not as prominent in Swedish historical culture. Furthermore, the Swedish and Australian nations have different historical backgrounds. While Swedish nation is generally perceived to have emerged through a long process of centralisation of power, the Australian nation is the result of a colonial past that still occupies a central role in the contemporary discourse on national history in Australia, which in turn incites controversy (cf. MacIntyre & Clark, 2004). We thought these differences in the general historical culture and what reverberations they might have on how pre-service history teachers perceive their national past could be an interesting point of comparison since it would allow us to analyse how the respondents situated themselves in relation to their national pasts and what relevance that may have for how they narrate their national history.

In order to address these issues we chose to approach the data from three different perspectives. Firstly, in order to tease out how the respondents approach and view history, we chose to analyse how the pre-service history teachers chose to frame their narrative and approach the assignment. Secondly, in order to grasp how the respondents regard the nation, we analysed how they conceptualised the notion of the nation. Lastly, we analysed with what view of history the respondents represented their nations' history?

Altogether, these perspectives also enable analyses of how the pre-service history teachers' narratives of national history make manifest and relate to national historical cultures.

2.   History Teacher Education in Australia and Sweden

In New South Wales, Australia, History teachers are educated in a four-year degree combining discipline and education courses or in a two-year Master of Teaching program after their initial undergraduate Bachelor of Arts. In the combined undergraduate degree, from which the majority of our participants were drawn, approximately half of the students come directly from their school studies and the other half enter as 'mature age' students (over 21 years old). Students can study History and a major or minor sequence and usually also undertake Social Science or English courses. The courses vary from university to university, but teacher accreditation recommends at least one unit of Australian history and requires the undertaking of a sequence of study to an advanced level. The majority of participants in this research were mid-way through their teacher qualification.

In Sweden, there is no national syllabus of history teacher education stating what historical content the history courses should survey. Traditionally, history teacher students in Sweden study the same courses in history as other history students where a great deal of attention is given to general national and world history on the basic courses (i.e. the first two semesters of history courses) and on historiographic and theoretical and methodological aspects of academic history on the advanced courses (i.e. year two and beyond). Primary school teacher students usually take very short courses in history ranging from five to ten weeks in length (7,5 to 15 ECTS). Lower secondary school teachers are required to take history for at least one year (60 ECTS) and upper secondary school teacher students are required to study history for a minimum of one and a half years (90 ECTS). Thus, generally speaking, primary and lower secondary school teachers take survey courses in history at university. What the content of these survey courses will be differs from university to university, but typically Swedish and European political and economic history is given a dominant role. The participants in this study all studied to become lower or upper secondary school history teachers.

3. Methodology

3.1 *Theoretical Assumptions*

We depart from a fundamental assumption stating that our past experiences determine what we perceive and how we can perceive what we meet, which in turn affects how we understand ourselves and the world around us (Gadamer, 1997; Warnke, 1987 & 1995). This is particularly pertinent when it comes to history and history education. A key aspect of history is that it is the result of careful interpretation and representation on the part of historians, but our encounters with it are also contingent on our preconceptions and views of history (Gadamer, 1975; Thorp, 2016). This in turn makes all history and all our encounters with it contextually contingent, i.e. it is always situated in a temporal and spatial context. German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer claimed that an awareness of these aspects of history, this *historicity*, was the most important achievement of modern man (Gadamer, 1975:8). This is perhaps the most important and complex aspect of history and history education, especially when it comes to how we narrate the national past since it will endow us with an understanding that all history comes from somewhere and thus is contextually contingent (Thorp, 2016: 65-68; Persson & Thorp, 2017). History teachers are the ones primarily responsible for the learning environment their students encounter in history education, since they enact it through their planning and teaching. Therefore, history teachers' awareness of the importance of content selection, critical thinking skills and teaching approaches are quite important in that they offer students different possibilities to understand history and the world. Hence the focus on how pre-service history teachers perceive and represent national history.

We assumed that if we can learn more about pre-service history teachers' views of national history, it could be an indication of what national historical cultures they are influenced by and how they relate to these national historical cultures. To enable such an investigation we examined how they perceive what we generally term as a 'nation' and what aspects of history they associate with the country in which they live and what kinds of historical narratives they create. We then inductively analysed the collected data and generated categories of how the respondents conceptualised the nation. We did, however, avoid using the term 'nation' in the cues given to the respondents,

due to the political and judicial connotations of the term. We also chose to apply the term 'narrative' in a broad manner and in the context of this study it should primarily be understood as the written responses provided by our respondents.

3.2 *Research Population and Method*

For the research project, we used an open-ended narrative methodology inspired by Canadian researcher Jocelyn Létourneau (2006) which saw the writing of texts from pre-service history teachers in Australia and in Sweden. The participants were instructed to 'Please tell the history of Australia/Sweden in your own words'[1] and they were allowed up to 45 minutes writing time to give their replies. The participants were told not to access the internet, as we were interested in what they thought, rather than a 'correct' answer from a history website.

  Altogether there were a total of 133 useable texts collected from pre-service history teachers in Australia and in Sweden. 97 of those were gathered in the School of Education at one regional university in New South Wales, Australia.[2] The participant group was made up of 27 male and 70 female pre-service history teachers.[3] These participants had elected to take History as one of their teaching areas, either as a major (1st teaching subject) or as a minor (2nd teaching subject). The participants were at different years of their degree from 1st to 4th year, but most were midway through their degree and the group had varying levels of Australian history in their university study profile, 36 had not studied Australian history since secondary school and 45 had not completed their history discipline courses required for the teaching accreditation standard.

  The respondents wrote their responses in tutorial classes. The participants were instructed to 'Please tell the history of Australia in your own words' and typed their responses directly into a word processing document. They also completed a series of demographic questions and were asked to paste their history into a Survey Monkey link. It was clearly explained to the participants that the submission of their answers to the data bank was voluntary, but that once it was submitted their replies could not be withdrawn, due to the anonymous nature of the data collected. They were not given any incentives or rewards for taking part, except the satisfaction of being involved in history research.

In Sweden pre-service teachers from three universities of different size, in different parts of Sweden participated in the investigation. All of these were taking History as the main subject in their teacher program. Most of the participants included in the study, had 30 or almost 30 higher education credits (HE credits) in History, 5 had 22,5 HE and 2 had more than 30 HE. 60 HE is equivalent to one year of full-time-study.

As with the Australian research, the participants answered an online survey. Groups from two of the universities were in class physically and one group answered the survey online from home. In all three groups one of the researchers was present. The pre-service teachers were informed that it was voluntary to participate and that the data would only be used for scientific purposes. They were asked to give their informed consent and to answer some questions such as their age, sex, and former schooling before dealing with the main question.

In total 45 pre-service history teachers participated[4] in the Swedish part of the study.[5] For different reasons nine respondents' answers were not included in the study.[6] This left us with 36 texts from Swedish pre-service teachers to be analysed. 24 of those where written by men, 11 by women and one was written by a person classified as 'other' sex.

4. Analysis

To start with we looked for evidence to determine whether the students had reflected on the assignment itself. Did they take the concept of nation for granted or did they attempt a definition of Australia or Sweden? When examining the way the participants framed their texts and how it was described and presented, we analysed what type of narratives the respondents wrote; was the text written in a chronological order, and if so when did it start, or was it written thematically. We also looked for emphases and attitudes, for example whether the respondent explicitly informed the reader about what kind of history that should be considered important. These aspects all relate to how the pre-service teachers approach and view national history at a more historiographic and meta-historical level.

We then looked for words and phrases as indications of how the pre-service teachers conceptualised Sweden or Australia as national entities. We found that the most conspicuous categories of the nation

in our data was as either a geographical, constitutional or cultural entity. Data indicating an understanding of the nation as an entity mainly constituted by boundaries separating one piece of land from another was coded as geographical. If the data portrayed legal or judicial systems and such, we coded this as a constitutional entity, and references to cultural notions of the nation was coded as a cultural understanding of the nation.

When analysing what history the participants represented in their answer to the instruction: 'Please tell the history of Australia/Sweden in your own words,' we found most of the texts reelatd to economic, political, social and or cultural (including different ideas and religious matters) aspects of history. In this phase in our interpretation we wanted to analyse what history the pre-service teachers perceived as important and influential regarding the history of their nation.

After repeated readings, we coded the texts sentence by sentence related to the above categories and then estimated the number of lines of text for each category which also allowed us to calculate the frequency of each category in percentages. All student teachers gave their answers in the same template which enabled us to count lines in a somewhat comparable way. We acknowledge that this method is a somewhat blunt tool, but believe that it allowed us to develop an overview of what aspects of history the respondents stress and associate with the country in which they live.

5.   Results

5.1 *Australia*

In the Australian sample, there were 97 texts from pre-service teachers from one regional university. Although all participants were allowed 45 minutes to complete the task, there was a great variation in the length of the Australian texts with a variation from 115 to 1409 words. The average was 551 and a median of 535 words.

5.1.1 *Australian Pre-service Teachers' Approach to and Framing of the Assignment*

Almost all the texts took a chronological approach with 65 % beginning their national histories with pre- and post-colonisation accounts of the indigenous peoples of Australia. This quotation captures the attitude of many: 'Long before European settlement there were indigenous aboriginal people. They lived a peaceful,

nomadic existence. Everything was chill' (A13). Another 29 % began their narratives with early European exploration and British colonisation. Explanations such as:

Captain James Cook discovered Australia in the 1770's, and after great debate in England regarding what to do with English prisoners as there had been a rebellion in the America's, the British decided to send their criminals to Australia and create a prison colony. (A22)

A small group of respondents (8 %) took a more Big History approach and began their stories of Australia in pre-history, like this:

Australian history begins with the breakup of the super continent Pangea and eventually Australia would form Gondwanaland […] this allows the southern continent to develop unique ecosystems. (A51)

A few students acknowledged the difficulty with the notion of Australia in the task and problematised the appropriate perspective to take. They questioned where and when the national history should be positioned. Should it start at Federation, the 1901 joining of the separate states under a federal constitution, or with aboriginal or British settlement or is the nation more about geography? Comments such as, 'This is a history of the land we now call Australia, but, where do you wish to start and what does the name mean' (A11), expresses this dilemma.

5.1.2 *Australia as a Conceptual Entity*
Despite most of the pre-service teachers tending to take the concept of Australia for granted, a number of conceptualisations of the nation could be discerned with many accounts demonstrating more than one of these notions of Australia. The ideas about Australia as an entity can be divided into three main areas. A quarter of the narratives explicitly conceptualise the nation as a geographic entity. They refer to the continent of Australia with nine narratives starting the history of Australia in pre-history:

Through geographical changes such as changes to the climate, the movement of tectonic plates and through the stabilisation of the environment, Australia as a continent was born. (A65)

The word 'island' was mentioned in 10 % of these narratives in relation to discussing the early history of Australia.

Australia was already isolated as an island. It took an ice age to lower the levels of the ocean, an estimated 50,000 years ago, for a land bridge to be created and to allow the passage of the first Australian's from Asia to Australia. (A97)

For most of the participants the idea of Australia as a geographic entity was implied by their use of terms such as the 'discovery' and 'exploration' of Australia by Europeans (n82). Some explanations involved the nation being founded as the result of European exploration and British colonisation. For example, this narrative highlights the evolution of the name Australia and links the foundation of the nation to European invasion.

In 1606 Dirk Hartog struck gold, making landfall on what just might have been the much speculated and mythical southern supercontinent, Terra Australis. This was the first landing by a white man on the shores of what would become New Holland and later Australia. (A49)

The largest group of 55 % took a cultural perspective on the notion of Australia. They argued the Australian nation was an accumulation of different peoples beginning with the indigenous occupation. There was an acknowledgement in many texts (n45) that the history of Australia has traditionally privileged European settlement, but now indigenous history is being recognized as foundational to the nation's story:

The starting point in our history is still being played out in today's society. The English claiming that the indigenous people of Australia did not have the right to the land because they did not live a Western lifestyle. (A10)

Again 'The British took over Australia taking the indigenous peoples land, homes and communities. The British invaded Australia and built up colonies to be the 'new' Australia (A14). A number told the story of the waves of immigration forming the nation (n25) 'the people of Australia that make up the history of Australia, it's a culture.'

The Australia as a constitutional construct was also viewed as important. Over half of the narratives mentioned Federation of 1901, the joining together of the previously independent states under a federal government (n51), with most seeing this event as a major step in the development of the nation. Some outlined the development of Australia from separate colonies to a federated nation under the control of Britain (n22). 'The resource rich Australian land fuelled trade and a 'new economy' developed and the monarchy assumed it's [sic] place as the governance of Australia.'(A61) And again:

After some time, it was decided that these states and territories be ruled under one government, and that this country would be known as 'Australia' in 1901 […] The country was (and is), however, still ruled by the English monarchy. (A8)

Several narratives (n9) added that the involvement in overseas wars and trade as an indication of nationhood, with statements such as:

Australia moved from being a lone island part of the Commonwealth of England to a player on the world affairs with our involvement in World War I and II. (A12)

5.1.3 *Australian Pre-service Teachers' Views of History*
Regarding what views of history the Australian pre-service teachers held, we can see that the largest category in this coding was social history 37 %. Political history was the next most popular focus with 29 % and then economic at 15 % and cultural at 11 %. It is foremost the narratives of Aboriginal dispossession and survival that have been coded as social history.

5.2 *Sweden*

On average the pre-service history teachers in Sweden wrote 498 words, which is close to the median 471 words. Half of the respondents wrote between 400 and 600 words (n18). Eight wrote more than 600 words and eight less. Only one used less words than 200 (159) and one student stood out compared to the others writing 882 words.

5.2.1   *Swedish Pre-service teachers' Approach to and Framing of the Assignment*

Most of the Swedish texts were structured in a chronological order approximately 75 %. Of those with a chronological structure more than 50 % started around year 1000, mostly mentioning the Vikings. The other 25 %, still structured chronologically started in different time eras raging from the Ice age to the Swedish Empire of the 17th and 18th centuries. The rest of the texts began by thematical renderings of national history, or the respondents reflected on the assignment.

  Most of the Swedish pre-service history teachers did not explicitly reflect on what Sweden as a concept meant to them. Instead, most of the texts were structured around a chronology of events and prominent historical figures. One conspicuous difference in the Swedish sample compared to the Australian one, is that the respondents to a rather high degree ascribed agency to the nation. Expressions like these were not unusual in the Swedish data: 'Sweden's struggle for labour union rights […]' (S44), 'Sweden had succeeded (fairly well) to stay out of both World Wars […]'. (S28), 'It was during World War II that Sweden began its construction of the welfare state […].' (S36), 'From this Sweden learnt a lesson.' (S37) 'After Sweden stopped waging war and dream about great power […].' (S39). Thus, Sweden struggles, succeeds, constructs, wages war, learns lessons and dreams. It was, however, often difficult to ascertain what the respondents exactly meant by 'Sweden' in these texts.

  There were only a few pre-service teachers that explicitly problematized the question as it was asked (i.e. 'Please tell the history of Sweden in your own words') expressing awareness that the notion of Sweden can be understood in different ways. One student started by writing 'When does a country become a country'[7] (S12) and then gave different suggestions to what that can be: 'when a people feel that they belong to the same nation,' when 'national borders' are defined, when 'the monarchy consolidates some kind of unity,' or 'when people settle in the geographic area we call Sweden'. Another student teacher started: 'The history of Sweden can be said to start […] but that depends on how one categorises Sweden' (S13). Some of the pre-service teachers also stressed that it is difficult to know when Sweden became Sweden, but at the same time they refer to the

foundation of Sweden as a national state (S10, S28, S36,). One example reads:

[T]he 'history of Sweden was not problematised very much [in earlier schooling], in the sense that what was considered the core was relatively fixed. One example of this is that, as far as I can remember, it was never discussed when Sweden became Sweden. [...]. The image I got was that the nation Sweden existed already during the Viking Age. (S41)

   Here the respondent attempts to give some kind of explanation to what he or she holds to be an absence of problematisations in most narratives about Swedish national history. We interpreted this as an interesting example of what is perceived as a dominant national historical culture and how the respondent attempts to distance him- or herself from it.

5.2.2   *Sweden as a Conceptual Entity*

Looking for different ways of referring to or using the term Sweden gives the impression that most students use the term to refer to a piece of land in one way or another. In 50 % (n18) of the texts there are explicit references to an area of land. There are expressions like 'Sweden gets bigger' (S6) 'Sweden was later divided' (S4); 'they allowed the Germans to pass Sweden' (S3); 'The history starts when the territory of Sweden was populated' (S14); 'In Sweden' (S44). Many texts do however, go beyond such understanding. In 39 % (n14) we found conceptions of Sweden as a constitutional entity. For example, 'Sweden joins the UN' (S6), 'Sweden established a more comprehensive organisation and finally a state apparatus. A new nation could emerge' (S21) and again 'After Sweden's formation of what we would call a nation' (S24). In all, 14 students viewed Sweden as both an area of land and a constitutional entity, with this duality being implicit rather than explicitly expressed. There are some exceptions. One student wrote about Sweden as a geographic and territorial entity but he also explicitly reflected on how this territory became a nation in terms of legislation (S4). The narrative of another pre-service teacher began with 'Sweden was a land which was populated late' (S10) and continues 'There is no exact date or year when Sweden was founded' (S10).

The least evidenced conception of Sweden was as a cultural entity. This notion was found in 14 % (5) of the texts. In one text this thought was expressed:

Nowadays most people and those in power think about Sweden as a geographic area inhabited by Swedes and filled with 'Swedish culture,' not a geographical area where a monarch rules.

There was one pre-service teacher that explicitly wrote about Sweden in cultural geographical terms as one way to categorise Sweden (S13). He or she stated:

The concept Sweden is today a historical relic as much as it is a cultural geographical space and a nationality, this dualism applies to all countries, but to a higher extent to older states and nations where history has dictated and formed a national romantic picture of the inhabitants of the land and how these individuals are expected to be. (S13)

Here the respondent reacts on what he or she perceives to be an antiquated notion of the nation, and in order to do so he or she engages in a rather complex meta-historical discussion of how we frame and present the nation in a Swedish national historical culture.

In one text Sweden is foremost presented in connection to ideological standpoints in a way that makes Sweden appear as a subject with agency that forms a special kind of culture.

If I am going to point out something that makes me especially proud of the history of Sweden it is our neutrality and that Sweden has been able to stay out of war for more than 200 years! [...]. When it comes to the labour movement and the new class society [sic!], Sweden is a leading star. [...]. Sweden is leading when it comes to feminism and hbtq, even if we always can do better it is a source of joy in our history. (S11)

In another text Sweden also is ascribed agency in relation to cultural aspects with expressions like 'Sweden copies', 'a bit backwards when it comes to new things', 'Sweden was only developed after a kick in the behind', (S20). Finally it should be noted that the Swedish indigenous people, the Sami, are only mentioned in two of the narratives (S24, S44).

5.2.3 *Swedish Pre-service Teachers' Views of History*

Concerning what views the Swedish pre-service teachers had of history, we can see that almost half of the narratives (46 %) dealt with political history and the rest of the narratives were almost equally split among the other categories in the following order: economic 15 %, cultural 11 %, and social 10 %. Thus, political history was by far the most popular focus of the Swedish pre-service history teachers' responses.

6. Discussion

When asked to write about the history of Australia and Sweden most students in both groups draw on a mix of different kinds of history to create a coherent text. Both groups wrote a similar amount of words in the allowed time and the most common approach taken was chronological, with only a few student teachers writing thematically. Thus, we can say that the sample showed a dominant mode of historical narrative that is chronological in order, and it is one that corresponds to a traditional rendering of national history. In this sense, the majority of the pre-service history teachers in both Sweden and Australia make manifest a kind of narrative template (cf. Wertsch, 2002: 60-61) in relation to national history that to a great extent highlights the origins of the nation. This is also a quite traditional mode of national historical exposition. As we have seen above, some respondents chose to distance themselves from the task they were given, and these are also the respondents that chose to abandon the traditional chronological narrative mode. From these results it could then be argued that it seems pertinent to address what narrative mode we use when we narrate national history since the chronological mode of exposition is so strongly associated with the national narrative in particular and historical narratives in general (cf. Thorp, 2017).

   Most of the pre-service teachers tended to take the concept of Australia and Sweden for granted. There were only a few of them that explicitly problematized the question 'Tell us about the history of Australia/Sweden in your own words' expressing an awareness that concepts as Australia and Sweden can be understood in different ways. This result also seems to stress the importance of a kind of critical awareness of how we frame and narrate national history, since

it seems to be so strongly warranted in national historical culture at large and in our respondents' replies.

We did, however, find differences between how the Swedish and Australian respondents conceptualised the nation. When Swedish pre-service teachers wrote about Sweden it was mostly referred to as a territorial and geographical kind of entity; this was found in more than 50 % of the texts. Only half as big a proportion (25 %) of the Australian respondents referred to Australia in such a way. Instead constitutional references were made and more than half of the Australian texts included such orientations. Cultural connotations of the country as an entity were the least common in the Swedish texts (17 %) but in the Australian data cultural connotations were the most common ones (55 %). Furthermore, these differences also correspond to what kind of history these pre-service teachers presented. Social history was much more prevalent in the Australian sample (40 %) compared to the Swedish one (12 %), and there was considerably more political history in the Swedish texts (57 %) compared to the Australian data (32 %).

We take the prominence of indigenous history to be one reason why the Australian respondents focused more on cultural history than their Swedish counterparts. The Aboriginal historical experience is one that is very prominent in Australian historical culture and it is a hotly debated topic that carries political weight. In this sense Australian national history could be argued to be more contemporary both in the Australian sample and in Australian society. The Swedish respondents, on the other hand, placed emphasis on geographic and constitutional aspects of Swedish national history and this is also more in tune with a general Swedish national historical culture that stresses national homogeneity and continuity (cf. Zander, 2001). Interestingly, this could also be the reason why a large portion of the Swedish respondents chose to ascribe agency to the Swedish nation in their narratives, since this in a way marks distance to the nation's past. It is something that evolves regardless of us and in a sense takes on a life of its own. This seems to be a plausible explanation in comparison with the Australian data where the respondents use history to affirm identity and position themselves politically and thus affirm proximity to national history rather than distance.

Furthermore, this also seems to tell us something of how national historical culture is perceived by the respondents. In the Australian sample, national history is something controversial that you may use

to position yourself politically, whereas in the Swedish sample national history seems to be something that is treated with a certain measure of distance. Both of these approaches to national history have relevance for history education. While the close relationship to national history found in the Australian data may be used to spark interest and engagement in national history, it may also be a double-edged sword that can create division and hostility in an educational context (cf. Ahonen, 2014). In the Swedish context, where national history does not seem to play as central a role as in the Australian context, the distance to national history may provide another type of challenge to history educators. Here the challenge may be to make national history seem relevant in a contemporary context and to try to destabilise the dominant national narrative and narrative mode in order to get at the representative aspects of history, i.e. to try to show that what appears to be a static national history in fact is a historical narrative that is subject to historicity like all the other historical narratives we have.

In order to manage these complexities, we believe that history teachers need an awareness of how general as well as national history is always situated in a historical cultural context and that it is contingent to this context, i.e. it is subject to historicity. Without such an awareness they run the risk of reproducing one particular historical narrative perspective since they, like all the rest of us, are products and members of historical cultures that affect what is historically meaningful and how we approach history (cf. Thorp, 2016: 64-65). Few respondents in our sample indicated such an awareness.

As noted above, a major difference between the Swedish and Australian data is the portrayal of indigenous people. While this is very conspicuous in the Australian data, where almost all the respondents wrote about Aboriginal history, the history and impact of colonisation on the Sami (the Swedish indigenous people) was not a feature of the Swedish data. Perhaps the Australian result is not unexpected as indigenous dispossession and the resulting indigenous disadvantage in a European based society are controversial issues in contemporary Australia society. The topics are studied and debated in school and university level and the participants of this study have a lived history of the National Apology to the Stolen Generation in 2008. In this widely televised speech the Prime Minister apologised

for governmental policies in the treatment of indigenous people and the forced removal of indigenous children from their families and cultural settings. The Apology, as it is known, aimed 'to remove a great stain from the nation's soul and in the true spirit of reconciliation to open a new chapter in the history of this great land Australia.' (Rudd, 2008) In the Swedish texts only a couple of the pre-service history teachers mentioned something related to the Sami people which is more surprising since this is something that ought to be thought in all school forms according to the Swedish curricula (National Agency for Education, 2011a: 15; 2011b: 8).[8] These results also stress the importance of an awareness of historicity on behalf of history teachers.

7.   Concluding Remarks

Within our project we raised the question about what kind of national history future history teachers have close at hand. We assumed that what pre-service history teachers answered when asked to tell the history of Australia and Sweden, would indicate something about how they view national history and their own relation to it. Not many of the pre-service history teachers that participated problematised the question or stopped to reflect on different ways of interpreting what the concept of Australia and Sweden can represent depending on what perspective you take. Some student teachers stressed that it was difficult to identify when their country had been founded and when it became a nation in its own right, it depends on which perspective you approach national history from. This demonstrates an understanding of nations as dynamic constructs rather than something stable and taken for granted, which in turn indicates an awareness of historicity. These two very different ways of approaching the assignment may indicate that an awareness of historicity among pre-service history teacher students may be essential in order to resist the dominant national historical culture and further a more complex and critical view of the nation's past.

   The picture that emerges from our study also shows that a majority of the pre-service history teachers would most likely teach history in a traditional chronological way that puts focus on the origins of the nation. It can be claimed that the pre-service history teachers from Sweden and Australia appeared comfortable to characterise their national history as mono-perspectival narrative with

a clearly defined beginning and ending rather than reflecting on the possibilities of different perspectives and thus portraying a more dynamic view of national history. These results seem to indicate that the traditional national historical narrative still looms large despite the crises of nationalism after the World Wars and effort to focus on international rather than national renderings of the past.

When it comes to what kind of content these pre-service history teachers might stress in their future history teaching there are some differences to be noted. We can assume that future history students in Sweden will be presented with a narrative of the nation dominated by political history and primarily concerned with monarchs and the exertion of power. This contrasts with their Australian counterparts who demonstrated more interest in social history, particularly in relation to Aboriginal dispossession and survival.

In the light of the results of this study, it is important to reflect on the implications of these findings, not only on the kind of teaching students in school might receive, but also what possibilities and limitations it will offer them in an understanding of the world. We believe that this research project provides useful insights into the understanding of national history with potential to broaden the study to include comparisons with other countries and different participant groups, and further explorations into issues of historical significance and perspectives and what challenges for pre-service history teacher education that lie ahead.

Notes

[1] In Swedish: 'Berätta om Sveriges historia med dina egna ord.'

[2] The Australian texts were coded using the initial letter of Australia and each was assigned a number from 1 to 97, i.e., A1- A97.

[3] The choices 'other' and 'would rather not say' from the demographic information were not used by anyone.

[4] 11 from the biggest university (10 included), 16 from the smallest university (9 included) and 18 from the third university (17 included)

[5] The Swedish texts were coded using the initial letter of of Sweden and a number between 1 and 45, i.e. S1-S45.

[6] Five of the students did not answer the main question, did not answer the main question: S1 and S30-S33. Three student teachers answered the main question but their consent is missing: S34, S38, and S45. One answered the main question but wrote only two words, the name of a king, Gustav Vasa, who is one of

Sweden's most famous kings often talked and written about. He is by many historians considered as the founder of the national state of Sweden (S19).

[7] All quotations from the Swedish pre service teachers texts are translated from Swedish to English by the authors.

[8] All school forms include the compulsory school, the compulsory school for students with learning disabilities, the special school, the Sami school and the secondary school. 'The school is responsible for ensuring that each pupil on completing compulsory school […] has obtained knowledge about the cultures, languages, religion and history of the national minorities (Jews, Romanies, indigenous Samis, Swedish and Tornedal Finns,' (Skolverket, 2011a: 15)

'It is the responsibility of the school that all individual students […] have knowledge about the culture, language, religion and history of the national minorities (Jews, Romanies, indigenous Samis, Swedish and Tornedal Finns)' (Skolverket, 2011b: 8).

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COMPETING DISCOURES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY: HISTORY TEACHER EDUCATION STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES OF THE KOKODA AND GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGNS

Heather Sharp, Robert Parkes and Debra Donnelly

This paper explores the narrative data collected as part of the Remembering Australia's Past (RAP) project. History teacher education students were invited to respond to the statement: Tell us the history of Australia in your own words. In the analysis of the submitted narratives we aim to explore how history teacher education students engage with the topics of the Gallipoli (First World War) and Kokoda (Second World War) military campaigns. From the 97 responses received, this paper analyses the twelve participant responses from those who included both the Gallipoli and Kokoda military campaigns as examples of key events in Australia's history, to determine the historical knowledge and types of representations that were included in their narratives. The results indicate that the national narratives of these pre-service teachers were significantly impacted by their high school History studies and their lived experiences.

1.   Introduction: Narrative and Understanding the Past

For decades, scholars have argued that stories are a powerful mode for contemporary meaning-making (Rusen, 2005; Carr, 1986; Ricoeur, 1983). Memory is enhanced by the story structure with its familiar forms, and the narrative places historical evidence into a meaningful context. Stories turn memories, concepts and notions into 'histories' and so in this project participants' articulated histories of the nation are used as a way of exploring historical memory, identity and consciousness. While disciplinary history 'views narratives as hypotheses against which evidence from archives, interviews, and other sources can be tested' official history and/as collective memory 'often takes narratives as objects of dogmatic loyalty' (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009: 379). This is an important point when considering pre-service teachers' commitments to specific national discourses.

Australia has experienced two decades of public debate over the national narrative (Macintyre & Clark, 2003); concerns over which historical perspective is being emphasized in schools (Donnelly,

1997); reports that both teachers and school students lack interest in Australian history and find the state curricula repetitive (Clark, 2008); on-going attempts at political interference in History education (Crowe, 2014; Taylor, 2009); and concerns about low levels of knowledge of the nation's past (Ashton & Hamilton, 2011). Studies of the historical knowledge of Australians have been based on survey research. Such research has offered participants a set of questions to respond to that have pre-determined what people and which events from Australia's past are historically significant. Research of this kind has consistently found the historical knowledge of participants to be wanting. The proposed study approaches the problem of historical knowledge from a different angle.

A recent Canadian study using a narrative methodology refuted survey research and media reports that suggested Canadians had limited knowledge of their national history, finding instead that participants held detailed and socially-shared narratives about their collective past (Létourneau, 2006). Such a 'usable past' is informed by personal and collective historical consciousness, and acts as a filter through which new information is sifted and either integrated into existing frames of reference, or rejected (Werstch, 2002; Wineburg, 2001). The study of Conrad, Létourneau & Northrup (2009) concluded the following: 'like other peoples faced with rapid globalization, cultural pluralism & equity issues, Canadians generally seem to be turning to history as a way of rooting themselves in time and place.' Other studies support these conclusions (Ashton & Hamilton, 2011; Charland, 2003; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Angvik & von Borries, 1997; Seixas, 1993)

Given that a growing body of research (Voss & Carretero, 2013; Seixas, 2004; Osborne, 2003; Wineburg & Grossman, 2000; Wertsch, 2002) suggests that public schooling plays a significant role in shaping historical consciousness and collective identities, the RAP (Remember Australia's Past) project seeks to investigate the influences on the national narratives of these future history teachers. Despite the growing concern in recent years about whose history is taught in schools, and the subsequent heated debates over History curricula that led to the formation of a national History curriculum, there has been very little attention given to the visions of Australia's past that are held by pre-service History teachers who will be tasked with teaching Australia's past to future generations.

2. The History Wars in Australia

History is highly political, as both a discipline and the experience people have of it, especially in terms of collective memories of past and public events. The history/culture wars, those ideological battles waged in Australia from approximately 1993-2007 have contributed significantly to the public's sustained interest in Gallipoli, particularly as a source of national pride and as a symbol of the beginning of Australia as an independent nation. The debates emerged as a binary between politically left and politically right, within a Western, modernist, 'progressive' framework of neo-liberalism. At the core of these debates, two competing ideologies were dominant that created a division of people's understanding of national history that has been established through reporting of the history/culture wars, as either a 'three cheers' or 'black armband' view of the nation's history. Two prominent politicians can be held up as having distinct, and opposing views, on the nation's history. On the one hand is former Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating (1991-1996) who asserts that Kokoda is more representative of an event that reflects Australia's national identity; and on the other hand his successor, John Howard (Australian Prime Minister from 1996-2007), who holds a view of Australian history that seeks to celebrate Australian progressive historical milestones and to marginalise aspects of the nation's history that seek to profile negative or collective shameful aspects, the three cheers view, have consistently reinforced the view, already evident in the public sphere, that Gallipoli is the defining event in the formation of Australia's national identity and should be avidly commemorated. The enthusiastic commemoration of this military campaign continues to receive wide public support, for example through the Centenary of Anzac commemoration funding and activities in this, the centenary years of Australia's participation in the conflict.

While Howard (a conservative) and Keating (who holds progressive views) were not engaged in a sustained or direct discursive battle with each other rather it is Howard, partly as an electoral backlash to the vision Keating had of Australia who was successful in commandeering the public's imagination to reinvigorate and sustain general interest in Australia's involvement in Gallipoli as a key marker of national identity. Arguably, Kokoda stands to be the more pertinent symbol of Australia's coming of age as an independent nation, given that Australia was victorious in this

military campaign. However it is Gallipoli, the campaign that Australia lost in tragic circumstances, while participating as part of a larger imperial force, which has more frequently captured the public imagination. This fascination with Gallipoli can be traced to newspaper reports from the day it began on 25 April 1915, and despite some dips throughout its 100-year history, it maintains its position as one of the most widely commemorated days on the annual calendar of national events. On the other hand, the victory at Kokoda, Papua New Guinea rarely receives any significant public attention. Howard, with a focus on Gallipoli favors a past that links Australia with the UK and imperialism; whereas Keating looks towards an independent nation positioned geographically, and desirably politically also, with Asia.

This paper draws on data collected as part of the Remembering Australia's Past (RAP) project being conducted by the HERMES (Historical Experience, Representation, Memory, Education, Society) research network, concentrated at the University of Newcastle. From the 97 responses received from history teacher education students, this paper analyses the 12 participant responses *only* from those who included both the Gallipoli and Kokoda military campaigns, to ascertain the historical knowledge and types of representations that were included in their narratives.

3.   Methodological Approach and Data Analysis

History teacher education students, who are studying history as either a major or minor teaching area in the secondary teaching program, were invited to participate in this project. Those who self-selected to participate attended one of a number of sessions held in computer laboratory classrooms and were given 45 minutes to respond to the statement: *Tell us the history of Australia in your own words*. There were no pre-selected topics provided on what should or should not be included, instead students were given complete free reign as to what they determined should be included in their narratives. At no time were prompts provided. Participants were then invited to submit their responses and to provide general demographic information on a web portal.

Data was analysed using a historical discursive approach developed by Wodak (2004). This approach, a form of critical discourse analysis, features a close reading of each participants'

responses and is used here by then linking to notions of national identity and cultural nationhood (see, for example, Wodak et al, 1999).

The purpose of using this approach to analyse participants' content knowledge and historical understanding on the topic of the intersections of Gallipoli and Kokoda (only including those participants' responses who explicitly included these two topics) is to determine how they privilege or justify the inclusion of these topics and from what perspective their views on Gallipoli and Kokoda are, and whether or not their ideological understanding of each are contradictory or compatible. For the analysis, each of the participant's responses was analysed, first with each topic in isolation to the other. That is, Gallipoli and then Kokoda independent of each other and then if the participant mentioned Gallipoli and Kokoda together, this was also analysed as a discrete topic. Finally, the analysis of each participant's response was combined with those of other participants in order to determine common discourses that emerged from their representations of Gallipoli and Kokoda in their narratives.

The following questions, taken from Wodak's (2004) work on historical discourse analysis, was applied to each individual response:

3.1 *Preliminary Analysis*

How are individuals, events or groups of people named and referred to linguistically?

What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

3.2 *Intermediate Analysis*

By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?

From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attribution and arguments exposed?

Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated? (Wodak, 2004: 207)

This paper reports on the 12 narratives in which participants include both Kokoda (in some cases Papua New Guinea is the replacement term used to describe the Battle of Kokoda), and

Gallipoli in their discussion of Australia's history. These 12 comprise eight female and four male participants. As seen in figure 1 a breakdown of the inclusion of related topics is shown, included by participants that are analysed in this paper. This figure includes the entire cohort, showing that only 43 of the 97 participants, less than 50 %, even mentioned Gallipoli in their narratives: an interestingly low number given the public attention given to the centenary of WWI, often with a focus on this campaign.
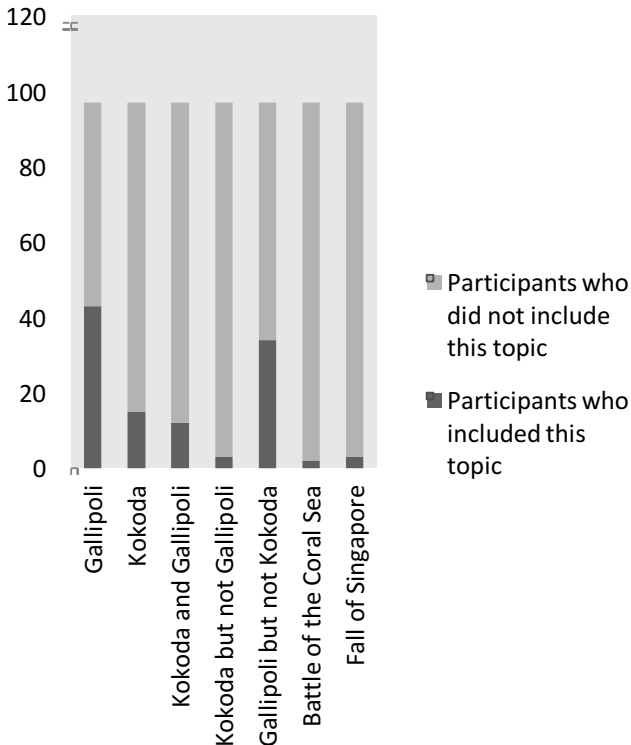
Figure 1: Topics related to Gallipoli and Kokoda

4. Data Analysis: Discourses regarding Gallipoli

4.1 *Discourses of Anzac*

With nine participants including it in their narratives, the discourses of Anzac features as the most prominent emerging from the collected narratives. In this research, *discourses of Anzac* refers to examples where the term *Anzac* is included in a way that extends from merely describing it as 'a military apparatus'. It is included when presented in its a socio-cultural context, particularly in ways the term has been coopted by various groups to serve different purposes post WWI. The three main topics that the discourses of Anzac include are as an example of national identity, of myth making, and of a failed military campaign—topics frequently intertwined.

Participant 13 (P13) finishes his section on WWI by non-explicitly referring to the origin of the Anzac legend, stating 'It was a very uneventful war for Australia, and we really achieved nothing, except the establishment of national pride for having been to war'. It is peculiar that P 13 states that 'It was a very uneventful war for Australia, and we really achieved nothing'. The only mention he made of Australia's involvement in WWI was at Gallipoli, completely ignoring Australia's other military involvements, such as in France. However, he is aware of Gallipoli being a starting place for the (often asserted) emergence of a specific national identity, included here as a 'national pride for having been to war'. The perspective that can be attributed to this participant regarding national identity is one of valuing Australia as an independent nation, and recognising the emotional ties still held to the UK. This is most notable through likening Australian to 'being England's pet'.

P33 writes that the 'promise of travel to exotic lands' came crashing down when the 'young men […] land[ed] on the wrong beach and [were] slaughtered in Gallipoli 25th April 1915'. There is a common myth in popular history surrounding Australia's involvement at Gallipoli that the Australian troops landed at the wrong beach and that this was a leading cause for the failure of the campaign. This kind of myth is widely told and retold in both popular histories and in popular culture, such as films; so much so that the historical facts of events at Gallipoli are often difficult to distinguish from myth, particularly those myths that seek to denigrate the UK's decision making (as the colonial power) and praise Australia's involvement (as a former colony of the UK, and now an

independent nation). It is interesting, and given the perverseness of myths that circulate about Gallipoli not surprising, that history teacher education students also get confused between myth and fact. P39, while not necessarily buying into the discourse of Anzac in terms of the popular myths that have emerged from this historical event, writes briefly about the development of a distinctly Anzac discourse, writing that Australia's involvement in WWI lead 'to the national mysticism of the Anzac legend with the Gallipoli landing in 1915'. Here, P39 is explicit by overtly articulating that it was the battle at Gallipoli that led to the creation of the Anzac legend.

This legend is situated within a context of failure in P79's narrative. Here, he writes, 'The Anzac legend was born' after detailing the casualty rates of Australian soldiers in both Gallipoli and other (unnamed) campaigns. The extent to which the Anzac discourse has grown and has frequently been linked to Australia's sense of nationalism and Anzac discourses/Australia's participation in WWI is demonstrated by P79, who writes that 'Australia had suffered the highest casualty rate out of any of the allied forces'. Even a cursory glance of statistics would reveal that this is completely incorrect.

P74 situates the development of the Anzac legend as coming out of the *failure* of the Gallipoli campaign. This is not historically accurate. It is Ashmead Bartlett's headline story detailing the *landing* of Australian troops on 25 April 1915, and C.E.W. Bean's reports of the efforts of the fighting of the Australian soldier that created and cemented the idea of the brave Australian warrior-soldier (a pervasive discourse that continues today, and has been critiqued in recent times by many authors, for example Brown in his 2014 book *Anzac's long shadow*). P74 also includes details about how this Anzac legend has continued throughout Australian culture and society since WWI, writing:

From here [Australia's biggest military failure] *the idea of the Anzac, a brave solider who partakes in mate-ship and courageous acts was born. This idea has and still is imbedded in much of Australian society.*

In describing the Anzac, P74 uses terms such as 'brave', 'mateship', 'courageous acts'; terms that are generally attributed to this attitude found widely in popular discourses, including media, popular histories, and newspaper articles for example. There is no critical engagement with the use of these descriptive terms; rather

they are accepted as a universal 'truth' of values soldiers exhibited. P74 articulates overtly that this is a discourse that still resides in today's society by writing 'this idea has and still is imbedded in much of Australian society'.

4.2 *Connection to the UK*

In total, five participants (13, 39, 55, 74, 97) include information about Australia's connection to the UK in their narrative section on Gallipoli. The majority of the narratives regarding this connection referred to an emotional, or affective, connection to the Empire of which Australia was once a colony. However, when there is a legislative requirement mentioned, there is still an emotional reason included for why Australia entered WWI. P39 links Australia's involvement in WWI via an explicit connection to the UK being: 'colonial and commonwealth ties' and that 'Australia pledged itself towards the British cause'. Here, P39 sees WWI as an issue for the UK, and suggests that Australia became involved due only to affective (colonial) and legislative (as part of the Commonwealth set out in Australia's Constitution at the time of WWI) requirements.

P13 positions Australia as being in a subordinate relationship to the UK, stating that Australia agreed to enter the war due to 'still being kind of England's pet' and furthermore states that although Australians had nothing against Turkey, it was 'For king and country!' that Australia became involved. This reasoning creates an affective link between Australia and the UK, but also briefly alludes to a legislative requirement by writing 'For King and country!' although this could be equally argued as being only an emotional response for Australia's involvement in WWI, given the socio-cultural connection of the time, whereby even though Australia had federated in 1901, the UK was still referred to as the *Mother Country*, a term that most Australians even now would understand, although not necessarily relate to. P74 discusses Australia's connection to the UK as the reason for becoming involved in WWI, writing:

Australia, as a colony of Britain was forced into the war on its side and many thousands flocked to join the war effort. Men were known to be strong and brave if they joined the war and thousands were shipped off overseas to fight battles in Europe.

While it is correct to write that Australia went to war due to a legal constitutional obligation to the UK (this obligation would be eventually removed in 1942 with the passing by the Australian Parliament of the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act, some eleven years after the UK's Parliament had passed the Bill); it is somewhat of a stretch to say that Australia 'was forced into the war' as the dominant political consensus of the time (from both sides of politics) supported Australia's participation in the conflict. Finally, Australia's connection to the UK is included twice in P55's narrative. The first time is in establishing the outbreak of WWI, where it is included really only as a mention: 'in 1914 there was the outbreak of the First World War in which Australia fought beside the British forces'. The second time is in relation to a sub-discourse or coming of age, analysed in the section below.

4.3 *Sub-discourse: Coming of Age*

The three participants who discuss the *coming of age* topic include it within their narrative when also discussing Australia's *connection to the UK*. In general, it is included as a form of mentioning rather than anything more substantial. P97 refers to Gallipoli as being the point in history whereby Australia moved how it saw itself from being connected to the UK to being an independent nation. After detailing the 'baptism of fire' that Anzac troops experienced, P97 then went on to conclude his section on WWI by writing: 'solidifying what Australian meant as opposed to British'. The second time that P55 includes information about Australia's connection to the UK in her narrative is to establish Australia's growing independence from the UK, writing of Australia's involvement at Gallipoli, 'It was during this battle that the Australian forces stood apart from the British as their own strong, fearless and passionate unit'. Finally, P79 touches briefly, and only superficially, on a coming of age discourse by stating 'On the 25th of April 1915 Australia landed at Gallipoli and fought as a nation for the first time'.

4.4 *Gallipoli as a Failure*

In total, five participants refer to the Gallipoli campaign as a failure. While some of the participants describe this as an explicit failure (for example, P74 and P79), other participants (for example, P52) use language to mitigate this failure. This analysis will begin with

the two participants who describe the campaign as a failure using the language of failure explicitly, before moving on to the three participants who mitigate the failure. P79 and P74 are the only participants who use the word 'fail' and the other three other participants use terms such as 'escaped' and 'removed' to describe Australia's defeat at Gallipoli. P74 uses the word *fail* in the first sentence of his narrative about Gallipoli, writing: 'The first time Australia really made a mark on the world was in Gallipoli which could also be seen as Australia's biggest military failure'. Here, P74 asserts that despite Australia's military failure, the nation still received world recognition from its participation in this campaign. Australia's recognition, on a global scale, is often exaggerated and this is arguably due to the strong Anzac legend discourse that emerged during the conflict. P79, the other participant who explicitly uses the term *fail* in this section of their narrative, in describing the failure of the Gallipoli campaign, writes: 'After the failure of the Gallipoli campaign in October, troops were sent to the western front where they fought with distinction and were used in costly ways'. Although this is only a brief mention of Australia's involvement at Gallipoli, the term failure is used but mitigated by explaining that the soldiers 'fought with distinction' in France but also touches on a popular sentiment about the use and abuse of Australian soldiers, claiming that the soldiers were used in a wasteful manner, assumedly in terms of the causality rate.

Moving now to those participants who allude to, but do not explicitly state that Gallipoli was a failure, P52 refers to Gallipoli as being the 'most famous battle' that Australia was involved in. She does not refer to the battle as a failure (nor does she refer to it as a success), but rather states that is was a 'slaughter on both sides'. P52 also goes on to state that Australians 'escaped' the battle as 'the Australians rigged their guns to shoot continuously through the night while they escaped'. Here, P52 describes the failure of this campaign; not by stating explicitly that is was a failure, but by using the term 'escaped' she is mitigating the failure, almost as though Australian soldiers left before a failure could occur. All of P85's content regarding WWI focuses on Australia's involvement in the Gallipoli campaign. Although there are four sentences included, it really is only as a listing exercise. P85's full narrative on this topic reads: 'WW1 – Anzacs landed in Gallipoli in 1915. Gallipoli landing. Hundreds died on impact of land. Fought the Turkish and Anzac legend was born'.

A focus is taken on the massive human toll of this campaign, without any mention of the military successes; it is seen from a *failure* point of view as 'Hundreds died'. Finally, P35 does not explicitly state that Gallipoli was a military failure, rather she mitigates the message by stating 'The surviving troops were eventually removed from the bay which later became Anzac Cove'. The Anzac legend created at Gallipoli is so pervasive, that often people (in the general Australian community) won't overtly state that Gallipoli was a failure, despite Australia suffering a colossal military defeat.

4.5 *Turkey as the Enemy*

The contemporary relationship between Australia and Turkey is generally regarded as friendly, particularly in the commemoration of areas where the Turkish and Australians fought each other in and around the Gallipoli peninsula. Turkey holds a special place in Australia's collective memory, and this is apparent by the rule that allowed Turkish soldiers of WWI, *a former enemy*, to march in the annual Anzac Day parades, an honour granted to no other nation. Nevertheless, the two countries were enemies during WWI and this discourse tracks three participants' responses when they include their perspective on Turkey as Australia's enemy. In discussing Australia's reasons for entering WWI, P13 states that Australia had nothing against Turkey in engaging in World War I stating in a sarcastic tone, 'Sure! We'll throw bodies at Turkish soldiers who we truly have very little against!' Here, P13 is implying that fighting against the Turkish soldiers was not a wise political decision as Australia and Turkey have not been traditional or historical rivals. P35 is scarce in details regarding Australia's involvement at Gallipoli, and other than including the date the Australians landed at Gallipoli, she indicates that Turkey was militaristically superior by writing: 'Australian troops landed on the shores of Turkey and were gunned down by enemy troops as they stormed the beach'. Here, P35 describes Turkey as being militaristically superior, able to 'gun down' Australian troops. The third participant to include information about Turkey as the enemy is P55, who in her narrative on WWI, refers to Turkey as admiring the Australian soldiers, despite being enemies. She writes 'even the Turkish who Australia were fighting against admired their determination during this battle'. The inclusion of the Turkish soldiers as admiring the Australians is common in historical

understandings of the events, and the Australians to the Turkish soldiers also reciprocated that admiration, although this information is not included in P55's narrative.

5. Data Analysis: Discourses Regarding Kokoda

5.1 *Battle of Kokoda, World War Two*

Six participants' (39, 52, 74, 85, 96, and 97) narratives were analysed and situated within the Battle of Kokoda discourse. This constitutes, as might be expected, the predominant discourse for this topic. However, five participants' responses (participants 39, 74, 96, 85, 97) included information about the Battle of Kokoda as mentioning only, therefore they are not included for analyses. P52 discussed Australia's involvement in the war in terms of the Kokoda Track and also the bombing of Darwin. No mention is made of other theatres of war that Australian troops fought in. It is interesting that he focused on Papua New Guinea (PNG, an Australian territory at the time) and the Australian mainland, despite Australia's participation in the war being geographically widespread. P52 writes: 'Most famously, Australians fought in the pacific, in the Kokoda track keeping enemy soldiers from infiltrating the north of Australia'. Here, she does not say who the enemy is, but rather discusses the battle as being the most famous that Australians fought and that it was to keep the Australian mainland territory safe from invasion, which is mitigated by calling it 'infiltrating'. Whether or not the Japanese intended invading the Australian mainland is a much-disputed historical and political topic, with the general consensus now being that invasion was not intended, despite the bombing of strategic assets in north Australia. Yet there is no discussion of the differing perspectives of this matter reported in this narrative (or indeed any of the narratives written by the participants on this topic). History is seen as closed and not open to interpretation.

5.2 *Japan as the Enemy*

Four participants included information about Japan as the enemy (participants 35, 39, 55, and 79). Participants write about the enemy couched within the context of Australian soldiers, as a factual listing, and as the Japanese planning an invasion, averted by the Australian soldiers. P35 does not include a lot of information describing the

Japanese enemy, instead keeping the narrative regarding Japanese soldiers to factual points (rather than any emotional narrative) contained within her narrative of Australian troops. The Japanese enemy is mentioned three times throughout the narrative on Australia's involvement in PNG and Kokoda. Each time the Japanese enemy is included, it is within the context of Australian troops, who are included first. P35 writes: 'The majority of Australian troops were overseas fighting when the Japanese landed in Papua New Guinea and were making their way down to Australia'; 'The troops that had remained in Australia were young and newly trained, and they were the ones sent to stop the Japanese advance on the Kokoda Track in PNG'; and 'the troops were described as chocolate soldiers […] but in fact, they stopped the Japanese advance with the help of the people of PNG'. P39 only briefly mentions the Japanese troops, writing that Australians fought, 'repelling invading Japanese forces'. Here, the Japanese troops are included only in a factual manner, void of any emotional connection. Similarly, P55 includes one sentence that discusses Australia's involvement in any fighting during WWII, and this is done more or less only as a mention. A first sentence is written to state (incorrectly) that WWII started 'in the 1940s', and then ends with describing Australia's battle with the Japanese. P55 writes this in a non-emotive way, stating 'Australia during this period was in close combat with the Japanese in Papua New Guinea, holding them off from reaching the coastline and then Australia's borders'. Like P52, P55 also includes information about Japan as a force wanting to invade Australia. Although, to be clear, P55 does not explicitly articulate the term *invasion*, instead writing that Australia was 'holding them off from reaching the coastline and then Australia's borders'. Like P52's discussion of the Battle of Kokoda, there is no engagement with this topic as being disputed, rather it is taken as fact that the Japanese troops intended on invading Australia. This was the prevailing attitude of the time, however more recent historical work has led to this notion being disputed.

After introducing the topic of WWII, explaining when this war broke out and giving a small amount of commentary on Australia's involvement at Tobruk, P79 introduces the reason for Australians fighting in Papua New Guinea as being because of a potential Japanese invasion. P79 writes: 'An imminent Japanese invasion soon brought the war to our doorstep and led to the infamous Kokoda trail being born'. P79 then goes on to conflate the bombing of

Darwin and Broome with the Kokoda campaign, although they were not connected in a military campaign sense, writing after the sentence on the 'imminent Japanese invasion'; that 'Darwin was bombed as well as Broome and the Australian soldiers soon pushed the Japanese back out of New Guinea'.

5.3 *Discourses of Anzac*

Narratives around Kokoda relate to the Anzac discourses; and within that a connection WWI with WWII. Participants included information of Australian soldiers fighting well and also consistently link this to Australia's involvement in WWI, as though the Australian soldiers fighting in WWII are an extension of those fighting in WWI. This is a common discourse that permeates today's representations of Australian soldiers on active duty, and is a lineage that former Prime Minister, John Howard propagated. P13 compliments the prowess of the Australian troops and in so doing also referring back to his section on WWI, writing: 'Once again, we fought well' before continuing with noting Australia's involvement in Papua New Guinea. Similarly, but with more detail, P33 discusses positive characteristics of the soldiers fighting on 'The Kokoda trail', writing that this event 'provides yet another iconic tale of bravery and determination for our troops'. P35 connects Australia's involvement in PNG to the Anzac legend, indicating that despite the Australian troops who fought in PNG being considered inferior (and indeed there is contemporaneous documents that clearly demonstrate that this is the case), they still not only did their job as soldiers, but they were also successful against the Japanese troops, forcing their withdrawal. P35 writes: 'This also fuels the Anzac legend as the troops were described as chocolate soldiers, because some people thought that they would melt in the sun but in fact, they stopped the Japanese advance'. P35 includes the term 'chocolate soldier' demonstrating knowledge that this was a derogative term used to describe the Australian troops from the 39th Battalion who were sent to fight the advancing Japanese soldiers. This term was commonly used in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) as a way to deride the Battalion, which was made up of both volunteers and conscripts for the purposes of defending the nation, within its borders and that of its territories. The 39th Battalion was furthermore a reserve force or, *militia*, as it was known at the time. Given its lower status in the AIF,

the derogative term was applied to this Battalion. P39 does not specifically use the term Anzac in this part of his narrative (he did in the Gallipoli section), but he eludes to it, and in so doing creates a link between Gallipoli and Kokoda, by writing of Australians fighting 'closer to home in the pacific theatre, again originating a famous group on the Kokoda track'. Taken in the context of what P39 wrote on the topic of Gallipoli, it is clear that this 'again […] famous group' is the Australian soldiers, or Anzacs.

6.   Data Analysis: Gallipoli and Kokoda Intersections

The discourses that have emerged from analysis of where Gallipoli and Papua New Guinea/Kokoda parts of participants' narratives intersect include: changing allegiances from the UK to the US; Anzac legend within an articulated national identity; situating Australia's involvement in WWI and WWII within a world history approach; and albeit briefly, the identification of both Gallipoli and Kokoda as being the 'most important' campaign that Australians entered in both wars.

In both his narratives of Gallipoli and Papua New Guinea/Kokoda, P13 refers to Australia as being subordinate to another nation, and the changing allegiance from the UK in WWI, to the USA half way through WWII. In WWI, it is the UK, articulated overtly (and also somewhat sarcastically) through the statement 'Australia, still kind of being England's pet, said "Sure! We'll throw bodies at Turkish soldiers who we truly have very little against! For king and country!"' For WWII, P13 writes 'the Americans stepped in […] to help us out' before overtly articulating a sense of indebtedness Australia had towards the US, yet this is couched within an explicit mockery of this indebtedness, through the inclusion of the sarcastic term 'Merica!' Interestingly, and he is the only participant to do so, P97 includes discussion of Gallipoli in his larger narrative about WWII, demonstrating a keen historical knowledge of the relationship between Australia's involvement in both international conflicts, including the change in relationship with former colonial power the UK. In a discussion of the changing allegiances from the UK to the USA, he writes:

World War Two broke out in 1939. Australia was initially most closely allied to Britain, however the fall of Singapore in 1941 and the abandonment of

Australia by Winston Churchill (the same man responsible for the debacle at
Gallipoli) led Prime Minister [John] Curtin to forge strong ties with the United
States for the defence of Australia.

Here, he overtly articulates the blame for the loss at Gallipoli to
Winston Churchill, saying that it was a 'debacle'. However, P97 did
not include this type of information or blame placing on his actual
narrative of Gallipoli. P97 also discusses the 'abandonment of
Australia by Winston Churchill' which was then a major impetus for
Australian turning to the USA for assistance, writing that this caused
the Australian Prime Minister 'to forge strong ties with the USA for
the defence of Australia'; a consequence of the UK's actions (or,
rather inaction) that is still relevant to Australia's defence today.
Certainly, the Australian Parliament's passing of the Statute of
Westminster Adoption Act in 1942 is considered a response to the
lack of military support provided to the UK in the Pacific theatre of
WWII.

Although P52 does not write a lot of information for either the
Gallipoli or Kokoda parts of her narrative, the little she does writes
contain, in both narratives on Gallipoli and Kokoda, the term 'most
famous' to describe Australia's involvement in these two key
conflicts. Here, she is indicating that these two battles are the most
important for Australia in each of the wars they participated.

With the inclusion of the term 'yet another' to describe Australia's
involvement at the Kokoda Track, P33 makes clear that this is not
the first time Australian troops have fought, and this provides a link
to her earlier narrative regarding Australia's involvement in WWI,
specifically the Gallipoli battle. Describing the Kokoda Track, P33
writes that this event 'provides yet another iconic tale of bravery and
determination for our troops'. This follows what she wrote for
Gallipoli: 'They however, along with NZ troops fought gallantly and
are today remembered for their determination and fighting spirit –
never giving up'. P33 provides a perspective that sets out to honour
the actions of Australia's soldiers, particularly through the use of the
term 'determination' in both parts of the narratives; clearly
positioning Australian soldiers as being resilient within an Anzac
legend discourse. Also contributing to the Anzac legend discourse,
P79 discusses a type of national identity in his narrative on Gallipoli,
albeit in a mitigated way, by writing: 'The Anzac legend was born' in
the conclusion of his section on Gallipoli, after identifying the

campaign as a 'failure'. Yet, and this could be indicative of the popular discourses that surround Gallipoli as a source of national identity and pride; whereas for Kokoda, where Australian soldiers were victorious against the Japanese, no such legend making is attributed. Kokoda is discussed in a much more matter of fact way. This is a similar to the treatment of the two events in popular understandings of the conflicts.

In a five-sentence section on the topic of WWII, P35 used three sentences to describe the involvement of Australian and Japanese troops in Papua New Guinea. She also wrote the same amount for Gallipoli, within a five-sentence section on WWI. It is interesting that she wrote the same amount for both conflicts, as generally, participants wrote more for Gallipoli than they did for Kokoda or PNG. This indicates a privileging of the Kokoda campaign in terms of national identity, particularly because this narrative had a far greater affective dimension for Kokoda than it did for Gallipoli. Comparing the two narratives regarding the creation and sustainment of the Anzac legend discourse, in the section on the Kokoda Track, P35 writes:

The troops that had remained in Australia were young and newly trained, and they were the ones sent to stop the Japanese advance on the Kokoda Track in PNG. This also fuels the Anzac legend as the troops were described as chocolate soldiers, because some people thought that they would melt in the sun, but in fact, they stopped the Japanese advance with the help of the people of PNG.

Following the same understanding of this Anzac legend discourse, in the Gallipoli section of her narrative (although without overtly articulating what aspect of landing at Gallipoli created the Anzac legend apart from being 'gunned down'), P35 writes:

On the 25th of April, 1915, Australian troops landed on the shores of Turkey and were gunned down by enemy troops as they stormed the beach. This became the Australian legend of the Anzacs.

When discussing Australia's involvement in WWI and then WWII, in both parts of his narrative, P39 begins by contextualising the wars within an international historical understanding. For WWI, he writes 'In 1914, World War broke out in Europe between the triple entente and the German, Italian and Austrian triple alliance after Balkan

tensions spilled over with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo' before then commencing with Australia's involvement. For WWII, he writes 'In 1939, European war broke after the German invasion of Poland, again following continued tense relations in the region' before then only discussing Australia's involvement in the Pacific theatre. In this way, it can be seen that P39 is clear about placing Australian history within a larger, world history approach. There is little difference in how P39 represents Gallipoli and Kokoda. For both topics, he includes only brief detail of the Australian soldiers, their locations, and of their enemy, generally avoiding any affective connection to these sites of conflict and also any jingoistic patriotism.

7.   Conclusion

Despite significant public debate over the place of Gallipoli and Kokoda in the national narrative, there was little overall attention given to these topics by the participants in our research. Where attention was given to these military conflicts, Gallipoli featured more prominently. It is interesting to note that the participants in our research were mostly students who studied History during and immediately after, the period of the 'history wars' . Ironically, they demonstrated very little engagement with the ideological or historiographic nature of the debates in their responses to the statement *Tell us the history of Australia in your own words*. With only 12 of the 97 participants including both military campaigns in their narratives, it appears to be a topic that does not overly concern the majority of history teacher education students when self-selecting which historical topics to include, despite the public and political heat around these historical events and their significance to the national story.

Overall, as a comparison of the Gallipoli and the Kokoda segments of the narratives, the participants have attributed a greater emotional connection to Australia's involvement in Gallipoli. When Kokoda was included, the emotional intensity of the topic was generally non-existent, and it was discussed as a more regular military campaign. This reflects the popular representations of Gallipoli, being an emotional connection to a discourse of Australia coming of age, as reported in the introduction. In general, multiple perspectives are not apparent within participants' responses, and controversial

topics of history are not approached as such; rather participants produce narratives that confidently assert a particular view. However, the lack of depth of detail and the matter-of-fact way in which the topic of Gallipoli and Kokoda are included could lead to an assumption that the participants' own depth of knowledge on such topics are limited, or that our question to re-tell the history of the nation in your own words was taken literally, to provide a singular account that did not engage directly with the public debates around these narratives. It could also be that some more charged areas of public discourse, such as Gallipoli putting Australia on the world stage, is taken up, but more recent public debate over Kokoda simply hasn't infiltrated into public consciousness, or the curriculum, in the same way.

The historical understanding of history teacher education students, evident in their responses, provides a rich source of information for both History educators and public historians. Students need to be given skills to enable them to approach controversial issues in Australian history with the confidence to teach both the controversial topic and how students can deal with controversy in history more generally. As emerging teachers, history teacher education students can be equipped with skills to deal with topics that spur emotional reactions in high school students (and, possibly, their parents) without being accused of being inflammatory or for siding with one topic over the other. When they can do this with some comfort, they may be less-likely to rehearse the unproblematic histories they have inherited, and more confident to engage with public debates over the past; or more importantly, controversies over what is considered significant in the nation's past.

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THE HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF STUDENTS-PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS: GREEK AND PORTUGUESE ASPECTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

Eleni Apostolidou and Gloria Solé

This paper analyses seventy-eight written questionnaires of university students, prospective teachers in Greece (Ioannina) and Portugal (UMinho), in 2016. Students were asked first to narrate the Greek and the Portuguese state's history respectively, and second to choose between 'lines of development' indicating decline and progress in time. The study aimed to identify students' patterns of historical consciousness in the context of the current economic crisis situation and a preliminary analysis of the data suggests the prevalence of the 'exemplary' type of Rüsen's typology. The present study is informed by previous research in young people's historical consciousness also in the initial training requirements of history teachers: if historical education aims at historical consciousness (Rüsen, 1987) and 'history didacticians are something like experts of consciousness' (Von Borries, 2005) history teachers own historical sense making while in a situation of crisis, ought to be important.

1. Introduction

Training school history teachers pertains to the discussion of what is history teaching: while in the 1970s there was a focus on the development of students' skills in the discipline, and research focused on the psychological requirements to understand the process of being a history researcher, since the 1990s we are refocussing on the connections between past and present or on the uses of history in students' everyday life.

In the 1970s discussion was about 'content' or 'skills', history as a 'fixed content to be dispensed by professional historians to the public and students' (Seixas, 1999: 328), or history as its own methodology, perceived rather as a craft in which others would be welcomed too.

In the 1990s various political developments, economic immigration and inter-ethnic disturbances in big European cities, also the collapse of the former communist regimes and the broadening of the European Union, highlighted the cultural diversity rather than the

shared history of Europe (Stradling, 2003: 12). A refocus was made towards multiperspectivity and the need for students to discuss the reasons, cultural or other, that constitute the basis of differentiated perception of common experiences; (Seixas, 2000: 26). As Laville put it (2004: 174), there seems to have been a transition in history education from the 'historical thinking' of the 1970s to 'historical understanding', an understanding of the identity politics that is at stake and the several meanings it creates in a variety of historical accounts.

Following the tendency in historiography and history didactics that considers people's 'needs, interests and functions as determining factors of historical thinking' (Rüsen, 1987: 279), history didactics today seeks to create relevance in school history with students' interests and lives (Husbands et al., 2011: 150). As a consequence, controversial issues are found at the core of history didactics while history educators emphasize the need for teachers to address both the 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' aims of history teaching (Slater, 1995: 125-126) and be challenged by the transformative power of history especially in conflict or post-conflict societies (McCully & Montgomery, 2009: 93). According to McCully, effective history teaching in contested societies takes a combination of 'inquiry' skills, selection of themes that are relevant to students' lives and addressing students' feelings which usually frame 'exclusive cultural identities' (McCully, 2010: 220).

The latter three elements, history inquiry skills, selection of subjects that have significance for the present and the recognition of one's own feelings and partiality could also be the basis of history teachers' training. As Von Borries put it, if school history is to be intellectually proper, it ought to be 'multiperspectival', 'controversial' and 'pluralistic', while history educators ought to be familiar equally with the uses and abuses of history in society, and with their students' mis-conceptions. Teachers ought also to respond to students' need to make sense of conflicts and 'burdening history' (Von Borries, 2005: 8). The latter tendencies of history education seem to be attested also by recent research: in Spain teachers appear to perceive as one of the main goals of teaching history the connection between past and present (Cercadillo, 2015: 131), while in Switzerland, students, teachers and experts evaluated as 'good' lessons the ones that bore relevance to students' lives, while they were exploratory and task-based as processes (Gautschi, 2015: 145).

If current history at school focuses on relevance, and teachers' and students' capacity to construct meaningful connections between past and present, then this study about Greek and Portuguese prospective teachers' perception and historical conceptualization of the economic crisis in the respective countries could contribute to the discussion about history teachers' education: how do Greek and Portuguese teachers conceptualize the recent economic crisis? Do they historize it? Doing so, what cultural tools do they use? Rüsen distinguishes between pre-given cultural potentials used to overcome a 'normal' crisis and new signification processes that take place in the context of 'critical' crises (Rüsen, 2007: 21). Economic issues are controversial and especially the crises where people suffer and search for causes to attribute responsibilities: can prospective teachers, teaching the historical conceptualization of the present, make sense of current problems when they themselves are in a crisis situation?

2.   Teaching History and Training to Teach History

2.1   *In Greece*

Centralization characterizes Greek education, also history education. While the curricula tend to be 'content' and not 'process' orientated, there is also the parameter of a singular textbook per subject and its distribution for free to the students. The writing of (history) text books is often commissioned by the state to teachers or scholars chosen by each government, while until 2012 their publication was conducted by the 'Organization for the Publication of School Books', a state organization founded in 1937 by the dictator Metaxas.

In relation to the dominant version of Greek history in Greece, there seems to be a master Greek narrative with two discernible patterns that prevails both in official history (history textbooks and curricula for example) and also in popular historical culture (literature, popular songs, the mass media, the Church and other organizations (Apostolidou, 2014: 38).These patterns, described as such by historians and located also in the traditional Greek historiography of the 19th century (Gazi, 2000) are the 'resistance' one and the 'uniqueness of the Greek civilization' one.

In relation to teacher training and while according to Eurydice, the prevailing history teacher training models are the 'concurrent' and the 'consecutive' (Ecker, 2002: 42), in Greece the prevailing model is the 'concurrent': primary school history teachers graduate from education

university departments, while secondary school history teachers from history and philology departments, in both cases being authorized to teach history at school.

According to Von Borries (2005: 1), history teachers, when trained, have to be introduced to the following three interdependent fields: history, methodology of history teaching and pedagogics. In relation to the analogy between academic (history) and professional (general pedagogy, didactics, practical training) preparation, primary school teachers in Greece tend to be orientated towards pedagogy, while history graduates towards historical courses. In consequence, a primary school teacher in Greece could have a limited knowledge of the 'topic under scrutiny' (McCully & Montgomery, 2009: 103) while a secondary school teacher could have little knowledge of pedagogy or history didactics. Even more discouraging is the fact that history in secondary schools in Greece is taught not necessarily by history graduates, but also by humanities teachers (philologists) who may be ancient Greek, modern Greek and foreign literatures graduates. The latter may have little knowledge of the subject matter and also of the pedagogy involved. As noted by Mavroskoufis, the methodology of history teaching or history didactics is mostly taught in primary school university departments and not in history departments (Mavroskoufis, 2006: 22).

Additionally, there is obligatory initial training for those teachers appointed either in primary or secondary schools, the latter usually lasting four weeks (Vergidis et al, 2010: 40), while the institution of practical training in schools exists mainly in primary education university departments.

2.2 *In Portugal*

In Portugal, the educational system is also centralized by the state, governed by the 1976 Constitution and by various decree-laws issued by the Executive Branch. The General Law of Education, which currently regulates the education system, was published in 1986 (Framework Law on the Education System – Law No. 46/86 of 14 October) and it sets out the main goals of the education system by schooling cycle (Torgal, 1996). According to Magalhães (2013), the educational system was stabilized by means of this Framework Law and the reform of the curricula and programs embodied by Decree-

Law No. 286/89 of 29 August. Currently, compulsory education is for 12 years.

Education is characterized by centralization in the teaching of History also (Barca & Solé, 2012; Cainelli, Pinto, & Solé, 2016; Magalhães, 2013; Solé, 2014). Some history programs currently in force have been so since the 1990s, including the Environmental Studies program (1st Cycle of Primary Education), which dates back to 1991, and the Portuguese History and Geography program, (2nd Cycle of Primary Education), which is from 1994. In the 3rd Cycle (7th, 8th and 9th grades), the program currently in place is not the one introduced in 2001 by the National Curriculum for Basic Education – Essential Skills (Ministry of Education [ME], 2001), but the one that was approved in 1991. As for secondary education, the 10th grade program was approved in 2001 and the 11th and 12th grade programs were approved in 2002. The 'Learning Outcomes' proposed by the Ministry of Education and Sciences (MEC, 2010) were replaced by 'Curricular Outcomes' (MEC 2013). With this normative document the reference standards in force, namely in the 'Curricular Outcomes of History and Geography' 2nd Cycle and in the 'Curricular Outcomes of History' in the 3rd Cycle, while they value the historical content that students need to learn, downgrade the history research processes and methodological concepts (second-order or structural concepts) set out in the National Curriculum for Basic Education – Essential Skills (ME, 2001) which was revoked by Order no. 17.169/2011. The 2001 document embodied a constructivist teaching approach (Grosso, 2015; Cainelli, Pinto & Solé, 2016).

History curricula tend to value 'content' over 'process', with a dominant, nationalist and Euro-centric narrative prevailing in traditional Portuguese historiography. It is essentially chronological, political and factual history that dominates history programs at all levels of education, going from antiquity to present times (Portuguese history in the 1st and 2nd Cycles and world/European history [integrating Portuguese History in some of the contents] in the 3rd Cycle and in Secondary School). Currently, textbooks are prepared by specialized teams composed of historians, educators specializing in history teaching and teachers, including a scientific and educational coordinator, and are reviewed and certified before their release.

History is taught by university graduates, some with a Master's degree, and currently, since Bologna (2006) by teachers with a

vocational Master's degree in History, and some in History and Geography – this for the 3rd cycle and Secondary School. In the 2nd cycle, teachers teaching Portuguese History and Geography have a degree in History and/or Humanities and, currently, history teachers of the 1st cycle have a Master's degree. The students included in this study are students of the Bachelor's Degree Course in Basic Education (of the University of Minho).

3.   The Data: Places, Time and Procedures

The sample accounted for in this paper is comprised of seventy-eight students from the primary education departments of the Universities of Ioannina and Minho. It is a 'convenience' sample (Cohen & Manion, 2000: 102), students volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Data collection took place in January 2016 within the context of the continuing economic crisis in the respective countries. The present work identifies with the comparative research model which asks the same question in two different places (Cowen, 1994) while it seeks to locate commonalities and differences in the ideas students from these two different countries hold within the context of the existing economic crisis in both of them, but in different educational, cultural and political environments.

The economic crisis in Greece officially started in May 2010 when the country, after having notified an 'unsustainable debt', applied to be supported by the International Monetary Fund, the European Union and the European Central Bank. In October 2011, a second memorandum (agreement with the above economic organizations) followed, and a third one in August 2015, the latter after a short period (June-August 2015) in which Greece was not supported financially either by IMF or EU. Since July 2015 Greece has been in the state of 'capital control'. We have impoverishment of the majority of the country's population and unemployment in 2016 reaching almost 1,169,119 unemployed, 24.4 % of the population. According to Eurostat, in 2015 22.2 % of the Greek population lived in poverty.

Portugal was also plagued by the economic crisis from March 2011, a situation culminating with Portugal submitting itself to the Troika Economic and Financial Assistance Program, signed in May 2011, which demanded of Portugal a set of hard measures to overcome it that affected Portuguese society. As a result of this crisis the middle class was hard hit, their wages cut, their living conditions

worsened, and there was a general impoverishment of the population and a drastic increase in unemployment that reached more than 500 thousand people, almost 20 %. At the moment, economically, Portugal has been recovering, but the country's situation is still monitored by the European authorities that supervise the country's accounts and public debt, requiring the continuation of austerity measures.

Against the background above, students were asked first to comment on their perception of changes in time by choosing the lines of development indicating decline and progress. Second, they were asked to narrate in brief the history of the Greek state from 1830 till today (2016) and of the Portuguese state from 1820 till today. The brief narration of Greek and Portuguese history would indicate whether they would include the crisis in a narration of Greek and Portuguese history. Additionally, the narration task would indicate whether their understanding of the economic crisis would be mediated by their cultural tools, their master narrative. The narration of the history of the Greek state was also realized in the context of another study about Greek students' historical consciousness in a situation of crisis in 2013-2014 (Apostolidou, 2014).

The other question about lines of development, part of the 'Youth and History' questionnaire (Angvik, 1997: A40-41), seeks to understand first their general perception of change in history since the latter constitutes a part of historical consciousness. Second, the line of development question would show whether their present experience of the lasting crisis informs their general perception of changes in history.

The findings presented in this paper were produced through a process of analytic induction. Recurring patterns were sought in students' narrations of Greek and Portuguese history and these are presented both through students' quotes and through tables indicating the frequency of each pattern. The patterns are not allocated to 'previously defined units', as in classic content analysis (Titscher, Wodak & Vetter, 2000: 56) rather they are produced from our interpretations of the students' responses. This study does not seek to attain a 'representativeness' of sample, rather the most complete possible description of how a group of Greek students and Portuguese students perceive the economic crisis, a traumatic and long lasting event for Greek and Portuguese society (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 214).

4.   Findings

4.1 *In Greece*

The main finding seems to be that students reported the present struggles by reference to the economic crisis even if they were not directly demanded to comment on it. Another important finding is that they referred to the crisis in terms of repetition: economic crises seemed to have been repeating themselves since the initiation of the Greek state. The later construct was also located in the 'lines of development task'.

In the first task, 'narration of Greek history', there were two kinds of facts students referred to: first, the 19th century economic crises and economic failures in Greece and especially the bankruptcy of 1893 which led to supervision by the International Financial Commission (Trikoupis governance). Second, facts that constituted the 'resistance' pattern of the Greek master national narrative: in this case students accounted for national success in coping with various enemies, conspiracies and all this despite corrupt local politicians. Students did not actually use the word 'resist', I used the term to describe students' narration of a Greek 'success' story. The term 'resistance pattern' is common among Greek historians when referring to Greek popular historical culture and traditional ethnocentric historiography (Avdela, 2000).

Students' predilection for different types of events also suggests selectivity on their part.

Selectivity of memory has often been commented on: 'the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society' (Saito, 2000: 158; Halbwachs, 1992: 51). Here two ideas are salient: first the societal factor and second the circumstantial one, both of which refer to the time and the conditions under which a memory is reconstructed, and not preserved and revived as Halbwachs (1992: 40) emphasizes. Greek students in 2013-2014 recalled events that indicated resistance on the part of the Greek people, while in 2016 they referred to cases where Greece did not avoid bankruptcy. Table 1 shows the distribution of students' excerpts relating to different constructs.

Categories/Constructs Reference to the current crisis	Students
reference to the 19th century crisis	9
the 'politicians' construct	1
the 'enemies' construct	7
the 'self-criticism' construct	5
the 'resistance' construct	3
Total	25

Table 1. Frequency of students' references and constructs related to the economic crisis.

Two typical excerpts of students' reference to the 19th century economic crises follow:

(1) *After the end of the 1821 revolution there were many political disputes that ended with the Kapodistrias assassination and were resolved when King Otto took power. Disputes started again until the constitution was formed. Afterwards a two-party system prevailed in Greek politics, the Trikoupis party being one of the two parties and we were headed towards bankruptcy in 1897, also to defeat in the Greek-Turkish war of 1918. Afterwards Venizelos came into power, and […] In 1938, amidst an international economic crisis and the prevalence of nationalistic movements in Europe, Metaxas imposed a dictatorship in Greece. Afterwards we had World War II, the Civil War and political disputes, the Dictatorship, and the Turks' invasion of Cyprus, the reconstitution of democracy, and finally, the New Democracy and Pasok governments that brought us to our present status, meaning the economic crisis. In the end, we had the Syriza government*, Theodoros

(2) *Greek history is characterized by continuous political, territorial and economic transformations. Elections were frequent, wars also, the Greek-Turkish War ending with the uprooting of the Christian populations of Minor Asia in 1922. and wars also […] governments repeatedly changed in the name of 'patriotism', a phenomenon that led to the junta initiated by Papadopoulos. This continues until now with several governments succeeding each other while past and present economic problems increase',* Ioannis Maria-Luisa.

While the first excerpt, Theodoros, only includes Greece's bankruptcy in Trikoupis time, and develops his narration in a linear way, events succeeding one after another, 'afterwards', in the second

one, Ioannis (Maria-Luisa) suggests repetition. Repetition is suggested in the use of expressions such as 'frequent', 'once more', 'repeatedly', 'continues'. The latter idea of economic phenomena either in repetition or in cycles, also appears in the 'lines of development' task that students completed in this study.

Excerpts with events constituting other elements of the Greek master narrative follow:

(3) *Greece took part in many wars, experienced many difficulties, and periods of famine, but the country always recovered. The same will happen with the current economic crisis, it might just last longer', was destroyed, rebuilt, won*, Natalia.

(4) *Since it was founded the Greek state remained trapped by the Great Powers. Though, there were politicians like Kapodistrias and Venizelos that succeeded in leading the country to recovery. In World War II, we were once more occupied and the dictatorship period was yet another kind of occupation. The European Union followed […] for how long are we going to follow the big ones?*, Fani.

(5) *Greece is a country that has been through many difficulties, wars, poverty, occupations. The country recovered relatively late. At the moment Now […] there is a silent economic war (against us)*, Sevasti.

(6) *[…] around the 1920s Greece realized an expedition to Asia Minor that resulted in the loss of the area and the exchange of populations Then we had the Metaxas dictatorship, the German and the Bulgarian Occupations, the Civil War. Extreme poverty followed. The Papadopoulos dictatorship was defeated by the students' movement. The Karamanlis and Papandreou governments follow, we join the European Union, […] consumerism begins, loans, luxuries and we end up with the economic crisis*, Apostolia.

In the excerpt number 3, Natalia expresses the 'resistance' pattern of the master Greek narrative. The idea is that Greece resists equally foreign occupation and cultural assimilation. In the 2013-2014 study, it was found to be the main construct produced by the students (Apostolidou, 2014: 87). The students saw the economic crisis as another war the country ought to fight, but there was optimism; Greece would make it in the end. In the current study the construct has a very low representation. The latter construct emphasizes the fact that while enemies, obstacles and difficulties repeatedly change in

Greek history the basic plot remains the same: the Greek people will finally make it.

Excerpts 4 and 5 have been classified as the 'enemies' construct, the latter construct another element of the Greek master narrative. Koulouri has offered an interesting insight in the way certain enemies of the 19th and 20th centuries appear and disappear in Greek history textbooks depending on Greece's foreign and domestic politics (Koulouri, 1996: 150). For similar reasons and more specifically the context of the economic crisis, the current major 'enemies' for many Greek people seem to be the representatives of the IMF, the Central European Bank and the European Union: while Fani (excerpt 4) describes an unequal relationship between Greece and other countries, the 'big' ones, Sevasti (excerpt 5) develops a general theory related to economic intervention. Analysts comment on the general tendency in Greece to develop conspiracy theories, within the context of which, the people of the country are the victims (Panagiotopoulos, 2013: 256; Frangoudaki, 2013: 154).

Finally, the excerpt articulated by Apostolia (excerpt 6) is a 'self-criticism' construct: around 2000 a feeling of well-being, development and modernization prevailed in Greece, mainly owing to European resources and public borrowing, while people generally consumed more than before using credit cards. A thread of analyses referring to the Greek crisis, attributes the crisis to excessive consumerism and borrowing (public and private) of the preceding period (Triandafyllidou et al, 2013: 10-11).

Another excerpt follows being the sole one in its category:

(7) *The II World War, Dictatorship, Papandreou governments, the public sector developed and people lived decently. A few years later our economy reached a deadlock while Karamanlis did nothing, corruption expanded. The people, desperate after a long recession are seeking for a government that will help them stand on their own feet and live decently,* Theodora.

In this excerpt, unique in the 2016 data, but very common for the Greek data of 2014, there is only the implication that Greek people are not satisfied by their politicians; Greeks' political distrust has often been commented on by analysts and presented to have originated in the 1990s (Frangoudaki, 2013, Triandafyllidou et al, 2013).

On the whole and in relation to the narration of Greek history in the context of the crisis: Greek students were extremely selective in relation to the facts they referred to depending on a change of attitude between 2013 and 2016: while in 2013, there was optimism expressed by the 'resistance' pattern of their master narrative, in 2016 they chose circumstances where the nation failed, implying repetition of unfortunate moments.

In the second task, the 'lines of development' task, thirty-two out of the thirty-nine students that constitute the Greek sample opted for the 'things generally repeat themselves' line of development. The frequency of the justifications for their option is presented in Table 2.

Constructs	Students
Repetition because of the 'repetition of economic crises in Greek history'	12
Repetition because of 'people's mentalities'	6
Repetition without any reason	14
Total	32

Table 2. Frequency of students' justifications in their selection of the 'repetition' line of development

Below there is a student's excerpt typical of the option 'things generally repeat themselves' with reference to economic crises:

(8) *I believe that line d presents history and history development in a better way. I believe that history is a cycle since historical events are repeated, for example bankruptcies,* Maria.

While Greek school students and teachers have been repeatedly diagnosed in various studies, with an 'exemplary' historical consciousness, in 2016 they justified their option for repetition in history basing it on the crisis: things are repeated because economic crises are repeated.

On the whole and in relation to the Greek sample, the present crisis seems to have prevailed in students' thinking, equally when they refer to their country's history, or when they express their perception of development in history.

4.2   *In Portugal*

'Crisis' in general proved to be a common pattern for the Portuguese students of this sample. With regard to the first task, Portuguese students referred to economic, political and social crises which took place from 1820 to present times. The narratives of these students are similar to those of other studies in Portugal (Barca, Magalhães & Castro, 2004; Barca, 2015) and they were mostly structured around political disruptions (changes of government, revolutions or military events). They revealed knowledge of the political and economic landmarks of various periods: the Liberal Revolution of 1820, the crisis of 1890, the Establishment of the Republic, Salazar's dictatorship, the Revolution of April 25th 1974 and Portugal's accession to the EU. The protagonists are collective (the state, politicians, the military), while individual protagonists rarely appear, with the exception of Salazar. Students expressed ideas of change, mostly in the sense of progress, although moderated by the economic situation, invoking conquered freedoms (with the Establishment of the Republic and April 25th).

All the 39 narratives were structured around political facts, revolutions and political changes. The country's situation throughout these years is primarily the result of political and economic factors attributed to different periods. The recurrence of crises arises at various times/historical periods, as expressed in the following excerpt:

(9) *Throughout Portugal's history, there were periods of stability and periods of change. Generally, after a revolution, there is a brief period of stability, which allows the country to develop at various levels (economic, technological, educational, etc.). After this period of stability, the Portuguese 'relax' and lose confidence in and of their country, which leads to critical times of decadence and that, apparently, can only be solved by a new revolution. Thus, a vicious cycle repeats itself*, Ana.

A significant number of students (18 of 39 students) referred specifically to the state of economic crisis that Portugal is currently undergoing. The table shows the frequency with which some constructs appear in student's narratives and will be explained further in relation with the dominant narrative.

Categories/Constructs-Reference to the current crisis	Students
the 'cyclical economic crisis' construct	7
the 'politicians' construct	2
the 'foreigners/enemies' construct	1
'self-criticism' construct	5
'emigration' construct	3
Total	18

Table 3. Frequency of students' references and constructs relating to crisis

Since economic crises appeared also in other periods of Portuguese history the current one was described as recurrent and cyclical by 7 out of the 18 students that referred to it. Although 6 students referred to the IMF, the Central European Bank and the European Union they did not consider them as the 'enemies' as the Greek students, but rather as financial aid that helped Portugal out of the financial crises in 1977, 1983 and 2011.

(10) *Several crises occur where the IMF tries to intervene*, Rafael.

(11) *Since then* (1974) *and until now Portugal has been constantly in crisis and has tried to recover with the intervention of the IMF*, Ana.

Only one of the students mentioned 'enemies', referring to the presence of the French during the French invasion of Portugal (1807-1810) and the harsh consequences it caused, such as the fleeing of the court to Brazil and the handing over of the government to the English up to the Liberal Revolution, leaving the resistance in the hands of foreign allies.

(12) *1820 brought the Liberal Revolution, in which the French left our country in very bad shape, and the Cortes Constituintes* (Constituent Parliament) *were created*, Lúcia.

The economic crisis was also the reason for the emigration of the Portuguese people from their country, a reality that Portugal has faced several times over the years, but also in present times.

(13) *In 1820, the Liberal Revolution takes place, with many Portuguese families having to flee the country and take refuge somewhere abroad. This is what is currently happening in our country because of the crisis. Many families have to leave to try to build a better life*, Maria.

The 'self-criticism' construct is recurrent in the narratives of Portuguese students, who consider that a crisis situation constantly repeats itself in Portuguese history, and that it results from political choices and more from 'our' responsibility than that of 'others', a position that is a bit different from that of Greek students, who attributed the crisis to the 'enemies' or to 'conspiracies against the country'.

This same idea of self-criticism regarding national history is recurrent in several Portuguese studies (Barca, 2015; Magalhães, 2009). While Greek students predict that the crisis will repeat itself, Portuguese students display also more ideas of change, in terms of progress, similar to the ideas of linear progress and expanding freedom found by Barton (2001) in the narratives of North-American youths.

In relation to the dominant narrative in Portugal, Portuguese students were influenced by traditional Portuguese historiography, with a strong influence of positivist history, the 'histoire événementielle', which is also reflected in official school history programs; the latter structures national history into historical periods associated with the organization of the Portuguese state also with political revolutions (Liberal Revolution, Establishment of the Republic, Dictatorship and Revolution of April 25th, which corresponds to the emerging of Democracy in Portugal). However, some narratives contain echoes of the 'Annales School', namely references to changes that have occurred throughout this time, changes that are occurring slowly, such as changes in mentality, as we can verify in the following excerpt:

(14) *Since 1820, Portugal has evolved, to the extent that its people conquered and were given freedom, freedom of expression and the right to vote. Furthermore, the emancipation of women was also an evolution that occurred in Portugal over time'*, Mariana.

Regarding the 'line of development' task, most Portuguese students (28 out of 39 students) chose line of development d), stating that 'in history things often repeat themselves', and Table 4 shows the frequency of the justifications proposed by the students.

Constructs	Students
Repetition because of the 'repetition of economic crises in Portuguese history'	13
Repetition because of 'people's mentalities'	6
Repetition of the past in the present for various reasons (economic and political)	8
Repetition without any reason	1
Total	28

Table 4. Frequency of the justifications given by students when selecting the construct 'repetition' in the line of development.

The main justification given is that the economic crisis repeats itself throughout Portuguese history. It is invoked by 13 students, who state that this repetition is due to the fact that the economic crisis is cyclical and it repeats itself in Portugal.

(15) *We found that, over time, there are several periods of crisis and stability, which repeat themselves*, Vitória.

The predominant idea related to repetition and identified in the Portuguese data was associated to the idea of a cycle of undergoing a crisis and overcoming the crisis, i.e. the eternal repetition of progress and decline, prosperity and poverty and of 'non-development'. As in other studies (Apostolidou, 2014; Barca, 2015; Rüsen, 2001 & 2012), an 'exemplary' historical consciousness prevails among these students. This link between past and present, as well as its implications for the future, was expressed by 8 of the 28 students who chose this line of development, as shown below:

(16) *In a way, things repeat themselves in different ways and for different reasons. Nevertheless, the past always influences the future*, Daniela.

It should be noted that 9 out of 39 students choose option a) 'things usually get better', considering that technological progress and overall development have augmented in the present if compared to the past:

(17) *Despite the various economic and social crises, progress in the living conditions of the population is evident*, Luísa.

Only one student has a negative view of historical development, stating that:

(18) *Things are usually worse because increasingly the country is in crisis moments after a recovery back to crisis*, Gabriela.

5.   Discussion

Analysts seem to agree that despite the common socioeconomic profile and reforms imposed by the IMF, there have been differences between Greece and Portugal in the political management of the crisis: in 2014 Portugal was freed from any memorandum while Greece was continuing and Greek people were reacting 'in much more violent and activistic ways than in Portugal' (Guerreiro, 21-4-2015, Huffington Post). Zartaloudis adds:

Greece and Portugal [have been considered] to have similar sociopolitical and welfare systems, […] to have been more vulnerable to the crisis than the richer countries of Northern Europe and their larger Southern counterparts (Italy and Spain). [On the other hand], while Portugal implemented a number of cost-containment reforms before the crisis, Greece maintained a generous expansionary policy until 2008 (Zartaloudis, 2014).

Could the above have contributed to different experiences of the crisis as located in the speech of the Greek and Portuguese students who participated in the present study?

As one may recall from the different sections of the data presentation the main findings of the Greek and Portuguese data were common: students in both countries included the recent economic crisis in the narration of respectively Greek and Portuguese history despite the fact that they were not asked directly about the crisis, an inclusion implying the prevalence of the present in students' thinking. They also did so in indicating a line of development in

history where they justified their predilection for repetition on the grounds of repeated economic crises in both countries. That could also imply a projection of the past into the future as repetition also it suggests a lack of vision for the future or pessimism (Haste and Hogan, 2012).

In reference to how students made sense of the economic crisis, it seems that in both countries students used 'pre-given cultural potentials' as Rüsen would put it (Rüsen, 2007: 21): while in Greece students used to a high degree the 'resistance' pattern of their master national narrative (in 2014), or events indicating difficulties and obstacles for the Greek people (in 2016), in Portugal, students tended to focus in their official version of the national narrative typical of the Portuguese traditional positivist historiography. On the whole, Greek and Portuguese students participating in this study seem to bear a 'traditional' or 'exemplary' historical consciousness which focuses on repetition and fails to see change in history and the need for temporalization (Rüsen, 2005: 29).

For students with a traditional historical consciousness the past is significant and relevant to the present actuality and its future extension as a continuity of obligatory cultural and life patterns over time. Students who focus on the repetition of crisis, saw in the past a message or lesson for the present, exemplifying historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2005). Students' predilection for repetition could also be seen in Pandels' notion of 'wandelbewusstsein', 'lack of awareness in relation to change', (Voss, 2016: 69).

In that sense, the political and economic crises in Portugal and economic crises, bankruptcies, in Greece were attested to be the favorite themes of students' speech in both countries.

In relation to differences in the articulation of students' speech, there seems to be an alternative justification for the economic crisis itself on the part of the Portuguese students, who while seeing repetition did not attribute the crisis either to their politicians or to foreigners. Greek students on the other hand either accused 'the foreigners' considering the IMF rather as the cause and not the aftermath of a problematic economic situation (the 'enemies' construct), or resorted to fatalism, seeing a repetition of bankruptcies that were not managed by the political personnel of the country. As Panagiotopoulos remarks, it is strange that Greek people did not even discuss the successful economic reforms of the 19th and 20th

centuries and focused only on failures (Panagiotopoulos, 2013: 260), rejecting in this way any possibility for reforms in the present crisis.

Finally, Portuguese students were found to be more optimistic as they also saw progress in history, equally in their national history, either selecting the respective line of development in the relevant task, or focusing on Portugal's development in specific sectors of life (technology, living standards and other).

What would the implications of the above findings be for history teachers' training demands: in both countries, the economic crisis seems to have taken on the dimensions of a cultural trauma (Alexander, 2004); students-prospective teachers refer to it even when not asked. The same students seem to have been inculcated in a traditional historical consciousness environment, either in respect of each country's historical culture and pre-university studies or in respect of their professional training in the education departments they study: in Ioannina Greece, history didactics constitutes only one obligatory course among many other courses of general pedagogy so that students know very little of historical methodology and theory of history. In Portugal, in its higher education in the Basic Education Course at the University of Minho (Portugal), the students have history of Portugal integrating various periods of national history up to nowadays and also 'Theory of History', Cultural Heritage and Didactics of Social Studies (which includes Didactic of History Teaching) thus reinforcing the temporal orientation and historical thinking in future teacher trainees. It is possible that Portuguese students' positivism noted in this study originated in their pre-university education.

If the aim of history teaching today is to make students develop sense-making processes in relation to their present and use the past in ways of a critical historical consciousness, prospective history teachers' own training ought to focus on the same processes: reading history in different forms and being familiarized with its methodology seems to be a good training in evaluating past accounts or other informative material, also the opinions and the different assumptions on which historical accounts are constructed. If teaching history is teaching historical thinking, at least part of the training ought to be devoted to the specific domain. In this way, prospective teachers ought to be more hesitant about adopting popular explanations for current circumstances, which are usually reproduced by their cultural milieu in an uncritical way.

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WAR AND VIOLENCE IN HISTORY TEACHING: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF FUTURE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES IN GREECE

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This paper reports findings on a statistical analysis of 304 Greek university students' written questionnaires. The sample was collected during the academic year 2013-14 and the research took place at three university departments that mostly educate future teachers for primary and secondary education. The main purpose of the research was to explore students' perspectives about war and violence in History and the necessity of teaching and learning controversial and traumatic historical issues in education. In particular, the views of the respondents about the relationships between nations or states with conflictual past, the civil wars, the morality or the justification of the use of violence in certain conditions in History, the possibilities and the ethics of reconciliation were studied. Also, at the educational level students were questioned about the need for controversial topics in History teaching to be integrated to a larger extent and the didactic methods they consider are more appropriate to be used. Finally, critical analysis of the data in interrelation with the broader context of History Education in Greece – formal, informal and not formal (school and academic curricula, history textbooks, dominant ideology, means of public history etc) – configures an explanatory framework for fruitful discussion between school and academic History teachers, reform designers, school advisors and textbook publishers.

1. Theoretical Background

'Just as man, when he reaches perfection, becomes the highest of all beings, so, when he abandons justice and the law, he becomes the worst of beings'. For there is nothing more catastrophic than injustice that possesses arms. Man is born with the weapons of good sense and virtue […] Without virtue, man becomes of all beings the most sacrilegious and savage' (Aristotle, *Politics,* 1252a-1253b).

The philosophical view of Aristotle regarding the limitless abilities of man and his double nature, too, was to a great degree an echo of the climate of pessimism that formed during the Classical antiquity in regard to the future of the human species. Mainly from the Renaissance on, the Aristotelian view formed the basis for analogous

theories on the nature of man and his path through history. The Aristotelian theory can be summarized as follows: Man, in so far as he lives in communities ruled by law and justice, has by nature the spiritual and ethical ability to reach perfection and to touch the divine. When, however, he uses these qualities for other ends, then he becomes the most savage and violent being in nature.

However, in anthropological conceptions of the societies of late antiquity, the Middle Ages and at least until the appearance of modernity, the fatalistic view would seem to prevail, to the effect that mankind cannot ever be freed from violence and war, since these are components of human nature (canonization). "The world remains the world. Therefore all action remains the same in the world, though people die", Melanchton declared in the 16th century.

Furthermore, until the 19th century, historians, philosophers and politicians responded to the question of whether history could ever improve its readers by quoting the phrase attributed to Cicero, "Historia magistra vitae". This means that in a world that moves in circles, albeit in reality remaining the same, the only thing that history can offer are examples for role models restricted to the level of individual life: "Historia plena exemplorum est". In this context, the works of Livy, Polybius and Plutarch not unjustly are regarded as more suitable sources of education and prudence than is the *Peloponnesian War* of Thucydides (Koselleck, 2004: 28).

The view of the progress of humankind changed radically in the Europe of the 19th century, in the new cultural and academic environment of emerging modernity. The past was now understood as a dimension of time different from the present socially, economically, technologically and intellectually. The ancient world and its history ceased to be a source of examples and became a standard against which the new age, the like of which humanity had never seen, was to be compared. To use Koselleck's terms, there was a continually widening gap between the 'space of experience' and the 'horizon of expectation' (Koselleck, 2004: 255-275). In this new world, in which scientific history was born, Thucydides, the 5c historian who narrated the (in his view) most serious and savage war ever, was not only not underrated, but was regarded as the archetype of 'scientific' historical writing (Harloe & Morley, 2012: 115). Initially in German universities and then very quickly throughout the rest of Europe, the so-called "phenomenon of *Thukydidismus* in the modern world" evolved (Harloe & Morley, 2012: 3).

In addition to taking account of the epistemological and methodological relationship of the pioneers German of historicism and *Altertumswissenschaft* to the work of Thucydides, it is important to focus on two passages from his history that illuminate his anthropological views on violence and war (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 1.22.4 & 3.82.3). In reply to the question of why he decided to write the history of the Peloponnesian War and in particular, instead of narrative heroic deeds and battles that would give pleasure to his contemporaries, and to describe with raw realism the conditions that brought about the war and its catastrophic consequences, Thucydides answers: 'My history is aimed more at future generations than at my contemporaries. I wish it to become "a possession for all time". Although Thucydides does not seem to be hopeful, unlike Aristotle, that human communities can be freed of violence and injustice, he aspires to help future generations become capable of examining more clearly and more critically the conditions of their time, so that they do not succumb to mistakes made by men in the past (Greenwood, 2006: 53-54, 57). The aim of the work of Thucydides, although it is identified as paradigmatic in the scale of historical consciousness of Rüsen (1990 & 2004), was somewhat more substantial than the mere offering of examples of moral standards. As Moles notes, Thucydides aim was the 'σαφὲς σκοπεῖν', that is, not 'just looking', but critical observation and deep understanding of the events of the war, that, in their turn, lead to the formation of perspectives and insights (Moles, 1993: 110).

It is indeed paradoxical that Thucydides, who dedicated the greater part of his life to describing in realistic tones the terrible face of war, became the model of historical writing for the historians of modernity, many of whom labored eagerly to legitimize violence, to give it a moral standing and to deify it in terms of both the past and the present.

Today, after the enormous bloodshed that occurred during the period of colonialism, various genocides, the Holocaust and nuclear disaster and that forms the dark heritage of Europe (Mazower, 1998), multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary research has evolved whose aim is to account for violence. As part of this trend, in awareness of the more general theory of Aristotle regarding the means and the medium, theories have been formulated by contemporary intellectuals, such as Hannah Arendt (1970) and Edgar Morin (2013: 217), who, after the inconceivable horror of two world wars, re-

approach violence and war as fundamental notions of the individual and, mainly, collective behaviour of mankind. Both Arendt and Morin maintain that violence is interwoven with certain extreme features of mankind, that is, with deficiency and with excess. Such features are, on the one extreme, ignorance, apathy, indifference and social callousness, and on the other, arrogance, greed, fanaticism and revenge. As Morin notes, the paradox lies in the fact that the violent people believe that they are bringing good. Evil, however, as soon as it arises and becomes part of the reality that one experiences, becomes a so-called autonomous dynamic that leads to destruction and self-destruction. The only case in which these two intellectuals justify the use of violence is in the practice of the right to resist evil.[1] For Arendt, in particular, revolutionary violence is acceptable only on condition that 'its aim is to establish a new consensual and democratic political structure that […] hypothetically excludes the use of violence in its domestic political life.' (Petsa, 2016: 302). By contrast, Albert Camus maintained that revolutionary violence was to be repudiated radically and as a matter of principle and so did not accept either any justifications or evaluations based on circumstances or any casuistic exceptions (Petsa, 2016: 312).

The polar opposite to theories of liberal humanism and pacifism are (a) historical fascism, Nazism and its contemporary variants, which idealize violence, and (b) Marxist theory, which makes an exception of revolutionary violence as a necessary means for the liberation of the lower classes and the reversing of the relations of production to benefit of the weak (Labica: 2007).[2] One of the most distinguished Marxists of the 20th century to defend revolutionary violence was the French phenomenological philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Merleau-Ponty, under the influence of the recent anti-Fascist struggle and in anticipation of the worldwide revolution to come, in his early work '*Humanisme et terreur*' (1947) accepts the historical necessity for revolutionary violence, although he is aware of its tragic nature and the immorality potentially arising from the use of dishonest means for the attaining of a noble end. Almost identical were the views of Jean-Paul Sartre, who deals with revolutionary violence as a form of humanism in revolt (Petsa, 2016: 312). Despite his earlier position, Merleau-Ponty, in his work *The Adventures of Dialectic* (1955), condemned the Communism of Stalin and, changing direction, demonstrated how every utopia contains within itself the seeds of its own dystopia and so, consequently, how revolution

unavoidably brings forth the deformed monster of authoritarianism, terrorism and blind political oppression (Petsa, 2016: 313).

Lastly, in any conversation regarding historical violence, one should not omit the views of Walter Benjamin, the emblematic theoretician of the interwar period, whose work today is studied at multiple levels. To what he calls 'mythical' violence, a form of violence that he himself condemns, whether it be used to institute power or to maintain it, Benjamin juxtaposes 'divine' violence (Benjamin, 2009; Petsa, 2016: 302). By the term 'divine' violence, Benjamin means violence that possesses the distinguishing feature of 'expiatory prospect of destructiveness' and which may therefore lead to the removal of coercion, to the vindication of the defeated and the underprivileged of history and to the realization of the emancipation of humanity. This type of violence alone, maintained Benjamin, might bring about a deep breach in the order of historic time and power.[3]

Nevertheless, both liberal humanistic theories and wider philosophical reflection on the nature and ethics of historical violence would seem to be somewhat distant from dominant historiography, as portrayed in national narratives and in school curricula. As recent research by Alois Ecker that covered the whole of Europe has revealed, political and military events, in their capacity as structural components of a one-sided and biased reading of the historical past, even today continue to hold a significant position in the teaching of history in many countries of Europe.[4] In Greece, which was not covered by Ecker's research, over the past 15 years there has been public controversy regarding history as taught in schools, which led, after intervention by politicians, to the withdrawal of school text books that introduced innovations regarding content and methodology and to their replacement by books displaying a clear shift towards more conservative patterns; that is, a closed, self-referential, ethnic long narrative, an emphasis on the political and military history of the 19th and 20th century, a content-based approach and lack of attention both to European and world history and to social and cultural history in general .[5]

Although hostile and negative definitions and stereotypes of other peoples have disappeared over recent decades, violence is still presented as a necessary and unavoidable condition for the creation of a nation-state, for the expansion of its boundaries, for the incorporation in the body of the nation-state of populations under

foreign domination and for the preservation and survival of the nation-state itself. Nation-based historiography sees the origin of nations in eternal entities, which struggle violently to impose themselves on each other and to survive in time and space. Thus national historians compose forms of narratives resembling an endless historical line of blood that has neither beginning, nor middle nor end. In the name of the nation, therefore, violence is idealized and given ethical value, whilst expressions of violence assume their place in the pantheons of heroes and martyrs.[6] Furthermore, the variety of forms of violence are not illuminated sufficiently or at least are not analysed in any systematic fashion, whether they be, for example, military, political, social, class-based, revolutionary, resistance-based, religious, racial, terrorist-based, or anti-terrorist-based or indeed invisible forms of violence, such as economic, ideological, cultural or structural violence or violence internalized by the individual. Lastly, very rarely, if at all, in class rooms at any level of the educational system is there discussion of the stances and views of society, of social groups or of intellectuals towards violence.

If we apply to historical violence the tripartite distinction of historical experience suggested by Rüsen (2004b), we may distinguish three types of views regarding violence.

1. 'Normal' violence, when the fact of violence is subject to the historical canon and no reconsideration of the interpretative or value schema for its understanding is needed. This view is applied to typical acts of violence that make up dominant historical narratives.

2. 'Critical violence', when the understanding of violence presupposes the construction of new interpretative structures or anti-narratives and of parallel narratives regarding conflicting groups. This view is applied in the case of civil conflict, of traumatic events that have divided communities and continue to do so in the form of divided memory and public confrontations regarding the disputed past. Examples in which such a conflict of views occurs are post-Civil War Greece, Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3. 'Catastrophic' violence', when historic violence is so extreme and incomprehensible that it cannot be explained or rendered as a narrative. Thus a deep historical chasm is created, an absence of meaning, that leads to a hermeneutic perplexity. Such events are

the cases of genocide, with the Holocaust foremost (Kokkinos, 2012: 290-295; Kokkinos & Mavroskoufis, 2015: 337-338).

At present in Greece on the initiative of the government a 'national and social dialogue on education' is taking place, whose aim is to plan a new model of education at all levels, from nursery school to tertiary level and from the education of school students to the training of educationalists. Against this background, our research focuses on one of the most important groups involved at all levels in the process of history education, that is, students in university departments of education and of history. The fundamental ideas, views and stances held by university students regarding their historical consciousness held by university students have already been formed during their years at school, in the composite environment formed by, for example, family, school, local community, the mass media, the internet and the cinema. During their university studies, they encounter new content knowledge, theory and methodology of history. They also encounter theories of teaching and learning. Both this knowledge and theory casts doubt, to varying degrees, upon the structural components of the students' historical consciousness or on the traditional teacher standards that they experienced as school students.

In this context, the crucial question is whether future teachers, those who will be called upon to introduce into Greek school education new historical knowledge and innovatory teaching strategies and practices that are the result of the important progress made worldwide in recent decades in the teaching of history, are willing and able to respond positively to these new challenges. At a secondary level, the results of our research can be used in the re-examination and review of curricula at all levels, that is, in school classrooms, in university departments in both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes, in history teacher training programmes at all stages of their professional development and naturally in the assessment of teaching and learning.[7]

For all these reasons, we chose as our research topic the views of students – future history teachers on historical violence and on how to deal with it in the teaching of history. Given that schools are, and should be, permanently oriented towards Pedagogy for Peace, the subject of history can contribute in many ways to this end. As all the Recommendations of the Council of Europe have noted consistently

in regard to the teaching of history, the subject should promote an understanding of what is different, should combat stereotypes and prejudices and promote the peaceful solution of differences. [8] How can we achieve this goal, however, when students and future teachers themselves believe that violence is part of human nature and that war, as the most extreme collective form of violence, forms a key element in the history of mankind?

2. Research Method and Analysis of the Findings

This paper presents and analyzes some findings from a large research project on history teaching conducted in Greece during the academic year 2013-14 with the participation of five university departments.

We used the survey method to conduct our research. In order to collect the data, we used a standard fieldwork questionnaire augmented with additions by the research teams, which employed open, closed and multiple-choice questions (based on scales and nominal categories).

The research sample consisted in total of 304 students (76 male and 126 female) from three university departments associated with primary and secondary education: The departments in question were the Department of Primary Education Pedagogy of the University of the Aegean (116 respondents), based on Rhodes, the Department of Primary Education Pedagogy of the University of Western Macedonia (113 respondents), based at Florina, and the Department of History and Ethnology of the Democritus University of Thrace (65 respondents), based at Komotini, which trains teachers of history for secondary education.

The three university departments in which the research was conducted have their headquarters in the periphery of Greece. Komotini is the capital city of Thrace, a region that was divided and distributed, according to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, into the national states of Greece (the western part), Turkey (the eastern part) and Bulgaria (the northern part). The Muslim people of Thrace have been excluded from Population Exchange, so a Muslim Turkish-speaking minority resides today in this region. In World War II Komotini suffered a cruel Bulgarian occupation during which its Jewish community was uprooted. Until recently the residents of Thrace, Christian and Muslim mostly, lived at the margins of the Greek state. The establishment of the Democritus University, the

integration of Greece in the European Union, the factual recognition of minority rights and the economic development contributed decisively to the exit of Thrace from isolation. Rhodes is the capital of the Dodecanese, the island complex at the southeastern edge of the Aegean Sea. The Dodecanese have preserved their dominant Greek character throughout time, although they were conquered by the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St John as early as 1309, by the Ottoman Turks as early as 1522 and by the Italian colonialists as early as 1912. On the islands of Rhodes and Kos there was also a remarkable Jewish community that was almost entirely exterminated in the summer of 1944 in Auschwitz. Eventually the integration of the Dodecanese into the Greek state took place in 1947. Finally, the Department of Primary Education of the University of Western Macedonia is situated in Florina, very close to the border with the FYROM and Albania. The region of Western Macedonia was annexed to the Greek state in 1912. It became a savage battle ground during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). One of the special features of the broader area of Florina is the existence of Slav-speaking residents.

Once the research questions and their answers had been encoded, a table was drawn up to collate the results. The S.P.S.S. – 19 package was used for processing the data; two different levels of analysis being employed ; these were: 1) Frequency Distribution made up the first and basic statistical analysis in which absolute (numerical) and relative (quantitative) frequencies were assigned, in order to evaluate the variability of the values, that is, to ascertain which variables were chosen and how far they were chosen by the groups involved in the research, and 2) Bilateral analysis, which located similarities and/or dissimilarities through cross tabulation, with the aim of showing relationships among various variables and/or between the three sub-groups of the sample.

The parents of the students of the two Pedagogy departments were primarily office workers, whilst those of the students of the Department of History and Ethnology were unskilled labourers, small businesspersons, farmers, workers and unemployed mothers. Forming an exception to these trends was the fairly high percentage (22.1 %) of parents of the respondents from Florina, who described their parents as scientists, academics and artists. It is thus to be observed that the respondents from Komotini come from less well-off or lower levels in society.

Regarding the educational level of the parents and the three regions in question, that is Rhodes, Florina and Komotini, those who had completed high school formed the majority, with an average of about 30.0 % for mothers and 20.0 % for fathers, an exception being formed by the sample from Komotini, of which 29.2 % of the fathers had completed high school. The parents of a significant percentage of students (about 23.0 %) from Rhodes and Florina were university graduates.

An important parameter for our research is the ideological and political outlook of the students in our sample, since it forms an integral part of their individual identity and defines definitively their historical culture and consciousness, given that the latter derives from their lifeworld and in its turn legitimizes or transforms it. In this case, it would seem that the first political choice for both students and parents, with only small variations, is the centre Left or centre Right. Even more conservative, even in comparison with their parents, are the students of the Department of History and Ethnology at Komotini (Table 1).

	Rhodes Dpt.		Komotini Dpt.		Florina Dpt.	
	Nr	%	Nr	%	N	%
Anarchism	3	2,4	3	4,6	2	1,8
Extra-parliamentary Left	3	2,4	2	3,1	4	3,5
Radical Left	13	10,3	5	7,7	13	11,5
Center-left	39	**31,0**	13	**20,0**	32	**28,3**
Center-right	17	13,5	11	**16,9**	22	**19,5**
Right	18	**14,3**	7	10,8	8	7,1
Radical Populist Right	0	0,0	1	1,5	1	0,9
Neo-Nazism & Neo-Fascism	1	0,8	0	0,0	0	0,0
Other	17	13,5	15	23,1	20	17,7
Not answered	15	11,9	8	12,3	11	9,7
Total	126	100	65	100	113	100

Bolded the highest two replies per University Department.
Table 1. Political and ideological outlook of the students.

As for gender, it is to be noticed that male youths display greater interest in history in comparison with females. This interest in history is evidently to be associated with the faster political socialization of boys, a parameter of which is an ideologised acquaintance with the historical past, mainly conceived as history of the nation. The matter has been confirmed by previous research on primary school students (Kokkinos et al., 2005: 271ff).

The syllabuses of the three departments in question are a matter of importance. On the one hand, we have two Pedagogy departments, which train teachers for primary education and whose syllabuses are almost identical, whilst on the other we have a Department of History and Ethnology, which produces future secondary teachers and places great stress on the discipline of history and courses that concern all periods of European history, that is, ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary.

Consequently, the fact that 87.7 % of the students of the Department of History and Ethnology at Komotini state that they have a particular interest in history is to be expected. On the other hand, half of the students of the two Pedagogy Departments also declare that they have an active interest in history. History, although it belongs to the core subjects of the syllabus, together with language, mathematics and physics, is one of the courses taught to students, while at the same time they are attempting to specialize in one of these subjects, as is apparent from the degree dissertations that they write. Thus the fact that half the sample in the cases of Florina and Rhodes have a practical interest in history is an extremely satisfying finding. A second parameter that is perhaps to be linked with their partial indifference towards history are their negative feelings towards the subject, a view that is formed during school education, at primary school, junior high school and senior high school. There are many fundamental reasons for this. They include the absence of any motives for learning history, the stagnancy and the obsolete teaching methods, the lack of any renewal of the subject matter and the painful learning by rote required for success in university entrance examinations (Kassidou, 2007).

There is something else that turns out to be extremely useful in the analysis below of our research material. The content knowledge of the subject and of interrelated cognitive representations of the historical past is to be traced back, above all, to the school life of the students in departments of Pedagogy, although it is shaped also

during their current stage in life more by public history resources and by their social and family environment and less by the few history courses they pursue at university. On the other hand, the students of the Department of History and Ethnology certainly possess knowledge of history and hold views and opinions regarding the matter that they acquired both during their school years and during their university studies, whilst they are also influenced by public history and by their own narrower environment. Whilst these students are clearly superior in terms of historical knowledge to the students of the departments of Pedagogy and evidently have a wider and more profound historical culture, it remains unclear how far and how deeply they have studied issues of historical violence and how far they have broadened their thoughts and the horizons of interpretation. One wonders whether they actually attend any university courses that touch on such matters. Indeed is the narrative of violence, in its various forms and dimensions, or its analysis and interpretation, linked to the theory and the epistemology of history? Or is all this presented as 'scientific' and 'objective'? Are the students familiar with the idea that both historiography and historical education and, even more, public history are frequently subject to ideological manipulation and abuse? Are they familiar with the fact that, for instance, at least from the end of the 19th century, history has been used to idealize violence, to legitimize state power and the dominant ideology and to ennoble savagery on the field of battle, to propagandize for the sake of war and to debilitate moral resistance in the face of slaughter. On the other hand, students of the two education departments are superior to students of the Department of History and Ethnology in terms of pedagogical training (at least in theory), which means that they may possibly be familiar with the Pedagogy of Peace, Cross-cultural Education, Education for Democracy and Human Rights, that is, with models of education that introduce new concepts regarding the role of the school and teacher in his or her country and worldwide.

It comes as a pleasant surprise to note the high percentage (65.7 %) who replied 'No' to the question 'Should the national interest be regarded as superior to the interests of humanity?' (Question B1, Figure 1). It is a surprise, in that ethnocentricity and the idea of the superiority and of the historical mission of the Greek nation, particularly at a time of a structural economic crisis, of ideological polarization and of increasingly sharp criticism of European

unification and of globalization, continues to be the dominant and structural component of the Greek educational system, as it indeed continues generally to be of the social structure of Greece itself in all its manifestations. The indications that students have abandoned ethnocentricity in the face of a dynamic that involves an ecumenical and world-embracing morality, to the degree that such a dynamic is not to be linked to today's political correctness and is not considered a flag of convenience, must therefore be linked with the following:

– hidden processes occurring in contemporary Greek society,
– the moral orientation and the multilateral content of the syllabuses of the university departments in question where the students of our sample study and in particular pursue courses in history and, of course,
– with the intellectual maturity of the respondents themselves.
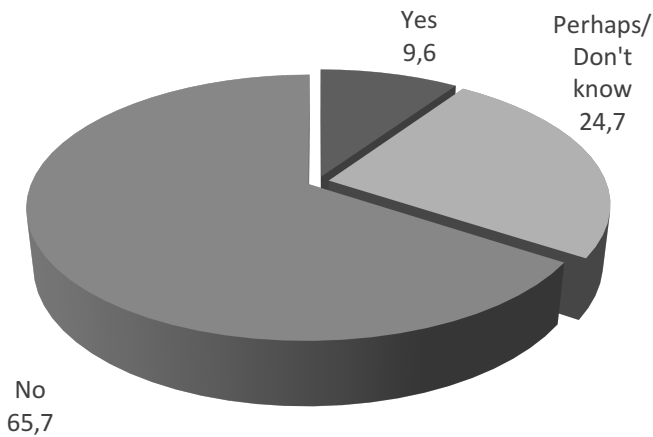

Figure 1. 'Should the national interest be regarded as superior to the interests of humanity?' (Question B1)

The views of the students in response to the question 'Can a society exist that makes violence and war incomprehensible?' (Question B2, Figure 2), compared with those in reply to the previous question, are more realistic. Here the majority of the respondents expressed more

realistic views: 39.9 % thought that this was extremely difficult and 20.8 % regarded it as completely unrealistic. Nevertheless, 19.7 % thought that such a society was attainable. Significantly, the boys were much more pessimistic than the girls (70.9 %, as opposed to 57.1 %).
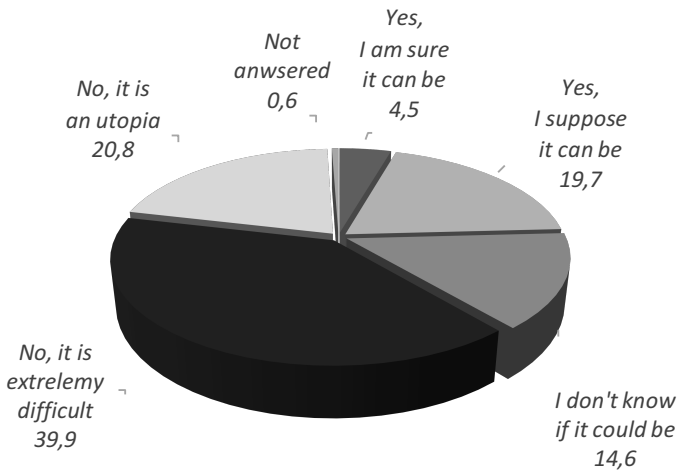
Figure 2. 'Can a society exist that makes violence and war incomprehensible?' (Question B2)

In answer to the question B3 'Would you justify extreme acts of violence and savagery in time of war?', 65.7 % replied affirmatively, if it were a case of 'danger to their own life or that of their loved ones'. 'Fear' (27.5 %) and 'desperation' (21.9 %) would allow them also to justify extreme acts of violence and savagery. 'The just cause behind the war in which our country is participating' followed (21.3 %); last came 'War as a necessary evil' (19.1 %).

Given these responses, we can place the choices that justify the use of violence in two groups: a) Feelings provoked by extreme chance circumstances that cancel out, albeit temporarily, moral resistance and diminish the normal and ideological revulsion towards violence, such danger to life, fear or hopelessness and b) Beliefs and cognitive patterns that belong to collective historical consciousness, particularly to national consciousness. Since the students conceive of

wars as conflicts between nations or transnational collectivities and less so as civil conflicts, many of them believe that any form of violence can be justified and so permitted, if the war in question is fair (21.3 %, 'Yes' and '36,5 % 'Perhaps') or if it is a necessary evil, that is, unavoidable and inevitable (19.1 % 'Yes' and 28.1 % 'Perhaps'). In our view, one should include in the replies that justify the use of violence the response 'Perhaps'. The respondents in our sample selected their choice while in conditions of tranquility, in time of peace, which means that possibly the 'Perhaps' responses should be altered to 'Yes', were our sample subjected to conditions involving tensions in international relations, provocations on both sides, the publicising of cases of atrocious violence and propaganda. At the same time, at the lowest levels of this consciousness there exist two axiomatic notions that fuel the answers above: a) that there are just wars and therefore that extreme violence is to be justified in such conflicts and b) that war is some cases is unavoidable and necessary and requires even extreme violence to be won. At the lowest levels of consciousness there prevails an ethic of violence that justifies and regards in relative terms even the use of unreasonable violence, if the individual, his personal circle, his broader social environment or his nation is under threat.

If we interpret these choices, having linked them with the replies to questions B1, B2 and B4, (to which, however, we will add the replies 'Yes' and 'Don't know/perhaps', on the grounds there is a strong possibility that they would all become 'Yes' in times of tension), then it is clear that our findings are disturbing. In reply to the question, 'Do you believe that national interests should be regarded as superior to those of humanity?', two in three of the respondents replied in the affirmative (question B1). In reply to the question 'Can a society exist that makes violence and war incomprehensible?', nearly eight in ten future teachers replied in pessimistic terms (question B2). One is surprised by the fact that about half of those questioned do not desire that either states or groups that historically bear the responsibility for war and criminal violence be reconciled (question B4).

As answers to the question, 'Do you believe that it is possible and desirable to bring about the lessening of hatred and grudges, to ensure peaceful co-existence, to bring about reconciliation between states that have clashed on the field of battle or that have committed mass crimes against each other?' (Question B4, Figure 3) the choice

of desideratum was placed first in all questions of the questionnaire. In first place (47.2 %), the students chose 'peaceful co-existence' (This choice is instinctively related to the traditionally tense relations between Greece and Turkey, the usual pretext being the appeal on part of both parties to the desirability of peaceful co-existence). Thereafter comes 'reconciliation' (45.5 %), 'the reduction of grudges' (37 %) and, in last place, 'the lessening of hatred' (36.5 %).

Figure 3. 'Do you believe that it is possible and desirable to bring about the lessening of hatred and grudges, to ensure peaceful co-existence, to bring about reconciliation between states that have clashed on the field of battle or that have committed mass crimes against each other?' (Question B4)

In answer to the question, 'Which of the above is achievable?', the students again chose first 'peaceful co-existence' (34.8 %) and then 'reconciliation' (30.3 %), 'the lessening of hatred' (26.4 %), which occupied last place in the question as to whether all these were desirable, and, finally, the 'reduction of grudges' (23.0 %).

The choice of answers here in this question are to be linked to their responses to question B2, 'Can a society exist that makes violence and war incomprehensible?', to which the majority replied that such a thing was either very difficult or impossible.

The next question was formulated in the same way and offers the same choices as the previous question, although here the question

deals with civil war (Question B5, Figure 4). The students in response to the question, 'What do you wish for most?' chose first 'reconciliation' (39.9 %) and then, in the same order as before, 'the reduction of grudges' and 'the lessening of ideological passions' (30.9 %).
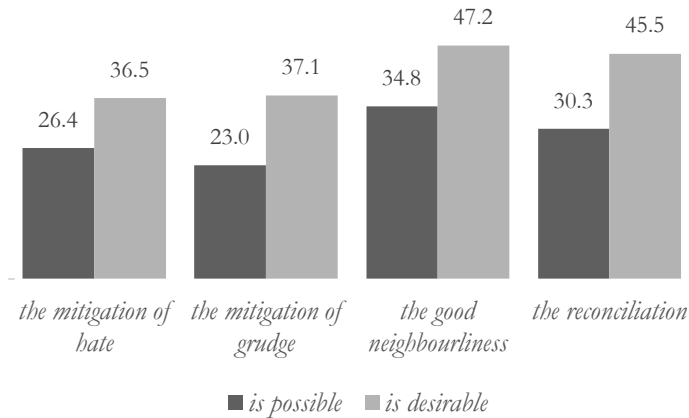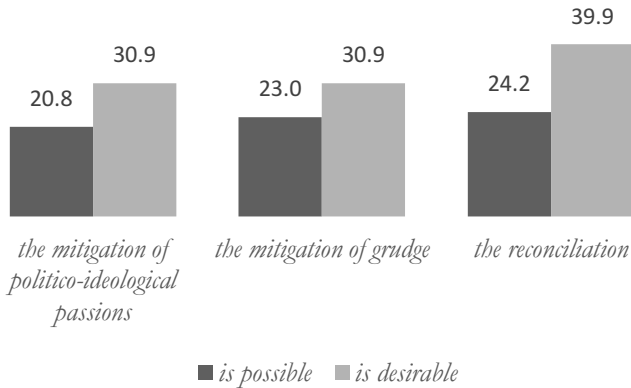

Figure 4. 'Do you believe that it is possible and desirable to bring about the lessening of hatred and grudges and to bring about reconciliation in cases of civil war?' (Question B5)

In the category of questions regarding how possible it is to overcome internecine passions, the students chose in first place 'reconciliation' (24.2 %), in second 'the lessening of grudges' (23.0 %) and in final place 'the reduction of political and ideological passions' (20.8 %). Debate on the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) has been rekindled, particularly over the past decade, on the basis of new revisionist approaches to the subject that are to be clearly distinguished from those entrenched views previously held by the Left. It may be that this discussion, which is now spreading through university departments, is more favourable to what is desirable than to what is actually possible. It is, however, a process that demands more intensive investigation than it has received.

A particularly important issue that today influences relations both between and within states at many levels and which is linked with the social and political management of the memory of the violent past is addressed by the question 'Which of the following do you consider

most important?', which then offers four choices (question B6, Table 2).

	Repentance by the perpetrator		Forgiveness by the victim		Recognition of the historical role of the victim as part of official history		The public apology by today's leaders for the dark chapters of the history of their countries		Don't know		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Rhodes	29	23	6	5	41	33	50	40	0	0	126
Komot ini	13	20	5	8	23	35	24	37	0	0	65
Florina	44	39	9	8	33	29	26	23	1	1	113
Total	86	28	20	7	97	32	100	33	1	0	304

Table 2. 'Which of the following do you consider most important?' (Question B6)

The respondents chose 'the public apology by today's leaders for the dark chapters of the history of their countries' (32.9 %). A current example of such a public apology and display of repentance, which influenced Greek public opinion, occurred when the clashes in relations between Germany and Greece were at their peak because of the financial guardianship of Greece and the matter of the loan made during the Nazi Occupation and the associated reparations. Apologies of these types have generally gained ground throughout the world over the past two decades and are to be located at the point where reparative justice meets transitional justice. The apology in question involved the visit by Joachim Gauck, the President of Germany, to the villages of Ligiades and Distomo, in March 2014. In fact, the visit took place at the time when our research was being carried out.[9] The subject and content of the history courses and the emphasis on associated issues, particularly in the departments at

Rhodes and Komotini, would seem to have exercised a decisive influence on the students' answers.

In second place (31.9 %), the respondents chose 'recognition of the historical role of the victim as part of official history.' This also involves the point that historical justice should be seen to be done. This dispensing of justice, although it has an ethical dimension, rests above all on the demand for historical truth, which rearranges and makes the more democratic both the historical canon and the prevailing historical narrative. This reply was the first choice of our respondents from Komotini (35.4 %), followed by those from Rhodes (32.5 %) and lastly from Florina (29.2 %).

The choice 'Repentance by the perpetrator' came third (28.3 %) in the preferences of the respondents as a whole. Those from Florina preferred this reply over others from this set of questions (38.9 %), with the respondents from Rhodes following (23.05 %) and the students from Komotini registering the lowest preference (20.0 %). Last in terms of the preferences displayed by the respondents came 'Forgiveness by the victim', with an overall preference of 6.6 %. The low preference displayed for this reply is to be linked with the existence of continuing historical traumas in Greek society, such as atrocities committed by the Germans during the Occupation (1941-1944). These were intensified by the almost revisionist policy followed by reunited Germany regarding the subject of reparations connected with the Nazi occupation and by the worsening of relations between Greek and Germany, matters that fuel unhistorical and necessarily ideology-ridden analogies and comparisons, in which the antithesis 'perpetrator vs. victim' holds sway.

Repentance and forgiveness, two ethical concepts that Christian morality insists upon, would seem to have a greater effect upon respondents from Florina, perhaps for reasons connected with traditions in the local community and which certainly require systematic investigation.

In reply to the question 'Who should have the decisive role in matters of historical truth?' (question B7, Table 3), on average, the highest preference (79.9 %) was given to university historians. Respondents from Florina registered the highest amount (83.2 %), those from Komotini 80.0 % and those from Rhodes 77.0 %.

Interestingly, second place is given to public history, with an average preference of 65.1 %. Respondents from Florina registered the highest percentage (72.6 %), with those from Rhodes following

(61.9 %) and in last place those from Komotini, with the smallest percentage (50.8 %). Our respondents were apparently influenced in this direction by public debate and the comparison and contrast of historical matters, by, among others, the mass media, the cinema, literature, museums, the Internet and by public memorials. However, we should be cautious when dealing with the question of whether students are fully aware of the polysemy of the concept 'public history'.

	Rhodes Dpt.		Komotini Dpt.		Florina Dpt		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Soc. of the Historians	97	77,0	52	80,0	94	83,2	243	79,9
State	59	46,8	27	41,5	59	52,2	145	47,7
Church	25	19,8	13	20,0	25	22,1	63	20,7
Society & agents	51	40,5	26	40,0	56	49,6	133	43,8
Public History	78	61,9	38	58,5	82	72,6	198	65,1
Int'l Organizations	64	50,8	28	43,1	47	41,6	139	45,7
Courts	48	38,1	22	33,8	39	34,5	109	35,9
Total	126	100	65	100	113	100	304	100

Table 3. 'Who should have the decisive role in matters of historical truth?' (Question B7)

The third choice by the respondents to the question 'Who should have the decisive role in matters of historical truth?' was the state (average, 47.7 %). The respondents from Florina displayed the highest preference (52.2 %), thus displaying their relatively greater spirit of conservativism, followed by the respondents from Rhodes (46.8 %) and lastly by those from Komotini (41.4 %). This third choice undermines the second, since the one-dimensional and canonized 'historical truth' of the state is not identical with the 'historical truth' of public history, which is by definition pluralistic, although these two 'truths' are traceable above all to 'practical', that

is, the ideologicalized historical past. However, we are of the view that the inconsistencies and the contradictions observable in the conceptions and convictions of the students questioned during our research are not so much the result of any inability to comprehend on their part or to any design problems in the questionnaire, as clear evidence for the existence of a fluid and changing situation constituted by the controversy arising from the clash of different paradigms. On the other hand, this choice is clearly the result of the students' realization that in Greece it is the state that continuously prescribes the contents of school textbooks or of curricula, thus laying claim to the monopoly of historical information and thus controlling the orientation and content of the historical culture, thought and consciousness. Either for reasons of intellectual stagnation and habit or either because they regard as threats the supra-national interdependence of the states of the European Union and globalization in general, a fair number of the students in our sample accept the notion that the role of the state is that of guarantor of 'historical truth.'

Next come 'international organizations' (45.7 %), 'courts' (35.9 %) and lastly 'the Church' (20.7 %). These percentages are not inconsiderable. They indicate (if, of course, we except what is a regulative and authoritarian role played by courts as the guarantors of historical truth) that the democratization of historical interpretation and the multiplication of the sources of the production of historical sense at both a world-wide and at a state and local level is now clearly understood to be necessary, if not firmly entrenched. Thus the uncertainty and the relativity of judgments about the historical past are now regarded as unavoidable consequences of the democraticization of the past, rather than in demonizing and conspiratorial terms as epistemological aspects of a suspicious post-modernism that exposes ethnic identities to danger in the defense of cultural hybridism.

Despite the generalized tendency towards the democratization and relativism of historical interpretation and despite the ostensibly contradictory and relatively high percentages that our respondents assigned the state, the courts and the Church as institutions that produce historical interpretation and despite, too, the epistemological confusion that has troubled academic historiography over the past three decades, we regard it as particularly important that overall 79.9 % of our sample regard the academic community as the main

mechanism for the inquiry of historical truth. The loss of the monopoly fortunately does not imply the loss of its pre-eminence.

In response to the question 'Should controversial and traumatic events be included as syllabus material for history courses at: primary school, junior secondary school, senior secondary school, university?' (question B8, Table 4), the reply concerning primary schools is particularly interesting.

	Rhodes Dpt.		Komotini Dpt.		Florina Dpt.		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Elementary School	29	23,0	7	10,8	24	21,2	60	19,7
Gymnasium (lower secondary)	70	55,6	29	44,6	63	55,8	162	53,3
Lyceum (upper secondary)	106	84,1	58	89,2	101	89,4	265	87,2
University	116	92,1	61	93,8	105	92,9	282	92,8
Total	126	100	65	100	113	100	304	100

Positive answers in number of respondents and percentages
Table 4. 'Should controversial and traumatic events be included as syllabus material for history courses at: Elementary School, Gymnasium (lower secondary), Lyceum (higher secondary), University?' (Question B8)

The smallest percentage of the respondents overall chose the reply 'much/ very much' (average 19.7 %) in regard to primary schools. The 23.0 % and 21.2 % respectively of our respondents from Rhodes and Florina chose this reply, whilst only 10.8 % of respondents from Komotini chose it. It would seem that our teachers-to-be in primary education were somewhat reserved and ambivalent in making this choice, whilst future historians and history teachers at secondary level were even more guarded. A second reading of the data offers a very important result, namely, the choice of the answer 'fairly important' in response to the question of how important it is to teach controversial and traumatic events, at primary school level. Great

variations both as regards the type of departments of the respondents and as regards their geographical location and gender of respondents are to be noted. 28.6 % of the male respondents and 38.8 % of the female respondents in the Pedagogy Department on Rhodes chose 'fairly important', as did 51.5 % of the males and 33.8 % of the females in the Department at Florina, whilst at Komotini the corresponding percentages were 18.8 % and 42.9 %. A high level of consensus appears mostly at the level of university education, with a general average percentage reaching an overwhelming level of 92.8 %. In any case, an important role regarding the answers given by the students is played by the educational level of their parents, since it is to be observed that the more educated the parents, the more their children favour the teaching of controversial subject at lower levels in the educational system, that is, at primary and at junior high school. Equally significant is the receptivity displayed by the students to the introduction of controversial issues to education in relation to the students' own views. Given than eight out of ten future teachers occupy a position in the liberal, moderate, intermediate ideological space on the political spectrum, that is, on the centre right and centre left, this would suggest that they are receptive to more sober approaches to historical matters related to political and national aspects of the present.

Despite all the differences, our findings confirm the existence of a conservative context which is dominated by a concept that is a commonplace in the Greek educational community, although it has not been officially set down in curricula. That is, controversial and traumatic historical events in national history should be progressively incorporated in teaching, as should historical truth in general. In primary level teaching, the children should learn the heroic national narrative and should enjoy national myths, whilst beyond this level students should be brought gradually into contact with more realistic aspects of the historical past, too, which, however, should not cast doubts on or deconstruct the essential core of national historical identity and consciousness that have been formed for the past century and a half. In terms of the pedagogical management of the controversial and traumatic historical past, this perspective means that our students believe, on the one hand, that children in primary school are too sensitive and not mature enough to deal with such topics from the psychological and intellectual point of view, and that, on the other, history courses at this age should offer an idealized

picture of the past. If this is indeed the case, it is very likely, should many of our respondents end up working in the future as teachers in an educational context that offers them the freedom to choose historical subjects and material that concerns controversial and traumatic historical events, they will avoid doing this. Nonetheless, it is particularly encouraging that many of the respondents, although they have few or no similar experiences either as school students or as undergraduates, are still in favour of the teaching of a number, albeit small, of controversial issues, given that they chose the reply 'fairly important'. The findings that derive from the replies to this particular question can be employed in many ways, if they are linked with the results of recent research conducted on large samples consisting of students-to-be and in-service history teachers.[10]

In answer to the question, 'Should researchers deal with historical matters that have divided and deeply traumatized society?' (question B9), on average 90.8 % of the respondents replied 'Yes' and 8.9 % 'No.' The respondents from Rhodes were more positively disposed than the average, with 93.7 % voting 'Yes' and 5.5 % 'No'. They were followed by our respondents from Florina, of whom 92.9 % voted 'Yes' and 7.1 % 'No', and these by the respondents from Komotini, of whom 81.5 % voted 'Yes' and 16.9 % 'No'.

In this case, too, although perhaps one might expect more students of a Department of History and Ethnology to respond positively, they occupy last place.

In answer to the final question, 'What is the purpose of research into historical events that have deeply divided and traumatized a society?' (question B10), on average the response 'the pursuit of truth/the overall view/objectivity' took first place (33.9 %). The highest percentage (39.7 %) was displayed by the respondents from Rhodes, followed by those from Florina (31.0 %) and then by those from Komotini (27.7. %). Second place was taken by the response 'the quest for causes so as to avoid mistakes', for which, on average, 23.0 % of the respondents voted. This choice, according to Rüsen's typology, arises to a great degree from a paradigmatic historical consciousness. The respondents from Florina registered the highest vote in favour of this response (30.4 %), followed by those from Rhodes (21.4 %) and finally those from Komotini (13.8 %).

The next three choices attracted only low percentages. 'Justification – the victims' moral vindication' attracted an average of 2.96 %, with 5.31 % of the respondents from Florina voting for it.

We have already noted above in other cases, too, that for historical reasons the matter of the moral dimension plays a particular role in the case of respondents from Florina. One is struck by the remarkably low average percentage (2.3 %) of students who chose the parameter 'inseparable part of history', which, one would think, is a critical element of historical literacy. It is likewise particularly striking that both male and female students of the Department of History and Ethnology did not chose it. Similarly striking is the percentage of male students of the Department of History and Ethnology (41.5 %) who avoided answering altogether.

3. Conclusions and Suggestions

Our research makes it clear that most future teachers of history, despite their views that spring from the acceptance that violence is an ontological feature of the human condition, nevertheless understand the importance of historical education in overcoming or in restraining violence, the healing of collective traumata and the instituting of a culture of dialogue, repentance and forgiveness that can guarantee social coherence and peace. The indications that ethnocentrism is being abandoned, which contribute positively to the approach applied in university departments in recent decades in the field of historical education, coexist in the consciousness of students with a set of cosmopolitan ethics that is to be recommended as a defense against ethnocentricity. The contradictions in the views of the respondents are also evident in their convictions regarding the justice of war and of violence and in the fact that they believe that historians, the state, the Church and the justice system all have the right to reveal historical truth. All these contradictions and tendencies recorded by our research display an extremely interesting landscape full of fluidity and fermentation regarding mentalities and ideas in society and in the classroom. This is the context in which expectations and demands are transformed by historical education. In this new environment, it is possible for history education to play a dynamic role in the transfer of the idea of peace from Utopia to the reality of our society and, inversely, the rejection of violence and war to the margins of realism.

Here we should clarify the relationship between historical education and peace and reconciliation: 'Education for Peace' does not mean the disappearance or downgrading of the significance of

violence and clashes, ignorance of the prejudices produced by hatred, the covering up of collective traumas nor the erasure of controversial and painful historical questions from the teaching of history. Likewise, 'reconciliation' does not mean the agreement of views, definitive compromise, total amnesia, the humiliation of the perpetrator nor the sanctification of the victim. As Hannah Arendt observes, 'Reconciliation does not mean the re-establishment of an imaginary ethical order which supposedly existed once and was disrupted' (Cole, 2007: 5). On the contrary, it means the building of new relations between members of a political community or between states, peoples, races, religions, languages and political systems that in the past were trapped in an unending cycle of bloodshed. In other words, a prerequisite for the creation of deeply-rooted views that will have at their heart the concepts of peace and reconciliation is the formation of a post-conflict historical conscience.

In Greece, as in many other countries of Europe and throughout the world, this notion presupposes a change in historical paradigm at all levels of education, that is, in the school and the university classroom and in teacher training programmes. This paradigm change imposes the need to make a shift from unilateral ethnocentric narratives, in which violence is either deified or justified and prejudices against 'the other' are strengthened, to new interpretative frameworks for the production of historical meaning. Only in such learning environments is it possible to strengthen and encourage future teachers to deal with controversial historical issues and to re-think the factors and conditions that produced and continue to produce collective hatred and violence.

Given that many educators avoid introducing controversial subjects into their classrooms, since they do not feel capable of dealing with them, either in terms of knowledge or methodology, attempts by education stakeholders should address the further acquisition and development by future teachers of the quality that Bandura terms 'self-efficacy' (Bandura, 1977). Much research today has shown that, when the educator has high efficacy expectations, s/he is ready to spend as much time as needed in order to overcome obstacles and adverse experiences, so as to attain his/her goals. In other words, the strong the self-efficacy on the part of the educator, the more persistent and productive are his/her attempts to lead him/her to the desired level of performance. Systematic long-term research on student teachers and teachers at the beginning of their

career have shown that, if they enjoy a strong sense of efficacy, they are less likely later to suffer from stress, burn-out or attrition. On the other hand, when they are discouraged at the gap between the standards they have set themselves and their performance, then they tend to adopt self-protective strategies, thereby lowering their standards (O'Neill & Stephenson, 2012; Woolfolk & Burke-Spero, 2005).

The reforms and other changes that we propose should be co-ordinated and should concern all phases of the educational process. In particular, we make the following suggestions:

1. Controversial subjects in local, national, Balkan, European and world history should be introduced into the syllabus of all levels of secondary education and they should be tackled with methodological tools that will encourage critical thought and that will contribute to the development of historical skills.

2. In university departments that train future teachers of history, courses and projects on sensitive and controversial issues should be introduced. Indeed, in Greece there has been a notable rise in recent years in historical research on sensitive periods and events, such as, for example, the decade 1940-1950 and the Civil War. These courses, however, should not be restricted to the analysis of historical events. They should also touch upon questions, such as the consequences and historical influence that these events have had upon contemporary society and on international relations, consecutive perceptions, memory and post-memory of historical traumata and a body of theoretical matters whose aim is the historization of beliefs that we have shaped regarding violence and war as well as the doubt and the rethinking of established notions.

3. Regarding the upgrading of the practicum-teacher training for future teachers, extremely recent research on the internships in schools held by students of departments of Greek language and literature and of departments of history has thrown into relief serious deficiencies in the training programmes of future secondary education teachers (Mpista et al., 2016). With very few exceptions, practicum courses in Greece last only a short time and rest on a model, that of the apprenticeship, which is considered worldwide to be obsolete and ineffective, at least as regards the pedagogical training of future teachers in the matters that concern us here.[11] Unfortunately, many historians who hold Chairs in

> Greek universities continue to assert that historical knowledge is a sufficient pre-requisite for the effective teaching of the subject. This means that positions in the Didactics of History are not instituted in Departments of History and that specialist and cohesive structures for the training of students in pedagogy are not implemented.

In the Greek educational system, the only unit that is evaluated so far is formed by the students themselves. There are no institutions for evaluating, for example, curricula, school textbooks, administrative mechanisms or school units. Thus there is no firm foundation of thought and reflection whose aim is the improvement of educational work. Nevertheless, in Greece today a public dialogue is being conducted that will lead to extensive reforms. Therefore, we should make certain suggestions here that concern assessment and make use of international experience. The case of the USA is typical of the two conflicting tendencies in regard to assessment. On the one hand, technocratic and liberal tendencies employ assessment on a large scale; assessments are held annually. They are quantitative and grade students' content knowledge and basic skills and their aim is accountability with the imposition of sanctions on schools and educationalists whose scores are low (Baker & Gordon, 2014). On the other hand, suggestions have been made that a new assessment system should be instituted that the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards applied in pilot form in fair number of states, with impressive results. The new system involves a comprehensive and continuous system of assessment.[12] It is based on qualitative criteria, focuses upon the relationship between teacher and pupil, links learning with teaching, pays less attention to score-based performance on the part of the students and grades and places emphasis on the dossier of the teacher, which will contain student projects, descriptive essays, activities, materials and so on. This system shifts interest from the results of teaching to the process of teaching and to learning processes. It also investigates the ways in which learners from various cultural environments acquire the ability to comprehend, the motivation to learn, the spirit of co-operation and the deep application of knowledge in problem solving and communication in authentic settings. An important element in this form of assessment is that it forms common models of teaching that also shape the criteria regarding the standards of training and

certification of the novice teachers. This, in its turn, strengthens the syllabuses of university departments that train future teachers and not infrequently leads to the review of such syllabuses. The most important point, as Darling-Hammond stresses, is that 'the certification process demands of the teachers that they delve so deeply into the logic and philosophy behind their teaching, that they have no other choice than to become better' (Darling-Hammond, 2013: 93). In the matter that we are examining here, this type of assessment can offer excellent results, since it prompts teachers of history, whether they be in training, at the beginning of their career or mature, to plan their teaching and reflect subsequently, taking into consideration the cognitive representations regarding violence and war that they themselves and their pupils possess as individuals and as members of collective bodies with a historically defined cultural, national, social and ideological identity.

Notes

[1] On violence as the right to resist, see LaCapra, 2009: 90-122.

[2] For a presentation, with comments, of theories of historical violence, see Kokkinos & Mavroskoufis, 2015: 333-335.

[3] Petsa, 2016: 302. For an analytical presentation of modern and post-modern theories of violence, see B. Hanssen, 2000.

[4] https://che.itt-history.eu/index.php?id=19 (13.11.2016)

[5] The withdrawn history textbooks were the following: i) Kokkinos *et al.,* 2002 Ii) Repoussi *et al.,* 2006. These textbooks, aimed at pupils aged from 13 to 17 years of age, were replaced by two new textbooks edited by the same author, Ioannis Koliopoulos, a professor of history, (Kolliopoulos et al., 2007 & 2012). See Andreou & Kasvikis (2015). Significantly, the new textbooks were directly commissioned by the Minister of Education from the authors and therefore reflect the ideology and the historical canon acceptable to the political party then in power. For a more detailed anatomy of the complex conditions that led to the withdrawal of the textbooks, see Athanasiades, 2015: 45-143.

[6] Tollebeek, J. & Verschaffel, T., 2004. Conventional historiography performs a three-fold function in regard to the present, since it regards the present objectively and quasi-alive: Firstly, it erases the lines diving the past from the present and institutes an imaginary genealogical link that ties the world of the living to the world of the dead. Second it selectively extracts from the past events that legitimate the established powers of the present. Thirdly, it creates the conviction that the past (particularly the violent, controversial and traumatic past) has been definitively and conclusively recorded, thereby excluding any possibility of reviewing it (Kokkinos, 2012: 42).

[7] The theoretical context here in regard to the development of the skills of teachers is based on L. Darling-Hammond, 2013.

[8] See: Recommendation CM/Rec (2011)6 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on *Intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching* and Recommendation CM/Rec (2010)7 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the Council of Europe Charter on Education for *Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education.*

[9] On questions of historical justice, see Osiel, 2006 and Garapon, 2008.

[10] In research conducted in 2012, 192 students of the Department of Philosophy and Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and of the Education Department for Primary Education at the University of the Aegean, 80 % of the respondents maintained that controversial issues should be included in the teaching of history in secondary schools (Mavroskoufis et al., 2014: 138-152). Even more recent research conducted by P. Kogouli as part of her doctoral studies employed a sample of 400 teachers of history in secondary education (junior high school and high school) and addressed the question of whether controversial issues should occupy more of the syllabuses. 30 % replied 'a lot – very much', whilst in answer to the question 'Is the teaching of controversial issues useful?' 92.3 % of those asked replied positively. It is a disappointing surprise that of the educationalists who graduated from the Department of History 11.2 % were not in favour of the teaching of controversial issues (Kogouli, 2016: 132, 137).

[11] Mpista *et al.*, 2016: 119-120. On the three models of the practicum-teacher training (*apprenticeship model, applied science model, reflective model*) see Smith & Lev-Ari, 2005.

[12] Linda Darling-Hammond, who is one of those who planned this system, observes that the assessment should include: (a) Common teaching standards, (b) performance assessments that rest on these models and offer a guide for the education of teachers, for their licensing and for granting them the highest level of certification, (c) local assessment systems based on the same models, (d) support infrastructure (in the form of well-trained assessors and counselors), (e) equal opportunities for improvement for all teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2013: 66-67).

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REVEALING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDS THROUGH DRAWINGS: THE CASE OF RWANDAN HISTORY TEACHERS HAVING TO TEACH THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI[1]

Jean Leonard Buhigiro and Johan Wassermann

This article investigated the professional developments needs of Rwandan history teachers who, 23 years after the Genocide against the Tutsi took place, have to teach it. This tragic historical event is, based to the contradicting views held on it, considered a controversial issue. Consequently, the choice of research methods, drawings followed by interviews, was based on the sensitivity of the topic. Analysis of the qualitative data revealed a range of professional development needs existed when teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi. These included how not to traumatise learners, the challenges of classrooms populated by the children of perpetrators and victims, and how to navigate an event at the interface of government policies on patriotic nationalism, progressive school history curricula and democratic participation. In this regard the participating history teachers invariably drifted towards uncritically aligning themselves with the policies promoting 'Rwandaness' to the detriment of the curriculum. In response this article argues for the need of in-depth and sustained professional development to enable Rwandan history teachers to teach the Genocide as a controversial issue by means of positive teaching approaches. In so doing, government policies on Rwandaness and the school history curricula can be blended by means of democratic teaching and learning to the benefit of all.

1. Introduction

In 1994, around one million Tutsi were killed by the then Rwandan interim government, anti-Tutsi groups from different political parties composed mainly of *Interahamwe* militia, soldiers, politicians, and the general population. This intent to exterminate the Tutsi negatively impacted on the country on all levels – people killed; infrastructure vandalised; citizens traumatised; children left without any assistance; millions of refugees and a change in political regime. In the context

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of this article, 23 years after the Genocide against the Tutsi, very few history teachers and learners were left untouched by this immense and controversial human tragedy.

This article focuses on Rwandan history teachers' experiences in teaching the Genocide while its legacy is still fresh in Rwandans' minds. We employed drawings and interviews to understand teachers' hopes and challenges in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi. What is not clear is what, based on the experiences of the Rwandan history teachers, their professional development needs are. To propose possible answers on the professional development needs of the teachers who participated in this study 11 history teachers were asked to participate. Of the 11 participating history teachers, we have selected the drawings of four participants' because theirs provided rich thick data on the professional needs of Rwandan history teachers. In the process, we provided a porthole into the bigger picture of professional development needs of Rwandan history teachers who have to teach the Genocide.

In light of the above, we have present two main arguments. Firstly, we argued that teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi is not an easy task since history teachers had experienced extreme trauma because of the event (LaCapra, 1999: 722). They now, as part of their profession, revisit this trauma when teaching the Genocide. Secondly, we argued that, based on the personal and professional experiences of Rwandan history teachers, a concerted professional development intervention are needed.

In terms of a route map, this article starts by briefly highlighting the events that led to the Genocide. This is followed by the research methodology section that explains, amongst others, how and why drawings were chosen for our research. This is followed by the data presentation and discussion. We conclude the article by arguing that, based on the difficulties of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, a structured professional development intervention are needed for history teachers.

2. Background and Context

The Genocide against the Tutsi has its roots in the past of Rwanda. Since pre-colonial times Rwanda was peopled by three social groups – Twa, Hutu and Tutsi. These groups shared the same culture (Nizurugero, 2004: 344) and resided in a fluid society where a person

could move from one social group to another. Consequently, in precolonial Rwanda, the relationship between social groups were characterised by collaboration and lack of open warfare. However, some conflict did exist at the royal court (Kagame, 1972). In addition, some institutions such as *ubuhake,* or clientship, put into place for socio-economic purposes ended up exploiting the population (Kayumba, 2004: 212-213).

Under the German colonial administration, (1897-1916) issues between social groups were presented as 'ethnic' conflict. The Belgian colonial rule (1916-1962) that followed the First World War formalised the above-mentioned social identities by means of identity cards. In the process the Tutsi, deemed to be more intelligent and thus born to rule (Lacger, 1959: 324), were elevated to a privileged status. This served to 'ethnicised' Rwandans, as they could no longer readily change their social status. This was followed by other socio-political changes used as a means to divide and rule Rwandans. However, ethnicity as per the identity cards was used, as the main tool to manage and suppress Rwandans and to dispense power, at Belgian will, to either the Tutsi or the Hutu. A point in case is during the decolonisation process that started after the Second World War. The Belgian authorities did not act when the Tutsi, under the tense political climate that existed, suffered political violence, killings and the destruction of property. This pushed a number of them into exile. The consequent replacement of jailed or exiled Tutsi leaders by Hutu ones are considered by some authors as a 'Hutu revolution' (Murego, 1976).

The mentioned tension continued post-independence and the colonial quota policy aimed at the Tutsi were reinforced under the Habyarimana regime (1973-1994). This prevented the Tutsi from securing key positions in public administration. This in turn impacted negatively on Tutsi secondary and higher education. This social injustice, combined with other problems, including a lack of democracy, pushed Rwandans in exile in neighbouring states to launch an attack on Rwanda in 1990. This attack was followed by anti-Tutsi propaganda and an escalation in violence. International attempts to mediate failed and Genocide erupted in 1994 after the grounding the presidential jet.

This human tragedy was characterised by an attempt to eliminate all Tutsi and their so-called accomplices. Supported by the transitional government unthinkable atrocities occurred: People killed their

spouses, neighbours killed neighbours, women were raped and infrastructure destroyed (Des Forges, 1999). Post-genocide, in an attempt to promote unity and reconciliation, different policies and institutions were put into place such as the prosecution of perpetrators through Gacaca courts and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (Clark, 2010). Another measure was that it became unacceptable, for purposes of national unity, to identify people by their social class. Consequently, all inhabitants of Rwanda are now deemed Rwandans and nothing else. The teachers who participated in this study had embraced clearly this kind of thinking, as they did not refer to ethnic identities at all.

The Genocide against the Tutsi is perceived as controversial for a range of reasons – not only due to its sensitivity, but also due to lack of agreement on issues such as the number of victims (estimated from five hundred thousand to around one million); the number of perpetrators'; the causes of the Genocide, and its naming. In this article, we prefer to use the term: Genocide against the Tutsi as found in the 2010 *History Teacher's Guide* and the Rwandan Constitution because it clearly identifies the targeted group and as such does not cause any confusion (Republic of Rwanda, 2010).

The teaching of the Genocide as part of school history is of paramount importance in Rwanda. However, school history has a chequered past in the country. In some instances, the teaching of the subject is even blamed, due to the way it was taught, as a contributing factor to the Genocide (Buckley-Zistel, 2009: 41). This is because history teaching was done to please and praise the post-independence authorities by foregrounding negative aspects from the past such as, for example, the exploitation of the Hutu by the Tutsi (Buhigiro, 2012: 32). Certain authors argue that this contributed to the propaganda, which preceded the Genocide against the Tutsi since the history taught instilled in learners an ideology of ethnic division within and outside the classroom (Bianchini, 2012: 223; Hilker, 2011: 271). Consequently, there was a severe reduction of history teaching after the 1994 Genocide (Hodjkin, 2006: 203).

Since pre-Genocide history teaching has been characterised by its divisive aspects, it was not easy to design a new curriculum, which fitted the post-Genocide context. A series of consultations about strategies on how to approach Rwanda's past, and how to teach it without following a colonial discourse based on 'ethnic' identities namely Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, were held. The first such meeting,

organised by the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research on the education system in Rwanda, recommended to the *Bureaux Pédagogiques* (Curriculum Development Departments), and the Institute of Science and Technology Research, that a textbook and guidelines for history teaching should be written (Bianchini, 2012: 224). This recommendation was treated as a moratorium on history teaching until the guidelines on how to teach the subject were made available. Subsequently, a commission comprising lecturers from the National University of Rwanda and the Institute of Science and Technology Research began a 'reflection process' to revise the history of Rwanda (Buckley-Zistel, 2009: 42).

The above-mentioned commission was, due to a lack of fund, dissolved. Another conference held in October 1998, recommended that the teaching of civic education should return to traditional Rwandan values (Buckley-Zistel, 2009: 42). Other meetings related to history teaching reached no agreement. However, a meeting held in November 1998, at the National University of Rwanda, suggested the creation of a national commission for revising Rwanda's history. This commission was to operate under the auspices of the National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation and the History Department of the National University of Rwanda. It has also suggested that an appointed team should compose a reference work for school textbooks and engage with the training of history teachers. This ideal was not achieved, in all probability due to lack of agreement on the portrayal of the history of the 1959-1962 period (Bianchini, 2012: 225).

In the interim, the National Curriculum Development Centre developed a new curriculum in 1998 for the Ordinary Level (Centre National de Développement des Programmes, 1998). Contrary to the previous curriculum, it did not focus on ethnic groups but on clans and lineages and the 1959 revolution, which was now considered an act of socio-political violence.

As security and living conditions in Rwanda were getting better in the 2000s, and the cooperation with donors improved, the History Project was re-launched. Consequently, in 2006, international scholars and curriculum development specialists from the Human Rights Centre at the University of California and the organisation, Facing History and Ourselves, an American non-profit organisation interested in the development of educational resources and teacher education in post-conflict societies with a focus on the Holocaust,

were approached for help (Buhigiro, 2012: 38). This signalled that history teaching was now considered essential to social reconstruction. This was partly the case because Rwandans were losing patience with the slow progress in terms of decision making on the teaching of history. The moratorium placed by the Ministry of Education on the teaching of history, which had remained in effect for over a decade (Freedman et al., 2008: 664), was now also being viewed from a more critical perspective. The argument was that the decline in the teaching of history was preventing Rwandan learners, not only from acquiring historical skills, but also from learning about the Rwandan civilisation as well as the Genocide. In addition, they could not easily detect ideas aimed at dividing Rwandan society contained in former textbooks, different documents and the internet (IRDP, 2005: 176).

Against this backdrop the resurrection of school history in Rwanda started. From the outset, the Rwandan Ministry of Education limited the role of Facing History and Ourselves to that of informed outsiders who could facilitate and offer resources and advice. The ministry was clear, only Rwandans would be allowed to write an official version of Rwanda's history, or develop an official history curriculum. The Facing History and Ourselves organisation therefore had no overt authorisation to write or create the history curriculum. Its memorandum of understanding with the Ministry of Education specified that its materials and resources 'could be used as models as the MINEDUC [Ministry of Education] through the NCDC [National Curriculum Development Centre] develops a history curriculum for Rwandan schools' (Freedman et al., 2008: 673). Together with Rwandan academics, who were working on behalf of the Rwandan Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, Facing History and Ourselves compiled a comprehensive reference book for secondary school teachers titled, *The Teaching of History of Rwanda. A participatory approach* (Byanafashe, 2006). This was designed to serve as a reference work for history teaching. Facing History and Ourselves also trained around 250 Rwandan teachers (Freedman et al., 2008: 670).

The National Curriculum Development Centre in collaboration with its partners, including parents and students from the Kigali Institute of Education, developed a new history curriculum for Ordinary Level (for 13-16-year-old learners). The curriculum development was for the most part undertaken by Rwandans who

had participated in the Facing History and Ourselves training. The Ordinary Level history curriculum was guided by important government documents such as *Vision 2020*, the *Strategy for Poverty Reduction* and the *Strategic Plan for Education Sector and Education for all policy* (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008: 3). In this regard, the curriculum aimed at:

educating citizens to know the Rwandese and universal values of peace, respect of human rights, gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity and good governance; promoting moral, intellectual, social and professional education towards the promotion of knowledge, skills needed for sustainable development; developing learners' spirit of patriotism and love of work.

The 2008 Ordinary Level history curriculum thus foregrounded notions of peace, tolerance and reconciliation. In a nutshell, history at this level of study aimed at enlightening learners with critical thinking skills by them looking at different human experiences so that they can live in a world without ethnic or religious discrimination. Importantly, the new curriculum implied that history teachers should have the ability to, considering their school environment, develop the curriculum further (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008: 3-5). In fact, the history curriculum recommended that teachers should follow participatory learner-centred approaches when teaching. The history teacher thus had to develop a spirit of critical thinking and multiperspectivity amongst learners. Although the 2008 curriculum aimed at developing a participatory educational approach (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008: 5), some analysts argued that this approach contradicted the determination of the Rwandan Government of inculcating, by promoting a national identity instead of forms of 'ethnicity', a new vision and version of the history of Rwanda (Bianchini, 2012: 227). Thus, two big changes happened in the post-Genocide Ordinary Level history curriculum of 2008, namely, the position and role of the teacher changed and the Genocide were included as a topic. The reality was that very few of the practicing history teachers had sufficient skills to teach in the way the curriculum expected.

Later, in 2010, some of the teachers trained by Facing History and Ourselves who worked on the Ordinary Level history curriculum also worked on the Advanced Level history curriculum. The 2010 Advanced Level history curriculum placed even more emphasis on

critical thinking and learner-centeredness. It recommended the foregrounding, not only of the history of Rwanda to help the youth of the country to clearly understand their society, but also that they be informed about what took place in other parts of the world without forgetting their cultural identity. Apparently, as with the Ordinary Level curriculum, the intention was to highlight the importance of 'Rwandaness'. In terms of the general aims, there was an emphasis on precolonial Rwanda whereas the content comprised the colonial period and post-independence, which includes aspects related to the Genocide and post-Genocide periods (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010: 6). An important intended aim was to present the precolonial period as an idyllic period. The thinking was that this could be used to convince learners to live harmoniously in post-Genocide Rwanda.

At present, the 2008 and 2010 history curricula are being phased out and replaced, for grade 1 and grade 4, by a new curriculum. The new curriculum will be progressively phased in at the other grades. The new curriculum, published in 2015, links history and citizenship and 'is responsive to the needs of the learner and shift from objective knowledge based learning to competency based learning' (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a: 24). In this new curriculum, the Genocide is still one of the most recurring topics (Gasanabo, Mutanguha & Mpayimana, 2016: 332). For Ordinary Level, in grade 1, the focus is on the conceptualisation of genocide and its difference from other mass atrocities. In grade 2, the causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi, its planning and execution are part of the curriculum. For grade 3, the consequences of the Genocide and how Rwandans re-built society are analysed. The curriculum for Advanced Level looks, in grade 4, at the similarities and differences between the Genocide against the Tutsi and other genocides (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b: 27). In the next grade, the curriculum proposes to evaluate different forms of Genocide ideology and the phenomenon of denial in Rwanda and other countries. In grade 6, special attention is paid to measures related to genocide prevention.

It is against the background, and within the context of contemporary post-conflict Rwanda, that Rwandan history teachers have to, at Ordinary and Advanced level, teach the Genocide against the Tutsi. In so doing they have to take cognisance of numerous factors, including: the contentious place of school history in Rwandan society; the various curricula that have been implemented;

the fact that they are expected to teach history in a participatory, critical and learner-centred manner which engages with multi-perspectivity; their own emotions, experiences and positioning; the communities in which they live; the alternative histories that exists on the event and the fact that emotionally scarred children of victims and perpetrators will be in the same history class. All of this needs to be done against the contextual backdrop of the policies of the Rwandan government that foregrounds aspects of 'Rwandaness' which includes reconciliation, patriotism and unity that discourages talk about 'ethnic groups'. As such, this makes for a controversial and volatile mix in which Rwandan history teachers face many professional development challenges.

However, professional development challenges are not uniformly similar across the world and can be very different between the global north and south, developed and developing countries, and societies living in peace and those who had experienced conflict. Conversely, for the purpose of this article we have conceptualised professional development needs as meaning furthering education and knowledge by specialising in teaching approaches to teach the Genocide against the Tutsi with success in post-conflict Rwanda. Against contextual backdrop as outlined, this article focusses on the professional development needs of Rwandan history teachers who have to teach the Genocide.

3. Research Methodology

Considering the background and context as outlined, how then do one-approach history teachers whose lives, alongside those of their learners, are so traumatically intertwined with a very recent Genocide? The decision was to use drawings, followed by an interview based on the created illustrations. What then is a drawing? In simple terms, a drawing is a picture or image that is created by making lines on a surface with a pencil, pen, marker or chalk but usually not with paint (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/drawing). Drawings are an arts-informed method that fall under arts-informed methodologies (Butler-Kisbet, 2010).

In the case of this study, the hope was that using drawings would allow the 11 participating history teachers from different secondary schools from across Rwanda to reveal their experiences in teaching the Genocide in an authentic manner (Bishop, 2006: 40). Using

drawings was also deemed suitable as a research method for reasons including that it helped the history teachers to focus on their depictions of teaching the Genocide and not on the immense sensitivity of the topic itself. In other words, drawings served to deflect attention away from personal sensitivities by projecting them onto an external object (Cohen et al., 2011: 177). Drawing also permitted the communication of ideas about discrete concepts in an emotively nuanced manner (Özden, 2009: 636), while allowing the history teachers to engage in a relatively uninhibited manner with their experiences and in so doing reveal some insights that would not, in all probability, have been achieved by other methods (Kearney, 2009: 55). Additionally, drawings have in the past been used with some success in other studies (Özden, 2009; Kearney, 2009). Most importantly, in the case of this study, it was decided to use drawings because during the post-Genocide period, one aspect raised by researchers was teachers' fear to talk about the Genocide. This concern was based on the sensitivity of the topic. Teachers faced traumatic experiences in schools and most of them were directly affected by the Genocide. Due to a fear of the possible resurgence of traumatic scenes, we deemed it reason enough to use drawings as our key data gathering method.

The history teachers were, on an individual basis, given an A4 size paper and a pen and pencil to create a drawing representing their experience of teaching the Genocide (Bishop, 2006: 40). They were told that the objective was not to test their drawing skills but rather for them to depict graphically their teaching experiences. The teachers were also notified that after completing their drawings they were going to be asked some questions related to the meaning of their illustrations. At the outset, certain participants asked if they could draw an object or a person. They were informed that it all depended on them and how they wanted to reflect their experiences. It was also noted that at the start the history teachers were hesitant in starting their drawings. However, when they had grasped the research method they enjoyed the exercise.

During the drawing process, most of the history teachers took the initiative and kept explaining what they were doing without waiting for the end of the exercise to be interviewed. What this pointed to was that drawing gave a certain power to the research participants to lead the research process because they could decide what to depict and how to explain it. The drawing task was completed in between

five and seven minutes. The history teachers were in the end happy to draw and explain their experiences of teaching the Genocide. This gives credence to Özden's conclusion, that certain research participants may see drawings as a more accurate expression of their views and experiences when compared to written or oral answers (Özden, 2009: 636).

Despite the mentioned advantages of using drawings as a research method, it has some shortcomings. Primarily understanding a concept is different from drawing it (Özden, 2009: 636). The potential for misinterpretation and misanalysis, or to incorrectly attributing emotions or actions to certain drawings, is also an issue (Bishop, 2006: 41; Kearney, 2009: 54). However, since the drawings were followed by interviews, which some history teachers partially pre-empted by explaining as they were drawing, the risk of misinterpretation was greatly reduced. In the process, the history teachers connected their views and experiences to the drawings made. As such, the act of 'drawing interviewing', was a way of avoiding misinterpretations of the history teachers' drawings (Johnson & Christensen, 2008: 523). Additionally, as Carnes (2009: 129) argues, the drawings also proved to be a good entrance point that allowed the participants to talk in a responsive manner about their experiences of teaching the Genocide. In short – the Rwandan history teachers produced the drawings themselves and in so doing decided which feelings, emotions, needs and views on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi to reveal.

In the end the four drawings that were purposively selected were, for the most part, representative of the key professional development issues faced by Rwandan history teachers when teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi.

The history teachers' drawings were analysed by means of visual semiotics (Johnson & Christensen, 2008: 533). Conceptually, visual semiotics is concerned with signs and what they stand for in human culture (Sebeok, 2001: 4). More specifically visual semiotic analysis looks at denotative and connotative meanings of a drawing or any other sign (Parsa, 2004: 849). By denotation, we looked at the literal meaning a drawing intends to convey. In contrast, in connotation the focus shifted to the associative meanings the drawing could possibly create (Johnson & Christensen, 2008: 533). In other words, the connotative meaning is dependent on cultural experiences. As signs can mean different things depending on the time and place, the

drawings used in this article were analysed and interpreted according to Rwandan culture and the personal background of the lead author.

In the next subsection the four selected drawings, and the history teachers' comments, will be presented, analysed and discussed.

4.   Presentation and Analysis of the Research Data

Let us now focus on the empirical data, the four drawings and the accompanying explanations.
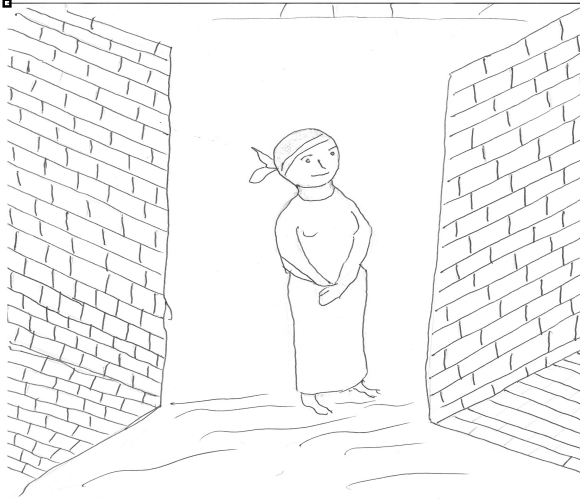

Drawing 1 by Mukamuhire: "Stuck between two walls"

I have chosen to draw two walls because they are like two blocks. It means that one group has its own understanding whereas the other one has also its own. Both sides are opposed; they do not reach the same understanding […] Briefly, we all live in the society but there are some issues we do not understand the same way. As it used to happen [in the recent past], there were communists and capitalists. These ideologies do not converge in the same direction.

Teaching Genocide is not easy due to the fact that there are two categories of people: perpetrators and victims. The teacher has to be between both sides. You do not have to add your own [beliefs] or to accept what those who do not say the truth put forward. It means that history has true pillars. I do follow them because the history programme is available […] mainly the books written on the history of Rwanda at Butare […]. Then, I can say that I was required to be impartial. I

feel like someone who is between two walls without supporting any group. It means that it is not easy. There is a kind of dilemma.

▫
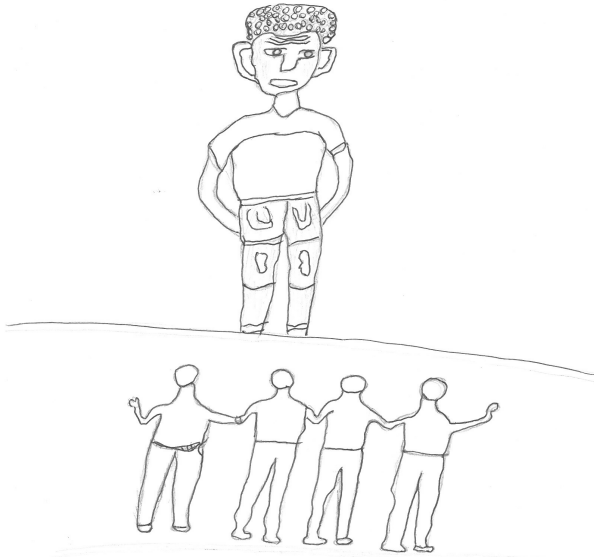
Drawing 2 by Murezi: A giant with an anxious look facing history learners holding hands.

Regarding my experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial topics, it can be represented by a sad person and a classroom situation. That sad person does not mean that I am sad when I am teaching this course. But, it depicts that what happened was an abnormal event. I am teaching an appalling event. The Genocide had overwhelming effects on Rwandans and they keep on affecting them. It is why I have drawn a sad person. Secondly, the other phase of my drawing represents learners, who are hand in hand, a mark of collaboration. These people hand in hand show that after the Genocide people can forget past atrocities and work together [...] have to forgive one another but without forgetting what happened. It is a contribution to 'never again'. My teaching experience is characterized by an effort of teaching genocide for 'never again' to avoid its awful consequences.
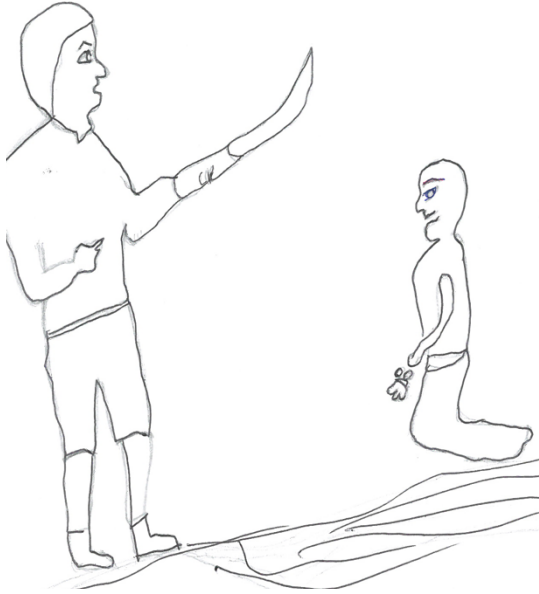
Drawing 3 by Semana: A man ready to butcher a kneeling woman with a machete.

I fear that I can draw something horrible which can traumatize someone and have other consequences […] Maybe, you can do this […] for instance you can draw a machete like this and arms holding it this way. Here is the victim kneeling, asking maybe mercy, stretching her arms for him [the perpetrator].

The link [with my teaching experience] is that the Genocide is not self-committed. It is committed by human beings who are against the life of others with the aim of exterminating them so that they disappear forever or prevent them from reproducing. I think that even if it is a bad action, sometimes people with bad intention have their own objective and those who are against them can be harmed, and themselves [perpetrators] encounter consequences. I know that I teach to young learners a course which deals with atrocities, if I do not make attention I can harm them by my teaching. On my side, I have also to be careful about my explanations.
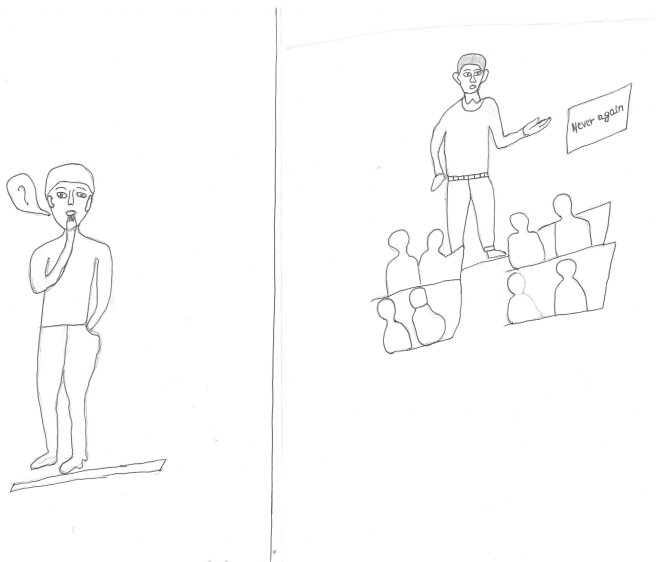
Drawing 4 by Mukakalisa: Reflective teacher teaching for "never again".

I drew a person with [his hand] on his mouth and another one with someone in front of his learners in a normal situation […] The first drawing represents someone putting his hand on his mouth. At the beginning, when I encountered the chapter on the Genocide, I did not understand it. As a reaction, I touched my mouth, my head, then scratched my head and was wondering what I was going to teach. [I noticed] that books on the Genocide were not giving relevant information for learners. When I was going to teach, I was aware that learners would ask me questions. Sometimes, I told them that I could answer some questions and fail to respond to others.

The second drawing is a teacher in front of learners. It is a normal situation. As days went on, I became competent to respond to learners' questions. I had to consult other persons for some clarifications. I could find responses for some and fail to get them for others. But, during the last two […] three years, when I arrive on it [the chapter on genocide], I take it as a normal course and have something to tell to learners [never again].

By analysing the four drawings and the related interview extracts by means of connotation and denotation numerous professional development issues emerged. The most prominent of these are discussed below.

First the Genocide as a violent event is real – both as a historical occurrence to be taught and as an episode in the lives of the history teachers and their leaners. Consequently, the history teachers feared harming or traumatising their learners and instead wanted to protect them somehow against the harsh and violent history of the Genocide. They were, seemingly not fully equipped to deal with the lingering historical trauma. In this regard, an uncertainty emerged on how to teach the Genocide as an extreme form of violence that entailed rape and killing. The connotative and denotative interpretations of the research data clearly revealed this.

Rwandan history classrooms are clearly also divided educational spaces where, at times, conflicting political and historical views on the Genocide played itself out. These conflicting ideas generally centred on what the children of perpetrators and victims brought to the history classroom and could even be interpreted as tantamount to, according to Rwandan law (Republic of Rwanda, 2013), Genocide denial. The four history teachers were, at times, in the middle of this tug-of-war and tried their utmost to remain one-sidedly in favour of the intended curricula and Rwandan government policy. In fact, the history teachers only revealed their own positionality when it coincided with that of the government. The result was that teaching the Genocide was in some instances an experience of discomfort for the participating history teachers. A professional need thus exists on how to deal with conflicting ideas in the history classroom that challenges the accepted dominant narrative.

Stemming from the previous paragraph is the history teachers' positioning in favour of the official political position of the Rwandan government on the Genocide. For example, the research participants (LaCapra, 1997: 89) did not challenge the fact that it is called the Genocide against the Tutsi. Additionally, the ideas of unity, reconciliation, forgiveness, patriotism and 'never again' as new forms of 'Rwandaness' were supported unquestioningly and generally to the letter. The challenges brought about by the Gacaca courts and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda were also not raised (Clark, 2010). The Genocide was thus taught as a political project and to do so the history teachers assumed overbearing positions,

employed teacher-centeredness as the major teaching approach, and employed the available resources in a one-sided manner. The result was a real tension a tension between the legitimate and admirable nation-building agenda of the Rwandan government and the educationally progressive nature of the Ordinary and Advanced level history curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). The latter recommended the use of learner-centeredness, a critical pedagogical approach and multiperspectivity. Consequently, the participating history teachers experienced an incompatible tension and as a result, neglected curriculum aims in favour of the political ones. However, this need not necessarily be the case and the participating history teachers clearly can do with professional development on how to reconcile the political and educational aims they are faced with.

In continuation, an analysis of the drawings and related comments of the four teachers revealed that they did not necessarily take ownership of the history curricula. Instead, it was viewed through an officially accepted political lens, which contrasted with how a progressive history curriculum such as the Rwandan one should be engaged with. The result was a certain uncertainty of what can be done pedagogically to teach the Genocide as a controversial issue. A clear professional developmental need thus exists on how to take ownership of the Ordinary and Advanced level history curricula.

5. Discussion

The above professional developmental needs are not necessarily out of place in post-conflict societies. In the case of Rwanda, the above-mentioned professional development needs must be addressed to the general benefit of the people of Rwanda to prevent school history from assuming the same status it had in the pre-Genocide period. To do this would not necessarily be easy but the following are possibilities in this regard.

First, it is necessary to recognise the Genocide conceptually as a controversial issue. That is to recognise that some disagreements exist about it as an historical event. The attempts to resolve this disagreement is conflictual and like any other sensitive and controversial issue can 'renew old wounds and divisions and bring back many painful memories' (Stradling, 2001: 100). The Rwandan history teachers thus need to, by means of professional development,

be brought to understand why the Genocide against the Tutsi carries the hallmarks of a controversial issue.

At the same time, the pedagogical reasons on why the Rwandan Genocide should be taught as a controversial issue should be brought home to the history teachers. These reasons include, amongst others: the fact that Genocide is a current event and to learn about it can alleviate learners' curiosity. In addition, controversial issues are taught in classrooms because they are topical and relevant to learners' daily lives (Stradling, 1984: 3). The teaching of controversial issues could increase learners' historical knowledge. This is because learners can discuss the context in which controversial issues occurred. Moreover, history taught by means of controversial issues can be the basis for citizenship education. In fact, through discussion and analysis of controversial issues, learners can develop their critical skills and this can help them to learn to make sound judgements (Wassermann et al., 2008). Furthermore, teaching controversial issues can contribute to societal transformation because learners are exposed to ideas different from theirs and thus grasp the multiperspective nature of events and its implication for a democratic society. Openly sharing different experiences about a complicated past can also help learners to be more understanding and more tolerant in view of creating a liveable community (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber & Serf, 2011: 5; LaCapra, 1999: 697). Gaining transferable skills is also relevant in teaching controversial issues. A range of skills such as collecting and evaluating evidence, analysing statistics, presenting findings and explaining theories which learners can use outside the school environment can be acquired (Manyane, 1995: 11-13).

Generally speaking, the reasons listed for teaching the Genocide as a controversial issue is in line with the Rwandan history curricula and history teachers can thus only benefit by gaining an understanding of how and why the teaching of controversial issues is important for learners' development and ultimately also for the prototype Rwandan citizen the Rwandan government is envisaging. The view is after-all expressed that if taught correctly engagement with controversial issues has the possibility of supporting democracy and responsible participation instead of re-igniting sectarianism and conflict (Murphy & Gallagher, 2009: 160).

However, it is eventually the role of the Rwandan history teachers to teach the Genocide as a controversial issue. While grasping the Genocide against the Tutsi as a controversial issue and the

educational value of teaching such issues, the actual teaching of the event is a completely different reality. Suggestions on how to do this comes from a range of educational theorists working in the field of teaching controversial issues.

One of the ways would be for Rwandan history teachers to take risks by embracing the social utility of history. Risk-takers face the past and present and are not afraid of pushing boundaries by dealing with popular and unpopular interpretations of the past (Kitson & McCully, 2005: 35). An alternative approach would be playing devil's advocate. In so doing, the Rwandan teachers' opposes the commonly accepted positions to push thinking and discussion further to tap into ideas that are more original. In general, the proposed point of view is not necessarily the history teacher's actual position (Nemeth et al., 2001: 708). Another positive approach that could be employed to teach controversial issues is the balanced approach or neutral impartiality (Leib, 1998: 230). By using this approach, the teacher offers learners a range of alternative viewpoints on each issue (Stradling, 1984: 5-6). The balanced approach can be compared to the Socratic cross-examiner or nurturant facilitator since the teacher probes for evidence by challenging learners' assumptions in a safe classroom setting (Lockwood, 1996: 29). The Rwandan history teachers can also employ peace making as an approach whereby the focus is mostly on forgiveness and aims at appeasing classroom tensions in post-conflict situation (Wassermann, 2011: 26). Teachers can also practice forms of stated commitment (Stradling, 1984: 9). Adopting a stated commitment position can be compared to the determined advocate in Lockwood's categorisation (Lockwood, 1995: 29). In this case, the teacher avoids being neutral on substantive values such as the denial of the Genocide. However, the teacher needs to give clear guidelines to learners beforehand. The history teachers can also adopt procedural neutrality as a teaching approach (Stradling, 1984: 7). This approach, also known as neutral impartiality (Leib, 1998: 231), allows the history teacher to become an impartial chairperson of a discussion group. The teacher will allow all learners the opportunity to explain their ideas, treats their opinions constantly, provides evidence when necessary, and avoids the assertion of her/his own allegiances (Stradling, 1984: 7).

What following the positive approaches as outlined can do is to bring the political and educational agendas closer as it has the potential to get learners to critically engage in a multi-perspective

manner with a range of sources and positions on the Genocide. In so doing the tensions between patriotic nationalism, school history and democratic participation can be engaged with in a constructive manner. However, we have to admit that following these tested approaches to teaching controversial issues will not provide a quick and neat solution as other professional development issues remain that also needs attention. These include guiding Rwandan history teachers on how to select and use historical sources in their teaching and how to deal with learners that are traumatised during the education process. Especially the latter is of paramount importance as the history teachers might avoid teaching about real issues related to the Genocide out of fear that they would traumatise their learners and in the process be embarrassed for not having the necessary skills to manage it. The professional development on the selection and use of sources and the management of trauma must, however, happen in a manner integrated with the theory underpinning the teaching of controversial issues. At the same time, there should be countrywide support structures to advise teachers on the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi as a controversial issue. In this regard, hotlines, websites or other means, need to be put in place. Otherwise, the history teachers might quickly lapse back into the comfortable binary of treating the political position of government and that of the curriculum as being mutually exclusive and lapse into teaching approaches such as avoidance and indoctrination.

The overall aim of the outlined professional development is to improve the competence, knowledge and skills of the Rwandan history teacher to effectively teach the Genocide against the Tutsi in a supportive environment. However, we fully accept that this will not be achieved by means of a short-term intervention, which invariably has little impact, as it cannot address the teaching of the Genocide as a controversial issue in any real depth. Long-term professional development support that is educationally and theoretically grounded, with buy in from history teachers, whole school communities and most importantly the Rwanda educational authorities and government, are needed. What we also admit is that such professional development interventions will not necessarily resolve all the issues flagged. In fact, the proposed professional development holds no guarantee but might be a step in the right direction at guiding history teachers on how to, as communities of practice, teach the Genocide as a controversial issue. However, a constructive

professional development undertaking will aid Rwandan history teachers to engage with the Genocide in a manner that would adhere to the curriculum expectations. This is necessary so that young Rwandans' remembrance and engagement with the Genocide can help to build a more peaceful and prosperous community.

6. Conclusion

This article used the drawings and related interviews of four Rwandan history teachers, on their experiences of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi, to identify professional development needs for those having to teach this controversial event 23 years after the event. It must be reiterated that the findings emanating from this small-scale qualitative study cannot be generalised to all of Rwanda. However, what it did serve to do was to provide an insight into the professional development needs of history teachers. These needs are situated at the interface of government policies on patriotic nationalism, progressive school history curricula and democratic participation. Consequently, we argue that the tensions at the mentioned interface need to be engaged with in a constructive manner for the benefit of history teaching and Rwandan society. Nevertheless, to do so with any modicum of success rigorous and sustained professional development needs to take place on how to, in its broadest sense, teach the Genocide against the Tutsi as a controversial issue. If this does not happen history teachers will in all probability remain rooted in a position, which erroneously treats the political position of government and that of the curriculum as being mutually exclusive. This article hopefully served to provide a valuable insight in this regard.

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Forum

HISTORY TEACHING CURRICULA: IMPLICATIONS OF IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT ETHNOCENTRIC AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN ISRAEL

Sara Zamir and Roni Reingold

Using an interpretational analysis of the 2014-15 history-teaching curricula both for Jewish secular and Jewish religious high schools in Israel, this research aimed at revealing whether a change in a rhetoric of a manifested educational policy in Israel was followed by a real change in an educational ideology. The findings revealed that although in the year 2000, the Israeli Ministry of Education has finally adopted a multicultural policy, as replacement to the assimilation policy, formal multicultural intentions were not always translated directly to compatible contents.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, its Ministry of Education has had complete and centralized control, including in determining the educational policy and activities pertaining to all of the schools in the country (Reingold, 2013), with exception of the Jewish ultra-Orthodox independent education. The Ministry controls the schools' curricula; the matriculation examination; the teachers' preparatory education, accreditation procedures, and teachers' continuing professional development (Reingold, 2014). Subsequently, throughout the years of the existence of the State of Israel, this control has enabled the Ministry to encourage conformist behavior among teachers, in line with its ethnocentric-Zionist policies (Reingold, 2013).

In contrast to the former description, in the last decade and half, a new sound can be heard hailing from the Ministry of Education. The beginning of the shift was in the year 2000, when an amendment to the Israel National Education Act of 1953 was introduced, specifically, the goals of national education in Israel were updated as well as the vision of the optimal high-school graduate. Many of the articles in the amendment are reminiscent of the original wordings, for example, 'to teach Israel's Torah, as well as its Jewish history, heritage, and traditions' (Amendment to the Israel National Education Act, 2000). However, along with these, there are articles

that introduce a new spirit and new goals, for example, 'to become familiar with the language, culture, history, heritage, and unique traditions of the Arab population and of other population groups in the State of Israel' (this article also introduces into the legislature the 1976 goals for national Arab education). Thus, it would appear, that this document resonates with the values characteristic of multicultural approaches. Alternatively, with what the European educational discourse refers as intercultural approach (Todd, 2011; Dervin, 2015).

Through an interpretational analysis of two History-teaching curricula, the present study seeks to determine whether the curricula reflect the contemporary educational policy's adoption of multicultural values that could potentially help strengthen weakened and marginalized population groups, or whether the changes in formal educational policy successfully produce a multicultural rhetoric while engaging in ethnocentric curricula.

1. Ethnocentric Policy in Education

Ethnocentrism in education occurs when the curriculum, teaching methods, and educational strategies present the narrative of a nation from a mono-cultural perspective that ignores the presence and/or contributions of the hegemonic groups in society. Hence, ethnic communities and minorities are often absent in the educational curricula, and members of these groups are often portrayed in stereotypical ways (Sue, 2004).

From its very foundation, the state of Israel implemented a policy known as 'the melting pot', as part of its ethnocentric policy. The melting pot was the formal social and educational policy, which was dominant in the State of Israel during the first decades after it was founded. The melting-pot policy mainly fostered the identity of the national, secular Ashkenazi[1] as representing the Israeli ethos. Melting pot is, of course, not an original Israeli policy. The term was first used in a play named 'Melting pot' written by the British author and playwright Israel Zangwill. The play from 1908 presented an approach asserting that immigrants should assimilate 'into a generalized 'American' identity while shedding their indigenous cultural identities in the process' (Gaynor, 2011: 178).

Expression of the melting pot policy in the educational field can be found in the words of the third Minister of Education, Ben-Zion

Dinur. While speaking about the history curriculum, he demanded that 'everything taught in school must assist in imparting to the student[s] these values, train [students] to absorb them […] and promote the [values] as a guiding factor in forming[their] identity, thoughts and way of life. Nothing in the curriculum or school life should be opposed to these goals' (Kizel, 2005: 3).

A representative or example of the assimilation policy can be found through an in-depth examination of the State Education Law, implemented in the school year 1953/54. The schools of both these systems shared the same curriculum. Only the fourth stream, the Ultra-Orthodox Stream, was not included within the state framework and was recognized as an independent one (Tadmor-Shimoni, 2010). Originally, the legislation of 1953 was intended to end a heated debate in Israeli society between secular and religious sectors. It was intended – at least allegedly – that the secular schools would feature a curriculum with a humanistic orientation that expresses a pluralistic worldview. However, that did not happen; hence, religious teachers are allowed to teach in the secular Jewish education sector, whereas secular teachers are denied the same privilege in the Jewish religious education sector.

The eventual replacement of the melting pot policy with the 'integration' or the 'cultural pluralism' policy at the end of the 1960s did little to resolve these complexities. While the pluralist policy accepted the existence of various cultural groups within one political or social entity, and even viewed it as normal (Lamme, 1996), its aim was 'to strive […] for cultural integration of different groups that may become realized precisely because of the recognition of their right to exist' (Lamme, 1996: 212). In other words, the pluralistic ethnocentric version of the new educational policy was reflecting a conception that actually advocated implicit assimilation. Nevertheless, pluralism served as a basis for multicultural perceptions.

Even though ethnocentrism is usually identified with the right wing of the political map, in Israel, ethnocentrism is strongly connected to the resilient sense of a state under siege. Personal as well as national sense of existential threat has led to ethnocentric rhetoric that eventually formed major motives in the nation's curricula since the establishment of Israel (Zamir, 2013).

2.   The Multicultural Policy in Education

This multicultural existence means first and foremost that society respects its cultures and the people who practice them. On one hand, pluralistic approaches imply that we accept all cultures equally, but rather that we respect each culture equally – even if it is unacceptable to us – that we recognize each culture's contribution to society and the country, and that we recognize the right of each group or individual to have their own unique identity (Iram, 1999).

On the other hand, there are different multicultural approaches and there is much debate between the advocates of multiculturalism (Gorski, 2009; Reingold, 2014). Never the less, there is a consensus that multicultural ideology (or intercultural ideology), which in Israel goes back only a few decades, aims to advance a policy that encourages a relationship of mutual respect among the various cultures that comprise a society (Reingold, 2007; Reingold, 2014). It is a 'policy of maintaining a diversity of ethnic cultures within a community' and it upholds 'the view that the various cultures in a society merit equal respect and scholarly interest' (Raţă, 2013: 3). In other words, it is 'a philosophy that appreciates ethnic diversity within a society and that encourages people to learn from the contributions of those with diverse ethnic backgrounds'.

All these definitions and characteristics are to be distinguished from what Peter McLaren (1995) defines as 'conservative multiculturalism', meaning feigned multiculturalism. In other words, a rhetoric which uses the terms multiculturalism and diversity to cover up the practice of assimilation. Sometimes, the practice is covered up by attributing the term multiculturalism to situations of voluntary segregation of some ethnical and cultural groups, while ignoring the essential dialogical relationships and interactions that true multiculturalism emphasizes. This is not only the core idea of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s claim in the disuniting of America (Schlesinger, 1991), but also the political or ideological view of a person such as Angela Merkel, that announced the failure of multiculturalism. Thus, a person like the former British Prime Minister David Cameron, who was attacking separatism, racism or extremisms ideas actually served as straw man of the multicultural agenda.

3. Nevertheless, True Multiculturalism

True multiculturalism claims that cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue are necessary elements of culturally diverse societies; hence, educational manifestations of this ideology may involve the construction of common educational public spaces shared by members of different cultural communities. At an earlier stage of the multicultural process, educational implementation of this ideology may require maintaining separate public educational spaces for different cultural minorities. This, in order to empower the community members of each group and to prepare them for an intercultural dialogue from a position of strength that is, defining an early stage of a particular form of multiculturalism (Reingold, 2013).

The issue of ethnic diversity has received much attention in the Israeli education system since the foundation of the State, when the first great waves of immigration began arriving in the country. The intermingling of cultures – traditions, languages, customs and norms of behavior – required the leaders of the country to forge the 'cultural fusion' that would change this great ingathering of exiles into one people. The decision to establish a free, compulsory state education system was intended to create a suitable tool to achieve this purpose; the state education law (1953) was passed in the Knesset[2] to give formal sanction to the decision: 'The aim of state education is to establish elementary education in the country on the values of the culture of Israel.' Education based on the culture of Israel was stated in the law, as one can observe, as the chief aim of compulsory education. This formulation expressed the dream of the leaders at that time to build the unifying machinery for creating an Israeli culture that was at that time in its formative stage.

As the years passed, criticism of this policy favouring cultural uniformity began to surface, with oriental writers at its forefront. Most of the criticism was directed at the domination of the European Zionist narrative concerning the absorption process of the new immigrants and the sidelining of Orientals from cultural, political and governmental positions. The critics held that the melting pot policy worked in favour of the Ashkenazi population in all areas concerning the distribution of resources, in education, land ownership and location of settlements. The critics claimed that Jewish nationalism is an integral part of the Zionist narrative. This new oriental narrative also claims that the Zionist narrative has excluded the oriental

narrative because Zionism has been repressing Orientals for a long time (in the political and not qualitative sense of the word), and therefore only in a situation of multicultural thinking can the oriental narrative co-exist with the Zionist narrative (Shmuelof, Shem-Tov& Bar-Am, 2007). The Pedagogical Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, who is responsible for the pedagogical policy of education and engages in curricular development, has responded to these claims by placing topics such as 'The Unity of Israel,' 'The Year of the Hebrew Language,' and 'Cultures of Communities' as the yearly central topics to be discussed in the education system.

It also responded by selecting other subjects for discussion that were chosen from new fields of interest at specific times that highlighted Israel as a multicultural, multi-lingual and multi-national society. It also publicized other ideas, such as the one expressed by supporters of assimilation who believe that only thanks to the creation of one single national identity has the nation been able to reach its present high level of development. Giving preference or special treatment (as affirmative action) to immigrant communities would likely have the opposite effect of what was intended: it would harm these communities since the majority culture would become hostile to them, so that the gap separating the two would be greater than ever. On the contrary, it is precisely the effort to integrate the immigrants in society that would encourage them to acquire the new customs of their hosts, thus preserving national unity. One of the advocates of this approach, the historian and author Gadi Taub (2004) argues that due to the bad memories it evokes, the term 'melting pot' must not be used nowadays, but the truth of the matter is that we cannot disregard it entirely since a better term has yet to be invented. The truth must be told, even if it is unpleasant: it is very doubtful that our existence here would have been ensured without the 'melting pot,' and it is doubtful that we can ensure our future without it. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. claimed that a disuniting of America could follow an adoption of multiculturalism (Schlesinger, 1991).

According to Taub, a society such as ours that faces a real danger of breaking up cannot afford the luxury of fostering the differences between its communities while the little that unites us is running out. America can afford it because it is fundamentally united. One can argue about the content of the melting pot, and one can give everybody a voice in its shaping, but truthfully, without it there

would be no such thing called 'Israel' (Taub, 2004). Similarly, in his book, The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society (1992) Schlesinger endorses the melting pot theory of American history against what he calls the 'cult of ethnicity' and attacked multiculturalism as well as bilingual education. Examining the international dimension and the lessons of one polyglot country after another, tearing itself apart due to multiculturalism (among them the former Yugoslavia) he finds troubling new evidence that the process of multiculturalism may threaten the United States as well.

4.   The Importance of History Curricula

School is an important agent of political socialization. This is where children and adolescents spend a large part of their day during the week and, in the case of ethnic minorities, encounter national school standards and knowledge in the form of the formal curriculum and the majority's culture. Whether the result for ethnic minorities is assimilation, separation, or integration depends on both the way the education system is structured and the content of the hidden or the overt curriculum (Cara, 2010).

Curriculum is a ground structure of the education system and has a long lasting effect on societies and individuals alike (Oja, 2014). It may easily serve to perpetuate distinctive norms of truth that imitate the Canon values and instill the virtues of the dominant social groups. Critics of Ethnocentrism do not deny the importance of one's own origins and contributions. What critics do assert is that ethnocentrism does not reflect heterogeneous people or culture (Grelle & Metzger, 1996).

Textbooks, based upon the curricula of a state, are the most important means of constructing social reality for the pupils. By using processes of sorting and selection (that is to say, a certain board decides which learning material is going to be included or excluded from the curriculum) they actually convey 'legitimate knowledge', as social believes norms, myth and values. Schoolbooks and other learning materials are used by the entire young generation, and they are perceived to be true and objective even though they tend to reflect the mere interests of the hegemonic ideology (Apple, 1979; Apple & Christian-Smith 1991, Zamir, 2013).

Studies examining the content of textbooks show that textbooks have the potential to construct social reality for pupils, to impart

values, beliefs, norms and ideologies as well as to transfer the chosen social ethos from one generation to another. Textbooks change through the course of time according to political, ideological and social transformations within a given society; Some chapters are added while others are removed or ignored. Absence is not indeterminate nothingness; it is causally efficacious, effecting real natural and social outcomes (Wilkinson, 2014). Clearly, absences can effect social outcomes: for example, inadequate environmental education that does not take in to consideration the diversity of a society can effect climate change.

Textbooks, especially of History and civics have an important role in creating the national narrative and the collective memory of a society: they deal with the past but, in fact, help to construct future consciousness. History textbooks are historical narratives that link up the author's text, the historical documentation and the pedagogical means, as printed questions (Baques, 2011).

Teaching of history has come to be perceived not just as a source of information and a tool for analyzing the human experience, but also as a major means of teaching values and for shaping learners' collective memory. In doing so, the history curriculum reflects the perception of the normative identity of society and its aspirations regarding its future character (Gur-Ze'ev, 1999, 2004, 2007; Kizel, 2008).

According to Kizel (2005), in teaching history, there is an expression of processes constructing the collective memory spaces from which derive identity perceptions and norms of society and its aspirations regarding its future image. Power and control centers of the ruling factors in society are especially expressed in the study programs.

Public debates regarding history curricula and teaching have occurred in recent years in various countries and societies around the world. Such debates seem especially common in democracies and often reveal trends, such as changes in perspective and the existence of multiple narratives. These debates arouse the criticism that such scrutiny undermines the authority of heritage, raise doubts about the need to recruit the past for legitimization, and nurture an alternative legitimization that emphasises the present and the need to face the future (Kizel, 2008).

Several researchers who examined the teaching of history in Israel have noted in their articles that Israel's first history-teaching

curriculum, dating from 1954, was intended to serve the Ashkenazi-Zionist narrative and, consequently, focused on the pogroms carried out against the Jews in Eastern Europe, on the Holocaust, and on the founding of the State of Israel (Yonah, 2005).

In discussing this issue, the late philosopher of education Ilan Gur-Zeev noted the following:

The critical reconstruction of the history of Zionist education will enlighten the general rules of education by pointing out the general function of normalizing education in a concrete historical manner. Reconstructing the control over the memory and consciousness with supervision over the construction of the Israeli identity in the framework of knowledge images and modern political practices should have a special place here' (Gur-Ze'ev, 1999, 2004, 2007).

The discussion focuses on the curricula in history. It is through the teaching of history that the State can define and inculcate its preferred narrative (Naveh, 2005) socialize to its preferred social values (Firer, 1985) and construct collective memories (Ben-Amos & Bet-El, 2005).

5. The Research Aim

The current paper examines two cases of educational practice. Its main goal is to determine whether the cases are consistent with the principles of the ideology of multicultural education. More, specifically, the first case examines whether the aims and topics in the curriculum for teaching history in Israeli Jewish secular high schools reflect a multicultural approach or, rather, a covert assimilation approach, concealed under the guise of multiculturalism. In the same manner, the second case aims to examine the curriculum for teaching history in Israeli Jewish religious high schools.

6. Methodology

6.1 *The Research Corpus*

Documents analyzed in this study included:

(a) History-teaching curricula's considerations 2016 for Jewish secular and religious high schools

(b) the newly introduced curricula for teaching history in the state-funded secular and religious Jewish education systems for the academic year 2014-2015.

6.2 *Research Tools*

Data regarding both cases was collected mainly through in-depth content analysis of documents. A qualitative-interpretive research method was used to analyze the documents. Textual analysis was performed according to the principle of critical discourse that focuses on social problems and the various forms of language used in regard to underprivileged minority groups that are discriminated against on grounds of ethnicity or social status (Gee, 1992; 2004). The analysis was also based on Klein's method (Klein, 2010, following van Dijk, 1991), which is intended for analyzing sociocultural connections and the implicit meanings derived from them.

Both of the textual analyses are based upon Scholes's (1985) assumption, about reading within, on and against the text. Reading within the text means understanding the text according to its author's intention; reading on the text means interpreting it according to the reader's understanding; and reading against the text means criticism, support or objection, and fathoming the reader's arguments, according to his understanding, which is based on his previous knowledge and cultural background.

7. Findings

Consideration / Curricula	Curriculum for Jewish secular high schools	Curriculum for Jewish religious high schools
Disciplinary concern	Constructing a curriculum compatible with variegated teachers' and students' target audience Sorting issues Constructing a curriculum compatible with the hours that are allocated to the very discipline. Combining general history with Jewish history. Trying to maintain the core curriculum for the sake of teachers who obtained expertise in special chapters of History studies.	Trying to maintain the core curriculum as well as enlarging the chapters of general history. Omitting overlapping issues from the 'Citizenship' discipline. Constructing an entire chapter concerning the Arab World (instead of dealing with the issue in different chapters). Emphasizing connections and relationships between the chapters.

Value attention	Endowing Values (Unspecified). Emphasizing Jewish and humanistic values through Holocaust studies. For examples: Understanding the dangers of violent behavior and intolerance upon individuals, societies and states. Understanding the importance of evaluating people based on their actions and not by their group affiliation (race, sex, origin, nationality, religion or class).	Endowing Values (Unspecified) Identity construction in accordance to religious Zionism Understanding the diversity of Israeli society and other societies worldwide (like immigration). The suffering of the 'other' through the evil of Anti-Semitisms. For ex. expressions of Anti-Semitism in Western and Central Europe; The Dreyfus Affair, 1894, the blood libels against Jews and the Anti-Semitic Petitions.
Pedagogical contemplation	Meaningful learning. Traditional and alternative assessments. Enlarging the choice of chapters.	Meaningful learning. Traditional and alternative assessments.

Table 1. Comparison between History-teaching curricula's considerations in 2016 for Jewish secular and religious high schools

The rhetoric of the overt considerations in both sectors reveal both ethnocentric as well as multicultural motives.

   Documents from 2014-15, titled The History Curriculum Adapted to the Time Allotted for Teaching the Subject of History, had been prepared by the division supervising the teaching of history in the Pedagogical Bureau of the Ministry of Education both for the matriculation exams of the secular as well as the religious state sectors. The introduction to the documents' content states the fact that the learning focus of various chapters will appear on the internet site of the supervisor of history teaching.

   Each of the subjects in the curriculum is introduced with a preface and a list of operative goals, followed by a detailed description of the

contents pertaining to each, as well as the number of hours allotted to the teaching of the subject. The list of contents includes also a description of major issues and a detailed list of focal points for teaching and learning.

7.1 *Case Study 1: History-teaching Curricula for Secular Jewish High Schools*

It was found that students matriculating in history for Secular Jewish high schools are obliged to study four major topics:

(a) The first topic introduces the era of the Second Temple as well as the Jewish community in the Middle Ages. The former era, which spans between the sixth century BC and the middle of the second century C.E., reviews the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel after exile, the reign of the Hashmonite Kingdom,[3] which was the last independent Jewish state in Israel prior to the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, and the exile that followed the rebellion against the Roman Empire. The second option reviews major Muslim and Christian metropolitan centers of the Middle Ages, with an emphasis on Jewish community life within these cities. Thus, both of the choices on offer actually focus on the history of the Jews, while general history serves only as the context.

(b) The second major subject area offered reviews the emergence of national movements, from the Modern age to the beginning of the 20th century. In other words, three of the five credits that students earn towards the matriculation in history are dedicated to a discussion of the history of Zionism, and one credit point is earned by comparing the Zionist movement with other national movements. In other words, here again, the approach to history is ethnocentric.

(c) The third subject is focused on researching Nazism and the Holocaust. Here the focus is on the Nazi ideology, the Nazism rise to power out of the democratic system, the Holocaust and the surrender of Germany and Japan in 1945.

(d) The fourth topic focuses on the struggle that preceded the founding of the State of Israel and the first decades of its independence. This subject is divided into three subtopics: the struggle against the British mandate for the purpose of founding an independent state; Israel's wars (up until the 1973 Yom Kippur War); the development of society and culture in the State of Israel in view of the influx of new immigrants.

Only the latter subtopic relates to the relationships between the various Jewish cultures, which comprise the Israeli population. The sentence regarding the 'transition from a melting-pot to a multicultural policy' appears within this subtopic.

7.2 *Case Study 2: History-teaching Curricula for Jewish Religious High Schools*

The situation regarding the teaching of history in the state-funded religious Jewish education system is not very different. A new curriculum for teaching history in state-funded religious high schools was introduced in 2014-5. Unlike the document mentioned in the context of secular high schools, in this case, the document was specifically defined as introducing a new curriculum.

All of the authors of the new program were affiliated with religious institutions: Bar-Ilan University; religious colleges; state-funded religious schools; and the Department for Religious Education in the Ministry of Education. Only the head of the committee, who was from the Division for Curricular Design in the Ministry of Education, was not of a religious persuasion.

The rationale for devising a new curriculum for teaching history in the religious education system was somewhat vague: 'the shifts that have taken place in recent years in Israeli society in general and in Israeli religious society in particular, along with innovations in the field of education and pedagogy, and developments in historical research in general'. The document also states that 'in developing the curriculum, the committee took into account the variance that characterizes the student population as well as the heavy load of requirements with which students contend'. It remains unclear whether in this observation the authors were referring to cultural variance or to cognitive variance.

The document states that one of the major changes in the new curriculum compared to the previous ones is an expanded discussion of general (non-Jewish) history. This is because 'in the framework of studying general history and with the use of tools for analyzing history, students' general knowledge is expanded and they are afforded an encounter with the variance in humanity and the affiliations and connections between the various groups in human society'. However, this is quickly followed by an explanatory statement, namely: studying the history of the people of Israel within this framework is an attempt to become acquainted and to

understand our past, our culture, and the context for the emergence of religious, Torah-based Halachic and traditional Jewish studies throughout our people's history. Examining the history of the people of Israel reveals the aspects that are unique and different as well as those that are complementary and shared with the history of humanity in general'. Furthermore, 'an important foundation of the state-funded religious education system is the edict 'to pursue knowledge wherever you go'. Thus, general studies can also serve as a path for learning about the impact of the Creator on the world's development and its practices. The study of the history of the people of Israel, of the State of Israel, and of history in general enables students to become familiar with and understand their national, cultural, and religious Jewish heritage; and it strengthens their affinity to the people of Israel, the Land of Israel, the State of Israel, and to the society emerging within it.' That is to say, the ethnocentric approach continues, presenting in this case the religious version of Zionism.

In general, the religious program of 2014-15 includes three major topics:

(a) Selected chapters in the history of Jews and other peoples in the new era (Until 1918). The subtopics include the emancipation in west Europe, modern Anti-Semite and the status of the Jews in North Africa.

(b) From settling the land to founding the State of Israel Jewish. The subtopics include the Jewish History between the two World Wars 1918-1939, Arab-Jewish relationships under the British Mandate and the status of Jews in Muslim countries in that particular era.

(c) Nazism and the Holocaust (1933-1945).

8.   Discussion

In the last decade and a half, the Ministry of Education has been producing a multicultural rhetoric, both in its general policy statement and in its curricular documents. But is this multicultural rhetoric being reflected in the content of the new History-teaching curricula?

The rhetoric of the overt considerations in both sectors (2016), secular and religious, reveal both ethnocentric as well as multicultural motives. On one hand, there is a strong tendency to maintain an

identity construction in accordance to religious Zionism but on the other hand, there is a will to understand the diversity of Israeli society and other societies worldwide.

The curricula document for the secular sector states 2014-15 that teaching history should now include 'the transition from a melting-pot to a multicultural society in the State of Israel, as manifested in various social and cultural aspects'. The very same sentence can be found in the previous history curriculum from 2010, intended for the secular state-funded schools.

The first topic of the secular state-funded schools introduces the era of the Second Temple as well as the Jewish community in the Middle Ages has a total ethnocentric character. In the second subject, reviews the emergence of national movements, from the Modern age to the beginning of the 20th century. Two of the three credits that students earn towards matriculation in history are dedicated to a discussion of the history of Zionism, and only one credit point is earned by learning about other national movements. In other words, here again, the approach to history is rather more ethnocentric than multicultural. The third subject focuses on the Holocaust, whereby the history of Nazism and World War II furnish the contextual framework. A discussion of the Nazism doctrine on one hand and the Righteous among the Nations manages to express a pluralistic approach. The last topic focuses on the struggle that preceded the founding of the State of Israel and the first decades of its independence. A review of the major teaching points outlined in the document reveals that there is only very little attention to the overt assimilation policy and its deleterious effect on Jews from Muslim countries. There is no mention of a covert assimilation policy, nor is there any indication in this document as to how the discussion of multiculturalism should be approached. Additionally, there is no explanation of the original intent of the statement made by the authors of the document regarding the need to address the transition from a melting-pot policy to a multicultural policy.

This analysis demonstrates that the ethnocentric Zionist national approach, still remains at the heart of the teaching of history, and the major change introduced relates to the inclusion of the history of the Jews from Muslim countries as part of the national narrative.

Both, the first and the second topics of the religious program, *Selected chapters in the history of Jews and other peoples in the new era (until 1918)*, as well as *From settling the land to founding the State of Israel Jewish*

include the history of Jewish communities in Muslim countries as part of the general history of the people of Israel, while emphasizing their unique features as well as the commonalities with other Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora. In other words, the curriculum does not deal solely with the history of Ashkenazi Jewry; however, it is clear that the segment on the history of the Jews from Muslim countries still constitutes a marginal addendum. It may be motivated by an attempt to include the Jews of Sephardic descent in the general Zionist narrative. It is also possible that this chapter in the history of Sephardic Jewry is included due to the very large percentage of students of Jewish Sephardic descent within state-funded religious schools, a percentage that is far larger than in state-funded secular schools.

Thus, for example, the presentation of the first subject (tradition and modernity, ideological, political, and social developments in the early 18th century), states that the introduction of the phenomenon of modernization in the context of general history will be followed by a segment on 'the Jewish people coping with modernity. This segment intends to examine the various ways in which the Jewish people confronted modern phenomena and the realities of the new era, in terms of religious, social, cultural, and national ways of life. The Jewish traditions that had developed among the Jewish communities throughout Europe, the Mediterranean, and in Muslim countries encountered many challenges'. In other words, here again, Jewry from Muslim countries is recognized as part of the narrative of the Jewish people, as these communities – like all Jewish communities in the Diaspora – were forced to cope with modernization processes that undermined the status of religion and forced them to struggle to maintain their traditions during this era.

On the other hand, the third subject: Nazism and Holocaust does not introduce the suffering of the Jews in Muslim countries during the very era. In concluding the analysis of the curriculum for teaching history in state-funded religious schools, it is important to mention in the context of recognizing minority cultural groups that one of the focal points for teaching this topic is 'the status of women: women's education, women in the workforce, and women settlers'. Could these be fledgling signs of a feminist approach?

The current study revealed that even when there is a multicultural rhetoric, it is still possible to find ethnocentric expressions and manifestations in the very documents that are presented as

multicultural. In the case of the curricula for teaching history, in state-funded secular and religious Jewish schools, it is apparent that for the first time in the 65 years since the founding of the State, the history of Jews from Muslim countries has been included as an integral part of the history of the Jewish people, albeit in a more limited scope than that related to the history of Ashkenazi Jews. Notwithstanding, the underlying national (Zionist) ethnocentric ethos is clearly perceptible in the curricula for the state-funded secular education system, and the ethnocentric religious Zionist ethos (of the religious nationalist movement) is perceptible in the state-funded religious education system.

In other words, the mixing of terminology from the ethnocentric and multicultural approaches should not be interpreted as an indication of a budding multicultural approach. The contradiction between the two approaches is immense, and the essentially ethnocentric emphasis in the texts suggests that this is more likely an expression of a conservative multiculturalism, or – worse yet – a feigned multiculturalism. Its use of a gentler rhetoric, which supposedly embraces multiculturalism, is actually intended to prevent the realization of multiculturalism. At best, this reflects an approach of cultural pluralism, which recognizes the culture of Jews from Muslim countries within its history, although the point of departure is to integrate their story into the general Zionist narrative. In effect, the new curricula reinforce the Jewish and Zionist values.

It appears that the history program for the matriculation exam does not include a genuine notion of historical perspectives of the events that led to the founding of the Israeli State, with the exception of one significant innovation: it includes a detailed treatment of the history of the Jews that immigrated to Israel from Muslim countries. This component was absent from the earlier versions of the curriculum and could lead to cautious hope for further curricula changes in the future.

Proper multicultural education that values diversity as well as portrays it confidently is not restricted to ethnicity, native language, religion or class. Genuine education based upon multiculturalism must help pupils and teachers think critically about curricula, analyze the absent links of missing chapters of history and reveal the gaps between mere rhetoric concerning multiculturalism and its actual practice.

Notes

[1] Ashkenazic Jews are the Jews of France, Germany, and Eastern Europe and their descendants. The adjective 'Ashkenazic' is derived from the Hebrew word 'Ashkenaz' which is used to refer to Germany.
[2] The Israeli parliament.
[3] Hashmonite Kingdom, 2nd-1st BC, was the last independent Jewish state in Israel prior to the founding of the State of Israel in 1948

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A FORGOTTEN GLOBAL HISTORY OF WWI: PRISONERS OF WAR AND THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS. IDEAS FOR THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

Dennis Röder

The article discusses ways of integrating globally oriented topics in History lessons, focusing on the First World War. Bearing in mind the prevailing national and Eurocentric curricula, it presents didactical and methodological considerations of how to 'globally' transform traditional topics. It is the didactical approach of integrating the global with the local layers that will play an important role in this discussion. The focus is put on a more or less forgotten or neglected topic: The situation of the millions of prisoners of war and the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross during World War One.

1. Introduction

In 2013, on its 150th birthday, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) put online all its index cards containing information on prisoners of war (POWs) in the First World War. During the war, the ICRC had systematically collected and archived these index cards: in total 4,895,000 pieces and names.[1] UNESCO decided to list this huge index card system in its 'Memory of the World' programme of important documents of humanity (Aubel, 2008: 159). Each card provides information on the name of a POW, his place of birth, family members, the place of capture, possible injuries, deportation and, of course, the name of the prison camp and sometimes repatriation dates.

You can scroll through thousands of lists on the Internet. Let me give you two examples: Stop at the name of Mohamed Ali Khan. He is found under file number PA 22755.[2] What do we learn about this man? Khan was born in Jellalabad (now Jalalabad) in Afghanistan, fought in a British army unit and was captured by the Germans during the Battle of Epehy in France in early 1918. He then spent some time in the POW-camp in Minden, Germany, before being moved to Wünsdorf-POW-camp near Berlin.[3] My second random example: Adolf Segeler.[4] We learn from his index card that he used to live in a village called Grünendeich (where many of my students

come from). As a sailor, he worked on a ship called 'Ottowa' when the war broke out in 1914. In 1917, he found himself in a US-camp on Angel Island close to San Francisco.[5]

These two short biographical sketches give you a first rough idea of the global dimension of each POW-biography and thus of World War I (WWI) in general. The ICRC-archive is full of these global histories that still need to be thoroughly analysed. Scrolling the lists and looking at random index cards will result in questions that are also relevant for the History classroom and the way we teach and look at WWI: How did the war shape and change biographies on a global scale? How, why and where did the men find themselves in captivity? What does it generally mean when we simply speak of French, British, German, Russian armies that fought in the war? What was the relationship like between soldiers, the home front and the POWs? What was the role of the ICRC and how did it get into contact with the POWs? How are the stories of the POWs linked to the topics presented in our schoolbooks? In general: What about our deeply rooted spatial ideas of North, South, West, East (the 'Western Front') when talking about POWs?

WWI meant a decisive turning point for the work and image of the ICRC.[6] The organisation transformed into the important transnational humanitarian organisation we still know today. ICRC-delegates worked as intermediate agents between governments and POWs, trying to control and supervise the humanitarian standards that already existed by 1914. From Geneva, the ICRC coordinated the support for millions of POWs and civil interned prisoners (CPOWs) and their families.

It is this chapter of WWI that has long been forgotten or neglected in historical research. Prisoners of war used to be regarded as 'anti-heroes', often despised of as traitors and deserters (Becker, 2005: 25).[7] Moreover, we do not connect them with the famous air and ground battles of this 'Great War'. They do not fit into the traditional dichotomy of front/ home front and the standard chronology of 1914-1918. Nor does the Red Cross fit into this narrative that national History science and school curricula have constructed for the first half of the 20th century – and which is still prominently in use in History classrooms.[8] The result is that POWs and the ICRC are not mentioned at all in the chapters dealing with WWI in current History schoolbooks.[9]

This article thus tries to serve two main purposes. It firstly aims at shining light on the global dimension of WWI by referring to the histories of POWs and humanitarian organisations such as the ICRC. Secondly, this choice of contents could be understood as a didactical link to connect the traditional national (or bi-national) perspective with more globally oriented viewpoints (places, regions, participants) and methods (choice of sources, controversies and multi-perspectives, historical judgments etc.). IFirstly, background information will be provided on the Red Cross in the global context until 1914 to then emphasise the important turning points during WWI. The final chapter discusses how these aspects can be didactically and methodologically transformed into the History classroom. Inspirational for the latter part are the ongoing debates on global history and post-colonialism and the challenging idea of the development of a *global* historical consciousness (cf. e.g. Popp, 2005; Popp/ Röder, 2008; Grewe, 2016). Connecting the history of POWs in WWI with the work of humanitarian organisations such as the ICRC is therefore understood as one exemplary way of opening up the traditional perspective by use of a more globally-oriented approach.

2. Historical Background: The Origins of the Red Cross in a Global Context

At first glance, the history of the Red Cross is by and large a classic European-centred national history, mainly rooting in regional conflicts between Austria, Italy and France. It was the famous Battle of Solferino in 1859 that inspired Henry Dunant to found an association in 1863 in order to help the wounded in forthcoming wars, later considered to be the founding year of the ICRC.[10] The beginnings of the Red Cross, however, can also be told as a history of the late 19th century that runs transversal to the dominant national narrative, capable of emphasising transnational and transcultural entanglements alike. Henry Dunant can therefore be regarded as just another representative of the so-called 'Internationalists', focusing on humanitarian work in general.[11] Whereas Paris and particularly London became capitals of the anti-slavery and workers´ and communist movements in the 1830s and 40s, it was Calvinist Geneva that turned out to become a centre of humanitarians and pacifists focusing on the 'humanisation of war' against the backdrop of a

series of newly-fought and deadly 'world wars' in the 1850s and 60s such as the Crimea War and the American Civil War. Popular new media such as newspapers and magazines and later on photography and telegraphy spread the humanitarian ideas and 'inter-arma-caritas-visions' of writers, diplomats, doctors and nurses like Florence Nightingale, Clara Burton, Jean-Charles Chenu, the Russian surgeon Nicolai Pirogov or the diplomat Anatole Demidov.[12] Henry Dunant´s book 'A Memory of Solferino' (1862) became a transnational bestseller, being translated into eleven languages in a very short time and read by the elites in America, Asia and Europe alike.[13] A far cry from being a pacifist, Dunant still demanded to 'form relief societies for the purpose of having care given to the wounded in wartime by [...] volunteers [...] and formulate some international principles' (Dunant, 2001 [1862]: 45, 48 (translated by DR)). The Greek-Turkish doctor Marko Pascha, for instance, read the book in the 1860s and felt inspired to found an association that later became the Ottoman Red Crescent Society in 1877 (Riesenberger, 1992: 35). In the same decade the Japanese Iwakura-Mission travelled the USA and Europe and not only admired the Swiss Alps but also discovered the idea of the Red Cross during their stay in Switzerland (Kume, K. 2002 [1878]: 350-442, esp. 357). The Japanese historian Kume Kunitake, one of the participants of the diplomatic voyage, was thrilled by the short visit to the ICRC in Geneva, as he later wrote down in his journal in 1878 (Kume, 2002 [1878]: 431).[14] It was the doctor Tsunetami Sano that found the Japanese Red Cross in 1877. Thus, national Red Cross delegates could already be seen on European, American and Asian war theatres of the 1870s and 80s, trying to help the wounded and POWs. Running in tandem, the ICRC in Geneva more and more became an international network organisation coordinating the work on a transnational scale. Between 1873 and 1914 it initiated various meetings and conferences and led to the codification of a then-unknown international law of war (Hinz, 2006: 219). In 1912, the ICRC conference in Washington started to use a coordinating office in Geneva for concrete help for POWs in case of a future global war (Khan, 2013: 52).

   Until the beginning of WWI, however, the ICRC kept debating the inclusion and exclusion of its participant states, thus mirroring complex national, international and imperialistic debates in the context of a growing 'Western' and global consciousness (Khan, 2013: 37). At first, for example, the umbrella association only accepted

South American empires, not South American republics. The Ottoman Empire was quickly accepted (after some discussions about the 'Red Crescent' symbol) whereas Persia and Japan were not included at first. Africans were rather treated as inferior and not considered to be equal members in the ICRC family.[15]

On the whole, the ICRC remained a white and European dominated organisation until the outbreak of WWI. One of its co-founders, Gustave Moynier, even glorified the 'civilising mission in the Belgian colony of Congo' (Khan, 2013: 58). In addition, ICRC-delegates were not to be found on African soil or helping in the numerous anti-colonial wars until 1914. Neither do we find the Red Cross in the revolutionary wars in Mexico from 1910 onwards. Conclusion: Despite the transnational and transcultural work of the ICRC, the international agreements and laws of war only had a small impact on a global scale when the war broke out in 1914.

3. POWs and the ICRC: World War I as Major Global Turning Point

Prisoners of War and civil interned people became mass phenomena in the 'Great War'. The historian Jochen Oltmer (2006: 11) estimates that up to nine million men fell into captivity, comprising one seventh of all the soldiers being mobilised during the war. In addition, thousands of people were suddenly interned from August 1914 onwards – businessmen, sailors, doctors, scientists, students etc. The majority of the POWs stemmed from the Russian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The number of prisoners was much higher at the so-called 'Eastern front' and in the war theatres of the Ottoman Empire than at the 'Western front'.[16] But these figures can only give you a vague idea of the global nature of the POW-system described as a `Völkergemisch´ by German reporter Gustav Eberlein in 1916.[17] Soldiers from Togo and Cameroon fighting for the German army, for example, were interned together with German soldiers and officers in British and French POW-camps.[18] They could spend the war together in a camp in Dahomey or in Queensferry, Northern England. For many African POWs fighting for European armies, however, the war captivity only meant a continuation of white imperial colonial rule despite the fact that in some cases black soldiers now experienced equal treatment for the first time.[19]

In contrast to the official narrative, the majority of POWs that later read about the 'Great War from 1914-1918' experienced a different war, different daily routines, different places, different chronology. Often, life in POW captivity was seen as a disgrace, the prisoner having lost the honour of the fighting soldier and being reduced to a traitor in his home country and an enemy in captivity. The longer the war lasted, the more POWs were forced to work for the enemy state. POWs had to build railroads (e. g. the Kirov Railway connecting the Murman Coast to Murmansk city and Saint Petersburg) or work on fields in Bohemia or Canada. The (C)POW-system expanded globally with camps found in Jamaica, in Siberia, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, in Sierra Leone, the Sahara or South Africa. Nargin, Srjetensk, Krassnojarsk, Douglas (Isle of Men), Mauthausen and Auschwitz were sites deeply connected to POW-life in WWI (Oltmer, 2006: 22). Old factory buildings, Christian monasteries and Buddhist temples, old barracks and fortresses – all these buildings were now being transformed into POW-camps gathering men from all over the world. For many POWs, the war lasted longer than the year of 1918. Only in 1920, for example, could most of the men captivated in Japan leave one of the 15 camps on the Japanese islands to return to Europe.[20] In general, the history of WWI-POWs lasted until 1922, when half a million soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian and German armies (including men from Poland and Alsace Lorraine) were released from now Soviet camps in Siberia. The ICRC played a major role in this complex repatriation process via the cities of Riga and Stettin (Hinz, 2006: 234). There are, of course, cases of POWs that decided to stay in their country of captivity for good. In Tokyo and Kyoto, for instance, you can still buy and order food in bakeries and restaurants by the names of Ketel, Lohmeyer, Juchheim or Freundlieb, reminiscences of the various long-lasting global consequences the war brought about.[21] Some POWs chose a life as a contract worker after the war. We know of German contract workers now living in Indonesia in the 1920s or of academics that had worked for the POW-camp administration in Japan and became successful advisors for the Japanese occupation administration in Korea after the war.[22]

It is thanks to the work of the ICRC during the war that we now know so much about the places and conditions of POW-life during WWI. In August 1914, the ICRC founded the 'Agence Internationale des Prisonnieres de Guerre' (AIPG) in Geneva.[23] The AIPG basically

fulfilled three functions: 1) collecting and providing information on POWs to family members, 2) coordinating all relevant information on POW-camps and giving advice to the local authorities and national governments, 3) transmitting material goods and parcels to POW-soldiers. In only a very short period of time, the small office in Geneva became a huge coordinating network to administer all pieces of POW-information and -requests. The so-called 'type-writer-department' soon employed more than 100 (mostly female) workers. These ICRC-employees developed the index card system and tried to answer all personal or official requests. Up until 1915 more than 2,000 letter requests had arrived. This number soared up to 18,000 letters in the second half of the war. In 1916, more than 100 people visited the Geneva AIPG-office per day. In total, more than 20 million letters were sent in connection with POW-affairs, more than 15,000 parcels were delivered to the POW-camps until December 1915. ICRC-negotiations brought about the exchange of more than 200,000 POWs during the war. More than 67,000 POWs were transported to Switzerland for hospitalisation. It was also thanks to the ICRC that the new mass phenomenon of civil interned people generally gained more attention in contemporary media reports (Herrmann/ Palmieri, 2015).

A key task of the ICRC-AIPG was the inspection of (C)POW-camps by ICRC-delegates. These inspections were highly important and regarded as a connecting bridge between the POWs and the outside world. In total, the ICRC-delegates visited and inspected 524 POW-camps during the war, most of them in Europe, but also in North Africa, Russia and from 1917 onwards in Burma, India and Japan.[24] This ICRC-map of POW-camp-inspections provides an alternative cartography to the standard WWI one of fighting and trenching sites.

It was the ICRC-delegates that became instrumental in publishing unbiased, balanced and critical reports on the camps, giving contemporaries and us today an insight into the world of POW-camps, of daily routines, problems and of the ethnic variety that characterised the 'Lagerkosmos'.[25]Additionally, these reports illustrate the self-image of the humanitarian organisation in this world war, providing a crucial transnational and humanitarian counter-story to the dominant national war propaganda. ICRC-delegates such as Dr Paravincini (who inspected the Japanese POW-camps), Dr de Marval (who went to England and gave lectures in many German cities on

the life of POWs) or A. Eugster personify this very different, humanitarian and global view on the war. They also became the voice of the POWs, trying to prevent them being forgotten at home.[26] In fact, this support for millions of POWs was vital as far as psychological and material help are concerned. As a result, the ICRC was awarded the only Nobel Peace Prize during the war in 1917 (Hinz, 2006: 227).

4. POWs and ICRC in the History Classroom? Theoretical and Practical Remarks

4.1 *General Didactical and Methodological Considerations*

Of course, this article does not demand teaching the history of POWs and the ICRC as completely new topics simply added to the traditional ones concerning WWI. Instead, it seeks to find didactical and methodological ways of connecting the history of these many-fold transnational/-cultural and global layers with the national standard one (that has not significantly changed for the past decades). The idea is to give learners of History enough incentives to link these different spatial layers in order to `de-naturalise´ their own national or cultural point of view to increasingly put into question deeply-rooted views on nations, race and history in general. Jürgen Osterhammel (2017) discovered the eagle as a role model for the work of historians but the bird can also be inspirational for History teachers and students: Learn to develop and construct a wide overview but always keep the details on the ground in mind. From Susanne Popp (e.g. 2005) to Bernd Grewe (2016), Global History Didactics has regarded competence in asking and analysing 'glocal' historical questions as one of the key aims.[27] In this respect, making students aware of the complex entangled history and avoiding too simple black and white contrasts is seen as a crucial (and truly advanced) didactical challenge and current necessity.[28]

Bearing these theoretical aspects in mind, the millions of POW index cards put online by the ICRC can be understood as a huge pool of sources that could be used as a global historical 'interface' to initiate constructive 'glocal' guiding questions for the History lessons. The ICRC-sources could serve to illustrate the global dimension of the war and the effect it had on people coming from various parts of the world. They could even help to shift the emphasis from the general static trench image of WWI to a WWI-narrative of forced

movement and migration which can be perceived in the sources and followed on world maps. Additionally, work with the index cards and the delegate reports could lead to a more differentiated attitude towards source criticism and historical judgments regarding the nature of war and the use of war propaganda. Integrating the history of POWs and the ICRC might also have the effect of questioning the 'natural' chronology of the war and the label of so-called 'epoch years' such as 1914 or 1917. Going further, historical mechanisms of remembering and forgetting, of including and excluding, of the process of constructing (national) narratives should be added for discussions at an advanced level. Students must get an idea of why certain topics do not play any role in their course books (here: why POWs in WWI are not mentioned at all). This critical historical thinking is, of course, seen as a general aim in History lessons regardless iof whether it takes global orientation seriously or not. However, if we understand History in our schools as the mirror of our current world, the latter point will only be sufficiently dealt with in lesson planning that takes a fundamental critical stance towards the national standard narrative and gives way to more 'glocal' didactical approaches.

4.2 *Practical Examples and Lesson Ideas*

The following teaching example and lesson ideas stem from my teaching experiences in a German 'Gymnasium' in Lower Saxony, Northern Germany. They are generally aimed at History students from Years 8 or 9 (14-15 year olds). Additional ideas are also provided that refer to more advanced students of History.

How should we start? As a prerequisite, students should have gained some knowledge on the topic of Imperialism and its global effects (also on the history of German colonialism). As far as WWI is concerned, students should be familiar with the escalation of the war from a regional to a European conflict between June and August 1914.

4.2.1 *Ideas for Beginning the Lesson*
The lesson starts by showing the students visual sources (photographs, leaflets) related to German POWs, for example: 1) A photograph of German POWs with Japanese officers in the Japanese POW-camp of Marugame (1915); 2) a leaflet announcing the

celebration of Kaiser Wilhelm II´s birthday in the Japanese POW-camp of Marugame (28 January 1917); 3) a list of German POW names and Japanese characters.[29]

All the introductory visual sources relate to national German history but are connected with a global perspective many students have not heard of so far. By use of these visuals, traditional views and expectations can be questioned and lead to further 'glocal' guiding questions: Why were Germans in Japanese captivity? Where is the camp exactly? Where did the POWs come from and how did they get to Japan? Was there any contact with their families? In general: What kind of role did POW camps play in WWI? Did the Germans also have POW-camps?

4.2.2 *Further Steps to Develop a Guiding Lesson Question*

Students are now asked to check the chapter of WWI in their course books to look for possible answers for the 'glocal' questions asked at the beginning of the lesson. Most probably, they will not find any information on POWs and POW-camps in their History schoolbooks. However, they might find indirect connections (e. g. a world map with German colonies in China) that could lead to more research questions and sources. At this stage, the teacher could show the ICRC-map of POW-camps and give additional information on the dimensions of POWs in WWI.[30] This might lead to possible guiding lesson questions such as: 'POWs (and humanitarian aid) in WWI: A forgotten history/ A (hidden global) history far away from important war theatres and home fronts?'

4.2.3 *Research Group Work*

Before students search the ICRC-sources on the Internet, the teacher gives a short presentation on the ICRC and its role in WWI in general and then introduces the index card system on the Internet. Students then work in groups and do some research on selected POW-biographies: 1. Detecting general biographical information (place of birth and living, family, place of capture, POW-camp). 2. Presenting results in groups and inserting main information onto world maps. 3. Further research: Finding historical background information on the places of capture and captivity. Speculating on life as a POW and conditions in the camp. Comparing similarities and differences. At the end of this group work students are required to carry out source criticism regarding the information value of the

index cards and find or 'create' further sources (e. g. letters from relatives and POWs; possible creative task: students write letters to relatives based on ICRC index cards and reports).

The teacher needs to prepare this part of the lesson carefully. I only choose German POW biographies that could give students an idea of the 'glocal' dimensions of the war. POW-biographies of Paul Engel, Karl Schuhle, Otto Seligman and Otto Wilde were selected for this research group work.[31] However, it is, of course, also possible to mix the origins of the POWs to gain even more global and long-term perspectives. Concepts of periodisation and allegedly 'fixed' spatial concepts ('Western Front') should also be discussed in this context.

4.2.4 *Using the ICRC-delegate Reports for Source Criticism*

This activity requires first making students familiar with the ICRC-delegates, their work and their reports. At a later stage, students are able to draw comparisons between the delegate reports and their view on the life of POWs and the very different and one-sided reports used for national propaganda.[32] Here, students deal closely with the sources in-depth. They analyse the role and tasks of an ICRC-delegate and find out about the daily routines of a POW in WWI. They compare the two different sources in a detailed way and draw conclusions on the different portrayals of POWs and learn to distinguish between more balanced and more biased propaganda texts. This activity might result in further research on POW camps in Germany and how POWs were generally exploited in propaganda wars. This activity could be seen as a more fruitful way to deal with war propaganda rather than only focus on and stick to the propaganda narrative itself without offering a counter-narrative.

4.2.5 *Developing Historical Judgments*

In the last part of the lesson, students are to pass historical judgements from the viewpoint of WWI contemporaries and from that of today. At first, they are to reflect on the decision of awarding the ICRC with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1917. A creative task is to make the students write the Nobel Peace Prize speech giving reasons why the ICRC deserved the prize. A second creative idea would be to write a newspaper comment that aims at comparing reasons for and against the Nobel Peace Prize decision. A third way could be to find alternative Nobel Peace Prize winners for 1917.[33] In today´s viewpoint students should then judge the effect on the humanitarian

work of the ICRC during WWI (and if possible until today). At an advanced level, students should now be able to discuss the relevance of the topic of POWs and ICRC in WWI context and critically assess why the topic is not dealt with in current History schoolbooks. The unit could result in the creative approach to write a new chapter for their History schoolbook and add possible sources/ visuals with appropriate tasks.

In order to achieve a long-term effect, the 'glocal' approach of teaching traditional topics must, of course, not end after this teaching unit on WWI. Focusing on the POW-biographies, for example, questions about the life of a POW before and after the war should also be taken into further consideration. What happened to POWs *after* the war? What about the *long-term connections* to their place of captivity? What about forms of the (private/ official) *culture of remembrance*?[34]

5. Conclusion

Constantly considering ways of integrating more global oriented didactical approaches into standard History lessons and topics makes students think about the way History is constructed, who is being regarded as an active participant, where in the world History is taking place and how. In the so-called 'Age of Imperialism', for instance, History lessons open the global window for a short time, maybe risking a look at its impact on China or Africa, offering non-European perspectives. But when it comes to the 'world war' in 1914, the global window is often closed again. The lines are now made very clear: The war theatre (mainly at the so-called 'Western Front') and the home front (the different European nations), the entente vs. the central powers, the beginning in 1914, European revolutions in 1917 and 1918, the end (of European empires) in 1918. The millions of war prisoners, stemming from all parts of the globe are made speechless as if their lives did not have any global connection to Europe before and after 1914. 100 years after the world fought a truly global war, national narratives on this war still lock these men out, giving little space for connecting the topics with a transnational or a global approach.

The lesson example presented in this article on the history of POWs and the ICRC is just one example of how our traditional national narrative might be opened up and put into a more critical

and comparative global light. It could spark discussions on the nature of wars, the role of prisoners and attempts at criticising and preventing war mechanisms and propaganda. In the long-run, learners would then be able to distinguish in a more profound way which aspects characterised WWI and which did not. Contextualising aspects like battles, the trench-system and the role of prisoners in war would enhance a deeper historical understanding of this war and put emphasis on continuities and discontinuities before and after 1914-1918. Last but not least, WWI was not only a brutal, cruel and total war, it was also an important step in the history of transnational humanitarian work. The ICRC-delegates tried to be spokesmen for the prisoners so that they would not be forgotten. 'Doing justice to history' in the 21st century History classroom thus means for us teachers to be aware of this fact by focussing the perspective more on the global spheres and voices of this forgotten global history of WWI 'from below'. Maybe this could be a step forward towards the ideal of gaining a truly global historical consciousness.

Notes

[1] Cf. https://grandeguerre.icrc.org/ (27.02.2017).

[2] https://grandeguerre.icrc.org/en/List/1110282/698/22755/ (27.02.2017).

[3] The German POW-camp in Wünsdorf was also known as the so-called 'Halbmondlager' ('Half-Moon Camp'), separately interning up to 5,000 Muslim POWs. It was the site of the first mosque that was built in Germany. The POWs (Afghans, Indians, men from North Africa and Ireland) were forced to work for Germany in Rumania, fight for Germany in Northern Africa or the Middle East or used as war propaganda during WWI. The history of the camp has recently become a major research project in post-colonial studies and documentary films such as `The Halfmoon Files´ (2006); cf. http://halfmoonfiles.de/de (27.02.2017) and Roy, F. (ed) (2014), Soldat Ram Singh und der Kaiser.

[4] https://grandeguerre.icrc.org/en/List/3495409/930/138/ (27.02.2017).

[5] It is striking that the Wikipedia entry for 'Angel Island' only covers its POW-history in WWII (Japanese and German prisoners), however, nothing is being said about the situation of (C)POWs in WWI. Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angel_Island_(California)#History (27.02.2017).

[6] For the history of the ICRC during WWI cf. e.g. Hinz, 2006.

[7] Surprisingly, despite scientific and didactic attempts at focusing on the narrative 'from below' rather than 'from atop', the situation of prisoners of war as a marginalized group of outsiders, has still been only scarcely analysed. For a general history on the role of prisoners of war in history and the important turning points in the 18th and 19th century, see e. g. Scheipers, Sibylle (2011):

Prisoners and Detainees in War, in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2011-11-15. http://www.ieg-ego.eu/scheiperss-2011-en (27.02.2017).

[8] The latest History curriculum for schools in Lower Saxony, the German federal state I teach in, is a typical example where the national 'frame' is still kept and topics and competences are added. The remaining 'national frame', however, makes it difficult to constantly integrate transnational organizations and processes as embodied by the Red Cross. For the curriculum (2015) cf. http://db2.nibis.de/1db/cuvo/datei/ge_gym_si_kc_druck.pdf (27.02.2017), esp. p. 21 for the (national) topics concerning WWI.

[9] Becker, 2006: 31 concludes: 'Auf diese Weise Kriegsgefangene und humanitäre Organisationen zu Vergessenen sowohl der Erinnerung als auch der Geschichtsschreibung geworden.'

[10] For a concise history of the beginnings of the ICRC in a national and European context and the role of Henry Dunant cf. e.g. Khan 2013: 9-42; Riesenberger, 1992: 14-32.

[11] The idea and the rhetoric of 'Internationalism' that also led to new international institutions and rules around 1900 are relatively new research topics mainly being dealt with in Global History, cf. e.g. Rosenberg, 2012: 825-850.

[12] Khan, 2013: 21 points out the international discussions on the various ideas and visions of pacifists and humanitarians. Clara Burton felt deeply inspired by Dunant´s ideas and found the American Red Cross in 1881. Dunant´s ideas of founding relief societies and appealing for international laws, however, also met strong scepticism from Florence Nightingale ('practically absurd') and Jean-Charles Chenu.

[13] The history of the 'inter arma caritas' motto and the international success of Dunant´s book is analysed
more closely in Khan, 2013: 13-21.

[14] On 1 July, 1873 the Japanese diplomatic mission held talks with ICRC-members.

[15] The imperialistic view of the ICRC can be clearly seen in its magazine *Bulletin international des Sociétés de Secours aux Militaires Blessés* in which it supported the 'civilizing mission', characterising people in Africa as being 'uncivilised'. For a closer look on how the ICRC saw Africa and Africans in the context of
European imperialism cf. Palmieri 2015: 989.

[16] For a closer look at numbers and the situations of POWs in WWI cf. Oltmer, 2006: 13.

[17] Eberlein, 1916: 116. Gustav Eberlein was also a famous painter and sculptor. Being a pacifist and advocating for disarmament, he lost all public commissions and from 1914 onwards spent time in Switzerland working on his book 'Deutschland im Kriege'.

[18] The reports of the ICRC-delegates made public in 1915 give a lively insight into the various national and ethnical backgrounds of the POWs and the conflicts that could arise. People from Togo and Cameroon, for example, were

said to be strongly dissatisfied for not being treated equally. For a closer look on the situation in English POW-camps cf. Naville/ Berchem/ Eugster/Marval, 1915: 26.

[19] Most contemporary European sources doubt that 'coloured people' had the chance to achieve higher military positions. However, we know from the ICRC-reports that also 'people from Togo and Cameroon' were interned in POW-camps in England normally only reserved only for 'German' commanding officers. It obviously sometimes occurred that the German military allowed Togolese and Cameroonians to become officers and lieutenants. The same 'contradictory' situation can be found in the English army. A famous example is Walter Tull, son of a Barbadian carpenter and second-lieutenant during the war. These 'Black histories' are still only very rarely considered in the History classroom, cf., however, the useful lesson ideas in Mahamud/Whitburn, 2016.

[20] For a closer look at (German) POWs in Japan during WWI cf. Krebs, 2011.

[21] The documentary film 'Feinde Brüder' (2014) by Brigitte Krause covers these long-term effects of POW-captivity in Japan until today, cf. http://www.feinde-brüder.de/ (27.02.2017).

[22] These examples are presented in Krebs, 2011: 153.

[23] The work of the 'AIPG' is well-documented. All further details stem mainly from Hinz, 2006: 222-225 and Herrmann/ Palmieri, 2015.

[24] The list of camps can be seen on an interactive world map, cf. https://grandeguerre.icrc.org/en/Camps (27.02.2017).

[25] Becker, 2006: 25 analyses the daily lives of the prisoners of war particularly well without any national exclusiveness.

[26] Cf. Becker, 2006: 24f. F. Paravicini, for instance, the ICRC-delegate visiting the POW-camps in Japan in 1919, summed up his observations like this: 'Sie [die Gefangenen, DR] fühlen sich vergessen. […] Die lange Dauer macht auch die Kleinigkeiten unerträglich und steigert die Reizbarkeit mehr und mehr, sodass sich bei vielen das Gefühl entwickelt, statt Milderung trete überall Verschärfung ein.'

[27] The concept of the neologism 'glocal' to focus on the integration and entanglement of global and local perspectives was firstly analysed in social sciences and then made use of in History didactics, cf. Robertson, 1998; Popp, 2005.

[28] These didactical considerations run in line with the UN-demands and approaches of 'global learning and sustainable development' by focussing on the historical dimension, e.g. in the field of 'peace and war': 'Geschichte der Friedenssicherung (einschl. supranationaler Sicherungssysteme und kollektiver Hilfe bei humanitären Katastrophen). Cf. Erdmann, Kuhn, Popp, Ultze, 2016: 249.

[29] The sources mainly stem from Krebs, 2011: 153, 154 and from an ICRC-brochure on the International Prisoners-of-War Agency, cf. https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/0937-international-prisoners-war-agency-icrc-world-war-one# (27.02.2017).

30 For the interactive ICRC-world-map cf. https://grandeguerre.icrc.org/en/Camps (27.02.2017).

31 The German POWs were chosen in order to begin with a local perspective but then focus on their global lives they were found in during the war. Paul Engel, for instance, was a German soldier from Dresden, was fighting in China (Qingdao), captured by Japanese soldiers and interned in Bandu POW-camp. He became famous when conducting the camp orchestra and – for the first time in Japan – Beethoven´s 9th symphony. Karl Schuhle used to be a sailor and was interned on Angel Island in the USA. Angel Island should be researched more closely by learners of History and a 'new' Wikipedia entry could be written. Otto Seligmann came from Hamburg and was interned in a POW-camp in Sierra Leone. Otto Wilde also came from Hamburg, boarded the ship as a soldier before the war to fight in 'German South West' in Namibia. In 1915 he was captured and interned in a British POW-camp in South Africa.

32 In general, the ICRC-delegates use a neutral and unbiased language, e. g. 'people from Togo'. In contrast to the nationalistic and remaining imperialistic war propaganda, concepts of racism and racist language are no longer found in the ICRC-reports carried out during the war. In this respect, the ICRC-reports are tremendously different to the national discussions on prisoners of war and the participation of allegedly 'non-European' or 'non-white' soldiers. Cf. an example of German post-war propaganda: Plassmann, 1921: 50: 'Haß gegen Deutschland hat also die französische Regierung verleitet, nicht nur die wehrlosen Kriegsgefangenen gegenüber gebotene Menschlichkeit aufs schwerste zu verletzen, sondern auch durch die in seinen Maßnahmen liegende Herabmilderung des Ansehens der weißen Rasse in Afrika einen politischen Fehler ersten Ranges zu begehen, dessen Folgen vielleicht nur allzubald zutage treten werden.'

33 One could think of the Swedish Red Cross nurse Elsa Brändström and her support for the POWs in Russia and Siberia. Cf. Brändström, 1927.

34 There is a growing interest in this topic in German towns and villages. Lüneburg, the twin town of Naruto in Japan, is to show an exhibition on the POW-camps in Naruto and Bando (Japan) this year. The transcultural entanglement resulting from this POW-history can also be researched with regard to the long-lasting effects and forms of diffusion of music and sports (just take Beethoven´s 9th Symphony in Japan or Sumo in Germany). Last but not least, students could design and create their own exhibition after having dealt with these aspects of this 'glocal' history of WWI.

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YOUNG CHILDREN'S HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: A SWEDISH CASE STUDY

Robert Thorp and Eleonore Törnqvist

This article presents a study of how groups of 7-year-old pupils in a Swedish primary school with little or no experience of history education expressed historical consciousness. The results of the study show that a perception of linear time where the past is seen as distinct and separated from the present is a key characteristic among the children that showed indication of historical consciousness. These results suggest a view of historical consciousness as something individuals may develop, rather than something that is innately human and anthropologically universal, and that a focus on the fostering of a perception of linear time and the epistemological challenges this poses, may be key in enabling and developing children's historical consciousness.

1. Introduction

It is often claimed that history is something bigger and more important than what we are taught in schools: through the historical perspective we can gain a richer and more profound understanding of ourselves and the world we live in (e.g. Karlsson, 2014: 13). Thus, history is a tool we can use to change our perspective of the world and ourselves. To appreciate this aspect and to include it in history education is claimed to be essential not only because it makes history more relevant to pupils, but also because this is the means by which we can connect history to our lives and thus develop our historical consciousness (Hartsmar, 2001: 237; Jensen, 1997: 49). In a recent survey of Swedish lower secondary school history education carried out by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (SSI), heavy criticism was directed towards the perceived lack of history education that could develop pupils' historical consciousness. The SSI noted that the history education that had been surveyed was very good at disseminating substantive aspects of history, but disciplinary and theoretical aspects were wanting in the observed teaching. Especially problematic was the lack of history education that focuses on uses of history, since this is key to developing pupils' historical consciousness, according to the SSI (Skolinspektionen, 2015: 26-27).

It could be argued that the two perspectives presented here both start from the assumption that history has a profound impact on our lives and that history education is an important tool in promoting historical understanding among children and adolescents. It is also more or less assumed that children already have an understanding of history and historical consciousness and that this is something they will develop if submitted to proper history education. When we designed this study we were interested in gaining more knowledge about how children with little or no experience of history education perceived history and how we can understand their historical consciousnesses, hoping that this could give us further empirical information about young children's historical consciousness. What, if any, expressions of historical understanding do the children give, and what does this tell us of their historical consciousness?

Even though there is no general consensus in history didactical research regarding what a historical consciousness can be or how it can be activated, it is commonly agreed that aspects of time and the relation between past, present and future are important aspects of historical consciousness and that it is activated when we make use of history (Thorp, 2014: 29-30). Furthermore, there is also a lack of consensus in research as to how we should understand the function of historical consciousness in individuals. While some claim that it should be regarded as an anthropological universal that all human beings possess (e.g. Andersson Hult, 2016: 16; Nordgren, 2006: 16-17; Rüsen 2004: 175), others have argued that a historical consciousness instead should be regarded as a cultural or cognitive achievement and that it should be seen as something we can come to acquire (Holgersson & Persson, 2002; Kölbl & Straub, 2001: 13). In relation to the criticism forwarded by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, this raises pertinent issues. How can we understand historical consciousness in relation to children and how can it be manifested and developed? This study aims at studying and discussing how we can understand if and how the historical consciousness of 7-year-old pupils with little or no experience of formal history education is activated and manifested when they encounter and discuss history. Given the complex and ambiguous nature of the concept of historical consciousness, an effort has also been devoted to theoretically specifying the concept and how it may be manifested and developed. Using the results of this study, we will then discuss how we can understand these children's historical

consciousness and relate this to the debate of whether it could or should be viewed as an anthropological universal.

This article consists of five sections. The present, and first, section introduces the topic, the second section places it in a scientific context, the third section presents the theoretical and methodological considerations that have been made, the fourth section presents the results of the study and the fifth section discusses these results.

Previous research

It has been claimed that empirical research on children's historical consciousness or understanding of history is quite limited, especially concerning younger children (Hartsmar & Jönsson, 2010: 156). One possible explanation for this is the previous domination of a constructivist perspective on education inspired by Jean Piaget (Levstik, 2008: 30-31). According to Piaget it would be useless to teach younger children theoretical aspects of knowledge since they would be intellectually incapable of understanding that (Piaget, 2014: 13-19). While this view has been criticised (e.g. Cooper & Dilek, 2004; Wineburg, 2001), children's understanding of history is still an area that has been devoted little attention in history didactical research.

If we focus on historical consciousness and children, an even smaller amount of research has been carried out. In a Swedish context this could be explained by the fact that the school subject of history in primary schools is a sub-set of a social science subject. Thus, the subject of history 'disappears' in primary school which could be a challenge for a researcher that wishes to study younger children's history education explicitly. Another possible explanation for the scant research may be the concept of historical consciousness itself. As was noted above, the concept is perceived to be ambiguous and complex to grasp, which could render it difficult to study empirically. It has furthermore been noted by some that historical consciousness is a 'private' matter (which should be left alone by prying researchers) and that it is unclear whether the pupils should be active or passive in the process of studying it (Olofsson, 2011: 30-31). These challenges have led to a focus on the content of teaching or textbooks instead of a focus on children (Hartsmar, 2001: 119-120), or on theoretical aspects of historical consciousness in children rather than empirical ones (Ingemansson, 2007: 27).

The research that has been carried out on historical consciousness and children tend to stress the ability to connect past, present and

future tenses as incremental to children's historical consciousness. If the children are not subjected to history education that does that or if they are not asked to do that themselves, they will not develop their historical consciousness (e.g. Hartsmar, 2001: 116; Ingemansson, 2007: 95). An important aspect of how and why historical consciousness is manifested that has been noted in research is the ability to realise that human beings are both created by and creators of history (e.g. Hartsmar, 2001: 159-160; Olofsson, 2011: 214, 219). In order to reach such an understanding of our relation to history, it is claimed that a focus on a meta-historical or disciplinary approach to history is necessary (Olofsson, 2011: 217). If we only focus on content in history education, children will come to believe that there is one true version of history and they will not come to appreciate how history is contingent on interpretation and reconstruction (e.g. Blow, 2011: 130; Cooper & Dilek, 2004: 56; Hartsmar, 2001: 185-186; Lee, 2006: 133-134). To develop this meta-historical or disciplinary understanding, history educators need not only steer away from a focus on content in history, but they must also take pupils' pre-conceptions and prior understanding of history into consideration (Barton, 2001: 90; Blow, 2011: 130). Research focussed on the historical understanding of children has noted that younger children tend not to focus on interpreting history or historical accounts, but they rather approach historical accounts as prima facie true. It is only in adolescence that children start reflecting on causation and verification in relation to history and accounts thereof (Lee, 2006: 143-155). This suggests that history education has an important role to play in developing children's historical understanding and historical consciousness.

One aspect that relates to the development of historical consciousness in young children that is not addressed in the studied research is whether children possess historical consciousness. Typically, historical consciousness is implicitly treated as an anthropological universal. By applying different teaching methods we can develop something that is already present in children. This view of historical consciousness has been criticised by German researchers Carlos Kölbl and Jürgen Straub; instead of treating historical consciousness as something innately human and anthropologically universal, we should instead approach historical consciousness as a 'historically situated, culture-specific ability' (Kölbl & Straub, 2001: 40). This means that historical consciousness requires some kind of

cognitive or cultural achievement and, furthermore, it should be seen as a phenomenon rooted in a Western European philosophical tradition stemming from the 18th century and, consequently, it should be regarded as contingent on this historicity (Kölbl & Straub, 2001: 16). Following this line of argumentation, Kölbl and Straub claim that children's historical consciousness will be conditioned by the environment they grow up in. Some environments provide incentives to developing a modern critical approach to history, while other environments provide disincentives to such an approach (Kölbl & Straub, 2001: 18-20). Thus, children's historical consciousness will be contingent on the environment they grow up in. We wanted to follow up on this critique and study whether young children with little or no history education showed signs of historical consciousness, and, if they did show signs of historical consciousness, does this tell us anything about the origins of it?

Another aspect, closely related to this, that also seemed to be implicitly assumed in the studied research, is that children understand what history is and what counts as historical. The didactical problem stressed in the studied research is how we can come to make children realise how history is constructed in order to counter a view of history as something true in the traditional positivist sense of the term. The framing of this problem rests on one particular view of history as something that is characterised by critical methodological inquiry. This is another reason we chose to study how young children approach history: do children with no experience of history education conceptualise history, and if they do that, what seems to be a necessary requirement in order for them to be able to do so?

2. Theory

2.1 *Time and History*

According to the Dutch history didactical researcher Arie Wilschut a perception of linear temporality and the breaches or disruptions this temporality causes are essential for our understanding of history. Thus, history became History when people started perceiving how time caused or brought about disruption and change: they started to distinguish the past from the present. Furthermore, if we cannot rely on tradition and status quo to understand the world, we need some other kind of approach. The solution to the problem posed was the creation of history as a serious study of past events; we should learn

from the past because it is different and separated from the present, not because of its sameness and proximity (Wilschut, 2012: 47-52). Hence, the perception or recognition of linear and irreversible time gave rise to the subject of history as we understand it today.

This perception of linear temporality also caused new epistemological problems: how can we come to know and familiarise ourselves with a past that is forlorn and can never be retrieved? The answer to this question would be to engage with these problems through a critical methodological engagement with the traces the past has left us. Thus, a separation between 'past' and 'history' is imposed: history is the reconstruction of past events through a critical methodological inquiry (Berge, 1995: 9-12; Torstendahl, 1971: 56). This turns the historian into an active agent: what the historian does is not merely compiling historical facts, but rather to purposefully organise and interpret them in order to create sense and meaning (Barthes, 2001: 121). This in turn gives rise to a contingency and historicity concerning history and the historians that write it; the truth of history is not derived from its proximity or reliance on the past primarily, but rather from its insistence on what is perceived to be an acceptable methodology. Hence, history to a great deal relates to historiography since it gains its status as valid history by being based on a scientific and methodological practice (Parkes, 2011: 119-120). Following this kind of logic, the practice of interpretation and representation lies at the very heart of the subject of history. If we disregard this aspect, and only focus on substantive or factual aspects of history, it could be argued that we are in a sense doing something else (Foster & Padgett, 1999; Wineburg, 2001: 18-24).

What was written above has repercussions regarding how we understand history and its origins. First, some kind of perception of linear time could be argued to be necessary in order for us to perceive history, and, secondly, some kind of appreciation of the epistemological problems connected to this temporal linearity also seems to be warranted.

2.2 *Historical Consciousness and Narratological Uses of History*

Closely connected to the introduction of history, is also the notion of historical consciousness. According to German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, the 18th century saw the rise not only of history, but also of a new kind of approach to human cognition. Through the

recognition of history and the separateness of the present from the past, we gained an awareness of how everything, even history itself, is contingent on historicity (Gadamer, 1975: 8). This, according to Gadamer, is the core of historical consciousness. Thus, historical consciousness can be perceived as relating to the new meta-historical or meta-cognitive approach brought about by the emergence of a notion of history based on linear time. According to this approach, historical consciousness can be defined as awareness of historicity (Jeismann, 1979). Hence, through an awareness of how past, present and future perspectives on time are temporally separated and qualitatively different, but also inter-related, we acquire an awareness of historicity, i.e. historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2006: 67-68).

If one is interested in how historical consciousness can be studied empirically, and we are very much interested in that, one is faced with a formidable methodological problem: how can a person's historical consciousness be accessed empirically? While cognition and awareness of historicity take place within someone's mind (and we do not have direct access to that someone's mind), we can still assume that this awareness can leave traces for us to empirically study. The problem is how we can theoretically specify the relation between an individual's historical consciousness and the traces it may leave? One suggestion for how to do that is to focus on the concept of narratological uses of history. A use of history can be understood as a narrative enactment of history: whenever we disseminate something historical, we do so by narrating it orally or literally, for instance (Thorp, 2016: 25). A narratological use of history thus relates to how we can understand this use from a narratological perspective. Borrowing and modifying a typology of historical narratives developed by Jörn Rüsen (2012), we can discern three types of narratological uses of history:

- A traditional narratological use of history employs a constructivist narrative that presents history in a factual way;
- A critical narratological use of history uses a historical narrative that seeks to question, criticise or show alternative versions of the past, and;
- A genetic narratological use of history presents a historical narrative that engages with the dynamic and contingent character of history (Thorp, 2016: 27).

Thus, if we perceive historical consciousness to be an awareness of historicity, we can say that a historical consciousness could be understood as a kind of epistemic disposition towards history. If we appreciate that history is a contextually contingent practice performed by historians (and others), meaning that we have an awareness of historicity, we make a different sense of history than if we perceive of history as something that is not the result of careful interpretation and representation of past events. These kinds of epistemic dispositions correspond quite well to the narratological uses of history above. A traditional use of history disregards the interpretational and representational aspects of history and presents history in a factual way: when we study history we get to know what really happened. A critical narratological use of history can be perceived as a middle ground: history is perceived as being contingent on perspective, but the perspective of the interpreter is not included. This could result in either a relativistic approach to historical knowledge or a view that holds certain historical narratives to be unproblematic and true in the traditional sense. A genetic narratological use of history would, however, approach all historical narratives and all approaches to history as contextually contingent, which would correspond to historical consciousness according to our view (Thorp, 2015: 77-80). This genetic narratological use of history could also be argued to correspond to the kind of cognitive approach described by concepts such as historical thinking (Lee, 2006: 134-135; Seixas & Morton, 2013: 2; Shemilt, 2000: 97-98), historical empathy (Lévesque, 2008: 109-110) and the historiographic gaze (Parkes, 2011: 119-120).

Using this theoretical approach, we can discern some theoretically pertinent aspects concerning historical consciousness and history. History can be argued to be a result of an appreciation of how the past is separated and different from the present. This in turn leads to an epistemological problem relating to how we can come to know something that we cannot experience first hand. These two aspects of history point towards how history can be perceived as a contextually contingent practice and thus always takes place in the present to a certain extent. And, finally, historical consciousness can be perceived as an awareness of this contextual contingency of history, this historicity, that is manifested in the narratological uses of history we make.

3. Method

This study is aimed at investigating young children's historical consciousness, particularly from the perspective of how they understand and view history and how we can understand historical consciousness as something innately human or as a cultural or cognitive achievement. In order to do so we decided to try to include school children that would have little or no experience of history education. To this end we chose to undertake our data collection with 7-year-old children in primary school as soon as possible after the beginning of their autumn semester. In Sweden compulsory primary school begins at the age of 7 and the school year usually begins in Mid-August. We contacted a primary school in a larger Swedish city in August 2016 and after acquiring written permission to perform the study from the school's headmaster, the class teacher and the parents of the pupils, we asked a class of 26 pupils whether they wanted to participate in the study. 13 of the pupils consented to being interviewed and these pupils were interviewed in pairs or groups of three during two school days in early September 2016. By this time the pupils had attended compulsory primary school for approximately three weeks. During the interviews we asked the pupils questions related to what they think history is and how we can come to know what has happened in history. If the pupils gave no answer regarding what they believe history to be, we asked follow-up questions to make sure that they did not get stuck on the term 'history' itself. If the pupils did provide us with answers as to what they perceived history to be we asked them questions in order to make them specify and clarify their answers further since the term 'history' may have different connotations. We also asked them if they had been to a museum or something similar, in order to grasp whether they had any previous experiences of something related to history. This strategy was directed at trying to elicit answers that could indicate what the pupils perceived as specific about history and what epistemological problems that may pose to us.

We chose to interview the children in groups due to several reasons. We realised that the situation of being interviewed by an unfamiliar person could feel awkward or uncomfortable to pupils. Children are also in a situation of dependency towards us as researchers since we were interpreting their replies to our questions (Bartholdsson, 2008: 15-17). This could also mean that the children

would strive to give what they pereive to be 'correct' answers to our questions (Doverborg & Pramling Samuelsson, 2000: 44-45). Hence, we interviewed the pupils in groups in order to make them more comfortable with the situation. We chose to limit the size of the interview groups to three pupils at a time since we anticipated that larger groups could cause difficulties with the transcription of the interviews, but also in order to encourage all children to participate in the interviews. Another advantage with a group interview is that the interview situation itself could prompt new perspectives and thoughts from the participants. Furthermore, different ways of perceiving or understanding something are also made visible, which in turn could lead to new insights or questions from the participants (Doverborg & Pramling Samuelsson, 2000: 29-30). During the interviews we reminded the pupils that their participation was voluntary and that they could cease their participation whenever they wanted to. We also informed them that the interview would be audio-recorded. After the interviews we let the children listen to a segment of the recorded audio. All pupils presented in this article have been given fictious names.

The interviews were transcribed shortly after the interviews had taken place and they were transcribed verbatim. Only pauses and interjections that contributed to a development of the conversation were included in order to facilitate the reading of the transcripts. The material was coded according to what views of history the children presented and what narratological uses of history could be discerned in their replies. According to the theoretical approach taken a prerequisite for appreciating something as historical is the realisation that past and present are distinct and qualitatively separate temporal entities. This in turn could lead to an awareness of historicity in the sense of an understanding of how past, present and future perspectives are separated but also inter-related, i.e. historical consciousness.

4. Results

4.1 *Some General Remarks on the Collected Data*

In the first group two girls and one boy participated. One of the boys and the girl chose not to answer verbally to any questions but instead chose to nod or shake their heads on a few occasions during the interviews, barring an analysis of their views on history. The

remaining boy, Orville, gave short answers which related to how history is created and his replies have been included in the analysis below. The second group consisted of two girls and one boy. Together they retold a traditional story well, but their individual contributions to the story were so short that it was difficult to assess whether they could have retold the story individually. None of the participants in this group gave any answers that could be analysed as being pertinent to history. The third group consisted of three boys that were mostly interested in discussing human excrements. Two of these pupils, Henry and Zeke, did, however, also give answers that allowed analyses of how they perceive history, and their replies have been included in the analysis below. The next interviewees were a boy and a girl. The girl's replies dealt with issues other than history (e.g. where can we hide from sharks and other dangerous animals?), but the boy, Scott, is the pupil among the respondents that has provided us with the longest and most detailed answers concerning history. The last pair of boys, Steven and Wilbur, provided us with answers pertaining to what we can learn from history and, consequently, their replies have been included in the analysis below. All in all this leaves us with answers from six of the thirteen respondents that were included for analyses. All of the pupils that gave answers that allowed analyses of their views of history were boys.

4.2 *Children's Perception of History*

When we asked the children what they thought history was we found that all of the interviewed children were unaware that history is a school subject and that the majority of them found it difficult to explain what history is. Seven out of eleven pupils related history to fairytales or stories in different ways and they spontaneously chose to tell fairytales or funny stories to show what they meant. Three pupils differed from the others: Henry (who besides telling a funny story thinks that history relates to how things have been created), Scott and Zeke. Scott first comes to think of a 'thing or something' before telling a story and then going on to explain what separates history from stories:

Interviewer: *So you think there is a difference between history and story?*
Scott: *Yes, pretty much actually, because a story or a book can be browsed and they can be pretty long, so it could take up to a 6 months, maybe, to read a book.*

And then history, you can't sit for 6 months telling history to a bunch of children. That would be very bad, they wouldn't get any food!
Interviewer: *So what is history then according to you?*
Scott: *History is when you tell something and there are no pictures and you have to make up your own pictures.*
Interviewer: *OK, but what is it you tell when you tell something that makes you come up with your own pictures?*
Scott: *Maybe a horror film or something that is really scary.*

What we can see here is that even if Scott has perceived that there is a difference between history and fairytales or stories, he is struggling with specifying what this difference may be. He does seem to associate it with something that belongs to the adult world, such as something adults may tell you (for a limited period of time!), books with no pictures in them and horror films. Zeke also discerns a difference between history and story, but then gives what appears to be a nonsensical answer mostly directed towards being funny:

Zeke: *There was a small child that pooped on your head, and then he grabbed a hat and sat on your house and then he said 'Hey friends.' He took of his hat and went to the shower and then father saw: 'What is that? What are you doing silly children? I'll give you a good spanking.'* (bursts into laughter)

Since the majority of the children associate fairytales or funny stories to history, it may not be surprising that many of them (5 out of 11) also thinks that you need imagination in order to make history. Three pupils mean, here in the words of Orville, that 'It doesn't have to have happened, but you can use something that's happened too.' Despite this only three pupils admit that history is something that everyone can make. These same three pupils also expressed no opinion about whether real or imagined events form the basis of history.

About half of the pupils thought history is mostly learnt from books, but a few also claimed that you can learn history from your parents and from museums. Steven draws a parallel to news shows:

Steven: *In the news shows they often have an iPad next to them, and then maybe they write everything they tell on these iPads and then maybe they re-tell it again many years later.*

Scott also reflects that history 'comes from long ago, maybe, or from somewhere far away' and that this makes it difficult to decide whether it is history:

Interviewer: *But how can you know that it's true then?*
Scott: *No, you would have to have a time machine and go back in time to check if it's really true.*

Besides the time machine, Scott has more suggestions on how we can know something of history: 'Because there are real films about it,' and then:

Scott: *OK, I'll tell you how it works. Look, there are skeletons from dinosaurs and you can compare them to the skeletons of birds. They feel just the same, they are just as smooth, and then if you feel the bones of humans you can see that they are the same.*
Interviewer: *So you mean that you can compare something old with something that exists now?*
Scott: *Yes, because the skeletons can always be compared, so you can go to a museum, and if I want to know more about quagga then I can go to the museum of quagga.*

Despite the rather vague idea of what constitutes history, five pupils reflect on what it can be used for. The most common view expressed is that you may use history in order not to repeat earlier mistakes. Wilbur mentions war, for instance. One of the pupils, Henry, thinks it can be good to know how something was made before: 'Because you want to make it again, but a lot better.'

One conspicuous result regarding how the children perceived history is that no pupil except Scott made a connection between history and linear time. This also seemed to prompt Scott into a discussion about whether we can know something of the past. The other children made no such associations, and then ran into difficulties when trying to explain how history is different, like in the example with Zeke.

4.3 *Children's Perception of Linear Time*

As noted above, seven of the pupils gave answers that indicated that they primarily associated history with fairytales or stories. One pupil,

Scott, claimed that history is about 'a thing or something like that' before going to state that it is a fairytale as well. Henry did, however, also add that history deals with 'how you made stuff.' Four of the pupils gave no answers. From these results it would be easy to draw the conclusion that the children did not have historical consciousness since they do not seem to have a perception of temporal differences and therefore cannot separate the fairytale narrative from the historical narrative. We would, however, like to present a more complex picture.

Five of the pupils that gave answers re-told fairytales and the remaining two told funny stories. To be able to tell a fairytale – or a story – in a way that will allow your listener to follow the story's plot, a certain understanding of time may be necessary. The narrative needs to follow a certain order, or chronology, in order to make sense. On the other hand it could be argued that the pupils incapacity to distinguish historical narratives from fairytale narratives could be the result of an undeveloped understanding of linear time, what we earlier showed is generally viewed as a kind of pre-requisite for an appreciation of history. This could perhaps explain Zeke's narrative regarding what distinguishes history from other stories above: he does not master the chronological disposition when re-telling the story and this could be the reason his narrative fails at distinguishing history from other narratives. When the majority of the pupils (8 out of 11) agreed that fantasy, or a mix of fantasy and reality, is a pre-requisite for history, this could also indicate that they lack an ability of distinguishing linear time: to speak of history as distinct from other stories just does not make sense to them.

Scott's views on history are, however, different from the others. In the beginning of the interview he expresses the same views as the rest of his peers, that history is somehow connected to fairytales. Later on in the interview, however, he starts to reflect on how we can know anything of history. You either compare findings, such as skeletons from dinosaurs, with something you know exists today, e.g. birds and people. If there are similarities this would show that your finding is real and not fake. Another, more imaginative, method is to use a time machine. Even if this solution is not realistic (at least not in 2016), he does show that he perceives time as something that is not only in the present, that there is a past and a future and that they are distinct from our present time. He has, in other words, started to understand and conceptualise a perception of time that not only stretches from

the tangible past into the future, but also several millions of years back in time.

Despite the dominance of fairytales and stories when the pupils formulated their views history, a number of them had thoughts on what history could be used for. This could perhaps be regarded as a bit odd given their inability to distinguish history from other stories. If you consider, however, that many stories, especially older ones, are centered around a moral lesson to be learnt, this could be a possible explanation (see Wilschut, 2012: 78). In an answer provided by Steven, the link to the classic storyline is evident: 'In some stories, you have bad ones and they try to hurt the good ones and then you learn that you're not supposed to behave like that.' As shown above, Henry and Wilbur do show traces of linear time when they state that history can be used to improve older inventions or to avoid war, but they do not connect this to history as such.

4.4 *Children's Narratological Uses of History and Historical Consciousness*

The majority of the interviewed pupils did not give replies that allowed analyses of their narratological uses of history, simply because it was hard to determine what was historical about their replies. Even though we have a limited amount of empirical data to analyse from the perspective of historical consciousness, the results we have gathered are still interesting.

Of the interviewed pupils only one, Scott, explicitly expressed an understanding of separate temporal dimensions and reflected on how this may pose some kind of epistemological problem. His replies, however, indicate that he views history as something static or fixed (we can travel back in time and visit the museum to get the correct answer) and we have coded this as a traditional narratological use of history. Wilbur and Henry also make what could be coded as traditional narratological uses of history when they extrapolate on how we can learn from history not to repeat mistakes made in the past or to improve on previous inventions: history is treated as a kind resource we can use to make our lives better, i.e. historical facts are out there for us to use in the present.

Steven is another pupil that also shows tendencies of a traditional narratological use of history and a trace of historical consciousness. He does not reflect on how we can learn from history, but rather that history is something that is created by man: in his news show analogy

he indicated that we write down what happened in the past and then we can go back and re-tell these stories. This could be treated as a view that history is something that is constructed and we can go back to what has been left and find out what really happened. None of these pupils did, however, express critical or genetic narratological uses of history. Still, they show indications of their historical consciousnesses.

5.   Discussion

Regarding what perception of history the interviewed children portray, the results suggest that a perception of linear time seems pertinent. As indicated by the lack of replies and Zeke's attempt at distinguishing between history and other narratives, a perception of linear temporality seems to be a necessary condition. Without this, it seems that the children encounter difficulties in specifying what is historical about some narratives and not others. Without a perception of linear time, it could be argued that the children perceive historical narratives as any other narrative they encounter, as perhaps is illustrated by the children's insistence on telling fairytales or funny stories and also the idea that we can use history to learn from previous mistakes. History is a narrative that we can use to learn good examples and not repeat old mistakes. While this may be a popular reason for studying history, it may also be a problematic one, since it seems to disregard the interpretative and reconstructive aspects of history. What distinguishes history from other narratives is its reliance on a critical methodology of past traces, according to the argument presented here. This stems from the epistemological problems posed by a perception of linear temporality that distinguishes the past from the present and the future.

Seven of the interviewed pupils showed no indications of a historical consciousness, due to the fact that it was difficult to determine what was historical about their replies. Of the remaining four pupils, three pupils implicitly separated the past from the present and thus made what could be coded as traditional narratological uses of history. They did not explicitly state that history is something that deals with past events, but from their answers we could infer that they regard history as something that is separated from us. We can either view history as something that will teach us not to repeat mistakes that we have done before, or history is a story

from long ago that we can re-tell in order to learn from the past. Thus, we have indications of these pupils' historical consciousnesses but these should be considered as vague due to the implicit nature of their replies.

Scott distinguishes himself from the other pupils concerning both his views of history and his historical consciousness. He is the only pupil that explicitly mentions linear temporality and engages with the epistemological problems this may pose to us. Hence, we can say that Scott expresses two basic dimensions of history. Although he offers simplistic or fantastic solutions to how we may come to know what happened long ago, he still perceives this to be a problem that should be dealt with in some way. We would like to suggest that he does that exactly because he views the past as something that is distinct and separated from the present, he expresses a perception of linear time. Because of this he is also the only pupil we interviewed that explicitly expresses historical consciousness, albeit a rudimentary or undeveloped one.

These results perhaps cast new light on the question of whether historical consciousness should be regarded as an anthropological universal. If we state that historical consciousness is something that human beings possess, it seems that we run into some kind of empirical difficulty here. The majority of the children interviewed here expressed nothing that would indicate historical consciousness, in fact it seems difficult to say whether they know what history is to begin with. Only one child did express something that we could say explicitly indicated historical consciousness. This seems to favour the position held by Kölbl and Straub: that historical consciousness should be regarded as some kind of cognitive or cultural achievement. According to our results it does seem as if a perception of linear time is a pre-requisite for a recognition of history and an expression of historical consciousness. Scott has this perception of time and therefore he expresses historical consciousness. We do not have any certain information to help us explain why Scott has acquired this linear perception of time, but his references to visits to museums and things we typically associate with adulthood (books without illustrations and horror films), may indicate that Scott's parents or other adults in his vicinity may have introduced him to this.

Although these results should be regarded as limited by all standards, we still think they may have relevance for history

education directed at young children. The results stress the importance of a perception of linear time that reaches beyond the present. Without this perception the children in our study failed to grasp what is specific about history; history just becomes another story. We also think a perception of linear time goes beyond being able to place historical events or people on a chronological time line, to perceiving how the past is irrevocably separated from the present and that this poses epistemological concerns for us. History is not only about knowing what happened before, but also about knowing how we can know what happened before. In other words, history education should not only be directed towards showing children what has happened in the past (since this could be perceived as just another story if you do not have a perception of time that separates the past from the present), but also towards the cognitive problems the pastness and distinctness of history pose to us. What is truly fascinating about Scott's replies is that (despite his young age and inexperience of history education) he engages with this complex cognitive task.

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A TAXONOMIC ANALYSIS OF LEARNING TASKS IN HISTORY LESSONS: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND EMPIRICAL TESTING

Mario Resch and Manfred Seidenfuß

This article examines theoretical considerations for creating a didactical system of categories for the analysis of the cognitive potential of learning tasks. This analysis system was developed as a theoretical foundation for rating items in a vignette test, in order to be able to show items (tasks) at different levels. In agreement with the general didactic system of categories by Maier et al. (2010), subject-specific dimensions for historical learning tasks were designed for their own system of categories. The quality of the developed tasks was verified in an expert rating (N = 9). The vignette test was applied in a cross-sectional student survey (N = 501) to investigate didactic competences of future history teachers in all the teacher training colleges in Baden-Württemberg in the summer term of 2015.

1. Learning Tasks in History Lessons

Learning tasks make a decisive contribution to the quality of the lesson, in that they control both the content and the method of the learning process (Blömke et al., 2006: 330). Learning tasks thus constitute an important interface between the potential of the lesson and its ultimate application (Thünemann, 2013: 144). One of the core competences of a successful teacher is the ability to design learning tasks (Thünemann, 2016: 45). In contrast with achievement tasks and diagnostic tasks, learning tasks are defined as problem-oriented and subject-specific calls to action, which teachers deliver to students, in order to elicit from the students specific cognitive learning processes. Learning tasks challenge students to deal, preferably in an independent way, with a particular problem or question, which should in turn lead to the development of certain critical competences (Heuer, 2011: 449). Appropriate task-formats for such competence-oriented learning processes have the distinctive feature that 'students can practise [them] in specialized complex situations' (Lange, 2016: 127).

When previous empirical findings relating to the use of learning tasks in history lessons are consulted, one repeatedly observes a

continual focus of work assignments in reproducing a declarative type of knowledge (Borries, 1980: 104f; Günther-Arndt, 1988: 200; Waldis, Hodel & Fink, 2012: 153f). That is to say, if history lessons should educate students to handle historical sources and representations critically, then the mere determination of historical data and connections is not enough. Rather, students have to be able to analyse narrative structures within and throughout history, which in turn means analysis of the foundational principles of subject-specific methods and categories. This means that in designing learning tasks, one must establish a confrontation with some epistemological principles of historical thinking in the texts under scrutiny. However, Jutta Mägdefrau and Andreas Michler have ascertained in this context that the didactic capability of tasks, which refer to core principles of proficiency such as historical judgment and the possession of multiple points-of-view, are not often enough recognized by History teachers (Mägdefrau & Michler, 2014: 111ff). In relation to the time taken to process tasks, Jan Hodel and Monika Waldis pointed out that even though 57 % of the lesson time is on average devoted to learning tasks, the students only work independently for 7.68 minutes on each task (Hodel & Waldis, 2007: 116ff). Obviously, during this time the students' confrontation of the task cannot go far beyond the reproduction of specific information or a basic level of understanding.

In conclusion, these results indicate that the tasks used in practice do not exploit the possibilities of a competence-oriented History lesson. There is a demand of a new culture for tasks (Heuer, 2011: 445; 2014: 231ff), which involves not only the concrete text assigned as a task but also the task-context in terms of the task, the processing of the task by the students, and later reflection on the task. All this underlines the need to renegotiate task formats of competence-oriented History teaching.

Additionally, for a broader understanding of learning tasks which nevertheless stay close to this concept of the new culture for tasks, work assignments need to be formulated for lessons, which are oriented to certified didactical quality criteria (Becher & Gläser, 2014: 160). Meanwhile, suggestions pertaining to the didactic quality criteria are available for the teaching domain of History (Thünemann, 2013: 146ff; Heuer, 2012: 107; Wenzel, 2012b: 26), and can be found in the practical literature, especially in operator catalogues, that facilitate task designs at different levels (Kühberger, 2011: 17ff).

In research contexts the formulation of various levels shows a requirement for the quantitative operationalization of competences (Körber, 2007: 72). For the teaching of Science, Andrea Becher and Eva Gläser have recently formulated a system of categories for analysing both question-related and method-related competences in schoolbook tasks within History (Becher & Gläser, 2014: 162ff). Jutta Mägdefrau and Andreas Michler have similarly developed a system of analysis to determine the quality of learning tasks in History, and which has been made to align closely with the taxonomy of learning goals set out in Anderson and Krathwohl. These tasks set operative instructions (e.g. represent, illustrate, access) to the categories of Remind, Understand, Apply, Analyse, Evaluate and Design, each of which can be individually identified in the texts under discussion and allocated to the corresponding cognitive operators (Mägdefrau & Michler, 2014: 107ff).

Hereinafter, the findings from expert discussions and the survey are firstly examined with a view to their suitability for the system of categories, and secondly applied to the sophisticated development of completed rating items for the analysis of competences (Meyer-Hamme, 2016: 110). With this information, this study will propose ways in which the format of tasks which encourage the learning process have to be designed for teaching and learning methods in History.

2. A System of Categories for Task Analysis

With regard to the location of task formats, a didactic system of analysis was designed for the Vignettentest from EKoL-hisD[1] which was to succeed the general system of categorizing task analysis from Maier et al. (2010). This revised system of categories enables the systematization of tasks in relation to both objective task potentials and the intended requirements of teachers, which correspond largely to the first two steps of the task analysis from Blömeke et al. (2006). While objective task analysis examines the complexity of tasks without reference to their implementation in an actual classroom situation, the second part considers the intended objectives of the teacher before their realization in class (Blömeke et al., 2006: 338f).

Maier et al. (2010) orientates itself in the core areas of two particular systems of categories, 'type of knowledge' and 'cognitive process', in relation to Bloom's 1956 taxonomy and its later

modification by Anderson and Krathwohl (2009). Besides the categories 'type of knowledge' and 'cognitive process', we can also count the following as relevant areas of task analysis: 'amount of knowledge units', 'openness', 'real life connection', 'logical language complexity' and 'forms of representation of tasks'. The system of categories outlined in Maier et al. was empirically tested with the help of an interdisciplinary task sample ($N = 127$) and shown to be in close agreement with the calculation of interrater reliability, with the exception of the category 'knowledge units' (Maier et al., 2010:73). Due to its empirical success, the general didactic system of analysis was used for producing concrete subject-specific results for historical learning tasks.

In contrast with Heuer (2014), who also adapted elements from the analysis system used in Maier et al. (2010) in order to graduate learning tasks, and who also refers general didactical dimensions rules to historical teaching and learning concepts (e.g. compiling history lessons), the system of categories taken from EKoL-hisD designed subject-specific versions for the two categories 'type of knowledge' and 'cognitive process'. The categories listed as 'openness', 'real-life connection', 'logical language complexity' and 'forms of representation' were taken over from the interdisciplinary matrix from Maier et al., whereas the category of 'knowledge units' was reduced to two gradations (Table 1).

Dimension	Characteristics			
Types of knowledge	content	method and structure	creation of meaning	reflection on the creation of meaning
Cognitive process		reproduction	re-construction/de-construction	
Knowledge units		no knowledge units	various knowledge units	
Openness	defined/convergent	defined/divergent	imprecise/divergent	
Real-life connection	no connection	constituted	authentic	real
Logical language complexity	low	middle	high	
Forms of representation	a form of representation	integration	transformation	

Table 1. Dimensions and characteristics of the subject-specific task analysis.

In what follows, the category of 'type of knowledge' is explained in greater detail because this is, besides the cognitive processes, the most relevant dimension for task analysis (Maier et al., 2010: 28).

2.1 *Types of Knowledge*

Maier et al. (2010) depicts within the category, 'types of knowledge', the general didactic category, Major Types of Knowledge Dimensions, which contains the following four types of knowledge, following Anderson et al. (2009): factual knowledge, procedural knowledge, conceptual knowledge and metacognitive knowledge. Now, a historical subject-specific assessment of these dimensions of knowledge, core categories, concepts and epistemological principles within the subject of History needs to be considered, one that refers in the teaching of History both to the nature and development of historical narration and to the handling of sources and representative points-of-view (Baumgartner, 1997: 157f). To be able to examine the 'narrative meaning of stories' (Pandel 2014: 177) at different levels, subject-specific types of knowledge in the system of categories were designed to reflect the four levels of (1) content, (2) method and structure, (3) the creation of meaning; and (4) reflection on the creation of meaning (Table 2).

At the level of content, task formats are defined which rarely prompt independent examination of historical narratives, because of the fact that students have 'merely' to reproduce isolated factual knowledge.

Learning tasks in which students are asked to perform subject-specific methods in a series of steps are located at the level of 'method and structure' in the system of categories. Guided by the teacher and by one's own consideration of subject-specific principles, learners carry out isolated subordinate steps to produce historical knowledge, whilst formulating historical questions related to a specific source.

Tasks which are involved in 'creation of meaning' invite the students to use historical methods purposefully while working autonomously with sources and representations, in order to develop their own narratives and judgments (Jeismann, 2000: 63f), whose plausibility can in turn be verified by the students based on certain valid criteria of cogency (Rüsen, 2012: 89ff).

Level 1 **content**	Level 2 **method and structure**	Level 3 **creation of meaning**	Level 4 **reflection on the creation of meaning**
- already known, in the task text defined isolated individual elements (terms, data, etc.) should be mentioned. - isolated individual elements (terms, data, etc.) should be extracted from a source and/or a representation.	- isolated method steps should be conducted (e.g. being able to develop a historical question to a source)	- own creating of meaning should be developed and justified with the aid of external creations of meaning (sources and/ or representations). - the plausibility of the creating of meaning should be examined with the aid of subject specific criteria of cogency.	- own creating of meaning and value judgments should be reflected by weighing and varying external creations of meaning (sources and/ or representations) as well as own creations of meaning (e.g. individual historical images).

Table 2. Historical-didactic ascertainment of the types of knowledge on four levels.[1]

During their encounter with tasks on level four of the system of categories ('reflection on the creation of meaning') the students develop their own created notions of meaning and reflect upon how their inventories of knowledge and ideas about the past come about. For this type of tasks metacognitive skills are required (Jeismann, 2000: 64), and this further challenges students to more sophisticated historical perspectives and views.

2.2 *Localization in the System of Categories*

In order to represent the location of items in both the system of categories and the experts' inquiries, the procedure for categorization is described by two model examples. These two items are taken from a lesson vignette on the topic of 'Living in the Early Period'. In the vignette, which was integrated into a video sequence, the teacher begins by showing an illustration on which there are illustrated several activities of people from the Paleolithic Age. Based on this illustration, the teacher wants to introduce the topic by letting the students describe the portrayed activities. In the continuing lesson-unit the illustration should not only be examined for its content, but the learners should also reflect on the development and representation. Therefore, the teacher aims to support deconstruction competence. The lesson in the video then breaks off at this point and the test-users receive different types of tasks.

In this classroom situation tasks such as 'Describe all the details in the illustration, which show what life was like in the period?' (Item 01) as well as 'Think about, why the producer of this illustration has chosen to draw this reconstruction exactly like this' (Item 02) were prescribed as rating items.

In the system of categories, item 01 is categorized as a 'content-related' item. In contrast with operators such as 'name' or 'reproduce', which require merely reproductive output, another operator such as 'describe' also implies explanatory and valid elements for processing the task (Oleschko, 2014: 85ff). The task is related to the time 'then' and asks that the learners reconstruct the ways of life in the Palaeolithic era. For deconstruction of the illustration it is necessary to take the context of the explanation into account, which is not included within the task. However, the processing of the task can also be helpful for the required deconstruction in the learning process, for instance when the students come to recognize during the reconstruction of the portrayed ways of life that the reconstruction drawing does not show a depiction of 'historical reality', but was rather produced for a target audience in a certain context of reception. Based on these findings, further questions relating to the development of the sign can be formulated, which then give additional focus to the cognitive processes of deconstruction.

In contrast with item 01, which was categorized as a 'content-related' task, item 02 ('Think about why has the illustrator drawn this reconstruction drawing exactly like this') is assigned to the type of knowledge 'creation of meaning' in the system of categories. This task aims at the development of a historical judgment and thereby focuses on the deconstruction process. While the students reflect the possible purposes of the illustrator as well as the related selection decisions, examination with this task enables insights about the core epistemological principal of selectivity (Baumgartner, 1997: 157). The operator 'think' refers to an open task format, which does not prescribe an approach for learners.

3. **Vignette-based Study**

Vignette-based test methods are applied to consider the impact of context to the professional actions of teachers (Oser, Heinzer & Salzmann, 2010: 6; Lindmeier, 2013: 52). With the aid of text- and video vignettes, authentic teaching situations are provided to those taking part in the test through a vignette-based survey from EKoL-hisD, which requires the application of learning tasks to a defined position which relates in turn to a certain didactic objective.

The final Test Instrument consists of a fixed setting of 12 Lesson Vignettes in total with 4 Items in each Vignette. In order to place the concrete Lesson Scenarios in the course of the Lesson as part of the learning process, let us first describe the Lesson Scenario at the outset of the Vignette.

The Lesson Scenarios that have been developed need to represent the Lesson in ca. 100 words in as diverse and authentic a way as possible. The filmed Video Vignettes last for up to 3 minutes. The authenticity of these lessons in action has been confirmed by multiple experts (Resch, Vollmer & Seidenfuß, 2017: 166).

The assessment of other subject-specific ways of leading the lesson is required from those being tested at a certain stage. The continued management (sc. of the lesson) is placed at the end of the Lesson Vignette and multiple possible answers are suggested for assessment in the form of a 6-item Likert Scale. Further management of the Lesson Situation allows different options of conveying meaning and managing behavior, which can be judged controversially from the perspective of History Teaching.

For this test, represented tasks were designed as concluded items, which initiate historical thinking in various degrees of processing depth. The tasks generated were located by means of a historical-didactic profiled system of categories for their theoretical foundations, and their quality was calibrated in an expert rating. In the rating of the task formats, the professional competence of future history teachers is tested by means of the teachers' ability to formulate tasks. Therefore, a comprehensive professional action model for history teachers was designed to comply with the COACTIV competency model (Baumert & Kunter, 2011: 32), a decision which justified the construction of learning tasks as a core competence for teachers to stage learning processes in History lessons (Kanert & Resch, 2014: 24).

3.1 *Experts' Standard*

For the determination of the experts` standard, which functions as an answer manual for the vignette-based study, specialists in History and its didactic ($N = 9$), who stand out through professional profiling in research and publication in the areas of competence orientation and task analysis, were selected. The experts` standard was generated by a Category-Selection-Probing-Procedure (Prüfer & Rexroth, 2000); the experts were required to assess the suitability of the items on a six-level Likert-Scale and additionally to provide reasons for their judgment in conversation. For the experts` standard, modal values generated from the expert rating were used. If the expert assessments deviated strongly (by which we mean more than two scale values), the qualitative statements of the experts from the Probing-Procedure were evaluated.

The content-related item 01 from the Palaeolithic era vignette was assessed by the experts with quite a clear modal value (*Modus* = 1) as an unsuitable item in relation to the promotion of deconstruction competence (Table 3). However, expert_3 evaluated the item with scale value 4 as quite a suitable task format. In spite of the oral justification of expert_3, the deviation was legitimized to the degree that the task is indeed suitable to initiate an introduction to the deconstruction process through problematization of the representation method.

	Item 01 (SV601_01)	Item 02 (SV601_04)
	'Describe all the details in the subscription, which show, how it was then.'	'Think about, why the subscriber has drawn this reconstruction drawing exactly like this.'
Expert_1	1	5
Expert_2	3	4
Expert_3	4	5
Expert_4	1	5
Expert_5	2	3
Expert_6	1	3
Expert_7	3	6
Expert_8	1	6
Expert_9	1	4
M	1,89	4,56
SD	1,17	1,13
Modus	1	5

M = average, *SD* = standard deviation, *Modus* = modal value

Table 3. Expert assessments to two items of the teaching vignette „Living in the Paleolithic Age".

For the item, 'Think about why the illustrator has drawn this reconstruction exactly like this', the modal value in the expert rating was determined as *Modus* = 5 (Table 3). This item is therefore a highly suitable task format. Nevertheless, the action initiated by the operator 'think' evoked a critical comment from expert_5 and expert_6. From a practical perspective, the operator is too imprecise and provokes, without corresponding preparatory work, only speculative answers from the students. This statement explains plausibly the deviation of two scale values from the experts' assessments, even though both experts rated the item on scale value 3, which barely confirmed its fundamental suitability.

3.2 *Data Analysis and Dimensions of the Test[2]*

In a comparison between a four-dimensional and a two-dimensional model, it was found that in the four-dimensional model, the four fields of knowledge, (1) content, (2) method and structure, (3) the creation of meaning; and (4) reflection on the creation of meaning, on which basis the items were developed in theory, were not able to be depicted textually. The two-dimensional model was further investigated in a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and confirmed with acceptable model values (RMSEA = 0,032; CFI = 0,916; TLI = 0,906).The vignette-based test measures in the field of 'being able to formulate tasks' two factors out of 21 items in total, which correlate with each other only weakly (r = -,127) and which are separated textually as 'reflective tasks' (14 Items, α = 0,63) and 'reproductive tasks' (7 Items, α = 0,71). The types of knowledge given as (2) method and structure, (3) the creation of meaning; and (4) reflection on the creation of meaning can be summarized under the factor 'reflective tasks'. The 'content-related' task formats can be mapped onto the factor 'reproductive tasks'.

The task relating to the Palaeolithic era vignette, 'Think about why the artist/illustrator has drawn this reconstruction exactly like this' (Item SV601_04), is located as a task requiring 'creation of meaning' within the domain of 'reflective tasks'. The 'content-related' task, given as 'Describe all the details in the subscription, which show what life was like then' (Item SV601_01), is allocated to the domain of 'reproductive tasks'.

As for the quality of the task formats, it was shown that the experts assess 'reflective tasks' (M = 3,95; SD = 0,46) as more suitable task formats than 'reproductive tasks' (M = 1,79; SD = 0,64). Compared with the expert assessments, the students assess 'reproductive tasks' (M = 3,06; SD = 0,88) as more suitable and 'reflective tasks' (M = 4,31; SD = 0,56) as equally suitable. Experts, as well as students differ significantly in their assessment of 'reflective tasks' (t-Test, p < 0,001) and 'reproductive tasks' (t-Test, p < 0,001).

'Reproductive tasks' are characterized by a higher item difficulty (likelihood of solution between 18 % and 42 %) and they are therefore more difficult to solve for students than 'reflective tasks', which are likely to be solved between 19 % and 53 %.

The task relating to the Palaeolithic era vignette, 'Think about why the illustrator has drawn this reconstruction exactly like this'

(SV601_04), can be assigned to the first factor and is assessed in the expert rating as a well-suited task (M = 4,56; SD = 1,13). The students assess this item as less suitable and deviate with an average of M = 3,90 (SD = 1,30) by more than one scale value from the experts' standard (Modus = 5). The connection between observed responses, item difficulty and individual skill shows in the Item Characteristic Curve (ICC) that the item supplies sufficient test information for the factor 'reflective tasks' across all person parameters (Figure1). With a likelihood of solution of 34 %, this item represents a moderate item, which is well suited to the registration of didactic competences in the domain of 'being able to formulate tasks'.
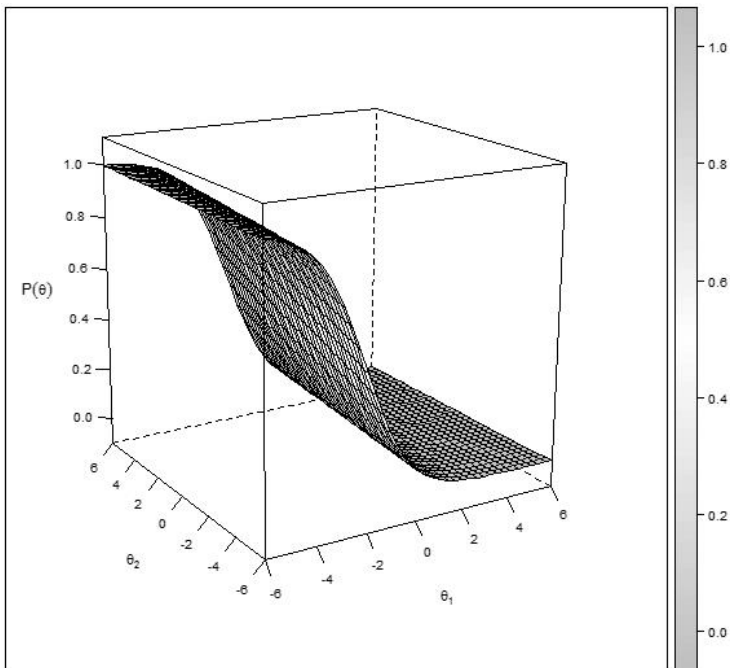

Figure 1. Item Characteristic Curve (2-dimensional; Item SV601_04).

The correspondence between the assessments of the experts and the students is higher for 'reproductive tasks'. In the task 'Describe all the details in the subscription, which show what life was like then'

(Item SV601_01), the students deviate on average (M = 3,77; SD = 1,80) by almost three scale values from the modal value of the expert assessments (Modus = 1) and evaluate, in contrast to the experts (M = 1,89; SD = 1,12), the task as much more suitable. The likelihood of solution for this item stands at 18 % and it is therefore characterized as an item which is difficult to solve. The ICC shows that this item measures the ability of those tested with high and low characteristic values with regard to the assessment of 'reproductive tasks' (Figure 2).
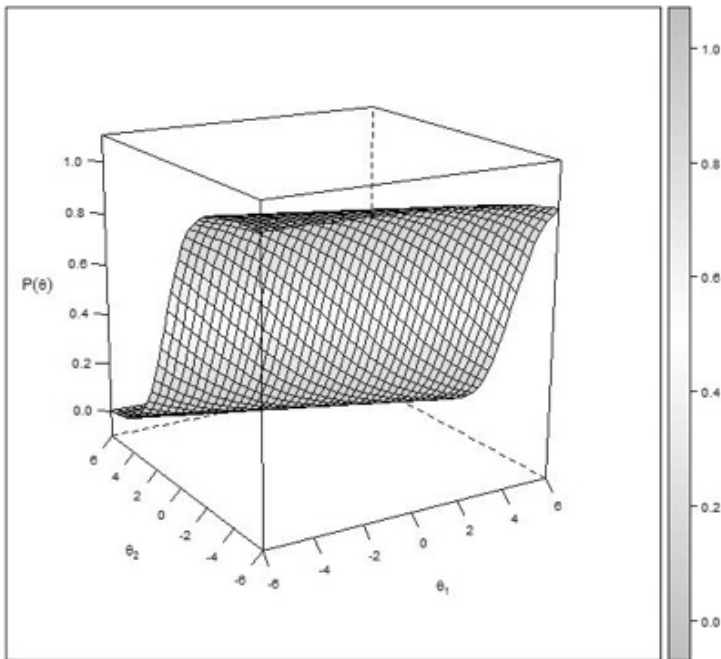
Figure 2. Item Characteristic Curve (2-dimensional; Item SV601_01).

4. Conclusion

For the vignette-based test by EKoL-hisD, tasks could be developed at different levels. The differing quality of the tasks was confirmed by an expert rating. In a survey of students, the test instrument could distinguish between two different types of tasks – 'reproductive tasks' and 'reflective tasks'. Analysis of the data indicated that an acceptable

number of items for both task types provides sufficient test information. Significant differences between expert assessments and the assessment by students (novices) reinforces the suitability of the generated item, to examine didactical competences of future history teachers in the factor 'being able to formulate tasks'.

In the expert rating, the intended gradient of the system of categories of historical learning tasks in the area 'types of knowledge' was confirmed with broad consensus. The types of knowledge in the system of categories, however, could not be shown empirically. The knowledge dimensions 'methodical structuring', 'creating meaning' and 'reflections about creating meaning' are concentrated on the factor 'reflective tasks' and confirm the assumption that the types of knowledge cannot be precisely distinguished (Maier et al., 2010: 18f). The 'content-based tasks' are located on the factor 'reproductive tasks' and mark, according to the experts not very complex task formats.

Looking in more detail at the operators and task texts of the 'content-based tasks', task formats that highlight teaching methodical aspects such as 'writing a diary entry' or 'writing a speech' can be identified. The system of categories does not include these 'teaching methodically' task types and therefore, it should be extended to include this category.

In connection with the experts' survey it was shown that tasks should be seen in a wider task context. For instance, this is illustrated in the expert assessment of item SV601_01 ('Describe all the details in the subscription, which show what life was like then'). As a 'content-based reproductive task', this item is quite suitable for the introduction to complex cognitive operations. In this context, the meaning of content-based tasks should be reflected upon. In the context of competence-oriented learning processes their importance should not be underestimated solely because the acquisition of competences presupposes factual knowledge (Schreiber, 2012: 120). However, in class it is essential that historical learning is not exhausted on the content-based level, but rather that learners have the opportunity to transfer newly acquired knowledge in historical reflected thinking processes through further tasks (Mägdefrau & Michler, 2014: 116). Therefore, for the quality of tasks it is not only the task text that is decisive, but also the 'place' and the composition of sequential tasks (El Darwich & Pandel, 1995: 36; Wenzel, 2012a: 80).

The two aspects mentioned last were not considered in the test-format from EKoL-hisD. In the vignettes, the classroom situations are described briefly and precisely and represent only a small part of the whole process structure of the lesson.The expert feedback has shown that task texts are difficult to assess without the appropriate context, in which the task instructions are formulated. Under consideration of these results and especially for reasons of validity, expanding the vignette-based test to involve 'place' and 'setting' in the assessing task should be considered.

Notes

[1] The acronym 'EKoL-hisD' (German) stands for the Subproject of the Research- and Offspring College EKoL 6 – that is, competences used to mediate historical thinking, within the framework of the system of categories within which the task analysis was developed.

[2] This data was [data functions as a 'collective noun' here] collected with the aid of a cross-sectional studies inquiry (N = 501; 58,5 % female; age, $\bar{x}$ = 23,6 years) at the pedagogical colleges Heidelberg, Freiburg, Schwäbisch-Gmünd and Weingarten within the framework of lectures (duration ca. 70 minutes) in the summer term of 2015.

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ABSTRACTS
ZUSSAMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Eleni Apostolidou and Gloria Solé

The historical consciousness of students-prospective teachers: Greek and Portuguese aspects in the context of the current economic crisis

This paper analyses seventy-eight written questionnaires of university students, prospective teachers in Greece (Ioannina) and Portugal (UMinho), in 2016. Students were asked first to narrate the Greek and the Portuguese state's history respectively, and second to choose between 'lines of development' indicating decline and progress in time. The study aimed to identify students' patterns of historical consciousness in the context of the current economic crisis situation and a preliminary analysis of the data suggests the prevalence of the 'exemplary' type of Rüsen's typology. The present study is informed by previous research in young people's historical consciousness also in the initial training requirements of history teachers: if historical education aims at historical consciousness (Rüsen, 1987) and 'history didacticians are something like experts of consciousness' (Von Borries, 2005) history teachers own historical sense making while in a situation of crisis, ought to be important.

Diese Studie analysiert achtundsiebzig schriftlich ausgefüllte Fragebogen von Universitäts-studentinnen und -studenten, angehenden Lehrepersonen in Griechenland (Ioannina) und Portugal (UMinho) im Jahr 2016. Die Studierenden wurden gebeten, zuerst die Geschichte Griechenlands oder Portugals zu schildern, und danach zwischen den „Entwicklungslinien" zu wählen, die sie als Voraussetzung für die Verschlechterung oder den Fortschritt in der Geschichte des jeweiligen Landes bewerten. Die Studie zielte darauf ab, die Muster im historischen Bewusstsein der Studierenden im Kontext der derzeitigen Wirtschaftskrise zu ermitteln. Die vorläufige Datenanalyse deutet auf das Vorherrschen der „traditionellen" Rüsen-Typologie hin. Die vorliegende Studie steht im Zeichen früherer Forschungen zum historischen Bewusstsein von Jugendlichen, sogar in den ursprünglichen Ausbildungsanforderungen der Geschichtelehrpersonen: Egal ob historische Bildung zu historischem Bewusstsein führt (Rüsen, 1987) oder „Geschichtslehrer so etwas wie Bewusstseinsexperten sind" (von Borries, 2005), ist das Geschichtsbewusstsein der Geschichtelehrpersonen gerade auch in Krisensituationen von großer Bedeutung.

Cet article porte sur l'analyse de 78 questionnaires auxquels ont répondu des étudiants universitaires en enseignement de la Grèce (Ioannina) et du Portugal (UMinho) en 2016. On demandait d'abord à ces futurs enseignants de raconter par écrit l'histoire de leur pays, puis de choisir entre les « axes de développement » indiquant un déclin ou un progrès au fil du temps. Le but de l'étude est de définir les types de conscience historique des étudiants dans le contexte de la crise économique actuelle. Une analyse préliminaire des données indique une prévalence du type « exemplaire » de la typologie de Rüsen. Cette étude s'appuie sur des recherches antérieures sur la conscience historique des jeunes, et également sur les exigences de la formation initiale des futurs enseignants en histoire : si l'éducation à l'histoire vise la conscience historique (Rüsen, 1987) et si les didacticiens de l'histoire sont en quelque sorte des experts de la conscience (Von

Borries, 2005), il devrait être important pour les professeurs d'histoire de donner leur propre sens historique dans les situations de crise.

Jean Leonard Buhigiro and Johan Wassermann

Revealing professional development needs through drawings: The case of Rwandan history teachers having to teach the genocide against the Tutsi

This article investigated the professional developments needs of Rwandan history teachers who, 23 years after the Genocide against the Tutsi took place, have to teach it. This tragic historical event is, based to the contradicting views held on it, considered a controversial issue. Consequently, the choice of research methods, drawings followed by interviews, was based on the sensitivity of the topic. Analysis of the qualitative data revealed a range of professional development needs existed when teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi. These included how not to traumatise learners, the challenges of classrooms populated by the children of perpetrators and victims, and how to navigate an event at the interface of government policies on patriotic nationalism, progressive school history curricula and democratic participation. In this regard the participating history teachers invariably drifted towards uncritically aligning themselves with the policies promoting 'Rwandaness' to the detriment of the curriculum. In response this article argues for the need of in-depth and sustained professional development to enable Rwandan history teachers to teach the Genocide as a controversial issue by means of positive teaching approaches. In so doing, government policies on Rwandaness and the school history curricula can be blended by means of democratic teaching and learning to the benefit of all.

Der Artikel untersucht den Ausbildungsbedarf von ruandischen Geschichtslehrern, die 23 Jahre nach dem Genozid an den Tutsis dieses Thema unterrichten müssen. Der Völkermord stellt aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Blickwinkel, aus denen er betrachtet wird, ein kontroverses Thema dar. Dementsprechend trug die Untersuchungsmethode mittels Zeichnungen, gefolgt von Interviews dem sensiblen Thema Rechnung. Die Analyse der qualitativen Daten zeigt die Bandbreite des vorhandenen Ausbildungsbedarfs auf, wenn das Thema des Genozids an den Tutsis vermittelt wird. Sie beinhaltet, dass das Thema auf die Schülerinnen und Schüler nicht traumatisierend wirken soll, die Herausforderung, Klassen mit Kindern von Tätern und Opfern zusammen zu unterrichten sowie eine Veranstaltung an der Schnittstelle von staatlich verordnetem patriotischem Nationalismus, progressiven Lehrplänen und demokratischer Partizipation zu steuern. Vor diesem Hintergrund tendierten die teilnehmenden Geschichtslehrpersonen ausnahmslos zu einer unkritischen Anpassung an die „Ruandaness" fördernden Strategien zum Nachteil des Curriculums. Als Reaktion darauf erläutert dieser Artikel die Gründe für die Notwendigkeit einer tiefschürfenden und kontinuierlichen beruflichen Weiterbildung, um ruandische Geschichtslehrinnen und -lehrer zu befähigen, den Genozid als ein kontroverses Thema anhand einer positiven Herangehensweise des Unterrichtens zu vermitteln. Auf diese Weise können die staatlichen Strategien von „Ruandaness" und die Geschichtslehrpläne mit Hilfe von demokratischem Lehren und Lernen zum Vorteil von allen verbunden werden.

L'article traite des besoins en formation professionnelle des professeurs d'histoire rwandais qui doivent dispenser de l'enseignement sur le génocide des Tutsi 23 ans après celui-ci. Étant donné

que cet événement historique tragique comporte des aspects controversés, le choix des méthodes de recherche – des dessins suivis d'entretiens – a été guidé par la nature délicate du sujet. L'analyse des données qualitatives révèle une série de besoins en formation professionnelle liés à l'enseignement du génocide. Parmi les défis qui se posent, mentionnons enseigner le génocide sans traumatiser les apprenants, tenir compte de la présence dans une même classe d'enfants issus aussi bien des familles de survivants que de celles des auteurs du génocide, de même que parler de l'évènement tout en respectant à la fois les politiques gouvernementales en matière de nationalisme patriotique, un curriculum d'histoire progressiste et la participation démocratique. À cet égard, les enseignants qui ont participé à l'étude ont toujours eu tendance à s'aligner sans aucune critique sur les politiques gouvernementales de promotion de la « rwandité », au détriment du curriculum. En réponse à cela, l'article souligne la nécessité d'offrir une formation professionnelle poussée et soutenue aux enseignants rwandais pour leur permettre d'enseigner au moyen d'approches pédagogiques positives ce sujet controversé qu'est le génocide. De cette façon, il sera possible de conjuguer les politiques du gouvernement visant à promouvoir l'identité nationale et les programmes d'enseignement de l'histoire en utilisant des méthodes démocratiques d'enseignement et d'apprentissage dans l'intérêt de tous.

Blažena Gracová and Denisa Labischová
Undergraduate training of history teachers at Czech universities and prospects for future developments

This study describes the current situation in undergraduate training for future secondary-level history teachers in the Czech Republic. The first part outlines the general framework for teacher training at Czech universities, including the centrally set standards that apply to all degree programmes. The second part presents the results of empirical research conducted in 2016 to determine the current situation of teacher training at all Czech faculties which train future history teachers. The authors focus particularly on the specific forms and methods of tuition of history didactics and the ways in which students' skills and competencies are verified – whether via seminar-based tasks or final examinations. The text also describes the practical component of teacher training degree programmes and gives examples of thesis topics. It briefly presents two doctoral programmes in history didactics, which represent a platform on which the field can develop as a fully-fledged academic discipline. In the final part of the text, the authors offer a number of recommendations for enhancing the quality of teacher training degree programmes and outline the future prospects for the ongoing professionalization of history teaching in schools.

Die vorliegende Studie beschäftigt sich mit dem gegenwärtigen Stand der prägradualen Vorbereitung der Geschichtslehrpersonen an Grundschulen und an Mittelschulen in der Tschechischen Republik. Im ersten Teil des Textes wird der allgemeine Rahmen der Lehrerausbildung in Tschechien charakterisiert – einschließlich der zentralen, für alle Hochschulstudienprogramme gültigen Standards. Im zweiten Teil werden empirische Forschungsergebnisse aus dem Jahr 2016 zum aktuellen Stand der vorbereitenden Ausbildung an allen tschechischen Fakultäten, an denen das Lehramtsstudium 'Geschichte' angeboten wird, präsentiert. Der Fokus liegt vor allem auf den konkreten Formen und Methoden, die im Seminar für die Geschichtsdidaktik umgesetzt werden, und weiter auf den Verfahren zur Evaluierung der erworbenen Kompetenzen der Studierenden – sei es in Form von Seminaraufgaben oder von Abschlussprüfungen. Nähergebracht wird die konkrete

pädagogische Praxis, weshalb exemplarisch die Themen der Diplomarbeiten angegeben werden. Kurz vorgestellt werden zwei Dissertationen aus dem Bereich der Geschichtsdidaktik, die als Grundlage dienen, die Geschichtsdidaktik als eigenständige Disziplin zu etablieren. Zum Schluss werden Vorschläge zur Verbesserung des Lehramtsstudiums formuliert und Inhalte der künftigen Optimierung und Professionalisierung des Unterrichtsfachs Geschichte innerhalb der Lehrerausbildung formuliert.

Cette étude décrit la situation actuelle de la formation de premier cycle offerte en enseignement de l'histoire au niveau secondaire en République tchèque. La première partie traite du cadre général de la formation des futurs enseignants dans les universités tchèques, y compris des normes qui s'appliquent à tous les programmes universitaires. La deuxième partie présente les résultats de la recherche empirique réalisée en 2016 afin de déterminer la situation actuelle de la formation des enseignants dans toutes les facultés tchèques qui forment de futurs enseignants en histoire. Les auteurs se concentrent particulièrement sur les formes et les méthodes spécifiques des cours de didactique de l'histoire et sur la façon dont les compétences des étudiants sont vérifiées, que ce soit par des tâches en contexte de séminaires ou par des examens de fin de cours. Le texte décrit également la composante pratique des programmes de diplôme universitaire en formation des enseignants et donne des exemples de sujets de thèse. On y présente brièvement deux programmes de doctorat en didactique de l'histoire, qui constituent une plate-forme à partir de laquelle le domaine peut se développer en tant que discipline universitaire à part entière. Dans la dernière partie du texte, les auteurs formulent un certain nombre de recommandations visant à améliorer la qualité des programmes menant à un diplôme en formation des enseignants et décrivent les perspectives d'avenir pour la professionnalisation continue de l'enseignement de l'histoire.

Mare Oja
Development of the history teacher curriculum in Tallinn university: trends and challenges

The article presents a historical overview about the organisation of the training of history and civic education teachers at Tallinn University from its beginning until today, the basis of curriculum development, and how and to what extent have the challenges and changes in education been taken into account in order to meet the expectations set for the teaching profession by the society.

Der Artikel gibt einen historischen Überblick über die Organisation der Ausbildung von Geschichts- und Staatskundelehrerpersonen an der Universität von Tallinn seit Beginn bis heute. Er zeigt die Grundlagen der Lehrplanentwicklung auf und wie und inwiefern die Herausforderungen und Veränderungen in der Ausbildung berücksichtigt worden sind, um den Erwartungen entgegenzukommen, die von Seiten der Gesellschaft an den Beruf des Lehrers gestellt werden.

Cet article présente un survol historique de l'organisation de la formation des professeurs d'histoire et d'éducation civique à l'Université de Tallinn depuis ses débuts jusqu'à aujourd'hui. On y aborde aussi les fondements de l'élaboration du curriculum ainsi que la façon et la mesure

dans laquelle les défis et les changements survenus dans le domaine de l'éducation ont été pris en compte dans la réponse aux attentes de la société vis-à-vis de la profession enseignante.

Angelos Palikidis, Giorgos Kokkinos, Andreas Andreou and Petros Trantas

War and violence in history teaching: An empirical analysis of future teachers' perspectives in Greece

This paper reports findings on a statistical analysis of 304 Greek university students' written questionnaires. The sample was collected during the academic year 2013-14 and the research took place at three university departments that mostly educate future teachers for primary and secondary education. The main purpose of the research was to explore students' perspectives about war and violence in History and the necessity of teaching and learning controversial and traumatic historical issues in education. In particular, the views of the respondents about the relationships between nations or states with conflictual past, the civil wars, the morality or the justification of the use of violence in certain conditions in History, the possibilities and the ethics of reconciliation were studied. Also, at the educational level students were questioned about the need for controversial topics in History teaching to be integrated to a larger extent and the didactic methods they consider are more appropriate to be used. Finally, critical analysis of the data in interrelation with the broader context of History Education in Greece – formal, informal and not formal (school and academic curricula, history textbooks, dominant ideology, means of public history etc) – configures an explanatory framework for fruitful discussion between school and academic History teachers, reform designers, school advisors and textbook publishers.

Dieser Artikel stellt die Ergebnisse einer statistischen Analyse von 304 von griechischen Universitätsstudenten ausgefüllten Fragebögen vor. Die Stichprobe wurde im akademischen Jahr 2013-14 erhoben und an fünf Universitätsabteilungen durchgeführt, die überwiegend künftige Lehrpersonen für die Primar- und Sekundarstufe ausbilden. Das Hauptziel der Forschung war, die Sichtweisen der Studierenden zu Krieg und Gewalt in der Geschichte zu erforschen und die Notwendigkeit des Lehrens und Lernens in Bezug auf kontrovers gedeutete und traumatische Erfahrungen historischer Ereignisse aufzuzeigen. Insbesondere wurden die Ansichten der Befragten zu Beziehungen zwischen Nationen oder Staaten mit feindlicher (konfliktiver) Vergangenheit, zu Bürgerkriegen, zur Moral oder zur Rechtfertigung von Gewaltanwendung unter bestimmten Bedingungen sowie zu den Möglichkeiten und der Ethik von Versöhnung untersucht. Ebenso wurden die Studenten zur Notwendigkeit kontroverser Themen in der Geschichte befragt, und ob diese in größerem Umfang in den Geschichtsunterricht integriert werden sollten. Weiter wurde gefragt, ob die betrachteten didaktischen Methoden in geeigneterer Weise angewandt werden können. Schließlich bildet die kritische Analyse der Daten einen konkreten Rahmen für ein fruchtbares Gespräch zwischen schulischen und akademischen Geschichtslehrern, Reformdesignern, Schulberatern und Lehrbuchverlagen. In diesem Gespräch sollen im Zusammenhang mit dem breiteren Kontext der Geschichtsbildung in Griechenland formale, informelle und nicht formale (schulische und akademische Curricula, Geschichtslehrmittel, die jeweils zugrunde gelegte dominante Ideologie, Geschichtskulturen usw.) Bereiche diskutiert werden.

L'article présente les résultats d'une analyse statistique de 304 questionnaires remplis par des étudiants grecs. L'échantillon a été recueilli au cours de l'année scolaire 2013-2014 et la recherche a eu lieu dans cinq départements universitaires formant surtout des enseignants du primaire et du secondaire. L'objet principal était d'examiner le point de vue des étudiants sur la guerre et la violence dans l'histoire et sur la nécessité d'étudier et d'enseigner des sujets historiques controversés et traumatisants. Les chercheurs ont particulièrement étudié le point de vue des participants sur les relations entre les nations ou États ayant un passé conflictuel, sur les guerres civiles, sur la moralité ou la justification du recours à la violence dans certaines circonstances historiques, et surtout sur les possibilités de réconciliation et l'éthique de celle-ci. En outre, en ce qui a trait à l'enseignement de l'histoire, les étudiants ont été interrogés sur la nécessité d'y inclure des sujets controversés et sur les méthodes didactiques qu'ils jugent les plus appropriées. Enfin, l'analyse critique des données dans le contexte plus large de l'enseignement de l'histoire en Grèce – formel, informel et non formel (programmes scolaires et universitaires, manuels d'histoire, idéologie dominante, histoire publique, etc.) – permet de définir un cadre de référence pour la tenue d'une discussion fructueuse entre les professeurs d'histoire aux niveaux scolaire et universitaire, les concepteurs de réformes, les conseillers pédagogiques et les éditeurs de manuels scolaires.

Mario Resch and Manfred Seidenfuß

A taxonomic analysis of learning tasks in history lessons: Theoretical foundations and empirical testing

This article examines theoretical considerations for creating a didactical system of categories for the analysis of the cognitive potential of learning tasks. This analysis system was developed as a theoretical foundation for rating items in a vignette test, in order to be able to show items (tasks) at different levels. In agreement with the general didactic system of categories by Maier et al. (2010), subject-specific dimensions for historical learning tasks were designed for their own system of categories. The quality of the developed tasks was verified in an expert rating (N = 9). The vignette test was applied in a cross-sectional student survey (N = 501) to investigate didactic competences of future history teachers in all the teacher training colleges in Baden-Württemberg in the summer term of 2015.

Im Artikel werden theoretische Überlegungen zu einem fachdidaktischen Kategoriensystem zur Analyse des kognitiven Potentials von Lernaufgaben vorgestellt. Das Analysesystem wurde für die theoretische Fundierung von Rating items in einem Vignettentest entwickelt, um Items (Aufgaben) auf unterschiedlichen Niveaustufen abbilden zu können.
In Anlehnung an das allgemeindidaktische Kategoriensystem von Maier u.a. (2010) wurden für das eigene Kategoriensystem fachspezifische Dimensionen für historische Lernaufgaben entworfen. Die Qualität der entwickelten Aufgaben wurde in einem Expertenrating (N = 9) überprüft. Der Vignettentest wurde in einer querschnittlich angelegten Studierendenbefragung (N = 501) zur Untersuchung fachdidaktischer Kompetenzen bei angehenden Geschichtslehrkräften im Sommersemester 2015 an allen Pädagogischen Hochschulen in Baden-Württemberg eingesetzt.

L'article présente des réflexions théoriques au sujet de la création d'un système didactique de catégories en vue d'analyser le potentiel cognitif des tâches d'apprentissage. Le système d'analyse en question a été conçu en tant que fondement théorique pour évaluer les possibilités de réponse dans un test nommé Vignettentest afin de pouvoir catégoriser les différents niveaux des éléments, c'est-à-dire des tâches. Il est conforme au système de catégories de Maier et al. (2010), mais tandis que celui-ci se réfère à une didactique universelle, le nouveau système se fonde sur une didactique spécifiquement historique. La qualité des exercices a été vérifiée et évaluée par des experts (N = 9). Le test mis au point a été appliqué lors d'un sondage mené auprès des étudiants (N = 501) afin d'enquêter sur les compétences didactiques que les futurs professeurs d'histoire possèdent dans leur matière. Ce sondage a été réalisé durant le semestre d'été 2015 dans toutes les hautes écoles de pédagogie du Bade-Wurtemberg.

Dennis Röder

A forgotten global history of WWI: Prisoners of war and the role of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Ideas for the history classroom

The article discusses ways of integrating globally oriented topics in History lessons, focusing on the First World War. Bearing in mind the prevailing national and Eurocentric curricula, it presents didactical and methodological considerations of how to 'globally' transform traditional topics. It is the didactical approach of integrating the global with the local layers that will play an important role in this discussion. The focus is put on a more or less forgotten or neglected topic: The situation of the millions of prisoners of war and the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross during World War One.

Der Artikel diskutiert globalgeschichtliche Zugänge im Geschichtsunterricht am Beispiel des Themenfeldes „Erster Weltkrieg". Ausgehend von den weiterhin stark national und eurozentrisch zugeschnittenen Curricula werden didaktische und methodische Umsetzungsmöglichkeiten aus dem Unterrichtsalltag vorgestellt. Dabei spielt der didaktische Ansatz der Integration der globalen und der lokalen Ebene eine entscheidende Rolle. Der inhaltliche und methodische Schwerpunkt liegt bei der Auseinandersetzung mit einem im Unterricht eher vernachlässigten Thema: Die Bedeutung von Millionen Kriegsgefangener und der Arbeit des Internationalen Komitees des Roten Kreuzes während des Ersten Weltkrieges.

Cet article traite des moyens d'intégrer des sujets axés sur le monde dans les leçons d'histoire, en se concentrant sur la Première Guerre mondiale. En tenant compte des programmes éducatifs nationaux et eurocentriques en vigueur, il présente des réflexions didactiques et méthodologiques sur la façon de transformer les sujets traditionnels en sujets « mondiaux ». L'approche didactique consistant à intégrer l'échelle globale à l'échelle locale occupe une place importante dans cette discussion. L'accent est mis sur un sujet plus ou moins oublié ou négligé : la situation des millions de prisonniers de guerre et le travail du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge pendant la Première Guerre mondiale.

Heather Sharp, Robert Parkes and Debra Donnelly

Competing discourses of national identity: History teacher education students' perspectives of the Kokoda and Gallipoli campaigns

This paper explores the narrative data collected as part of the Remembering Australia's Past (RAP) project. History teacher education students were invited to respond to the statement: Tell us the history of Australia in your own words. In the analysis of the submitted narratives we aim to explore how history teacher education students engage with the topics of the Gallipoli (First World War) and Kokoda (Second World War) military campaigns. From the 97 responses received, this paper analyses the twelve participant responses from those who included both the Gallipoli and Kokoda military campaigns as examples of key events in Australia's history, to determine the historical knowledge and types of representations that were included in their narratives. The results indicate that the national narratives of these pre-service teachers were significantly impacted by their high school History studies and their lived experiences.

Dieser Artikel untersucht die gesammelten Erzählungen, die Teil des 'Remembering Australia's Past (RAP)' Projektes sind. Geschichtslehrerstudierende waren eingeladen, zur Aufforderung „Erzähl uns die australische Geschichte in deinen eigenen Worten" Stellung zu nehmen. Mittels der Analyse der eingereichten Erzählungen wollen wir untersuchen, wie sich auszubildende Geschichtslehrer mit den Themenfeldern der Kriegszüge von Gallipoli (Erster Weltkrieg) und Kokoda (Zweiter Weltkrieg) auseinandersetzen. Von den 97 erhaltenen Antworten analysiert dieser Artikel die 12 Antworten derjenigen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern, die die beiden Kriegszüge von Gallipoli und Kokoda als Beispiele von Schlüsselereignissen der australischen Geschichte beinhalten, um so das historische Fachwissen und die Art der Darstellungen, die in ihren Erzählungen miteinbezogen waren, zu untersuchen. Die Resultate zeigen auf, dass die nationalen Narrative dieser Lehrpersonen in Ausbildung beträchtlich von ihrem High School Geschichtsunterricht und ihren Lebenserfahrungen beeinflusst sind.

Cet article porte sur les données narratives recueillies dans le cadre du projet Remembering Australia's Past (RAP). Pour ce projet, nous avons invité des étudiants à répondre à l'énoncé suivant : « Racontez-nous l'histoire de l'Australie dans vos propres mots. » Grâce à l'analyse des récits présentés, nous souhaitions examiner comment les étudiants en enseignement de l'histoire abordent les thèmes des campagnes militaires Gallipoli (Première Guerre mondiale) et Kokoda (Seconde Guerre mondiale). Nous rendons compte dans le présent article de l'analyse des 12 récits, parmi les 97 reçus, dans lesquels les étudiants ont cité les campagnes militaires Gallipoli et Kokoda comme exemples d'événements clés de l'histoire de l'Australie. Nous souhaitions par cette analyse déterminer les connaissances historiques et les types de représentations inclus dans ces récits. Les résultats indiquent que les récits de ces futurs enseignants ont été fortement influencés par leurs études de l'histoire au niveau secondaire et par leurs expériences personnelles.

Robert Thorp and Eleonore Törnqvist
Young children's historical consciousness: A Swedish case study

This article presents a study of how groups of 7-year-old pupils in a Swedish primary school with little or no experience of history education expressed historical consciousness. The results of the study show that a perception of linear time where the past is seen as distinct and separated from the present is a key characteristic among the children that showed indication of historical consciousness. These results suggest a view of historical consciousness as something individuals may develop, rather than something that is innately human and anthropologically universal, and that a focus on the fostering of a perception of linear time and the epistemological challenges this poses, may be key in enabling and developing children's historical consciousness.

Dieser Artikel präsentiert eine Studie, die aufzeigt, wie siebenjährige Schüler/innen der schwedischen Grundschule mit wenig oder ohne Erfahrung von Geschichtsunterweisung Geschichtsbewusstsein ausdrücken. Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass eine lineare Zeitwahrnehmung, in der die Vergangenheit als klar von der Zukunft getrennt gesehen wird, ein Schlüsselmerkmal derjenigen Kinder darstellt, die über ein Geschichtsbewusstsein verfügen. Diese Ergebnisse weisen darauf hin, dass Geschichtsbewusstsein als etwas betrachtet werden sollte, das Individuen entwickeln können und nicht als etwas Angeborenes und anthropologisch Universales. Daraus wird gefolgert, dass der Fokus auf der Förderung der Wahrnehmung des zeitlichen Verlaufs von Geschichte und den sich daraus ergebenden wissenschaftstheoretischen Herangehensweise die Schlüssel sind, um bei Kindern Geschichtsbewusssein zu fördern und zu entwickeln.

L'étude présentée dans cet article, réalisée dans une école primaire suédoise, visait à démontrer de quelle façon des groupes d'élèves âgés de 7 ans ayant peu ou pas d'expérience des cours d'histoire expriment une conscience historique. Les résultats indiquent qu'une perception du temps linéaire selon laquelle le passé est considéré comme bien distinct du présent est une caractéristique clé chez les enfants ayant montré une certaine conscience historique. Cela laisse supposer que la conscience historique est vue comme quelque chose qui peut se développer et non comme une caractéristique foncièrement humaine et anthropologiquement universelle, et que pour stimuler la conscience historique des enfants, il est peut-être essentiel de se concentrer sur le développement d'une perception du temps linéaire et les défis épistémologiques que cela pose.

Monika Vinterek, Debra Donnelly and Robert Thorp
Tell us about your nation's past: Swedish and Australian pre-service history teachers' conceptualisation of their national history

The Comparing our Pasts (COP) project aimed to determine what Swedish and Australian pre-service history teachers know, understand and believe to be important about their nations' past. In this study pre-service history teachers were asked to write a short history of their nation in their own words without using outside sources of information. This article reports on a preliminary analysis of resulting texts, comparing and contrasting their conceptualisations of Sweden and Australia and what aspects of history were manifest in the analysed data. Given that the participant group is situated in two different national contexts, this study aims to

analyse how the pre-service teachers' narratives of the nation can be understood as influenced by the national historical cultures of Sweden and Australia. The results show that the respondents' narratives expressed both similarities and differences that highlight the pertinence of a historical cultural approach to history education and pre-service history teacher training that may be linked to the differing national historical contexts. These results are then used to argue the importance of an awareness of historicity in order to highlight and stress how our views of and approaches to national history is contextually contingent. This poses a challenge to history teacher training both in Sweden and Australia.

Das 'Comparing our Pasts (COP)' Projekt zielt darauf ab, herauszufinden, was schwedische und australische, sich noch in Ausbildung befindende Geschichtslehrpersonen wissen, glauben und verstehen, was wichtig ist in Bezug auf die Vergangenheit ihrer Länder. In dieser Studie sollten die sich noch in Ausbildung befindenden Geschichtslehrpersonen in eigenen Worten eine Kurzform ihrer Landesgeschichte niederschreiben, ohne zusätzliche Quellen zu verwenden. Dieser Artikel analysiert diese Texte. In Form eines Vergleichs und einer Gegenüberstellung von schwedischer und australischer Auffassung von Kultur, Geographie, beziehungsweise nationalstaatlicher Einheit wird untersucht, welche Aspekte von Geschichte wie wirtschaftliche, politische, soziale oder kulturelle einen Einfluss auf die Geschichtsbilder haben. Aufgrund der Annahme, dass die Teilnehmenden Einfluss auf die Curricula in ihren jeweiligen Ländern haben werden, werden die jeweiligen Beschreibungen analysiert und als Indikatoren für die zukünftige Ausrichtung der Lehre in den jeweiligen Ländern gewertet.

Le projet Comparing the Pasts (COP) visait à déterminer ce que les futurs enseignants en histoire suédois et australiens connaissent, comprennent et jugent important à propos du passé de leur pays. Dans cette étude, les futurs enseignants ont été invités à relater brièvement l'histoire de leur pays, dans leurs propres mots et sans avoir recours à des sources extérieures d'information. Cet article fait état d'une analyse préliminaire des textes reçus, dans le cadre de laquelle on compare et met en opposition les conceptions de la Suède et de l'Australie véhiculées par les participants et on examine quels aspects de l'histoire (économique, politique, sociale ou culturelle) ressortent de façon évidente dans leurs écrits. Étant donné que les participants se trouvent dans deux contextes nationaux différents, l'étude vise à déterminer dans quelle mesure leurs récits sont influencés par les cultures historiques nationales de la Suède et de l'Australie. Les résultats indiquent que les récits présentent à la fois des similitudes et des différences qui font ressortir la pertinence d'adopter dans l'enseignement de l'histoire et la formation des futurs enseignants en histoire une approche culturelle historique potentiellement liée aux différents contextes historiques nationaux. À partir de ces résultats, les auteurs soulignent l'importance d'une prise de conscience de l'historicité et font valoir à quel point nos perceptions et nos approches vis-à-vis de l'histoire nationale sont influencées par le contexte dans lequel nous nous trouvons. Ce phénomène pose d'ailleurs un défi dans la formation des enseignants en histoire, aussi bien en Suède qu'en Australie.

Sara Zamir and Roni Reingold

History teaching curricula: Implications of implicit and explicit ethnocentric and multicultural educational policy in Israel

Using an interpretational analysis of the 2014-15 history-teaching curricula both for Jewish secular and Jewish religious high schools in Israel, this research aimed at revealing whether a change in a rhetoric of a manifested educational policy in Israel was followed by a real change in an educational ideology. The findings revealed that although in the year 2000, the Israeli Ministry of Education has finally adopted a multicultural policy, as replacement to the assimilation policy, formal multicultural intentions were not always translated directly to compatible contents.

Mittels einer Analyse von Lehrplänen aus den Jahren 2014 und 2015 für den Geschichtsunterricht an jüdisch säkularen und jüdisch religiösen Hochschulen in Israel soll aufgezeigt werden, ob die Neuausrichtung der öffentlich erklärten Ziele der Bildungspolitik in Israel eine wirkliche Änderung der Bildungspraxis nach sich gezogen hat.
Die Ergebnisse der Analyse zeigen, dass trotz der im Jahr 2000 vom israelischen Bildungsministerium formulierten Politik der Multikulturalität anstelle der Assimilationspolitik die Multiperspektivität nicht immer deutlich erkennbar in den Lehrplänen Eingang gefunden hat.

À partir d'une analyse interprétative des programmes d'enseignement de l'histoire offerts en 2014-2015 dans les écoles secondaires juives laïques ou religieuses en Israël, cette recherche visait à déterminer si un changement dans le discours de la politique éducative en Israël a été suivi par un changement réel de l'idéologie éducative. Les résultats ont révélé que malgré le fait qu'en 2000, le ministère israélien de l'Éducation ait finalement adopté une politique multiculturelle en remplacement de la politique d'assimilation, les intentions formelles en matière multiculturelle n'ont pas toujours été appliquées directement à des contenus compatibles.

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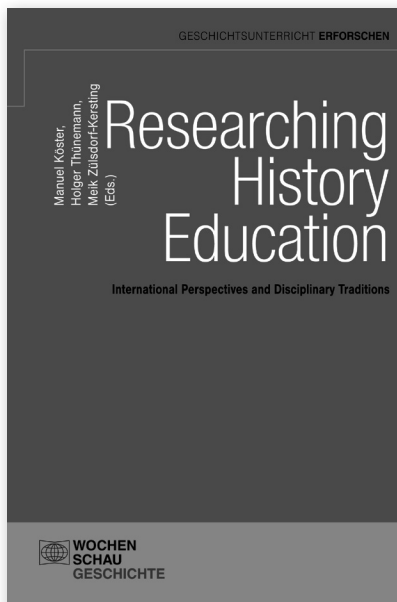
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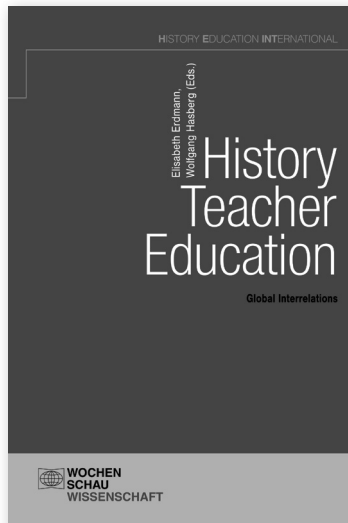
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