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YEARBOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS

**WOCHEN
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History Education and Migration

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The International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics (JHEC) is the official journal of *the International Society of History Didactics (ISHD)* (until 2014: Yearbook · Jahrbuch · Annales). The journal is issued once a year and publishes double-blind peer-reviewed papers in English. For more details about the ISHD, see URL: http://ishd.co. Back issues are accessible via URL: http://opus.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/opus4/solrsearch/index/search/searchtype/collection/id/15990 (until 2006) and since 2007/08 via URL: yearbook-ishd.wochenschau-verlag.de
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PREFACE

The 2019 conference of the International Society for History Didactics concentrated on the issue of migration in history education. As the papers in this issue argue, despite the fact that migrations have been part of human experience all over the world from the most ancient until the most recent times, the way they are dealt with in history education is often less than satisfactory, both in terms of teaching (any) history to immigrant children and of presenting (to all the students) migrations from the past. The model of "sedentary society" seems to be universally promoted by school. Current political debates dominate over critical historical research in shaping teaching units and the old schemata are hard to eradicate.

The conference was held in the Akademie für Politische Bildung in Tutzing (Germany), within the framework of what now seems a luxury of face-to-face exchange. Since then we are all (academics and educators included) experiencing the limitations and uncertainties of the COVID-19 pandemic.

When the conferences, symposia, project and other meetings have been cancelled, moved on-line or postponed – as in the case of the 23rd Congress of Historical Sciences in Poznań – scholarly publications remain the main form of our traditional academic activities. Whether we want it or not, statistics of publications and citations build the professional position of individual scholars, institutions, journals and publishing houses. Since they rely mostly on automated search engines, it is important to provide them with consistent bibliographical data. In case of our journal, we strongly suggest to use its full title 'International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture' in the first reference, and the abbreviation 'JHEC' in the subsequent ones.

I wish to express my gratitude to Kath, Terry and Mark Haydn for the English language proofreading of the articles and to Markus Furrer and Priska Kunz, and to Dorota Wiśniewska for the German and French translations, respectively.

Joanna Wojdon

VORWORT

Die Tagung 2019 der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik konzentrierte sich auf das Thema Migration im Geschichtsunterricht. In den Beiträgen dieser Ausgabe wird erörtert, dass trotz der Tatsache, dass Migration von der ältesten bis zur jüngsten Zeit Teil der menschlichen Erfahrung auf der ganzen Welt ist, die Art und Weise, wie sie im Geschichtsunterricht behandelt wird, oft nicht zufriedenstellend ist. Dies betrifft sowohl den Geschichtsunterricht für Migrantenkinder als auch die Darstellung früherer Migration (für alle Schülerinnen und Schüler). Das Modell der ‚sesshaften Gesellschaft' scheint von der Schule allgemein gefördert zu werden. Bei der Gestaltung der Unterrichtseinheiten dominieren aktuelle politische Debatten über die kritische Geschichtsforschung, und die alten Schemata sind schwer auszurotten.

Die Konferenz fand an der Akademie für Politische Bildung in Tutzing (Deutschland) statt, in einer Form des persönlichen Austauschs, der aus der aktuellen Betrachtung heraus schon fast luxuriös wirkt. Inzwischen sind wir nun alle (auch Akademikerinnen und Akademiker, Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen) mit den Grenzen und Unsicherheiten der COVID-19-Pandemie konfrontiert. Wir laden daher unsere Leserinnen und Leser ein, im JHEC-Band 2021 über ihre COVID-bezogenen beruflichen Erfahrungen und Forschungen im Geschichtsunterricht unter pandemischen Einschränkungen zu berichten.

Wenn Konferenzen, Symposien, Projekt- und andere Treffen abgesagt werden müssen, online durchgeführt oder verschoben werden, wie im Fall des 23. Kongresses der Geschichtswissenschaften in Poznań, so bleiben wissenschaftliche Publikationen die Hauptform unserer traditionellen akademischen Aktivitäten. Ob wir es wollen oder nicht, Statistiken über Veröffentlichungen und Zitate beeinflussen die berufliche Position einzelner Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler sowie Institutionen, Zeitschriften und Verlage. Da Statistiken über Veröffentlichungen meist auf automatisierte Suchmaschinen angewiesen sind, ist es wichtig, ihnen konsistente bibliographische Daten zur Verfügung zu stellen. Im Falle unserer Zeitschrift empfehlen wir dringend, den vollen Titel ‚International Journal of

Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture' im ersten Nachschlagewerk und die Abkürzung ‚JHEC' in den folgenden Nachschlagewerken zu verwenden.

   Ich bedanke mich bei Kath, Terry und Mark Haydn für das englischsprachige Korrekturlesen der Artikel und bei Markus Furrer und Priska Kunz sowie bei Dorota Wiśniewska für die deutsche bzw. französische Übersetzung.

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

PRÉFACE

En 2019 le colloque de la Société Internationale pour la Didactique de l'Histoire s'est concentré sur la question des migrations dans l'enseignement de l'histoire. Comme l'indiquent les articles ici présentés, bien que les migrations fassent partie de l'expérience humaine partout dans le monde depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, la manière dont elles sont traitées dans l'enseignement de l'histoire est souvent moins que satisfaisante, tant en termes d'enseignement de (toute) l'histoire aux élèves immigrés que de présentation (à tous les élèves) des migrations du passé. Le modèle de la « société sédentaire » semble être universellement promu par l'école. Les débats politiques actuels prévalent sur la recherche historique critique dans la formation des unités d'enseignement et les vieux schémas sont difficiles à éradiquer.

Le colloque s'est tenu à l'Akademie für Politische Bildung de Tutzing (Allemagne) dans le cadre d'un échange en face à face, ce qui apparaît un luxe aujourd'hui. Depuis lors, nous sommes tous (universitaires et éducateurs) confrontés aux limites et aux incertitudes de la pandémie COVID-19.

Vu que les conférences, les symposiums, les projets et d'autres réunions ont été annulés, déplacés en ligne ou reportés − comme c'est le cas du 23e Congrès des sciences historiques à Poznań − les publications scientifiques représentent une forme principale de l'activité académique traditionnelle. Que nous le voulions ou non, les statistiques des publications et des citations construisent la position professionnelle des chercheurs individuels, des institutions, des revues et des maisons d'édition. Comme elles s'appuient principalement sur des moteurs de recherche automatisés, il est important de leur fournir des données bibliographiques uniformes. Dans le cas de notre revue, nous recommandons fortement d'utiliser son titre complet « International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture » dans la première référence, et l'abréviation « JHEC » dans les suivantes.

Je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude à Kath, Terry et Mark Haydn pour la relecture des articles en anglais et à Markus Furrer et Priska Kunz et à Dorota Wiśniewska pour les traductions allemande et française respectivement.

Joanna Wojdon

History Education and Migration

Historische Bildung und Migration

Enseignement de l'histoire et migration

TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT MIGRATION:
A VIEW FROM ENGLAND[*]

Terry Haydn

The phenomenon of migration, and state policies related to migration, have become important and high profile aspects of social policy in many countries in recent years. Migration is not, however, a 21st century phenomenon. As with many issues of social and public policy, there is a historical perspective to migration, and the past is often invoked to justify or rationalise current policy decisions and policies. This raises the question of how the teaching of migration should be approached in public education systems.

In England, this question has recently been complicated by the recent stipulation that all schools and teachers must promote 'Fundamental British Values', defined as 'democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs'.

Although this stipulation applies to all school subjects, it clearly has particular significance for the teaching of history in schools. Although many countries have attempted to use school history to promote a positive and celebratory view of their national past, the move to insist that children are taught that particular 'values' such as 'democracy' and 'tolerance' are essentially 'British', is a new development in England. In 2017, the current Chief Inspector of Schools, Amanda Spielman, announced that 'Pupils should learn how we became the country we are today and how our values make us a beacon of liberalism, tolerance and fairness'.

But what does the historical record say about migration into England, about tolerance of those who are different, and about popular attitudes to migrants and government policies relating to migrants? How should history teachers respond to the requirement to present a positive story about immigration to the UK, given that the discipline of history is supposed to entail the construction and exploration of narratives, stories and accounts about the past grounded in evidence and respect for truth?

The paper examines recent historiography relating to the phenomenon of migration to England, and the concluding section suggests ways in which history teachers might handle the tension between the requirement to promote 'fundamental British values' whilst maintaining the integrity of the discipline they

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teach. Although the paper focuses on the history of, and teaching of migration to England, given that there are many other countries where the state wants school history promote a positive story about the national past, the issues involved are relevant to history educators in many other countries.

1.   Introduction

In outlining the purposes of studying history in schools, the most recent version of the National Curriculum for history in England states that children should 'help pupils to understand the complexity of people's lives, the process of change, the diversity of societies and relationships between different groups, as well as their own identity and the challenges of their time' (Department for Education, 2013: 1).

Given the substantial increase in the number of migrants globally over the past three decades (up from 154 to 258 millions per annum) (OECD, 2013: 1; International Organisation for Migration, 2018: 9) and the high profile of migration as a policy issue in many countries, it is not unreasonable for the issue of migration to qualify as one of the challenges of our times.

Migration is not, however, a 21st century phenomenon. As with many issues of social and public policy, there is a historical perspective to migration, and the past is often invoked to justify or rationalise current policy decisions and policies. This raises the question of how school history should approach the teaching of this contested and controversial issue.

A comparatively recent development in terms of the school curriculum in England is the stipulation that all schools and teachers must promote 'Fundamental British Values', defined as 'democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Department for Education, 2014). Although this directive applies to all school subjects, it clearly has particular significance for the teaching of history in schools. As a complement to these curriculum specifications, several English politicians and policymakers have supported the claim for the existence of these 'British' values. In a series of speeches, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, Amanda Spielman has stressed the importance of all schools actively promoting British Values, stating in one speech that 'pupils should learn how we became the

country we are today and how our values make us a beacon of liberalism, tolerance and fairness' (Spielman, 2017).

But what does the historical record say about migration into England, about tolerance of those who are different, about popular attitudes to migrants and government policies relating to migrants? Does it provide a knowledge warrant for the virtues proclaimed by Spielman? And how should history teachers respond to the requirement to present a positive story about immigration to the UK, given that the discipline of history is supposed to entail the construction and exploration of narratives, stories and accounts about the past grounded in evidence and respect for truth?

The paper examines recent historiography relating to the phenomenon of migration to England, and the concluding section suggests ways in which history teachers might handle the tension between the requirement to promote 'fundamental British values' whilst maintaining the integrity of the discipline they teach. Although the paper focuses on the history of, and teaching of migration to England, given that there are many other countries where the state wants school history promote a positive story about the national past (Cajani, Lassig & Repoussi, 2019), the issues involved are relevant to history educators in many other countries.

2.   Research Approach and Theoretical Framework

In terms of research approach, the study draws on two main constructs. The first is that of 'historical perspectives', that is to say, the view that insight can often be shed on any issue, question or problem by consideration of what has gone before in relation to the issue or problem in question (Aldrich, 2003). An important element of Aldrich's championing of historical perspectives is that 'History is not simply about the past, [...] history is about human activity with particular reference to the whole dimension of time – past present and future' (Aldrich, 1997: 3), it is therefore important to link the past, with the present, and possible futures, as it can provide useful insights into contemporary issues.

The second lens through which the study is conducted is Stephen J. Ball's 'applied sociology' approach to gaining an understanding of complex aspects of social policy and practice. Examination of the historical record of attitudes to, and treatment of immigrants, is triangulated with what Ball terms, 'the context of influence': that is to

say, consideration of factors which might reasonably be considered to have an influence on contemporary attitudes to migration, including the passing of legislation, government press releases, the pronouncements of politicians and policymakers, and the influence of mass media, particularly the national press. This also includes what Ball terms 'the context of practice'; the reality that those who actually do the job – in this case, teachers in schools and teacher educators, also inevitably exert a degree of influence on what happens in practice (Ball, 1990; Phillips, 1998).

The paper also uses Wilke et al.'s concept of 'explicit teaching' to consider how history teachers might teach about migration in an effective and appropriate way (Wilke et al., 2019), and references Schiffauer et al.'s work on 'civic enculturation' (Schiffauer et al., 2004).

3. Values and the History Curriculum in England: A Brief Historical Perspective

For much of the time that history has been part of the school curriculum in England, one of the main motives for its inclusion was to provide moral exemplars for the young. This is the idea that, in the words of Harris (2017: 186), 'students learn about the actions of "great" people in the past, with a view to seeing them as moral exemplars'. This has almost always been construed as meaning 'great people' from the national past. This can be traced back to at least as far as the early years of the twentieth century. The Board of Education's Suggestions for the consideration of teachers in 1905 stated that

In the actions of real persons, the principles of conduct and qualities of character which promote the welfare of the individual and of society. [...] *The lives of great men and women, carefully selected from all stations in life, will furnish the most impressive examples of obedience, loyalty, courage, strenuous effort, serviceableness, indeed, of all the qualities which make for good citizenship.* (Board of Education, 1905: 6)

In similar vein, J. Willis-Bund, Chair of Worcester County Council argued that the role of history in school was 'To bring before the children the lives and work of English people who served God in Church and State, to show that they did this by courage, endurance

and self-sacrifice, that as a result, the British Empire was founded and extended and that it behoved every child to emulate them' (Willis-Bund, 1908, quoted in Batho, 1986: 224).

This rationale for school history continued to flourish, and well after the end of World War Two, the Ministry of Education still defended history's place in the school curriculum on the grounds of moral exemplar:

The motive (for school history) is very largely moral, because it is a matter of introducing them to their responsibilities. If the soldiers and sailors who followed Marlborough and Wellington, Drake and Nelson, had defended the independence of this country form foreign danger, they in turn might be called on to do likewise. If the yeomen who supported Pym and Hampden had won parliamentary liberties, they might be called upon to defend and also exercise these liberties. (Ministry of Education, 1952: 13)

Even as late as the 1990s, the Secretary of State for Education defined school history's purpose in these traditional and moral terms, stating on the BBC News in 1994 that 'All children must understand such key concepts as empire, monarch, crown, church, nobility, peasantry. [...] Public education systems contribute to a willingness of persons to define themselves as citizens, to make personal sacrifices for the community and to accept legitimate decisions of public officials' (Patten, 1994).

However, this vision of the aims and purposes of school history was no longer shared by many of the history teachers teaching the subject in schools. From the 1970s onwards, in response to declining pupils enthusiasm for school history (Price, 1968), significant numbers of history teachers and history teacher educators experimented with what became known as 'The New History' (Phillips, 1998; Slater, 1989; Sylvester, 1994). These teachers championed a more modern, socially relevant and disciplinary rationale for the teaching of history (see Haydn, 2012 for a more detailed explanation of this development). This 'new' form of school history reduced or removed the theme of 'British' values, and British exceptionalism. In a statement on the principles underpinning the Schools History Project, one of the main history teacher associations in England, there was

A determination to connect history to young people's lives was the foundation of the original Schools Council History Project. [...] As history educators we need to make our subject meaningful for all children and young people by relating history to their lives in the 21st century. The Project strives for a history curriculum which encourages children and young people to become curious, to develop their own opinions and values based on a respect for evidence, and to build a deeper understanding of the present by engaging with and questioning the past. (SHP, 2020)

As I have argued elsewhere (Haydn, 2012), the first National Curriculum for history, which was first taught in 1991, was an uneasy mix of 'new' and traditional history, but in 1999, there was a dramatic shift in the 'official' rationale for the teaching of history in schools. In a four page section titled 'Values, aims and purposes' of the National Curriculum', the curriculum specifications outlined a vision of school history which for the first time focused on human rather than national values. The following extract from this section gives an indication of the shift in emphasis:

The school curriculum should develop, [...] equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, [...] commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty, [...] to make a difference for the better, [...] develop principles for distinguishing between right and wrong, [...] develop pupils' integrity and autonomy and help them to be responsible and caring citizens capable of contributing to the development of a just society, [...] enable pupils to challenge discrimination and stereotyping, develop awareness and understanding of, and respect for, the environments in which they live, and secure their commitment to sustainable development at a personal, local, national and global level, [...] develop their ability to relate to others and work for the common good. (Department for Education and Employment, 1999: 11)

The accession of right-wing administrations from 2010 onwards was to bring pressure for a return to more traditional forms of history teaching. This change of direction back towards a history curriculum designed to transmit a positive version of Britain's past was spelled out by Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove, at the 2010 Conservative Party Conference:

There is no better way of building a modern, inclusive, patriotism than by teaching all British citizens to take pride in this country's historic achievements. Which is

why the next Conservative Government will ensure the curriculum teaches the proper narrative of British History – so that every Briton can take pride in this nation. (Gove, 2010)

In the next version of the National Curriculum (Department for Education, 2013), the four page statement on 'Aims, values and purposes' which focused on human values was excised. In 2014, the Department for Education announced that it was 'the responsibility of all schools and teachers of all subjects to promote "Fundamental British Values"', defined as Democracy, The Rule of Law, Individual liberty, mutual respect for those with different faiths and beliefs, Tolerance (Department for Education, 2014).

4.   Politicians and British Values

It is not unusual for politicians to attempt to use 'the lessons of history' to support their present-day agendas. This was apparent in the UK in the recent public debate about Brexit, where metaphors about 'The Blitz Spirit', 'The Empire', 'Britain Alone', 'Dunkirk' and 'The good old days of rationing and community spirit' were used to present rosy images of a Britain not beholden to the constraints of being a member of the European Union (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019). Observing the historical references of politicians advocating Brexit as a form of resurrection of the 'good old days' of the British Empire, Mycock and Wellings (2017: 44) note 'the blend of imperial nostalgia with historical myopia in their projection of an overly positive and largely uncritical view of the legacies of the British colonial past.'

Another strand of this nostalgic appeal to a vision of Britain in happier and more prosperous times was the attempt to present a picture of the national past which portrayed Britain as a welcoming, tolerant and civilised society, in a way which, it was hoped, would serve to promote social cohesion (Gove, 2010).

Spielman's announcement that all pupils in England should be taught that 'our values make us a beacon of liberalism, tolerance and fairness' (Spielman, 2017) echoes the pronouncements of a number of politicians in recent years about Britishness, and in particular, claims about the warm, inclusive and tolerant welcome which has always been accorded to newcomers to Britain. In a speech to the Royal Society, former Home Secretary Sajid Javid said that:

I think immigration has been fantastic for Britain, I think we would be a much poorer society today – I don't just mean economically but culturally and in every way – if we didn't have the approach to immigration we've had by successive government over the last few decades. We've welcomed people, whether it's from the commonwealth or more recently European citizens, and it's made us stronger. (Javid, 2019)

The importance attached to the issue of 'British Values' can also be gauged in an earlier speech in which the Home Secretary announced that immigrants would have to pass a new 'British values test' to become UK citizens (Javid, 2018), which would examine applicants' adherence to liberal democratic values, and strengthen the English language capabilities of potential new citizens. As Communities Minister, James Brokenshire argued that 'We are a successful, diverse democracy – open, tolerant and welcoming. These characteristics are as British as queuing and talking about the weather' – in a speech introducing 'Tough new rules for people seeking UK citizenship' (Brokenshire, 2019).

It is important to note that the enthusiasm for the idea of 'British values' has not been limited to right wing politicians or nationalist and populist parties. In recent years, several Labour party politicians have championed the idea of celebrating and promulgating the idea of 'Britishness' as an exceptionalist and desirable virtue (cf. Straw, 2000; Kelly, 2005). Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown called for a 'Britishness Day', and for the building of a Museum of British History (Brown, 2006, 2007), and in similar vein to Spielman, talks of 'the golden thread that runs through our history, [...] a passion for liberty anchored in a sense of duty and an intrinsic commitment to tolerance and fair play. [...] A belief in the duty of one to another' (Brown, 2004). More recently, Brown has written of a Britain 'admired around the world for an understated but comfortably unifying Britishness that was inclusive, outward-looking, tolerant and ultimately pragmatic' (Brown, 2019).

There are some exceptions to this tendency for all British politicians to espouse patriotic 'British' positions in relation to history in schools. Jeremy Corbyn, until recently leader of the Labour Party, has argued for a dispassionate and accurate record of British colonialism and the role of the British Empire to be taught in schools (Hope, 2018), and has been publicly critical of Britain's record on immigration (Corbyn, 2018). This, unsurprisingly evinced the ire of

the right-wing populist press in the UK, who condemned Corbyn for being unpatriotic:

Under a Corbyn government, we learn today, historical 'injustice', colonialism and the role of the British Empire will be taught in the national curriculum. It's quite staggering: anti-Britishness will be taught in British schools. Make no mistake: this would not be the story of Africa. It would be political propaganda designed to do Britain down. (Akaki, 2019)

The patriotic sentiments of the British public can be traced back at least as far as The Crimean War of the 1850s and the Balkan Crisis of 1878. As Wineburg has pointed out, politicians are often aware that some political opinions are likely to be more popular with the electorate than others, and part of a historical education is to make students aware of such pressures (Wineburg, 2001).

5. Politicians and Migration

The public statements of British politicians on migration are in stark contrast to their comments on the tolerant and welcoming nature of the British people as a nation. In recent British history, the raising of concern over migrants coming into Britain can be traced back to at least as far as Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968, which strongly criticised mass immigration, especially Commonwealth immigration to the United Kingdom (Powell, 1968).[1] In 1978, Margaret Thatcher, at that time leader of the opposition Conservative Party warned of the danger that Britain was in danger of being 'swamped' by 'people of a different culture.[2]

More recently, politicians' comments (often quoted and publicly amplified as headlines on the front pages of the national newspapers[3]) have warned of the damaging effects of immigration. In 2016, in a high-profile pre-Brexit referendum speech, Michael Gove warned that the influx of European Union immigrants would make the National Health Service 'unsustainable by 2030', and warned that millions of Turks would come into Britain should Turkey be allowed to join the European Union (Mason, 2016). The Health Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, also claimed that 'health tourism' (migrants coming to the UK specifically to take advantage of the free medical care offered by the National Health Service) was draining the service of resources and costing over ¬£200 million a year.[4] As Home Secretary, former

Prime Minister Theresa May launched a high-profile 'hostile climate' initiative against illegal immigration, and argued that migration was harming British society and putting 'huge pressure on public services and infrastructure' (Slack & Groves, 2015). Her policy of using a fleet of Home Office vans, warning immigrants without legal certification to 'Go home or face arrest (106 arrests last week')', although electorally popular (Payne, 2013), was deemed to be misleading by the Advertising Standards Authority (Saul, 2013). Current Prime Minister Boris Johnson, a leading advocate of the campaign to leave the European Union, also made high-profile speeches warning that immigration from Europe was 'driving down wages and putting pressure on schools and the NHS' (cf. Cooper, 2016).

What all these claims have in common is that they are all factually inaccurate. Quoting from the final report of the government commissioned Migration Advisory Committee (2018), which reported after the outcome of the Brexit referendum, British historian David Olugosa cites some of the main findings of the report, which found that 'migrants from the EEA contribute much more to the health service and the provision of social care in financial resources and through work than they consume in services' and that overall, EEA migrants pay far more in taxes than they receive in benefits (Olugosa, 2018).

Dominic Cummings, currently Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Boris Johnson, considered 'the immigration card' to have been a crucial factor in the victory of the 'Brexit' faction in the recent UK referendum on leaving the European Union, describing immigration as 'a baseball bat that just needed picking up at the right time and in the right way' (Cummings, 2017).

The public record of Labour politicians' statements about migration issues also stands in stark contrast to their statements about Britain being an open, tolerant and welcoming society to newcomers and outsiders. In 2007, Gordon Brown, the then Labour Prime Minister, announced a set of policies pledging to provide 'British Jobs for British Workers' in the light of popular concerns about immigrants 'taking our jobs', and causing a lowering of wage rates (Library of the House of Commons, 2009). Hundal (2012) pointed out that the Labour Party's attempt to 'triangulate to the right' in order not to be 'outbid' by the Conservative Party on immigration was not successful, and that the heightened anti-

immigration rhetoric of the Brown years served only to alienate white voters in Metropolitan areas and ethnic minority voters.

For many well-educated and historically literate adults, the reality that politicians sometimes resort to stoking fear and dislike of foreigners and outsider groups in order to gain popular support will not come as a surprise, but not all adults, and certainly not all young people know what game is being played here. This is not just a British problem. As the British politician Ken Clarke notes, 'People want scapegoats: they blame foreigners and immigrants. [...] For Trump it's all the fault of the Mexicans, for the British, it's all the fault of Brussels' (Clarke, 2019). Many readers of this paper will be well aware that there are many other countries where this game is being played.

6.   The Importance of 'The Historical Record'

A key element of teaching pupils about the past is to get them to understand that there is a 'record' of the past in the form of surviving documents and artefacts, and that we can find out about the past by studying these surviving remnants of the past. Equally important is to get them to understand that gaining insight into what happened in the past can often shed some light on contemporary problems and issues. They need to also understand the limits to the historical record, and the difficulties and problems involved in arriving at simple incontrovertible truths, given that the historical record 'has bits missing', historians examine different parts of the historical record, ask different questions of it, and sometimes draw different conclusions from the historical record, even when they are looking at the same sources. Pupils also need to learn that in spite of these difficulties, by examining the historical record, and using the conventions and procedures used by historians to ascertain the validity of knowledge claims, it is possible to arrive (with differing degrees of certainty) at what are the most accurate, likely and plausible accounts, explanations and possible implications of past events. Although it is possible to construct 'different stories' about the past, some explanations have more evidence to support them than others and are more likely to be an accurate and useful representation of the past. This facet of pupils' understanding of the past is more important than ever given the increasing amount of history that is accessed from sources not mediated by the academic historian, the text book or the history teacher (Haydn & Ribbens,

2017; Wineburg, 2018). The late historian of education Richard Aldrich (1997: 5) stressed the importance of this point: 'If history is regularly used in the promotion of contemporary causes, it is incumbent upon the professional historian of education to ensure that such usage is as accurate as possible, both in its representation of the past, and the connections established between past, present and future.'

Aldrich (1997: 5) went on to detail some of the criteria which distinguish 'good history' from bad, including 'the quality of that evidence, coupled with the quality of the necessary selection, ordering and presentation of it, is one of the distinctions between good history and bad'. But the trustworthiness of the account or explanation is not dependent purely on the industriousness of the historian, or their linguistic and intellectual prowess. It is also partly about the integrity of the historian, and their commitment to truth, in the sense of the ethical importance of making an honest attempt to provide the most accurate explanation possible from the evidence available. This applies as much to the history teacher as to the professional historian. In the words of former Secretary of State for Education Sir Keith Joseph (1984, 12), 'the teaching of history has to take place in a spirit which takes seriously the need to pursue truth on the basis of evidence, [...] and should encourage pupils to take a similar approach.'

7.   What Does the Historical Record Say about Britain and Migration?

In the UK in recent years, it has been deemed to be important that history teaching in schools should be informed by contemporary historical scholarship (cf. Brown et al., 2016). This is not a problem for history teachers in terms of the availability of relevant literature, although there are issues of time constraints given the volume of literature available. There is no shortage of books and journal articles about Britain and migration. If anything, because of recent high-profile controversies about the treatment of the post-World War Two influx of migrants from the Caribbean and immigration generally in the light of the recent Brexit debate, there has been an increase in the number of books, articles and newspaper articles about immigration to the UK.

It is not possible to find any book, television programme or newspaper article by a serious historian which presents the story of

migration to the UK as a happy, positive and unproblematic issue which resonates with the claims of UK politicians on migration. From pogroms against the Jews, to discrimination against French Huguenots, hostility to the Irish, persecution of the Windrush generation and resistance to immigration from the European Union, the influx of people from other shores has always precipitated a degree of animosity from the indigenous population (cf. Colley, 1992; Gildea, 2019; Grant, 2019; Olugosa, 2016, Phillips and Phillips, 2009; Winder, 2013, amongst many others). Schama (2020) and Evans (1988) usefully make the point (particularly pertinent at this time of the Coronavirus crisis) that hostility to migrants is particularly rife at times of crisis and depression, and Mehta (2019), Appiah (2018) and Gatrell (2020) make the important point that hostility to migrants is not a problem that is limited to the UK.

The uncomfortable truth to be discerned from a study of the historical record is that in Britain (as in many other countries) for some but not all citizens, 'Britain's stance towards migrants has never had much to do with reason and everything to do with a cultural hostility that stretches back centuries' (Hirsch, 2019). Nor can this be ascribed simply to an ignorant, bovine and xenophobic populace. A study of twentieth century legislation to restrict immigration, from the 1905 Aliens Act to the Immigration Act of 1971 reveals a consistent strand of discriminating between 'white' and 'other' migrants (Hirsch, 2018). Aware of the popularity of anti-immigrant rhetoric, UK politicians have often been prepared to stoke up hostility to immigrants in order to boost their standing and electoral chances. Anti-muslim hate crime rose 375 % after Boris Johnson compared Muslim women to 'letterboxes', in a Daily Telegraph column (Dearden, 2019).

The problem with the 'Wonderfulness of us' model of history (Evans, 2011) put forward by Britain's politicians in recent years is not just that it is 'bad history' in the sense of bearing little relationship to the historical record of attitudes to migration in Britain. In a society where people have access to information about the past on the internet, on television, and in the newspapers, this Disneyfied and sanitised fairy tale about the national past is unlikely to survive contact with the reality that lies beyond the imagination and fantasies of politicians.

8.   Conclusion

Given the scale of harm that is currently being done by those using the past in unethical ways to promote fear and hatred of outsider groups, telling the truth about migration, and getting people to understand how and why myths about migration are being peddled is an important issue for history education to address. This is not just a British problem. As Mehta points out, 'From Trump to Orb√°n, politicians are winning votes by stoking age-old hatreds' (Mehta, 2019a). Pupils need to understand where this fear of migrants comes from, why it is propagated, and 'how it works'.

Wilke et al. (2019: 57) make the important point that 'explicit' teaching can often be the most effective way of developing students' understanding of historical agency and that 'agency' is an important historical concept for pupils to understand:

Agency is considered a key concept in historical thinking. Understood in a sociological way, it addresses the question of who has the individual or social potential to act purposefully and to effectuate change in society. Teaching about agency is also assumed to influence civic behaviour, as reflection on the various agents in the past and how they contributed to changes in society, can make students aware of their own role in society today.

In contrast to the exhortations of politicians about the role of 'values' in history education, the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors for history have consistently argued that the role of the history teacher is to examine values statements in the history classroom rather than transmit them (HMI, 1985, Office for Standards in Education, 2007, Office for Standards in Education, 2011). Historians and history educators have also warned of the dangers of simplistic generalisations about the past (cf. Cannadine, 2019, Slater 1989). Richard McFahn's teaching resources on the treatment of post-war Caribbean migrants to the UK are a good example of explicit teaching of migration which might help pupils to avoid simplistic misconceptions about British attitudes to migration. If we look at 'the historical record' of the responses of British people to migrants, does it show 'enduring British values of fairness, tolerance and decency', as the then Labour Home Secretary Jack Straw suggested (Straw, 2000)? As part of an enquiry into attitudes to migrants from the Caribbean after World War Two, McFahn's

history education website 'History Resource Cupboard' uses examples of testimony (taken from Phillips and Phillips, 1998) to demonstrate that although many black immigrants encountered racism, hostility and prejudice, some people were fair-minded, tolerant and decent towards them (https://www.historyresourcecupboard.co.uk/portfolio/black-britain-was-lord-kitchener-right-was-london-the-place-to-be/). The website, 'Our Migration Story: The Making of Britain' (https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/) also provides materials and resources that can act to counter the 'bad history' relating to immigration to the UK which can be found on right-wing hate sites.

Wilke et al.'s study of pupils' ideas about historical agency showed that many pupils did not see themselves as historical agents (Wilke et al., 2019). McFahn's work shows that history teachers need to explicitly make the point that how individuals (including them – the pupils) act and behave is one of the determinants of 'how things are', and will determine the historical record, the truth or falsity of Straw's claim. Explicit teaching of migration raises the question of how the students themselves regard and respond to migrants and other outsider groups. History teachers need to avoid making specious and historically unjustifiable claims and generalisations relating to the historical record of the nation's reactions to immigrants. Like most countries, Britain has 'skeletons' in its national past, where leaders and citizens have not always acted nobly. The notice 'No dogs, no Irish, no blacks' was often found in the windows of rooms for rent in the 1950s; 'If you want a nigger neighbour, vote Labour' was a public poster in the 1964 Smethwick by-election (McFahn, 2019). But (again, like most countries), we have also had our better moments, for example, the routing of Mosely's fascist blackshirts by Jews, Irish and others in the Cable Street Riot of 1936 (Gillan, 1936). The overarching principle is that in enquiring into the issue of migration in history, the history teacher should try to present or use resources that are as far as possible, an accurate reflection of current (respectable) historiography on this issue. Moreover, the teacher should explicitly and regularly remind pupils of the importance of accuracy and respect for truth and evidence when conducting enquiries into the past, given that these dispositions are of central importance to the discipline of history, and an important part of what makes the discipline of history useful to the individual, and to society. Integrity is not a peripheral or optional quality for a historian to

possess. In spite of the difficulties in providing a complete and perfect truth, 'truth is what we must always seek' (Lipscomb, 2016). In a paper discussing the challenges of teaching the history of migration in Australia, Clark and Nye point to the history educator's dilemma in terms of the line between historical detachment and expressing judgement on 'political' issues (Clark & Nye, 2019). This is why the history classroom should be about examining truth claims rather than transmitting them. On the whole, it is probably better and safer if young people get at least some of their knowledge and understanding of migration from the history classroom rather than the tabloid press and the wilder reaches of social media. One of the justifications for the place of history on the school curriculum is that it provides 'a framework for pupils to discuss polemical and contentious issues within academic canons of reliability, explanation and justification' (Husbands, 1996: 81).

Explicit teaching of migration also includes the correction of popular misconceptions about migrant numbers, which are often overstated in social media feeds and tabloid newspapers. It also means being explicit about the complexity and 'messiness' (Portes, 2019: 47) of migration as a historical issue. The report of the Migration Advisory Committee on European Union migration to the UK explicitly rebutted claims that migrants were parasites who were a drain on the public purse, and stated that overall, they made a positive economic contribution to UK society. But telling the truth about migration also means that history teachers must beware of presenting immigration as an unproblematic and positive phenomenon. They need to explain why the historical record suggests there has always been hostility to immigrants on the part of some of the population. On BBC's 'Question Time' programme, the former footballer John Barnes pointed out that there are socio-cultural and 'tribal' roots to attitudes to migrants, it is not just an 'economic equation':

As much as we all want to say that we see people as equal, we don't and we have to admit it because we are influenced by our environment. [...] *What is the truth about the way we all feel about different races, different religions* [...] *we all discriminate. And we have to be honest about it.* [...]*Why I am happy to say that discriminate unconsciously is because the environment I've been brought up it shows me that and continues to show me that. You read the newspapers every day and you hear about muslims and terrorists and Nigerian gangs and that gives you*

a negative impression, not just of terrorists and gangs and conmen, but of Nigerians and Muslims and this is the influence that society has on us. So we can't help the way we were brought up. [...] *If I were to ask you now* [...] *if you had a choice as to who you had to live next to* [...] *between a muslim and a white person, you would have an opinion based on the way you've been brought up* [...] *but we won't admit it, because we are afraid of being called racist.* (Barnes, 2019)

It is also important to make connections across time, and up to the present when exploring the issue of migration. The use of 'diversion' to deflect popular opinion away from difficult and uncomfortable issues by scapegoating immigrants and other outsider groups is a 'persistent issue' in world history (Evans, 1988; Schama, 2020; Wood, 2019). In a 2000 BBC documentary 'Five steps to tyranny', commenting on Jane Elliott's famous 'Blue eyes, brown eyes' experiment, the psychologist Philip Zimbardo comments that the outcomes of her study reflect the outcomes of his own research which demonstrates that 'there is a way in which tyrannical leaders can create artificial differences between people and then superimpose on those minimal differences values of inferiority and superiority, dominance and powerlessness, and then we are on the road to tyranny' (Zimbardo, 2000). It is not helpful for pupils to think that 'this sort of thing went out with the Nazis', and explicit teaching with materials such as the Five steps to tyranny documentary (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yWxAND5qB4) can help pupils to understand that 'we can all be prey to myths that set one group against another' (Wood, 2019: 11). Explicit teaching means that the teacher points out to pupils the links and connections over time, the threads and consistencies in human behaviour related to particular issues, which provide insight into contemporary issues and problems. This includes tracing these patterns up to the present, lest students think that these problems are all in the past. In the case of migration, it means pointing out that throughout history, there have been those seeking to scapegoat and demonise newcomers and 'outsider groups' in order to manipulate the masses and gain power. It means making it explicit to pupils that periods of difficulty, such as epidemics and economic depressions often provide propitious circumstances for those trying to instil hatred and fear of 'outsiders' (who can often include those living within the nation state).

Given that in most modern societies, schools are still 'the primary site for integrating social and cultural differences into a pre-defined national whole' (Baumann, 2004: 1), it is not surprising that politicians in many countries still try to use school history as a tool to manufacture the sort of citizens they want to emerge from those schools, and there are differing views as to whether this is done to promote patriotism, 'social cohesion', or simply to create a docile and compliant citizenry. However, they do so in different ways, and school systems in Europe reflect very different approaches to civic enculturation (Schiffauer et al., 2004). The attempt to promote the concept of 'fundamental British values' is hampered by the reality that even within the UK, there are significantly differing approaches to the issue of migration, with consistent, strong and high-profile anti-migrant rhetoric dominating political and media discourse in England (epitomised by Theresa May's 'Hostile Climate' initiative – Elgot, 2018), whereas Scotland has been much more welcoming of migrants (Carrell, 2020). The attempt to 'homogenise' the four nations which make up the UK is also undermined by the consistent strand of antipathy and independence between the four constituent nations (Kearney, 2006).

There is also the issue of 'what questions are worth asking' about the history of migration. As well as the question of the effects that migration has had, given that attitudes to migrants change over time and place, there is the question of what factors influence attitudes to migrants. I recently observed an interesting lesson in which a student teacher posed the question of whether we are all, as individuals, responsible for 'what goes on' (the moral agency of the individual), or do those with power and authority have greater responsibility? Whether posing this question in relation to Germany in the 1930s or to current day societies, it is an interesting question to ask in relation to understanding migration. The research of McFahn (2019) and Banham (2018)[5] suggests that some people in England resisted the tabloid demonization of migrants and 'dog-whistle' statements of politicians and behaved decently to newcomers to the UK, others did not.

Given the reality that young people get most of their information about migration (and the past generally), from the internet and social media rather than from the history classroom (Haydn & Ribbens, 2017), it has never been more important to develop pupils' skills of digital literacy (Walsh, 2017; Wineburg, 2018). Educating pupils in

how to ascertain the reliability and authority of internet sources should now be an essential part of a historical education. The Stanford History Education Group's Civic Literacy resources are an important asset in this respect (https://sheg.stanford.edu/students-civic-online-reasoning), as are fact-checking websites (snopes.com, politifact.com, fullfact.org, politifact.com and others). This extends to the explicit teaching of vocabulary related to internet literacy. Walsh (2017) and Wineburg (2018) have argued that even many adults have limited skills in terms of discerning between good and bad history on the internet. How many pupils leave school fully understanding terms such as 'playing the race card', 'the manufacture of consent', 'astroturfing', 'dead-catting', 'dog-whistle politics', 'doxing' and 'backfire effect'? Given that young people cannot be shielded from 'bad history', this also means that pupils need to be exposed to 'bad history', and taught to understand why it is constructed, how it works, and how to find out that it is not to be trusted. Given that they are living in what is sometimes called, 'the post-truth era' (international word of the year 2016), they also need to be taught about what is meant by the 'post-truth turn' in society, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as, 'Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief.'

Rather than confecting comforting but factually inaccurate narratives of the national past, Chua and Sim (2016) have advanced the notion of 'critical patriotism', which argues for a more discerning and constructively critical examination of the national past. Perhaps 'the greatest patriotism is to tell your country when it is behaving dishonourably, foolishly, viciously' (Barnes, 1984: 131).

This paper argues that school history will be more useful to society (and is more likely to act as an aid to social cohesion), if it tells an honest and critical story of the national past rather than a make-believe, idealised version of the national past which insists that your country is different to, and better than others. Nowhere is this more true than in the teaching of migration.

Notes

[1] A full version of Powell's speech was reprinted in the Birmingham Mail, 30.03.2015, and can be accessed at https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/enoch-powell-what-rivers-blood-8945556 (20.03.2020).

[2] Full details of Thatcher's comments can be found at the website of the Margaret Thatcher Foundation, https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485 (19.03.2020).

[3] A simple Google image search on 'UK newspapers immigrants' gives an indication of the scale of the newspapers' demonization of immigrants in the UK.

[4] A Fullfact check on this claim found that immigrants were in fact consistently net contributors to the National Health Service balance sheet, fullfact.org/health/wish-you-were-here-cost-health-tourism-nhs/ (20.03.2020).

[5] Banham's research, presented at a seminar at the University of East Anglia in February 2018 is unpublished, but draws on video interviews with Caribbean migrants to Ipswich, talking about their experiences on arriving in England. As with McFahn's materials on Windrush migrants, the interviews show that some of them met hostility and prejudice, others were made to feel welcome and were supported by local people.

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MIGRANTS IN RUSSIA
THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL VIEWPOINT: INTEGRATIONAL, CULTURAL AND DIDACTIC PROBLEMS[*]

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Migration processes in the world are in the focus of attention of the general public. They are studied by experts from different angles. For Russians, the problem of migrants has grown to its full potential since the beginning of the 2000s. Russia has become a place of attraction for labour migrants. Russia in the last two decades ranks second in the world after the United States in the number of migrants. Most migrants come from the former Soviet Republics (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Central Asia, Caucasus and Transcaucasia). However, this does not remove the problems of modern cultural integration of migrants and their children in the Russian reality. The first difficulty of the cultural plan is the knowledge of the Russian language by the migrants from Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Moldova. The migrant children have full right to get education in Russia according to the law. Nevertheless, a lot of complicated problems exist that Russian teachers must solve.

1. Migration Processes in the USSR/Russia: Continuity or Discontinuity?

The history of labour migration began in the vast Russian Empire in the 19th century and especially after 1861 in connection with the abolition of serfdom. Before the peasant reform of 1861, migration in the Russian Empire was strictly regulated by the government. Many contemporaries believed that Central Russia was overpopulated, there was a shortage of land, and there was a need for resettlement. For 20 years, from 1887 to 1916, 2.5 million people moved to Siberia and the Far East, almost 1.5 million – to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The total flow to the outskirts, including Novorossiya (Southern regions), the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, amounted to 5.2 million people, exceeding 1.4 times

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the volume of resettlement in the previous 30 years (Zayonchkovskaya, 2000: 3).

The main factor of labour migration in the 20th century in the USSR was industrialization, which required the transfer of large labour resources from rural areas to cities. This process was centralized, first affecting the relocation to large industrial centres, then the distribution of labour resources from central regions to remote regions of the country. Elements of free labour migration looked random and very limited in the form of seasonal and, as a rule, trade trips of part of the population of the Southern Republics to the central regions of the Russian Federation, as well as some who were migrating for the purposes of academic study (Davydov, 2014: 1050).

The collapse of the USSR was a real shock for the population, causing a sharp drop in its mobility, the rapid curtailment of migrations. In Russia, the size of movements decreased from 8.1 million people in 1989 to only 3.3 million in 1998 (Zayonchkovskaya, 2000: 11). At the same time after the collapse of the USSR and the incorporation of Russia and other CIS countries into the system of new economic relations and free movement, the newly independent countries faced new types of migrations and migrants: such as ethnic migrants, forced migrants and refugees, environmental migrants, who were leaving their places due to ecological problems, illegal migrants and also working migration.

Migration to Russia revived in the early 2000s together with rising oil prices and a booming economy. Researchers identify two flows of migrants to Russia. The first stream relates to the people who arrived for permanent residence. Many residents of the republics of the former USSR purposefully come to live in Russia, and in addition, many temporary labour and educational migrants who remain to live in Russia, pass into a different legal status, turning into permanent migrants (Ryazantsev, 2018: 21).

The second stream is temporary labour migrants, people who come to work in Russia. Temporary labour migration has become a demanded resource of the Russian economy as the problems of demography and labour resources worsen. The number of labour migrants in Russia reached its peak in the 2000s. In 2014, 3.7 million permits were issued, including 2.4 million patents and 1.3 thousand work permits. However, the recent economic crisis again reduced the number of permits issued for work in Russia in 2017 to 1.9 million,

including 1.7 million patents and 148 thousand work permits (Ryazantsev, 2018: 22).

Migrants also influenced dealing with the Russian demography crisis. The main contribution to the birth rate in the category of foreign citizens is made by mothers from the former Soviet republics, i.e. most of labour migrants in Russia (Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine) come from there. In Moscow, 14 % of children are born to women who did not have permanent registration in Moscow that is, every seventh child is born to a woman who is not a permanent resident of Moscow, but who is a domestic or international migrant (Ryazantsev, 2018: 22).

2. The New Political and Geographical Position of Russia in Migration Perspective

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created an absolute new geopolitical situation and new borders between the former republics, parts of a single state. According to the researchers, 'the new state borders between the former republics of the USSR is a unique phenomenon that has no analogues in world history' (Varadomski & Golunov, 2002: 85). As a result, 24 new borders appeared with a total length of more than 24 thousand kilometres. Many Russian regions that never had an external border have become new border regions: Altai Krai, Belgorod, Bryansk, Volgograd, Voronezh, Kursk, Orenburg, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Kurgan, Pskov, Rostov, Saratov, Samara, Smolenskaya region, Tyumen, Chelyabinsk and other areas (total 28 regions of Russia). The new border between Russia and Kazakhstan remains one of the largest in the world by the length of the land border (more than 6,500 km). All these changes in borders and demographics, plus economic problems, have caused migration processes. In the first years after the collapse of the USSR, it was a migration of the Russian speaking population towards Russia. Later, in the early 2000s, economic migration from the southern republics of the former Soviet Union appeared. People went to work.

The main difference between the new processes that have manifested in the last 30 years is that many people began to think about their ethnicity (Malinova, 2010: 90-91). The fact is that in the Soviet Union all discussions about the national question were suppressed. In the era of L. I. Brezhnev, a concept appeared that in the USSR a 'new historical, social and international community of

people was created', a new ethnic group: 'the Soviet People', 'Soviet Nation'. In this regard, all discussions on national issues were considered harmful and were banned.

In the post-Soviet period, many ethnic groups inhabiting the USSR had the opportunity to think and discuss ethnic problems. People moved towards a more sober perception of the isolation of their ethnic community culturally and religiously. Together with the positive aspects of building new post-Soviet identities, opinion polls show a tendency to intensify conflicts on national and interethnic grounds. And this cannot but affect the problems of migration and adaptation of migrants in the new cultural and educational environment in Russia.

Russia in the last two decades ranks second in the world after the United States in the number of migrants. According to the UN, in 2013 there were about 11 million migrants in Russia (*Doklad OON*, 2013).

Due to the worsening economic situation according to the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, fewer migrants arrived in Russia in 2018 than in 2015. The lion's share falls on several CIS countries: Ukraine – 26 %, Kazakhstan – 12.2 %, Azerbaijan – 11 %, Tajikistan – 11 %, Uzbekistan – 11 %, Kyrgyzstan – 7 %, Armenia – 7 %, the Republic of Moldova – 5.3 % (*Federal'naya sluzhba*, 2018).

The distribution of migrants by region is irregular. Most of them try to find work where average earnings are higher: these are megapolises – Moscow (Moscow Region), St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region, Kazan (Tatarstan), Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk region), Krasnodar (RIA Novosti, 1.03.2018), and other large and developed cities. For example, in the Sverdlovsk region, in 2012 the main groups of migrants were as follows: immigrants from Tajikistan (42 %), Uzbekistan (21 %), and Kyrgyzstan (23 %). Most of men (82.2 %) worked (RIA Novosti, 1.03.2018).

After 2014 the number of migrants coming to Russia dropped due to the context of aggravation of political and economic situation after the conflict in Ukraine and international sanctions. The influx of migrants staying in Russia for a long time in 2018 turned out to be minimal in the entire post-Soviet history. The flood of people from Ukraine and Uzbekistan, in the past the largest migration donors in Russia, has fallen the most. Residents of Ukraine and Moldova are

increasingly willing to go to work in Poland and the countries of Western Europe. The population of Transcaucasia, Georgia, is also reoriented to the West. 'Russia has no other donors.' – an expert says (Lomskaya, 2019). A stable influx of migrants can be expected only from Central Asia, but some countries there, such as Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, with the growth of economies have turned from the main migration donors of Russia to its competitors.

Thus, the new migration wave took shape in the 2000s, and it was since the Russian economy was on the rise after the 1998 crisis and needed additional labour. In other words, the 'third wave' of migration was labour and more related to economic reasons. The number of migrants falls after 2014.

3.   'Involuntary Migrants': Children in the Russian System of Education

Children from migrant families are sometimes called 'involuntary migrants.' In fact, children dependent on their parents are forced to move to another country. They were not the initiators of the transfer, but they were forced to adapt to new living conditions, for example, to integrate into the new cultural and educational environment. A child from a migrant family is inevitably forced to solve the difficult problem of the identity crisis: to maintain his old identity or adapt to the new cultural environment.

The acting law on education is particularly important in the aspect of migrants' education. There are two crucial rules in Chapter 1 (Article 5) of the Law 'On Education in the Russian Federation' of 2012 (*Federal'nyj zakon*, 29.12.2012):

1) 'In the Russian Federation, the right of everyone to education is guaranteed'.

2) 'The right to education in the Russian Federation is guaranteed regardless of gender, race, nationality, language, origin, property, social and official status, place of residence, religion, beliefs, membership in public associations, or other circumstances'.

Thus, the preschool, primary general, basic general and secondary general education is free and guaranteed. Foreign citizens and stateless persons have equal rights with citizens of the Russian Federation.

The educational authorities of the Russian Federation consider that children of migrants should be trained together with Russian

children, since a separate training does not lead to the integration of the children of immigrants into the life of Russian society, but rather to their isolation.

Meanwhile, a considerable number of teachers, publicists and politicians supported the deputy of the State Duma Aleksei Zhuravlev (the United Russia Party), who in September 2013 proposed that only children of those migrants have the right to free education who can confirm that they have the status of Russian tax residents during the entire period of stay in the country (Detej, NTV, 27.09.2013). The author of the initiative therefore intends to make room in educational institutions for children of Russian citizens and at least partly solve the problem of queues in kindergartens. The experts, in turn, criticized this approach. Opponents of the project believed that children should not become prisoners of adults' political ambitions (Dudko, 2014: 149-150). The presented draft law by Zhuravlev contradicts the Constitution of the Russian Federation, that guarantees school education for every child in Russia. Moreover, such a measure could create serious problems in the future both in the social and economic spheres. Many migrants sooner or later receive Russian citizenship. It turns out that the government will deprive access to education of potential labour force and future taxpayers. This will inevitably affect the quality of labour and the economic development of the country.

But then again, the Russian education system was not prepared to accept migrant children. According to the All-Russian Education Fund, in 2012-2013, approximately 80 % of migrant children were not in kindergartens due to difficulties in registering a child, and because of vast queues to get places in preschool institutions in Russia. Every third migrant child did not have access to Russian education (Dudko, 2014: 150). Many children of migrants do not study, they work in the shadow economy. They must work mainly in the service sector: in cafés, private companies, in markets. And employers, bypassing labour legislation, pay them a miserable salary. In total, 40-60 thousand children aged 4 to 18 are at risk (Dudko, 2014: 152). As of April 2016, there were approximately more than one million foreign citizens under the age of 17 in the Russian Federation, i.e. persons of school age. Not all of them attended schools. So, approximately 600 to 800 thousand foreign citizens are potential students of Russian schools and pupils of kindergartens (Omel'chenko, 2018: 50).

The education system existing in the Urals in recent decades has been oriented mainly towards a mono-ethnic school with a native Russian language (Popova, 2015: 25). And this means that teachers do not know how to work with schoolchildren who do not speak Russian well.

Thus, the process of integration of migrant children in Russian education is multifaceted and multi-step and involves all participants of the educational process – teachers, students, parents, the pedagogical community as well as politicians and bureaucrats. It is, thus, difficult to overestimate in such a situation the role of a teacher. The teacher creates a favourable climate and a friendly atmosphere in the classroom, which helps migrant children to adapt easily.

4. School History Education in Russia: Where Are The Challenges for Migrant Kids?

Separate teaching of Russian and foreign (World) history is a long-established cultural tradition in Russian school. The courses of Russian and World history together constitute a single educational subject 'History', which makes its own special contribution to education as 'a single focused process of upbringing and education, which is a socially significant good and carried out in the interests of a person, family, society and the state' (*Federal'nyj zakon*, 29.12.2012: Article 2.1). History methodologists have seen common sense in teaching these courses that students generally received a systematic and complete picture of the past. In the new states of Central Asia, Ukraine and other independent countries, the former republics of the Soviet Union, a similar approach to the content of school history has been preserved, with one replacement of fundamental importance. Two courses of history in modern schools in the newly independent states are World History and National History. For example, in the Republic of Tajikistan, in grades 5 through 11 they teach World History and History of Tajikistan (*Metodika prepodavaniya*, 2003: 21). In the fifth chapter of the modern textbook on the history and of Uzbekistan, the appearance of Russia in Uzbekistan is called the 'Russian occupation'. At the beginning of this chapter, the author emphasizes that Russian historians wrote in textbooks that Russia did not conquer, but tied in Central Asia, and that local peoples joined Russia voluntarily. The author remarks that this point of view prevails in Russia today. And this is true. In fact, according to the

author, there was conquest and occupation (Kamoliddin, 2018: 137). The presence of such conflicting interpretations in the textbooks of different countries can lead to considerable cognitive dissonances among the foreign kids.

It is also clear that although a lot of attention might be paid to the history of Russia in the course of World History, this is not the main cluster of the content of historical education in an Uzbek school. This naturally becomes a serious problem if a child enters a Russian school. In Russian educational institutions, according to the present demands, 'History of Russia' allocates more hours in the curriculum than the 'World History'. This can be explained by the demands placed upon teachers by the Federal State Educational Standard (FSES), that make it their mission to educate future citizens of Russia and patriots.

Many teachers and methodologists working with foreign children paid attention to a new document in 2013 that fixed general conceptual issues of teaching history under the name 'Historical and Cultural Standard' (HCS). There is a list of 'difficult issues' in teaching Russian history at the end of this document. Question number 6 from the list of 'difficult issues': 'Ukraine's accession to Russia (causes and consequences).' It would be logical to include one more: 'annexation of the territories of the Caucasus and Central Asia', bearing in mind the new interpretations and assessments that have appeared in national historiographies and textbooks in recent years. In fact, the question of the conquest and annexation of the Caucasus and Central Asia to the Russian Empire in the 19th century is such a difficult problem. The text of the HCS repeats the thesis that the peoples of Central Asia 'joined' the Russian Empire and the new national regions began to 'interact' with others and participate in the life of the empire (*Koncepciya novogo*, 2013).

In 2012, the Federal State Educational Standard (FSES) set new obligations for the results of mastering by all students without exception the main educational program in the school in three main dimensions:

1) personal, including the willingness and ability of students to self-development and personal self-determination;

2) meta-subject, including intersubjective concepts mastered by students and universal educational actions (regulatory, cognitive, communicative);

3) subject, including skills developed by students while studying a subject, specific to a given subject area, types of activities for obtaining new knowledge within the framework of a subject (*Federal'nyj gosudarstvennyj*, 2012: 5).

The main personal learning outcomes include: the formation of a Russian civic identity, patriotism, respect for one's people, feelings of responsibility towards one's homeland, pride in one's homeland, one's homeland, past and present of the multinational people of Russia, respect for state symbols of the Russian Federation (*Federal'nyj gosudarstvennyj*, 2012: 7). All this means that a migrant child must be integrated in Russian culture, become a Russian citizen, with a feeling of deep patriotism in relation to Russia. For a foreign child, a contradiction arises between what they tell him about patriotism at school and those stories that he hears at home about his family's homeland. The history course at school plays a key role in this process.

The subject results in the field of history and social sciences are formulated in a FSES in a more tolerant way in the case of migrant kids. However, they also require that 'Russian civic identity' be formed, along with multiculturalism, tolerance and 'adherence to the values enshrined in the Constitution of the Russian Federation'. Young people must understand 'Russia's role in a diverse, rapidly changing global world' (*Federal'nyj gosudarstvennyj*, 2012: 10). These requirements can also potentially create a duality of consciousness of a migrant child. At the same time the FSES demands the formation of 'critical thinking skills', and 'the ability to evaluate and compare research methods specific to social sciences' (*Federal'nyj gosudarstvennyj*, 2012: 10), that poses a real challenge to the teachers who work with migrants.

The priorities of the new educational standard in history from the point of view of a teacher are connected with the actualization of the historical material in the view of the formation of the values of a Russian citizen, Russian identity, awareness of their belonging to the history and culture of Russia, its sociocultural characteristics, the specificity of the historical path, Russia's contribution to world history and civilization. This priority is expressed in the emphasis on civil-patriotic education of schoolchildren by means of historical education (Vyazemskij, 2011: 81). So the task of every history teacher who works today both with Russian and migrant children is to specify in his or her school conditions their own methodological

teaching strategy, determine effective ways and means of organizing education, and implement them on an active basis in their everyday pedagogical work. The teacher does double and even triple work. He must educate the true Russian patriots in the same class, form tolerance and multiculturalism, and inform migrants for the common good. And do all this through a course of history. The task seems beyond the capacity of many and requires special training and filigree knowledge of the methodology and pedagogical technologies. Probably the classes with large numbers of migrants need to employ two teachers of history and humanities.

5.   History Education for Migrants: Key Role of a Teacher

Two approaches to the problem of adaptation of migrant children at school in Russia were developed. The followers of the first method argue that migrant children should receive education in accordance with the general Russian educational standards and curricula in ordinary Russian schools. This is a kind of refraction of the idea of inclusive education. The main problem with this approach is the number of migrants in the class. It is believed that the number of local students in school and class should be at least two-thirds, with (a maximum of) one-third of migrant children. This applies to children of all ages, school and kindergarten.

The proponents of the second approach believe that there can be no common learning strategy. It is necessary to develop a different strategy for migrant schoolchildren and preschool kids. The younger the children, the faster they go through the process of adaptation. This is a multivariate approach, with Russian language training, if necessary, implemented at an early stage through separate training. Both concepts are based on the idea of integration of migrants to Russian culture and values since one of the most important tasks in the Strategy of State National Politics in Russia is the development of general civic consciousness, based on Russian values (Pain, 2018: 244).

Migrants who come to Russia with children can be divided into several groups. The first group consists of highly paid specialists who arrive with families to perform skilled labour for a long period of time. They are interested in a good quality education for their children. The second group is formed by low-paid workers. It is easier for them to place their children in the nearest school than to

bring them to a special educational institution, which impacts the process of adaptation and socialization of such migrant children (Popova, 2015: 29). Frequently the second group has no plans for a longer stay in Russia with their kids. It depends on the economic situation and their earnings. It means that they do not have a strategy to provide their kids with complete education in Russia. The Russian schools must deal with these different goals of migrant families.

Practicing teachers argue that several problems exist that make migrant children's study of history at the lessons in Russian schools even more complicated:

1) Weak knowledge of the Russian language and, as a result, difficulties in understanding historical terminology.

2) Lack of basic 'background' history knowledge acquired by Russian schoolchildren in the process of family education or during their education in elementary school. Many migrant children do not attend elementary school.

3) The difference between history curricula in the country of origin and in the Russian Federation. In my opinion, this is a controversial thesis of teachers. Should migrant students (e.g. Ukrainians or Moldovans) be compelled to do the official version of Russian history that indigenous Russian pupils study? This is an indirect confirmation of the fact that in Russia a 'policy of history' is being carried out instead of the goal of fostering students' own interpretation.

4) The low level of intercultural competence of teachers, their unpreparedness to use cross-cultural teaching methods. As a rule, Russian teachers do not have enough knowledge about the country where migrants came from. They cannot correctly apply these facts in teaching (Omel'chenko, 2018: 53).

The researchers from Orenburg region that is one of the new border Russian regions also tell us about numerous differences in the non-verbal communication patterns, norms of relations, values, standards and rituals of migrants' behaviour. As a result, one can observe growing effects of loneliness, rejection, manifestations of emotional tension due to the constant feeling of lack of support, the feeling of helplessness among migrants (Konkina, 2015: 213).

The educators have suggested some new means to solve or reduce these tensions. Based on the support of a multivariate approach to teaching Elena A. Omel'chenko offered a special educational adaptation course 'Learning to live in Russia' for children from

migrant families. One can find the following suggested lesson topics there: 'General information about Russia', 'Features of everyday Russian lifestyle', 'Moscow and Moscow lifestyle', 'From the history of the Russian state (for example, the story of the cities of the Golden Ring cities)', Be a worthy citizen of the Russian Federation: The Constitution of Russian Federation and basic laws' (Omel'chenko, 2018: 54). A compact disc 'with illustrative materials' in several languages is attached to the training package. The list of languages, English, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Kyrgyz, Tajik, according to the author's beliefs, reflects modern migration flows. There is a mysterious phrase in brackets: 'for migrants from countries of the traditional abroad, English is defined as the main language, as the language of international communication' (Omel'chenko, 2018: 54). It is, therefore, assumed that all migrant kids speak English. There is no material in Uzbek language on the CD despite the fact that they make 11 % of migrants to Russia.

Russian methodologists advise history teachers that in the lessons of history, more attention should be paid to the contribution of migrants' countries to the economic, social and cultural development of Russia and to the narratives about talented people who moved to Russia and achieved success (Omel'chenko, 2018: 53). This topic should be included in textbooks and in the design activities of students.

Another main recommendation for a teacher working with migrant children in the classroom is to maximize their inclusion in a variety of social practices (Omel'chenko, 2018: 55). These are various projects and activities that promote greater involvement of children in general social activity, increase the possibilities of communication with other children. Elena A. Omel'chenko also wisely suggest, that the teacher must act using subtle and flexible tactics of influence, and not direct and heavy propaganda of Russian patriotism. This applies primarily to the prevention of the occurrence of interethnic conflicts both on the part of Russian children and on the part of children of migrants (Omel'chenko, 2018: 55).

The teacher should also understand that children of migrants often have low self-esteem arising from difficulties in mastering the Russian language and the school curriculum. In this regard, the teacher needs to find ways to improve the social status of a child: through sporting achievements, successes in additional subjects (fine

art, music), or through extracurricular activities (Omel'chenko, 2018: 55).

Thus, one of the main methodological problems in the history lesson is the involvement of migrant children in multicultural communication.

Oleg E. Khukhlaev, one of the most innovative researchers of the adaptation of migrant children in Russian school, proposed using the principle of the 'mosaic class' ('Jigsaw Classroom'), started in 1960-1970 by American experts in the field of psychology and didactics. 'Jigsaw Classroom' is a collaborative learning method that reduces ethnic conflicts among students, promotes better learning, increases student motivation and enhances enjoyment of learning (Khukhlaev, 2013). The principle of the 'mosaic class' method suggests that the achievement of the result is possible only in the group interaction of pupils. The class is divided into groups of 5-6 people. Groups should be diverse by gender, ethnicity, grades. Participants (or a teacher) choose a leader in each group. These are 'mosaic' groups. The teacher pre-divides the text or the content of the lesson into logically integral fragments according to the number of children in groups. Five members of the group become experts: No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, No. 5. Each receives a fragment of the lesson material (text, image, etc.) on the card and independently gets to know it. After that, student experts gather in groups in accordance with their numbers in order to discuss understanding of their fragment of the source text, highlight key concepts, prepare a presentation (Kutsenko, 2015). Having made sure that they have understood and have correctly interpreted parts of the text, the experts return, and the original mosaic groups are restored. Each presents his/her fragment to the rest of the group, interprets the incomprehensible issues, answers questions. An important step in this method is the planning for the lesson: to divide into several steps, segmentation of material and sources, to choose groups and experts. At the end of the lesson a quiz on the material studied can be proposed in order to make the pupils realize that this was not just for fun and play, but lessons are important. Migrant children are directly involved in the mosaic of knowledge and become experts in groups. This technique is finding more and more supporters among history teachers.

It is difficult to overestimate the special role of teachers in building the right relationships with parents of both local children and the parents of migrants' children. Parents of migrant kids can be negative

in the processes of social adaptation and the creation of normal relations in a multinational society. On the other hand, parents of local children often demonstrate their wary (sometimes simply hostile) attitude towards migrants. Based on domestic xenophobia, there are many conflicts in the children's environment. For example, parents of local children often do not approve of spending leisure time together with migrant children. There are cases of careless remarks addressed to migrants during classes by teachers or education managers. This must be excluded. Teachers are encouraged to rely more on working methods in small groups of multicultural composition. Here the common goals of joint learning and extracurricular activities are formed.

The teachers working with migrant children need psychological help and emotional support. The problems of 'emotional burnout' of teachers involved in assisting migrant children in their adaptation process deserve special attention. The whole system of training, re-education and upgrading of teachers in Russia require improvement. Teachers should have at least minimal knowledge of the history, culture and mentality of those ethnic groups with whom they work at school.

6.   Conclusion

The migration processes are not new for Russia. But there is a big difference between inwards migration of earlier times and the new migration waves that began in late 20th – early 21st century. The recent migration is greater, for economic reasons and is changing the sociocultural context of life in many big Russian cities. Nearly thirty years passed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The new generation of migrants is less prepared in Russian language, they differ from Russians greatly in terms of their historical thinking and consciousness. They are more committed to their motherland history and cultural values. Their children may be considered as 'involuntary migrants', and the new migrants' kids have the same identity as their parents when they come to Russia.

Russian law on education is a pretty liberal one and according to this law any child on the territory of Russia, no matter what nationality, has the right to go to school and get education. But it does not mean that the migrant child has the right to get education in the language of his nation. The main idea of the Russian system of

education for migrants is the integration of alien children to Russian culture and language. The process of integration of migrant children is not an easy one and it requires big efforts from teachers.

Teaching history to migrant children is a complicated case. On the one hand, migrants' kids, like Russian children, must learn sustainable concepts of events. At the same interpretation of some events may differ significantly, e.g. of the history of the Caucasus and Central Asia and their joining or being occupied by the Russian Empire, depending on whether they are told by parents who studied at National schools or by the Russian textbooks. Other example may include the meaning of the Russian revolution of 1917 or the role of the Soviet Union in the events of 1939-1941 associated with the outbreak of World War II. Moreover, there are no single well-established interpretations of these events in the textbooks. The state authorities have a desire to clean up and correct history, to make it 'more beautiful' from the point of Russia's greatness. How this policy is implemented in practice, depends largely on the teachers in the classrooms, their cautious policy and ability to create an atmosphere of critical thinking. The Russian system of education and history didactics faces a lot of challenges.

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MIGRATION MUSEUMS AND HISTORY EDUCATION IN GREECE[*]

Angelos Palikidis and Pinelopi Tsatsouli

This article discusses the place that migration has in the historical consciousness of the Greeks as this is reflected in the historical narratives of Greek museums and in connection with Greek History curricula and History textbooks. The first part describes the contemporary situation, analyses the concepts of 'migration' and 'refugees' and highlights the different attitudes of the Greeks towards migrant populations. The second part critically presents the place of migration in the Greek curricula and the History textbooks. In the third part, typical examples of migration museums or historical and archaeological museums with temporary exhibitions on migration are given, with special reference to the so-called 'refugee museums' dedicated to the national trauma of '1922'. Finally, a taxonomy of museum narratives based on the place migration occupies in the continuum of the nation's history is proposed, while the importance of migration museums for history education is outlined.

1. Introduction

A main feature of the new conditions that are emerging in Western societies, and in Europe in particular, is the mass migration of people from regions that are afflicted with war and poverty, such as the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. Although it was itself once a continent of migrants and the cultures that developed on its territory were the product of the meeting and continuous exchange of influences between its populations, Europe today has a particularly hostile stance towards migration. Many European countries as well as large sections of the population and political parties appear willing to trample on fundamental human rights, building walls at their borders and adopting xenophobic policies that thus far have only been used by dictatorships and fascist regimes.[1] In the past few years, the countries of Southern Europe have received, and are still receiving, migration flows from the Middle East, primarily due to the war in Syria and the continuing instability in Iraq and Afghanistan.[2] In

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Greece in particular, these immigrant populations arrived during a period of severe economic crisis, in effect the collapse of the country's economy.

We do not intend here to approach this issue from its purely political, economic, social and anthropological dimensions. In this article, we instead focus on the place that migration has in the historical consciousness of the Greek people, as this is reflected in the historical narratives that are reflected in the country's museums.

History education in its most formal form (school history), as well as in its non-formal and informal forms is powerful: it naturalizes the past, a time that has not been experienced, explains, interprets and documents it, presents arguments, shapes identities and ideologies, and defends established ideas and concepts of the nation, the world and culture. It points the finger at old and new enemies, apologizes for the past and offers guidelines for the past and the future. Above all, it overwhelms the public with emotions, creating powerful bonds and responsibilities for the contemporary members of the nation towards their ancestors and dissolves the boundaries of time in the imaginary. The Greek historical narrative, which does not deviate from this rule, is primarily nation-centric and Eurocentric, organically incorporating migration flows from the beginnings of human history to the present day into this narrative.

An understanding of migration as a natural phenomenon in history plays an important role in shaping people's attitudes towards current migration flows. Within this context, the central research question that we pose in this study is: if and in which ways Greek museums, as agents of non-formal history education, deal with migration as a historical phenomenon?

Before proceeding, however, we should clarify two terms that are often confused in the sphere of public history and which lead to local populations adopting completely contradictory behaviours and attitudes: the concepts of 'refugee' and 'migrant'.

Until 1951 these two terms were not even legally distinguished from each other, for the first time the Refugee Convention (Geneva, Switzerland, 28.07.1951) defines the term 'refugee' in Article I thus: [3] 'As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of

that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it'. The 1967 Protocol expanded the time and the geographical space covered since the 1951 Convention, as a post-Second World War instrument, was originally limited in scope to persons fleeing events that had occurred within Europe and before 1.01.1951.[4]

As for the term 'migrant', according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), this is 'an umbrella term' that is 'not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons' (e.g. work or studies).[5]

In reality, as far as public opinion goes, both migrants and refugees are, indiscriminately, the 'Other', 'Different', a 'Threat' and, as such, their presence creates fear and also provokes reactions, primarily from conservative or nationalist circles and from the broader social strata that support them. A permanent tactic of these political groups is in fact to use the same terms for both refugees and migrants. In the last Greek national elections,[6] although the neo-Nazi nationalist 'Golden Dawn' party failed to reach the 3 % threshold required for representation in parliament, its place was taken by a new right-wing party called 'Greek Solution', which uses such xenophobic rhetoric. This party calls immigrants 'hidden invaders' and proposes the use of violent military techniques as a deterrent at the borders as well as the exclusion of migrants from the Greek education system and national health service. The possible transfer to and confinement of immigrants on uninhabited islands in the Aegean Sea is currently also being examined by the conservative government.[7] Even so, the Greek people have a more positive attitude towards refugees than to migrants.[8] Their country of origin is an important criterion. There are more favourable attitudes towards refugees from Syria in contrast to those from Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan or Africa. Indeed, there have been more than a few cases where the path taken by Syrian refugees to Greece has functioned as a reminder in the collective consciousness of the Greeks as a historical analogue of the path taken by the Greek-orthodox refugees of Asia Minor to the Greek state territory after the defeat in the

Greco-Turkish War in 1922, an event that will be discussed further below.[9]

2.   Migrations in the Teaching of History

Migrations mark critical points in the historical timeline of Greek history curricula and textbooks. Six of these are the most significant on the continuum of the long national narrative:

1) First, the 'Greek colonies' as the mass migrations of the Homeric and post-Homeric periods to both East and West are known and which played a dual role: (a) they expanded Greek territory throughout the Mediterranean, creating an ethnological and cultural foundation upon which the Hellenistic kingdoms and Byzantine empire were to emerge some centuries later; and (b) they scattered the brilliance of Greek civilization to East and West, primarily to Italy, long before the rise and expansion of the new political and cultural colossus of the Roman empire.

2) This was followed by Alexander the Great and his successors, whose military campaigns and the administrative structures that they established are understood as the cultural 'Hellenization' of a developed yet morally and spiritually corrupt East.

3) Subsequently, the Fall of Constantinople may have meant the end of the longest-running Christian empire in history and be considered one of the most traumatic historical moments in Greek history, but it appears to have had beneficial results for Europe. In almost all Greek academic and school textbooks, it is emphasized that the migration of philosophers, artists and scholars from Byzantium to Italy led to the flourishing of the Renaissance and the awakening of European civilization in general (Palikidis, 2020).

4) Of similar importance is the migration of Greeks from areas under Ottoman domination to the large urban centres of Central and Western Europe (Vienna, Budapest, Venice, Leipzig, Munich, Trieste, etc.). Merchants for the most part, they started out poor from their homelands and thanks to their intelligence quickly prospered, without forgetting where they came from or their people. It is they who were to transfer the ideas of the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution to Greece and who would support with all means possible the Greek Revolution of 1821. After Liberation, they were to contribute as national benefactors to the rebuilding of the Greek state.

5) Patently far more downplayed and almost absent is the economic migration to America at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century and, after the Second World War, to Australia and European countries, primarily the then West Germany.

6) The refugee flow that resulted from Greece's defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the population exchange that was imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) has a special and distinct position. The Treaty of Lausanne even today has a prominent place in school history, museums and generally in public history in Greece. In fact, in 2022, in light of the forthcoming centenary of the so-called 'Asia Minor Catastrophe', preparations are being made for commemorative events, tributes and publications. As for the historical event itself, its consequences for Greek society and the shaping of the refugee memory will be analysed further below.

It should be noted that the superiority of the national self that is promoted through all the episodes of migration in Greek history is not so much racial or genetic but has a primarily cultural overtone. It is, in other words, a type of cultural nationalism that appears to survive throughout historical time and be rekindled at intervals, for the benefit not only of the Greek nation itself but of humanity in general.[10]

3. Museums and Migration Exhibitions

One might expect that these migrations, given the crucial role that they play in the national historical narrative, would occupy an important position in the narratives of Greek Museums. In reality, however, and despite the increasing interest in migration museums throughout the world in the past two decades in particular (Baur, 2017: 342) and the fact that the integration of migration in museum exhibitions recently triggered recently a remarkable interdisciplinary research (Gouriévidis, 2014: 1), the migration flows mentioned above have not been systematically incorporated into any museum in Greece.[11] Moreover, there are no museums dedicated to the history of migration in the country. As Alexandra Bounia (2017: 230) notes, the lack of migration museums in Greece could be attributed to the state policies for national homogeneity aiming to the construction of a unique and exclusive identity, although the discussions about the need of such an institution have not stopped for years. Nevertheless, there are units or sections in the permanent exhibitions of certain

museums, which dedicate a part of their narrative to migration, while there have also been temporary exhibitions on migration topics.

The museums dedicated to the Asia Minor Disaster – essentially the only real refugee museums in the country – are an exception. It should also be noted that after the climax of the refugee crisis and the continuous migration flows into Greece, many museums held exhibitions and educational programmes or organized events in order to raise awareness among the public and to support the interaction of Greek society with the refugees.[12]

From among the national and regional or local museums that have sections on migration, we focus on those that follow the master national narrative, or have displayed more recent exhibitions and reflect modern historiographical and museological notions.

3.1 *Archaeological Museums*

The presence of the history of the ancient Greek colonies in permanent exhibitions is, we would say, sporadic and there are very few mentions of it.

A typical example is the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The first museum to have been opened in Greece, it is under state control and promotes the master national narrative (Gazi, 2011b: 363). In its sculpture collection, which presents the evolution of ancient Greek sculpture from the 7th century BC to the 5th century AD, there is a map depicting the Greek world of the 8th century BC. This map is accompanied by a text entitled 'The Greek World in the 8th Century B.C.', where the features of the Greek colonies are described: 'The main characteristic of this period was the extensive drift and migration both to the inland and mainland Greece, and to the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor'. Also, 'The growth of commercial activity and the quest for new lands resulted in the establishment in the 8th century B.C. of the first colonies in the West'. Thus, 'in the 8th century the first city-states were formed, [...] within which emerged the ideas and notions of the panhellenic nationalism'. In addition to the above it also says that 'as a nation with cohesion, the Greeks were now ready to rule the Mediterranean Sea'. It is noted that the foundation of commercial ports and colonies from the Black Sea to the northern coasts of Africa and from Asia Minor and Cyprus to the coasts of France and Spain resulted in the dissemination of Greek culture to the limits of

the then known world. It is obvious, then, that the museum's goal is to document the Hellenic presence in East and West from as early as the first centuries of the historical era and to demonstrate its catalytic role in world culture.

Similarly, the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki is also a state museum. It first opened in 1962 and, after a complete renovation, was reopened to the public in 2006. A temporary exhibition entitled 'The Europe of Greece: Colonies and Coins from the Alpha Bank Collection' was held in 2015.[13] According to the organizers, the goal of the exhibition was to present the phenomenon of Greek colonization as an event of great significance for European civilization.[14] Even though it was a very carefully-planned exhibition based on contemporary museological approaches, its main goal was to present Greece as the fount of European civilization and as the country that shaped modern Europe.

3.2 *Byzantine Museums*

The Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens is another state museum. It is considered to be one of the most important museums in the world dedicated to the art and culture of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. With the redesign of its collections in 2000 it presented an entirely new museological and museographical approach and attempted to present the Byzantine world for the first time as multifaceted and multi-ethnic, thus aligning it more closely with modern scholarly and historiographical positions (Gazi, 2011a: 47, 59). As for migration, the museum has a whole section on the cultural and artistic movement of the people of the Byzantine empire in the 15th century. According to the narrative told by the museum, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 scholarly clergy and laypersons made the seminal works of classical and Byzantine literature known in the West, 'thus sowing the seeds of the upcoming Renaissance'[15]. By exhibiting almost exclusively rare and valuable artistic works, the Byzantine Museum seeks to inspire the admiration of its visitors and thereby detaches the phenomenon of migration from its political and cultural context.

3.3 *City Museums*

A typical example of a city museum is the museum exhibition that is housed in the White Tower in Thessaloniki, a monument-symbol and

the most recognizable landmark in the city. The exhibition presents the history of the city since its establishment until the present day. A whole section is dedicated to Thessaloniki as the home of its people, as the city that received all those who either by force or of their own volition migrated from other places.[16] This section provides information on the lives of the city residents in the ancient, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the refugees of 1922, the German occupation (1941-1944) and the extermination of the city's large Jewish population (one of the largest in Europe), domestic migration in the 1950s and 1960s and the 'palinostoundes' ('returning Greeks' or 'returnees')[17] in the 1990s. The migration flows are shown on maps. The oral testimonies that appear on screens reveal the personal experiences of the migrants and allow a sense of unmediated directness between visitors and informants, with a focus on the experience of migration (Gazi, 2015: 47-48, Gazi & Nakou, 2015: 17). In any case, Thessaloniki has been cemented in the consciousness and culture of Greeks as the mother-city of Greek refugees.

A few blocks further down is the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki.[18] Given that the Jewish presence in Thessaloniki is the result of the expulsion of the Jewish communities from Spain in 1492 and their arrival in the Ottoman Empire, an episode of migration is presented as a key factor in the history of the Jewish community. The settlement of the Sephardic Jews in Thessaloniki led, over the next centuries, to the impressive growth and creation of one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. For this reason, Thessaloniki is known as 'Madre de Israel' and the 'Jerusalem of the Balkans' (Molho & Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2009: 1). In the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki, the visitor can follow the history and discover the culture of the Sephardic Jews until their expulsion in 1943 to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp and their almost complete extermination.

3.4 *Refugee Museums of '1922'*

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on 30.01.1923 as a result of Greece's defeat in the war with Turkey in August 1922. This treaty imposed the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey and approximately two million people (1.5 million Christians and 400,000 Muslims) were forced to leave their homelands

(Exertzoglou, 2016: 343-344). This agreement was of worldwide significance as it was the first compulsory exchange of populations in history, implemented under the auspices of the League of Nations, and its impact transcended the national boundaries of these two countries. This population exchange has since remained on the table as a model for policymakers attempting to resolve ethnic problems associated with nation-building around the world (Alpan, 2012: 200). By the end of the twentieth century, as Bruce Clark (2006: xii) notes 'the giant Greek-Turkish exchange was a powerful influence on policy makers all over the world. It was taken as proof that it was possible, both practically and morally, to undertake huge exercises in ethnic engineering, and proclaim them as success'.

In the historical consciousness of the Greek people, '1922' has become established as the symbolic site, the 'lieu de memoire' of one of the most emblematic periods of Greek history, which was a national trauma to the Greek consciousness as it marked the definite and irreversible deportation of the Greek populations of Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, turning them into refugees. It also marked the end of the Great Idea (Megali Idea), the national ideology that had prevailed in Greece from the mid-19th century and which sought to incorporate into the national body all those regions in which Greeks had lived from the time of the ancient colonies (Exertzoglou, 2016: 343, 2015: 217; Palikidis, 2018: 127; Llewellyn-Smith, 1998: 1). Terms such as 'Asia Minor tragedy', 'catastrophe', 'disaster', 'exodus' and 'uprooting' were attributed to this event, indicating the depth and breadth of the national trauma (Palikidis, 2017: 309).

Once they had settled in Greece, the refugees comprised one-quarter of the total population and produced catalytic changes to the economy, society, politics and culture of Greece. The populations of the largest urban centres, Athens, Thessaloniki and Pireus,[19] doubled, while in some towns in Macedonia the refugees were in a majority (Traverso, 2013: 167). The refugee trauma and the sense of the loss of one's homeland were quickly incorporated into the national narrative and transformed into a national trauma – even though in the early years the majority of the native population and the official state were imbued with an anti-refugee spirit and the refugees were not considered to be 'pure' children of the national body (Liakos, 2011: 11-12; Mackridge, 2003: 235). Liby Tata Arsel, a psychologist and child of Asia Minor refugees, notes that the Asia Minor family in Greece fought, on the one hand, the traumas of war and persecution

and, on the other, the trauma of social exclusion by the local population (Tata Arsel, 2014: 35; Agtzidis, 2010: 223-240). This situation led to the rallying together of the refugees and the creation of a resilient refugee identity. Even today the descendants of the refugees – now in the fourth generation – and despite their full integration into Greek society, retain their refugee identity and memory on a cultural level with commemorative events, anniversaries, musical, dance and theatrical performances, films, TV series and shows, publications, etc.).

Jan Assmann (2013: 36) notes that 'the past exists – if it can be said to exist at all – in a double form: as sedimentation of relics, traces and personal memories on the one hand and as a social construction on the other'. In our case, this means that the refugees had to deal not only with the collective and individual experiences of the past, whether nostalgic or traumatic, but with the refugee present in the new homeland. They also had to accept that their displacement was final, since the Treaty of Lausanne prohibited their return to their place of origin (Hirschon, 2003: 10) and for many decades they were not even permitted to visit them. In the common national sensibility, 1922 was not a site of memory from the start but it did become one over time as it encompassed all the elements necessary to make it paradigmatic: trauma, loss, exodus (Liakos, 2011: 11-12). Moreover, as Pierre Nora (1989: 7) has highlighted, 'There are lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de mémoire, real environments of memory'.

The refugee associations and foundations that began to be founded during the interwar period played a crucial role in the shaping of a collective memory of the Asia Minor refugees in Greece. The main purpose they gave for their establishment was the study of the history, archaeology and folklore of the lost homelands in order to maintain a distinct identity, as well as to prove their historical Hellenism to the locals (Salvanou, 2018: 119; Exertzoglou, 2015: 219).[20]

Within this context and in combination with the impressive spread of folklore museums in the period 1970-2000 (Gazi, 2011a: 41), a series of small refugee museums came to be founded. In fact, these are folklore collections, either of private individuals or associations, and not an academically-oriented attempt to create museums. These collections are dominated by traditional concepts and the artefacts are treated as though they were national relics and as the documents

of an unquestionable national narrative and an objective historical truth (Nakou, 2009: 24-25; Sodaro, 2018: 174). Although the field of museology was beginning to take its first steps after 1980 (Gazi, 2011a: 41), in Greece more systematic and contemporary museological approaches made their appearance after 2000. Until then, most museums with refugee content lacked organized educational programmes and were limited to guided school visits by the collectors or untrained members of staff.[21]

Of these refugee museums, we will focus on the Filio Chaidemenou Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism and not simply because it is a relatively new museum (it opened in 2007) but because it reflects the latest museological concepts and approaches. This museum is the result of the long efforts of Filio Chaidemenou, a refugee from Asia Minor. She began to collect cultural objects and artefacts in 1991. The museum was first established in the late 1990s and was housed in the old City Hall of New Philadelphia, a refugee neighbourhood on the periphery of Athens. Some years later the museum was moved to the building of the World Hellenic Cultural Foundation of the Diaspora and the collection was re-exhibited by the Ministry of Culture (Directorate of Modern Culture).[22] The inauguration of the new museum received huge publicity as it was attended by the prime minister himself.[23] The museum's aim is to inform its visitors about the history of the Greeks of Asia Minor, not only through historical narratives but also through the narratives and personal testimonies of people, as well as through everyday objects and photographs. The great military events and political figures take up less space, in favour of the 'anonymous' protagonists of history. Characteristic of this is the phrase that hangs over the entrance to the exhibition: 'In this exhibition we will share the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the refugees, their own truth.'

The first space into which the visitor enters is dedicated to the emblematic founder of the museum, Filio Chaidemenou. This is 'the room with grandmother's narrative', where she herself appears on screen talking about the collection and the reasons that led her to taking this initiative. The main exhibition spaces then follow, with six thematic sections that bear the following titles: 'History and Memory'; 'Asia Minor and Culture before the Catastrophe'; 'The baby in the cradle and the dowry in the trunk'; 'Catastrophe hurts wherever it hits you'; 'Settlement'; and 'You left, this remained stayed' (Choremi-Thomopoulou, 2019: 20). The key concepts and their

meanings are given in the epilogue to the exhibition: refugee; state of being a refugee; ethnic cleansing; uprooting; identity; genocide; memory; forgetting; displace. Photographs from refugee camps and refugee portraits today are hung from the walls at the end of the exhibition – with the clear intent of showing the constant and universal nature of the refugee phenomenon (Choremi-Thomopoulou, 2019: 22).

The museum's educational programme includes a museum kit entitled 'Sometime in Asia Minor', which is available for all school grades. Furthermore, it organizes educational programmes, such as the project 'Ground Zero', which invites children to investigate the experience of a person who is on the move and has been forced to leave their home. The main goal is to cultivate empathy for refugees and a tolerance for difference.[24]

Although the museum puts the person above all, emphasizing the trauma of the refugee experience, it does not, however, underestimate or overlook the national dimension of the Asia Minor refugees. In this way, it can handle a question crucial to the integration of the refugees into the national body in a balanced way. As has already been mentioned, the refugees felt both the need to demonstrate their Greekness and to highlight their economic and cultural contribution to the motherland, as well as to preserve the refugee identity on a cultural level at least. This convergence of the national with the humanitarian is sought and to a large extent achieved by the Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism.

4. Conclusion

In the last half century, museums internationally have evolved significantly, something that has also influenced Greek museums to a great degree (Skaltsa, 2014). Nonetheless, despite the changes and exceptions – which are mainly at the level of exhibition design and aesthetics – theoretical reflection (Nitsiou, 2011: 8) and critical thinking are absent from most exhibitions, while traditional perceptions and practices continue to prevail. The recent economic crisis has been a major reason for this inertia, as it almost prohibited any type of modern reconfiguration and rearrangement of exhibition spaces and objects. Despite this, notable educational programmes, which apply modern pedagogical and museological concepts, have

been designed and implemented. Some even aim to help integrate refugees and familiarize them with Greek society.

We must also take into consideration that museums can play a key role – either as a complement to formal education or independently – in intercultural education as they provide a variety of possibilities and alternative ways for interaction (Bounia, 2015: 137). However, this is not just about educational programs but also about museum narratives, which must aim at intercultural education too. It is worth noting that in recent years – with the mass migration flows and the crisis that followed – there have been exhibitions that highlight the refugee crisis but not the need for the effective integration of refugees and their interaction with society.

The refugee museums in Greece, as well as the temporary exhibitions and sections of permanent exhibitions that cover the phenomenon of migration, and their educational programmes can be divided into two categories:

1) Those museums that present the migration of the Greeks as a national triumph (national and cultural expansion, transfer of enlightened civilization, etc.) and as a cultural conquest or a sort of cultural imperialism by a supreme nation over inferior and barbarian peoples. These museums primarily refer to the internal migration of the Greeks. The national historical narrative is seen as a perpetual alternation between triumphs and tragedies with the nation as the subject. The migrations of the Greeks occupy a special place in historiography and how it appears in museums: it seems that they are usually born out of need but result in the triumphant expansion of Greek civilization to both East and West.

2) Those museums that present migration as a national trauma, which then, however, evolves into triumph. These are primarily the 1922 refugee museums. This trauma includes, on the one hand, the tragic experiences of the refugees and their displacement and, on the other, the magnificent achievement of their rehabilitation and their integration into Greek society. It is emphasized that the Asia Minor refugees were not only not 'foreigners' – as they were initially treated as – but they were the descendants of the Greek migrants of antiquity, who were 'returning' to the motherland. Their incorporation into Greek society and their contribution to the building of modern Greece are transforming tragedy into a triumph.

Generally speaking, however, history education in Greece, formal and informal, whether in schools or in museums, downplays

migration as a historical phenomenon. If one takes into consideration how much and what kind of historical knowledge about migration is provided by the history textbooks, several critical questions are raised: does history education help Greeks to understand contemporary migration flows? Does history teaching enhance students' historical perspective, desire for intercultural communication, and tolerance of diversity? Or, instead, does it make them feel threatened by migrants and obliged to defend 'national purity' by any means?

History education in general and in museums in particular is today called upon to cultivate a democratic consciousness and human values in a world that is in flux and changing. It is a challenge for Greek society to create museums that transcend one-dimensional national narratives and ethnocentrism and which will focus on migration history, contrasts, conflicts and the complexity of reality; which will shed light not only on the national self but on the 'Other'. Museums should be treated as spaces of debate, where the master narratives of the nation and imperial states are questioned, and where alternative perspectives are projected (Gouriévidis, 2014: 3). It is also a challenge for the educational policy of both schools and museums to turn their attention to intercultural education, which should not only concern minorities but also people from different ethnic groups or even those belonging to the same ethnic group but have cultural differences between them (Bounia, 2015: 135). In the face of the rhetoric of xenophobic nationalism, which sees migration as an alternative form of war that will lead to the cultural degeneration of the nation and of Europe, the History Curriculum in Greece (2018-19), in keeping with the recent Council of Europe Principles and Guidelines for History Education in the 21st Century (Council of Europe, 2018) sets as the main purpose of history education the shaping of democratic citizens who can think critically and, as such, it approaches migrations as major historical events that enrich cultures through continuous interactions. In a country such as Greece, where every family has a migrant history to narrate to its children, education cannot but seek the organic integration of today's migrants.

Notes

[1] See the BBC article 'Europe and Right-wing Nationalism: A Country-by-country Guide' and the map of the 'Rise of Nationalism in Europe',

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006?fbclid=IwAR3iwg8aQd8
bTI1eDpzwwfiW4l_UEW3ONgOj3gcYp1H9goCYUFddexKGJ5k (23.11.2019).
[2] For more details and figures on forcibly displaced people worldwide as well as
sea and land arrivals in the Mediterranean, see: (a) the website of the United
Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) https://www.unhcr.org/
figures-at-a-glance.html (23.11.2019); and (b) the Refugees Operation Portal, a
Partners coordination tool for Refugee situations provided by the UNHCR at
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean# (23.11.2019).
[3] Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 1967: 14)
https://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf (15.09.2019).
[4] Introductory note by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for
Refugees, see ibid.
[5] See the International Organization for Migration: https://www.iom.int/who-is-
a-migrant (15.09.2019).
[6] For the results of the Greek national elections, see Ministry of Interior:
https://ekloges.ypes.gr/current/v/home/en/ (23.11.2019).
[7] More details at https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKCN1TX10O-
OCATP; https://elliniki-lisi.gr/anakinosi-typou-gia-tin-epikindyni-politiki-tis-
kyvernisis-sto-thema-ton-lathroisvoleon; and https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/
dikaiomata/219850_prosfyges-exoristoi-se-xeronisia (23.11.2019).
[8] A relevant study has conducted by More in Common (Dixon et al. 2019: 65),
https://moreincommon.squarespace.com/publications (15.09.2019).
[9] The exhibition 'Another life Human flows/Unknown Odysseys', which was
held in the Thessaloniki Museum of Photography in May 2016, attempted, as the
museum's website states, 'to illuminate and summarize known and unknown,
current and earlier aspects of the refugee-migration issue'. In the introduction to
the exhibition there is a photograph from the Library of Congress (which can
also be seen at https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2014715755/) which,
according to the caption, shows 'Greek refugees who had been stationed
temporarily during the population exchange at Aleppo in Syria, 1923'. Alongside
it are two photographs from the archive of Giannis Megas in which are depicted
'Turks of Macedonia, embarking upon a boat that will transport them to Asia
Minor, port of Thessaloniki, 1923' and 'Baggage of Greeks who had arrived at
Dock A in the port of Thessaloniki during the population exchange, 1923'.
Moreover, the introductory text to the exhibition begins with the phrase 'I came
from the sea, from Ionia. Where did you come from?', which is attributed to a
Greek refugee from Asia Minor before his execution by an SS squad and which
is taken from Theo Angelopoulos's film 'The Travelling Players' (1975). The aim
of the curators was to remind visitors of Thessaloniki's refugee past as well as to
point to Syria's contribution to the relief of Greek refugees in 1923. There was
much coverage of this in the Greek media, e.g.: https://www.kathimerini.gr/
856163/article/epikairothta/ellada/mikrasiates--prosfyges--toy-1922--sth-syria
and https://www.lifo.gr/team/greekicons/53504 (22.12.2019).
[10] About the migration flows of the Greeks in history see Chasiotis, 1993;
Chasiotis et al., 2006; Katsiardi-Hering, 2007; Kitroef, 1999; Kitroef, 2002;
Tsetskhladze, 2008.

[11] On international experience in migration museums see Gourievidis, 2014b; Levin, 2017; Peressut et al., 2013; Whitehead et al., 2012.

[12] In 2016, as part of the meetings to exchange information on Education and the Modern Greek Cultural Heritage, which are organized by the Directorate of Modern Cultural and Intangible Cultural Heritage, the 18th meeting on Educational Programmes for Refugees/Educational Programmes with Refugees was held in collaboration with the Greek section of ICOM, the Ministry of Culture and Sports-General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage and the Directorate of Modern Cultural and Intangible Cultural Heritage. The proceedings of the meetings give a general idea of these programmes (Directorate of Modern Cultural and Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2016): http://ayla.culture.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/2016_18i_enimerotiki_synantisi.pdf (8.12.2019).

[13] Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, 'The Europe of Greece: Colonies and Coins from the Alpha Bank Collection', 5.04.2014 – 19.10.2015, www.amth.gr/exhibitions/temporary/i-eyropi-tis-elladas-apoikies-kai-nomismata-apo-ti-syllogi-tis-alpha-bank (22.12.2019).

[14] https://www.archaiologia.gr/blog/2014/04/11/θεσσαλονίκη-η-ευρώπη-της-ελλάδος-απο/ (22.12.2019).

[15] Byzantine & Christian Museum. See: https://www.byzantinemuseum.gr/el/permanentexhibition/intellectualartistic_activity/ (22.12.2019).

[16] More information is available at the museum's website: http://www.lpth.gr/3os-orofos-w-20282.html (22.12.2019).

[17] The *palinostountes* or *Rossopontii* are Greek-speaking and Christian-orthodox people, the majority of whom were expelled during and mainly after the Big War and Greek-Turkish War (1916-1922) from their homelands in the North-Eastern region of Asia Minor and sought refuge in the neighbouring Soviet Republics of Black Sea. After the collapse of the Soviet regime thousands of them migrated to Greece and took Greek citizenship. Although their families were never been in Greece, they felt like returning to the sweet homeland of their ancestors. In Greek the word *palinostoundes* means 'retourners' (Petronoti & Triandafyllidou, 2003: 12).

[18] Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki, http://www.jmth.gr (08.12.2019).

[19] In Piraeus, as Hirschon (2000: 399) notes, 'areas that were entirely uninhabited in 1920 had become substantial residential quarters'. See also Hirshon, 1998.

[20] Interesting examples of organizations with a scholarly and cultural dimension were the Committee for Pontian Studies, founded in 1927, and the Association of Smyrneans, founded in 1936 (Exertzoglou, 2015: 222-223, 225). The Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens has led the way in the systematic research, collection and study of the oral testimonies of the exchanged populations. Formally founded in 1948, it grew out of the Musical Folklore Archives created by Melpo Logotheti-Merlie and her husband in 1930. During the period 1930-1975, the Centre recorded over 5000 oral testimonies of first-generation refugees and established a photographic archive, among other activities (Palikidis, 2017: 318; 2018: 130). The research and educational activity of the Foundation of the Hellenic World is also worth telling. The Foundation was established in 1993 and

is a private non-profit cultural organization. Aiming to preserve the historical memory of Greek refugees of Asia Minor, the Foundation created a Genealogy and Oral History department. For more information see http://web.ime.gr/; http://www.genealogies.gr (29.04.2020).

[21] Typical examples of museums that focus on '1922' are: (1) Thessaloniki: the 'Embroidering Memory' Pontic Ladies Welfare Museum; Manolis Andronikos Museum of Asia Minor Culture; Museum of Hellenic Refugees; (2) Athens: Filio Chaidemenou Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism; Estia Neas Smyrnis – Museum of the Asia Minor Campaign; Digital Museum of Nea Smyrni – The Smyrni of the Two Continents of Hellenism and the World; Committee for Pontian Studies – Historical and Folklore Museum of Pontian Hellenism; (3) Lesvos: 1922 Museum of Refugee Memory; (4) Kavala: Museum of Hellenic Refugees (5) Evia (Prokopi): Museum of Asia Minor Culture.

[22] Further information (in Greek) on this museum can be found at the Ministry of Culture's Odysseus website http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/gh151.jsp?obj _id=22204 (08.12.2019), the Andreas Papandreou Global Cultural Foundation of Diaspora Hellenism website http://ppied-museumfx.gr/museum (8.12.2019), and the guide to the Filio Chaidemenou Museum of Asia Minor Hellenism (Choremi-Thomopoulou, 2019).

[23] About the presence of the then prime minister Kostas Karamanlis at the opening of the museum, see: https://www.tovima.gr/2008/11/25/archive/ allakste-to-biblio-tis-istorias (08.12.2019).

[24] See the Andreas Papandreou Global Cultural Foundation of Diaspora Hellenism: http://ppied-museumfx.gr/learning-programs/ (25.01.2020).

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MIGRATION:
A DIFFICULT TOPIC IN HISTORY LESSONS?[*]

Markus Furrer

While only a few years ago it became apparent that history teaching materials hardly addressed the topic of migration, or only selectively, in recent years migration has found widespread acceptance in new concepts of teaching materials. However, since migration is currently one of the most controversial and emotionalized topics in both society and politics, it represents a challenge for textbook authors. The article considers how current teaching materials in German-speaking Switzerland depict migration at the lower secondary level. The importance of a historical-analytical approach to the representation of migration will also be examined. Methodologically, corpus-analytical procedures are combined with hermeneutical procedures.

1. Switzerland as a Country of Emigration: Some Socio-demographic Facts

Since 1888 Switzerland has been a country of immigration, but for a long time, another pattern dominated. Throughout the nineteenth century approximately half a million people emigrated overseas from Switzerland's present-day territory. Even before then hundreds of thousands of members of the lower social classes had left the country to serve as mercenaries at royal courts elsewhere in Europe (Holenstein, Kury & Schulz, 2018: 47). For the semi-Alpine and Alpine regions mercenary services were then seen as an important source of income. As Leo Schelbert (2019), a Swiss historian who teaches in the USA, aptly explains, the global presence and interdependence of a country or a nation can be illustrated particularly well using migration.

As a consequence of industrialization, however, which in Switzerland began early, immigrants had outnumbered those who emigrated by the end of the nineteenth century. Made possible by the newly created Swiss federal state of 1848, internal migration from peripheral rural areas towards the developing urban and industrial

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areas coincided with the influx of immigrants from neighbouring countries, in particular southern Germany, northern Italy and western France, as well as Austria. Further industrial development in the twentieth century expanded the regions of origin even more. These waves of immigration went hand in hand with economic and political dynamics (Vuilleumier, 2007: 195).

Today, Switzerland is among the European countries with the highest proportions of foreigners, accounting for practically a quarter of the population (Piguet, 2006: 9). Only a few special cases, such as oil-producing countries or mini-states such as Luxembourg, have higher quotas than Switzerland.

These brief indications show that the experience of migration has been widespread in Swiss history, as it is in the current situation (see Wottreng, 2000). However, how important is migration in history lessons? There is a double background to this, first with reference to the history of a country of emigration and immigration, such as Switzerland, and secondly against the background of the presence of migrants in the classroom.

This article examines the question of how present-day history textbooks in German-speaking Switzerland depict migration and how they make use of historical approaches. Historical migration research investigates spatial population movements. It includes groups of varying sizes at various social and spatial levels. Migration historians, such as Jochen Oltmer, also emphasize that the present and future of states, of Europe and the world can only be adequately described by taking into account changes in migration conditions (Oltmer, 2017: 8). Seen in this way, the topic of migration becomes a key issue in every historical account. What weight is given to the theamtics in the books examined?

Methodologically in this article, corpus-analytical procedures will be combined with hermeneutical procedures. It is important to note that topics of migration in history textbooks are also part of an overall narrative. Teaching materials deal with long periods of time. They include occasional or longer described migrations. This raises the question of where and how migration appears and how it can be categorized. Doing so, the thematic references in which migration occurs can be identified, as well as their connotations and where and how the main emphases are placed. Basically, the question also arises how migration is presented with the help of historical analyses. Since migration is one of the most controversial and heavily emotionalized

topics in present-day society and politics, it poses a challenge for textbook authors and teachers. The question therefore arises whether we need to think in terms not only of the 'migrantization' of historiography, but also of the mediation of history (see Falk, 2019).

2. The Historical Context: A Brief Account of the History of Migration in Switzerland

Until far into the twentieth century the history of emigration was at most a marginal issue within the field of historical research (Bade, 2000: 14). This was also the case for Swiss historiography. The greatest interest was in mercenary services, which is hardly astonishing. For a long time, the discipline of history had followed in the footsteps of national history, a history that embodied a contrary approach of what was advantageous in order to shed light on a modern history of migration. Analogous to the national thought patterns that were shaped in the nineteenth century, it was thus a question of the nation refocusing on values reflecting the ancient, the historically grown, the autarkic and the self-sufficient. The view of history thus imparted left a lasting impression that seemed static and immobile. Although phenomena like the Migration of the Helvetians and the Germanic Migration of Peoples found their proper place within this conception, a mobile society was seen as completely alien and therefore was not depicted correspondingly. The mercenary tradition was dealt with from a military-historical perspective, and not at all from the point of view of social or migration history.

Typically, therefore, the issue of migration was not raised in the discipline of history until the 1970s, when it emerged in connection with the awakened interest in economic and social history inspired by the Annales School in France. Accordingly, topics like historical demography, migration destinations and migration processes stimulated heightened interest in research institutes (see Mesmer, 1989).

As regards Switzerland, the history of emigration to North America has been particularly well and widely examined, approximately half of all relevant publications being devoted to this issue (see e.g. Bitterli, 1991; Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, 1997; Schelbert, 1976 and 1992). Migration to other European countries has been explored much less extensively, even though this was where the greatest number of Swiss emigrated to. Even when emigration

overseas was at its peak at the end of the nineteenth century, half of the Swiss nationals living abroad did so in other European states. Over the last few years research has caught up considerably with respect to migration to the Tsarist Empire (Goehrke, 1998). The broad field of migration research has thus been successively opened up in recent decades. What is new, though, is the academic focus on the history of immigration, not least concerning xenophobic currents and tendencies within host societies.

To summarize, the discipline of history did not approach the issue of migration until quite recently, which mirrors the trend in Europe generally. It seems that, against the background of global migration movements, the focus on the issue has been strengthened further. For example, one group of historians has recently published a book on the history of migration in Switzerland aimed at a wider audience (see Holenstein, Kury & Schulz, 2018).

3. Migration in Historical Processes

Franz Oppenheimer, one of the classic figures of German sociology, wrote: 'All world history is at its core the history of migration. As far as we can look back into the fog that conceals the beginnings of human development on this planet, the movement of culture leads back to the movement of masses of people in the actual sense, to migration' (quoted in Lichtblau, 2015: 28).

I would like to shed light on three aspects in considering this statement. First, it is a fact that in the history of mankind permanently fixed populations are the exception. This is shown by general examples: for instance, the three great monotheistic world religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have specific migration myths. Europe only entered a more or less settled phase around AD 900. However, a glance here again shows that everything was and remained in motion: Berlin was a Slavonic village, while in Moscow there were Finns, and Constantinople hardly counted any Turkish inhabitants, except for a few slaves and merchants. Such examples could be multiplied at will. Klaus Bade thus correctly writes that '*homo migrans*' has existed since '*homo sapiens*' existed (Bade, 2000: 11). In other words, migration is part of the human condition, like birth, illness and death. Lucassen writes: 'During the last decade it has become more than clear to historians working in the field of migration that this phenomenon has to be regarded as a normal and

structural element of human societies throughout history. Generally, migration is no longer viewed as a sign of crisis, as a phenomenon exclusive to the industrial period, as an element of the 'modernization' transition, or as a typically Western occurence' (Lucassen & Lucassen, 1995: 9). Migration should not be seen as a separate sphere, but as a defining dimension of the political, the social and the economic. It is therefore about 'optic, not topic' (Gary Wilder, see Falk, 2019: 146).

The second of these aspects is that, with the emergence of nation states, the idea of a stable and permanent national people also arose. Such historical constructions could be created with the aid of historical distortions and simplifications. National history is based not least on the assumption that nations have an ancient ancestral territory and that they can recall an original people, and thus common ancestors (Falk, 2019: 147). For a long time, emigration was also more or less tacitly ignored when it was not partly perceived as a flaw, since it could hardly be reconciled with later prosperity; immigration itself was hardly seen as immigration, but at most as a seasonal influx of guest workers who would return home later. We read this in the Swiss Economics Encyclopedia of 1855: 'Emigration from a country which, through its natural beauties, its free institutions and orderly conditions, is more than ever tempted to bind its citizens to itself is one of the most alienating phenomena' (in Hardegger, Bolliger, Ehrler, Kläy & Stettler, 1986: 219). Such feelings towards migrants and migration have long been widespread. As late as the 1990s, Bernhard Santel claimed that there had been a so-called loss of history through migration by complaining that parts of society lack awareness of the historical continuity and current normality of migration (Santel, 1995: 13). Saskia Sassen adopts a similar view when she states that the role of labor migration in European economic development is mostly omitted (Sassen, 2000: 10).

As for the third of these aspects, depending on the optics, present-day migratory movements are regarded as a 'new migration of peoples'. Generally, however, historians distance themselves from such comparative references, as Jochen Oltmer points out: 'It is often claimed that the level of global migration has risen significantly in recent years and decades against the backdrop of accelerated globalization and will continue to rise in the future. This assumption cannot be confirmed' (Oltmer, 2017: 207-208). In all societies, however, migration contributes to their transformation through

a dynamic and reciprocal process (Wicker, Fibbi & Haug, 2003, 10). Change and movement are particularly visible in historical analyses. Yet historians are cautious in judging if we do learn from it. Georg Kreis states: 'It is possible that we understand the causes and motives of migration better if we perceive them in history' (Kreis, 2017: 26). To show a fact in its historical development thus makes it possible to perceive the present in all its contingency and thus the world in all its changeability. Historiography can thus reveal the limitations of the present: those who know no history, conversely, are trapped in the present (Falk, 2019: 146).

4.   Migration in Current Swiss History Textbooks

History is therefore always the history of migration. A permanent exhibition on the Swiss history of the National Museum, opened in 2009, has been based on succinct findings right from the start: 'Nobody has always been there' (Kreis, 2017: 26). In recent years, some historians have turned specifically to this subject. André Holenstein, Patrick Kury and Kristina Schulz (2018) use the example of Switzerland to show how migration has permeated the history of a space since its beginnings, while Leo Schelbert has more recently shown (2019) how in the Swiss case migration can be seen as a history of interdependence.

But how should one deal with this topic in history textbooks used in teaching? Where and how is it embedded? History textbooks are unlike scientific books. As a rule, the individual aspects, such as migration in our case or gender relations, are treated selectively (see Grever & van der Vlies, 2017). The reason for this lies in the construction and narrative style of a textbook, which usually corresponds to a canon of topics. And history textbooks used in teaching also always reflect the social discourse. In a way that is entirely exemplary, they reflect a narrative that is widespread and widely accepted in society and thus is how it is passed on to a younger generation.

Let us take a look at the current development of history books for teaching. While only a few years ago it became apparent that materials for teaching history hardly addressed the topic of migration or only very selectively, in recent years migration has found widespread acceptance in new concepts of teaching materials. This took place against the background of a fundamental social debate on

migration in Switzerland as a country of immigration. However, since migration is currently a very controversial and highly emotionalized topic in both society and politics, it represents a challenge for textbook authors. How is migration represented in current textbooks in German-speaking Switzerland? As part of the process of implementing Curriculum 21, which for the first time created language-regional obligations across the country, two new history textbooks were published in German-speaking Switzerland, which, however, differ in terms of both their concept and their framework conditions. Curriculum 21 is competence oriented. As a consequence, there are no direct references to the topic of migration. Competences can be trained on different historical topics. The authors of the books tend to follow a 'silent' canon when they integrate migratory events and phenomena into the narrative of the book.

Time Travel (*Zeitreise*, 2016-2018) is specifically tailored to Switzerland (Swiss edition) and was integrated into the existing framework of a German-language textbook, which is used in Germany and also in South Tyrol. Swiss references within the framework of existing texts and also as independent chapters were subsequently developed and adopted. The history textbook *Societies in Transition* (*Gesellschaften im Wandel*, 2017) has a different starting position, having been conceived from scratch. Both history textbooks offer historical overview knowledge, which is distributed over the three school years of the lower secondary level.

In both teaching materials, Swiss history is linked with European and world history, the formerly canonized master narrative of the emergence of the nation having been discarded. Thus, we may ask how migration is currently being mapped. For this purpose, I use a corpus-analytical comparison which illustrates the use of 'migration' (migra* and wander*) in the two books and the numerical relationship between it and other frequently mentioned concepts. The term 'migration' (= *migra**, including the more often used term *Wanderung* in German = *wander**), occurs about 98 times in *Time Travel*. In *Society in Transition* we can find 45 hits. Other terms in the *Time Travel* volumes are mentioned as follows: 'Switzerland' 598, 'people' 530, 'war' 245, 'history' 214, 'state' 217 and 'Europe' 196 times. In *Societies in Transition* the following frequencies of mentions are seen: 'people' 469, 'Europe' 259, 'Switzerland' 259, 'world' 171 and 'history' 119 times. The term 'migration' itself is used quite frequently, especially in *Time Travel*. The term also appears distributed

broadly over a single chapter. In both textbooks, however, there are some chapters on the history of migration.

Thematic references in *Time Travel (Z*eitreise)	Thematic references in *Societies in Transition* (*Gesellschaften im Wandel*)
Ancient Migration of Nations	What do we know about the Stone Age?
Conquest of South America	Roman time
The World becomes European	Arab Conquerors
Searching for a better life (migration to America)	Freedom and independence: the American Revolution
Flight, Expulsion, Violence (Second World War)	Poverty and hardship (Industrialization)
From East to North-South Conflict	Nationalism and Imperialism
Israel and Palestine	Algeria (French Colonialism)
From the Fall of the Wall to Reunification	Urban development in the 19th century
Escape as the fate of millions	*National Socialism and Flight (e.g. to Switzerland)*
Switzerland in Europe	*Migration and Fear of Domination by Foreign Influences*
Where is the EU heading?	
Internal tensions (internal migration in Switzerland)	*Migration in the context of Colonialism and Decolonization*
Switzerland in an open world	*Switzerland: Europe and labor immigration*
"... and people are coming"	
On this side and beyond the borders	Human Rights
Switzerland today and tomorrow	*People on the Run: current news*
Human rights in everyday life	

Table 1. Thematic references to migration in chapters. Migration issues in independent chapters are italicized. (Left column *Time Travel* (*Zeitreise*), 2016-2018; right column *Societies in Transition* (*Gesellschaften im Wandel*), 2017). These are terms from the textbooks, which have been translated into English. The notes in brackets are added by the author.

The table lists the chapters in which migration is addressed. According to current migration research, there are various forms of migration – voluntary or forced and therefore also flight and expulsion. Migration is a concept in the author's texts in the book itself, to which reference is made in a wide variety of topics and chapters. *Time Travel* and *Societies in Transition* both have references to migration in the context of different topics. In the case of *Time Travel* in particular, it can be shown that migration is represented in the triangle of emigration to America, the immigration of 'guest workers' (*Gastarbeiter*) to Switzerland after the Second World War and the major flight movements since the Second World War. This can also be seen in the history book *Societies in Transition*. However, this is not presented everywhere in separate chapters. The topic of migration is interspersed in various historical contexts. Reference is made here to emigration in the chapter on 'Poverty and Need' in connection with demographic growth (*Societies in Transition*, vol. 1: 132). Another example deals with the growth of cities in the 19th century and the rural exodus (*Societies in Transition*, vol. 2: 30-31). These studies show that migration is understood as a historical phenomenon. Accordingly, it is referred to in a wide variety of topics. In addition, migration is an aspect that is built into the most diverse areas of life with historical references.

As also can be seen, both books are primarily concerned with migration in current contexts or in the context of recent history. Here the term also appears in the title (partly indirectly, in the quotation of the Swiss writer Max Frisch 'and people are coming'). In 1965 Frisch had complained that people in Switzerland were only interested in foreign workers and wanted to overlook the fact that human beings came too (*Zeitreise*, vol. 3: 97).

However, the concept of migration (usually '*wandern*' or '*Wanderung*') is simply interspersed. History books for teaching purposes do not usually present differentiated theoretical models for explanation. Rather, they present historical phenomena in a shortened form without explaining historical processes in detail. What does this mean for the depiction of migration? And can this be put together into a big whole?

We find answers to this question when we categorize the mentions of migration. The following categories can be identified: spatial references, temporal references, motivational aspects, discursive references and definitory explanations. The categorical allocations

result from the theoretical models of historical migration analyses (see: Lucassen & Lucassen, 1995). The term migration is linked to other terms in the texts of the teaching materials. From the excerpt from 'Antconc', a central term has been selected for each mention of migration, each of which fits one of the categories. There are always five words before and five words after the listing of 'migration'. However, this choice is not made mechanically. First, it is guided by theory (with regard to the choice of categories) and then also by syntax. So how are the categories characterized? What terms and references are mentioned?

4.1 *Spatial References*

There are spatial references in which migration took place or is still taking place (either as a region of origin or destination). Among them are the Roman Empire, Egypt, India, Andalusia and then also whole continents, such as America (often only the USA) and Europe (here also Southern Europe) and later the European Union is listed. Further there are individual countries, such as Switzerland, France, Italy and Spain. Then there are cities like New York or the village Therwil and the mountain area and the city are mentioned as a general term. In the context of colonialism, we call Algeria. Migration thus appears in a variety of spatial contexts spread across the volumes. There are many references to historical migration events. The emigration from Switzerland to America (mostly to the USA) is of great importance. This concerns emigration. Immigration focuses on Switzerland and its relationship with the European Union. Such spatial references also show which perspective is taken. This varies from country to country. The Swiss perspective also becomes clear in this selection.

4.2 *Temporal References*

As mentioned above, there are many spatial references. These are arranged chronologically and follow a canon with the migration of peoples, the emigration to America as well as further settlement migrations (here under the term settlement). Mentioned is also in one book the migration of citizens from the German Democratic Republic to the West and then the migration within the European Union. Temporal references can be seen again by looking at the individual volumes of the teaching material. They appear to be

selective and scattered. With the help of the synoptic table above, we can also see where the topic of migration is particularly relevant.

4.3 *Motivational Aspects*

A larger number of terms can be found for this purpose. They are based on the push and pull model. These are the mentioned push factors: dissatisfaction, poor immigrants, threatened existence, the fate of emigrants, conflict, anti-Semitism, the search for work, discrimination and social issues. On the other hand, there are: escape from the impasse, money, happiness, a better life, freedom of opinion, attracted by and basic rights. With such references, reasons for migration are put up for discussion.

4.4 *Discursive References*

In many cases, migration is placed in the context of discursive debates. In the textbooks, the term number of migrants appears several times, the debate about naturalization (a Swiss phenomenon based on communal citizenship), issues of origin and racism, rights and work permits, and for Switzerland the term Domination by Foreign Influences (*Überfremdung*) and the debate about the Mass Immigration Initiative. Here textbooks point out important disputes and discussions.

4.5 *Definitory Explanations*

In both books, migration is an important topic of the present and thus of recent history. In *Time Travel*, a good third of migration topics are set during this period. Since Civic Education is integrated into history lessons in Switzerland, the history books also contain the corresponding descriptions. Migration is also defined and classified here. Terms and statements can be found on: from the country of emigration to the country of immigration, motives for emigration, East-West direction, permanent leaving of the homeland, change of residence, skilled workers, labour migrants, asylum seekers, social constraints, money, movement of goods and migration, internal migration, long distance and border as well as abroad. Such terms suggest explanations but are not very systematic.

What can be said in conclusion? With the help of the categorization we get an overview of how migration appears spatially,

temporally and thematically in the textbooks. The topic of migration receives appropriate attention. However, such a statement should always be seen in a relative light. But what is certain: The authors of the books cover many aspects of migration. They are oriented towards historical research and especially migration research. All aspects together give a bigger picture. In detail, however, many references to migration seem fragmentary. But this is not surprising. Today's history books are less narrative and more enumerative (Pandel, 2005: 37). In concrete terms, this means that when teaching with history books, teachers have to create this overview and open up contexts by being sufficiently familiar with the subject matter. This also applies to the historical reference and the embedding of migration in the history.

A topic like migration is complex and there are always stumbling blocks in the books. For example, *Societies in Transition* (2017, vol. 2: 86-87) shows that migration is closely connoted with the sentiment of fear under the theme of 'Migration and Fear of Domination by Foreign Influences'. Such descriptions of a sense of threat can also be found in Swiss history textbooks. This leads to the unquestioned assumption that migration is a problem giving rise to negative feelings and attitudes among host populations (Falk, 2019: 151). At the same time, there is a strong effort to detach the delicate and politicized issue from emotionalization by presenting sober facts (*Zeitreise*, vol. 3: 96-97).

It is thus the historical approach to migration that can also make much of this more understandable and with which the phenomenon can be made accessible as part of social history. But what does historical access mean and how is it produced?

5. Final Thoughts on the Learning Potential of Migration History

Current history books focus on the topic of migration today, though leaving open the question of what a historical view of migration can achieve. An analysis of teaching materials doesn't tell you anything about what is going on with the book in the classroom. Nevertheless, we receive information on how offers are made in order to prepare topics. We also learn a lot about how curricula are implemented in terms of content and what priorities are set by experts in the education sector. History books naturally present a historical

approach, and they present migration as a historical phenomenon. Behind this are specific modes of knowledge. A historical approach is likely to generate four effects:

1) Migration is treated as a permanent phenomenon, a part, as it were, the *conditio humana*. This might have the effect that migration is not perceived as something completely new and thus not as a threat either.

2) History as a means of academic orientation makes a substantial contribution to this by showing the extent to which migration patterns and migration itself are part of complex socio-economic mechanisms that continue to have effects up until the present.

3) History puts this into perspective: not everything that is perceived to be new at the present time really is. Today's migration can, of course, be considered novel on the basis of its quantitative size and its global proportions, not least with respect to problems yet to be tackled. Yet, a wide range of recurrent patterns can be recognized. Also easily forgotten are the immense numbers of people emigrating against the background of overseas emigration when in the long nineteenth century approximately sixty million people set out for the New World.

4) A deeper understanding of people migrating, and emigrating can therefore be acquired just mirrored against the past. The historical approach questions short-lived political debates. Thus, we are able to recognize parallels in past processes through historical observation. It was still thought in the 1970s that Switzerland's Italian population could not be integrated for cultural reasons. Now, however, the Italians are considered to be one of the most integrated groups, culturalist perceptions having now been projected on to new groups immigrating into Switzerland. Today's Switzerland is not only a product of internal migration, but also, and to an even greater extent, of immigration and emigration (Schelbert, 2015: 37). Or, to put it in general terms, without a historical understanding of migration, society itself cannot be understood.

Therefore, historical observation has the effect that migration is presented with all its difficulties for the migrants as well as for the host society. Migration per se is neither good nor bad: the conditions under which it takes place may be better or worse, though this too depends on the perspective one adopts (Falk, 2019: 159). However, the same picture might be generated by any social history if, for example, it is dealing with industrialization. At the same time, it

becomes evident that migration is part of a historical process that is marked by dynamics, development and departure, to be comprehended particularly against the background of the mechanics of economics. In whatever way the formula is viewed, migration appears as a normal ingredient of human history. With this in mind, the learning potential inherent in the history of migration must be used to the advantage of each and every one of us.

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THE POLISH DIASPORA
IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN POLAND[*]

Joanna Wojdon and Małgorzata Skotnicka-Palka

The article is based on the content analysis of the primary school history textbooks covering the period of the 19th and 20th century. It adapts the model developed by Raymond Nkwenti Fru in his PhD thesis written under supervision of Johanes Wassermann at the University of Kwazulu-Natal: from identifying basic data on the length and composition of the chapters/fragments devoted to Polish migrations in order to get a general idea of how much (or rather, how little) space is provided for this topic, we move to de-constructing narrative frameworks: chronology, geographical spaces, characters and their activities, and proceed to 'individual' and 'organizational' concepts related to emigration. Inter-relations of those first-order concepts allowed us to reconstruct leading narrative patterns, based on the second-order concepts related to historiography seen through the lenses of the 'Big Six' pillars of historical thinking developed by Peter Seixas. All this has lead us to general messages of textbooks, both explicit and hidden, intentional and unintentional, and to questions of the hidden curriculum behind the presentation of the Polish emigration and diaspora.

1. Introduction

According to the estimates by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2020), there are 20 million Poles and people of Polish ancestry living outside Poland. Emigration is part of the historical experience of most Polish families. Virtually every Polish family has some relatives in diaspora. They are thus part of the family history of schoolchildren. Their choices, careers, achievements and misfortunes must be discussed at home with every family photograph shown or postcard read.

In the time of international migrations and on-going debates related to this phenomenon, historical knowledge could be helpful, e.g. to prove that migrations are not an extraordinary human experience, new and happening only today (Walaszek, 2004a, 2004b; Stola, 2018; Livi-Bacci, 2012). In the past they were no less intensive

and troublesome, but at the same time potentially beneficial to immigrants and their original homelands, and to the receiving societies. Typologies of migration and concepts involved in its analysis can be discussed at school, broadening the perceptions of one's national or ethnic identities or the notion of nation. It should allow teenagers to follow and join the public debate with a scholarly rather than populist attitude.

Last but not least, the life in diaspora per se can be a fascinating topic to learn about. The process of migration occupies a prominent place in individual biographies and thus is usually well documented in ego-documents. There are also stories to tell and questions to ask in regard to post-migration life periods and to the experiences of second, third and following generations (see e.g. Pacyga, 2019; http://www.migrationstories.org.uk).

Regretfully, this educational potential of the history of migrations and the history of Polish diaspora is not used. History education in Poland has always concentrated on national history, with European and world (mostly Western) history serving as an addition to or background of events and processes happening in the Polish territories. In the national curriculum for many years the only clear mention of diaspora has been referring to the so-called 'Great Emigration' of 1831 and has demanded that pupils 'characterize main political trends and figures of Great Emigration and of conspiracy movement on the Polish territories' (Ministry of Education, 2017). Our goal is to show the limitations of such an approach which is reflected, among others, in recently published school textbooks.

2.   Methodology – Textbooks

The article is based on the content analysis of the primary school history textbooks covering the period of the 19th and 20th century – i.e. addressed to 7th- and 8th-graders, aged 13-15. We analysed four textbooks for Grade 7 and three textbooks for Grade 8 from the mainstream textbook publishers, approved by the Ministry of Education and available on the market (the detailed list is provided in References), with some references to earlier editions.

After the reform of 2017, school education in Poland is divided between primary and secondary school. The former starts at the age of 7 (after a compulsory 'grade 0' taught either in pre-school or at school) and lasts for eight years (details are provided at Eurydice,

https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/fundamental-principles-and-national-policies-56_en). History starts at grade 4 with a very general overview of the history of Poland seen through the achievements of its most prominent figures, from the first historical Duke Mieszko of the 10th century to the members of the 'Solidarity' trade union of 1980. In grades 5 to 8, the first chronological course of history is provided, where emphasis is still put on Poland, but European and world events are also included, starting from Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome in the first semester of grade 5. Grade 7 is devoted to the 19th century (where the Great Migration fits) while in grade 8 the history of 20th and 21st century is discussed (Ministry of Education, 2017).

While primary school is compulsory for all the children, secondary school has a general and a vocational/technical track. Moreover, general secondary education has several 'profiles', with emphasis put on various school subjects. Therefore, history is taught on various levels, depending on pupils' choice (Ministry of Education, 2017). The universality of the primary school curriculum was one of the reasons why we chose primary school textbooks for analysis. Moreover, they were all available at the time of research while those for secondary schools covering the 19th and 20th century were still under development at leading publishing houses. Comparison of our findings with an older secondary school textbook (Galik, 2014) did not reveal any significant differences in the presentation of the Polish 19th-century emigration, except that the texts for secondary school were slightly longer than those addressed to younger readers.

Since 1999, teachers in Poland can choose the textbook they use with their students from a list of books approved by the Ministry of Education. The list is compiled according to merit-based reviews of academic historians recommended by the universities and by the Polish Historical Association who are supposed to assure historical and didactical quality of the content and its relevance to the current national curriculum (for details see Roszak, 2018). The textbook market is open but in practice it has been dominated by 3-5 major publishing houses. There are no official data available on how they share the market but according to the report published by *Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji*, based on a large-scale survey of teachers and students, officially approved textbooks are a dominant teaching tool at Polish schools and the majority of history teachers base their lessons on their content (Choińska-Mika et al. 2014, 227) even

though teachers are not prohibited from using other books, or from using no textbook at all. Thus, textbooks can be considered as a reflection of what the whole generation of pupils is exposed to at school. There may be some variations in structure and content between individual textbooks but, as we argue below, the core image of Polish diaspora remains similar regardless of the author or publisher.

We based the textbook content analysis on the adaptation of the model developed by Raymond Nkwenti Fru in his PhD thesis written under supervision of Johanes Wassermann at the University of Kwazulu-Natal (Fru, 2017). We start from identifying basic data on the length and composition of the chapters/fragments devoted to Polish migrations in order to get a general idea of how much (or rather, how little) space is provided for this topic. Then we move to de-constructing narrative frameworks: chronology, geographical spaces, characters and their activities, and proceed to 'individual' and 'organizational' concepts related to emigration. Inter-relations of those first-order concepts allowed us to reconstruct leading narrative patterns, based on the second-order concepts (Lee, 2000) related to historiography seen through the lenses of the 'Big Six' pillars of historical thinking developed by Peter Seixas (2012). All this has lead us to general messages of textbooks, both explicit and hidden, intentional and unintentional, and to questions of the hidden curriculum behind the presentation of the Polish emigration and diaspora.

3. Historical Background

In the 19th century Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia/Germany and Austria/Austro-Hungary. One of the results of this situation was a constant flow of migrations: immigration of the officials from the partitioning powers, their clerks, security officers, businessmen and others, and emigration of the indigenous population: Poles but also Jews (the majority of today's Jewish diaspora worldwide originate from the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Ukrainians, Lithuanians and people with no ethnic identity. Some were forcefully resettled, e.g. to Siberia, some emigrated, mostly to Western Europe, for political reasons to avoid persecution for their pro-Polish activities. Others aimed at improving their living conditions and joined the labour

migration flows, particularly in the second half of the century. According to rough estimates, as many as 3.6 million Poles left their homeland permanently, not to mention returning migrants. They moved predominantly to European countries such as Germany, France or Belgium, or to America: the USA, Brazil and Canada (Walaszek, 2001: 9, 34-35, 66, 118).

Migration was a lifetime experience for the migrants. Some of them, poor and uneducated, gained their national consciousness abroad: only upon arrival to foreign countries did they realize that their language and customs differed from those of the local people. Many were able to earn enough money not only to survive but also to accumulate some wealth and, subsequently, to support their families at home, or to provide financial assistance to the struggle for Poland's independence (see e.g. Pienkos, 1991).

The most prominent pieces of Polish culture were created in exile: poems by Adam Mickiewicz and music by Frederic Chopin. Other famous emigrants include the world-famous physicist and chemist Maria Skłodowska-Curie who lived in France, explorers Sir Paweł Edmund Strzelecki who named the highest mountain in Australia Mt. Kościuszko, Ignacy Domeyko who developed mining industry in Chile, and the engineer Ernest Malinowski who constructed the world's highest railway in those times, in the Peruvian Andes. Local churches that served the Polish communities, schools and orphanages for the Polish children, and monuments to the Polish national heroes can be found even today in many places of the world. Not only did the emigrants care for their own careers, but they formed a spiritual community of the Poles in Poland and abroad. The term Polonia was coined that comprises the Polish people and their descendants living outside the Polish territories. It is widely used until today in both public discourse and in Polish and Polish American historiography. Bi-lateral correspondence, emissaries from the political parties sent to the Polish communities overseas, transnational newspapers in Polish with letters to the editors arriving from Poland and from other countries (Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2013) – all testify to the existence of this community, politically united by the dream of an independent Poland.

After the First World War, when Poland regained independence, some migrants returned to their homeland but the majority remained in diaspora (Walaszek, 1983). New Polish governments supported labour migration, particularly to Belgium and France, as a tool to

overcome unemployment. According to estimates by Adam Walaszek (2001: 9), over 2 million Polish citizens emigrated in the interwar period, out of a population of 35 million (1938). As many as 5 million Poles experienced migration (mostly forced) during the Second World War (Walaszek, 2001: 9). The majority of them returned to Poland after 1945, but as many as 500,000 of those who could not or did not want to live under communism joined the diaspora which spread all over the world. Polish communities existed on all continents. New institutions, structures and achievements came into being. Some of them supported, but others competed with the previously established ones (Friszke, Machcewicz & Habielski, 1999).

Communist Poland did not let its citizens travel freely, but any liberation of the passport policy increased emigration. Altogether, over 2 million Poles used legal and illegal means to leave the Soviet bloc (Stola, 2012: 10). When the Iron Curtain fell and after 15 years Poland's accession to the European Union lifted any limitations, millions of migrants left the country.

Hardly any of these processes are reflected in school textbooks, however.

4.   Textbook Analysis

4.1 *Initial (Formal) Level – General Characteristics of Textbooks, Determining the Volume and Types of Texts*

In most of the textbooks analysed, a separate chapter of two to six pages is devoted to discussing the problem of the 'Great Emigration' of the 1830s. More detailed characteristics of those fragments are provided below (Kłaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 58-61; Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki, 2017: 31-32; Małkowski, 2017: 42-48; Kąkolewski, Kowalewski & Plumińska-Mieloch, 2017: 26-30). Moreover, in Kłaczkow et al. (2017: 70-73) a chapter devoted to romanticism deals with cultural and historiographical trends and concepts developed in exile.

No more than 3 sentences are devoted to the presentation of other migration waves from the 19th century, either within a chapter devoted to the Austrian partition of Poland or in a summary of a larger unit on pre-WWI period. The longest passage on mass economic migration from the turn of the 19th and 20th century is as follows: 'Labour migration seemed to be the only solution for the inhabitants of those territories at the end of the 19th century. People

migrated temporarily to Germany or permanently overseas – to the United States or Canada [Brazil is not mentioned]. It pertained to both Polish and Ukrainian population.' (Klaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 134).

The Polish diaspora in the USA is referred to when the Polish Army formed in 1917 in France, under commandment of gen. Joseph Haller, is discussed (Małkowski: 2017: 143; Kąkolewski, Kowalewski & Plumińska-Mieloch, 2017: 165). The activities of the Polish National Committee, which was formed in 1917 in Lausanne with headquarters in Paris, are dealt with in one paragraph. They are focused, however, on the Polish struggle for independence during WWI, but not on the life in exile (Małkowski, 2017: 144; Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 162; Klaczkow et al., 2017: 174; Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki, 2017: 116).

Labor migrants from interwar Poland are not mentioned at all. Nor are the Poles who emigrated from Poland under communism – either for political or economic reasons.

The activities of the post-World War II political exiles are discussed in a few paragraphs if at all (Kalwat, Szlanta & Zawistowski, 2018: 108-109, 170; Śniegocki & Zielińska, 2018: 171). Emigration is not presented among the attitudes of Polish society dealing with communism (support, succumb or struggle), even in relation to the 1980s when over a million people actually chose it. Jewish emigration of 1968 is mentioned in one sentence, not always using the term 'emigration', but always characterized as non-voluntary (Śniegocki & Zielińska, 2018: 191: 'several thousand people of Jewish heritage were forced to leave Poland'; cf. Małkowski, 2018: 178; Kalwat, Szlanta & Zawistowski, 2018: 172).

A series of textbooks by Nowa Era publishing house deserves a special mention. Their main narrative is no different from general standards of presenting Polish diaspora and migrations. However, the books contain special sections devoted to the 'Poles worldwide' placed in the summary chapters that close units devoted to national history (Klaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 76, 134, 271; Śniegocki & Zielińska, 2018: 100, 200, 232). The 'Poles worldwide' are mostly prominent, internationally recognized figures of Polish descent, such as Ignacy Domeyko, Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Marie Skłodowska-Curie, Pola Negri, Ignacy Paderewski, Jan Karski. Altogether no more than ten persons per textbook are portrayed in 1-2-sentence-long notes place on the map of the world, but at least they

make the pupils aware of the mere existence and some activities of Poles living abroad in the past.

On the other hand, the 8-grade textbook by Tomasz Małkowski (2018) has no reference to the Polish diaspora or migrations.

The textbooks are quite richly illustrated, equipped with maps, excerpts from primary sources, glossaries of new substantive concepts or biographical notes of historical figures. In each textbook the chapter on Great Emigration ends with a summary where the most relevant information on the topic is indicated. In addition, a set of questions and tasks to be performed is prepared, mostly related to summarizing the chapter contents.

4.2 *Level One Analysis: Unique Substantial Concepts: Who? When? Where? What Were Their Activities?*

4.2.1 *Who?*

The presentation of the Great Emigration is the most complex. The following groups of characters can be identified: 1) representatives of the partitioning powers who persecuted the Polish population (tsarist authorities, state officials, army); 2) the Polish population under the partitions (ordinary people living in difficult political and economic conditions), 3) political emigrants (leaders of the insurrection: army officers, politicians, but also outstanding writers, scientists, artists) and deportees to Siberia. 4) inhabitants of host countries and 5) their authorities.

In the case of economic migrations poor people from Galicia are mentioned or the emigration simply 'occurs'.

The Polish Army in France is associated with its commander gen. Józef Haller, while the soldiers are recruited from the Poles in America and in Europe but they are presented always collectively, with no individual names mentioned or characteristics provided: the Polish Army in France was composed of 'Poles from both Americas and Europe' (Małkowski, 2017: 143), or 'Polish immigrants from the United States, Canada and Brazil' (Kąkolewski et al, 2017: 165). Ignacy Jan Paderewski, the Polish pianist who spent most part of his life abroad (mostly in Switzerland and in the USA), is presented in this context as the one who encouraged them to join and lobbied for the Polish cause in the United States, but not as a migrant himself.

The Polish government in exile during WWII is represented by its prime ministers (Władysław Sikorski and Stanisław Mikołajczyk) or mentioned as a collective body.

Those who formed the post-war emigration are referred to only collectively, with Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, director of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe, being the only person mentioned by name.

4.2.2 *When?*

Political emigrants of the Great Emigration left Poland after the defeat of the November Uprising in 1831. Also during this period (the 1830s), the Tsar's political enemies were sent to Siberia. Textbooks focus on presenting the beginnings of life in exile. For example, in the book by Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki (2017: 32), the last date appearing in the context of the Great Emigration is 1837, when Joachim Lelewel founded the Union of Polish Emigration. Kąkolewski et al. (2017: 29) note the dissolution of one of the exile groups in London in 1846. In the book by Kłaczkow et al. (2017: 61) the closing date is 1835, and only in Adam Jerzy Czartoryski's biography does 1861 appear as the date of his death, but the description of his activities ends in 1833 when he 'settled down in Paris, where he founded a conservative circle, known as Hotel Lambert'. In Małkowski (2017: 44), in the context of the biography of Czartoryski, 1843 appears in the signature of the photo of his residence Hotel Lambert, and this is the last date associated with the Great Emigration in this book. In reality, the majority of the Great Emigration cohort never returned home, were active in the decades that followed, and their descendants assimilated in the host countries. No exact dates are presented in relation to the mass migration from the turn of the 20th century.

The year 1917 is mentioned in relation to the Polish Americans who joined the Polish Army (Blue Army) in France and to the Polish National Committee in Lausanne.

The Polish government in exile is placed within the context of other WWII events, with most emphasis put on its formation in fall 1939, relocation to England in 1940 and loss of international recognition in 1945.

Activities of the post-WWII exiles are chronologically dispersed or undated. One of the books mentioned that in 1951 the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe came into being (Śniegocki & Zielińska, 2018:

171), another one (Kalwat et al., 2018: 170) devotes a quarter of the page to the celebrations of the Millennium of the Polish state in 1966 that were happening both in Poland and in diaspora.

4.2.3 *Where?*

In the 1830s the largest group of political emigrants settled in France, mainly in and around Paris, which was the main centre of the Polish intellectual elite – and this group is further analysed, with particular buildings related to its activities in Paris enumerated. Great Britain is mentioned in the context of the activities of the Polish People's Cluster (*Gromady Ludu Polskiego*) – the most radical left-wing political group. The way to exile through Prussia is also presented. Textbooks mention also that smaller groups went to Belgium, Switzerland, and even to Turkey and the United States, but no characteristics of their lives in those countries are provided.

Poles considered political enemies and ordinary criminals were sent to Siberia by the Russian authorities. No details on Siberia are provided, however. Once the convicts leave the Polish territory they disappear from the textbook narratives.

At the end of the 19th century Poles, Jews and Ukrainians (Ruthenians) from the Austrian partition migrated to the United States and Canada.

In the early 20th century Poles in America were expediting their sons to join the Polish army in France and Ignacy Jan Paderewski – pianist and politician – lobbied for the Polish case in the United States. The initiators Polish National Committee resided in Lausanne in Switzerland during WWI and lobbied for the Polish case in Paris and London.

The fact that the first president of the interwar period Gabriel Narutowicz made his academic career in Switzerland prior to running in presidential elections in Poland in 1922 is mentioned in his biographical notes (Małkowski, 2017: 194; Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 221; Kłaczkow et al., 2017: 238 mentions that he cooperated with some Polish organizations there). Information of migration experiences is included in presentations of other historical figures, such as the last president of the interwar Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, (in Riga and London (Kłaczkow et al., 2017: 242), or Fribourg (Małkowski, 2017: 208)) or Maria Skłodowska Curie, introduced in the section devoted to civilization in the late 19th century, who is

associated with Sorbonne in Paris (Klaczkow et al., 2017: 97; Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 114).

The leaders of political opposition of the 1930s left Poland for Switzerland in order to avoid persecutions and organized the so-called Front Morges there but only their Poland-related activities are discussed in the textbooks (e.g. Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 224; Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki, 2017: 176).

During the WWII the Polish government in exile moved from France to London.

In the post-WWII years Radio Free Europe broadcast from Munich, there were émigré institutions in France and in Great Britain, and the Poles in various countries organized Millennial celebrations in 1966. The shrine of Virgin Mary in Doylestown, Pennsylvania erected to commemorate the Millennium is mentioned in this context, too.

Thus, France appears as the main centre of the Polish diaspora, related particularly to its political activities. Paris enjoys particular attention in this context. Germany is referred to as a transition country, but not as a place of permanent settlement of the Poles, while Switzerland is a place of residence of Polish political elites in the early 20th century. The United States provided human resources for the Polish army in 1917. No significant attention is paid to other places.

4.2.4 *What Are They Doing? Migrants' Activities*

The textbooks start the chapters devoted to the Great Emigration with the detailed presentation of the 1830 road to exile. The participants of the uprising 'leave' the Polish Kingdom (Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki), or 'flee' (Małkowski). Some of them later 'return' to their home country, others 'stay', 'settle' or 'go' to other countries, such as Turkey or the United States.

The book by Kłaczkow et al. begins with a description of tsarist repressions (including ssylkas to Siberia and forced labour and deprivation of property), under the influence of which 'many Poles decided to emigrate' [to the West]. Then three synonyms of 'leaving' the homeland are used (*opuszczają, wyjeżdżają, zostawiają*). Some are thinking about returning soon. Famous Polish artists 'appeared' (*znaleźli się*) in exile and 'joined' those who 'had to leave' Polish lands.

The route to exile is described in detail and accompanied with a map. The textbook mentions that on their way the insurgents 'were

enthusiastically welcomed', 'kindly received' by the people of Prussia who 'showed their solidarity.' Such statements accompany the illustrations showing the 'Demonstration at the Hambach castle' and 'Welcoming veterans of the November Uprising by the French hosts'(the same picture is included in Małkowski, 2017: 43 – it is said that the Poles' journey 'resembled a triumphal march'). In other textbooks there is also Finis Poloniae by Dietrich Monten presented, which depicts the sympathy of Germans for desperate Polish insurgents (Kąkolewski, Kowalewski & Plumińska-Mieloch, 2017: 27) or the picture showing the passage of Polish emigrants through Leipzig (Małkowski, 2017: 42).

To continue the narrative of Klaczkow, Łaszkiewicz and Roszak (2017: 58), in Prussia and Austria some Poles 'were detained' by the authorities, 'they were persecuted and forced to return to the Kingdom of Poland'. However, in the countries further West, 'they received shelter and small financial assistance.' Another textbook (Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 26) contrasts the attitude of ordinary people with the policy of German authorities: 'as a result of Prussian pressure' the Poles had to move further [i.e. could not settle in Prussia, close to their homeland] while 'evidence of German sympathy [...] met Polish refugees at every step'.

We can see that after making the decision to emigrate the insurgents are rather passive and follow their destiny. The émigrés were the object rather than the subject of activities (they 'found themselves', were forced, welcomed, received, migration happened) that they had to face but did not enjoy.

Core parts of the Great Emigration chapters discuss the political activities of emigrants. In the textbook by Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki (2017), they 'organize' and 'conduct political discussions', 'try to familiarize European public opinion with the situation of Poles.' Romantic artists invariably 'create their most outstanding works'. Tomasz Małkowski (2017) writes about the works that are 'among the most important in Polish literature', while assessing political actions of émigrés more critically: 'they quickly started quarrelling' and 'blamed each other for the failure of the uprising', 'they could not determine' the political program, 'no onecreated an organization that united all Poles'.

Organizations were formed, among them: Hotel Lambert, the Polish Democratic Society (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*), as well as Young Poland (*Młoda Polska*) and Polish People's Cluster (*Gromady*

Ludu Polskiego), that set the frameworks to discuss the reasons of the failure of the November Uprising and the visions of future Poland. Their common goal (despite political differences) was regaining independence of Poland. In order to make those ideas materialize, they were sending their representatives – emissaries – to the Polish lands.

In the textbook by Kłaczkow et al. (2017), emigrants 'have taken initiatives' to create Polish institutions: the Polish Literary Society, the Polish Library, and the Polish School in Paris. Prince Czartoryski funded the Scientific Assistance Society (*Towarzystwo Naukowej Pomocy*). Besides that, the narrative is almost identical to other textbooks: the emigrants strove for Poland's independence, 'counted on the help of other nations', 'engaged' in various activities, and finally 'began to form' political parties that sent their emissaries to the country. Two pages cover the characteristics of the political programs of three main parties. This part is illustrated with a fragment of the Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*) and biographical sketches of political leaders: Joachim Lelewel and Adam Jerzy Czartoryski which accompany their portraits.

A painting by Antoni Kwiatkowski presenting the concert of Fryderyk Chopin in the residence of Prince Adam Czartoryski, titled Chopin's Polonaise and presented as a collective portrait of the Great Emigration (Kłaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 61) can serve as a memory hook implying that the émigrés' life consisted of balls, concerts and receptions. In another textbook, this image appears under the title of A Ball at Hotel Lambert (Kąkolewski, Kowalewski & Plumińska-Mieloch, 2017: 28).

The textbooks lack information on the everyday life of migrants. The students will not find out what they did besides formulating political programs, how they earned their living, where they lived, what problems they had to deal with on a daily basis, how the process of integration with local communities was going on, what happened to the emigrants and their families as the time passed.

Other groups of the 19th century Polish migrants are presented even more briefly and their activities are limited to the process of migration (Klaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 153). In the book by Ustrzycki & Ustrzycki (2017: 82) they do not even make the decision to emigrate. The book simply states that 'poverty caused large migration'.

In the 20th century only political activities are noticed. In 1917 the émigrés in France 'organized' the Polish National Committee which became the center of Polish political life (Kłaczkow, Łaszkiewicz & Roszak, 2017: 174), or 'took the political lead over the Polish Army in France' (Małkowski, 2017: 144). The Polish volunteers who 'originated from Polonia' 'joined' or 'reinforced' the army.

As for the post-war years, one textbook mentions the decision-making process and states that some Poles did not want to return to Poland under communist rule so they decided to settle in Great Britain, the USA, Canada or in other countries (Kalwat et al., 2018: 109). Then only institutions were mentioned, such as the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe which 'transmitted' news to Poland and 'informed' about the Stalinist crimes (Śniegocki & Zielińska, 2018: 171), 'was the only source of uncensored information' (Kalwat et al., 2018: 110), and together with the Polish institutions in France and Britain 'played an important role in keeping the Polishness and patriotic spirit' of the diasporic communities. The 1966 Millennial celebrations were simply 'organized' but not attributed to the activity of any individuals or institutions (Kalwat et al., 2018: 170).

4.3 *Second Level of Analysis: Individual and Organizational Concepts*

We followed Fru in discerning individual/substantial and general/organizational concepts. The individual ones (i.e. related to specific events, characters) in the analyzed texts include: the fall of the November Uprising, repressions of the participants of the uprising, the Great Emigration, formation of political groups in exile: Polish Democratic Society, Polish National Committee, Hotel Lambert, Polish People's Cluster; development of Polish culture in exile, including the Polish Library in Paris, Polish Literary Society and Polish School in Paris, Society of Scholar Assistance founded by Czartoryski, economic emigration from Galicia, Blue Army and Polish National Committee in France, Front Morges, Polish government in exile, Radio Free Europe, Polish Scouting Association in Exile, Literary Institute in Paris and its journal 'Kultura', Sikorski Museum in London, Millennium celebrations, 'American Częstochowa' in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Historical figures appear, mostly related to politics (Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Joachim Lelewel, Wiktor Heltman, Ludwik Mierosławski, Józef Haller, Gabriel Narutowicz, Ignacy Mościcki, Jan Karski, Władysław Anders,

Zbigniew Brzeziński) and culture (Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński, Fryderyk Chopin, Witold Gombrowicz, Jerzy Giedroyc, Czesław Miłosz), some combining both spheres (e.g. Ignacy Jan Paderewski or Jan Nowak-Jeziorański). Only Maria Skłodowska-Curie does not fall into these categories. In the special inserts on Poles abroad in Nowa Era textbooks there is also room for researchers, engineers, explorers and inventors: Ignacy Domeyko (engineer in Chile) and Paweł Edmund Strzelecki (explorer in Australia), Stefan Szolc-Rogoziński (explorer in Cameroon), Jan Stanisław Kubary (ethnographer in Micronesia) and Ernest Malinowski (engineer in Peru), Apolonia Chałupiec/Pola Negri (film star in USA), Artur Rubinstein (pianists) and Bronisław Malinowski (anthropologist), Hilary Koprowski (who developed a polio vaccine). For some reason, two Polish sportsmen in the 20th century who made their careers abroad are also included in these sections: Zbigniew Boniek (soccer) and Czesław Lang (cycling).

One can see that those lists confirm the domination of the political sphere in the textbook narratives with some room left for culture and research.

Organizational concepts introduced and explained in the textbooks are few and far between: emigration (including political emigration), exile, amnesty, deportations, intellectual elites, political parties, emissary, Polish messianism, and the 'national prophet' (*wieszcz* – the term attributed to the poets of romanticism: Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Norwid). Some concepts are used without any explanation, such as insurrection, intelligence, nobility, forced labour, romanticism, folklore, national epic, manuscript, old print, Polishness, patriotic spirit, diplomatic actions, political leadership, volunteers.

They emphasize the political nature of emigration, its commitment to Poland's independence and its historical importance. They are associated mostly with the Great Emigration of the 19th century. Fragments devoted to other emigration waves are simply too brief to properly introduce any new concepts.

4.4 *Third Level of Analysis: Second-order Concepts Related to Historical Thinking*

4.4.1 *Cause and Consequence*

Several causal sequences associated with the Great Emigration can be identified in the textbooks. The basic chain of causes and consequences can be summarized as follows: the defeat of the November Uprising and the resulting repression of the Russian authorities prompted the emigration of a significant part of the insurgents and representatives of the elite, which resulted in the formation of political groups and the development of Polish culture in exile. Other, shorter sequences include: emigration due to the oppression of the Russian state caused kindness and solidarity towards the insurgents by the people of Prussia and France; poverty in Galicia pushed Polish peasants to emigrate to America; Paderewski appealed to the Polish communities in America so they joined the Blue Army in 1917; Radio Free Europe broadcast free information to Poland so the Polish people could overcome the communist monopoly.

Therefore, the emigration was caused by necessity, not by free choice. The emigrants were driven by push rather than pull factors and migration was experienced but not enjoyed. The political background of emigration determined the political commitment of its participants. The political activities of the emigrants were caused by their feelings of duty and much less by the new opportunities that the emigration opened to them.

4.4.2 *Continuity and Change*

The émigrés, although they lived outside Poland for many years, tried to maintain stable and multilateral relations with their homeland. According to the textbooks, they devoted their whole lives to the 'Polish cause', i.e. the issue of regaining independence by Poland. Emigration did not bring any change in this matter: emissaries were expedited to Poland, sons of migrants joined the Polish army, prominent scholars returned to Poland after the First World War to start their political careers (understood as a duty not as a profit), radio programs were broadcast from Western Europe to the audiences in Poland.

The only change visible in the textbooks is the physical movement from Poland to exile. Changes taking place in exile are not covered,

however. Neither subsequent migrations (e.g. from France to Belgium), nor acculturation processes or decrease in interest in Polish affairs can be seen. T. Małkowski (2017) noted that 'the enthusiasm of Western societies passed quickly' and the emigrants quarrelled, but even in this textbook continuity dominates over the change.

The 'Polishness' of migrants never eroded and was transmitted to the next generations, according to the textbooks. The paths of assimilation are not even mentioned.

4.4.3 *Historical Significance*

The significance of the Great Emigration does not raise any doubts of the textbook authors. It is embodied in the very term of 'Great Emigration' and further emphasized in the first sentences of the chapters. The authors explain the criteria for 'Greatness': not only the numbers of migrants but especially the importance of actions taken to fight for Poland's independence and shape the national consciousness of compatriots living under partitions, and, above all, their impact on Polish culture, science, art and political thought.

Regretfully, the Great Emigration is a measure of its own. It is not compared with other major demographic movements in Poland, such as economic migrations from the second half of the 19th century, mentioned only in some books in the context of Galician poverty. Quite surprisingly, the emigration from the World War II period, which is referred to 'the second great emigration' by some contemporary historians, is never presented in this way in school textbooks.

Successes of emigrants on non-political fields are briefly mentioned in the biographical notes of the people presented on the maps in Nowa Era textbooks but it can be regarded as a marginal exception. In general, the significance of emigration/diaspora and individual migrants lies in their relations with Poland.

4.4.4 *Using Historical Evidence and Developing Critical Thinking*

Textbooks include several primary sources, e.g. the Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society or the already mentioned iconographic materials, such as the Polonaise of Chopin by Antoni Kwiatkowski or portraits of leading representatives of the Great Emigration. However, these materials are included for informational purposes only and are not subject to any critical analysis. The illustrations are treated almost like photographs on mobile phones that reflect – not

interpret – reality. The captions simply state what the images depict and they do not contain any questions or comments regarding their realism, meaning, position or intentions of the creators.

In the entire analysed material, there are no questions about the meaning of ongoing disputes or the effectiveness of actions taken, or about the range of influence of individual political groups.

Unfortunately, this way of presenting content – as an objective truth, with no doubts, but with clear assessments of the events, characters and processes – is typical for Polish textbooks in general, not only in relation to the Great Emigration and not only AD 2017+ (see e.g. Wojdon, 2018).

4.4.5 *Taking Perspectives on History*

The Great Emigration is presented in textbooks mainly from one perspective – partitioned Poland struggling for independence. Emigrants have left their homeland, but all their activity is focused there, on Poland. The textbook by Kąkolewski et al (2017: 29) begins one of the subsections with this promising sentence : 'The Polish émigré communities did not deal solely with political issues.', but immediately continues: 'In exile, mainly in France, especially in Paris itself, Polish culture flourished' and explains that it had no chance to develop on the former territories of Poland under the partitions, making the lost homeland its main point of reference.

In relation to the 19th century, only one textbook briefly notes that 'Life in exile turned out to be difficult. The enthusiasm of Western societies quickly passed, and most emigrants lived in very modest conditions.' (Małkowski, 2017: 43) which can be regarded a (very concise) manifestation of the perspective of the emigrants themselves. The textbook does not give any further details about how the emigrants organized their life in exile, which apart from fighting for independence and creating outstanding works of culture they must have dealt with since not everyone had the property that allowed them to live without a paid job and not everyone was a national bard. As Idesbald Goddeeris (2013), Belgian researcher of Polish emigration to Belgium, writes, most of these Poles did not engage in politics, but lived a normal life, be they aristocrats, or representatives of typical immigrant professions: artists, printers, teachers and butlers.

In reference to the 20th century Kalwat et al. (2018: 108-109, 170) notice the role of the Radio Free Europe, of émigré institutions and

of the Millennial celebrations in building unity of Polish diasporic communities and nurturing their patriotism. Thus, the diasporic perspective presented in this textbook is oriented towards Poland and Polish national identity.

The perspective of host societies is mostly absent, except for the welcome of the Polish newcomers in 1831. The textbooks tell nothing about the mutual relations between the Poles and the local communities, whether the dominant society or other immigrant groups.

Due to the domination of the Polish perspective emigration is perceived as a loss for Poland. It looks natural, then, that émigrés focus their attention and activities (military included) on Poland, trying to compensate their homeland for this loss and add meaning to their own existence.

4.4.6 *The Ethical Dimension of the Past*

The textbooks do not shun from assessments of presented events, characters and processes. The very concept of 'Great Emigration' contains assessment. Émigré artists from this wave create 'the most outstanding' works that are 'the greatest achievements of Polish literature of the Romantic era' (Kąkolewski et al., 2017: 29).

This setting of the Great Emigration assessment influences the ethical evaluation of emigration from Poland in general and the desirable moral profile of the emigrant. For Poland, emigration is a loss that emigrants can try to alleviate by acting abroad for the benefit of Polish interests, striving to return or at least longing for the country. A good emigrant cultivates and develops his Polish identity and constantly thinks about the homeland.

4.5 *The Fourth Level of Analysis. Towards Conclusion: Explicit and Hidden Messages, Intentional and Unintended*

4.5.1 *Explicit, Intended Messages*

The declared, intended intentions of the textbook authors are to present the enormous influence of representatives of the Great Emigration on shaping Polish culture, as well as on the national consciousness of Poles under partitions and on the development of Polish political thought by creating a vision of the future Poland. Textbooks also note that the activities in exile reminded the world of the fate of Poland under partitions, during World War II and the

Cold War and helped win international sympathy for the Polish cause.

Emigration as an option, a matter of choice is hardly mentioned. The decisions to emigrate are presented with regret and resignation rather than as an opportunity: those who could not cope with political or economic hardships chose to go West.

4.5.2 *Hidden Messages, Perhaps Unintended*

Emigration is seen as a loss. Textbooks present it as a necessity, coercion, sacrifice, causing suffering to both emigrants and to those who stayed in Poland. People left their homeland because they were forced to do so by a complicated political situation, a court verdict, difficult living conditions (e.g. after confiscation of property or due to overall poverty). They left because they had to, not because they wanted to. The hidden curriculum is apparently to discourage young people from emigration. It can mean an exclusion from the Polish national community which is regarded as the core point of reference in historical education.

Emigrants may try to overcome this exclusion by their engagement in Polish affairs. Political or cultural activity in exile, directed at the Polish cause, is on the one hand a virtue, and on the other – a duty of emigrants. In the chapters on regaining independence in 1918, it is taken for granted that the descendants of the Polish emigrants joined the Polish army and took part in the Polish war for independence even though the rest of their history apparently is not part of the Polish one (at least not the one taught at Polish school).

In the case of presentation of' Poles worldwide' in Nowa Era and in the case of some biographical data, the hidden curriculum becomes somewhat dichotomous. On the one hand, it would be better if the Poles stayed at home, but on the other hand, international recognition of migrants evokes the national pride of the readers. Those at home can be proud of the achievements of their compatriots abroad. Another hidden recommendation is, thus, that if one decides or is forced to emigrate, they should keep their Polish identity and promote Polish interests.

5. Conclusions

We are aware that textbook research hardly ever brings enthusiastic conclusions. Whatever the topic and whatever textbook sample,

scholars are not satisfied with its presentation, or at least they see room for improvements (see e.g. Van Nieuwenhuyse, 2015; Zamir & Reingold, 2017; Fuchs & Bock, 2018). Their postulates may be as radical as abandoning deeply-rooted paradigms of dominant history narratives (Burszta et al., 2019) or denying textbooks' a dominant role in the teaching-learning process (Wineburg, 2007). Our approach in this article is much more modest and we do not question the very model of Polish history education inasmuch as it deserves it (Wojdon, 2019). We regard, however, that even in the existing model the Polish diaspora could be treated with more attention and from different perspective(s).

The impact of diaspora on the Polish society has been neglected despite the fact that the diasporic communities provided financial, political, moral and sometimes military support to the Polish cause before and during WWI, as well as during and after WWII (Pienkos, 1991). Removing it from the historical narrative distorts the image of Poland's past. Labor migration to France and Belgium in the interwar years served as an important instrument of dealing with unemployment and keeping social order (Szymański, 2005). Anti-communist opposition in post-WWII Poland was able to develop large scale activities thanks to financial assistance from the West, arranged and distributed by the diaspora institutions (Pienkos, 1991). Emigration – not only resistance, adaptation or support – was a potential reaction of individuals to the policies of the communist regime.

Being aware that traditional, political history dominates in Poland, we could only confirm its dominance in the presentation of the Polish diaspora from the 19th century onwards. The same can be said regarding the dominance of national history, where diaspora is included only if related to the Polish nation. These features have not been introduced by the last reform of education, conducted by the nationalist-oriented 'Peace and Justice' government. We compared the chapters devoted to Great Emigration of the 19th century with those coming from the previously used textbooks and found little difference in the selection and presentation of material. This continuity may be due to the fact that the national curriculum (published by the Ministry of Education, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2017) remained unchanged concerning this topic.

The vision of the 19th and 20thcentury Polish history that the textbooks convey is dominated by the constant struggle for

independence. This tradition originates from the interwar period. It was abandoned during the Stalinist years where most attention was paid to the revolutionary struggle and conflicts within the socialist/social-democratic/communist parties (Wojdon, 2018). Already after 1956, however, the nationalist narrative returned (Zaremba, 2001). In this vision, those who organized the insurgent movement in the pre-WWI period, its leaders, emissaries, ordinary soldiers, who were persecuted, arrested and murdered are regarded as heroes and their stories are told in detail. Those who did not participate in the struggle are generally not mentioned, unless they become an object of the insurgents' activities (e.g. addressees of their appeals to join the struggle). Textbooks do not show the Poles who collaborated with the tsarist or Kaiser's regime or with the Viennese court, who made careers in Moscow, St. Petersburg or Baku, who started speaking German at home, or who just lived their peaceful private life; nor those who emigrated.

The analysis thus proves that historiographical templates developed in the past are still present in Polish education. While historiographical research progressed significantly since the collapse of the communist regime, and migration research has been pursued by specialists in various disciplines (historians, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, economists etc. – see Horolets, Lesińska & Okólski, 2019), school textbooks apparently do not take it into consideration. Perhaps, it can be attributed to authors' biographies and their education. The core of textbook authors has not changed since 1999 when the textbook publishing market opened for the first time. The last reform of education was not a breaking point in this regard, either. The majority of the authors must have been educated under communism and are prone to replicate what they used to learn at school. Some striking details were corrected, and propagandist explanations re-interpreted, politically-sensitive topics added, but the more general schemes remained almost untouched: with Poland in closed or almost closed borders and as a homogenous monoethnic society (Burszta et al, 2019).

Little attention is paid to and understanding expressed for the life of a migrant in the Polish textbooks. Emigration is perceived as a loss to the country, to the nation, but also to an individual family and to an individual person. Michał Garapich who conducts sociological research on the Polish communities in Great Britain applies the notion of 'sedentarist metaphysics' developed by Malkki to

characterize the dominant Polish approach to emigration. In this concept 'all mobility and movement is seen as pathological and contradictory to human nature', and 'a threat to the moral order' (Garapich, 2007: 130). Emigration is not associated with positive experiences, with individual happiness, development or fulfilment. School textbooks support this attitude (or perhaps, are one of its sources) and present emigration as necessity, sacrifice, trouble, suffering. People presented in textbooks face migration but do not enjoy it. Memoirs of emigrants published by Wiesława Piątkowska-Stepaniak (2008) and research on contemporary Polish migrants who emigrated in the 1980s and have not returned to Poland, by Magdalena Wnuk (2019), proves that it need not be true. Many of them enjoy their lives abroad. They speak of migration as a matter of freedom and choice, not of mission or fate. However, the paradigm of migration as a loss and duty is deeply rooted in their perception of migration. When that they do not perceive their own biographical experiences as belonging to this paradigm they rather deny their status of migrants (and e.g. propose to be regarded simply as Poles who chose to live in Stockholm or Wien) than question the prevalent concept of migration (Wnuk, 2019: 367).

The mourning tone of publications dealing with diaspora was typical for the communist propaganda with one of the dominant goals of keeping the iron curtain firm and discouraging international mobility, especially westwards (Wojdon, 2014). Quite surprisingly, it remains valid thirty years after the collapse of the communist regime, in Poland – a member of the European Union, whose citizens have been benefiting from the open labour market ever since opportunities arose. Negative attributes associated with the decision to emigrate can be observed not only in school textbooks, but also in many other publications, including official governmental documents that gave return migration top priority in state policy towards the diaspora (Rządowy Program, 2015).

We do not regard school history textbooks as the only, or even the main agent in shaping historical consciousness or collective imagination, or state policy even less so. Repeating patterns of textbook narratives, their prevalence and sustainability can be easily noticed, however. Their similarity with the beliefs expressed by the contemporary migrants and observed in media and in the public sphere at large may not be a mere coincidence.

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Forum

A REVIEW OF DOCTORAL THESES SINCE 2000: HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT[*]

Heather Sharp, Silvia Edling, Niklas Ammert and Jan Lofstrom

Historical consciousness and moral consciousness as a joint, or intertwined, concept is relatively new in the history education context of Australia. While it has been used for a longer period in research internationally, it is only in the past decade that is has gained momentum and popularity in the Australian research context. This paper examines doctoral theses submitted to Australian universities since 2000 to map how historical consciousness and moral consciousness is conceptualised in higher education research. As the largest group of researchers in universities, the selection of this concept to analysis how it is conceptualised and operationalised in theses is of interest when mapping its application. From a total of 14 theses that included the terms, two were selected for an in-depth case study that this paper reports on using a critical discourse studies approach.

1. Introduction: Research of Historical Consciousness, Moral Consciousness in Australia

Current national and international contexts see political instability and traditional modes of operating politically (for example, Trump's election as US President) impacted significantly. The discipline of history, with its traditional focus on using primary source documents to navigate through various perspectives can provide the community with at least some of the tools in which to engage with the political discussions. Within the discipline of history, historical consciousness, according to Jörn Rüsen (2004), can be considered a kind of narrative competence, an ability to generate interpretations of the world with meaningful interrelations between the past, the present, and the future. Rüsen has also an explicit interest in the moral element of historical consciousness. He has argued that in the narratives of

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historical change and continuity that people generate there is a moral dimension in that the narratives are stories about right and wrong, and can be understood as:

Pertain[ing] *to the basic human inclination to make meaningful interconnections between the past, the present, and the future. Historical consciousness also has a moral dimension in that narratives of historical change and continuity are at some level also narratives about moral rights and wrongs, interpreted against the background of present-day values and norms* (Ammert et al., 2017: 3).

In following the frequently named Anglo-American tradition of history teaching and learning, the term historical consciousness (historical consciousness) has not traditionally been part of the vocabulary used by history teachers and researchers in Australia; rather the influence of the School History Project that came out of the UK in the 1970s. With the increasing influence of international literature on research and teaching, however, this has changed quite significantly, especially post-2000 with the work of researchers such as Seixas (2004), Rüsen (2004), Gadamer (1987), and Wineburg (2006) now commonly being used in pre-service teacher education programs. Australian teachers, teacher-educators, and history education researchers often combine aspects of both the Anglophone and North American history curriculum and pedagogy (sometimes called methods) tradition with the German *didaktik* approach.

However, the term *didaktik* itself (distinctly different from the English-language term didactics) has not entered the common lexicon of History teachers or History education research in Australia. A previous study conducted by Parkes (2018: 3) found that in higher degree theses submitted to Australian universities in the field of history curriculum, only one positioned itself within the German *didaktik* approach. Scandinavian and some other European countries on the other hand have a longer tradition of following the so-named German *didaktik* approach, which has deeply embedded ideas of historical consciousness within it. Australia provides a new environment for the concept to be applied, not encumbered by the European or the North American traditions, in a context that has generally included aspects of both within research and teaching. Didactics as a term in the Anglophone history education sphere generally means a type of pedagogy that is teacher centred, a stand and deliver method with the teacher asking the questions. Whereas

the *didaktik* approach 'traditionally denominates the science of teaching and learning, relating to the formation of human beings and thus to any content or content-based skills inside and outside school' (Vollmer, 2014: 24).

With the ideas and influence of various approaches in mind, this paper reviews PhD/Doctoral theses completed in Australia from 1980 to 2018. The purpose of this paper is to examine if and if so, how the terms historical consciousness and moral consciousness are used in doctoral theses; and whether (and if so, how) the related concept of temporal orientation is addressed. The larger research project this paper draws from did not have a pre-identified expectation that the theses would include historical or moral consciousness, it was an exploratory study to find out how much these concepts – largely from continental Europe – had gained traction in Australian research. Theses were selected that addressed historical consciousness, moral consciousness, and/or historical and moral consciousness within education, history, and humanities fields. Topics of research included History (which featured most prominently), History Education, Social Sciences, Theology, English (Literature), and Music Studies (see Figure 1 for a breakdown of numbers of these for each research field). While hundreds of theses came back from a keyword search through Trove,[1] once they had been investigated further, it was found they did not all meet the requirements of referring explicitly to historical consciousness and/or moral consciousness as a phrase. Despite the prominence of historical consciousness in the international field, only three theses across a 14-year period covered by the data collection parameters, included the term historical consciousness or moral consciousness. Given the recency of the influence of the *didaktik* approach in the Australian context, it was not surprising that few PhD theses – 14 in total – contained any of these terms. Only one thesis that was completed in 2017 – and will form a case study for this paper, as one of two theses selected – included the term historical and moral consciousness in a closed keyword search. After conducting a critical discourse analysis on emergent discourses related to the ways in which historical consciousness and moral consciousness are utilised, the paper concludes by offering preliminary findings on the use of these terms including proposed reasons for the relative lack of content both within and across theses.

While history *didaktik* in the European tradition has increasingly influenced Australian teaching and learning at the tertiary level, it remains that researching how historical consciousness and moral consciousness could intersect is under-researched, internationally as well as in Australia; hence the topic addressed in this paper is important in order to understand the status of these theories in PhD theses – as examples of innovative and up to date research in the tertiary field. Currently, there is a gap in how the 'complexity of intertwined narrative threads that connect the past, the present, and the future in people's minds' (Ammert et al., 2017: 3), also identified by Rüsen (2004). For this paper, our understanding of historical consciousness is taken to mean, 'the basic human inclination to make meaningful connections between the past, the present, and the future' (Ammert et al., 2017: 3); and to consider the moral dimension within this, understand here as being matters to do with moral consciousness (Kohlberg, 1984), moral judgment (Rest, 1979; Lind, 2008), moral reasoning (Bucciarelli et al., 2008; Myyry, 2003), moral thinking (Thoma et al., 2013), moral sensitivity (Tirri & Nokelainen, 2011), moral motivation (Myyry, 2003), and moral emotions (Malti & Keller, 2010). However, it is important to point out that moral consciousness as integrated into schooling or education, avoids an 'indoctrination of the kind that pushes bounded moral values, or morality' (Ammert et al., 2017: 5). The complexities of these terms individually and then combined can assist to develop historical empathy and can act as a way to teach traumatic pasts for students that go beyond binaries of good and bad, right and wrong – to show the complexities and messiness of history.

2.   Importance of Doctoral Research

Research higher degree theses were selected for analysis to identify what the current, cutting-edge research is including about historical consciousness and moral consciousness as reported by Parkes (2018: 78):

Given postgraduate researchers are the largest group involved in educational research within Australia (Holbrook et al. 2000), the research they produce is significant in its formation of the research field. O'Connor and Yates (2010) agree that the dissertation literature is important because it often provides a 'significant linkage' between the academy and the field, given that many

postgraduate researchers in education continue to work as teachers, and are therefore 'well placed to be the sources of new ideas and developments'.

The importance of higher degree research in the Australian context is recognised by universities and governments who support domestic students through highly competitive scholarships, fee-waivers, funded research opportunities, and other mechanisms to complete their research. According to World Economic Forum statistics,[2] 8400 PhDs were awarded in Australia in 2014, making up 10 % of PhDs awarded worldwide. Judging by statistics from the 1990s and the 2000s, approximately 6.5-7.5 % are awarded in the study field of education.[3] Studying the use of historical consciousness and moral consciousness in theses is important if we consider that PhD candidate researchers use up to date literature and are making new contributions to the field – a requirement of such theses in Australia. Using the theses as the case study of how historical consciousness is conceptualised matters as it points substantially to what is valued and not valued in relation to this conceptualisation in the current research field.

3.   Methodology and Analysis

3.1 *Thesis Selection and Collection*

The Australian theses included in this paper are those that have been made publicly available through an online repository for theses and available online via Trove. Most, if not all, universities now have an in-house Digital Repository that all PhDs awarded must be uploaded to – often as a requirement to graduate (unless a copyright, legal, or some other sensitive matter reason exists). As Australian university libraries and their respective theses repositories are connected to Trove, each thesis is publicly accessible through this site. In 2009 37 of the 39 Australian universities had established digital repositories for thesis uploading (Kennan & Kingsley, 2009). With the increasing digitisation of scholarly work, theses started to be electronically deposited in 2001 (Kennan & Kingsley, 2009), with evidence of backdating some submissions. It is likely that many theses pre-2001 have not been included in the Trove catalogue (although some are); however, as there is a general paucity of theses with any mention of historical consciousness and moral consciousness, it is unlikely that

many – If any – were missed. From the theses that were collected for analysis for this project, only one thesis is pre-2008.

3.2 *Categorisation of Theses*

Determining which theses to select as part of the study was undertaken through a keyword search on the Trove catalogue. Key words used included 'historical consciousness', 'moral consciousness', and 'historical and moral consciousness'. From the search results, numbering in the hundreds, abstracts and contents pages were read to ensure the keyword search had returned accurate findings. In total, 14 theses across 14 years were collected, with the maximum in any one year being only two (see Figure 2: Number of PhD Theses Per Year). This result, a relatively small number when considering the number of theses in not only History curriculum, but also in education, history, social studies/humanities, and related fields awarded each year, demonstrates the slow take up of historical consciousness and moral consciousness in the Australian research field. And although only a small number, they do demonstrate the most recent way the concepts of historical consciousness and moral consciousness are used. Figure 1 Fields of Study Discipline Categorisation shows the range of disciplines theses encompassed.

Discipline	No. of theses awarded
History, including Public History	6
History Education/School of Education	3
Social Sciences, including Archaeology, Anthropology and Sociology	2
Theology	1
English (Literature)	1
Music Studies	1

Figure 1. Fields of Study Discipline Categorisation.
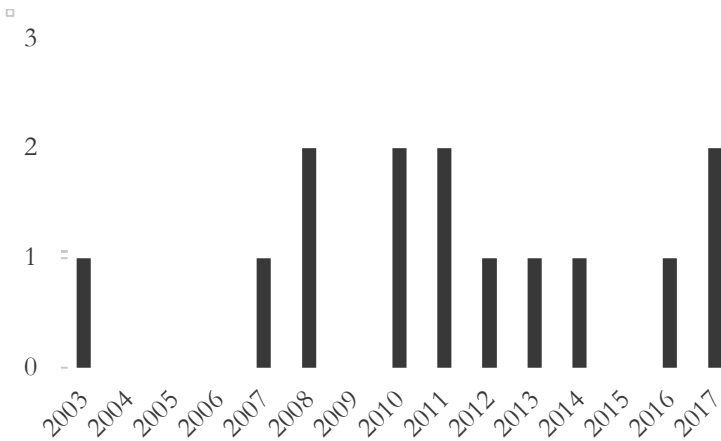
Figure 2. Number of PhD theses per year.

3.3 *Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)*

Using a CDS approach, this paper analyses the selected theses to gain a deeper understanding of how they have used the terms historical consciousness and moral consciousness, and to ascertain the level to which temporal orientation and moral reasoning is included. As a methodology, 'discourse Studies (DS) is a heterogeneous field involving scholars from a range of disciplines' (Wodak, 2018: 6) and is commonly used in two ways, either for micro-analysis or, as the approach taken here 'a socio-historical understanding, preferred by more macro-sociological discourse theorists interested in power, for whom discourse; refers to the ensemble of verbal and non-verbal practices of large social communities' (Wodak, 2018: 6). For this paper, CDS as branch of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) takes Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to undertake the analysis of the theses. The two were selected as they operationalised historical consciousness (although not moral consciousness to the same extent) throughout their respective literature reviews, methodologies, and was an important theoretical consideration in their findings and conclusions. Some of the other theses included the term historical consciousness only at a superficial level or in the literature review. With historical consciousness being a topic of significant social interest and can be seen as shaping how we view

ourselves, history, and current situations, the choice of a CDS approach is appropriate, as Wodak (2018: 5) writes:

CDS [Critical Discourse Studies] *analyses complex social problems which inter alia comprise a linguistic/discursive dimension. The DHA, one of the main approaches in the CDA-paradigm, focuses – apart from the inherent problem-orientation – primarily on the interdependence of discourse and socio-political change.*

Nora: Sites of memory, 3   **Seixas, 4**

Gadamer, 2

Wineburg, 2

Rüsen (incl. 1 with H&MC) , 6
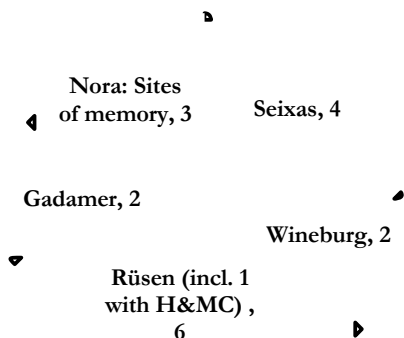
Figure 3. Researchers included more than once.

3.4 *Mapping the Field: 14 Theses*

First, a broad brushstroke analysis of the 14 theses was conducted to determine which theses would be included for a deeper analysis to form a case study. Selection was based on the importance placed on historical consciousness and/or moral consciousness in each thesis, whether it formed an integral part of the research and was intensively operationalised, or whether it was only on the fringes. From the 14 theses identified, Figure 3: Researchers Included More Than Once shows those researchers in the field that were used more than once. This gives an indication of the breadth of the field and who the main authors are that being used by Research Higher Degree students in their theses, which may also give an insight into the historical consciousness approach being taken, especially the ideological underpinnings taken towards historical consciousness and moral

consciousness. For the 14 theses selected for this project, the most commonly used researchers were Rüsen (used in five theses), Seixas (four theses) (see Figure 3). This is an interesting finding to demonstrate the epistemological basis for how RHD candidates view the field and its influence on their research. It also shows the breadth of researchers used by RHD candidates as individual (unique) researchers have not been used extensively, or even by the majority of candidates.

3.5 *Selection of Theses*

The two theses selected – one from the history discipline, specifically public history, and the other from History education – are prime examples of how two very different data sets – one used surveys formed into case studies: based primarily on physical sites such as buildings and cultural artefacts such as film; and the other based on participant interviews – can be used to explore and test the concept of historical consciousness. They were identified for this case study due to the intensified way in which they included historical consciousness and/or moral consciousness in their thesis. For both theses, historical consciousness was used as a 'grand theory' (Wodak, 2015: 3), included in a way that was core to the thesis research. In a sense they had operationalised historical consciousness and/or moral consciousness so significantly that the concept/s were relied on in the thesis to make an argument; it was not in a superficial way.

4. Case Study: Two Theses

4.1 *Focus: How Is Historical Consciousness and/or Moral Consciousness Applied?*

From a broad brushstroke analysis undertaken on the 14 identified theses, a variety of discourses emerged including: uses of historical consciousness and moral consciousness; historical consciousness linked to collective memory and national identity; individual and collective forms of historical consciousness; connections to place; temporality; and historical consciousness and the self. This section will report only on the two theses were selected for a closer, CDS analysis (AD2008 and AI2017). The two selected theses can be seen as parallel cases students because they are both in the field of public history (one focussed on education and one on society more broadly)

and they both focus on citizenship particularly within national and transnational contexts. In addition, both included moral consciousness within the body of their research and findings and both cited Rüsen while linking this concept with historical consciousness. AD2008 is from the field of public history and the main purpose of the thesis was to investigate the 'dynamics of the history-making process in Singapore and its implications historical consciousness and history making' (AD2008: 7). AD2008 sought to investigate whether there was a specific Asian or Singaporean historical consciousness, different to the Western one that was (and remains) so prevalent in the literature. Historical consciousness was used as the stated basis of the methodology, with AD2008 (10) writing, 'Historical consciousness is a complex phenomenon […] a mental and intangible process […] often the product of interactions such as conflict, negotiations and compromise. Given its complexity and elusiveness, I use a combination of methods to study the phenomenon from various angles, and a range of data and sources in order to gain a holistic picture.'

The use of historical consciousness was then framed within a deep case study approach using a variety of data sources such as interviews, films and television, and historical buildings and sites. On the other hand, AI2017's thesis, from the field of History education sought to examine how historical consciousness could be operationalised in the History classroom as 'a space to foster ideas about being a citizen that transcend national borders' (AI2017: 1). Her intention, using a hermeneutic phenomenological approach with notions of historical consciousness deeply embedded in her theoretical approach sought to understand 'teachers' conceptualisations of the 'good' citizen and interpretations of the links between' (AI207: 3). The thesis links historical consciousness, historical thinking and citizenship, in particular positioning the conceptualisation of historical consciousness as understanding the self as a temporal being (Rüsen, 2004), while acknowledging its contested nature. The thesis also linked historical consciousness to notions of citizenship, politics, and collective memory. The author drew on the work of Friedrich (2010), and Seixas (2009) to call for a cosmopolitan historical consciousness. The research aimed to consider possible connections between historical consciousness, historical thinking, and critical notions of citizenship.

4.2 *Discourses Associated with Historical Consciousness and Moral Consciousness*

Both theses, concerned with historical consciousness (and, to a lesser extent moral consciousness as well as temporal orientations) covered a range of similar topics in their attempt to operationalise historical consciousness as a 'grand theory' (Wodak, 2015: 3). Identified in this analysis included discourses of: citizenship (global/post-national, national, Asian, critical); individualism and group belonging; globalism (outside of citizenship); socio-political contexts; values (ethical decision making; empathy/agency); and learning from the past. This paper focuses on an in-depth analysis of the discourse of citizenship related to historical consciousness and/or moral consciousness as presented in the theses. Citizenship in the theses opens up questions about what is accepted and not accepted, right and wrong in relation to a consciousness about temporality and location.

4.3 *Discourses of Citizenship (Global/Post-national, National, Asian, Critical)*

Citizenship is a complex term and can be interpreted in a variety of ways. From the simplistic, to be a citizen of/belong to a nation through to concepts of critical citizenship which doesn't place the nation at the core of expressions of citizenship, but rather sits outside of it. The two cases use citizenship as a concept, and the difference between using it as one that focuses on the individual, and one that focuses on groups. For example, a question to examine is whether historical consciousness is a concept of the individual or is it one of the group? In the case of AD2008, it is concerned with the individual within the national borders of Singapore itself a multicultural nation. In the case of AI2017, it is used as a transnational concept, one that takes place beyond the nation's borders; however the conclusion then brings it back to the individual, in this case the individual, personal understandings that teachers hold of this concept. So, there can be seen that a blurring between the individual and the group, the national and the transnational takes place even within each thesis itself.

Overall, for AI2017, historical consciousness and moral consciousness are legitimised for inclusion through the perspective of a critical, post-national citizenship. Historical consciousness and

moral consciousness are considered 'a prerequisite for a sense of global human solidarity' (AI2017: 1) in the face of an increasing negative outlook of the world that AI2017 describes, 'Young people will face a world of climate threat, precarious work futures, increasing domestic and global inequalities, wars, and growing racism and intolerance. The looming question is how these global challenges can be effectively addressed through global collaboration' (AI2017: 1). Historical consciousness and moral consciousness are viewed here as part of 'good' citizenship and teaching for citizenship. The definition is one of a more esoteric concepts that looks at a broader social phenomenon. AI2017 did however ground her research demonstrating the concepts can be operationalised through a 'hermeneutic interpretive phenomenological approach and influenced by Max van Manen's ideas of hermeneutic phenomenology' (AI2017: 1), and specific data was a survey and ten, semi-structured interviews; three made into case studies and participants were current History school teachers.

On the other hand, AD2008's conceptualisation of historical consciousness and moral consciousness is more empirically grounded within a bounded context. This research concentrated on identifying a Singaporean historical consciousness as a specific Asian identity separate from what her research considered to be the dominant discourse of historical consciousness currently being Eurocentric. For AD2008, historical consciousness is operationalised as a way to 'examine how historical consciousness in terms of type and scope has changed over time' (5) through participant surveys and interviews, not as way to use Rüsen as a typology. It is applied as a grand theory used as a way to understand the world of her participants and their understanding of the past and history (personal and formal or official) rather than as any sort of benchmarking or other marking against a set of concrete criteria. AD2008 is interested in expressions of citizenship as applied to a nation-state context, especially though the observance and celebration of national days and events.

AD2008 discusses a Singaporean sense of historical consciousness without going into any further detail beyond a few-sentence statements, reading:

While recognising that western historical consciousness is not the only type of historical consciousness, I argue that as Singaporeans and Singapore as a [end 5] society become increasingly modern and western in orientation, they are similarly

developing a western form of historical consciousness. Singaporeans appear to be moving away from traditional Asian forms of relating to the past – for example, through the maintenance of rituals and celebration of festivals – towards a more critical form of historical consciousness that is less tradition-bound and one in which history can be discussed, critiqued and actively created by ordinary people.

At the same time, Singaporeans' historical consciousness appears to be broadening in scope, extending from a narrow concern with the personal and familial to an interest and identification with national and trans-national histories (AD2008: 5-6).

In this way, AD2008 is not giving any explanation or description of what a Singaporean historical consciousness is nor an argument for its inclusions; a reader could interpret that because the focus of the study is on Singapore that a Singaporean theory is being used. However, what exactly this is, has not been operationalised nor has any justification for its inclusion been made. Interestingly, she links a Singaporean historical consciousness with concrete actions such as 'rituals and celebration of festivals' rather than the more theoretical basis of historical consciousness as it is generally considered in the literature. In her understanding of linking historical consciousness with citizenship, AD2008 takes historical consciousness from a concern of the individual (without disagreeing with it being applied in this way), and applies it to the collective consciousness of a group of people, writing:

Unlike Rüsen, I am interested in historical consciousness development not as an individual, but as a societal phenomenon. I view historical consciousness, as many other scholars before, as 'the ways in which a society views their collective past as a platform to understand the present and form the future' as being the most critical. Historical consciousness is thus intertwined with the connection a society has with a collective – be it the nation state or a supranational body such as the European Union (EU) – and conceptions of national or supranational identities. (AD2008: 5).

Far from disagreeing with Rüsen though, AD2008 adds 'I agree with Rüsen's assertion of historical consciousness as a developmental process rather than a stagnant phenomenon (that a society is either historically conscious or not)' (5). It could be read that AD2008 equates historical consciousness with identities (related to collective identities) which is not at the core of the Rüsenian perspective of this

term. Regarding the past only as a platform for understanding the present and planning for the future is potentially somewhat too simplistic.

4.4 *Historical Consciousness as an Expression of National and Specifically Asian Citizenship*

AD2008 considers historical consciousness in Singapore is contextualised within government behests to 'cultivate[ing] a Singapore historical consciousness' as a way to promote an 'Asian consciousness' as a reaction to internal politicking and the belief that the 'cultivation of Asian values was seen as necessary to stem the tide against westernisation, especially amongst the Chinese community who were believed to suffer most from this 'disease'. In addition, in the international arena, especially with its economic success, Singapore (and notably Malaysia under former PM Mahathir Mohammad) was using the 'Asian values' discourse to challenge the cultural and ideological dominance of the liberal democracy.' (AD2008: 34).

Australia's relationship with other nations in the region was problematic during this time. In the 1980s and 1990s Australia was on the receiving end of rebukes from Malaysia, arguably as a way to promote their own national identity, and other close by nations, and to pinpoint Australia as a point of difference between other nations in the South East Asia region. Geographically, this area that has often been difficult for Australia to belong to due to its population being predominately 'white', however problematic that term is, and due to its British colonial history. Singapore's first Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew infamously referred to Australia as being or in danger of becoming, the 'poor white trash of Asia' (Kerin, 2015: para. 2). Mahathir shared this kind of view and 'treated Australia with contempt, exploiting the country's neurosis and reinforcing the idea of Australia as a society marginalised in its own location' (Kelly, 2011: 464). As argued by AD2008, the government's ideas of introducing or promoting the growth of a distinct historical consciousness are due to the interesting history of Singapore (as a former colony of Great Britain) and with a diverse ethnic population and a keen interest to develop a Singaporean culture and identity. George Yeo, former Minister of Information and the Arts led this focus on Singaporean culture and identity, with AD2008 (34-35) writing:

Yeo asserted that Singapore's own unique roots growing from its institutions were still 'short and shallow' as they had only been around the last 25 years. In comparison, he described 'ancestral roots' – a metaphor for ethnic identity and culture – as being 'hard', 'gnarled' and 'deep' and thus better able to provide an 'anchor for a people, [end 34] especially in times of crisis'. He acknowledged that over time 'Singaporean roots' might get 'longer and stronger' such that they may be able to 'supplant the ancestral roots' but till then he advocated Singaporeans to 'take it decade by decade' and not 'weaken our society unnecessarily'.

Here, using the discourse of a national identity AD2008 is aware of the temporal locatedness of how historical consciousness is being used and how this is intertwined with the politics of the day. Historical consciousness here is seen as being operationalised in a way that is transferrable across multiple times and places. It is able to be flexible to change to meet the needs of whichever group is either in charge, has the power to make decisions, or is using historical consciousness in some way to assert a certain way of being, especially within a national identity and citizenship context; as a way to promote a national ideology.

Linked to types of historical consciousness, it is described as being relational, 'concerned with the relationship between the sense of history and the collective or group, rather than the personal' (AD2008: 4). AD2008 consistently returns to historical consciousness as being a collective notion. This is different to AI2017 who although is interested in global citizenship, looks at it from the personal, individualised, even internalised sense individuals make of it. AD2008 furthermore views historical consciousness as 'an indicator of the state of group identity and unity and an active force that can cultivate and reinforce particular identities and unities' the importance of historical consciousness to the public and government spheres is obvious to AD2008's understanding of this concept.

4.5 *Linking Historical Consciousness and Moral Consciousness with Citizenship*

From all the theses analysed as part of this research, AI2017 is the only thesis that explicitly connects historical consciousness and moral consciousness with any notion of citizenship. This is done by drawing on Friedrich's work to explain the use of historical

consciousness with critical citizenship, quoting and writing of his ideas:

Friedrich's (2010) thesis is that metanarratives play a crucial role in contributing to historical consciousness that can be argued to act as a 'constituting element of the modern citizen, without which there would be no identity, no memory, no nation' (p. 654). He asserts that this 'epistemological construction of the citizen of the nation' (p. 653) is crucial to enable the subject to position themselves within the national story. Additionally, he contends that historical consciousness, memory and identity must be seen as interlocked, and as the primary mechanism for the 'identity-binding process' in the education of the citizen (Friedrich, 2010: 658). This trinity of history, memory and identity in the mind [end p. 27] of the citizen can be conflated to be the collective memory, functioning as a powerful cultural transmitter and social cohesive (Phillips, 1999), that as Halbwachs theorised (1950/1980), binds the past and the present, the individual and the group. (AI2017: 27-28).

It is this intersection of ideas that guides AI2017's understandings of the relationships between historical consciousness and moral consciousness and citizenship. The perspective that historical consciousness is consistently applied to this thesis is through notions of citizenships. How citizenship is named and described does differ throughout the thesis, (named variously as post-national, critical, multi-dimensional, global, 'good', and active) but it is always in relation to ideas of critical, outside-of-national borders citizenship that seeks 'collaboration' and 'solidarity' (AI2017: 1).

Historical consciousness is legitimised for inclusion in the school History classroom and, drawing on Friedrich 2010, AI2017 writes 'If the focus on teaching History is the development of historical thinking skills, the History classroom can potentially be a space to foster an historical consciousness, argued to be at the core of producing a responsible and informed citizen' (AI2017: 183). It is this keen interest in citizenship that informs her arguments for the inclusion of historical consciousness, she see it as a connection between theory and practice of being a 'good' citizen. Here, AI2017 defines what she means as 'good', writing 'Drawing on the affective compass characteristics of the 'good' citizen as categorised from the data, this concept is framed as being 'historical empathy as caring'; a caring that inspires action'. (AI2017: 183). Action then results in a 'good' citizen when, according to AI2017 (184), 'Moreover,

combining the cognitive and the affective, and linking past, present, and possible futures can facilitate an historical consciousness (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Within that consciousness is a more informed understanding of those temporal connections and the potential for the realisation of the need to participate in social action (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Accessing the affective in historical thinking was viewed by the majority of participants as a precondition for the 'good' citizen to sufficiently care to want to enquire and act.'

Both AD2008 and AI2019 explicitly link political understandings in their arguments in way that legitimises the inclusion of historical consciousness through an understanding of the current political contexts of global politics, and for AD2008 that also included examining socio political contexts, as way to understand possible futures. AI2017 asserts that the best way to deal with global challenges is to be a 'citizen of the world' (AI2017: 219), believing that a deep sense of historical consciousness will in a sense enable people to learn from the past to affect a positive 'better' (AI2017: 219) possible future. AI2017 writes:

To effectively deal with this global challenge, a sense of being a citizen of the world is necessary. Any form of critical and post-national citizenship must necessarily encapsulate tenets of cosmopolitanism, in a sense of shared human experience across time and space, and connecting the local and national to the global. In furthering that connection making with the past, there is much potential to influence thinking about the future, and in doing so foster an historical consciousness. Such a consciousness is essential if learning about the past can have significance for the present in terms of affecting a 'better' future, the goal of many participants in this study. (AI2017: 219)

Here, for AI2017 it is through citizenship that extends beyond a nation's border that will help solve the world's problems with historical consciousness operationalised as a way to achieve this. Influenced by her main argument that in-school History education must teach for citizenship, AI2017 reports in her findings 'teacher education needs to include explicit connections between historical thinking skills, historical consciousness and the formation of the citizen [...] historical thinking skills and concepts [...] aligned with ideas of critical, post-national citizenship must be made explicit for teachers' (AI2017: 223). She is here legitimising and privileging the

place of citizenship in the History classroom above content, historical skills, and historical literacies (as examples).

5.   Findings and Conclusion

The research started with locating theses that covered the concepts of historical consciousness and moral consciousness in meaningful ways that went beyond fringe content or the literature review. What was found is that only two theses met this criteria – demonstrating there are relatively few theses in Australia having this focus, despite searching more broadly than just within education or just within history. While both theses covered historical consciousness in depth and were committed to demonstrating its practical application, both studies struggled to operationalise historical consciousness and moral consciousness in a substantial way, for different reasons. This is indicative of the tenuous nature of historical consciousness and moral consciousness in being applied to a tangible context. AD2008 attempted to link it to a specific Singaporean historical consciousness and although not stated or implied in the thesis itself, it seems that a culturally specific historical consciousness does not exist – or rather can be clearly identified – outside of some mention of rituals and festivals. For AI2017 the enactment of historical consciousness and moral consciousness was impeded by understandings of citizenship differing between the theoretical concept of a critical, post-national citizenship and the enactment of teaching and learning in the History classroom. It is possible that historical consciousness is universal. While interpretations and cultural contexts do differ, the perception of inter-relationships between past, present, and future is cross-culture and exist in all cultures.

What occurred in the theses is that moral consciousness was linked to discourses of citizenship. It was found that in history, as in civic education, it is assumed citizens' sensitivity or ability to deal with temporality and moral issues is what is to be promoted – and how that is evident in history education and history didaktik more specifically is difficult to pin point in ways that concretise these concepts.

In the Australian RHD context – and based on the data from all of the theses identified in the initial search – the addressing of historical consciousness and moral consciousness is very uneven. The relatively scarce use of these terms and concepts (and only once as a

combined concept) could be attributed to a number of factors, such as: first, influence of the Anglo-American historical thinking ideas that are pervasive in Australia; the recent introduction of the German *didaktik* tradition in some sections of the Australian history education sphere; historical consciousness and moral consciousness is difficult to form part of empirical research currently as there is further need to define the concept and to work through its theoretical underpinnings to concretise its use or to apply it to an actual situation. Second, when the terms were included, they were in the main on the fringe of research projects; generally used to frame the research project, in the literature review predominately; it appears to be mentioned because it is new and interesting, but it does not form part of the empirical research. Third, the concepts are not clean cut in the way some (not all) other research approaches or concepts are; it is a messy process, and for PhD students perhaps a risk they are not willing to take; anecdotally, there is potentially concern about going to confirmation committees and research ethics committees that are risk-adverse; and as a research approach historical consciousness and moral consciousness is not easy to define or keep bounded. However, while it is difficult, it is an important as it is a heuristic concept; gives rise to new questions, ideas, and problems to investigate. The two theses that formed the case study demonstrated the possibilities of embedding historical consciousness and moral consciousness within research at a sophisticated level.

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IN PURSUIT OF A DECOLONISED HISTORY TEACHER: AGENCY AND BOLDNESS IN FOSTERING CHANGE[*]

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This paper is a contribution to the current debates in academia on the decolonisation of the curriculum by focusing on History Teaching in Higher Learning and Basic Education. The paper is a self-study of the author's journey of teaching history from high school to university level. Journeying back into my high school teaching years is important as self-studies use the understanding of the present through past experience drawing from various sources such as auto-ethnography, self-study on teacher education, narrative enquiry and qualitative research. The paradigm used is a critical genre as it fits well with the reformation on the subjects of moving from a colonised style of teaching history to a decolonised approach. In this paper colonisation is termed as a system that subjugates any knowledge that is indigenous and uplifts western ways of knowing which has led to the oppression of all areas of indigenous people (Oelofsen, 2015). It has been shown throughout the paper that using colonised History epistemology learners miss much knowledge that could otherwise help them to live and contribute cordially in nation building. It is envisaged that liberation was spearheaded in the classroom by teachers to students in 1976 and more recently, in the 21st century, Consequently, it is pivotal for educators to be at the centre stage of transforming the current curriculum which is fraught with colonisation and alienates most of the society it is supposed to serve – Indigenous people. It is argued in the paper that much is written on decolonisation but less is documented on how the curriculum should be transformed by ensuring that both indigenous and western knowledge are accorded the same significance. The paper does not argue for the replacement of western knowledge. The article thus contributes to the area of how History teaching can be changed in this dispensation of decoloniality by looking through the eyes of a teacher who is a practitioner of the subject.

Thina sizwe esimnyama (We the black the nation)
Sikhalelela izwe lethu (Are we weeping for our land)

Elathathwa ngabamhlophe (Which was taken away from us by white people)
Mabayeke umhlaba wethu (Let them return our land)

(City Press, 17.09.2011)

1. Introduction and Background

The above song is widely used in rallies by the liberation political organisations when they want to relay messages about the issues of land dispossession by the colonialists. It is a liberation song and as such it denotes feelings of anger, hurt and frustrations (Nkosi, 2018). It is about the passivity of merely crying, but does not talk about any action that the oppressed must take. Agency is key in this post-apartheid dispensation – action has to be taken which requires all South Africans to fight for the equality of all and that includes the recognition of all knowledge, which has been aptly put by Sir Bacon's famous assertion that 'knowledge is power' (Spedding, Ellis & Heath, 1969). In this current order our Universities and Basic Education display missing links in knowledge as our teachings are frequently disciplinary based and curricula are not serving the wider part of our communities as the information we draw from is mainly western. The Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) manuscript and higher learning curricula does not overtly state how to deal with the decolonisation of the history curriculum, but the ideologies of dealing with tensions of official history that is colonised and some unofficial knowledge of the curricula that is decolonised are theoretically endorsed in the policy. This implies that western knowledge as an official epistemology is a commodity and access is the key (Dziuban, Moskal & Hartman, 2005: 11), and that those who do not possess and cannot access that knowledge are at a disadvantage. Hence education experts argue than an effective curriculum has to adhere to the needs of its society because knowledge is diverse in nature as it is socially constructed (Waghid, 2002: 69). This infers that, for education to be effective it has to cater for knowledge in that country. In South Africa it means that indigenous knowledge and western knowledge are critical.

According to Grumet (1981) a curriculum is based on the stories that we tell students about their past, present and future. This understanding of curriculum aids us in probing which stories students are taught about their past, present and future and who tells

these stories. In South Africa the stories in the curriculum are drawn mainly from western knowledge. Added interpretation of curriculum is that of Aoki (1999) who argued that curriculum should not concentrate only on the intended aspects but also on how it is lived by students and teachers, denoting that it must speak to the social context of teachers and students. It is apparent that urban and rural social contexts play a remarkable role in influencing knowledge, henceforth, modernisation in urban areas is the main cause for discarding any other form of knowledge. Indigenous knowledge thrives in rural areas (far from western influences), allowing a preservation of some histories and knowledge. It implies that the curriculum has to integrate knowledge of those whom it serves so it can be effective in developing the lives of communities. Such one-sided information renders itself into competing knowledge and affects the quality of understanding of the content taught in schools and institutions of higher learning. The understanding of the content materially impacts indigenous students completing their studies. Research depicts that only 15 per cent of the 60 per cent of Indigenous students who survive first year eventually complete their studies (Le Grange, 2016: 1-2). Pilane (2016) affirms that some students who are unsuccessful come from repressive, unproductive public school organisations. This paper focuses on the self-reflection of an academic who also emerged from the same social setting and is a former High School teacher of History and currently a lecturer of History, in order to understand how we can best liberate History from the shackles of colonisation from which it was born.

The enlightenment period 1685-1815 in Europe inaugurated the science of 'knowability' based on the idea, 'I think, therefore, I am' (Descartes, 1970). This is the period which delivered an atmosphere in which thoughts, actions, and events developed new gist (Stone, 1993). God was no longer the only one who could understand the world, the rational human could too. Unfortunately, as put by Mbembe (2017), that rationality was based on race – only Whites were accorded that status of being scientific in thinking while other races were seen as barbaric and superstitious. Any argument that could not be proved 'scientifically' was discarded as non-knowledge. Since then the decolonial theorists have unmasked the person behind the 'I' as not just any human being, but the European 'man' and 'woman' (Nelson, 2010). The 'other' non-European was regarded as non-human which in isiZulu means *akongomtu*. Hence, for the

colonialists it was easy to dispossess the land and downplay knowledge of non-Europeans. Dubois disputes the views held during the enlightenment period and argues that the scholars of the enlightenment must focus on diversity of thought during this period, not only on race and slaves. He aptly said: 'We should begin from the assumption that there was an intellectual life within slave communities, and that this life involved movement between ideas and action, between the abstract and the particular, between past, present and future' (Dubois, 2006: 3). Hence, I use the term science in a pluralist context, as described by Ogawa as a 'rational perceiving of reality' so that both western and indigenous peoples' sciences can be categorised under this umbrella (1995: 588).

In South Africa educationally it meant subjugation of indigenous knowledge and the upliftment of western epistemology. While colonial rule manifests a different phase in history: pre-colonial South Africa was inhabited by several indigenous communities which today form part of groups which make up the country's population – the Khoisan, amaXhosa, amaNguni, and Basotho. They had their own education and knowledge process. Their education was based on orality and the absence of formal education, as used in western terms like schools, did not mean that there was no education taking place (Cameron, 1991: 37). As Ndlovu has argued, indigenous knowledge is real and far from being a fantasy and has the potential to impact the future of the world outside the current Western fundamentalist world view which misleadingly pretends to be the only epistemology capable of universality (2014: 84). This is in-line with Quijano (2017) views that IKs needs to be rescued from the clutches of the 'colonial power matrix'.

The democratic dispensation of 1994 tried all in its power to transform education to suit its epoch but issues of decolonisation of education are still a problem. In this paper decolonisation refers to the process of undoing colonialism and nation empowerment to re-gain and maintain its domination over their territories through decoloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Decoloniality is the practice of decolonisation, by critical examining dominant practices and knowledge in a modern society (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). This academic venture will assist in developing students and educators who respect other people and their cultural practices which is a great step towards decolonisation. It is not about replacing western knowledge but ensuring that indigenous knowledge is also pushed to

the centre of knowledge production. Hence the African philosophy of ubuntu impinges on values of being human like love, respect, hospitality, care, participation which are key in decolonisation (Shutte, 2001: 2). Ubuntu and decolonisation overlap in the sense that they both promote respect of humanity. In terms of education the two concepts promulgate teaching for life that inculcates principles of democracy and nation building. Decolonisation of teaching also means that teaching must draw from the knowledges of students they teach.

The National Curriculum Statement of 2007, which moved from Outcomes Based Education, was mostly western in content. It is only through the CAPS that African content is encouraged in the curriculum. Bozalek and Boughey (2012) aptly argue that, in South Africa the education system has a narrow link amid policies that target the proliferation of inclusiveness and the experiences of students and staff in this transformed education system. This is exacerbated by the influence of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank when it comes to policy cycles especially in the South African context, which promotes western knowledge. Consequently, more research work is needed to ensure that the gap is bridged between policies and what is happening in the education institutions in terms of decolonisation of content delivery, teaching pedagogy and how such organisations are managed and administered. As Martin et al. (2000) have argued, university culture (this also relates to schools' settings) is problematic as it is about the transmission of knowledge and there is disconnection between that knowledge and real lived experience. For Freire this type of education is 'banking concept,' as it is 'essentially an act that hinders the intellectual growth of students by turning them into, figuratively speaking, comatose 'receptors' and 'collectors' of information that have no real connection to their lives' (cited in Micheletti, 2010).

History as a subject in schools and higher learning suffers the same ordeal. Education institutions are spaces of knowledge making and students expect to be treated humanely. The knowledge they grapple with also has to tally with their known environments. This is normally not the case, however, as lecture theatres and History classrooms are spaces that alienate some indigenous knowledge and uplifts mainly western knowledge as the only epistemology to reckon with (Kgari-Masondo, 2013). This is the battle identified by Gray, who argues that there is a future war coming, war on decolonisation,

based on ensuring acceptance of all knowledge (cited in Pappalardo, 2018). Hence, the purpose of this paper is navigating such a war by doing a self-reflection on my teaching, from school to lecturing in higher learning, showing how I engaged in teaching History in a decolonised manner though the content was dominated by a colonial worldview. This study is a springboard on how a teacher using History as a model can navigate decolonisation in their teaching.

2. Methodology and Approach

Data reflected in this paper comes from the observation of the author of teaching History using CAPS and training History teachers 2008-2018. Self-study is employed in the paper as a reflection drawing from my own journey as a teacher on how I conceptualise and navigate decolonisation in my teaching. As argued by Zwozdiak-Myers (2012), teachers who are keen to advance in their professional practice are continuously asking questions about their teaching practice, which stimulates commitment to constantly learn and create or find new ideas. For this study the sources are the author's written reflective teaching journal, secondary sources and CAPS. The journal expounded on my day to day teaching experiences. I coded them based on the purpose of this paper which is to focus on reflection on teaching in a decolonized manner. This study is a form of an auto-ethnography since the design can be a highly personal account that draws upon the experience of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending understanding of a professional practice like mine – teaching. Embodied auto-ethnographic accounts of professional practice in education studies, such as the one in this paper, can reconfigure power relations, opening out elucidations of experience and remaking practice communications. According to Denshire (2014: 840), the influence of auto-ethnography can be used to 'create discomfort through their challenges to traditional realist modes of representation'. Therefore, I conducted a self-reflective study in which I expressed my own personal experiences in the History classrooms and the lecture theatres/venues as a facilitator. According to Weber (1995: 47) a self-study 'includes various experiences and concepts of 'the self', although there is not necessarily a focus on theorising of 'the self' or 'the identity'. My self-study is what Brandenburg refers to as 'assumption interrogation' because it allows the researcher to cross-examine data through a reflection process so

that new information emerges (cited in Tidwell, Heston & Fitzgerald, 2009: xix).This indicates that in my teaching practice I always try to show that even if the norm is anti-change one can implement decolonisation in a creative way. This is line with LaBoskey's (2004) view that the purpose of self-study is to enhance our knowledge of social justice.

As a result, this study is a case study design as outlined by Gobo (2008). This study is a case study of my classroom pedagogy on how I implement decolonisation of the history curriculum. The case study design was chosen because it allows for the combination of a wide range of data collection methods, including informal conversations, reflexive diary entries, and of documentary materials such as meeting minutes, autobiographical writings and so on (Whitehead, 2004). As a result, the decolonisation approach to research will be used as it links with the critical paradigm and the nature of this study: to decolonise History teaching in schools and higher learning by integrating indigenous knowledge. As argued by Simmons and Dei (2012: 74) an anti-colonial approach concentrates on 'mechanics and operations of colonial and re-colonial relations and the implications of imperial projects'. The genre looks on developments of knowledge production, questioning and authentication. Thus, anti-colonial philosophy advocates that all knowledge must be purposively organised to aid in challenging the colonial imposition. The philosophy also promotes the epistemology of the colonised, secured in the indigenous logic of communal and shared colonial mindfulness (Simmons & Dei, 2012). This implies that it is based on including a different perspective on what had been written about African history. Similarly, in this study an anti-colonial approach is used to reflect the need to place History teaching in schools and higher learning in South Africa from the perspective of indigenous knowledge to assist the previously colonised stakeholders (institution management, students and staff) so that their interest, culture, traditions, values and structures are placed at the centre of their education. As proposed by Ramose (1998), African people must regulate the teaching, learning and content of their education grounded in their understandings for contextual relevance. But this paper proposes that a balancing process is needed with indigenous knowledge required for the local context and western knowledge for the universal context allowing for a holistically balanced individual.

A self-study is important for this paper as it is decolonial in the sense that through the practice itself, one valorises the self and one's knowledge and experience in a system that devalues it. As argued by Zwozdiak-Myers (2012), teachers who are keen to improve in their professional practice are constantly asking questions about their teaching practice which inspires commitment to continuously learn and create or find new ideas. Decisions on which themes from CAPS, courses at university and teaching journal are worth recording to relate with this paper became explicit as I engaged with my students and my own teaching through reading and analysis of my teaching journal and secondary sources.

The content was analysed for common themes by conducting successive readings of my reflective transcripts. A thematic method of analysis was used (Chow & Healey, 2008). To analyse my self-reflection data I used written archival documents papers and scrapbooks and other secondary sources such as articles, books, on-line literature and newspapers to supplement the gaps. The problems that I have encountered in doing this paper were my reflections as I have to draw from my experiences that occurred some years ago and link with my current practices.

3. History of Education in South Africa: From Colonial to Decolonial Period

History education in South Africa started in the pre-colonial era (Molema, 1920: 122-123). Pre-colonial South Africa was inhabited by several indigenous communities which today form part of groups which make up the country's population – the San and Khoisan, amaXhosa, amaNguni, and Basotho. Their education was based on orality. The absence of formal education as used in western terms like schools, did not mean that there was no education taking place. Hence, Molema (1920) contends that the kind of education that was received during this period was normally referred to as traditional. This education system kept the precolonial society progressing. These are the traditional education stages and processes undertaken by some indigenous people like the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana:

Firstly, the child was formally educated by members of the family at home; and secondly, every three, four or five years, boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one were gathered into regiments to undergo the rites of circumcision. These

boys were isolated for a period of three months under the supervision of older men who lectured them on tribal traditions and customary laws. Girls also, between the ages sixteen and twenty, were isolated for a corresponding term as boys, under the austere matrons, who taught them rudimentary principles of motherhood (Molema, 1920: 122-123).

   The accountability for the education of children was placed on the whole village that is, biological parents and all adults with whom children came into contact (Luthuli, 1981: 54-55). With the arrival of the European settlers at the Cape westernization occurred whereby schools, professional teachers, and related policies were implemented to ensure formal education. With the emergence of colonialism in South Africa the European settlers demanded that the White race have special rights to education, positions of public responsibility, ownership of land and wealth based on Enlightenment attitudes of racial dominance (Lewis & Steyn, 2003: 102). During this period of Dutch rule (1652-1806) little was done regarding education, especially indigenous people's education. Behr and MacMillan (1971: 357) mention that on 17.04.1658 the first community school for slaves was established, and the teachings concentrated mainly on the slaves' intellectual, religious, moral welfare and also to educate enough to speak the masters' language and serve the master. During this epoch it is clear the education was adequate to meet the needs of colonial society of training the African children to serve them.

   The British Government took over South Africa from 1806-1910 and numerous normative alterations were experienced – the abolition of the slave trade, and the laying down of rules to govern the Khoisan. Amid the modifications the British brought to the Cape, they introduced a system of public education for White children and paid missionary societies small subsidies for educational work among the Indigenous people. The only subject was simple arithmetic and religion which became a key of indoctrination of Africans (Seroto, 2004). This shows why the curriculum even during the apartheid epoch was driven by religious instruction which would obviously be a cause for rebellion to teachers who were not proponents of Christianity. Hence, Seroto maintains that one can, thus, argue that missionary education, which was not formal education per se, could not cater for the indigenous people as they relied principally on subsistence and the spiritual world which was seen by Christianity as evil or wrong. Missionary education mainly supported the colonialist government ideals and racial capitalism of using Africans for cheap

labour, hence, they catered mainly for males and women were excluded.

The National Party rule from 1948 came with promises of transforming their predecessors' education status of Blacks. In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act was enacted. Two years later, in 1953 the Bantu Education Act was propagated. An activist of the latter policy, Dr. Verwoerd asserted in his views that,

The Bantu teacher has to be involved as active factor in the development process of the bantu community, in order to serve and build this community. He must not learn to feel himself above his community, so that he will want to be integrated into the white social life and become frustrated and rebellious if it does not happen, so that he will make his community dissatisfied because of such wrongly directed ambitions foreign to his people (cited in Venter, 1999: 438).

The above quote illustrates that racially separated education and enforcement of Western knowledge was a chief pillar sustaining the apartheid system in South Africa. This unconcealed discrimination with extensive rooted history in the South African education structure was preserved by the system of separate development.

Post-apartheid South Africa from 1994 with the introduction of democratic principles calls upon equality in education in all spheres of societal structures. It affirmed eradication of colonial education through the constitution. The democratic South Africa, thus depicts de-colonial principles of the context of the precolonial education. But subsequent educational offerings from the colonial, unionist, to the apartheid state have problems as they were geared to building Africans to be European and serve Whites (Chirenge, 1987). Hence, the ideals of the new South Africa encourage consciousness about African nationalism which ensure that Africans are humanised and receive the education that serves their needs as a society not only colonial requirements.

4. My Journey Towards the Decolonisation Process of the History Curriculum

Every journey in life has a story. My own journey of teaching is that of a continual fight against colonisation in all spheres of education and life. I grew up during the apex of apartheid and my family members were staunch Pan Africanist Congress members which

became entrenched in my mental make-up. Fanon (2008: 14) argues that it is essential for the black person to overcome the psychological effects of colonialism. Looking at Fanon's life, Oelofsen (2015) mentioned that 'what his life would be was largely determined by how he chose to respond to the racist white gaze'. This implies that indigenous people have a choice to fight against colonialism (of which apartheid was an extension) or internalise it. For me colonialism made me to grow up as an assertive African indigenous woman who was able to learn and teach history from an Africanist perspective. Growing up in Soweto in the 1970s gave me a leverage of experiencing resistance politics at hand which taught me to fight against injustices and speak my mind. As a result, I grew up an Africanist who believes in correcting all the wrongs written about Indigenous people in history and other disciplines.

My higher learning studies and meeting my robust lecturers from Bachelor of Arts to Ph.D. helped my journey towards decolonisation of the history curriculum. From my BA I was taught African culture in a Religious Studies course. My interest grew from that course and in my Ph.D. I focused on forced removals from the indigenous perspective. Integrating indigenous knowledge in the teaching of history made me feel comfortable and confident as I used examples from my own knowledge process rather than focusing on foreign examples. For example during teaching my honours course on 'Problems in Understanding History' many issues were raised like how learners learn history drawing from Piaget, Harlam and other Western authors. When I took over the course in 2013 nowhere in the curriculum has the issue of lack of indigenous knowledge in history been placed as a problem in understanding history. Even the important book edited by Bam, Ntsebeza & Zinn (2018) raises significant information about decolonisation but does not address the issue of problems associated with understanding History that occurs when the curriculum lacks indigenous content.

My course, thus, draws on indigenous knowledge as a critical concept in history. It links indigenous knowledge with historical concepts like cause and consequence, change and continuity, historical significance, gender, environment, race and official and unofficial history. I use diverse knowledge from Indian, White, African and Coloured worldviews. As I continued teaching in higher learning I found receptiveness and eagerness to engage with indigenous knowledge from my students even non-indigenous ones. I

then learnt that, beginning of every module I have to explain to students about the significance of indigenous knowledge and its scientificity.

Currently the emphasis in History Education is very much on the 'what' to teach (decolonisation) and not necessarily on 'how' to teach. Teaching and learning, however, is not what we teach, but what we would like our students to learn and help them to achieve (Ramsden, 2003). In 1976 students in Soweto used education to fight apartheid (Ndlovu, 2006). Again from 2015 students used education to fight coloniality in education that still exists in the new democratic state (Mbembe, 2016). This indicates that teachers in schools and in higher learning have a major role to play in this dispensation of war of knowledges and their role is to aid in redress in knowledge making by pushing indigenous knowledge from the periphery to the centre in their pedagogy. History education has been the battle ground of those who vehemently fought against apartheid policies. History as a subject exposed discrimination brought forth by colonialism and the apartheid policy and motivated teachers, students and other community members to riot against Bantu Education in 1976. Hence, history teachers must be bold for change especially since now there is a possibility for the subject to be compulsory in schools (Ndlazi, 2018). Through close collaboration with both western and African philosophy I have gained insights into both epistemologies with regards to their meaning making abilities. Western knowledge has empowered me with the power that lies in individualism while African philosophy expounded the significance of community.

These two epistemologies enlightened me, that used together they can enhance a holistic individual who understands self within a community. I have developed a deep appreciation for those who invite me to question my epistemologies by sharing ways of knowing the world that are different from my own. Viewing myself through both knowledges' lenses has impacted profoundly on how I interact with students and people from both worlds and has brought a crucial question – on the significance of all knowledges of the world. Moving away from subjugating indigenous knowledge and uplifting western epistemology has led to colonisation of all areas of indigenous people. Decolonisation is a double edge sword seeing that it is not only indigenous people that should be decolonised, but all people. So western knowledge holders should also learn from

indigenous knowledge as indigenous knowledge holders should also learn from western knowledge.

4.1 *My Teaching Pedagogy and Decolonisation: History Case Study*

Globally, the past century has witnessed an increase in changes in history education pedagogy and content (Biesta, 2019).

Our South African History curriculum and delivery of that content requires educators to adhere to the needs of the society we serve. That is, we need to teach in a democratic way, embrace democratic principles – based teaching practice by entrenching western alongside indigenous knowledge linked with the Histories we teach. As History teachers we are obliged to possess characteristics that embrace a de-colonial teaching style and employ content that is aligned with the democracy. This section illustrates my teaching style as an educator who has been an activist of teaching History from a decolonised manner.

4.2 *History Educators Who Teach for Life*

To be a decolonised history teacher requires one to accept and believe that all people are equal. Similarly, the acceptance of Black consciousness as key in the upliftment of the previously disadvantaged groups of the world is necessary (Smith, 2017). Such a teacher has to adhere to the philosophy of ubuntu by humanising all learners they come into contact with notwithstanding of race, class, ethnicity, disability, religion, language, sexuality, tradition or gender. As Maldonado-Torres (2007: 252) has highlighted this will be decolonisation because it simultaneously hides both what could be regarded as the coloniality of knowledge (others do not think) and the coloniality of Being (others are not). Ubuntu is the essence of being human and what is necessary for human beings to grow and find fulfilment (Shutte, 2001: 2). This is important where coloniality has made people 'unhuman' or less human. It maintains that a person 'becomes human' through participation in a community and other important components like environment, religion, culture and tradition (Kunnie, 2003: 137). A complete human being is thus determined by the way the individual interacts with others. For teachers it implies that they would be real educators if they go beyond traditional pedagogy and teaching by employing decolonising

pedagogy and show respect and love to other stakeholders in the school community including learners.

The trait of being a change maker is important – that change is possible as long as a history teacher believes that it can be realised. Teachers who embrace the decolonisation of the History curriculum engage in ensuring that they research, reread, rewrite and reorganise knowledge they receive so they teach learners information that is non-discriminatory of other narratives that challenge the colonial narratives. This is a call for 're-languaging' of history content where teachers also use significant concepts used in a community under study so that learners can understand the historical narratives from within the context under study. For an example, the concept of environment is different in Western knowledge (is dominated) while in indigenous knowledge it is called *hlago*, *imvelo* and it is about cooperation with nature (see Kgari-Masondo, 2018: 19). This requires teachers to engage in 'border crossing pedagogy' by integrating both indigenous and western knowledges in teaching because it respects all knowledges and cultures (Giroux, 1992).

When I teach about the Group Areas Act of the 1950's, I explain what land means to indigenous people of South Africa. That it was not only a title deed based significance but religious, historical, humanising and heritage based. As argued by Kgari-Masondo (2008: 93), the loss of land through the Group Areas Act for indigenous people of South Africa like the Sotho-Tswana to feel less human as they lost their inheritance and spaces where they performed their religious rituals to ancestors.

4.3 *Methods of Teaching*

Teaching methods that tally with decolonisation of the curriculum embrace ubuntu in that it allows for cooperative working which draws from the philosophy of ubuntu significance of group work. Group work tallies well with decolonisation as it embraces cooperation rather than individualism it allows the teacher to become the facilitator and promotes critical and creative thinking to develop amongst learners. This is not new as the post-1994 school curricula emphasised a learner-centred pedagogy where learners became participants in their own learning. The integrative style of teaching is important in this kind of teaching context in that it builds learners who share knowledge which is in the unofficial arena. In this sense

group work is problem-based learning or inquiry learning (Savery, 2006). Group work is emphasised in the knowledge process of the Basotho as letsema which is ubuntu's social structure which is when an individual would invite neighbours to help in performing a particular task (Letsoalo, 1987: 19). Learners learn to respect and work with others. Moreover, group work instils human rights values, respect of others, cooperative working skills, participation which are important in nation building. Education is structurally against decolonisation using the individual marks system. The educational assessments related to group work like presentations, demonstrations, debates, drama are based on developing learners and drives learners to deep learning. This requires us to use their world/ communities as resources by moving from the traditional western classroom and engaging in the African classroom which is out there (the community) and engaging more on oral tradition. This style of teaching instils practicalities in teaching in order to develop creative, critical, analytical application skills. When students work in groups they engage in deep learning and are able to learn and get encouraged by peers.

Teaching resources are also fundamental in a decolonised classroom, because they enhance teaching and learning. Resources like maps, pictures, music, videos have indigenous slant to illustrate the content being taught. Learners need to be taught using resources with which they are familiar in order to help them understand the content better, such as e.g. indigenous games. I used Morabaraba to teach students about the scramble for Africa (Nkopodi & Mosimege, 2009). Learners sometimes use stones to locate African countries colonised by European colonisers and this helps in calculations. Focus also can include oral tradition by inviting people knowledgeable in the themes studied like *bogogo* (grandmothers) and *abumkhulu* (grandfathers) instead of learned westernised academics. Nature can also be used as a resource for teaching: stones for calculations, technology, cell phones, trees and rivers to explain historical backgrounds. For example, I asked students to find rivers in their areas to research about the history in order to help them with investigation skills. Students were organised in groups to engage in such projects so they get multi-perspective knowledges on history narratives and this contributed to problem solving learning.

5. The Way Forward: Decolonising History Curriculum Using 'Border-crossing Pedagogy'

Change in history teaching by effecting decolonisation of the curriculum so that indigenous knowledge can also be evident requires the urgent consideration of policy makers and teachers. As Oelofsen (2015: 145) has argued that 'it is necessary to overcome the inferiority and superiority complexes inherent in postcolonial Africa'. Education authorities have been quiet about how decolonisation of the history curriculum could be done. A systematic curriculum enhancement including materials needs to safeguard western and indigenous epistemologies by drawing them together when historical accounts are articulated or written down. I have observed throughout my teaching career that history educators who embrace both western and African indigenous knowledge would do a great job in incorporating the two epistemologies in historical accounts together for themselves. But college and university history courses rarely seem to engage in incorporation of both knowledges. Many history teachers have no qualification in courses that entail varied indigenous knowledges of the world and they need ready-made history materials to assist them (see Kgari-Masondo, 2017). Collaboration is attainable, and just needs committed practitioners of history who are prepared to engage in 'border crossing' strategy as the crossing deals with inconsistencies and allows for creative solutions thereof (Giroux, 1992).

In terms of the teaching of history, 'border crossing' means the officially unacceptable teaching method of mixing unofficial and official narratives that are both western and indigenous to Africa. This requires recognition so as to bridge the splits learners engage with outside the classroom of learning about their society in a divided and isolated manner. The main impact of teaching history narratives in a divided manner (only focus on official, not unofficial history) is the eruption of conflicting views. It can cause confusion to students and such discrimination of knowledge has to be addressed by all concerned. This can lead to problems in understanding history which can be averted if teachers decolonise the history curriculum. Not teaching learners decolonised history produces uninformed members of society as they are faced with unsolved mysteries of a subject that discriminate and silence what is significant historically from their worldview.

'Border crossing pedagogy' is proposed as one solution that can assist in the decolonisation of the History curriculum as it allows for the equality and integration of diverse knowledges in teaching. The pedagogy is relevant in that it authorises the teacher to help themselves first and then students to understand diversity and multiculturallism. History teachers will be able to comprehend diverse humanities as dissimilar and not superior to the other and in the process learners will appreciate their identity as South Africans in a globalised world. The pedagogy tallies well with the values of the new South Africa's Constitution in Act 108 of 1996, because it is based on the corrective measures of the divisions of the past and institutes a society based on democratic principles, social justice and basic rights, also to improve the quality of life of all citizens and liberate the potential of all South Africans (Department of Basic Education, 2011: i).

6. Conclusion

The CAPS document and higher learning curricula does not explicitly state how to deal with the decolonisation of the history curriculum, but the principles of dealing with tensions of official history that is colonised and some unofficial knowledge of the curriculum that is decolonised are promoted in the policy. This paper illustrates that it is doable and it is the practice that some teachers have been practicing in their classrooms. It is a call for teachers to be bold for change. It implies that teachers need to research in-depth and draw indigenous knowledge into historical narratives and allow learners to do the same. Thus, it is a rigorous call for the re-examining, reviewing and the revising the way history is taught and the curriculum received in South Africa. Even though there is considerable work to do I believe that the proposals are already valuable to researchers, policy makers and teachers.

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AN EVALUATION OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' ABILITY TO SOURCE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS[*]

Anitha Oforiwah Adu-Boahen

The paper presents a study that examined historical thinking among final year pre-service teachers in two public history teacher education institutions in Ghana. A total of 135 student-teachers were sampled, and the goal was to evaluate how they source historical documents. A self-assessment survey and document-based task were administered and Lévesque's (2008) heuristics i.e. internal and external criticism of sourcing was adopted in analysing their responses. From the responses offered about their ability to make sense of the sources of the past, student-teachers struggled to effectively evaluate historical claims in terms of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration of historical documents. They found it difficult to identify who may be behind a historical document. Also, the written responses showed narrow corroborative skills among the student-teachers. That is, the student-teachers were not able to figure out how credible information in one document is, in comparison with similar information in another document (i.e. the information in line with other texts). Similarly, while some student-teachers could find discrepancies in documents, they were unable to point out incomplete information. The seeming suggestion brought forward by these findings is that student-teachers may not be able to integrate historical sourcing concept into their pedagogical practices. This points to a need for support in the training of student-teachers where they will be trained on how to think historically.

1. Introduction

In April 2019, the Government of Ghana, through the Ministry of Education, introduced a new curriculum designed to respond to the national priority of transforming the structure and content of the education system from simply passing exams to building character, nurturing values, and raising literate adults who are confident and committed to critical thinking (NaCCA, 2019). Additionally, the curriculum seeks to 'transform learners into literate, good problem solvers with the capacity to think creatively and to have the courage

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and skills to participate fully in Ghana's society as responsible local and global citizens' (NaCCA, 2019). It is also envisioned that learners can become digitally literate, demonstrate leadership, and become team players. In the words of the Executive Secretary for the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, 'these skills and values, are in vogue across the globe and Ghanaian students risk being outcompeted if they are not prepared to fit into the new international society'. Notable among the subjects was the re-introduction of history at the Basic School Level.

History as a subject in the Ghanaian school curriculum has enjoyed considerable attention since the colonial period. As a subject taught both in missionary schools and in schools established by the colonial administration, history has witnessed an enviable position in Ghana's school curriculum (Adu-Boahen, 2018). After colonialism, the subject continued to be one of the four subjects written during the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination (M.S.L.C.E). History was offered in Senior High Schools as an elective subject for Arts students who wrote the School Certificate and the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (SC/GCE 'O' level). After the introduction of the 1987 educational reform, history's position in the school curriculum dwindled. The subject was integrated into the Social Studies Curriculum at the Basic School level and offered as an elective subject to General Arts students at the Senior High School level (Oppong, 2009; Adu-Boahen, 2014; Boadu, 2016). Currently history has been re-introduced as a subject at the Basic School Level.

In the Senior High School history curriculum, the rationale for teaching history is to *enable learners to become patriotic, be able to know and take pride in his or her own heritage and be motivated to build on it* [...] *studying History also promotes national harmony and unity as it enables the students to learn about, appreciate and respect the cultures of other ethnic groups besides their own* [...] *it offers an opportunity for the student to appreciate the achievements of his/her ancestors and thus develop pride in being a Ghanaian and an African. It hence, challenges the student to show loyalty to the country and always seek to build on what their ancestors have achieved* (CRDD, 2010).

The rationale for teaching history at the Senior High School from the statement above suggests that the philosophical grounding of the subject is to enable learners reflect on the nation's past and pride themselves in their past and that of Africa. It also suggests that the subject is designed to offer learners with the grand narratives of the nation's history and to enable them fit well into the society as

patriotic citizens with limited emphasis on critical and analytical thinking skills. That is, the purpose of teaching and learning history is to promote substantive historical knowledge at the expense of procedural knowledge.

The new curriculum at the Basic School, however, integrates a knowledge of the substantive and procedural historical knowledge to develop in students what Bertram (2012) calls a 'historical gaze'. The aim is to develop critical thinking, problem solving, team playing and more importantly promote higher order thinking among learners by emphasizing historical thinking concepts. The rationale is to inculcate into learners the ability to develop the imaginative and critical thinking skills which are critical information-processing skills in the twenty-first century (NaCCA, 2019). In the classroom, learners are to analyse, evaluate and interpret past events carefully to make informed decisions and 'become useful national and global citizens'. The philosophy of teaching and learning history makes it clear that learners should be able to:

1) appreciate the history of themselves, their families, and communities;

2) acquire the skill of gathering and objectively analysing historical data, using scientific methods that will enable them to interpret the actions and behaviours of the people of Ghana from a Ghanaian perspective;

3) acquire more knowledge on the history of the people of Ghana from ancient times;

4) apply historical concepts to the study of the history of Ghana;

5) develop a discerning approach to studying sources of historical evidence;

6) develop a sense of national consciousness and appreciate the factors that make for national unity;

7) acquire positive habits and attitudes, national identity as a Ghanaian and an African with a heritage worthy of pride, preservation, and improvement; and

8) appreciate the relevance of the study of history in current and future development efforts of the nation (NaCCA, 2019: v).

Consequently, teachers need to emphasise historical thinking concepts such as continuity and change, context and chronology, significance, cause and consequence, evidence (sourcing) and interpretation etc. to develop critical thinking skills such as comparing, contrasting, and evaluating sources. Teachers need to

develop creative thinking and digital literacy skills where learners discover how to source, interpret, and research into historical sources. Teachers are also expected to nurture learners in the skill of sharing historical information. They are also to guide learners to make enquiries from available sources of historical evidence to promote critical thinking.

This move is welcome, since, in recent times, the teaching and learning of history across the globe has moved away from the conventional content-based knowledge (substantive knowledge) to the direction of skill-based knowledge (procedural knowledge) curriculums and instruction (Rantala, 2012). The shift resulted from the great works of the constructivist theories of Dewey, Piaget, Bruner, and Vygotsky whose works have had great impact on teaching, learning and curriculum design (Martin, 2012). Their impact on the teaching of history led to an increasing body of research which has delved into ways in which students cognitive meaning-making in the discipline could be put into use (VanSledright, 2009). The constructivist learning theory of Bruner (1960), for example, stressed that learning should be focused on students being active participants in the classroom by processing information rather than passively accepting information and reproducing them. Since the 1980s, the disciplinary approach to the teaching and learning of history has changed the character of the subject matter from narrative teaching which encourages rote learning to instances where the learner can, for instance, find the attributes and consider the authenticity of a given source. Learners can also determine what is significant in history or the causes and reasons behind a historical event. All these aim at developing the critical thinking and information processing skills of the learner.

Whilst this may be a step in the right direction, it, however, raises concerns about the readiness of teachers to meet the intentions of the curriculum which more importantly aims at promoting disciplinary thinking by emphasizing disciplinary concepts. In the interpretation and enactment of the curriculum, teachers are active participants (Harris, 2002). According to Oppong, Awinsong and Apau (2019), teachers serve as a primary resource at the implementation stage of a curriculum. They do not only decode the curriculum but devise and use resources to enable them to achieve the goals set out by the formal curriculum in ways which grant them agency to shape practice. In Ghana, the training and development of

Basic School teachers is mostly undertaken by 48 public training colleges in the country, with five public universities serving as examining bodies. The University of Cape Coast and the University of Education, Winneba, on the other hand, run a variety of teaching programs to prepare teachers for Basic and Senior High Schools. It is therefore expedient to find out how prepared their graduates are to meet the requirements of the job set out in this new History of Ghana Curriculum. This study, therefore, evaluated student-teachers' knowledge of sourcing as a concept in history. The purpose was to unravel how prepared the student-teachers are in implementing the standards raised in the School curriculum. Conceptually, it aimed at unveiling the capability of the student-teachers in understanding procedural concepts in history. The findings would also show student-teachers' cognitive ability to: (1) look for the attributes of a text before sourcing; (2) place historical text within historical context; and (3) ask questions on points of agreement and disagreement on information from a number of sources.

2. Conceptual Framework

To evaluate the students-teachers' ability to source historical documents, Lévesque's (2008) model of making sense of sources of the past was used. The model offered an analytical framework for assessing student-teachers' thinking as it helped the researcher to code data according to the two main criteria used in the framework: (a) external criticism and (b) internal criticism. According to Lévesque (2008), students need to be able to make sense of the past using evidence. They need to know how to use historical evidence by developing a research question and selecting relics from the past accordingly to answer the question. To him, this helps students bring up the problems and constraints associated with the use of sources in historical research. It also encourages students to analyse objectively the internal and external characteristics of the use of sources in historical research.

Different history educators have offered their own set of mental practices (or 'heuristic') to be used by learners involved in analysing sources (Lévesque, 2008). For instance, Fling in 1909 developed a historical approach to studying about the past and ways to construct reasonable interpretations among his own students based on several related steps (or questions). Lee and Ashby (2000), Wineburg (2001),

VanSledright (2004), among others, have suggested associated source heuristics to promote critical appraisal of evidence and therefore guide learners into historical inquiry. Lévesque (2008), in support of how students can critically assess historical sources (evidence) adapted these interrelated steps (or stages) in the evaluation of the evidence. They included identification, assignment, contextualization, and corroboration. He further re-organised these steps into two wider classifications: external criticism and internal criticism.

2.1 *External Criticism*

Under external criticism, the first activity is to carefully evaluate the selected evidence, specifically the nature and origin. Here, the student analyses critically the source itself and not its content. First students look at the type of source; its outward appearance; when it was created; whether the source has changed over time; and why it is being used. After carefully assessing the selected evidence, students meticulously analyse the creation of the source by attributing it to its author or authors. Students inquire about the author of the source and the purpose for which the source was written. With respect to the intentions of their authors, students show the unintended and intended purposes of the source.

2.2 *Internal Criticism*

This aspect carefully examines the content of the source to show its internal validity and reliability. In checking for internal validity, students learn how to contextualize and corroborate the source. They inquire about the author's perspective; the historical context within which the source was written; and the meaning of the source to the author. As Lévesque (2008) admitted, these questions are extremely important but difficult to answer even for professional historians, because they do not have direct access to the authors. The historian needs to go through a mental act of empathic understanding which entails reading and understanding the source in its historical context to make inferences from the source. Students must therefore not only have some form of linguistic fluency, but also an understanding of the historical context, which will reveal what the words refer to. Another internal form of validity focusses on the reliability of the source; that is, the consistency of the source with other related sources, factors accounting for similarities or differences, and other

sources that could corroborate or support it. This internal validity exercise has been likened to a courtroom scene where the student is seen as a judge who is cross-examining a witness. The aim is to enable students to develop the fundamental skills to understand why they need to critically source and analyse every piece of information they receive. As Wineburg & Reisman (2015) put it, in an era where there is outburst of knowledge, there is pressure on teachers to ensure that their students follow the existing demands of the discipline. The internet is flooded with a range of messages, and students need to gain the skill to sift and judge the credibility of the information they access. In as much as these students hold much power in the ballot box, it is necessary to educate them on the need to look at the attributes of a text, place it within a context and judge its credibility.

3. Research Methodology

The study employed the descriptive case-study design to address this research. Simons (2009) describes case-study as an in-depth inquiry of a project, policy, institution, or system from different angles of its complex nature and distinctive character in a context of 'real-life'. The descriptive case-study research design can be used for a wide variety of quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate one or more variables. This is important as the researcher also used some statistics in the text to explain the findings. The research design enabled the researcher to delve deep and use a range of information sources to get a full image of the phenomenon (Yin, 2002). One-hundred and thirty-five (135) final year history student-teachers, consisting of 115 and 20 respondents from the University of Education, Winneba, and the University of Cape Coast respectively, carried out a self-assessment survey and an assessment (pencil-and-paper) task on historical sourcing. The final year class in both institutions was selected because it was assumed that the student-teachers had extensive background knowledge of Ghana's history and historical concepts by the last semester of their university-level teacher education programme.

To establish the respondents' understanding of historical sourcing, the researcher undertook a self-assessment survey which was adapted from Critical Thinking Consortium (TC2) student activity sheet about learning and interpreting evidence, to measure student-teachers

understanding of historical sourcing. The self-assessment instrument provided the respondents with an opportunity to assess themselves on a five-point Likert scale to measure their understanding of historical evidence (sourcing) as a concept. The items were close-ended, ranging from 'Strongly Agree' (SA) = 5, 'Agree' (A) = 4, 'Uncertain' (U) = 3, 'Disagree' (D) = 2, to 'Strongly Disagree' (SD) = 1. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003), close-ended questionnaires are quick to compile and straightforward to code. Also, they do not discriminate unduly based on how articulate the respondents are. After the self-assessment survey, the researcher provided excerpts from primary and secondary documents – a common approach when practicing historical literacy – to the respondents to analyse (Wineburg, Martin & Monte-Sano, 2012; Oppong 2019). The aim was to find out how student-teachers can externally and internally appraise historical sources. Student-teachers examined historical texts under Lévesque's (2008) heuristics, i.e. external criticism (sourcing) and internal criticism (contextualisation and corroboration). The documents were scholarly history materials and textbook extracts which had noticeable range of features on the variables under examination.

The survey instrument and assessment task were presented to colleagues for their comments and suggestions which led to a revision of the items. They were then pilot-tested among National Service Persons in the Department of History Education, University of Education, Winneba. The National Service Persons were selected because they recently graduated from a similar history teacher education programme and were undertaking their mandatory National Service Programme. Therefore, it was assumed that they shared similar characteristics with the intended respondents who in few months' time will assume the same role. The purpose of the pilot-test was to confirm the appropriateness of the text items. Responses from the pilot-study helped to determine the reliability of the task and to ensure that the task is sufficiently precise for gathering the necessary data to answer the questions for the study that aims to explore the historical thinking of student-teachers by evaluating their ability to source historical documents. The data collection process took place within a space of one week in the two institutions. The student-teachers used approximately 45 minutes to answer the survey and assessment task. This was done to ensure consistency, clarity, and objectivity in the collection of data as well as

offer student-teachers enough time to understudy the research instruments.

Source ID	Description	Function in the task
Source A	Account from a historian	Measuring student-teachers' ability to source a historical document
Source B	Account from a historian	Measuring student-teachers' ability to place a historical document/event in an appropriate context
Source C, D & E	Account from historians	Measuring student-teacher's ability to compare information from different historical documents to find which key statements are agreed upon that are specifically mentioned and which are inaccurate

Table 1. Source materials used in the document-based task.

Data collected from the self-assessment survey were screened manually to remove any irrelevant responses before coding. After this, the researcher coded the data and analysed it using Microsoft Excel (MS Excel). Descriptive and inferential statistics including frequencies and percentages, mean of means and standard deviations were used to show the direction of the responses. The scoring rubric (see Table 2) for the assessment task had three categories: beginning, emerging, and proficient. Although the rubrics differ based on the specific requirements of the task, they reflected the level of performance in the broader field of student-teachers' understanding of procedural concepts. The reliability of the responses was also ascertained using multiple raters and inter-rater reliability.

Level	Description
	For what purpose was the document written? How trustworthy might this source be? (sourcing)
Proficient	Student-teachers fully explained the source and applied relevant details.
Emerging	Student-teachers responses were right but they included irrelevant details and were not fully explained.

Basic	Student-teachers exhibited mere knowledge of the source but provided problematic or irrelevant explanation to the question asked.
	Situating and judging events in time and place (contextualization)
Proficient	Student-teachers situated the happenings within the global context and accurately state the date and place of the source.
Emerging	Student-teachers could not situate the happenings in the global context but accurately stated the time and/or place (mere description of key facts).
Basic	Student-teachers were not able to describe the source and could not situate it in time, and/or wrongly stated the place where the event happened.
	Student-teachers' ability to question important details across multiple sources to determine points of agreement and disagreement
	Reflecting a claim
Proficient	Students used elements from the sources and prev. knowledge of the history of the Akan in Ghana
Emerging	Student-teachers mentioned some of the elements from the source but provided irrelevant explanation to the source.
Basic	Student-teachers were not able to link the source with the answer given. They provided wrong explanation.
	Corroborative skill
Proficient	Student-teachers showed their ability to explain both documents either in support or refutation of Meyerowitz's claim and were historically accurate (gave clear explanation).
Emerging	Student-teachers used only one document to explain either in support or refutation of Meyerowitz's claim and were historically accurate.
Basic	Student-teachers did not use any of the documents provided to either support or refute Meyerowitz's claim and were historically inaccurate (gave irrelevant details and not specific).

Table 2. Scoring rubric for the assessment task.

4. Findings

4.1 *The Self-assessment Survey*

The finding from the self-assessment survey (see Table 3) reveals that student-teachers rated their understanding of aspects of historical evidence (sourcing) as remarkably high. This is clear from the overall mean of 4.2 and an average standard deviation of 0.7. The standard deviation also shows that the overall responses were homogenous. Specifically, the student-teachers agreed (M=4.6, S=0.5) that they understood what it means to use facts from sources of evidence to create historical interpretations. By implication, the student-teachers showed that they understood that historical facts are gathered from primary sources of evidence and shaped by the historian to make sense and provide understanding to his audience. Similarly, student-teachers showed that they could identify primary and secondary sources of information (M=4.7, SD=0.5). Results on student-teachers' ability to 'explain how a source has changed over time' showed a majority (M=4.1, SD=0.7) of them agreeing to the statement. These findings suggest that the respondents had knowledge of how sources shape the work of the historian. This is noteworthy since student-teachers' ability to identify primary and secondary sources, explain how a historical source changes over time, and understand what it means to use evidence to create historical interpretation are very relevant in history education. They offer prospective history teachers the ability to help students to evaluate relevant historical materials in any future history classroom.

Regarding the student-teachers' ability to source historical texts, the results showed that the student-teachers could identify the author of a source, the purpose of writing the sources as well as identify the author's perspective. A mean and standard deviation of 4.1 and 0.7 respectively showed that the student teachers could recognize the source of a historical account. In relation to the question on respondents' ability to identify the purpose of a source, most of the student-teachers (M=4.2, SD=0.7) agreed to the statement. Again, on whether respondents could identify the author's perspective in the source material, most of the student-teachers (M=4.0, SD=0.6) agreed to this statement. Given these findings, student-teachers would most likely be able to assist students in their future classroom to identify the author of a source, the purpose of writing an account and help them to identify the author's perspective.

Concerning student-teachers' ability to identify the historical context within which a source was written, the results were similar to those articulated earlier. Most of the student-teachers (M=4.1, SD=0.7) agreed that they would be able to recognize the context of the historical source. This finding presupposes that the student-teachers could place historical sources within their respective place and time (i.e. spatio-temporal perspective).

The results from the self-assessment survey on how student-teachers could corroborate historical sources showed that student-teachers could judge the consistency of a source with other related sources (M=4.0, SD=0.7) and identify the factors that account for the similarities and differences in source materials (M=4.1, SD=0.6). They also hinted that they could identify other sources to corroborate or support a source (M=4.2, SD=0.7). The direction of these responses implies that student-teachers may be able to teach their students how to judge the consistency of sources with other materials and identify factors that account for similarities and differences in a source material when they take on the assignment as history teachers.

The mean of means (mean = 4.2) suggests that the student-teachers were knowledgeable in the heuristics used in analysing historical sources such as sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating historical information of various forms. Their level of knowledge was significantly high. By implication, the student-teachers would be able to apply the heuristics of historical sourcing in teaching their students when they take up their mandate as history teachers in the classroom.

4.2 *Task Assessment*

To confirm or refute the assertions raised in the self-assessment section, student-teachers were given a task to do. The aim was to assess their ability to work with historical sources. The student-teachers were provided with 6 different sets of sources to evaluate, using Lévesque's (2008) heuristics. Results from the assessment tasks are presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6, respectively.

Aspect of understanding	SA	A	U	D	SD	M	SD
I understand what it means to use facts from sources of evidence to create historical interpretations	80 (59.3 %)	51 (37.8 %)	3 (2.2 %)	1 (0.7 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4.6	0.5
I can identify primary and secondary sources of information	91 (67.4 %)	41 (30.4 %)	2 (1.5 %)	0 (0.0 %)	1 (0.7 %)	4.7	0.5
I can explain how source has changed over time	41 (30.4 %)	69 (51.1 %)	22 (16.3 %)	2 (1.5 %)	1 (0.7 %)	4.1	0.7
I can recognize the source of an account	37 (27.4 %)	70 (51.9 %)	21 (15.6 %)	7 (5.2 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4.1	0.3
I can identify the purpose of a source	42 (31.1 %)	71 (52.6 %)	19 (14.1 %)	2 (1.5 %)	1 (0.7 %)	4.2	0.7
I can identify authors perspective in a source material	25 (18.5 %)	70 (51.9 %)	31 (23.0 %)	9 (6.7 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4	0.6
I can identify the historical context within which the source was written	39 (28.9 %)	64 (47.4 %)	28 (20.7 %)	4 (3.0 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4.1	0.7
I can judge the consistency of a source with other related sources	29 (21.5 %)	65 (48.1 %)	30 (22.2 %)	11 (8.1 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4	0.7
I can identify the factors accounting for the similarities and differences in source materials	39 (28.9 %)	64 (47.4 %)	28 (20.7 %)	4 (3.0 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4.1	0.6
I can identify other sources to corroborate or support a source	46 (34.1 %)	65 (48.1 %)	22 (16.3 %)	2 (1.5 %)	0 (0.0 %)	4.2	0.7
Mean of Means/Average Standard Deviation						4.2	0.6

Table 3: Student-teachers self-rated abilities in historical sources. Scale: Disagree (0.00-2.50); Uncertain (2.50-3.40); Agree (3.50-5.00).

Assessment	Description	Student performance
Source A analysis	Who wrote this?	Can identify author – 56 (41.4 %)
		Cannot identify author – 79 (58.6 %)
Source A analysis	Why was it written?	Proficient – 32 (23.7 %)
		Emerging – 36 (26.7 %)
		Basic – 67 (49.6 %)
Source A analysis	Is the source reliable?	Yes – 74 (55 %)
		No – 61 (45 %)

Table 4. Task assessing student-teachers' ability to think about a Source's author and its creation. Source: Fieldwork (2019).

4.2.1 *Student-teachers' Ability to Think about a Source's Author and Its Creation (External Criticism)*

This aspect evaluated how student-teachers can externally critique a source document. The respondents were tasked to show how they can source historical texts by looking at who created the source (Author), why the source was written (Purpose) its trustworthiness and a justification for recognising it as reliable. Source A had a text from a reading material in history which is well cited in Ghanaian history. Successful responses included identifying Albert Adu-Boahen as the author of the source. On the purpose for which the source was written, student-teachers were expected to explain that the source is about how the country Ghana, was peopled. Expectations on the trustworthiness of the sources was that, the author used multiple and relevant details to substantiate his point. Student-teachers were also expected to base their argument(s) on prior knowledge on the importance of using multiple sources in history. The results of this task are presented in Table 4 using the rubric in Table 2.

4.2.1.1. Who Created This Source?

The first task focused on the ability of the student-teachers' to determine who created the 'Source A'. In historical writing, the first fundamental question a historian ask is where the source comes from. The result in Table 4 shows that 56 (41.4 %) of the student-teachers could identify the author of 'Source A', whilst 79 (58.6 %) could not identify the author of the same source. These responses show that most student-teachers do not look at the author of a text before reading it. In this case they find it difficult to recognise who

was behind the historical source provided. This is however contrary to the response provided by the student-teachers in the self-assessment survey, where they showed that they had the ability to recognize the source of an account. From the self-assessment survey, even though the student-teachers indicated that they could recognise the source of an account, most of them did not offer correct answers when questioned. Interestingly, apart from the actual author (Albert Adu-Boahen), student-teachers mentioned names of other staunch historians such as J.K Fynn, J.B. Danquah, Roger Gocking among others which shows they had a fair idea of some Ghanaian historians.

4.2.1.2. For What Purpose Was the Source Written?

Another fundamental question in historical writing is the ability of the historian to assess the possible motivation for a source. Results from Table 4 reveals that 67 (49.6 %) of the student-teachers' responses to the task was scored as 'Basic' (the lowest level in the rubric). These student-teachers did not include concerns about pertinent aspects of the source in their response. They also provided irrelevant explanation to the question asked. As one student-teacher wrote:

It [source] *was written to show several authors' views about the origin of some ethnic groups.* (Respondent 34)

The answer from respondent thirty-four shows that the student-teacher placed emphasis on the authors but not on the content of the source. The student-teacher was expected to write that the source was to explain how the country Ghana was peopled.

Thirty-six (26.7 %) respondents composed answers that were scored as 'Emerging.' These student-teachers gave the right answer to the question but included irrelevant details and, in some cases, they did not fully explain their answers. For instance, some student-teachers wrote:

It [source] *was done to trace the original home of Akan and some different empires (ethnic groups) as well.* (Respondent 45)

To [source] *at least let student-teachers or readers understand their origins and eventually understand why some ethnic groups behave the way they are doing.* (Respondent 28)

Explanation from Respondent 45 shows that the student-teacher placed emphasis on one ethnic group, meanwhile, many other ethnic groups were mentioned in the source provided. In relation to Respondent 28's answer, the response included irrelevant details which are unappreciated in academic discourse.

Few (32 – 23.7 %) student-teachers offered 'Proficient' responses on why the author wrote the source. These student-teachers explained the purpose of the source well by using relevant details to substantiate their point. Example of some of the proficient responses included:

To [source] *give an account of the migration of some ethnic groups into Ghana, thus, the peopling of Ghana.* (Respondent 52)

It [source] *was written to show that ethnic groups in Ghana migrated from different places before finding themselves in their present place.* (Respondent 86)

From the written responses on the purpose for which 'Source A' was written, it reveals that student-teachers were fairly knowledgeable in identifying the purpose of a historical source since most of their responses were scored as 'basic.'

4.2.1.3. How Trustworthy Might This Source Be?
Another task of the historian is to look at the trustworthiness of the source by considering the genres, audience, and purpose. From the responses offered by the student-teachers, it appears that they were divided on how reliable the source might be. Sixty-one (45 %) of the respondents did not agree the source was reliable. On the contrary, 74 (55 %) of the respondents agreed that the source was reliable. To those who thought the source was reliable, they believed the author used different sources to make his point, a norm which is much peculiar in historical writing. They again justified the reliability of the source by employing their prior knowledge about the history of Ghana. Student-teachers wrote:

He [the author] *used various sources in analysing the data gathered from both written and unwritten facts gathered.* (Respondent 10)

It is reliable because the author made references to the claims of other historians. For instance, he mentioned Carl Reindorf who is an authority in Ga history. (Respondent 16)

Regarding those who did not support the source as being reliable, they noted that the source was not reliable because most of the scholars cited in the source had different or contradictory accounts about Ghana's past. For instance, one student-teacher wrote:

Because the source could also not state whether it agrees with any of the sources it mentioned. Some of the have contradictory accounts (Respondent 67)

In all, the responses from the student-teachers on the author, purpose and reliability of 'Source A' shows that they lack the necessary skill of identifying who may be behind a source. Also, the student-teachers did not have the ability to identify the purpose for which the source was written. From the responses on the reliability of the source however, it can be said that student-teachers have the predisposition to assess the trustworthiness or otherwise of a historical source. In an era where anyone can put up information especially on social media, the ability of the student-teacher to look out for the reliability of information a necessary tool which needs to be nurture and integrated into teaching. This will help promote critical thinking in the classroom. On the other hand, teacher educators need to nurture the skill of identifying the author of a source and the purpose for which the source was written.

4.2.2 *Student-teachers' Ability to Situate a Source and Its Events in Time and Place (Internal Criticism)*

Table 5 presents the results which is based on the answers student-teachers provided on how they can situate sources and its events in time and place. The second task focused on the ability of the student-teachers to contextualize events of the past by making a judgement.

Table 5 shows that 10 (7.4 %) of the respondents answered proficiently when they were asked to place 'Source B' in the proper contexts of time and place in history. These student-teachers showed the ability to place the events into proper (global) context.

Assessment	Description	Student performance
Source B analysis	Place source B in the proper contexts of time and place in history	Proficient – 10 (7.4 %)
		Emerging – 77 (57.0 %)
		Basic – 48 (35.6 %)
	Making judgment about the past	Display of present-oriented perspective in answering the question – 126 (93.3 %)
		Use of historical context to answer question – 9(6.7 %)

Table 5. Task assessing student-teacher's ability to situate and judge source and events in time and place. Source: Fieldwork (2019).

Some of their responses include the following:

This was after the second world war where the three ex-servicemen were killed leaving other matchers [sic] *wounded.* (Respondent 27)

It was a period after the second world war where European superiority was broken coupled with the several economic challenges in the Gold Coast which were: high unemployment rate, shortage of consumer goods, cutting down of cocoa trees affected by swollen shoot diseases and others. (Respondent 40)

Although Respondent 27 partially placed the source in context (global context), the student-teacher did not place in the date in which the event occurred as well as where it happened in the answer. Respondent 40 also narrated the prevailing circumstance within the period in question, however, just as the other respondent, the date and place were missing in the response. Even though these statements partially fall short of explanations provided by scholars on contextualization, these student teachers statement can be considered as proficient on the grounds that they were able to explain the prevailing circumstance of the period and its relations with the actions of the ex-servicemen.

Regarding responses which were scored as 'emerging' seventy-seven (57.0 %) of the student-teachers had this score. These student-teachers detailed the happenings at the time accurately but could not put it into global context. They were also able to state the date and

place of the event. For instance, student-teachers wrote this when asked to place the source in context:

The events leading to the 1948 riots. This happened at the Christiansburg castle (Respondent 29)

The 1948 riots, where the ex-service men marched to the Osu Castle (Respondent 30)

Forty-eight (35.6 %) of the student-teachers could only situate the source either in time or place. Some of them mentioned the place or time the event happened, others also provided wrong information. These were some of the responses from the student-teachers:

The 1948 riots (Respondent 94)

1948 riot and after the second world war when Nkrumah was protesting seriously for the independence of Ghana [sic] (Respondent 64)

Upon a reflection on these responses, one may say that the respondents were right. However, the answer from Respondent 94 merely showed the date with which the event occurred. The place and prevailing context, within the immediate and broader space at the time the source was produced which is an important part of the historian's work was missing from the response. Respondent ninety-four also gave a partially wrong answer to the question.

The second task on contextualization focused on how student-teachers judge events of the past. The focus was to find the existence of present-oriented perspective or otherwise in the student-teachers' answers on the source provided. The question looked at a primary six student, who after reading her textbook on the events leading to the 1948 riots reacted that the ex-servicemen were impatient. The student-teachers' task was to either agree or disagree with the statement and provide a justification. From the analysis, most of the student-teachers 126 (93.3 %) did not agree to the statement and offered a historical explanation in their response. Student-teachers wrote:

I do not agree with the statement because at the time that the ex-service men went on the demonstration, there was a lot of economic hardship in the country. So, their demonstration was in the right direction. (Respondent 28)

I disagree to the statement because after the second world war the ex-service men were poorly treated. The colonial government did not pay the gratuities that were promised to them. (Respondent 85)

These responses show that the student-teachers disagreed with the pupil's statement and did not judge the actions of the ex-servicemen without considering the historical context within which the event occurred. They appreciated the fact that in making judgement of historical events, one's knowledge of the specific circumstances surrounding the events is vital. In most cases, they used the socio-economic and chronological context to offer explanation for their stance. However, very few 9 (6.7 %) of the responses saw the use of current knowledge, values, and beliefs (presentism) to substantiate their stance.

4.2.3 *Student-teachers' Ability to Question Important Details Across Multiple Sources to Determine Points of Agreement and Disagreement (Internal Criticism)*

Student-teachers showed their corroborative skills on historical sourcing by examining the points of agreement and disagreements of sources given by the researcher. The concept corroboration entails directly comparing the information from the various sources to find similarities and differences as well as disparities between different accounts given. The responses given by the student-teachers are as shown in Table 6.

Analysis of the written responses to 'Source C' on why a historian might think that Meyerowitz's statement reflects a claim that the Akan originated from Ancient Ghana, reveals that 19 (14.0 %) of the respondents could proficiently provide answers to the question. These student-teachers used elements from sources and previous knowledge in the history of Ghana to support Meyerowitz's claim that the Akan originated from Ancient Ghana.

Assessment	Description	Student performance
Source C analysis	Explain why a historian might think that Meyerowitz's statement reflects a claim that the Akan originated from Ancient Ghana	Proficient – 19 (14.0 %)
		Emerging – 47 (34.8 %)
		Basic – 69 (51.1 %)
Source D & E analysis	Explain whether each Source could be used to support Meyerowitz (1952) claim that the Akan originated from Ancient Ghana. If the Source could not be used to support the account, explain why it cannot be used.	Proficient – 11 (8.2 %)
		Emerging – 30 (22.2 %)
		Basic – 94 (69.6 %)

Table 6: Task assessing student-teacher's ability to question key details across multiple sources to determine points of agreement and disagreement. Source: Fieldwork (2019).

Student-teachers wrote:

A historian may think the same, because the Akan chiefs still adorn themselves with gold ornaments and still apply [practise] the matrilineal system of inheritance. (Respondent 1)

The Akan in Ghana has similar practices with the people of the ancient Ghana empire which include their system of inheritance, kingship system, among others. The Akan chiefs also sit in state to receive homage from their subjects. (Respondent 26)

Another historian will have the same thought as the author. This is because of their culture and system of governance, that is, the monarchical form of governance, and the practice of the matrilineal system of inheritance. (Respondent 60)

These responses from the student-teachers have all the elements from the source reflecting in the response. Additionally, their

arguments were borne out of their prior knowledge of the history of the Akan in Ghana.

Forty-seven (34.8 %) of the responses were scored as 'Emerging', whilst 69 (51.1 %) had their responses recorded as 'Basic'. On the part of those whose responses were recorded as 'Emerging', some of the student-teachers mentioned some of the elements from the source but were not specific or provided irrelevant explanation in their answer. Responses which were scored as 'basic' were those of which the student-teachers were not able to link the source with the answer given. Some of the 'Emerging' responses included:

[the Author] *examined the similarities between Akan culture and the culture of the people of the Western Sudan to confirm the oral traditions regarding the migration of the Akan.* (Respondent 14)

Meyerowitz's statement could be accepted based on the cultural similarities of the states in western Sudan and that of the Akan's. (Respondent 40)

The student-teachers' response was not much precise on the specific cultural similarities mentioned in their response compared to the responses which were recognised as proficient. In the case of the proficient responses, specific cultural similarities between the Akan and the people of Ancient Ghana Empire such as the matrilineal system of inheritance were mentioned.

'Basic' responses included:

*Akan originated from Ancient Ghana because they are on the matrilineal lin*e [sic] (Respondent 45)

This is because the places mentioned such as Djenne and Timbuktu were all found in the Ancient Ghana empire and were important market centres in Ancient Ghana of the West African Sudan. Ancient Ghana also practiced the matrilineal system of inheritance. (Respondent 125)

The 'basic' responses show that some of the student-teachers were not able to link the source to the answer. They provided unclear explanations to the answer, hence their responses were considered as basic. Considering the answer given by Respondent 125, for instance, one may wonder specifically what the student-teacher was trying to

put across in the argument. Although, the person may have a point, the answer was not comprehensible.

To test student-teachers' ability to question key details across multiple sources and to determine points of agreement and disagreement with 'Source C', they were provided with two other sources (Source D & E). The student-teachers were expected to explain whether each source could be used to support Meyerowitz's (1952) claim that the Akan originated from Ancient Ghana. Written responses from the student-teachers showed that they had minimal ability to compare information from various sources.

Many of the student-teachers 94 (69.6 %) did not offer proficient answers to the question and thus were regarded as 'Basic'. These student-teachers were not able to use any of the sources to answer correctly. Also, they were not specific on the type of source they were referring to in their answer, since they were provided with two different sources. Again, some of the responses were unclear and vague. For instance, student-teachers wrote:

This source can be used, because the information or sources on the migration of the Akan is not based on one source. (Respondent 1)

The source could be used to support Meyerowitz argument, because, much emphasis has been laid on the origin and the primary evidence which shows the origin of the Akan or the various ethnic groups. (Respondent 7)

Thirty student-teachers representing 22.2 % of the student-teacher population had their response recorded as 'emerging'. Student-teachers who had their responses falling within this category used only one source to explain either in support of or disprove Meyerowitz's claim. The following were some written responses from the student-teachers:

The second source (De Graft Johnson's account) can be used because it argues that after the invasion by the Almoravids in Ancient Ghana, some tribes migrated southward. The Akan ethnic group is one and it commutatively speaks to Akan having originated from Ancient Ghana. (Respondent 41)

This response by the respondent has the writer explaining why one source could be used but does not explain why the other source could not be used to support or refute the claim.

A few of the responses 11 (8.2 %), were scored as 'Proficient'. These student-teachers used both sources either in support of or refute Meyerowitz's claim. They were clear on which source could be used to support a claim and other sources that could not be used to support the claim. They also showed mastery of knowledge of the Akan history. These were some of the written responses:

Source 'D' cannot be used to support Meyerowitz claims because it does not establish any link with the Akan and Ancient Ghana. Source 'E' can be used to support Meyerowitz claim because it makes a direct link between Ancient Ghana (Western Sudan) and the Akans. (Respondent 16)

De Graft Johnson's argument could be used because both traced the Western Sudanese empire as where the Akan came from. Boahen A.A statement cannot be used because it is only limited to Ghana and the Asante empire. (Respondent 112)

The responses from the student-teachers on how they can use other sources to either support or refute arguments put forward by an author of a source showed that some of the respondents had good corroborative skills. However, the majority of them struggled to effectively compare sources with each other to detect disparities. In the 21st century, this is an essential skill to be nurtured as informed citizens in an information-rich environment. This calls for a form of teacher education where student-teachers are equipped with the necessary skill so that they will be able to assess information that they encounter to decipher real and fake information. When this is developed among the student-teachers, they will be able to transfer this skill to their learners in their future classrooms

5.   Discussion

From the responses offered by the student-teachers concerning their ability to make sense of the 'sources' of the past, student-teachers struggled to effectively evaluate historical claims in terms of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration of historical sources. In effect, it was disturbing to recognise that though student-teachers rated themselves very well at having knowledge in assessing historical sources (M=4.2), they could not demonstrate this knowledge when they were asked to make sense of the sources given. This suggests

that there is a dissociation between the student-teachers understanding of 'sources' of the past and their ability to proficiently use their knowledge to undertake effective analysis for historical understanding. By implication, these student-teachers will not be able to apply this skill when they find themselves teaching in the classroom. Consequently, the future learners of these student-teachers will miss out on the use of historical thinking approaches that will involve them in higher-order thinking. The student-teachers will rather use the narrative approach in teaching history which have been frowned upon.

The findings of the study have resemblance in other studies across the globe. Oppong (2019) for instance emphasised in his study that most of the students he sampled to assess their historical skills did not approach the sources in the same manner as historians do. His sample found it difficult in undertaking rudimentary information tasks, such as, identification of text and making textual analysis. He argued that this might be because of the way teachers teach history. He mentioned that the focus of teaching history in Ghana concentrates more on the acquisition of content knowledge (substantive knowledge) than historical skills (procedural knowledge). Again, most students' knowledge of history is informed by the idea that historical information is constant and does not change, hence, they uncritically accept every information given without questioning the author, the purpose of the source and how reliable the source might be. The findings are also consistent with Wineburg, Martin and Monte-Sano (2012) research which found that, the high school students they sampled did not have the ability to consider the author of a 'source' as well as recognise the purpose of a 'source'. In most cases, these students did not see the hidden information in the given text, but rather, concentrated on the direct information presented in the text to determine how reliable the source may be. In earlier research, Wineburg (1991), also identified historical sourcing as a difficult task for students when he researched how students and historians engage in historical thinking. He found that many of the students considered textbook extracts to be most trustworthy, forgetting to see the content of the textbook as a 'skilfully design tool to reach an author's personal end'. He asserts that most students have little understanding on how to source historical text because of the over-reliance on textbooks in most history classrooms. The findings of this research, thus, are complemented by other works in

the literature. It also shows that most students find it difficult sourcing historical sources. To propel this challenge, Nye et al. (2009) tasked educators to change their style of teaching and show their inclination to engage students with the questions of history in an analytical way. By implication, teacher educators are implored to train their student-teachers on how they can make sense of the sources of the past. The student-teachers must be encouraged to challenge and/or critique an author's interpretation of historical facts. When this is properly done, student-teachers will acknowledge the deficiencies in sources, including textbooks and begin to question them. In this way, they will also be able to assist their learners to discover how to question source materials. This will improve the intellectual capacity of the learners and avoid rote learning.

On contextualisation, most of the student-teachers could only situate the text within the local context, time, and place, but they lacked the ability to connect the text to specific global circumstances. In other words, the student-teachers could only place historical phenomena and actions within the specific time, and the historical location but could not place it within long-term developments, which would have given meaning to the phenomena and actions of the ex-service men. Just like Wineburg's (1998) expert/expert study on historical interpretation of texts, the student-teachers were partially able to place the text within context. Available literature on historical contextualisation (Wineburg & Fournier, 1994; Huijgen, Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008, Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2012, Van Boxtel, Van de Grift, & Holthuis, 2014) shows that contextualisation in history is a more complex skill for students than sourcing. For instance, Wineburg and Fournier (1994) showed the difficulties experienced by two teachers in training in the contextualization of Abraham Lincoln's words about 'race'. They noted that contextualization becomes a challenging task especially when the historian does not 'put on' the veil of historical thinking. That is, when most people are involved in a contextualization task, they literally read the historical text without associating it with the context within which it was generated. The findings of this research however partially contradict these findings. This is because, even though the student-teachers could not situate the source within a broader context, most of them knew the date and the place where the event occurred. In some cases, few of the student-teachers thought

historically about the sources and positioned the source within historical context.

What was found on student-teachers ability to contextualise historical sources supports the findings of Hartmann and Hassel horn (2008) who examined how tenth-grade students in Germany explained a historical agent's decision. From the study, most of the students obtained moderate score and a few obtained higher score. Huijgen et. al. (2014) found a similar pattern of performance when they allowed some students to perform a historical contextualisation task. Hartmann and Hasselhorn (2008) and Huijgen et. al. (2014) findings in terms of the sample used might not be the same as the sample used for this study. However, it reveals contextualisation, as a historical skill is missing in most classrooms. The inability of students to perform it may be due to the fact that teachers do not practice this skill with their students. As Wineburg (1998) admitted, contextualization in history is a difficult skill to develop. Not only does it involve having knowledge in the facts of history and chronological understanding but also one needs to develop the capacity to find gaps in this knowledge, frame questions and question conclusions or information given. This exercise is daunting; hence teacher educators need to progressively introduce this task in their daily classroom activities. When a student-teacher is able to make sense of past events or situations by seeing them as part of a broader historical phenomenon, movement, or 'theme', they are able to appreciate the historical event well and understand the agents of the period (Lévesque, 2008).

Again, the student-teachers showed their ability to overcome presentist thinking in contextualizing historical phenomena. This is contrary to findings from other works when students were asked to perform historical contextualisation tasks. For instance, when Lee and Ashby (2001) explored students' ideas about past actions and institutions in the Roman Empire, they found that students viewed the past from a perspective of the present, therefore they misunderstood the actions of the past actors, for instance, on slavery and the death of Pedanius. In the same way, Hartmann and Hasselhorn (2008) reported that since some students lacked the ability to situate historical phenomena within a historical context but used a present-oriented viewpoint to explain historical issues, they could not elucidate why a person in the 1930s will vote for the Nazi party in Germany. The ability of the student-teachers in this research

prove to be contrary when compared to studies done by other history education scholars.

Also, the written responses showed narrow corroborative skills among the student-teachers. Student-teachers were not able to figure out how credible information in one source was, in comparison with similar information in another source (i.e. the information in agreement with other texts). Similarly, while some student-teachers could find discrepancies in the sources, they were unable to point out incomplete information. Literature on students' ability to corroborate historical sources (e.g. Lee, Ashby & Dickinson, 1996; Ashby & Lee, 1996; Ashby, 2004) shows that most students lack the ability to undertake this exercise. In most cases, it was assumed that since most students consider sources as information, especially when they see details such as names, dates, and numbers they tend to confirm them quickly (Lee, Ashby & Dickinson, 1996). In this research also, a majority of the student-teachers argued based on some similar characteristics identified by Meyerowitz's but did not bother to delve into its accuracy. Even where students could have moved to disconfirm the accuracy of the text, their prior notion of sources as information which they perceived to be not questionable led them to invalidate conclusions which they may have drawn from their personal complex conceptual understanding. The use of evidence and making sense of how the pieces of evidence corroborate sources across accounts that are examined by students is crucial. For instance, if a student can find and argue for a cause, he/she is obliged to support the thesis by being clear of how the evidence points in that direction and away from alternative theses. This implies that they must take into consideration other accounts and argue convincingly against them. Failure to do so would allow others to counter them, thus reducing the power and the persuasiveness of the argument. This is also a necessary skill to develop among student-teachers. When they develop the skill of making arguments out of evidence, it places them in a position where they do not accept information wholeheartedly but request for sources of evidence.

The results point to the fact that student-teachers' procedural knowledge of historical evidence is relatively low. Disciplinary literacy obliges students to bring their intellects to full weight by sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating historical texts in the art of reading. These three elements are crucial to making sense of texts in history. In this era where there is an explosion of knowledge, the

pressure is on teachers to ensure that their students follow the existing demands of the discipline (Wineburg & Reisman, 2015). Teachers need to show mastery of substantive and procedural ability to make their classrooms interesting and effective. Teacher educators in this context, must make efforts to integrate these two forms of knowledge into the teacher education curriculum to offer way for the prospective teacher to carry out the task laid down by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NaCCA) in the Basic School History of Ghana Curriculum. This would afford student-teachers the foundations they need in learning history and the ways to integrate these strategies when teaching. In this way, learners do not only learn the practice of the historian but it will prepare them for their career and citizenship. The digital native in the twenty-first-century, process information differently from the digital migrants. As Prensky (2010) suggests, this place a huge challenge for today's educators and teachers to change the way they teach to engage their learners. Computer raised children think differently because every information they need is available on the internet, hence learning needs to be changed to create better standards for their future. There is a need for education to change to create a better generational expectation. Too often, the internet is endowed with several messages of which learners need to gain the skill to sift and judge the credibility of the information they chance on. These learners unfortunately also hold much power in the ballot box, hence the need to educate them on the need to look at the attributes of a text, place it within a context as well as judge its credibility. This will enable them to advance both in their career and as citizens of a country.

6. Conclusions

The study established that although most student-teachers rated themselves in the self-assessment task as quite skilled at finding and scrutinizing historical information, most of them could not provide valid information on historical sourcing. The position of the student-teachers on self-abilities thus were not really the same when it came to working with historical sources. Majority of the student-teachers could not determine the author and purpose of 'Source A' when probed in the assessment task. The student-teachers were not concise with their answers and showed basic knowledge which is in sharp

contradiction to the self-assessment task which showed that they had much knowledge of sourcing in history. It offers a sign that student-teachers can only carry out basic data identification in history but cannot undertake complex textual analysis of historical accounts of a broad nature. Having knowledge about these limitations affords a possible starting point for classroom instruction as well as reforming pre-service teacher education programmes.

On the ability of the student-teacher to internally critique a historical text, it was clear that the student-teacher's responses were varied and were in accordance with how they synthesize historical texts. Most of them could not associate the text to the circumstances within which they were produced. The student-teachers could only situate the text with time and place, but they lacked the ability to connect the text to specific circumstances and place. Student-teachers showed mastery in their ability to justify the stance of a historical actor without using present-oriented perspective to justify their stance. It brings to the fore, the need for history-teacher educators to offer and create opportunities for student-teachers to practice historical contextualisation in their lessons. The student-teachers also struggled to effectively evaluate historical claims in terms of corroborating historical sources. Student-teachers were not able to determine how credible information in one source is, in comparison with similar information in another source (i.e. the information in agreement with other texts). Similarly, while some student-teachers could show discrepancies in sources, they were unable to point out incomplete information. The seeming suggestion brought forward by these findings is that student-teachers may not be able to integrate historical sourcing concept into their pedagogical practices. This points to a need for support in the training of student-teachers where substantive and conceptual knowledge is interwoven in daily classroom practices, to bring immense benefits on teaching history.

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Appendix: Sources

Source A (Account from Historian)

Many hypomeres have been advanced by historians in answer to the question of the origins of the present peoples of Ghana. Some scholars such as Eva Meyerowitz and the late Dr J.B. Danquah think that the Akan migrated into their present area from the ancient empire of Ghana. Others have traced them only to northern Ghana. The Ga are also said by many of their oral traditional authorities, as well as by Reindorf and other scholars, to have come into Ghana from Benin; according to Ward this took place only at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Ewe are also generally believed to have entered Ghana from the area of modern Togo and Dahomey also in the sixteenth century.

Source B (Account from Historian)

At the same time, their wartime experience had shattered the prestige of the white man and the myth of his inherent superiority, and they were not willing to wait passively for conditions to improve. In 1946 some of the more political veterans had formed the Gold Coast Ex-Serviceman's Union. The union had played an active part in the boycott campaign, and as soon as it was over their secretary, B.E.A. Tamakloe, had announced that the ex-servicemen were going to march in procession to Christiansborg Castle, the seat of government, to present a petition to the governor. The procession soon departed from the authorized route and came up against a small detachment of police, which tried to prevent them from approaching the castle. Stones were thrown, and in the confusion that followed, the European superintendent in charge of the police snatched a rifle from one of his men and opened fire on the crowd. Two ex-servicemen were killed, and several other marchers were wounded.

Source C (Account from Historian)

The Akan people, according to the traditions of the major clans which constitute the various states in the Gold Coast, came originally from the region between Djenne and Timbuktu [...] the matrilineal line is further proof of this contention- that the ancestors of present Akan aristocracy were Saharan Libyan Berbers

Meyerowitz, E., (1952) *Akan Tradition of Origins*, London, Faber & Faber Ltd.

Source D (Account from Historian)

It is generally agreed that their ancestors first lived in the open country of modern north-western Ghana and north-eastern Ivory Coast, that is the basin of the Black Volta. They migrated from the basin of the black Volta or from the Chad-Benue region to the basins of the Pra and Offin rivers. The branch that lived in forest region and settle in the confluence of the Pra and Offin developed into the Akan of today where Akan institutions and culture – the Twi language, the Akan forty-day calendar and the matrilineal and patrilineal clans developed.

Boahen A.A. (1966), 'The Origins of the Akan', *Ghana Notes and Queries,* No 9.

Source E (Account from Historian)

The victory of Abu Bakr and his Almoravid forces in 1076 AD in the Western Sudan was a high watermark in West African history. It resulted in the southward match of several tribes including the Akan group – the Ashantis, Fantis, Akims, Akwapims, Akwamus and Gyamans to present day Ghana.

J.C. de Graft Johnson, (n.d.) *African Glory: The Story of the Vanquished Negro.*

RESEARCH-BASED HISTORICAL LEARNING – A DYNAMIC CONCEPT? DESIGNING A RETROSPECTIVE LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE FEDERAL PRESIDENT'S HISTORY COMPETITION[*1]

Lukas Greven

Student competitions entries submitted for the Federal Presidents History Competition are a unique source for researchers interested in students' historical learning and thinking processes. In the study on which this article is based, they serve to empirically investigate the extent to which research-based historical learning as the competition's leading principle has changed in the course of the competition's history, so between 1970s and 2010s. Using content analysis, the study asks whether changing normative-theoretical considerations in the field of history didactics in relation to research-based historical learning have become embedded into the practice of historical learning and thus into the student's competition entries. This question is addressed by looking at the research-based historical learning interactions of students with contemporary witness statements, which are manifest in the entries

1. Introduction

I would like to thank the contemporary witnesses [Zeitzeugen] *I interviewed for bringing the topic to life for me and giving it real meaning. Thanks to them, my research was able to go much deeper than would otherwise have been possible, and with their help I was able to go on an emotional journey back into the past.*[2]

(Competition Entry (CoE) 2013131: 37)

In the above excerpt from a competition entry submitted by a Year 13 student for the 2012/13 round of the Federal President's History Competition [*Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten*] (*Familiar Strangers. Neighbourhood through History* (Körber-Stiftung, 2012)), the student reflects on her work with contemporary witnesses and its contribution to her research-based historical learning process.

Her statement is revealing for two reasons. Firstly, it shows that she sees research-based historical learning interactions with contemporary witnesses as a special, even unique resource; and secondly, that she has a certain understanding of why they are so special. In her eyes, not only do contemporary witnesses offer the chance to deepen the research process, but above all they permit students to take part in a kind of 'time travel'. In the following, we will see that this kind of 'endeavour to get closer to the past' – which in the excerpt above is linked to a predominantly positivist understanding of history – can be observed frequently among competition participants in their interactions with, and reflections on contemporary witnesses and their narratives.

Research-based historical learning using the methods of oral history – the kind of learning that the student referred to above was engaged in – has been one of the key characteristics of the Federal President's History Competition, the biggest history competition in Germany, almost from its beginnings in 1973. The competition was founded following an initiative of the then German president, Gustav W. Heinemann, and the Hamburg businessman Kurt A. Körber, who became the competition's sponsor; it was intended to empower young people to become democratic citizens by engaging with history, especially the history of German democratic movements (Körber & Spangenberg, 1973). As early as 1975 (the second round of the competition, in which students were asked to write on the topic 'From Empire to Republic, 1918/19'), the competition's accompanying materials suggested that participating students should use not only printed and unprinted sources, but also eye witness statements [*Augenzeugenberichte*] (Körber Stiftung, 1975: 3). In the context of history as an academic discipline at the time in Germany, the integration of oral history into the competition was a ground-breaking step (Siegfried, 1995), and ever since then, working with contemporary witnesses – in the sense of the principle of scholarly orientation of historical learning based on oral history as an academic approach (Dehne, 2003: 440)[3] – has continued to play an important role in the Federal President's History Competition. Thus for many participants, in the context of the competition it became one of the central characteristics of research-based historical learning.[4]

2.   State of Research and Problem Statement

From the very beginning of the history competition, research-based historical learning was seen as a 'free spirit', as radical or even eccentric compared to other forms of learning in the field. (Borries, 2005b: 348) From the start, therefore – and mainly because of the fact that by its nature, history didactics has always been interested in the development of the learning process in schools – numerous studies, both in the field of history didactics and the field of history itself,[5] have focused on research-based historical learning in the context of the competition. In itself, the competition has mainly been of interest to scholars either in terms of its beginnings (that is, how and why it was established in the first place (e.g. Dittmer, 1999)), or in terms of how its historical and political focus has changed over time (that is, what topics were set for the competition and the methodological requirements laid down for participants (recently Zerwas, 2018)). But research-based historical learning, which shapes the competition, has itself also often been the catalyst for lively discussions. Since the 1980s, the history didactician Bodo von Borries in particular was among those who undertook more in-depth studies into research-based historical learning in the competition, in part because he believed that this was relevant to history teaching and learning in schools (Borries, 2009; cf. Borries, 1989, 1998). Research into the history competition was also given new impetus more recently thanks to Christoph Wosnitza's PhD project, which examined over 1,100 student submissions to the 2014/15 round of the competition.[6] Wosnitza analysed the competition entries in terms of the quality of historical thinking that they reveal, finding that 'young adults do possess elaborated forms of historical thinking' depending on 'whether participants ascribe a personal meaning to the topic.' (Wosnitza & Meyer-Hamme, 2019: 100)

What all the above studies of the competition have in common is that they continue (at least implicitly) to treat the concept of research-based historical learning itself as timeless and unchanged. Such an assumption, however, contradicts the basic nature of historical learning and teaching as formulated by von Borries: Historical learning is 'anything but super-temporal'. (Borries, 2014b: 263) Looking at research-based historical learning in the context of the history competition, von Borries had already noted that participants engaged in research-based historical learning in the early 1970s were

supposed to take on the role of 'little history professors', whereas today they are viewed as history analysts, actively engaged with analysing and assessing history cultural interpretations with which they are confronted. (Borries, 2005a: 173, 2014a: 379)

In alignment with these findings, the study presented here is based on the premise that research-based historical learning in the history competition is dynamic, that is, it is subject to change over time. The study asks whether changing normative-theoretical considerations in the field of history didactics in relation to research-based historical learning have become embedded into the practice of historical learning, and thus into the students' competition entries. It therefore also asks specifically how research-based historical learning in this context has changed since the inaugural round of the competition in 1973. As one aspect of this central question, it also asks whether the research-based historical learning interactions of students with learning media (Pandel, 1979: 12) have changed over time.

Given the importance of research-based historical learning in the Federal President's History Competition, as described above, the study attempts to answer this question on the basis of the interactions of competition participants with contemporary witness statements. The medium of contemporary witness statements was chosen specifically because oral history and research-based historical learning both, at their best, can offer insights into the internal logic and function of history (Baron, 2012: 833; Borries, 2005a: 172).

A combined analysis of research-based historical learning and oral history also seems an obvious step, because a contemporary witness statement has a dual character: it is always both a source and a narrative. This means that it is possible – and indeed, necessary – to use both de-constructive and re-constructive operations[7] when analysing such statements (Schreiber & Árkossy, 2009). Yet, contemporary witness statements also challenge the student researcher in that – as has been shown by the findings of several studies – their aura of authenticity (Sabrow, 2012: 27) makes it very difficult for students to apply a critical approach to them (Bertram, 2017).

Before the study's central question can be addressed, however, I would like first to set out a definition of research-based historical learning. Following this, it will be explained how a sample of student competition entries was selected. As established most recently and comprehensively in the study by Wosnitza and Meyer-Hamme (2019:

88-89, 92, 100), these may be a unique resource, but they also present unique challenges for researchers interested in historical learning and historical thinking processes. I will then present the relevant section of the categories grid I used to evaluate the entries, along with an explanation of how the retrospective longitudinal analysis was designed and a discussion of the initial findings derived from the pilot study.

3. A Definition of Research-based Historical Learning – Some Considerations

The term 'research-based historical learning' [*forschend-historisches Lernen*] is now generally recognised as an established concept in (German) history didactics (Hasberg, 2007: 239). Nonetheless, a glance at the literature will show that it has never been precisely defined and that frequently other terms are used to refer to what is essentially the same concept (Wolter, 2018).[8] In this paper, however, the phrase 'research-based historical learning' is used throughout.

Based on Jörn Rüsen's theoretical considerations along with work more recently done by the FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein research group to develop his ideas further (Hasberg, 1997: 724-726; Hasberg & Körber, 2003; Hasberg, 2005), I understand research-based historical learning (in its Weberian ideal form[9]) as an exploratory historical learning process which, in structural and logical analogy to the discipline-specific cognition process, aims at building and expanding a student's ability to create meaning when experiencing what Rüsen (2007: 10) describes as 'time contingency'. Starting with a question which reflects a subjective need for temporal orientation in practical life, students of history whose learning is structured through this concept use a variety of sources along with narratives, whereby they become independent thinkers, actors and designers in the learning process in the context of open, yet also structured learning contexts (Brügelmann, 1997). This learning process may be described as complete when it not only succeeds in the students 'learning about' the topic under discussion but also succeeds in empowering them to reflect on the process itself and their own part in it. Through this self-reflection, students are able to apply their insights to their original experience of time contingency, along with their own underlying assumptions and beliefs (Henke-Bockschatz, 2014: 21-22), and are thus able to evaluate the experience while also gaining a form

of temporal orientation in everyday life. But they can also gain a critical understanding of how these insights themselves were achieved. This understanding can, in turn, reveal the general limitations of historical meaning in terms of its ability to help students orient themselves within time in everyday life. Self-reflection is thus both the goal and the precondition of more complex historical learning experiences; through it, students can access certain aspects of the structures and logics inherent to the successful research-based historical learning process, making such structures and logics available for future learning experiences.[10]

For my study, I sought an effective way of modelling my concept of research-based learning and thus to facilitate an empirical analysis. I chose to use Hasberg's (2005: 696) dynamic model of historical consciousness, which differentiates the disciplinary matrix described by Rüsen (1983: 24) and adds the de-constructive operation of historical thinking (Figure 1).

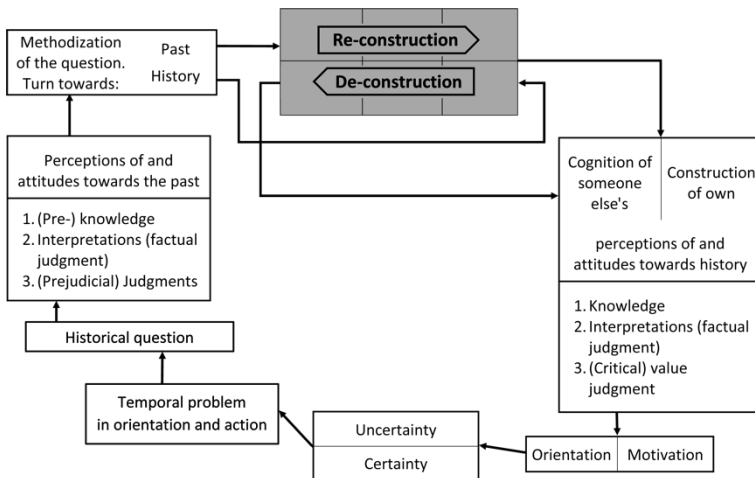Figure 1. Dynamic model of historical consciousness (Hasberg, 2005: 696 [translation L. G.])[11]

This model attempts the ambitious task of describing the general process of historical thinking (Hasberg & Körber, 2003: 181) in terms of elementary mental operations, in relation to both the school context and the wider world in general (Wosnitza & Meyer-Hamme, 2019: 91). It attempts to establish an ideal type that reflects the

mental processes required for historical thinking, to make concepts and ideas available with which the characteristics of such thought processes, both in themselves and in relation to a general model, can be described and put into words (Hasberg & Körber, 2003: 192) – that is of processes which might remain 'incomplete' in terms of the general model. It is precisely this quality that makes it an attractive choice for researchers undertaking empirical studies of individual research-based historical learning processes and of how the latter manifest in specific situations.

When, for the purposes of my study described below, the ideal type was applied exploratively to selected competition entries – in other words, to manifestations of actual research-based historical learning processes – the study showed that only certain aspects of the abstract 'ideal' definition of the concept of research-based historical learning are relevant. This finding in turn informed the design of the categories grid. Specifically, the findings from the exploratory study indicated that it would be most helpful to restrict the analysis to just three (partial) aspects of the model (Figure 2).
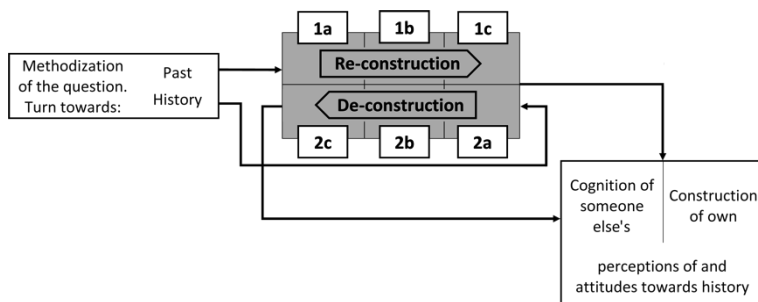
Figure 2. An abstract model of the (partial) aspects of research-based historical learning that are manifested and can be empirically observed in the competition entries. The numbering corresponds to the categories set out in Table 2.

Pragmatically speaking, this more restricted focus makes it possible to carry out an empirically satisfying analysis of research-based historical learning, in particular in relation to the interactions of students with contemporary witness statements.

4.   Material, Study Design and Method

The competition entries on which this study is based may be described as detailed historical narratives created by students. These narratives are created partly on the basis of the individual interests and/or need for temporal orientation on the part of the student, but partly also out of the desire to win one of the prizes awarded by the competition judges.[12] They are also created in the context of a structured openness (Brügelmann, 1997) which is shaped by the tutors who support the pupils in their learning process and by the accompanying materials provided for each competition round, both of which can have a normative effect on the learning process. The accompanying materials also act as a kind of 'filter' between history didactics and historical learning, through which participating students may gain access to the discourse of history didactics in its current form.[13]

The study itself is a retrospective longitudinal study, that is, it is based on a consciously and systematically selected sample of competition entries from a variety of competition years.[14] The selection of the competition rounds which were of interest for the study was partly made on the basis of their references to the use of oral history, while the selection of suitable competition entries was carried out on the basis of metadata captured through the database used by the Körber Foundation to archive the competition entries.

Thus initially it is possible to identify relevant competition years on the basis of their specific references to the use of oral history. This choice was helpful in generating the sample. The 1994/95 competition round, for example (East-West (hi)stories – when young people ask about the past[15]) was the first in which participants were explicitly required to use oral history in the form of interviews with contemporary witnesses. (Siegfried, 1995: 116) Because of this explicit requirement, the 1994/95 round was chosen as the first sample 'anchor', that is, as a fixed parameter which defines the subsequent choices of data for the study (here, it was used to define the other rounds of the competition that would be used). The second sample 'anchor' was the 1975 competition featured at the very beginning of this paper, the first year in which the accompanying materials and resources explicitly mentioned the use of contemporary witness interviews as a possible methodology. Using these two 'anchors' as fixed parameters, further rounds of the competition were

then selected at specific chronological intervals. From each year, those entries submitted by participants in Years 9 and 10 and at 'Sekundarstufe II' (German upper secondary level)[16] that had won one of the three national prizes were selected. This ensured that a comparable selection of entries for each round was available, which is an essential requirement for a longitudinal study.[17] The total number of entries selected was N=221. This number excludes other entries used as controls at the end of the study to test the study's findings against non-prize-winning entries.

The analysis of the entries is ultimately along the lines of an integrative content analysis after Werner Früh (2017), which enables statements to be made about structural characteristics of defined text quantities. An integrative content analysis differs from a structured content analysis (after Philipp Mayring (2015: 97-99)) in that it more closely intermeshes a primary, theory-based (deductive) category development with a secondary, empirically-based (inductive). By applying the grid consisting of inductive and deductive categories to the data, the content of the material is systematically reduced down to the information relevant to the study through using MAXQDA 2018 (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2019). A subsequent data analysis then generates aggregate data. The key insights from the integrative content analysis are therefore enabled through a statistical data analysis together with a subsequent content-related interpretation.

5. Pilot Study and Initial Findings

The pilot study was based on 77 entries from the competition years 1975 and 2013. These two rounds were chosen for maximum contrast (Table 1).

One of the main premises of the pilot study – which represents the most important result of various 'broadenings of perspectives' (Schönemann, 2007) in the theory of research-based historical learning[18] – is the argument that students (in the course of the competition's history) should be capable of thinking historically in a way that is increasingly reflective. That is, they should apply de-constructive operations more frequently, if it is accepted that these require the application[19] of what has been learned in the inductive, re-constructive cognition process (Hasberg, 1997: 724). In terms of the current study, this means that students should bring a stronger awareness of the 'narrative' character of contemporary witness

statements to the research-based historical learning process.[20] Based on this premise, the pilot study used six sub-categories derived from the two basic macro operations: re-construction and de-construction (Figure 2 & Table 2). In a calculation of a segment-specific intercoder match of the codes of two independent coders in the form of the extended kappa coefficient after Brennan and Prediger,[21] based on 20 randomly determined texts (9.1 % of the total corpus), an adjusted match value for the codes below of $\varkappa n = 0.69$ was achieved. This value is satisfactory if we agree with Udo Kuckartz that kappa values between 0.6 and 0.8 can be seen as 'good'. (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2019: 287-303).[22]

Competition year	Submitted entries (total)	Prizewinning entries (total)	Entries relevant according to study criteria	Entries Sekundarstufe I/II [23]	Ø Page number (min./max.)
1975	464	338	43	8/27	98 (31/1040)
2013	1321	232	34	6/27	51 (23/120)

Table 1: Numerical composition of the sample for the pilot study.

If we apply these six categories when looking at two entries from 1975 and from 2013 respectively in the form of a document portrait generated in MAXQDA, we can observe how frequently texts refer to contemporary witnesses but also the focus brought by students to interactions with contemporary witnesses in each case (Figure 3).

We can see here that students tend to use the re-constructive operations when dealing with contemporary witness statements, particularly in focusing on the past. This trend is reflected in the pilot study at a quantitative level (Figure 4).[24] According to these data, 65.7 % and 59 % respectively of interactions with contemporary witness statements can be defined as taking a re-constructive approach focusing on the past. If we differentiate according to secondary school level, we can see almost entirely matching values for entries submitted by upper secondary level students (Sec. II, Years 11-13) (Figure 5). By contrast, in entries submitted by lower

secondary level students (Sec. I, Years 9-10) for the 2013 competition round, we find a higher, above-average proportion (69.4 %) of entries that use a re-constructive approach focusing on the past (Figure 6).

Code	Definition	Example
Focus on the past – re-construction (1a)	The student identifies 'facts'[25] (e.g. dates, places, people) contained in the contemporary witness statement. They are trying to 'get closer' to the past.	*The ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] was not allowed to visit the prisoners in the camps. If the Americans did permit a visit, then it was all just a surreal show. [...] 'The Americans drummed it into us that we had to say things like "We are okay" or "We have enough to eat"'.* (CoE 2013351: 6)
Focus on the past – de-construction (2c)	The student explicitly identifies which 'facts' are referred to by the witness in their narrative and the evidence he or she offers for their interpretation of the past.	*According to Herr F., the November Revolution wasn't a real revolution at all. He told me that the November movement went off peacefully and no blood was shed, but it hadn't really improved things for the workers. [...] When he says that the November Revolution in Hamburg went off peace-fully, this isn't entirely true. The con-flicts that took place in July 1919 did involve violence.'* (CoE 197583: 46)
Focus on history – re-construction (1b)	Following the inter-action with a contem-porary witness' state-ment, the 'facts' as identified in the state-ment are contextualised (synchronically or dia-chronically), interpreted and presented.	*In the course of the first years, differences and prejudices were forgotten and neighbourhood help became an everyday occurrence: was it the support in all situations in life, shared joy and sorrow, the giving of missing furniture or even the mediation of housing and tasks.* (CoE 20131534: 48)
Focus on history – de-construction (2b)	When interacting with a contemporary witness statement, the student identifies which syn-chronic or diachronic contextualisation is used in the contemporary witness' statement.	*But the people we talked to think that things are more positive today despite all the political ups and downs. Herr S. said, 'We missed a huge opportunity back then. If only the German people [...] had gone on voting for parties that believed in the Republic' and Herr B. added, 'We would have been spared a great deal of suffering.'* (CoE 1975199: 38)

Focus on present/ future – re-construction (1c)	In their interaction with a contemporary witness statement, the student relates the witness's narrative to the present and the future.	*We got to know people who had to go through all of that, who asked themselves the same as H. D.: 'We eat the same food, breathe the same air, walk down the same street. How are we different?' We can only take responsibility for the future if we ensure that no-one ever has to ask themselves that question again.* (CoE 20131155: 48)
Focus on present/ future – de-construction (2a)	In their interaction with a contemporary witness statement, the student identifies how the contemporary witness makes reference to the present and/or future and what the statement is supposed to offer the student in terms of temporal orientation in everyday life.	*In his opinion, the situation of the German Sinti can only improve if their education and work prospects improve. Prejudice will only end, in his view, when the Sinti begin to get a better education and proper jobs.* (CoE 20131293: 32)

Table 2: Six sub-categories 'Interaction with contemporary witnesses (or witness statements) with a ...'[26] (For orientation see the numberings in Figure 2.)

In all the charts (Figures 4-6), we can further observe that students do not increasingly recognise contemporary witness statements as retrospective accounts and correspondingly do not increasingly use de-constructive operations to analyse their validity. In fact, we find that the use of de-constructive operations is overall less common. The predominant use of re-constructive operations, however, also makes sense in terms of the function often assigned to contemporary witness statements in the texts submitted by competition participants. The students most commonly use contemporary witness statements to confirm theories or statements already put forward by themselves or others, that is, in an affirmative sense; this is the case in 35 % of the analysed texts from the 1975 entries and in 42 % of those from 2013.
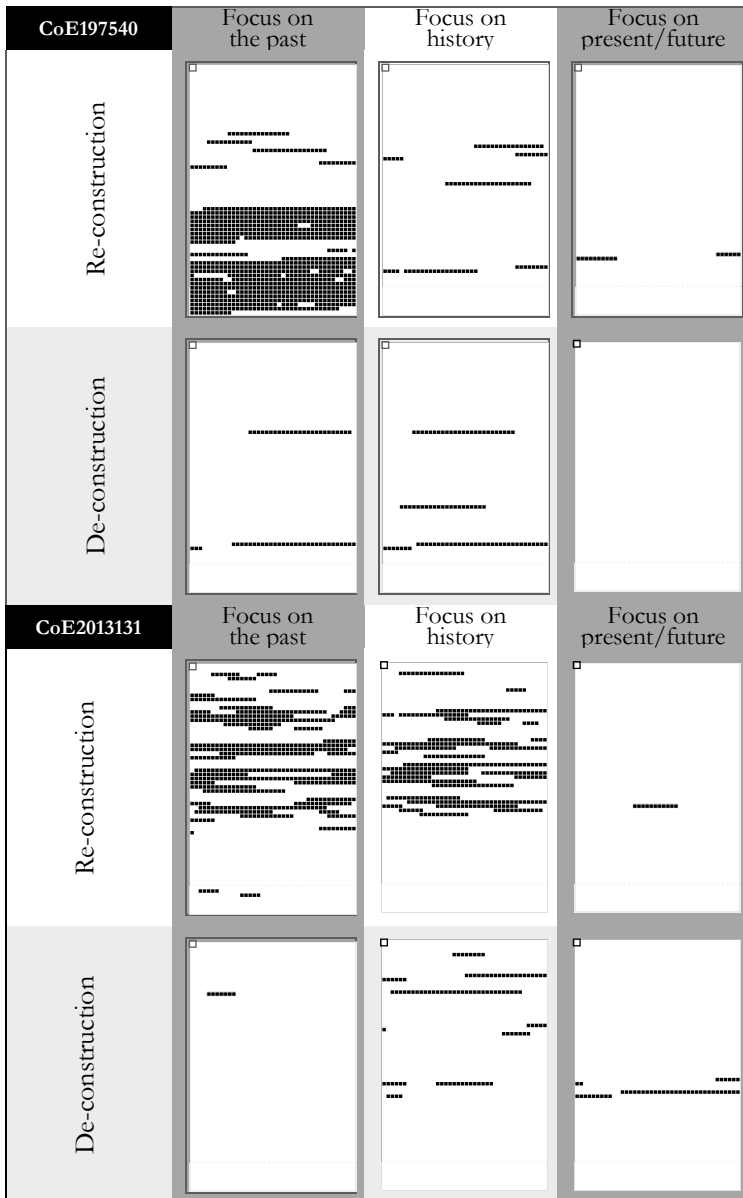
Figure 3: Competition entry 197540 and 2013131, using the categories in Table 2 in a top view as a document portrait generated

in MAXQDA. The marked points indicate if the interaction of the learners with the eyewitness statements has been assigned the corresponding code.

Sample in total ④

Code	Entries 1975	Entries 2013
A	65,7	59,0
B	4,0	2,2
C	17,2	24,2
D	11,2	8,6
E	1,9	4,7
F	0,0	1,3

Upper secondary level (Sec. II) ⑤

Code	Entries 1975	Entries 2013
A	66,3	60,1
B	2,8	2,5
C	18,1	23,0
D	10,9	8,3
E	2,0	5,2
F	0,0	0,9

Lower secondary level (Sec. I) ⑥

Code	Entries 1975	Entries 2013
A	56,8	69,4
B	2,3	2,0
C	29,5	10,2
D	9,1	8,2
E	2,3	8,2
F	0,0	2,0

Caption

■ Entries 1975   ■ Entries 2013

Ⓐ Focus on the past – (re-)construction

Ⓑ Focus on the past – (de-)construction

Ⓒ Focus on history – (re-)construction

Ⓓ Focus on history – (de-)construction

Ⓔ Focus on the present/future – (re-)construction

Ⓕ Focus on the present/future – (de-)construction

Figures 4-6. Quantitative description of the chosen operations and focuses when interacting with contemporary witness statements for the 1975 and 2013 entries respectively. Figure 4 represents the total sample of entries (N=77), Figure 5 shows entries submitted by upper secondary level students (n=59), and Figure 6 shows entries submitted by lower secondary level students (n=14).

Often, there is no attempt to bring a critical approach to such statements. We can see this, for example, in the fact that the second most frequent way in which contemporary witness statements are used is to illustrate or exemplify something (25 % in 1975 and 22 % in 2013).

The importance of interactions with contemporary witness statements in a re-constructive approach focusing on the past is in line with the requirements set out in the accompanying materials for the 1975 competition, which advise participants: 'talk to older relatives and acquaintances, or talk to older people in the neighbourhood. They may be able to tell you about what they experienced back then.' (Körber Stiftung, 1975: 3) The accompanying materials for the 2013 competition do, by contrast, draw attention to the importance of applying a critical approach to contemporary witness statements. They attempt to prevent a mere replication of such statements and thus to limit a positivist approach:

When talking to contemporary witnesses, always remember that they are telling the story from their own personal perspective. Compare different statements and check whether they differ or agree with each other. Your interpretation should never depend entirely on what other people have told you! (Körber-Stiftung, 2012: 28)

Yet, there is no explicit reference to the possibility, far less the necessity, of applying a de-constructive approach to contemporary witnesses and their statements. Such a reference is not found until 2014, when a new edition of a book given out to the competition participants notes that:

History in the form of memories is always a reconstruction of the past that takes place in the present. Thus, when talking to contemporary witnesses, it is important to remember that they do not only offer a way of establishing facts and perceptions, but that their statements can also help you to analyse history as a retrospective construction. (Erbar, 2014: 111)

However, the result of the 'broadenings of perspectives' at the normative-theoretical level discussed above in relation to the relevance of de-constructive operations in research-based historical learning is nowhere evident in the accompanying materials offered by the competition in relation to the sample under study.

6. Summary and Perspectives

In spite of their necessarily provisional character, these initial findings show that changes have taken place in research-based historical learning both at the normative-theoretical level and in the embedding of such theoretical changes in actual learning experiences. However, they also show that the use of an inductive, re-constructive approach has dominated consistently across the years of the competition, especially in focusing on the past. On the basis of the study's findings so far, it is hardly possible to speak of an increase in reflective historical thinking in the sense of a critical, de-constructive application of what was learned in the re-constructive cognition process. Rather, the study's findings serve to demonstrate the way in which the requirements of the competition, especially their understanding of research-based historical learning as a form of 'tracking down the past',[27] have had a strongly normative effect on the learning process. This initial examination of the accompanying materials and resources also shows that their use of discussions and innovations from the field of history didactics is highly selective.

Nonetheless, a further analysis will attempt to establish whether this predominance of the re-constructive approach has really remained constant throughout the competition's history, and more importantly, how changes in the competition are related to the results of the 'broadenings of perspectives' at the normative-theoretical level. In addition, the further research will also attempt to answer the following questions:

1) Can the noticeable predominance of a focus on the past, especially using re-constructive operations, be explained by the way in which students approach contemporary witnesses (e.g. do students tend to prefer fact-based, closed questions when interviewing witnesses?)

2) From the entries submitted by students to the competition, can we deduce that research-based historical learning itself is stagnating, rather than remaining dynamic (or: are the observed changes due more to individual variations dependent on student ability and performance)?

3) Can we thus identify consistent forms of research-based historical learning across time that could be useful for an inductive development of the concept?

Notes

[1] My study is funded through a doctoral scholarship awarded by the German Academic Scholarship Foundation (*Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*) and by the Gerda Henkel Foundation under the German Universities Foundation scholarships programme.

[2] All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. Quotation marks are used here despite the translation to emphasize the excerpts from the competition entries.

[3] In consideration of this remark, in the following it will be refrained from a consistent differentiation between oral history as an academic approach and the questioning of contemporary witnesses in the context of historical learning for the sake of readability.

[4] These days, around 5,000 school students, often together with tutors who act as mentors during the competition, participate in the competition, seeking out historical evidence and data in their local environment on a set topic, and following up their research with a written essay or other creative response.

[5] A comprehensive body of research exists in this field, of which I am only able to give a limited impression within the scope of this paper. The competition bibliography, however, provides a very useful overview (Körber-Stiftung, 2018). It should be noted that a number of existing studies were carried out by researchers with direct links to the competition (e.g. tutors, members of the Advisory Council, of the Board of Trustees, of the selection panel or researchers employed by the competition itself). One could deduce from this that personal experience with the logics of the competition may be helpful when it comes to analysing it from a more academic viewpoint.

[6] One interesting recent approach, for example, is also to be found in Saskia Handro's (2019) paper.

[7] Here and in the following understood in terms of forms of historical thinking, not (methodical) procedures, which is why combined use with the concept of competence is deliberately avoided (Hasberg, 2005: 692-693).

[8] Thus, in the literature of history didactics one finds the terms such as 'research and questions-based learning' [*forschend-fragendes Lernen*] (Schmid, 1970: 345), 'discovery-based learning' [*Entdeckungslernen*] (Knoch, 1988: 6) and 'history learning by research' [*forschendes Geschichtslernen*] (Pfützner, 1995: 147) alongside multidisciplinary terms such as 'research and discovery-based learning'.

[9] The definition put forward here represents a theoretical 'ideal type' in Max Weber's (1968: 42-43, 50) sense, that is, an archetype of research-based historical learning in the context of history theory and history didactics, which might of course never corresponds exactly with research-based historical learning in real life. However, this ideal type is useful for the purposes of this study, as it allows us to identify relevant aspects of the concept without making assumptions about how they may or may not be present in a given situation in real life. At the same time, the ideal set out here includes a perspective on the practice of research-

based historical learning, i.e. it defines how research-based historical learning is the focus of this particular study (the 'heuristic function' of the ideal type).

[10] For a comparable view of the aims of research-based historical learning see most recently Fenn & Passens (2019).

[11] For the distinction between past and history see, for example Rüsen (2004).

[12] The competition entries, like the other materials that accompany them, can be viewed in the archive of the Körber Foundation. For the competitions held from 1973 to 2012/13, only the prize-winning entries were archived. Since the 2012/13 competition, all entries have been stored digitally.

[13] I am assuming that the members of the Advisory Council, which is in cooperation with the office of the competition responsible for the content of the accompanying materials, select various aspects of the current discussions in history didactics that they deem relevant to the current competition theme and/or to the competition's governing principles.

[14] The selection was 'conscious' in Früh's (2017: 99) sense in that the researcher chooses the sample on the basis of his knowledge of how the characteristics to be researched are distributed across the total available data and explicitly defines these criteria. Examples may be the selection of either extreme or 'typical' cases. A 'systematic selection' is defined here after Merten (1995: 288) as a selection in which from the total available data volume N every nth data unit is used.

[15] From the minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting on 22.03.1994 we can see that the Advisory Council also put forward the title 'East-West (Hi)stories – Young people talk to contemporary witnesses'. During the ensuing discussion, two members of the Board of Trustees noted that difficulties could arise if participants were told to use *only* contemporary witness statements. Instead, the meeting suggested using the subtitle 'Young people examine contemporary sources and talk to witnesses'. This suggestion eventually formed the basis for the final official title of the competition. (Kuratorium des Schülerwettbewerbs Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten, 1994: 3)

[16] This distinction has to be combined with the reference that since the reunification of Germany, eight or nine years were necessary in different federal states and at different times (G8 school reform) until the Abitur. This means that year 10 must be counted in certain federal states and at certain times as part of the German upper secondary level. In the underlying project this distinction is taken into account by recording the federal states in which the schools attended by the participants are located. In the following, for pragmatic reasons, no further differentiation is made in the interests of clarity for the 2013 competition, which is considered as an example, due to the small number of competition entries from year 10 that were considered.

[17] The structure of the competition prizes has changed several times in the competition's history. However, the system used to award the top three national prizes has remained relatively constant throughout. Thus from the beginning of the competition in 1973, it has awarded five first prizes in the national category,

ten (e.g. in 1975) to fifteen (2013) second prizes and between twenty-five (2001) and forty (1975) third prizes.

[18] These developments and changes are described here as 'broadenings of perspective' in order not to contaminate them with any normative preconceptions through the use of values-driven adjectives such as 'modernising' or 'progressive' (Schönemann, 2007: 10).

[19] Here understood in the sense of Aebli (2011: 351-382).

[20] For the corresponding 'broadening of perspective' in the normative-theoretical considerations on research-based historical learning see Loos & Schreiber (2004). On the significance of the de-constructive operation for research-based historical learning, see also Hasberg (2007: 239-241). The beginning and end of a de-constructible 'narrative' are here regarded as determined by the learners.

[21] In contrast to the widely used Cohen's kappa, the determination of random matches here is not achieved through the marginal distribution of the contingency table created for the calculation, but is calculated depending on the number of defined categories. (Brennan & Prediger, 1981)

[22] When dealing with non-matches, I have followed the procedure set out recently by Christoph Bramann (2019: 169-170).

[23] There is a discrepancy here because certain entries were submitted by students working together across two school levels ('Sekundarstufe I' and 'Sekundarstufe II').

[24] The noticeable low significance of the focus on present/future for both re-constructive and de-constructive operation is – according to the current hypothesis – probably due to the nature of the interview interactions of the learners with the contemporary witnesses. In the interview transcripts accompanying the text selection under consideration, questions dominated that hardly offered the contemporary witnesses any space to formulate offers of orientation for present or future.

[25] In the sense of *factum*, i.e. 'that which has been created', indicating that the past only exists as a man-made construct.

[26] I decided not to include a description of the sub-categories here. However, a selection of the sub-categories was discussed in a paper given at the 'FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein' colloquium for Early Stage Researchers on 30 January 2020 in Hamburg.

[27] This understanding tends to be reflected in the titles of the accompanying materials and resources available to students participating in the competition. (Sauer, 2014)

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ISSUES CONCERNING EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN CONTEMPORARY HUNGARY[*]

József Kaposi

The importance of preparation for citizenship has been recognized for millennia, while education for democracy has been central to pedagogical thinking in Europe and in Hungary for more than a quarter of a century (Crick Report, European Year of Citizenship through Education, EU key competences[1], modified version of the NCC). Educating a citizenry that is capable of thinking independently, is equipped with critical skills and can deliberate about matters appears in these documents as a definitive goal. The concept of civic competence or citizenship competence indicates a combination of such knowledge, skills, abilities and values that make the individual capable of effectively participating in an everyday life that is based on democratic values as well as in civic society (Hoskins & Crick, 2008, cited by Kinyó, 2012). The various models of preparation in schools assume that civic knowledge has identifiable elements that can be taught (e.g. texts of legal documents, constitutional principles, the structure of the state); at the same time, civic 'knowledge' comprises rather the adoption of attitudes and the practice of certain skills. This study, supported by research data based on survey questions, seeks to discover the degree of prevalence of education for democracy and citizenship in everyday practice, as well as the kinds of problems those affected see in this area and what recommendations they have to address these difficulties.

1. International Outlook

The appreciation of teaching civics in schools began to grow at the end of the 1990s, thanks to the driving force of the Council of Europe which launched the education for democracy programme. Most countries in the developed world are committed to social studies and education for citizenship, and in recent years these competences and their assessment have been handled as a priority by the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), too. Of special interest with regard to the topic is the so-called Crick Report[2] which clearly states that the teaching of

democracy is about much more than acquiring knowledge of current political affairs. It sets as a goal educating a citizenry of independent thinkers with critical skills and the ability to think analytically, whose members can positively influence public life through fairness and objectivity (Huddleston & Rowe, 2002).

A milestone of this European-level initiative was the proclamation of 2005 as the 'European Year of Citizenship through Education'.[3] Connected to this, a consensus agreement by a research group[4] dealing with the issue of active citizenship defined the combination of knowledge, abilities, attitudes and values understood as civic competence or citizenship competence that make individuals able to more effectively participate in an everyday life based on democratic values and in civil society (Hoskins & Crick, 2008, quoted by Kinyó, 2012). This all means that the system of goals of education for citizenship in an international dimension is determined rather by the stress on democratic values, although some countries – befitting their own situation – place further emphasis on one thing or another (e.g. security policy, the strengthening of civil society and the acknowledgement that one of the defining conditions for effective education for citizenship is the microcommunity: the family, the school, the local society) (Strategy, 2009: 5).

In countries with a strong democratic heritage, two basic models for education for citizenship have developed. The American one 'primarily stresses the importance of participation in public life beside a presentation of the system of democratic institutions', and the German model 'considers important rather the formation and development of a critical attitude toward social-political phenomena' (Gönczöl, 2001: 178). Both of the aforementioned models are based on the premise that civic knowledge has identifiable elements of knowledge which can be learned and taught (e.g. texts of legal documents, constitutional principles, the state organisational structure and the tools of everyday civic administration). At the same time, civic 'knowledge' is the product rather of certain abilities and attitudes, and its essence means rather the ability to act. Carole L. Hahn (2020) has investigated the conditions for the shaping of democratic attitudes and values in youth in the established Western democratic societies of England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States, drawing on interviews with students and teachers as well as survey results. Her study demonstrates that the societies of these 'Western democracies', which

have a variety of forms of government (constitutional monarchy, parliamentary, federal systems) take very different approaches to preparing young people to be participating citizens.

The novel characteristics of education for democracy are, first, its alignment with the competences of lifelong learning; second, the central focus on strengthening social integration and social cohesion; and third, the implementation of competency-based thinking. As a result of this, civic competences and broad standards are presented as recommendations. Fourth is the stress on viewing the entire process of education as part of a complex way of thinking to solve social problems based on the premise that 'social issues must be thought of in systems that are multidimensional and complex; that is, we must recognize that there are multiple actors, interests and alternatives present, and this complexity requires treatment that is equal parts cognitive and visceral' (Halász, 2005).

According to one of the latest European surveys, education for citizenship is present in all countries, in national, regional or local public education programs (Eurydice, 2017). These countries have defined the goal of this education in a variety of ways, but most often it is to make young people active citizens who are able to contribute to the wellbeing of society. In most countries, not only objective knowledge is required, but stress is also placed on the development and deepening of skills, attitudes and values. The topics discussed, the focuses of education for democracy vary (topics may include the principles of democratic society, social issues, cultural diversity, sustainable education and the European and international dimension). Education for citizenship is generally understood to involve mastering four different areas: critical and analytical thinking, political literacy, attitudes and values, and active participation (Eurydice, 2012 and 2018).It can also be established that the impact of the family is present in almost every document, while significant emphasis is placed on the socializing role of the school and its models for preparing students for public life, and furthermore activities conducted in local communities and the civil sphere.

The so-called whole-school approach (Council of Europe, 2018) shows the complex system of education for democracy and citizenship in which three priority areas are designated in the scholastic sphere from the point of view of effective education for democracy: Teaching and learning methodology; Operation and fundamental principles of school administration; and Cooperation

with the community. The concept outlines important conventions related to the operation of schools that follow from the three aforementioned areas. A priority goal in the framework of Teaching and learning methodology is establishing a safe (student-friendly) classroom community where students can freely express their opinions, share their points of view, and participate in shaping and complying with rules for operation. This involves the creation of a kind of learning environment and atmosphere in which cooperative learning forms can be brought to the forefront; in which varying student and teacher cooperation (assessing each other's practices, fleshing out practices together, cooperation in implementation) is ensured. Access to projects important for students and to the related content, to exposure to alternative means of interpretation, and to the consideration and discussion of various perspectives is also ensured. This is rounded out by requiring that students have the opportunity to participate in decisions that affect them at group or institutional level. In the area of Operation of school administration, school heads and administrators are expected to take into account all affected interests; to implement fully the principles of human rights, equality and responsibility; and to involve affected groups in decision-making. With regard to institutional rules and procedures, the system of oversight must be handled with a close eye to upholding civic and human rights, and this principle must also be applied to new rules. Students' participation is of key significance in these processes: assuring the expression of their opinions and genuine participation in decision-making, and establishing the institutional framework necessary to achieve this. The main aim of cooperation with the community is involving parents and the local community and using local resources and connections, as well as drawing students' attention to local social problems. Of key importance is cooperation with other schools in the areas of experience and resource-sharing, with the aim of achieving mutual understanding with communities with divergent cultures and in the interest of approaching cultural questions and global problems from multiple viewpoints. Also important is cooperation between local institutions and organizations, for example between local government officials and institutions, religious organizations, minority groups and organizations defending legal rights.

A resource for the student-centred approach to education for citizenship is the *Learning to Disagree Euroclio Guide.* This guidebook,

prepared with the support of the European Commission and the Georg Eckert Institute in 2020, provides detailed professional support for the facilitation of dialogue, discussion and debate (DDD) in the classroom, and also includes a teaching guide and an assessment guide.[5]

2. Hungarian Regulation

Education for citizenship and democracy was given two emphasized sections in the common requirements of the 1995 National Core Curriculum (NCC, 1995) entitled *Country and Folk Studies*, and *Connecting to Europe and the Whole World*. In the former was formulated, among other things, that 'National consciousness should be established, national self-knowledge and love of country deepened, and the exploration and fostering of our historical, cultural and religious memories and tradition, in a narrow and a broader sense, should be encouraged' (NCC, 1995). In the latter, it was stated that 'A positive relationship to common European values should be shaped in students. Students should have an appreciation of the results achieved in the course of European development, including Hungary's related role and contribution' (NCC, 1995). The details presented show that the stated goals basically prefer learning and processing national and European traditions and cultural heritage, while stressing the necessity of connecting this duality. This demonstrates well the strengthening, in a cognitive and visceral sense, of belonging to Europe, of identifying with the way of life and spirit of the developed West. The following appeared as learning goals in the subject area of The Person and Society: 'the strengthening of the national and civic consciousness, social sensitivity [...], openness to the problems of society [...], establishment of skills and abilities on which the knowledge and skills necessary to make use of the democratic system of institutions are based [...], conscious participation in democratic public life' (NCC, 1995: 84).

   The Matriculation Requirements (Matriculation Decree, 1997) drafted at the beginning of the 2000s stated of the evaluation of examination goals for the subject of history that they shall determine 'whether the examinee has mastered the skills and knowledge with which he or she can interpret historical events and phenomena; whether the examinee can use his or her historical knowledge to interpret contemporary social phenomena' (Matriculation Decree,

1997). Fundamental Citizenship Studies: The study of human rights and presentation of the principles of legal equality, Citizens' rights and responsibilities was included under the topic Contemporary Hungarian Society and Way of Life in the detailed matriculation requirements for the subject of history (Ministerial Decree, 2002). Additionally, there is the topic The Operation of Parliamentary Democracy and Autonomy, which includes the sub-topics The Election System and The Tasks, Organization and Operation of Local Governments; and, at the elevated level, complemented by Hungarian Constitutionality, its Elements (e.g. the institution of constructive mistrust, referendums) and Institutions (e.g. Constitutional Court, the institution of the ombudsman).

The spirit, system of goals and theoretical approach of the 1995 NCC remained unchanged at the time of the 2003 amendment of the NCC (NCC, 2003). The topic Connecting to Europe and the Whole World appeared with a new title: Awareness of European Identity – Universal Culture. In the '95 version, only European values appeared, but in the amended NCC it was stated that students 'become European citizens while preserving their Hungarian consciousness'; additionally, there is a literal reference to students who 'will live their adult lives as citizens of the European Union' (NCC, 2003). The fundamental principles and goals of the subject area The Person and Society remained basically unchanged. Naturally, new motifs appeared, too; for example social studies now helped to create greater sensitivity to social problems in students 'and develop skills necessary for conflict resolution' (NCC, 2003). The document set as a goal shaping the behavioural forms of democratic civic existence and 'strengthening the national identity, historical and civic consciousness' (NCC, 2003).

The 2007 version of the NCC (NCC, 2007) served to include common European key competences necessary for lifelong learning,[6] on the recommendation of the Council of Europe. As a result, the key competences, 'interpersonal, intellectual and social, as well as civic competences' (Vágó & Vass, 2006: 199) were placed at the top of priority development goals in the document. From the point of view of education for citizenship and democracy, there emerged 'Social and Citizenship Competence' which included value-based community integration as well as the necessity of orientation in diverse social contexts. Study of this key competence involved considering documents with important significance (e.g. the Charter

of Fundamental Rights of the European Union), connections to the events of national, European and world history, and the institutional system of European integration. Among the skills stressed were proficiency in public affairs and the necessity of participating in community activities and in decision-making. It lists those positive attitudes which are necessary for the exercise of civic activities, for example respecting religious and ethnic diversity, sense of responsibility, constructive participation, effective communication, cooperation and self-confidence.

The 2012 version of the NCC (NCC, 2012) defined itself as novel, but in reality was not an entirely new document, rather only a new version of the curriculum. The document shows continuity on a number of points, not only with the '95 version, but with earlier versions, too. It even returns to the fundamental principles of the '94 version, affirming that students connect to the cultural sphere of European civilization while preserving their Hungarian consciousness (NCC Principles, 1994). This continuity is reflected in a number of earlier accepted fundamental principles: the exercise of general and fundamental human rights, complemented by the focus on human dignity and the repudiation of violence, and furthermore equity are established as requirements. Additionally, the structure of the introduction of the document – there appear Common Requirements (now Developmental Areas – Education Goals) and European Key Competences, reinforcing each other, and the labelling of Areas of Literacy is also evidence of a kind of continuity. A novel element is that establishing a balance between civic rights and responsibilities as well as harmony between individual goals and the common good is made a priority task for schools, while respect for the law and compliance with the rules of coexistence is seen as a defining criterion for citizenship. There appears in the text a marked intention to instil love of country and from this comes the requirement of 'defence of Hungary' as a new civic responsibility, which, according to the authors of the text, does not mean military service, but individual contributions to dealing with catastrophes that threaten the community (fire, flood, etc.). Developmental Areas – Education Goals has been supplemented with a section called 'National Consciousness, Patriotic Instruction' in which preserving national and folk culture values and traditions as well as knowledge of the work of important Hungarian historical figures, scientists, inventors and artists are set as objectives. Preparation for the integrative

approach and education for citizenship present in the NCC's People and Society area of literacy is applied in the teacher certification requirements, too. 'The goal of training [is to make teachers capable] of teaching subjects in history and civic studies [so] they can integrate their subject and pedagogical-psychological knowledge, that they [may be] capable of planning, organizing and managing the teaching-learning process of history and civic studies, and of shaping students' history and civic literacy, skills and abilities' (Ministerial Decree, 2013). Furthermore, the following competences to be mastered in the course of training appear: 'Acceptance of the value of democracy, acknowledgment and acceptance of the importance of active citizenship, and respect for individual and human rights' (Ministerial Decree, 2013).

If we look back on the last quarter century of Hungarian regulation of curriculum content from the point of view of education for democracy, we see that requirements – independent of the course of education policy – put faith in education for democracy and so-called active citizenship and are in line with international trends. This is especially true if we look at the professional pedagogical literature, in which such statements are characteristic: 'democratic thinking is also constructed from the smallest cognitive building blocks, thus shaping and developing these abilities require the practice of such activities in schools in a number of different contexts' (Csapó, 2000; Mátrai, 1999). The Academic literature of history teaching also deals with the mediation of values and norms emphasizing it among the improvement areas in which the determining authors highlight the strengthening of commitment towards democracy (Fischer-Dárdai, 2006: 66-69; Vajda, 2018: 47). In light of all this, it would appear difficult to explain research and analyses – in large part conducted in secondary schools – in recent years that report on 'withdrawal', (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1995) on disinterest in public life, and, ultimately, on the ineffectiveness of democratic education (Csákó, 2011). For this reason, we were curious to find out what students in the upper grades of primary school and the lower grades of secondary school, as well as the teachers and administrators there think about ongoing education for citizenship in their own schools and the practice of developing democratic skills and attitudes.

3. Some Marginal Remarks on Development

With regard to the centrally-developed so-called Education for Democracy Project Day,[7] there was an opportunity in the spring of 2018 to gauge with an online survey – in the framework of a predetermined, representative sample – the opinions of students, teachers and administrators on ongoing citizenship/democracy education and on their opportunities to become involved in public affairs.[8] From the point of view of recognizing and applying democratic values, schools are a 'priority platform', as it is here that students can master those democratic forms and advocacy models that can be applied later in their broader environments. The survey was basically intended to map out to what degree the complex system of education for democracy and citizenship, and the so-called whole-school approach (Council of Europe, 2018) was being applied, as well as identify problems the actors saw in this area and how curriculum requirements were being met. Hungarian education policy attaches great importance to the central curricula, evidenced by the fact that these rules have undergone a significant overhaul four times in the past 30 years. This is why the survey dealt with expectations appearing in the curricula in detail. At the same time, the results also show that the role of rules at the level of individual schools is declining. The student survey was completed by close to 900 young people between the ages of 13 and 16,[9] while almost 120 school staff filled out the teachers' survey.[10] The online survey asked mainly for statements to be ranked, rated or evaluated, but some elements offered respondents the opportunity to express answers.

The survey – according to requirements laid down in rules on content – asked about the practice in schools of the teaching of civic studies, about an assessment of the necessity of the Education for Democracy Project Day, and about institutional characteristics, circumstances and attitudes, apparent or 'veiled', which influence in an essential manner the recognition and acceptance of the democratic way of thinking and system of rules. The questions on practice in schools focussed on four areas:

1) the preferred pedagogical goals and the characteristics of classes in the institution;

2) the school subjects of education for democracy, an assessment of the Democracy Project Day;

3) the characteristics of school life: the areas in which students express their opinions, school decision-making and the operation of the student self-government (DÖK);

4) opportunities for a more democratic school operation, being informed about public affairs and opportunities and areas in which to respond.

With a view to the preferred pedagogical goals, educating children to be honest and sincere was at the top of the ranking for teachers and school principals, followed by the establishment of a good school atmosphere, education for a healthy lifestyle, drawing out children's abilities, fostering national traditions and awareness of rules. The lowest-ranked and least implemented goal was establishing a task-oriented atmosphere, encouraging students to express their opinions and the development of questioning. It is certainly telling from the point of view of education for democracy that pedagogical practices that aim to develop skills of such importance as critical thinking and the ability to express opinions ended up in last place in the ranking by teachers/school administrators.

The survey of pedagogical practices shows that the long-awaited pedagogical culture shift has hardly taken place. Students, school administrators and even teachers themselves responded that pedagogues apply frontal method in classes, most often 'the teacher stands by the blackboard and says what must be learned' (Kalocsai, 2018) – as students have put it. It is welcome, however, that the proportion of tasks solved in group work is visibly growing. Contradicting themselves, however, the majority of pedagogues are of the opinion that students 'learn the most if they find the solutions to problems themselves' (Kalocsai, 2018). Certainly a number of motives can be identified as the reason for this contradiction, but perhaps the most likely is that facilitator tasks appearing in the new pedagogical requirements mean more work for most teachers, because this necessitates extra preparation and that is why they cling to the role of knowledge transmitter. This outlined practice is also problematic because the successful exercise of democratic skills is seen in the pedagogical literature as an interactive and productive task of the students. It would certainly help to transform the culture of pedagogical methodology to a large degree if the dominance of competence-based education were to prevail, if cooperative learning-teaching tools and collaborative techniques would be brought to the

forefront, and if the use of the project method would gain greater traction.

The curricular program from education for citizenship and democracy appears mainly (about 80 %) integrated with the subject of history, and is implemented mostly in that framework. Teachers have expressed the education goal of civic/social studies – essentially in line with curriculum requirements – to form a feeling of responsibility for the community, to strengthen critical thinking, and to develop tolerance. Among the topics recommended in the curriculum, the least stress is placed on learning about the operation of the system of political institutions, as is shown by students' ranking of topics most frequently covered ((Kalocsai, 2018):

1) concept and tools of democracy (65 %);
2) minorities, national minorities (56 %),
3) forms of political participation, election system (31 %).

The ranking of the topics, or at least the content stressed in classroom processing is generally accepted by students, even though there is some contradiction with the topics they indicated as important and worth covering in their answers (e.g. topics related to social position, social equality, social responsibility, solidarity, and citizens' rights and responsibilities). All of this would indicate that students know the most important ethical principles of a functioning democratic society, even though they consider the principles themselves as more important than the tools necessary to apply them, the assurance of a chance for political participation or an understanding of the how the election system works. Or do they not believe in applying these in practice on the basis of their experience?

Most teachers and school administrators judged the organization and implementation of the project day targeted at education for democracy worth supporting. According to their views, they encounter significant gaps in students' knowledge in this area. They consider the appearance of the following curricular content to be necessary: practices that aim to develop various democratic skills, such as a culture of debate and the development of expressing opinions, the shaping of a feeling of responsibility for community, and development of social sensitivity. Additionally, there is a need to clarify the following concepts, for example, the state, democracy, constitution, local and national election system, system of democratic institutions. The respondents also signalled a need for simulation

games of the kind that can be used to show, for example, the election process in a gamified form.

The practice of the platforms and forms for students to express their opinions and especially the institutional decision-making process in schools are of special significance from the aspect of education for democracy in that both set an important example to be followed in terms of civic attitudes in adult life. The school administrators – in the context of an open question – pointed to teachers, in part, as well students, as an obstacle to the expansion and broadening of the sphere in which students can express their opinions. In the case of the students, they noted a lack of motivation, student disinterest and indifference, as well as the lack of a model for forming opinions; in the case of the teachers, reference was made rather to attitudes, as administrators said they are not open enough, unreceptive, and acknowledge students' opinions only with difficulty; as one teacher put it in an answer to an open-ended question about students: 'Because of their age, expression of opinions is not one of their specific attributes, they are still ignorant and their critical thinking is underdeveloped' (Kalocsai, 2018).
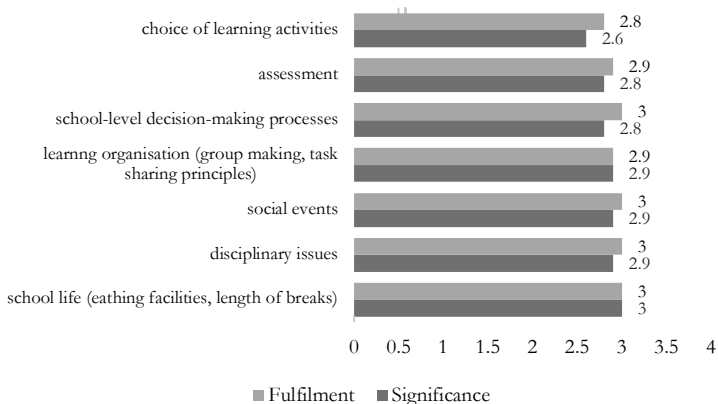

Figure 1. How important is the strengthening of student opinion expression concerning the following fields? How typical is the appearance of student opinion in your institution? (N=118, scale of 1-4).

They delivered the assessment that, in this area, the tradition of students expressing their opinions has still not solidified, and both sides still have much to learn. At the same time, they gave no indication, in any manner or form, of how they, as administrators, could support the efficacy of the learning process in the interest of establishing more democratic school practices. The teachers named a lack of time, the volume of teaching materials, teachers' and students' workloads and the attitude of students as impediments to expanding students' expression of opinion; the students' responses also show that schools ask students' opinions in a relatively large number of areas (disciplinary matters, areas of school life: eating, breaks, etc.) although the students gave the prevalence of the practice of expressing opinions even lower marks than did the teachers. Granted, the students' answers also indicate that 'one can still talk to the teachers about anything in school' (Kalocsai, 2018). It sends a message that in matters related to the practice of teaching, for example selecting methods, applying learning organization solutions (principles of group learning, task distribution, etc.), and evaluating students' work, the opinions and preferences of teachers and students vary little. From this we could conclude that students would rather trust the administration/teachers to create the rules for the school's operation and the selection of the content and methods for classes, or they don't want to fight more actively for their interests in this area. Strictly speaking, the students have accepted that their mandate applies only to participating in school-level decisions related to school recreation (class trips, things related to school holidays, etc.) and to voting for student council members. However, they do insist on one thing: being involved in probes of injustice affecting their classmates, and being allowed a say in decision-making in these matters. With regard to the order of decision-making in schools, students are basically uninformed and don't really know which actors in schools are involved in various decision-making processes. It can be inferred that students don't feel they have a real opportunity to express their opinions in schools.

With regard to the operation of the student council (DÖK), there is a general understanding between teachers and students that the operation of the student council is of important significance from the aspect of school life. There is also no difference of opinion on the assumption that the effective operation of the student council can

best serve education for democracy. But self-governance itself is interpreted in various manners, and with regard to the operation of the school, the diagnosis of students and teachers diverges on a number of points. The specific interpretation of self-governance indicates that the vast majority of school administrators/teachers believe the most efficient manner for students to exercise their freedom of expression is in the organization of talks organized at the class level and the encouragement of the expression of opinions during lessons. They assessed the least effective tool to be school-level debates and reported that these took place least frequently in schools. Almost 40 % of administrators did not agree that students should be allowed greater opportunity to have their say in school matters. Among youth, about 85 % feel that student councils operate in a consequential manner.

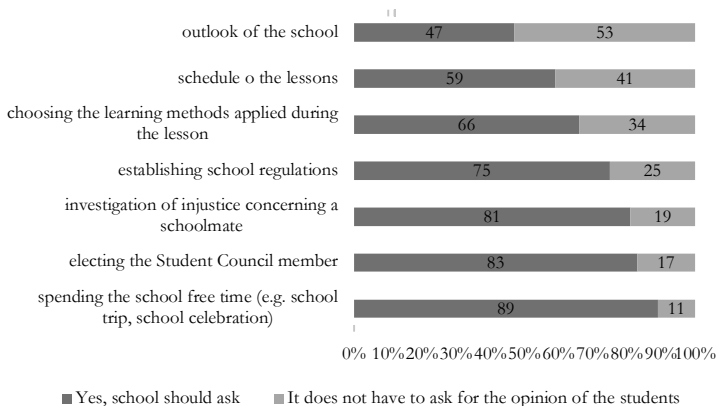|	Yes, school should ask	It does not have to ask for the opinion of the students
outlook of the school	47	53
schedule o the lessons	59	41
choosing the learning methods applied during the lesson	66	34
establishing school regulations	75	25
investigation of injustice concerning a schoolmate	81	19
electing the Student Council member	83	17
spending the school free time (e.g. school trip, school celebration)	89	11

Figure 2. In what questions do you think the schools should ask for the opinion of students? (N=899, data in %)

In contrast to school administrators, who believe that students' decisions and votes are the exclusive motivator for student council representatives, only one-third of young people are of the opinion that students' votes give legitimacy to student council leaders. Most believe the representatives of the student council have been picked by teachers and principals. Perhaps this can be explained by the survey results that show close to one-third of responding students don't know who their student council head is, and one-fourth only

know the person by appearance, while 85 % have never approached the DÖK regarding any problem or other matter. One-third of the students don't know the tasks of the DÖK in school, nor do they know which tasks, once completed, would improve its activities. The contradictory nature of the situation is also shown by the fact that few students know about the operation of the student council in their own school, while at the same time very clearly expressing the need, as a recommendation for improving school life, for more effective action by the student council in defending student rights, managing injustices involving students and mediating the stands of students. In parallel, insufficient effort is put into availing of opportunities student councils already have to participate in decision-making, for example, concerning house rules and – as mentioned earlier – the selection of classroom topics and applied methods, even though it is through these that requisite goals can be achieved most efficiently. The assumption/conclusion could be induced from this that students have only a rote understanding of what a real student council should be. Because they never, or hardly ever, are confronted with this in practice, they acknowledge the formal operation of the student council. They accept that the student council organizes their free time activities or – in the best of circumstances – in the event a student suffers an injustice, it takes a so-called defensive role in school, but they do not expect it to have an important role in shaping the whole life of the school.
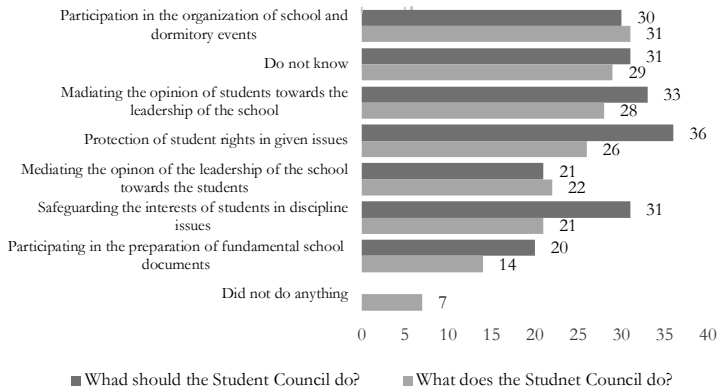

Figure 3. What does the Student Council do in your school? What should it do in your school? (N=889, data in %)

The picture revealed shows that even though there is probably a student council in every school, its operation is seen by teachers and students alike largely as a formality. All this creates a particular 'democracy of appearances' in which there are the trappings of democracy, but the framework is not filled with any real content. It is likely that keeping the operation of the student council a formality is in some manner in the interest of both parties. It is perhaps in the teachers' interest because it makes their own self-image and conviction better fit for democratic orientation; and it benefits the students because – even though they have little say in school decision-making – the institution of the student council is utilized in 'taking matters into one's own hands' (Jakab, 2018). The causes of the resulting situation are indeed multi-layered and complex – and can by no means be isolated from the operating paradigms of adult society – but what is certain is that it produces negative consequences both in the short and the long term.

Unfortunately, students cannot attend schools in which the preparation of every procedure, rule, curricular activity or other program involves their participation, thus these do not primarily serve their interests. They acknowledge the practice of decisions being made by higher powers without their participation. Because of this, they cannot experience in the scholastic framework the personal responsibility that comes with decision-making, the potential advantages found in cooperation with classmates, the order of complexity of difficult problems, and the compromises reached between conflicting sides with diverging interests through the methods of mediation, even though these can be, in practice, the real pillars of education for democracy.

The students' answers to questions concerning the opportunities in school for education for citizenship attest, on the one hand, to their knowledge of conventions – preparation in school must contribute to education for citizenship (65 %), and our schools are equipped for this task – and, on the other hand, a lack of understanding and passiveness with regard to public affairs and social solidarity. A relative majority (36 %) of respondents answered 'I don't know' to the question of how schools can meaningfully contribute to education for democracy (Kalocsai, 2018). So-called community service and school volunteering, which demands personal activity, has been relegated to the background, and only invitations of politicians and decision-makers to visit the school have a lower level

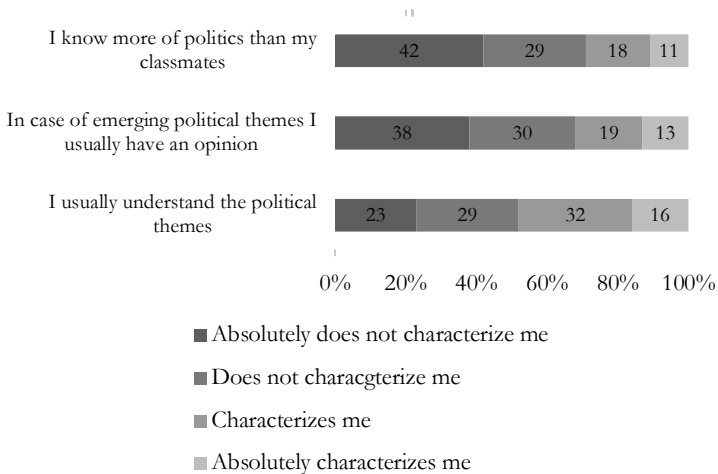of approval. (The latter could be interpreted as an assessment of the credibility of figures in public life.)

I know more of politics than my classmates	42	29	18	11
In case of emerging political themes I usually have an opinion	38	30	19	13
I usually understand the political themes	23	29	32	16

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ Absolutely does not characterize me
■ Does not characgterize me
■ Characterizes me
■ Absolutely characterizes me

Figure 4. How typical are the following statements of you? (N=889)

An examination of students' opportunities to be informed about public affairs shows a particular mix of shelteredness, isolation, disinterest, indifference and loss of hope. About two-thirds of students basically have no interest in public affairs or political issues. They not only are disinterested in politics, but also confess to not understanding topics related to public life. Almost 60 % have nothing to say if political issues are brought up. Most get information about public life from the internet and a smaller number from the television. Only about 25 % of the age group are informed by their peers, even though among 13- to 16-year-olds, the age group's example-setting and socializing function is of important significance. Of greater concern appears to be the small proportion (10 %) of information related to public life that comes from teachers. If we also take into account that the relative majority (37 %) of students could not (or did not want to?) answer the question about opportunities to have a say in public affairs, validate their interests or affect change, and a further 29 % thought they had no opportunity for this, then we may have diagnosed a picture that is indeed saddening. One-fourth of the respondents believe sharing their opinions with friends is an

effective tool for having a say in public affairs, while just 13 % said the same for voting and only 3 % for signing a petition.
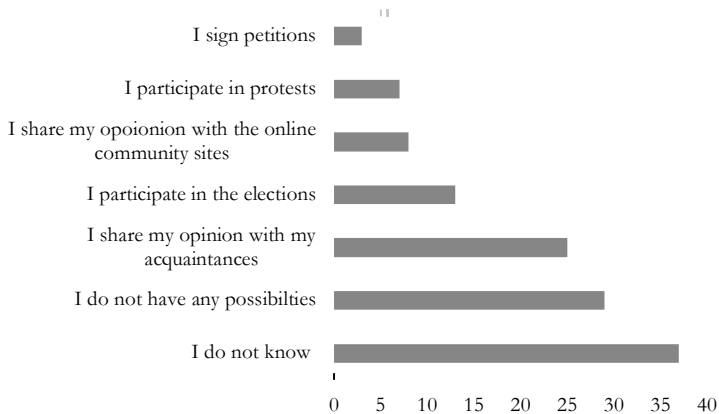

Figure 5. What kind of possibilities are available for you to interfere into public issues?

The picture shown by answers to questions related to the circumstances of public life are even more frustrating than that which appears with regard to the internal scholastic sphere. The responses show that instead of educating for conscious civic behaviour (attitude), schools are instead educating students for political disinterest, social indifference and apathy. Not only are students unfamiliar with their political opportunities, the don't really want to get to know them, that is, they want to exercise the political rights they enjoy as adults – similar to the practice they learned in school – only in a formal manner. All of this results in a particular attitude of subordination which naturally entails the comfortable positioning of the prevailing power on society and the depletion of the democratic framework.

The answers mainly from primary school students confirm – what was already diagnosed in secondary schools – the inefficacy of political socialization and the attenuation of education for democracy (Csákó, 2018). It would appear that curricular materials as well as the atmosphere, microenvironment and space to take action – contrary to the stated goals – do not instil a desire for activity in public life,

and two-thirds of teenage students have essentially given up on becoming adults who are active citizens interested in public affairs.

In educating for democracy, it should be a goal to establish the kind of institutional democratic atmosphere in which the 'student's voice' can more strongly prevail.[11] The child-centred approach is dominant; democratic classroom management is pedagogical practice which places emphasis on critical thinking and cross-disciplinary cooperation between individual teachers. The school's system of operation is regulated by a transparent – taking into account the consensus for the common interest – and intelligible decision-making mechanism. This kind of school practice would allow students to become active participants in the public life of the school, learn democratic rules and put into practice the processes and behavioural paradigms related to these rules in real-life circumstances, as well as recognize the necessity of taking into account common interests and the importance of results achieved through common effort.

4.   Summary

In the area of education for democracy and citizenship, international conventions as well as practices – especially if we view the matter in a European dimension – are moving away from the tradition of instructing for so-called 'civil tasks' in the framework of a subject, while the complex, so-called whole school approach is increasingly gaining ground (Eurydice, 2018).

Pedagogical literature in Hungary – e.g. 'The classroom teaching of democracy-related knowledge is, in itself, insufficient to turn students into democratically-minded citizens' (Csapó, 2000) – and even the official, often varying approach to regulation of curricular content – independent of diverging education policies – are in sync with international trends and clearly represent a modern approach to education for democracy. Unfortunately, everyday practice in schools shows a picture that is far from this, and it seems very remote that democratic education can be integrated into the institutional operation of schools in an overarching manner. The aim of the survey was to identify development needs and not to provide a general or comprehensive picture of the state of education for citizenship in schools, thus it diagnosed primarily the contradictions between the principles established in the regulations and everyday practice.

It would appear that the school's 'veiled curriculum' overrides the approaches and systems of convention in the curriculum and requirements, convincing students 'through everyday, almost subliminal messages' (Fülöp, 2009) not of the efficacy and reputation of self-conscious active participation in public affairs in cooperation and solidarity with peers, but rather of isolation, passiveness in public life, the simple truth of 'least said, soonest mended', and the successful advancement of individual interests.

The resulting situation can be traced back to a number of reasons on different levels and of varying significance. Certainly students' perception of public life and their social well-being play a role. As does a decline in the commitment of the majority of society's members to a functioning democratic order in the past decades – in the context of the lack of economic recovery after the change of system. Belief in the importance of grassroots initiatives and civic cooperation has been pushed into the background, while traditional relations founded on personal dependence have been revived. The public policy perception has also changed as the procedural perception of democracy has been replaced by the substantive perception; that is, the leader's commitment to the public good has become the main guarantee of democratic functioning, not democratic institutions or processes (Körösényi, 2004: 61-62).[12]

Among these reasons must also be mentioned the changes the scholastic world has undergone in the past 25 years, changes which show a continuous weakening of the legal scope of power schools and teachers have to make decisions. First, the role of the teaching staff became a formality with the selection of school heads, then schools' autonomy in planning the local curriculum was reduced, and finally the restructuring of the system in which schools are managed – and measures related to this – practically depleted entirely communities of teachers' competency to make decisions. All of this resulted in a devaluation of teachers' function as mentors and practically forced on them the role of taskmaster. But it is difficult to educate an active, self-conscious and free, but responsible citizen while in the role of taskmaster. This is why it is an unavoidable and urgent task to restore the prestige of the teacher's profession as well as professional autonomy over the functioning of schools. Naturally, while taking into account factors of fairness, effectiveness and efficiency.

It can only be hoped that the current circumstances do not become permanent, and that public and education policy, as well as schools and teachers – at least in their own sphere of influence – acknowledge the stakes in terms of socialization of these unfavourable processes and do all in their power to create the conditions for the systemic practice of education for democracy. The lack of this system of conditions is not only averse to the most habitable European traditions for the individual and the community and to the progressive centre it may also bring with it serious economic disadvantages in addition to social problems, and result in another 'dead end' (Bibó, 1986). This is why it is important to be aware that educating children for democracy – similar to music – must begin at least 'nine months before the mother gives birth'[13] as the children embody the future.

Notes

[1] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52018 SC0014&from=EN (22.07.2020)

[2] On the basis of the recommendation of the Crick Committee, citizenship has been taught as an independent subject in England since 2002

[3] The driving force for this was the Council of Europe which launched a program for education for democracy at the end of the 1990s, and one of the milestones of this program was the proclamation of 2005 as the 'European Year of Citizenship through Education'.

[4] The definition of the expression citizenship competence is based on the conclusions of the section of CRELL (Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning) dealing with research related to active citizenship, while the theoretical guidelines of the IEA studies are used for the description of the social-cultural context of the theoretical framework.

[5] https://www.euroclio.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/EC_TeachersGuide_A4-1.pdf; https://www.euroclio.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/EC_TeachersGuide_A4-1.pdf (22.07.2020)

[6] Development of these so-called Key Competences became a development priority in EU policy.

[7] The development of the thematic days and weeks at the Educational Authority took place in the framework of the *Creation and renewal of innovative classroom management procedures and digital developments serving the purpose of assessment and evaluation related to the framework system of public education* (EFOP-3.2.15-VEKOP-17-2017-00001) project. Zsolt Korpics participated as a developer and editor in the creation of the thematic days and online training program prepared in the framework of the project.

8 The survey was put together by Janka Kalocsai and she prepared the report (manuscript), the data of which support the other parts of the paper.
9 Among the 899 respondents to the *student survey*, almost two-thirds were youth between the ages of 13-16; the ratio of boys and girls was about 50-50 %.
10 The *pedagogues' survey* conducted in the project day schools was filled out by 118 teachers, mostly (82 %) women, about half with college degrees and half with university diplomas and close to 50 % with 25 years of work experience. More than 80 % of the respondent teachers worked in the lower or upper classes of primary school, and most taught history. The administrators' survey was completed by 69 (43 men and 24 women) school heads with an average age of over fifty; the share of those with college and university degrees was about equal. Almost 60 % of the respondent administrators had managed administrative tasks in their current institutions for 3-10 years.
11 Student Voice Erasmus+ KA2 project (EKE OF 2016/17).
12 The concept of substantive democracy has often contributed to the ideological underpinnings of political dictatorships if the ability to recognise the common good is appropriated by some person or political group.
13 Speech delivered by Zoltán Kodály at a conference on music education in 1948.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BUCHREZENSIONEN

LES CRITIQUES DE LIVRES

THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF HISTORY
AND SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Snježana Koren
on Christopher W. Berg & Theodore M. Christou (eds),
The Palgrave Handbook of History and Social Studies Education,
Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

The Palgrave Handbook of History and Social Studies Education presents an international collection of essays written by an international team of authors from 16 different countries. The *Handbook*'s editors are Christopher W. Berg, Associate Professor of Humanities and Head of Liberal Arts at Rocky Mountain College of Art and Design, and Theodore M. Christou, Professor of Social Studies and History Education in the Faculty of Education at Queen's University, Canada. The book consists of 24 chapters; at more than 640 pages, the book presents a wide range of topics and questions concerning history and social studies education. Two basic ideas frame these different contributions: as the editors put it in the Introduction (pp. 3-19), 'the general move towards historical thinking' in curricula and teaching practice in many countries around the world, and 'a paradigm shift, which demand that students 'do' history through an inquiry framework based on primary source analysis rather than memorize or learn historical content by other means'. The Handbook also discusses the theories that shape curricula, the educational contexts and practices, including the gap – real or perceived – between disciplinary history and school practice, and implications of these developments for teacher education.

Following the Introduction (Part I), The Handbook is divided into four thematic sections. The first of these sections (Part II), History Teaching and Learning in International Perspectives, presents how historical thinking is conceptualized and taught in several countries, including curricula, learning materials and teaching practice. The contributions in this section show different and country-specific problems. Kaya Yilmaz's contribution, 'Social Studies Teachers' Perspectives on the Differences Between Disciplinary History and School History' (pp. 23-52) presents social studies teachers' perspectives on their subject matter. Twelve social studies teachers

from the USA were selected as the participants of the study conducted as semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. The research finding showed that the teachers see differences between disciplinary and school history and have a negative view of textbooks. Textbook are seen as problematic because they deny students the opportunity to engage with historical and critical thinking by offering authoritative national narratives and a mono-perspective view of the past. Similarly, Cécile Sabatier Bullock and Shawn Michael Bullock's contribution 'Re-imagining History Teaching by Challenging National Narratives' (pp. 77-96) shows the crucial role of history textbooks in mediating French national narrative ('Le roman national') and French identity. They also describe how the teaching of history is caught between the tensions and pressures of educational issues, political objectives, and the construction and reconstruction of collective memory. Authors argue that teachers must acknowledge the existence of these national narratives but they must also contest them.

In their essay 'Improving Teachers' Proficiency in Teaching Historical Thinking' (pp. 97-117), Carla van Boxtel, Jannet van Drie, and Gerhard Stoel report that in the Netherlands historical thinking concepts (or second-order concepts such as change and continuity, causes and consequences, historical evidence) have been well-established components of the curricula, learning materials, assessment and teacher education programs. Historical thinking competences are also considered relevant in the context of citizenship education. The authors, however, argue that the instructional focus on historical thinking is still limited. Among obstacles to teaching historical thinking, the authors identify the large amount of historical content teachers are required to cover in order to meet new revised curriculum demands. Textbooks are seen as another obstacle: although they include second-order concepts and a rich variety of materials and exercises that focus on historical thinking, in their core is a rather fixed narrative that reads like an ultimate story of what happened. In this sense, textbook narratives are not supportive of the development of students' historical thinking and reasoning competences. In the last part of their article, the authors reflect on how to bridge this gap between theory and classroom practice.

In chapter 'But They Can't Do That!' Practical Approaches to Engage South African Primary School Pupils in Historical Learning'

(pp. 53-76), Rob Siebörger shows how primary education teachers in South Africa responded to the challenges of teaching primary history, at the same time dealing with large classes, an unfamiliar history curriculum, and scarce learning resources. Primary school children are taught in English, yet only a very small percentage have English as their home language; because of that, there are preconceptions that they are only capable of simple comprehension exercises and rote learning. This context led primary education teachers in South Africa to explore alternative approaches to traditional forms of history teaching, such as family histories, games, simulations and stories, to facilitate development of historical thinking. Yosanne Vella's contribution 'The Development and Progress of the 'Source Method' as a History Teaching method: Practical Classroom Examples from Malta' (pp. 119-143) describes how history teaching in Malta in the last 40 years has moved from traditional curriculum to a curriculum grounded in historical thinking and second-order concepts such as change and continuity, empathy and historical interpretation. This move towards 'New History' has been challenging for students and teachers. Vella shows some examples of teaching history with sources in Maltese history classrooms.

Sirka Ahonen's chapter 'Form or Substance? Weighting Critical Skills Against Identity Narratives in History Education' (pp. 145-163) describes how in the 1980s history educators from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland responded to the decline in the role of history in school curricula. They tried to find a solution by applying contemporary trends in international history didactics. An important factor was the series of Nordic conferences on history didactics that started in 1982. The Nordic educators became divided into proponents of the two emerging trends – the British positivistic approach based on critical skills and second-order concepts, and the German humanistic approach stressing historical consciousness and identity narratives as the core of the reform. This discussion about the purpose of history education has continued ever since. In the 2000s it has been extended by new ideas of history education influenced by social constructivism. Ahonen outlines the advantages and deficits of the two approaches and considers the recent debate and its implications for teaching and learning history in Finland.

In Part III, *Teacher Education*, examples are drawn from Australian, Swiss, Canadian, and Swedish contexts. In the essay 'Between Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking: Swedish History

Teacher Education in the 2000s' (pp. 167-187), Karl Hammarlund shows how Swedish upper secondary teacher education has changed since the 2001 teacher education reform. Before 2001, students started with their subject studies and after a BA exam attended modules intended to prepare them for their profession as teachers. Since the 2001 reform, history didactics has become an integrated part of history courses and the responsibility of the respective history departments. Hammarlund provides results of a survey of curricula from 16 Swedish universities which show that history departments have adjusted to the demands of the 2001 reform. He also describes how these curricula resolve the tensions among the two schools of history didactics stemming from Anglo-American and German influences. There are, however, significant differences as to how history departments integrate history didactics in their courses (as integral part of other modules or as a separate module), as well as the breadth and depth of history didactics studies. Hammarlund also notes growth in the field of history didactics: a very small group of scholars that was in the 1980s torn between educationalists and historians has grown into a thriving community.

Christian Mathis and Robert Parkes's contribution 'Historical Thinking, Epistemic Cognition, and History Teacher Education' (pp. 189-212) look at the historical roots of history education in Australia and German-speaking Switzerland. Authors examine the specific form of historical thinking in the recent Australian Curriculum and the related idea of historical competencies in the Swiss curriculum that will have final implementation in 2021. Historical thinking is understood as a practice which applies a set of competencies as well as the idea that pupils should learn that history involves interpretation. Given the research findings that indicates the impact of a teachers' epistemological beliefs about the nature of history on their teaching practice, authors argue that pre-service teacher education programs should cultivate student teachers' epistemic reflexivity or an 'epistemic virtue (of informed reflexivity)'. As authors put it, 'teaching pupils to deal with uncertainty, multiperspectivity, and critical pluralist perspectives requires teachers and student teachers to be reflective and aware of their position in terms of knowing what historical knowledge and knowing is, how history can be presented and disputed, and – above all – where they as a teacher stand and why'.

Canadian context is in this section represented with two essays. In 'More than a Methods Course: Teaching Preservice Teachers to Think Historically' (pp. 213-251), Lindsay Gibson and Carla L. Peck report that elementary school teachers in the Canadian province of Alberta might be underprepared to meet the demands of the Social Studies curriculum, in particular the concept of historical thinking. Drawing from research findings, they argue that one of the reasons teachers do not regularly utilize historical thinking approaches in their practice is because they have strong cognitive frames about the discipline of history and how history should be taught. Furthermore, most teachers interact with history only through books, films, documentaries, and textbooks, and very few have experienced 'doing history' or thinking historically themselves. Gibson and Peck assert that it is possible to change teachers' cognitive frames about history teaching and learning, but it requires a 'long view' of teacher education, from their learning experiences prior to entering teacher education to pre- and in-service teacher education programs and professional development. They designed a specialized course called 'Teaching Historical Thinking' to fill this gap in pre-service teachers' disciplinary knowledge. Authors report that after the course, participating teacher candidates indicated an improved understanding of historical thinking and improved competencies of how they could translate this knowledge into teaching practice. Penney Clark and Ruth Sandwell's 'The History Education Network: An Experiment in Knowledge Mobilization' (pp. 253-293), describes the influence of The History Education Network/*Histoire et éducation en réseau* (THEN/HiER) on Canadian history education. THEN/HiER is the educational and research network devoted to implementing, supporting and disseminating research in history education and improve teaching practice. This network is composed of academic historians, history educators in faculties of education, practicing teachers, graduate students in history and education, teacher education students, curriculum policy-makers, and representatives from a wide variety of public history and heritage organizations, including museums, archives and historical sites.

The final essay in this section, Nathan Moyo's 'What History Should School Teach in a Postcolonial Context?: Reimagining Secondary School History Curriculum for Democratic practice in Zimbabwe' (pp. 295-320), explores the role that school history plays in reframing Zimbabwean history in a postcolonial age. The chapter

problematizes the forms of 'national history' that have emerged in Zimbabwe as part of a postcolonial curricular endeavour to reclaim an African past. The central question that the chapter addresses is: 'What might reflect best practice in history education for the Zimbabwean postcolonial state to promote an inclusive and democratic society that allows for critical engagement with the nation's past?' As opposed to present traditional history, Moyo argues for the teaching of critical disciplinary history at the secondary school level as a critical aspect of postcolonial curriculum. He claims that 'current pedagogical practices closely resemble those which prevailed during the colonial era' and that 'merely Africanizing the school curriculum through inclusion of African content is a cosmetic change that does not address the epistemological irrelevance of curriculum and its undemocratic tendencies'.

Chapters in Part IV, *National Curriculums, Reforms, and Reassessments*, deal with the past and present reforms of history curricula in several countries, and trace challenges and problems in the teaching of historical thinking. Several contributions in this section took a historical approach and trace changes and continuities in their national curricula in the course of the 20th century. Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse's chapter 'From Knowing the National Past to Doing History: History (Teacher) Education in Flanders Since 1918' (pp. 355-386) first gives a brief overview of curricular reforms in Flemish history education and teacher training since 1918, against the backdrop of broader processes such as the decline of the Belgian nation-state and the rise of regional nationalism, developments within academic historiography and (history) education research. The second part of the chapter focuses on a double educational reform of secondary school curriculum and teacher training that was introduced in Flanders in 2019. It analyses the curriculum aims and proposed methods, as well as the specific model of historical thinking included in the curriculum. Finally, it examines how the new research-based Master's degree in history education is organized to prepare prospective teachers to implement the renewed history standards in classroom practice. David Limond's contribution '*Dochum glóire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann*: Revising History in Ireland' (pp. 397-414) gives a narrative account of key developments in history education in four periods that run from the establishment of school system in Ireland to that system's first mayor reforms: 1830s– 1900, 1900–1970s, and 1970s–present. It analyses influences and inputs from the School

Council History Project, especially for reorientation of the Irish curricula on 'doing history' and 'pupils-as-historians' approach. It also focuses on the factors that have impeded the curriculum revisions to be implemented as they were intended, such as the tensions between revisionist and nationalistic history, the instrumentalization of history at the policy level, and different influences from academic, popular and official opinions.

Joseph Smith's chapter 'The Scottish Context: Making History in an 'Understated Nation' (pp. 415-438) first gives a brief overview of history teaching in Scotland before 1993. Then it explores changes in the Scottish history curriculum over the last quarter-century (1993 – 2008 – present) and interprets them in the context of renewed Scottish nationalism and wider debates about Scottish nationhood. The presence or absence of Scotland's own national history in its curriculum has long been a cause for debate. Smith suggests that 'changes in Scotland's constitutional relationship with the rest of the UK have been reflected in changes in the way that history has been conceived in the Scottish curriculum'. Chapter also consists of three case studies that give more detailed analyses of certain aspects in the new curriculum: heritage and identity, employability, and citizenship.

Other contributions in this section focus on changes, challenges and problems brought by the latest curriculum reform in their respective countries. Catherine Duquette's contribution 'Québec's History of Québec and Canada Ministerial Examination: A Tool to Promote Historical Thinking or a Hurdle to Hinder Its' Inclusion?' (pp. 323-354) brings a detailed analysis of the new Québec history curriculum for the 3rd and 4th year of secondary school (2016). There has been a controversy about whether the new curriculum promotes a nation-building narrative based on a collective memory or the teaching of historical thinking. Some critics found that there is a lack of coherence between the theoretical framing of the curriculum based on historical thinking and the program content that only lists declarative knowledge; they argue that the curriculum overlooks minority groups and diminishes the importance of citizenship education. Duquette's study also reveals a misalignment between the curriculum aims and the assessment, especially in a mandatory ministerial examination in history at the end of the 4th year of secondary school. It outlines six general criteria that need to be met to assess historical thinking.

In 'Tracing Disciplinarity in the History Classroom: The Cases of Two Elementary School Teachers Amid Curriculum Change in the Republic of Cyprus' (pp. 439-469), Savroula Philippou explores effects and challenges of the curriculum shift from 'traditional/big story/best story approach' towards 'new history'/disciplinary history' approach that was enacted in 2004 by the Ministry of Education. The traditional chronologically ordered curriculum concentrates on transmission of facts and usually presents a single, unifying story as the 'best' version of the past to construct a particular kind of cultural and national identity. In the Cypriot case, it is a Hellenocentric or Hellenocypriocentric narrative of identity. The (critical) disciplinary approach, also referred to as 'doing history', focuses on teaching the methods of historical inquiry and the basic concepts of historical thinking; pupils should be encouraged to critically analyse how different groups construct their narratives. From 2004, a disciplinary approach has become increasingly present in the curriculum, albeit within the framework which has continued to prioritize chronologically organized historical content and national narrative. As Philippou argue, these two approaches are further entangled in classrooms, when negotiated by teachers of different personal and professional experiences, using different learning materials and addressing different classroom contexts. Philippou explored this curriculum shift through a case study of two teachers who prioritized different approaches to teaching and learning history. She argues that teachers' own attitudes, beliefs, and values play a significant role in how history is taught, especially when they refuse to adhere to the programmatic models advanced by the state because of a preference for collective memory or traditional history.

In their chapter contribution, 'Why Does Changing the Orientation of History Teaching Take So Long? A Case Study from Finland' (pp. 471-494), Jukka Rantala and Najat Ouakrim-Soivio outline the changes in the Finnish national core curricula for basic education and upper secondary education in the past three decades. The national core curricula have been renewed approximately every ten years since the 1970s, last time in 2016. Up until the early 1990s, the aim of history teaching was to enhance collective memory with teaching the great national narrative; from the middle of the 1990s, teaching the disciplinary approach and historical thinking skills has become increasingly important. However, a survey conducted in 2002 showed that many teachers were not pleased with the curricula and

not ready to implement the disciplinary approach. Furthermore, the history curricula for basic and upper secondary education went their separate ways. In the new basic education curriculum, an emphasis is placed on historical thinking skills, content is reduced and the content domains are defined loosely. In the upper secondary education curriculum, although the objectives stress the importance of disciplinary ways of thinking, the emphasis is still on the body of historical knowledge. Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio conducted a survey in 2017 to find out what history teachers think about new curricula. The survey showed that more teachers were ready to embrace disciplinary approaches to history teaching; it also showed there were no major differences between the responses from teachers at the early stage of their career and veteran teachers. In the last part of their chapter, Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio try to explain why did changing the orientation of history teaching take so long. They argue that leading professional organizations and textbook publishers in Finland did not for a long time support the principles and practice of disciplinary history and publishers are still reluctant to incorporate disciplinary and historical thinking into textbooks.

In Part V, *Difficult History, Future Directions and Possibilities*, two chapters explore controversial and difficult histories in their respective countries. Examples are drawn from the German and New Zealand contexts. Mark Sheehan's chapter 'Historical Thinking, 'Difficult Histories', and Māori Perspectives of the Past' (pp. 497-510) explores the challenge for history educators in New Zealand in aligning historical thinking with indigenous perspectives of the past. Sheehan outlines the extent to which the senior secondary history curriculum addresses the difficult aspects of New Zealand's past in the wider context of renegotiating the relationship between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders. In the second part, the author examines how historical thinking procedural concepts have been incorporated into the high-autonomy secondary school history curriculum that operates in New Zealand. This curriculum is framed by the procedural (second-order) concepts of historical thinking but does not prescribe substantive content knowledge and, in particular, does not prioritize difficult histories. Students seldom engage critically with difficult features of the country's colonial past or indigenous Māori perspectives on the colonization process. Sheehan discusses the challenge that this poses for young people developing

critical understandings of the difficult features of the country's past. The low priority of difficult histories in the New Zealand Curriculum limits the extent to which history can operate as a transformative, empowering subject that equips young people to be historically literate, critically informed citizens who can understand the connection between the past and the present. Sheehan argues that, while historical thinking can equip young people to think critically about the past, disciplinary knowledge is not an end itself. History as a school subject has a wider role in preparing young people with the knowledge to participate constructively in society, and this can only be a transformative process if it directly engages with the difficult and controversial histories. In a New Zealand context, understanding the nature of these difficult histories is an integral feature of operating in an increasingly diverse society that is working to address historical grievances and reconcile the relationship between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders.

Katalin Eszter Morgan's chapter 'Reasonable Interpretations or Emotional Identification? Using Video Testimony in History Lessons' (pp. 511-540) presents a case-study on Shoah Witness testimonies and adult German students' personal reactions and reflections. In the context of German historical sciences (*Geschichtswissenschaft*) and history education (*Geschichtsdidaktik*), there is a tension between the cognitive (objective) and the emotional (subjective). This chapter explores this apparent tension by firstly reviewing some literature in the context of German history and philosophy of history. The chapter then looks at how this tension is mirrored in history curricula. In the third part, it presents a case study that describes a selected set of history lessons in a German public school for adult learners. The subject matter is the use of testimonies by witnesses of the Holocaust or the Shoah. Finally, the author highlights aspects of this case study for discussion in the light of the cognitive-emotional duality, as well as the study participants' own reflections about the lessons. Morgan emphasizes that, when using video oral testimonies by witnesses of the Shoah, a narrow definition of what constitutes history and historical thinking is unable to accommodate the complex interactions and transactions taking place between a narrating witness and a listening viewer. She argues that asking whether it is reasonable interpretation or emotional identification that is at work when using oral Shoah testimonies is the wrong question. Morgan suggests that we need to widen our

definition of history to include all 'the means through which we give shape to the intangible movement of life and experience called time,' without worrying that possible emotional identification interferes or inhibits 'correct' cognitive processing.

Three final contributions in this section discuss past and present trends in history and citizenship education and consider future directions and possibilities. In their collaborative chapter 'To What Purpose? The Ends and Means of History Education in the Modern World' (pp. 541-573), Jason Endacott, Matt Dingler, and Joe O'Brien consider a crucial question to the future of history education: what is the purpose of a historical education? The authors first consider how the teaching and learning of history has evolved over time and how have various approaches to history education addressed the purpose for historical study. They define and describe four orientations toward teaching history: 1. history as a collective memory seeks to provide an overarching narrative for the past, to develop a sense of collective identity and promote patriotism through celebration of nation's historical achievements; 2. disciplinary history puts emphasis on 'doing history'; it develops students' historical thinking through the use of disciplinary tools such as inquiry, interpretation, and the second-order historical concepts; 3. the sociocultural history is a pluralist and humanist approach to democratic education that includes deliberation over the common good; history need not consist of a grand narrative because each individual starts with their own diverse social history, which is interpreted through daily experiences in life, family, stories, pictures, and artefacts; 4. postmodern/critical approach to history questions the relationship between historical knowledge and power; it is interested in how and why particular historical accounts are constructed, legitimated, and disseminated by various discursive communities. In the second part of the chapter, the authors reflect on how do these approaches stand the test of time. They argue that, despite the criticism and the challenges posed by newer orientations to the field, the collective memory orientation has in many ways remained dominant in history education. It is attractive to many educators and is also politically popular with legislative bodies that approve history standards. It is partly due to its deference to national heritage and the political motives of those who promote it. The authors argue that the standards movement was 'the point at which history content became a codified body of knowledge subject to approval from legislative

bodies, that shielded collective memory from other orientations with far more to offer students'. In the third part, the authors provide a survey of recent scholarship and consider future directions and possibilities in civics and history education. The final chapter posits a potential purpose for history education in a democratic endeavour.

In 'The History You Don't Know, and the History You Do: The Promise of Signature Pedagogies in History Education' (pp. 575-595), Dave Powell argues that the separation of subject matter content and pedagogical training in traditional teacher education programs has been a significant obstacle for many beginning teachers to successfully amalgamate their subject knowledge and pedagogy once they enter the classroom. In his essay, Powell explores the usefulness of Lee Shulman's concept of 'signature pedagogy' as a solution to that problem for history and social studies education. Powell describes Shulman's notion of signature pedagogies as a way of explaining how induction occurs in most professions, as modes of teaching and learning that are not unique to individual teachers, programs, or institutions but particular to the field. Based on these ideas, the author further explores some aspects of 'signature pedagogy' that might be useful for history educators to develop a history-specific pedagogy.

Melanie Innes's chapter 'Dynamic Literacies and Democracy: A Framework for Historical Literacy' (pp. 597-620) is situated in the Australian context where history education has been debated in the public sphere about its role in the formation of national identity. National education policies are increasingly concerned with education that can help young people to prepare for the kind of reasoning and informed decision-making that will be required for participatory citizenship. Accordingly, Innes's chapter is specifically interested in how the development of historical literacies can contribute to active and informed citizenship in the twenty-first century. The author proposes a theoretical framework for historical literacy that situates this term within the broader concept of historical consciousness and incorporates aspects of sociocultural approach of James Wertsch to acknowledge the dynamic and contextual nature of literacies, in particular Wertsch's notion of mediated action. Innes also employs the term dynamic literacies, to draw together multiple strands of literacies research. To illustrate the impact of these ideas, this chapter draws on a research project conducted during the centenary of World War I that was interested in Australian secondary school students'

perceptions of Australia's commemoration of the 1915 Gallipoli campaign.

As the editors emphasize in the Introduction, the scholarly literature on historical thinking has been historically concentrated in Western Europe and North America. In recent years, the notion of historical thinking has become part of history and social studies curricula, and focus of research activity, in many other countries around the globe. This book makes these research and practices accessible for an international audience and provides fresh insights into how the concept of historical thinking has been employed outside Western European and North American contexts. Looking at how scholars and practitioners in different national and cultural contexts are approaching this and other issues in history and social studies education can help us reflect and advance our own practices.

THE COLD WAR IN THE CLASSROOM

Piotr Puchalski
on Barbara Christophe, Peter Gautschi
and Robert Thorp (eds),
*The Cold War in the Classroom: International Perspectives on
Textbooks and Memory Practices*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019

Having spanned nearly five decades and only culminated in the years 1989-1991, with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Cold War is both not-so-distant past and present, owing to its current reverberations in Ukraine and echoes in the South China Sea. Moreover, having affected most places in the world, it is, next to World War II, the most global historical episode in living memory. As such, therefore, it occupies an important place in the national narratives of the United States, Russia, other former belligerent nations and the former non-aligned world.

The reviewed monograph, under the clever title of *The Cold War in the Classroom* and editorship of Barbara Christophe, Peter Gautschi and Robert Thorp, is an attempt to examine the place of the eponymous episode in the teaching of history in selected countries from both sides of the now-blurred West-East divide. Setting out from the premise that instructors and education media are 'deeply embedded in the socio-political contexts in which they are developed and used' (v), the contributors have adopted interdisciplinary approaches to explore the ways in which 'mnemonic hegemonies' emanating from textbooks interact with the political, social, and cultural contingencies that constantly influence instructors and the environments in which they teach. In other words, the authors analyse 'mnemonic disputes', which result from negotiating and practicing the meaning and memory of the Cold War in the postmodern and increasingly digital interstice between education, politics, society and culture that is the classroom.

The contributions are divided into three sections. Part I, which features analyses of Cold War interpretations, opens with Eva Fischer's study of American textbooks introduced between 2012 and 2017. Fischer demonstrates the persisting reluctance to depict either

the Soviet Union or United States as responsible for the onset of the Cold War; Alexander Khodnev observes a similar ambivalence in Russian textbooks. In the next place, Lisa Dyson examines Chinese textbooks, which, according to her, tend to de-centre the Cold War in order to underline China's new hegemonic role in the world. In their respective analyses of Swedish and Flemish textbooks, Anders Persson and Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse note that readers are encouraged to identify with the U.S. point of view, whereas Teresa Oteíza and Claudia Castro underline the privileging of the U.S. narrative in relation to the Cuban revolution or the presidency of Salvador Allende in Chilean textbooks. Likewise, Joanna Wojdon observes a pro-American sentiment in Polish textbooks, where the U.S. legacy of racism or McCarthyism are usually glanced over. Equally interesting are the chapters by Linda Chisholm and David Fig, on the one hand, and Markus Furrer, on the other hand, in which the South African exaggeration of indigenous agency in destroying apartheid and a sort of a Swiss cognitive dissonance regarding the Cold War are tackled, respectively. The uniting theme of this section is the observation of a 'politics of incorporation' (18): incorporating subaltern stories while extending a hegemonic narrative umbrella over them.

Part II of the volume tackles the relationship between teachers and textbooks, exploring the former's understanding of this education medium as they struggle with academic and professional dilemmas. Teachers are described as deciding what material to present to students to meet their curricular aims and personal beliefs. In the section introduction, Robert Thorp and Barbara Christophe suggest that history stems from personal memories and ideological conditioning as much as it does from rigorous academic study, which affects the ways in which teachers interpret textbooks. In turn, in her subsequent chapter Christophe demonstrates that Swiss and German teachers interpret the same line from the same textbook differently, which, she argues, points to the 'illusion of [mnemonic] hegemony'. Using audiovisual recordings, Eva Fischer, on the other hand, examines the struggles of a middle-aged German teacher, whose professional life covers formational training in the GDR and later career in the FRG, to make sense of her personal story and to relate it to her teaching of the Cold War. Lastly, Nadine Ritzer writes about the Prague Spring and Vietnam War as described in Swiss textbooks, arguing that the Swiss coverage of these episodes inadvertently labels

them as results of a bipolar conflict rather than a more nuanced series of causes and effects.

In the third section, the educational matrix under analysis begins to include, next to textbooks and teachers, the last missing component: students. The two groups are assumed to engage in a contestation of the material, as the historical universe expands, as culture and technology change alongside social identities, and as lingering political issues create tensions in history education. Having recorded footage of lessons conducted by secondary-school teachers born before 1970 in Germany, Switzerland and Sweden, the contributors to Part III demonstrate the ways in which the Cold War itself becomes a factor in the classroom. Barbara Christophe claims that both West German and Swiss teachers fail to acknowledge the persisting political nature of Cold War memory as they ultimately 'miss' the 'frame'. Likewise, Peter Gautschi and Hans Utz argue that in all three (four) countries or regions, the issue of memory in teaching the Cold War is not consciously tackled, but should be. Lastly, according to Robert Thorp, both Swiss and Swedish teachers give lessons in accordance with established narratives, without delving into the issues of contextual memory or continued political significance.

The Cold War in the Classroom is a commendable synthesis of ground-breaking multidisciplinary research into the role of the eponymous global state of geopolitical and human tension. In addition to elucidating particular contexts in which the teaching and memory of the Cold War are filtered around the globe – albeit primarily Western Europe is featured – the reviewed work also, most broadly speaking, examines the process of contestation and evolution of education media amid the expanding use of technology by young people. However, this broader point, mentioned in the book's introduction, as well as the 'post-digital' world of the classroom and its whereabouts, could be more developed, given that, despite its intriguing character, it only receives some treatment in the third section. Finally, the editors and contributors do not seem to address the paradox whereby their own sensibilities as individuals and their own academic opinions as scholars affect the ways in which they interpret the interpretations of the Cold War. Nonetheless, despite this slight methodological imperfection, *The Cold War in the Classroom* should finds its way onto the book shelf of every person practicing or interested in history didactics.

REMEMBERING AND RECOUNTING
THE COLD WAR

Barnabás Vajda and Karl P. Benziger
on Markus Furrer and Peter Gautschi (eds),
Remembering and Recounting the Cold War:
Commonly Shared History?, Wochenschau Verlag, 2017

This book – produced by twelve authors: Anu Raudsepp, Daniel V. Moser-Léchot, Tamas Kanyo-Fischer, Alexander S. Khodnev, Ismail H. Demircioglu, Ebru Demircioglu, Ueli Bischof, Joanna Wojdon, Hans Utz, Nora Zimmerman – provides the opportunity to compare, contrast, and search for commonly shared perceptions and images of the Cold War. Political divisions within Europe and elsewhere have resulted in politicized versions of history which this volume examines (p.7).

The Cold War in this volume is perceived as a 'dominant and all-embracing confrontation' characterized by 'cultural-social-political phenomena' that were the result of the zero-sum game played out by the East and West (pp. 14-15). Markus Furrer and Peter Gautschi, two internationally renowned experts on history didactic,s clearly state that the perception of threat and violence were permanent features of this construct (pp. 15-20). Though there are countless examples of Cold War antagonists reaching out for mutual understanding, 'the constant threat of violence' was a prevailing perspective found in schools in the bipolar world order. Within this frame the authors make use of rarely analysed sources such as a 1969 guidebook on civil defence in Switzerland, museum exhibitions and films, but most importantly history textbooks (pp. 11-13). Overall *Remembering and Recounting the Cold War* demonstrates a fundamental thesis of history didactics that history textbooks are integral parts of historiography. As Daniel V. Moser-Léchot points out, textbooks 'are developed in a certain historical, political context that influences the content' (p. 47).

The authors seek to understand how memories of the Cold War are integrated into the classroom since the 1990s, but more specifically how Western and Eastern European pupils perceive the Cold War. The West on one hand was preoccupied with mass

consumerism, but on the other beset with bloody proxy wars fought in what was then called the third world set off by the demand for decolonization, natural resources, and the ideological conflict set in motion by the Cold War. In this light we may appreciate Ismail H. Demircioglu's contribution on Turkey's involvement in the Korean War where Turkey 'lost more than 15 % of their troops' (p. 100).

For Eastern Europe, the Cold War was an era when 'mobilizing the masses' was the most notorious slogan of the time (p. 17). For far too many of those in Eastern Europe, newspapers and state organized mass demonstrations provided 'the experience' beyond the day to day struggle for existence characterized long ques for basic necessities and being cut off from the rest of Europe through travel bans.

This volume provides a unique survey about teaching the Cold War in schools from the different European countries represented here. Those who have conducted schoolbook research on Eastern European history textbooks will find Alexander S. Khodnev's conclusion that 'for many Russians [...] the inevitability of the politicization of history is an axiom,' (p. 83) a point reiterated by Tamás Kanyo-Fischer about Hungarian history texts that 'had to follow ideological guidelines' (p. 63).

Indeed, Eastern European countries used to have some common features during the Cold War and history textbooks filled with political propaganda is surely one of them. This set of studies begins with Anu Raudsepp's essay on media propaganda. In her contribution, Raudsepp shows how propaganda and education were melded together in Soviet Estonia. Raudspp's analysis tells us a lot about certain Soviet-modelled East European history education goals, especially through the concept of 'enemy of the people' (p. 33). 'The Bourgeois type, clothed by the fashion of the [early] twentieth century kept appearing in Soviet caricatures almost unchangeably until the collapse of the Soviet Union' (p. 36). Raudsepp also stresses the 'inner enemy' problem of Soviet styled regimes. 'Images of hero and enemy became an obligatory part of textbooks,' interestingly however, the U.S.S.R. was cautious towards the United States posing it as the most formidable 'foreign arch-enemy, ridiculing and discrediting, but never demonizing it' (p. 44). Other authors support this assertion regarding Soviet cautiousness in its portrayal of the United States. Teele Tulviste, who studied the image of the United States in Estonian history textbooks, claims that the 'attitudes to the

United States were derogatory but its image was not presented as uniformly negative' (p. 44).

Probably the most fundamental question this volume seeks to answer is how memory cultures influence history teaching? In this case it is the memory of a recent period, the Cold War found in history textbooks and curricula. On one hand the Cold War can be investigated 'particularly well because as a most recent era it is still present in memory.' On the other hand, the relatively short lapse of time creates problems. Ueli Bischof finds that teachers who were 'non-witnesses argue in a more sober way' than those who witnessed the Cold War (p. 139). She indicates the danger of bias since the Cold War is a contemporary phenomenon that many teachers lived in. As Bischof's empirical research demonstrates 'there is a danger that the teacher legitimates incorrect specialist knowledge through personal experiences and emotions. Thus, the history teacher possibly passes on views of history to the learners which have little in common with historical identity' (p. 137). We are reminded of historian Saul Frieländer's admonition that 'When past and present remain inter-woven, there is no clear dichotomy between history and memory.'

Perhaps the best example of Western censorship and propaganda is highlighted in the case of Turkey. According to Ismail H. Demircioglu, 'movements and ideas which were critical of the policies of the United States, were banned during the Cold War period' (p. 98). The United States supported right wing political movements such as nationalist and Islamic organizations, 'the United States manipulated the cultural life of Turkey' (p. 99). Demircioglu states, The United States wanted to shape the views of the Turkish public by different instruments such as press products, films, and books during the Cold War period.' The role of the United States in the multiple coups d'états that characterized Turkish political life until 1983 is underscored by Turkey's important role as part of the NATO alliance (pp. 104-105). He does not raise the question of Turkish religious schools, the imam-hatip schools which would provide the reader with more information about these school's stance on Western values and democracy in general.

Missing from the volume are more concrete examples of the all-pervasive propaganda emanating from the West. The introduction rightly states, 'Viewed from the inside, the Cold War and the anti-capitalism and anti-communism resulting from it had an internal integrating effect on the societies, as a world view which

distinguished the society from a demonized external and internal enemy. Enemy images boomed' (p. 16). Examples from West Germany and the United States would serve to fortify this concept.

What can we learn about the Western and Eastern societies from this book?

First, we can fully agree with the editors that 'due its global dimension, the Cold War is nowadays part of [our] shared history' (p. 16). But if someone thinks that the West and East had many of the same Cold War experiences that would lead to the same lessons learned they would be wrong. The authors' studies clearly highlight significant differences. For Germany – the Cold War was the almost never-ending time of division, both ideologically and through militarized borders; for Switzerland – it was 'sweet' neutrality. Whereas in Turkey one of the most powerful symbols of the Cold War was powdered milk (p. 106).

Secondly, what makes this book special, is that it researched the constitutionalized memory of the Cold War looking back on the period in the mirror of the last twenty-five years through the presentation of the Cold War in schools. This particular 'time frame' is exemplified by Joanna Wojdon's study on Ryszard Kuklinki, code named 'Jack Strong'. Wojdon has skilfully picked a story where the subject of the historical discussion is neither a statue nor a building – it is a person. The case study highlights contradictory opinions of Kuklinski, a Polish Colonel who spied for the CIA and NATO. Wojdon brilliantly shows how the post-Cold War era of almost thirty years has shaped the memory for many Poles that can be broken into different phases of how he is remembered (p. 20).

Thirdly, some of the conclusions in this book are up to date and dig deep into the current Russian historical mentality. The editors conclude that 'Russian collective memory of the Cold War is to a much stronger extent focused on the loss of its former role as a super power' (p. 17). Other Russian researchers confirm our notion on the complexity of current Russian historical mentality. In Natalia Narochnitskaya's view, 'the new [post-1989] Russian identity inherited a significant part of the elements of the Soviet identity […] no wonder that the state is building a new Russian identity on the memory of the Great Patriotic War' (p. 89), and therefore, as A. Khodnev states, 'the memory of the World War II or, as it is called in Russia, the Great Patriotic War, is more important than the Cold War memory in the Russian socio-cultural context' (p. 94). These

statements not only 'confirm de facto the existence of the main idea of the modern Russian elite – the 'greatstateness' of Russia which should in their view be established both in academic history and public memory' (p. 87), but they also lead us toward a more cautious analysis of Vladimir Putin's attitude towards the Cold War.

While we might wish there was more Western perspective present in this volume, the book provides us with unique perspectives on memory and analysis of the Cold War not readily available to the general reader previously. And even if Daniel V. Moser-Léchot does not answer the ultimate question of history didactics as to which perspectives should be reflected in a good history textbook, this is valuable collection of comparative studies on the Cold War.

A COMPANION TO PUBLIC HISTORY

Luigi Cajani
on David Dean (ed)
A Companion to Public History,
Wiley-Blackwell, 2018

The editor David Dean opens his introduction by defining this book 'a conversation about history in the public realm' (p. 1). A conversation, as he states further 'to celebrate public history's diversity and complexity rather than offer a comprehensive introductory overview or a "how to" handbook or manual' (p. 6). And indeed this interesting book presents a large picture of various experiences and practices of public history through 34 very informative chapters, plus one prologue and one epilogue. The first chapter, by Rebecca Conard, describes the establishment and development of public history in the academy of the United States. After that, some topics get particular attention: heritage (a general reflection by Tim Winter, the chapter on the Bangalore Fort in India by Indira Chowdhury, that on Al-Jazeera al-Hamra, an old town in the United Arab Emirates, by Hamad M. Bin Seray, and that on the sites connected with the Atlantic slave trade in Africa and in the Americas by Ana Lucia Araujo); museums (the chapter on the National Museum of Australia by Kirsten Wehner and that on Taiwanese museums by Chia-Li Chen); reenactments (by Amy M. Tyson and by Vanessa Agnew); monuments (a case study from Kyrgyzstan, by Gulnara Ibraeva); tribunals and other juridical instances (the chapters on the New Zealand's Waitangi Tribunal by Michael Belgrave, and that on the Reconciliation Commission of Canada by Patrick Morales Thomas). Single chapters are devoted to other topics: digital public history (by Serge Noiret); video games (by Jeremiah McCall); historical movies (the Russian ones by Jerome de Groot); community history projects (Sophiatown in South Africa, by Natasha Erlank); the role of practices of public history in conflict resolution (the case of Northern Ireland shown by Thomas Cauvin); and more others.

Albeit partial, this overview shows the richness and variety of this conversation, which is enriched by the show of many pictures and also worthily encompasses a worldwide horizon. One chapter

deserves nevertheless a particular consideration, that by Joanna Wojdon on the interactions between public history and history education, because it puts the basis for the definition of the necessary theoretical framework of public history and of its role in the context of historical scholarship. Wojdon starts with the fundamental remark that both public history and history education share a common character, that of being the forms of history communication outside the Academy to large non-professional audiences. The differences are obvious: history education refers to historical scholarship (and, to a different extent from state to state, to political agendas), whilst public history refers to the social demands. The interactions are indeed many and significant. Wojdon lists the main ones: among them she mentions the use by teachers of strategies and methods developed in the field of public history, such as gathering oral history interviews, collecting family memorabilia, and organizing school exhibitions and events related to the past. Teachers also use typical public history facilities to teach outside the school, for instance in museums, or during historical events and re-enactments, or encourage students to use computer games based on historical events as an opportunity to develop critical thinking by deconstructing their narratives. In general, public uses of history must become part and parcel of history curricula, to allow students to become active and not passive observers and consumers. Despite all that, the dialogue between history didacticians and public historians is still difficult or non-existent: 'they [...] regard each other suspiciously' (p. 463) or ignore each other, mainly because of the different relations with their specific audience and their different professional profile.

A misunderstanding that needs to be overcome, for instance, through the theory of historical consciousness and historical culture, that Wojdon evokes.

ABSTRACTS
ZUSSAMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Markus Furrer
Migration: a difficult topic in history lessons?

While only a few years ago it became apparent that history teaching materials hardly addressed the topic of migration, or only selectively, in recent years migration has found widespread acceptance in new concepts of teaching materials. However, since migration is currently one of the most controversial and emotionalized topics in both society and politics, it represents a challenge for textbook authors. The article considers how current teaching materials in German-speaking Switzerland depict migration at the lower secondary level. The importance of a historical-analytical approach to the representation of migration will also be examined. Methodologically, corpus-analytical procedures are combined with hermeneutical procedures.

Während sich noch vor wenigen Jahren zeigte, dass historische Unterrichtsmaterialien das Thema Migration kaum oder nur selektiv aufgriffen, hat die Migration in den letzten Jahren breite Akzeptanz in neuen Lehrmittelkonzepten gefunden. Da Migration jedoch ein derzeit äusserst kontroverses und emotionalisiertes Thema in Gesellschaft und Politik ist, stellt sie eine Herausforderung für Lehrbuchautorinnen und- autoren dar. Der Artikel geht dabei der Frage nach, wie aktuelle Lehrmittel in der Deutschschweiz Migration auf der Sekundarstufe I darstellen und wie wichtig ein historisch-analytischer Ansatz dabei ist. Methodisch werden korpusanalytische Verfahren mit hermeneutischen kombiniert.

Il y a quelques années encore, le matériel pédagogique concernant l'histoire n'abordait guère ou seulement de manière sélective le thème de la migration. Depuis lors, la migration a été largement acceptée par les auteurs de matériel pédagogique rédigé selon de nouveaux concepts. Comme la migration est actuellement un sujet extrêmement controversé et émotionnel dans la société et la politique, elle représente un défi pour les auteurs de manuels scolaires. L'article examine la manière dont le matériel pédagogique actuel en Suisse alémanique présente la migration au niveau du premier cycle du secondaire. L'importance d'une approche historico-analytique par rapport à la représentation de la migration sera également examinée. Sur le plan méthodologique, les procédures d'analyse de corpus sont combinées avec les procédures herméneutiques.

Lukas Greven
Research-based historical learning – a dynamic concept? Designing a retrospective longitudinal study of the Federal President's History Competition

Student competitions entries submitted for the Federal Presidents History Competition are a unique source for researchers interested in students' historical learning and thinking processes. In the study on which this article is based, they serve to empirically investigate the extent to which

research-based historical learning as the competition's leading principle has changed in the course of the competition's history, so between 1970s and 2010s. Using content analysis, the study asks whether changing normative-theoretical considerations in the field of history didactics in relation to research-based historical learning have become embedded into the practice of historical learning and thus into the student's competition entries. This question is addressed by looking at the research-based historical learning interactions of students with contemporary witness statements, which are manifest in the entries

Die für den Geschichtswettbewerb der Bundespräsidenten eingereichten Schülerbeiträge stellen einen einzigartigen Quellenkorpus für Forschende dar, die sich für die historischen Lern- und Denkprozesse Lernender interessieren. Sie dienen in der in der diesem Artikel zugrunde liegenden Studie der empirischen Untersuchung der Frage, inwieweit das forschend-historische Lernen im Laufe der Wettbewerbsgeschichte, also zwischen den 1970er- und 2010er- Jahren, in Abhängigkeit von den sich verändernden normativ-theoretischen, geschichtsdidaktischen Überlegungen zum forschend-historischen Lernen einen Wandel erfahren hat, ob sich also Veränderungen in der praktischen Realisierung des forschend-historischen Lernens als Leitprinzip des Wettbewerbs über die Zeit ausmachen lassen. Dieser Frage wird durch die Betrachtung der forschend-historisch lernenden Interaktionen der Teilnehmenden mit Zeitzeugenaussagen, die sich in den Einreichungen manifestieren, nachgegangen.

Les contributions des étudiants soumises au Concours d'Histoire des Présidents fédéraux représentent un corpus unique de sources pour les chercheurs intéressés par l'apprentissage historique et les processus de réflexion des apprenants. Dans l'étude sur laquelle se fonde cet article, elles servent à étudier empiriquement dans quelle mesure l'apprentissage historique fondé sur la recherche a subi des changements en tant que principe du concours au cours de son histoire, c'est-à-dire entre les années 1970 et 2010. En utilisant la méthodologie de l'analyse de contenu, cette étude demande si l'évolution des considérations normatives et théoriques dans le domaine de la didactique de l'histoire par rapport à l'apprentissage de l'histoire basé sur la recherche se sont intégrées dans la pratique de l'apprentissage de l'histoire et après dans les contributions des élèves au concours. Cette question est abordée en examinant les interactions entre la recherche et l'apprentissage historique des participants et les déclarations de témoins contemporains qui se manifestent dans les soumissions.

Terry Haydn
Telling the truth about migration: a view from England

The paper examines recent historiography relating to the phenomenon of migration to England, and the concluding section suggests ways in which history teachers might handle the tension between the requirement to promote 'fundamental British values' whilst maintaining the integrity of the discipline they teach. Although the paper focuses on the history of, and teaching of migration to England, given that there are many other countries where the state wants school history promote a positive story about the national past (Cajani, Lässig and Repoussi 2019), the issues involved are relevant to history educators in many other countries.

Der Aufsatz untersucht die jüngste Geschichtsschreibung in Bezug auf das Phänomen der Migration nach England, und im abschließenden Abschnitt werden Vorschläge gemacht, wie

Geschichtslehrende mit dem Spannungsfeld zwischen der Forderung, ‚grundlegende britische Werte' zu fördern, und der Wahrung der Integrität der von ihnen unterrichteten Disziplin umgehen könnten. Obwohl sich der Beitrag auf die Geschichte und den Unterricht über die Migration nach England konzentriert, sind die damit verbundenen Fragen für Geschichtslehrende in vielen anderen Ländern von Bedeutung, denn in vielen anderen Ländern möchte der Staat, dass die Schule eine positive Geschichte der nationalen Vergangenheit fördert (Cajani, Lassig und Repoussi 2019).

L'article examine l'historiographie récente relative au phénomène de la migration vers l'Angleterre, et ses conclusions suggèrent des moyens par lesquels les enseignants d'histoire pourraient gérer la tension entre l'exigence de promouvoir les « valeurs britanniques fondamentales » tout en maintenant l'intégrité de la discipline qu'ils enseignent. Bien que l'étude se concentre sur l'histoire et l'enseignement de l'histoire de la migration vers Angleterre, étant donné qu'il y de nombreux autres pays où l'État exige que l'histoire scolaire promeuve une histoire positive du passé national (Cajani, Lassig et Repoussi 2019), les questions soulevées ici sont pertinentes pour les professeurs d'histoire de nombreux autres pays.

József Kaposi
Issues concerning education for democracy in contemporary Hungary

The importance of preparation for citizenship has been recognized for millennia, while education for democracy has been central to pedagogical thinking in Europe and in Hungary for more than a quarter of a century (Crick Report, European Year of Citizenship through Education, EU key competences , modified version of the NCC). Educating a citizenry that is capable of thinking independently, is equipped with critical skills and can deliberate about matters appears in these documents as a definitive goal. The concept of civic competence or citizenship competence indicates a combination of such knowledge, skills, abilities and values that make the individual capable of effectively participating in an everyday life that is based on democratic values as well as in civic society (Hoskins and Crick, 2008, cited by Kinyó, 2012). The various models of preparation in schools assume that civic knowledge has identifiable elements that can be taught (e.g. texts of legal documents, constitutional principles, the structure of the state); at the same time, civic 'knowledge' comprises rather the adoption of attitudes and the practice of certain skills. This study, supported by research data based on survey questions, seeks to discover the degree of prevalence of education for democracy and citizenship in everyday practice, as well as the kinds of problems those affected see in this area and what recommendations they have to address these difficulties.

Die Bedeutung der Vorbereitung auf die Staatsbürgerschaft ist seit langem anerkannt, während die Erziehung zur Demokratie seit mehr als einem Vierteljahrhundert im Mittelpunkt des pädagogischen Denkens in Europa und in Ungarn steht (Crick Report, European Year of Citizenship through Education, EU key competences, modifizierte Fassung des NCC). Die Ausbildung einer Bürgerschaft, die in der Lage ist, selbständig zu denken, die mit kritischen Fähigkeiten ausgestattet ist und über Dinge nachdenken kann, erscheint in diesen Dokumenten als ein definitives Ziel. Das Konzept der Staatsbürgerschaft oder der Bürgerkompetenz umfasst

eine Kombination solchen Wissens, solcher Fertigkeiten, Fähigkeiten und Werte, die den Einzelnen in die Lage versetzen, effektiv an einem auf demokratischen Werten basierenden Alltagsleben sowie an der Bürgergesellschaft teilzunehmen (Hoskins und Crick, 2008, zitiert von Kinyó, 2012). Die verschiedenen Vorbereitungsmodelle in den Schulen gehen davon aus, dass staatsbürgerliches Wissen erkennbare Elemente aufweist, die vermittelt werden können (z.B. Texte von Rechtsdokumenten, Verfassungsgrundsätze, die Struktur des Staates); gleichzeitig umfasst staatsbürgerliches 'Wissen' eher die Aneignung von Haltungen und die Einübung bestimmter Fähigkeiten. Diese Studie, die durch Forschungsdaten gestützt wird, welche auf Umfragen basieren, versucht herauszufinden, wie weit die Erziehung zu Demokratie und Staatsbürgerschaft in der alltäglichen Praxis verbreitet ist, welche Probleme die Betroffenen in diesem Bereich sehen und welche Empfehlungen sie haben, um diesen Schwierigkeiten zu begegnen.

L'importance de la préparation à la citoyenneté est reconnue depuis des millénaires, tandis que l'éducation à la démocratie est au cœur de la réflexion pédagogique en Europe et en Hongrie depuis plus d'un quart de siècle (Crick Report, European Year of Citizenship through Education, EU key competences, modified version of the NCC). Dans ce document, la formation de citoyens capables de penser de manière indépendante, dotés d'un esprit critique et capables de délibérer sur des questions importantes apparaît comme un objectif fondamental. Le concept de compétence civique ou de compétence en matière de citoyenneté indique une combinaison de ces connaissances, aptitudes, capacités et valeurs qui rendent l'individu capable de participer efficacement à une vie quotidienne fondée sur des valeurs démocratiques ainsi qu'à la société civique (Hoskins et Crick, 2008, cité par Kinyó, 2012). Les différents modèles de préparation dans les écoles supposent que les connaissances civiques comportent des éléments identifiables qui peuvent être enseignés (par exemple, les textes de documents juridiques, les principes constitutionnels, la structure de l'État); en même temps, les 'connaissances' civiques comprennent plutôt l'adoption d'attitudes et la pratique de certaines compétences. Cette étude, basée sur des données tirées d'une enquête, veut découvrir le degré de prévalence de l'éducation à la démocratie et à la citoyenneté dans la pratique quotidienne, ainsi que les types de problèmes que les personnes concernées observent et les recommandations qu'elles ont pour faire face à ces difficultés.

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo
In pursuit of a decolonised history teacher: agency and boldness in fostering change

This paper is a contribution to the current debates in academia on the decolonisation of the curriculum by focusing on History Teaching in Higher Learning and Basic Education. The paper is a self-study of the author's journey of teaching history from high school to university level. Journeying back into my high school teaching years is important as self-studies use the understanding of the present through past experience drawing from various sources such as auto-ethnography, self-study on teacher education, narrative enquiry and qualitative research. The paradigm used is a critical genre as it fits well with the reformation on the subjects of moving from a colonised style of teaching history to a decolonised approach. In this paper colonisation is termed as a system that subjugates any knowledge that is indigenous and uplifts western ways of

knowing which has led to the oppression of all areas of indigenous people (Oelofsen, 2015). It has been shown throughout the paper that using colonised History epistemology learners miss much knowledge that could otherwise help them to live and contribute cordially in nation building. It is envisaged that liberation was spearheaded in the classroom by teachers to students in 1976 and more recently, in the 21st century, Consequently, it is pivotal for educators to be at the centre stage of transforming the current curriculum which is fraught with colonisation and alienates most of the society it is supposed to serve – Indigenous people. It is argued in the paper that much is written on decolonisation but less is documented on how the curriculum should be transformed by ensuring that both indigenous and western knowledge are accorded the same significance. The paper does not argue for the replacement of western knowledge. The article thus contributes to the area of how History teaching can be changed in this dispensation of decoloniality by looking through the eyes of a teacher who is a practitioner of the subject.

Dieses Paper ist ein Beitrag zu den aktuellen akademischen Debatten über die Entkolonialisierung des Lehrplans, indem es sich auf den Geschichtsunterricht in der Hochschul- und Grundbildung konzentriert. Der Beitrag ist eine Selbstevaluierung und basiert auf den Erfahrungen der Autorin bei der Geschichtsvermittlung, angefangen bei der High School bis hin zur Universität. Der Rückblick auf meine Lehrtätigkeit am Gymnasium ist wichtig, da Selbstevaluierungen für das Verständnis der Gegenwart aus gemachten Erfahrungen mit verschiedenen Quellen wie Autoethnographie, Selbststudium der Lehrerausbildung, narrative Untersuchungen und qualitative Forschung schöpfen. Das verwendete Paradigma ist ein kritisches Genre, da es sich gut in die Reformierung der sich ändernden Themen von einem kolonialisierten Stil des Geschichtsunterrichts zu einer dekolonialisierten Herangehensweise einfügt. In diesem Beitrag wird Kolonisierung als ein System bezeichnet, das jegliches Wissen, das indigen ist, unterjocht und westliches Wissen anhebt, was zur Unterdrückung aller Bereiche indigener Völker geführt hat (Oelofsen, 2015). In der gesamten Abhandlung wurde gezeigt, dass durch die Verwendung kolonisierter historischer Erkenntnistheorie den Lernenden viel Wissen entgeht, das ihnen helfen könnte zu leben und aufrichtig zum Aufbau der Nation beizutragen. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Befreiung 1976 und in jüngerer Zeit, im 21. Jahrhundert, im Klassenzimmer von Lehrenden für Schülerinnen und Schüler eingeführt wurde. Folglich ist es für Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen von zentraler Bedeutung, im Zentrum der Transformation des gegenwärtigen Lehrplans zu stehen, der von Kolonisierung geprägt ist und der diesen dem größten Teil der Gesellschaft- der indigenen Bevölkerung -, der er dienen soll, entfremdet. In dem Beitrag wird argumentiert, dass viel über Entkolonialisierung geschrieben, aber wenig darüber dokumentiert wird, wie der Lehrplan transformiert werden sollte, um sicherzustellen, dass indigenes und westliches Wissen die gleiche Bedeutung erhalten. Im Beitrag wird nicht für die Ersetzung westlichen Wissens argumentiert. Der Artikel leistet somit einen Beitrag dazu, was Geschichtsunterricht dazu beisteuern kann, die Wissensproduktion von einem kolonialen Epistem (Decoloniality) zu befreien. Dabei gilt es, durch die Augen eines Lehrenden zu blicken, der ein Praktiker des Faches ist.

Cet article est une contribution aux débats actuels dans le milieu universitaire sur la décolonisation du programme scolaire. Il se concentre sur l'enseignement de l'histoire dans l'enseignement supérieur et dans l'éducation de base. L'article est une étude basée sur l'expérience de l'auteur, montrant son parcours dans l'enseignement de l'histoire du lycée à

l'université. Il est important de revenir sur mes années d'enseignement au lycée, car l'autoanalyse utilise la compréhension du présent par l'expérience du passé en s'appuyant sur diverses sources telles que l'auto-ethnographie, l'autoanalyse sur la formation des enseignants, l'analyse narrative et la recherche qualitative. Le paradigme utilisé est un genre critique car il s'inscrit bien dans la réforme des sujets, en passant d'un style d'enseignement de l'histoire colonisé à une approche décolonisée. Dans cet article la colonisation est définie comme un système qui subjugue tout savoir indigène et impose les modes de connaissance occidentaux, ce qui a conduit à l'oppression de tous les domaines des peuples indigènes (Oelofsen, 2015). Il a été démontré tout au long de l'article que l'utilisation de l'épistémologie de l'histoire colonisée fait manquer aux apprenants beaucoup de connaissances qui pourraient autrement les aider à vivre et à contribuer fortement à la construction de la nation. Il est envisagé que la libération a été le fer de lance dans les salles de classe en 1976 et plus récemment, au 21ème siècle. Par conséquent, il est essentiel pour les éducateurs d'être au centre de la transformation du programme actuel qui est chargé de colonisation et aliène la plupart de la société qu'il est censé servir − les peuples indigènes. L'article souligne que l'on écrit beaucoup sur la décolonisation, mais on documente peu sur la manière dont le programme scolaire devrait être transformé afin que les connaissances indigènes et occidentales soient accordées la même importance. Le texte ne plaide pas en faveur du remplacement du savoir occidental. Il contribue notamment au sujet concernant la manière dont l'enseignement de l'histoire peut être modifié dans cette dispense de décolonisation à travers les yeux d'un enseignant qui est un praticien de la matière.

Alexander Khodnev

Migrants in Russia through the educational viewpoint: integrational, cultural and didactic problems

Migration processes in the world are in the focus of attention of the general public. They are studied by experts from different angles. For Russians, the problem of migrants has grown to its full potential since the beginning of the 2000s. Russia has become a place of attraction for labor migrants. Russia in the last two decades ranks second in the world after the United States in the number of migrants. Most migrants come from the former Soviet Republics (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Central Asia, Caucasus and Transcaucasia). However, this does not remove the problems of modern cultural integration of migrants and the children in the Russian reality. The first difficulty of the cultural plan is the knowledge of the Russian language by the migrants for the Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Moldova. The migrant children have full right to get education in Russia according to the law. Nevertheless, a lot of complicated problem exist that Russian teachers must solve.

Migrationsprozesse in der Welt stehen im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit. Sie werden von Experten aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln untersucht. Für die Russen hat sich das Problem von Migranten seit Anfang der 2000er-Jahre voll entfaltet. Russland ist zu einem Anziehungspunkt für Arbeitsmigranten geworden. Russland belegt in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten nach den USA den zweiten Platz in der Welt in Bezug auf die Zahl der Migranten. Die meisten Migranten kommen aus den ehemaligen Sowjetrepubliken (Ukraine, Weißrussland, Moldawien, Zentralasien, Kaukasus und Transkaukasien). Dies beseitigt jedoch nicht die Probleme der modernen kulturellen Integration von Migranten und den Kindern

in die russische Realität. Die erste Schwierigkeit des kulturellen Programms ist die Kenntnis der russischen Sprache durch die Migranten aus Zentralasien, Transkaukasien und Moldawien. Die Migrantenkinder haben gemäß Gesetz das volle Recht, in Russland eine Ausbildung zu erhalten. Trotzdem gibt es viele schwierige Probleme, die Russischlehrer lösen müssen.

Les processus de migration dans le monde sont au centre de l'attention du grand public. Ils sont étudiés par des experts sous différents angles. Pour les Russes, le problème des migrants a pris toute son ampleur depuis le début des années 2000. La Russie est devenue un lieu d'attraction pour les travailleurs migrants. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, la Russie reste le deuxième pays au monde après les États-Unis en termes de nombre de migrants. La plupart des migrants viennent des anciennes républiques soviétiques (Ukraine, Biélorussie, Moldavie, Asie centrale, Caucase et Transcaucasie). Cependant, cela ne supprime pas les problèmes d'intégration culturelle moderne des migrants et des enfants dans la réalité russe. La première difficulté du projet culturel est la connaissance de la langue russe par les migrants pour l'Asie centrale, le Caucase et la Moldavie. Les enfants migrants ont le droit de recevoir une éducation en Russie conformément à la loi. Néanmoins, il existe de nombreux problèmes complexes que les enseignants russes doivent résoudre.

Anitha Oforiwah Adu-Boahen
An evaluation of pre-service teachers' ability to source historical documents

The paper presents a study that examined historical thinking among final year pre-service teachers in two public history teacher education institutions in Ghana. A total of 135 student-teachers were sampled, and the goal was to evaluate how they source historical documents. A self-assessment survey and document-based task were administered and Lévesque's (2008) heuristics i.e. internal and external criticism of sourcing was adopted in analysing their responses. From the responses offered about their ability to make sense of the sources of the past, student-teachers struggled to effectively evaluate historical claims in terms of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration of historical documents. They found it difficult to identify who may be behind a historical document. Also, the written responses showed narrow corroborative skills among the student-teachers. That is, the student-teachers were not able to figure out how credible information in one document is, in comparison with similar information in another document (i.e. the information in line with other texts). Similarly, while some student-teachers could find discrepancies in documents, they were unable to point out incomplete information. The seeming suggestion brought forward by these findings is that student-teachers may not be able to integrate historical sourcing concept into their pedagogical practices. This points to a need for support in the training of student-teachers where they will be trained on how to think historically.

Der Aufsatz stellt eine Studie vor, die das historische Denken von Lehrpersonen im letzten Studienjahr an zwei öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen für Geschichtslehrende in Ghana untersucht hat. Insgesamt wurden 135 Lehramtsstudierende in die Stichprobe einbezogen mit dem Ziel zu evaluieren, wie sie historische Dokumente beschaffen. Es wurden eine Umfrage zur

Selbsteinschätzung und eine dokumentenbasierte Aufgabe durchgeführt und die Heuristik von Lévesque (2008), d.h. die interne und externe Kritik an der Beschaffung, wurde zur Analyse ihrer Antworten herangezogen. Ausgehend von den Antworten über ihre Fähigkeit, den Quellen der Vergangenheit einen Sinn zu geben, hatten die Lehramtsstudierenden Mühe, historische Behauptungen in Bezug auf die Beschaffung, Kontextualisierung und Untermauerung historischer Dokumente effektiv zu bewerten. Sie fanden es schwierig, herauszufinden, wer hinter einem historischen Dokument stehen könnte. Außerdem zeigten die schriftlichen Antworten, dass die Lehramtsstudierenden nur über geringe Fähigkeiten zur Untermauerung verfügten. Das heißt, die Lehramtsstudenten waren nicht in der Lage herauszufinden, wie glaubwürdig die Informationen in einem Dokument im Vergleich zu ähnlichen Informationen in einem anderen Dokument sind (d.h. die Informationen im Einklang mit anderen Texten). Ebenso konnten einige Lehramtsstudierende zwar Diskrepanzen in Dokumenten feststellen, aber sie waren nicht in der Lage, auf unvollständige Informationen hinzuweisen. Diese Ergebnisse lassen den Schluss zu, dass Lehramtsstudierende möglicherweise nicht in der Lage sind, das Konzept der historischen Quellensuche in ihre pädagogische Praxis zu integrieren. Dies deutet auf einen Bedarf an Unterstützung bei der Ausbildung von Lehramtsstudierenden hin, bei der sie darin geschult werden, wie man historisch denkt.

L'article présente une étude qui a examiné la réflexion historique chez les enseignants en dernière année de formation initiale dans deux établissements publics de formation des enseignants d'histoire au Ghana. Un total de 135 étudiants-enseignants ont été échantillonnés, et l'objectif était d'évaluer la façon dont ils travaillent avec les documents historiques. Une enquête d'auto-évaluation et une tâche basée sur les documents ont été assignées et l'heuristique de Lévesque (2008), c'est-à-dire la critique interne et externe des sources, a été adoptée dans l'analyse de leurs réponses. À partir des réponses concernant leur capacité à donner un sens aux sources du passé, les étudiants-enseignants ont eu de la difficulté à évaluer efficacement les données historiques en termes d'analyse approfondie des sources, de contextualisation et de corroboration des documents historiques. Il leur a été difficile d'identifier qui pouvait être impliqué à la création d'un document historique. De plus, les réponses écrites ont montré que les étudiants-enseignants avaient des compétences limitées en matière de corroboration. Autrement dit, ils n'étaient pas capables de déterminer la crédibilité des informations contenues dans un document par rapport aux informations similaires contenues dans un autre document (c'est-à-dire les informations conformes à d'autres textes). De même, si certains étudiants-enseignants ont signalé des écarts entre les informations données par différents documents, ils ont été incapables de fournir des informations incomplètes. Ces constatations semblent indiquer que les étudiants-enseignants ne sont peut-être pas en mesure d'intégrer l'analyse approfondie des sources historiques (historical sourcing concept) dans leurs pratiques pédagogiques. Cela souligne la nécessité d'un soutien pédagogique supplémentaire aux étudiants-enseignants afin de les mieux former à la réflexion historique.

Angelos Palikidis, Pinelopi Tsatsouli
Migration museums and history education in Greece

This article discusses the place that migration has in the historical consciousness of the Greeks as this is reflected in the historical narratives of Greek museums and in connection with Greek

History curricula and History textbooks. The first part describes the contemporary situation, analyses the concepts of 'migration' and 'refugees' and highlights the different attitudes of the Greeks towards migrant populations. The second part critically presents the place of migration in the Greek curricula and the History textbooks. In the third part, typical examples of migration museums or historical and archaeological museums with temporary exhibitions on migration are given, with special reference to the so-called 'refugee museums' dedicated to the national trauma of '1922'. Finally, a taxonomy of museum narratives based on the place migration occupies in the continuum of the nation's history is proposed, while the importance of migration museums for history education is outlined.

Dieser Artikel diskutiert den Stellenwert, den die Migration im Geschichtsbewusstsein der Griechen einnimmt, wie sie sich in den historischen Erzählungen der griechischen Museen und im Zusammenhang mit den Lehrplänen für griechische Geschichte und den Geschichtslehrbüchern widerspiegelt. Der erste Teil beschreibt die gegenwärtige Situation, analysiert die Konzepte der 'Migration' und der 'Flüchtlinge' und beleuchtet die unterschiedlichen Einstellungen der Griechen gegenüber der Migrationsbevölkerung. Der zweite Teil stellt die Einordnung der Migration in den griechischen Lehrplänen und Geschichtsbüchern kritisch dar. Im dritten Teil werden typische Beispiele von Migrationsmuseen oder historischen und archäologischen Museen mit temporären Ausstellungen über Migration gegeben, wobei besonders auf die sogenannten 'Flüchtlingsmuseen' eingegangen wird, die dem nationalen Trauma von '1922' gewidmet sind. Schließlich wird eine Taxonomie musealer Narrative vorgeschlagen, die auf der Bedeutung basiert, den die Migration im Kontinuum der Geschichte der Nation einnimmt, während die Bedeutung von Migrationsmuseen für die Geschichtsbildung skizziert wird.

L'article examine l'importance de la migration dans la conscience historique des Grecs, comme cela se reflète dans les récits historiques des musées grecs, dans les programmes scolaires d'histoire et dans les manuels d'histoire. La première partie décrit la situation actuelle, analyse les concepts de « migration » et de « réfugiés » et met en évidence les différentes attitudes des Grecs envers les populations migrantes. La deuxième partie examine de manière critique la présence des migrations dans les programmes scolaires grecs et dans les manuels d'histoire. Dans la troisième partie, des exemples de musées des migrations et de musées historiques et archéologiques qui accueillent des expositions temporaires sur les migrations sont fournis, avec une référence particulière aux « musées des réfugiés » consacrés au traumatisme national de « 1922 ». Enfin, on propose une typologie des récits muséaux basée sur le rôle que joue la migration dans l'histoire du pays, et on souligne l'importance des musées sur les migrations pour l'enseignement de l'histoire.

Heather Sharp, Silvia Edling, Niklas Ammert, Jan Lofstrom
A review of doctoral theses since 2000: Historical consciousness in the Australian context

Historical consciousness and moral consciousness as a joint, or intertwined, concept is relatively new in the history education context of Australia. While it has been used for a longer period in research internationally, it is only in the past decade that is has gained momentum and

popularity in the Australian research context. This paper examines doctoral theses submitted to Australian universities since 2000 to map how historical consciousness and moral consciousness is conceptualised in higher education research. As the largest group of researchers in universities, the selection of this concept to analysis how it is conceptualised and operationalised in theses is of interest when mapping its application. From a total of 14 theses that included the terms, two were selected for an in-depth case study that this paper reports on using a critical discourse studies approach.

Geschichtsbewusstsein und moralisches Bewusstsein als ein gemeinsames oder ineinander verflochtenes Konzept ist im Geschichtsbildungskontext Australiens relativ neu. Während es in der internationalen Forschung bereits seit längerer Zeit verwendet wird, hat es im australischen Forschungskontext erst im letzten Jahrzehnt an Dynamik und Popularität gewonnen. Dieser Beitrag untersucht Doktorarbeiten, die seit dem Jahr 2000 an australischen Universitäten eingereicht wurden, um aufzuzeigen, wie Geschichtsbewusstsein und moralisches Bewusstsein in der Hochschulforschung konzeptualisiert werden. Da es sich um die größte Gruppe von Forschern an Universitäten handelt, ist die Auswahl dieses Konzepts für die Beurteilung, wie es in den Doktorarbeiten konzeptualisiert und operationalisiert wird, für die Kartierung seiner Anwendung von Interesse. Aus insgesamt 14 Doktorarbeiten, die die Begriffe enthielten, wurden zwei für eine vertiefte Fallstudie ausgewählt, über die in diesem Beitrag anhand eines Ansatzes der kritischen Diskursstudien berichtet wird.

La conscience historique et la conscience morale en tant que concept commun, voire indissociable, est relativement nouveau dans le contexte de l'enseignement de l'histoire en Australie. Bien qu'il soit utilisé depuis plus longtemps dans la recherche au niveau international, ce n'est qu'au cours de la dernière décennie qu'il a gagné en importance et en popularité dans le contexte de la recherche australienne. Cet article examine les thèses de doctorat préparées par les candidats des universités australiennes depuis 2000 afin de mieux comprendre comment la conscience historique et la conscience morale sont conceptualisées dans la recherche. Comme il s'agit du plus grand groupe de chercheurs dans les universités, le choix de ce concept pour analyser la façon dont il est conceptualisé et opérationnalisé dans les thèses est intéressant pour mieux comprendre son application. Sur un total de 14 thèses incluant les termes mentionnés ci-dessus, deux ont été sélectionnées pour réaliser une étude de cas approfondie dont cet article rend compte en utilisant une approche d'analyse critique

Joanna Wojdon and Małgorzata Skotnicka-Palka
The Polish diaspora in history textbooks in Poland

The article is based on the content analysis of the primary school history textbooks covering the period of the 19th and 20th century. It adapts the the model developed by Raymond Nkwenti Fru in his PhD thesis written under supervision of Johanes Wassermann at the University of Kwazulu-Natal: from identifying basic data on the length and composition of the chapters/fragments devoted to Polish migrations in order to get a general idea of how much (or rather, how little) space is provided for this topic, we move to de-constructing narrative frameworks: chronology, geographical spaces, characters and their activities, and proceed to 'individual' and 'organizational' concepts related to emigration. Inter-relations of those first-order concepts allowed us to reconstruct leading narrative patterns, based on the second-order

concepts related to historiography seen through the lenses of the 'Big Six' pillars of historical thinking developed by Peter Seixas. All this has lead us to general messages of textbooks, both explicit and hidden, intentional and unintentional, and to questions of the hidden curriculum behind the presentation of the Polish emigration and diaspora.

Der Artikel basiert auf der Inhaltsanalyse der Geschichtsbücher der Grundschule, die den Zeitraum des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts abdecken. Der Beitrag adaptiert das Modell, das Raymond Nkwenti Fru in seiner Doktorarbeit entwickelt hat, die er unter der Leitung von Johanes Wassermann an der Universität Kwazulu-Natal verfasst hat: Von der Ermittlung grundlegender Daten über die Länge und Zusammensetzung der Kapitel/Fragmente, die der polnischen Migration gewidmet sind, um eine allgemeine Vorstellung davon zu erhalten, wie viel (oder besser gesagt, wie wenig) Raum für dieses Thema zur Verfügung steht, gehen wir zur Dekonstruktion narrativer Rahmenwerke über: Chronologie, geographische Räume, Charaktere und ihre Aktivitäten, und gehen weiter zu ‚individuellen‘ und ‚organisatorischen‘ Konzepten in Bezug auf die Emigration. Die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen diesen Konzepten erster Ordnung erlaubten es uns, führende Erzählmuster zu rekonstruieren, die auf den Konzepten zweiter Ordnung basieren, die sich auf die Geschichtsschreibung beziehen und durch die Brille der von Peter Seixas entwickelten ‚Großen Sechs‘ Säulen des historischen Denkens gesehen werden. All dies hat uns zu allgemeinen Aussagen über Schulbücher geführt, sowohl explizite als auch verborgene, beabsichtigte und unbeabsichtigte und zu Fragen des verborgenen Lehrplans hinter der Darstellung der polnischen Emigration und Diaspora.

L'article est basé sur l'analyse du contenu des manuels d'histoire de l'enseignement primaire couvrant la période des 19e et 20e siècles. Il adapte le modèle développé par Raymond Nkwenti Fru dans sa thèse de doctorat rédigée sous la direction de Johanes Wassermann à l'Université du Kwazulu-Natal : en commençant par l'identification des données de base sur la longueur et la composition des chapitres/fragments consacrés aux migrations polonaises afin d'avoir une idée générale de l'espace (ou plutôt du peu d'espace) accordé à ce sujet, nous passons à la déconstruction des cadres narratifs : chronologie, zones géographiques, personnages et leurs activités pour procéder à la définition des concepts « individuels » et « organisationnels » liés à l'émigration. Les interrelations entre ces concepts de premier ordre nous ont permis de reconstruire des modèles narratifs prédominants, basés sur les concepts de second ordre liés à l'historiographie et vus à travers les lentilles des « six grands » piliers de la pensée historique développés par Peter Seixas. Tout cela nous a permis d'observer les idées générales dans les manuels scolaires, explicites et cachés, intentionnels et non intentionnels, ainsi que de poser des questions sur le programme scolaire caché derrière la présentation de l'émigration et de la diaspora polonaise.

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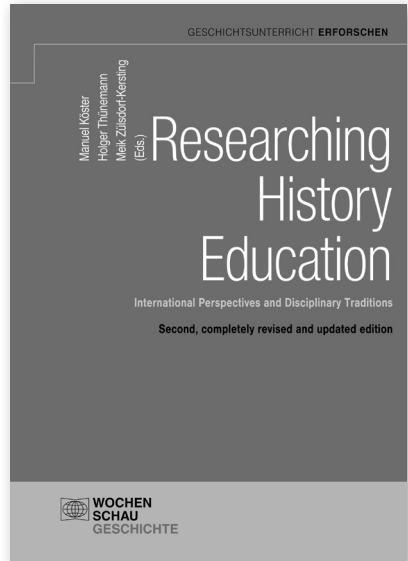ORDERS MAY BE PLACED AT · BESTELLADRESSE ·
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