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Nostalgia in Historical
Consciousness and Culture

Developing Creative Interactions
of Local, National and Global
Topics of History Education



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PREFACE

The 2015 Annual Conference of the International Society for History Didactics was held in Jinan, China, in conjunction with the 22nd Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The ISHD organized two joint sessions: with the International Standing Conference for the History of Education on Nostalgia in historical consciousness and culture chaired by Arja Virta, with Elisabeth Erdmann as a discussant, and with the Association of Chinese Historians and Korean National Committee of Historians on Old traditions in a globalizing world – a multifaceted challenge for history and history education, co-chaired by Susanne Popp and Zhongjie Meng, with Alois Ecker as a discussant. There were also three sessions of the ISHD as an affiliated society of CISH: on New media and teaching history chaired by Joanna Wojdon, on The importance of the concept of veracity in history education chaired by Terry Haydn, and on Remembering and recounting the Cold War chaired by Markus Furrer.

Articles based on the Nostalgia joint session form the first part of this volume of the International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and Historical Culture. Texts based on the Media session were included in the *e-Teaching History* monograph edited by Joanna Wojdon and published in 2016 by Cambridge Scholars. Markus Furrer is co-editing a monograph *Remembering and Recounting the Cold War – Commonly Shared History?* to be published by Wochenschau Verlag in 2016.

The meeting of the newly-elected board of ISHD in Jinan decided to issue a separate call for papers for the 2016 edition of the Journal to discuss Developing creative interactions of local, national, and global topics of history education. The papers dealing with this topic form the second section of the volume. Starting from Rethinking the Local and the National in a Global Perspective by Urte Kocka, we move to the case studies of the East-Central-European countries: Estonia by Mare Oja, and Slovakia by Barnabas Vajda.

In the Forum section the readers will find two articles related to the themes of the past ISHD conferences and volumes of the Yearbook: on the topic of Colonialism and decolonization in Estonian history textbooks by Anu Raudsepp and Karin Veski (more texts on the issues

of colonialism and decolonization can be found in the 2014 Yearbook) and on Middle-Ages-related edutainment in the German-speaking world by Wolfgang Hasberg (more on history and edutainment in 2015). Last but not least, Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse discusses the use of mainstream historical films in the history classroom.

I wish to thank Kath Haydn, Markus Furrer and Daniel Moser-Léchet for their invaluable help with translating and proofreading texts in the three languages of the ISHD.

Joanna Wojdon

VORWORT

Die Jahreskonferenz 2015 der internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik wurde in Jinan (China) in Verbindung mit dem 22. Kongress des International Committee of historical Sciences abgehalten. Die IGGD organisierte zwei gemeinsame Veranstaltungen: mit der International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) unter dem Vorsitz von Arja Virta und mit Elisabeth Erdmann als Diskutant über Nostalgie im historischen Bewusstsein und der Kultur sowie mit dem Verband der chinesischen Historiker und des koreanischen Nationalkomitees für Historiker über alte Traditionen in einer sich globalisierenden Welt; ferner unter der Co-Leitung von Susanne Popp und Zhongjie Meng mit Alois Ecker als Diskutant über eine vielfältige Herausforderung für Geschichte und Geschichtsbildung. Weiter gab es drei Veranstaltungen der IGGD als einer der CISH angeschlossenen Gesellschaft: unter dem Vorsitz von Joanna Wojdon über neue Medien im Geschichtsunterricht, unter dem Vorsitz von Terry Haydn über die Bedeutung des Begriffs der Genauigkeit im Geschichtsunterricht und unter dem Vorsitz von Markus Furrer über Erinnern und Nacherzählen des Kalten Krieges als einer gemeinsam geteilten Geschichte.

Die Beiträge der gemeinsamen Veranstaltung zur Nostalgie finden sich im ersten Teil dieses Bandes des International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education und Historical Culture. Die Beiträge des Medien-Panels sind in der *e-Teaching History* Monographie enthalten, bearbeitet von Joanna Wojdon und 2016 publiziert bei Cambridge Scholars. Markus Furrer ist Mitherausgeber einer Monographie zu *Remembering and Recounting the Cold War – Commonly Shared History?*, welche 2016 im Wochenschau Verlag publiziert wird.

Die Versammlung des neugewählten Vorstandes der ISHD in Jinan beschloss, einen separaten call for papers für die Ausgabe 2016 der Zeitschrift bekannt zu geben, um die wachsende schöpferische Wechselwirkung von lokalen, nationalen und globalen Themen des Geschichtsunterrichts zu erörtern. Die Beiträge zu diesem Thema bilden den zweiten Teil des Bandes. Beginnend mit Umdenken des Lokalen und des Nationalen aus einem globalen Blickwinkel (Rethinking the Local and the National in a Global Perspective) von Urte Kocka kommen wir zu den Fallstudien von Ländern in Ost-

Zentral-Europa: über Estland von Mare Oja und über die Slowakei von Barnabas Vajda.

Unter Forum finden die Lesenden zwei Beiträge mit Bezug zu den Themen der letzten ISHD Tagungen und Bände des Jahrbuches: von Anu Raudsepp und Karin Veski zum Thema Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung in estnischen Geschichtslehrbüchern (weitere Texte zu Fragen von Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung finden sich im Jahrbuch 2014), von Wolfgang Hasberg über Edutainment in der deutschsprachigen Welt im Zusammenhang mit dem Mittelalter (mehr über Geschichte und Edutainment findet sich in der Ausgabe 2015). Zu guter Letzt erörtert Karel Van Nieuwenhuysen die Verwendung von Mainstream Geschichtsfilmern im Klassenzimmer für Geschichte.

Danken möchte ich Kath Haydn, Markus Furrer und Daniel Moser-Lécho für ihre wertvolle Hilfe beim Übersetzen und Korrekturlesen der Texte in den drei Sprachen der IGGD.

Joanna Wojdon

PREFACE

La conférence annuelle 2015 de la Société Internationale pour la Didactique de l'Histoire (SIDH) eu lieu à Jinan en Chine, conjointement avec le XXIIème congrès du Comité international des sciences historiques (CISH). Deux sessions conjointes furent organisées par la SIDH. D'une part avec La Conférence Internationale Permanente sur l'Histoire de l'Éducation (ISCHE) au sujet de la nostalgie dans la conscience et de la culture historique. Celle-ci fut présidée par Anja Virta, avec Elisabeth Erdmann comme interlocutrice. D'autre part avec l'Association des historiens chinois et le Comité national des historiens coréens au sujet d'anciens traditions dans un monde globalisé – un défi multidimensionnel pour l'histoire et l'histoire de l'éducation (présidée par Susanne Popp et Zhongjie Meng, avec Alois Ecker comme interlocuteur.

Il y avait également trois sessions de la SIDH en tant que société affiliée de la CISH. Les sujets furent: les nouveaux médias et l'enseignement de l'histoire (présidée par Joanna Wojdon); l'importance du concept de la vérité dans l'enseignement de l'histoire (présidée par Terry Haydn); commémoration et compte rendu de la guerre froide (présidée par Markus Furrer).

Des articles basés sur la session 'Nostalgie' constituent la première partie de ce volume de l'Annuaire de la SIDH (International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and Historical Culture). Des textes basés sur la session 'Média' furent inclus dans *E-teaching History*, une monographie éditée par Joanna Wojdon et publiée en 2016 par Cambridge Scholars. Markus Furrer est co-éditeur de la monographie concernant la guerre froide, *Remembering and Recounting the Cold War – Commonly Shared History?*, par le Wochenschau Verlag.

Le nouveau comité de la SIDH a décidé à Jinan de publier un appel à envoyer des contributions pour l'édition de l'Annuaire au sujet du développement d'interactions créatives des sujets d'éducation de l'histoire, locaux, nationaux et globaux. Les contributions concernant ce sujet constituent la deuxième partie de ce volume.

En commençant avec l'article 'Réexaminer l'histoire locale et nationale dans une perspective globale' (de Urte Kocka) nous passons aux études de cas des pays de l'Europe de l'est-central: Estonie (de Mare Oja) et Slovaquie (Barnabas Vajda).

Dans la partie ‘Forum’ les lecteurs trouveront deux articles concernant les sujets de conférences SIDH et des volumes de l’Annuaire: colonialisme et décolonisation dans des manuels d’histoire estoniens par Anu Raudsepp et Karin Veski (d’autres textes au sujet de la colonisation et la décolonisation sont inclus dans l’Annuaire de 2014) et la contribution de Wolfgang Hasberg sur des activités ludoéducatives concernant le Moyen Âge dans le monde germanophone (d’autres articles au sujet de l’histoire et les activités ludoéducatives se trouvent dans l’Annuaire de 2015).

Finalement, Karel van Nieuwenhuyse aborde l’emploi des films historiques dans l’enseignement de l’histoire.

Je tiens à remercier Keith Haydn, Markus Furrer et Daniel Moser-Léchoť pour leur aide précieuse à la traduction et la relecture de textes dans les trois langues de la SIDH.

Joanna Wojdon

NOSTALGIA
IN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS
AND CULTURE

NOSTALGIE
IM HISTORISCHEN BEWUSSTSEIN
UND DER KULTUR

NOSTALGIE
DANS LA CONSCIENCE
ET DE LA CULTURE HISTORIQUE

INTRODUCTION: THE PAIN AND LIGHTNESS OF NOSTALGIA

Elisabeth Erdmann and Arja Virta

The contents of the concept of ‘nostalgia’ has transformed thoroughly during the past few centuries. Nostalgia is originally a neologism which was formed from the Greek words *nóstos*, which means returning home or homecoming, and *álgos*, pain. With nostalgia the symptoms of homesickness were described. This homesickness especially infected Swiss soldiers far from their homeland. The physician Johannes Hofer (1662–1752) used the word nostalgia for the first time in his thesis with the title: *Dissertatio medica de Nostalgia oder Heimwehe* (Basle, 1688). Hofer described the symptoms in great detail. Nowadays the term nostalgia is no longer used in a medical sense.

Until today there is no commonly accepted definition of nostalgia. It depends if you look from a psychological, a philosophical or a more historical point of view. In 2001 Svetlana Boym published her book ‘The future of Nostalgia’ where she tried to define nostalgia. The complicated nature of this sentiment is expressed in the following short quotations from her book: ‘Nostalgia is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed.’ It is a sentiment moreover ‘of loss and displacement’, ‘an ache of temporal distance’, but also ‘a romance with one's own fantasy’ nostalgia is not limited to modernity, but it ‘inevitably reappears as a defence mechanism in a time of an accelerated rhythm of life and historical upheaval’ (Boym 2001: XIII, XIV, 44)

Today the term nostalgia has different aspects as we can read in the following five contributions to this volume. Often nostalgia is seen as a trivializing form of romantic sentimentality, but then the ongoing pain, and the persistence of longing are neglected as well as the critical potential of nostalgia.

In the context of history, nostalgia is understood as a sentimental relationship to the past, embellishing the past with devotion and admiration. It is not only about the place, the home that has been lost – but can deal with the time that has been lost. People's subjective images of the past are often represented as the glorification of ‘the good old times’, heritage and traditions.

Boym splits nostalgia into a restorative and a reflective category, but she is aware that the categories are overlapping. 'Restorative nostalgia ... attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. It does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia thrives on the longing itself, and delays the homecoming ... ironically, desperately. The problem is, that it is difficult to decide to which category a certain manifestation belongs, because they overlap.

Nostalgia can thus have different functions and dimensions. It can be related to historical cultures and people's historical consciousness. On the one hand, nostalgia has a light, aesthetic and joyful side, for instance an attachment to beautiful old things. However, nostalgia can also be melancholic and based on the experiences of past sufferings, especially in the cases of refugees or migrants who are longing for their old home countries which they had to escape from. People's political attitudes can be manipulated by presenting biased, selective and ideological versions of the past. In this sense, populist movements or political opinion leaders can create and misuse nostalgia, as an instrument for influencing today's world.

The philosopher Avishai Margalit published 2011 a paper with the title *Nostalgia*, where he defines nostalgia and memory. For him nostalgia, like its kin emotion sentimentality, tends to distort reality in a particular way. The difference between sentimentality and nostalgia is that nostalgia distorts the reality of time past. Nostalgia is sometimes, but not always harmless, there are also pernicious forms of nostalgia. Having cited examples for both kinds, he resumes: 'We should treat nostalgia the way we treat cholesterol, by distinguishing between good nostalgia and bad nostalgia.' (Featherstone 1991).

It may not be simple or even possible for us to distinguish between different categories of nostalgia in our discussion, either, according to Svetlana Boym, restorative and reflective nostalgia or according to Avishai Margalit, bad and good nostalgia.

For an individual, nostalgia can be a sentiment of homesickness, and turning attention from the present towards the past, to some golden era or a distant home country.

The past, or nostalgic experience of the past, can be a crucial component of one's identity. On an individual level, nostalgia can be existential and create continuity between generations. Although innocent and enjoyable, nostalgia can include uncritically positive feelings that are attributed to the old home that was lost or to the good

old times that are seen as idyllic and romantic. On a collective level, the shared nostalgic emotions can add to sense of togetherness within for instance immigrant communities. Memory of the old times and old home countries can become more and more important for those who are unhappy in their current conditions. Nostalgia is then, partly – or perhaps primarily, based on lost possibilities and reflecting the disappointments or disillusionments of the present.

The following five articles represent two different approaches to nostalgia, in relation to time and history – but they do not continue the discussion on ‘good’ or ‘bad’ variations of this phenomenon. The topics can be divided into two groups, expressing two dimensions of nostalgia: the visible and material expressions of a nostalgic relation to the past on the one hand, and on the other hand painful and melancholic emotions related to the complicated experience of painful past.

The first three articles of the nostalgia section deal with practical and use-related shaping of nostalgia.

These manifestations of nostalgia include for instance the nurturing of objects of heritage, or the re-enactment of historical episodes or scenes, for instance historical pageants or living history days. The nostalgic relation to the past can be expressed in everyday historical culture, for instance in ceremonies, objects and other cultural products that describe the past or are derived from the past, and it can have a role in the aestheticization of consumer culture (Featherstone 1991)

Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Paul Readman and Charlotte Tupman analyse the phenomenon of historical pageants in twentieth-century Britain. This is a good example of collective action that involved thousands of performers and spectators and turned their attention to some specific events of the past. Also in this form of recreating the past, it is obvious that it was at the same time related to the present. This connection of nostalgic relation to the past, and to the present is discussed as well by Adele Nye, who focusses on objects of nostalgia. She points out that individual narratives that are related to nostalgic objects can illustrate historical thinking and thus have educational value. Penelope Harnett, as well, discusses the relationship between nostalgia and historical consciousness in her article, the empirical data of which draws on a teaching experiment in which primary school pupils learned about the time of World War II in Britain. The message of these articles seems

to be that nostalgic representations of the past can be used for enhancing pupils' or adults' enthusiasm for history. Furthermore, such representations can also be used as evidence in inquiry-based methodologies, and as a starting point for critical analysis.

The other two articles deal with the role of nostalgia in the minds and experiences of migrants and refugees, and to what degree it shapes their relation to their home country. The themes of Patrizia Audenino and Joanna Wojdon come very close to each other. Audenino is writing about three groups of refugees, the Donauschwaben, the Italians from Istria and Dalmatia and the Pieds-Noirs from Algeria, who had to escape from the regions into which their ancestors had migrated, and return to their original home countries but were not welcomed in those countries by their fellow-citizens. Joanna Wojdon describes the experience of Polish immigrants who migrated to The United States after World War II in order to avoid the communist regime, and who nostalgized for the pre-communist era of Poland. However, when visiting Poland after the fall of the communist regime, they did not feel at home. Both articles describe the ways in which these repatriated refugees in Europe, and Polish refugees in the USA tried to keep the memory and culture of their home regions alive, by celebrating and commemorating. As Joanna Wojdon writes, 'immigrants' nostalgia is not manifest in only one way'.

In today's world, the original meaning of nostalgia as painful homesickness is a topical phenomenon with hundreds of thousands of people escaping their home countries, seeking asylum, feeling like homeless outsiders and foreigners in new surroundings. The feeling of otherness can lead to different reactions and developments, but often the original identity and the consciousness of one's original culture can become deeper. Therefore the questions that Audenino and Wojdon describe are highly relevant today.

Finally, is nostalgia basically only an uncritical and sentimental way of looking at the past, based either on fascination or disillusionment? What can be said with certainty is that it is not a characteristic of the past, but is based on our mental structures. There are some main differences with the concept of historical consciousness, for instance. Nostalgia looks into a past that cannot be recreated, ignoring the present and the future. Nostalgia is selective, including uncritical glorification or devotion to the past, often also forgetting the multiperspectivity and the diversity of the voices of the past.

However, as some of the authors point out, nostalgic relation to the past can be used as a starting point for critical, evidence-based study of the past, and it can enhance motivation and curiosity for learning more. Therefore this concept is relevant for history didactics and deserves further examination.

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**THE REDRESS OF THE PAST:
HISTORICAL PAGEANTS
IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLAND***

Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme,
Paul Readman and Charlotte Tupman

This article examines the phenomenon of historical pageants, which were important events in many English towns, cities and villages in the twentieth century. It describes the origins and development of historical pageantry, emphasising the grand scale and wide spread of these community dramas. We emphasise the importance of the sense of local pride and identity that was presented in historical pageants, and the success that they had in promoting local community consciousness. Some historians and theatre scholars have seen pageants as backward-looking, conservative events, but we argue that they were seen as opportunities to shape the future as well as to commemorate the past.

Historical pageants were a notable feature of many British communities, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. A historical pageant involved the dramatic re-creation of successive scenes from the history of a town, city, village or institution, and was a particularly popular form of engagement with history in the years before the First World War (1914-18), again during the interwar years, and finally in the early 1950s. Although historical pageantry declined after the mid-1950s, it never completely disappeared, and there were small revivals at the time of the queen's silver jubilee in 1977 and the millennium celebrations in 2000. Some towns still stage pageants, usually on a much smaller scale than in the past (Bartie et al, forthcoming(a)), and traces remain elsewhere: for example, Danny Boyle's spectacular opening ceremony for the London Olympics in 2012 adopted some aspects of the historical pageant form (Baker, 2015). In this article we consider the broad outlines of historical pageantry in England across the twentieth century, although it should be noted that pageants also featured in the life of other British nations (see Bartie et al, 2015), and elsewhere too. Recent work by Joan FitzPatrick Dean (2014) demonstrates the profile of historical pageants in Ireland, and the pageant craze also took hold in the United States (Glassberg, 1990). In Germany, they formed part of the larger

twentieth-century Heimat movement, which marked the contribution of particular localities to the wider story of German nationhood (Applegate, 1990; Palmowski, 2009). These related developments, however, lie outside the immediate scope of this article.

1. Introducing Historical Pageants

Historical pageants were so widespread during the early years of the twentieth century that observers wrote of an outbreak of ‘pageant fever’ or ‘pageantitis’ (Readman, 2005: 170; Ryan, 2007). The pageants of these years involved large casts, were typically staged in outdoor venues, and were often performed several times in front of thousands of people in large temporary grandstands. There were, for example, 3,000 performers at the Colchester historical pageant in 1909, and 5,000 people could be packed into the grandstand at Hinchbrook in 1912. At Oxford in 1907, the ‘book of words’, containing the script of the pageant, sold 17,000 copies even before the first performance (Readman, 2005: 173-5).

‘Pageant fever’ commenced with the Sherborne pageant of 1905, produced by ‘pageant-master’ Louis Napoleon Parker. This pageant took place in the ruins of Sherborne castle and consisted of eleven distinct episodes, beginning with the foundation of Sherborne by St Ealdhelm in 705 CE and ending with a humorous, even farcical, visit by the Elizabethan explorer and courtier Sir Walter Raleigh in 1593.¹ In between, the whole story of Sherborne was told: from intense battles with Danish marauders in 845, to the imposition of the Benedictine Order on greedy drunken monks in 998, to the establishment of the castle in the early twelfth century and the re-foundation of the school in 1550.

With around 800 performers and 30,000 spectators across several performances, Sherborne was a great success and launched Parker’s career as a pageant-master: he went on to produce pageants in Warwick (1906), Bury St Edmunds (1907), and Colchester and York (both 1909), for example. Although Parker is now the best-known pageant-master of this period, he was rivalled by Frank Lascelles, who opened his account in Oxford in 1907 and subsequently produced pageants in Bath in 1909 and London in 1911 (the pageant at the Festival of Empire, with 15,000 performers), and in Cape Town and Calcutta in 1910 and 1912 respectively. Lascelles’s pageants were more extravagant than Parker’s, but were recognisably similar in structure

and form, and contributed in a similar way to the popularisation of dramatic representations of history in the pre-First World War years. Other notable pageants included St Albans in 1907, produced by Herbert Jarman, a pageant at the Scottish National Exhibition in 1908, and one at Winchester in 1908, where a riot resulted in the vandalism of the pageant ground, although it was not directly linked with the event (Yoshino, 2011: 231-45; Freeman, 2013).

Historical scholarship on pageants has concentrated on this early period: there is just one full-length study of modern English historical pageants, by Ayako Yoshino (2011), and this covers only the years before 1914. However, pageantry remained a significant aspect of British cultural life during the interwar years, when many pageants were no smaller or less impressive than those before the First World War. For example, Lascelles was pageant-master at Harrow in 1923, where 3,600 performers took part in the re-enactment of ten scenes from local history (Harrow Pageant, 1923: 13). Other pageants included another Scottish Historical Pageant at Craigmillar Castle in 1927 followed by one in Glasgow in 1928 and a whole series of smaller pageants in Scottish towns and villages; a number of pageants in industrial towns ranging from Manchester in 1926 to Stoke in 1930 to Bradford in 1931 and many more; and small-town pageants such as the one in Taunton in 1928, with 1,500 performers (Woods, 1999). Pageantry became increasingly adaptable in this period: not only were there re-enactments in some cases of First World War scenes – most notably in the St Dunstan's Peace Pageants of 1919 but also for example in such spectacular imperialist extravaganzas as the Greenwich Night Pageant of 1933 (see Bartie et al, forthcoming(b)) – but the form was also adapted by political organisations, such as the League of Nations Union, to promote an internationalist message (Wallis, 1994; Wallis, 1996; McCarthy, 2010). The Women's Institute and Women's Co-operative Guild staged historical pageants, and there were two pageants of the history of nursing, in 1932 and 1937. Yet the literature on interwar British historical pageants remains small: there is no equivalent of David Glassberg's (1990) study of American pageantry, which explores the changes in the style and content of pageants after the First World War, when, as in Britain, they remained popular.

After the Second World War (1939-45) historical pageants continued as a notable feature of community life in many places.

Yoshino (2011: 247) notes a 'brief revival' at the time of the Festival of Britain in 1951 and the Coronation in 1953, but the surviving records suggest that these years saw a more significant wave of historical pageantry than this. Many of these pageants had thousands of participants and spectators, and contained similar elements of spectacle, as those of earlier decades. At St Albans in 1953, for example, there were over 1,600 performers and a grandstand that could seat 4,000 (Freeman, 2013: 440). Pageants adapted to new technologies, including more amplified sound and recorded music as time went on, and were influenced by developments in the cinema, radio and later television. Post-war pageants at Carlisle, Cirencester, Warwick Castle, Cambuslang, Clackmannan, King's Lynn, Wisbech, Brighton, Bradford, Grimsby, Filey, Diss, Ipswich, Streatham, Dartford, Coventry, Plymouth Bridport, Guildford, Maybole and Swanage demonstrated the resilience and popularity of this form of engagement with the past across Britain. As in the 1930s, pageantry could be used for specific political and professional purposes: diverse examples include the Communist Manifesto Centenary Pageant of 1948 and a series of pageants depicting the history of policing.

Historical pageants continued in the 1960s: examples include another Scottish Historical Pageant at Craigmillar Castle in 1967, and, in the south of England, a substantial outdoor pageant at Berkhamsted in 1966. However, the number and scale of pageants undoubtedly declined, and the importance of visual spectacle was downgraded. This was largely due to the cultural changes of the late 1950s and the 1960s. The large-scale pageant was a victim of the 'mobile privatisation' that accompanied the spread of cars, television and other consumer goods (Freeman, 2013: 454; Williams, 1974). In St Albans, the fact that the 1953 pageant made a loss of £1,203, due to lower-than-expected attendance, discouraged any further attempts to stage large outdoor events. The total income of the pageant was just £7,900, compared with £15,000 from a smaller pageant staged five years earlier.² It was a similar story elsewhere in Britain, as alternative sources of entertainment kept crowds away. In this context, pageant plays – smaller in scale than historical pageants and usually performed indoors, though with the same structure – were increasingly performed instead of full pageants. Yet, by the end of the twentieth century, the historical pageant was a largely forgotten phenomenon. The community play, which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s and often focused on a specific event in a community's history, was not usually presented as a

successor in the pageant tradition, although it did share some features, notably the model of a professional working with local amateur actors.³

2. Debating Historical Pageants

Examination of the content, organisation and reception of historical pageants sheds light on a number of larger questions about the role of history and historical drama in modern Britain. There is a long-standing debate about the place of history and 'heritage' in British life and culture. For example, whereas Peter Mandler (1997: 109-17) has expressed doubt about whether 'the relevance of the national past' gripped the popular mind in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Paul Readman (2005) has argued for a growth of interest in history in this period, pointing to historical pageants as one manifestation of this, along with other cultural indicators such as the publication of history books and the emergence of preservationist movements. Mark Freeman (2013) has linked the culture of preservation directly to historical pageants, in a study of the St Albans pageants of 1907, 1948, 1953 and 1968, although neither he nor Readman see pageantry as simply nostalgic and anti-modern in character. There is also a lively strain of scholarship on the nature of national and local ritual in the 1950s, with Mandler (2002: 93) for example arguing that the post-war British public exhibited an 'indifference, or outright hostility, to history' before a revival of interest in the 1960s; certainly the key cultural event of the period, the Festival of Britain, is often seen as determinedly modernist in tone and inspiration. However, recent scholarship, notably by Becky Conekin (2003) and Harriet Atkinson (2012), has proposed a more complex relationship between past and present, and indeed the future, as embodied in the Festival and other post-war cultural moments. A focus on 'timeless traditions' emphasised the continuities between past, present and future, and – as Freeman (2013) has argued – encouraged the organisers of pageants to draw more explicit links between the historical subject-matter of their scenes and the present-day concerns of their communities. This was reflected in a growing tendency to depict more recent history during the interwar years and into the 1950s, and to adopt a less sombre tone in both scripts and souvenir programmes (Hulme, forthcoming). Indeed, even in the early twentieth century, it has been argued that pageants were seen to have

a contemporary role, and were not simply the anti-modern spectacles that some historians have described (Readman, 2005).

Another strand of debate concerns the social history of pageants. Although the bulk of research relates to the pre-1914 period, Michael Woods (1999), in his study of the 1928 Taunton pageant, has argued that the event's organisation – with its intricate hierarchy of committees, and the reproduction of social inequalities in the casting of members of local elites in the most prominent roles – helped to maintain the 'hegemonic power structures' that characterised small towns in the interwar period. Moreover, the version of history presented to the pageant audiences, with its focus on 'great men' and an implicit message promoting social order and harmony, was designed to underpin existing power relations and head off social discontent at a time of rapid social change and industrial unrest. The theatre studies literature echoes these themes: for example, Baz Kershaw (2007: 214-15, 222-7) sees pageants as 'spectacles of domination', in which power was extravagantly re-presented to communities by cultural elites. Other scholars, however, have focused on the participatory nature of pageants, arguing that it would have been impossible to mobilise the thousands of people who took part – not just as actors, but also in making costumes, collecting tickets, selling programmes and souvenirs, staffing car parks, and so on *ad infinitum* – without a wider popular sense of engagement with the re-enactment of the past (Readman, 2005). It is hard to see the armies of people who took part as simply acquiescing in their own cultural domination by social elites. Moreover, as noted earlier, the pageant form itself was highly adaptable and could be turned to oppositional political purposes. Ryan (2007: 66, 75-6) has shown that, even where it does appear that specific political messages were being sent to participants by pageant organisers, these messages were not necessarily received and understood in a passive way. It is, however, certainly the case that pageants – often organised and supported by local government institutions – were seen as important vehicles for the promotion of an officially sanctioned 'civic image'. Yoshino (2011: 57-97) notes their economic importance in terms of attracting tourists to small towns; Matthew Vickers (2000: 43-75) has seen the Liverpool pageant of 1907 as a key development in the self-representation of the city to the world; and Freeman (2013: 443-4) has drawn attention to the role of pageants in attracting new businesses and residents to post-war 'expansion towns'. Pageants could, and did, mean different things to different people.

In the following sections we showcase three pageants: one from the pre-First World War period, an interwar example and one from the 1950s. These case studies enable us to illustrate some aspects of the evolution of historical pageantry in the twentieth century, as well as drawing out some continuities and common themes.

3. Pageants in Focus (a): Warwick 1906⁴

The success of the 1905 Sherborne pageant attracted much notice, particularly in places with claims to long or illustrious histories. One such place was the town of Warwick, site of an important castle since the tenth century and famous for its association with the ancient British king Caradoc, the legendary hero Guy of Warwick, ‘Warwick the Kingmaker’ (Richard Neville, sixteenth Earl of Warwick), and other notable figures. In June 1905 Edward Hicks, an enterprising Warwick journalist (and author of a book about Caradoc), pounced on a passing suggestion in the *Daily Telegraph* that Warwick would be an ideal site for a historical pageant. Writing in the *Warwick Advertiser*, Hicks challenged the town to demonstrate ‘the importance of its place in the national life of the past’. Roused by this patriotic appeal, local opinion quickly mobilised behind the idea. The Lord Mayor declared his support, as did the heads of the town’s secondary schools, and by the beginning of July a provisional pageant committee had been established. In view of the Sherborne example, the committee sought to acquire Louis Napoleon Parker’s services as pageant-master, and by the end of September he had indicated his willingness to act. By mid-October, a town meeting had formally resolved to go ahead.

Thereafter, things moved quickly. Indeed they had to do so after it had been announced in early November that the performances would be held in the week beginning 2 July 1906, leaving just eight months to get things ready. The pageanteers, led by the seemingly tireless Parker, spent the winter and spring in a flurry of publicity and organisational activities. Tens of thousands of pamphlets promoting the pageant were distributed; articles about the event were published in the local and national press; episodes were devised and music was commissioned; books of words and souvenir programmes were printed; and a ‘Ladies’ Committee’ marshalled the sewing prowess of three hundred Warwick women, who produced 1400 costumes. Indeed, following Parker’s usual practice, almost everything used in the pageant was of local

manufacture, and it seems that many Warwick men and women spent a great deal of their spare time that winter making weapons, banners and other props.

Pageant week got underway on Sunday 1 July with a special service at St. Mary's Collegiate Church, at which the Bishop of Bristol preached. Special services were also held in other parish churches in the town. This was in line with Parker's ideas about pageants: he always insisted that pageant week celebrations should commence with special church services. And indeed, the religious content of the Warwick Pageant is striking. The antiquity of Christian belief was heavily emphasised in the early parts of the pageant. Episode I showed Caradoc saving a child from pagan sacrifice, and then later returning to Britain to preach the word of God; episode II had the legendary British king Gwar [Gwdyr] founding a church at Warwick. This was followed by the conversion of captured Danes, and two episodes featuring the return of Warwick heroes from the Crusades, one of whom demonstrated his faith by founding a hospital in honour of the Templars and establishing St. Mary's as a collegiate church.

Real-life local benefactors and notables were also celebrated, as well as the earls of Warwick and their families. Present-day notables were honoured too: the final episode, set in 1694, featured an appearance by a member of the Greville family, who would hold the title to the earldom of Warwick after its fourth creation in 1759. But throughout the pageant, the original intention that local history be fused to the larger narratives of the English national past was everywhere apparent; through its pageant, Warwick, a small provincial town by 1906, sought to assert its importance to the national life of the past (Parker called Warwick 'the Clapham Junction of English history': a busy crossing-point that featured in many larger national stories). This is shown not least by the prominence of British kings and queens, and also through the presence of Shakespeare and Warwick the Kingmaker. One highlight was the arrival of Queen Elizabeth I (reigned 1558-1603) in a magnificent state coach.

The pageant was accounted a great success, and did much to raise the temperature of the 'pageant fever' developing in the wake of Sherborne. All but one of the performances sold out, with visitors coming long distances (some from the USA) to see the show. Warwick itself was en fête throughout pageant week. Businesses closed early, pageant props were displayed in the streets, and the local press carried extensive coverage of the performances and associated events.

Warwick hosted other pageants after 1906, notably in 1930 and 1953; and, more recently still, one was staged in 1996. But the pageant of 1906 was the largest and most elaborate of all held in the town, and its traces are still very visible in the place today. Pageant House and the Pageant Garden remain as physical memorials to the event, the former now housing Warwick's registry office and the latter being very popular with local people (not least as a venue for wedding day photographs). Furthermore, the pageant continues to function as a focus for civic pride. In the newly refurbished tourist information centre the visitor can watch film footage from the pageant as part of a display devoted to the event, which is described as a great success, not only in meeting the challenge set by Sherborne and generating funds for the purchase of Pageant House and Gardens, but also as evidence that, even in 1906, Warwick 'knew how to entertain its guests'.

4. Pageants in Focus (b): Salford 1930

Salford was one of many industrial towns and cities that staged historical pageants in the 1920s and 1930s, among them Bradford, Manchester and Stoke. The Salford pageant defied the economic turmoil of the time, and exceeded all expectations for success. Industry was very badly affected during the depression in this part of northern England and unemployment was growing, but 1930 happened to be the seven hundredth anniversary of the granting of Salford's charter, giving it official status as a town. The pageant was held in Buile Hall Park, a large public park in the city. In the context of the interwar years, a pageant was the obvious event to hold: it was clearly hoped that a large-scale theatrical performance might invigorate the city and its people during hard times. As Tom Hulme (forthcoming) has demonstrated, pageants performed this function in many industrial towns and cities in this period. Salford's civic leaders thought that such a flagship occasion would boost local businesses, and to this end an Industrial and Trades Exhibition accompanied the pageant, its aim being to show that Salford, as 'the fourteenth city in the kingdom', still had factories that could cater for 'the world's manifold needs'.⁵ The pageant brought the story of the town up-to-date: the century of industrial transformation could hardly be ignored, and was what had put Salford on the map. Salford's pageant was held outdoors and had

a large cast of 6,000; the final performance alone attracted over 11,000 spectators.⁶

The pageant included people from all sections of Salford society. In terms of religious denominations, the local Roman Catholic church clearly supported the pageant and was closely involved with its organisation, as well as holding a special service of celebration on the Sunday before the first performance. This took place alongside pageant services held in Anglican and many of the non-conformist Christian churches. At one point, even the local synagogue was involved when moves were made to obtain permission from the Chief Rabbi to hold a special pageant service.⁷ This reflected the fact that many members of the local Jewish community took part in the pageant.⁸ An additional element of diversity was contributed by virtue of the fact that around 1,000 of the performers came from the ranks of unemployed men.⁹ However, the pageant was organised and led by the middle- and upper-class population, who dominated the display of civic pride and patriotism, with the committees staffed by local politicians, professionals and church leaders.

The pageant was written by a variety of local authors who were said to have examined 'books, documents and pictures' in the town's library.¹⁰ Yet most of the storyline followed local legend in equal measure with historical evidence, despite Salford's claims to have a 'rich store of historical record to draw on'.¹¹ Key figures from this historical record included the thirteenth-century baronial rebel Simon de Montfort and the influential fourteenth-century magnate John of Gaunt, as well as many less well-known individuals. However, Robin Hood appeared in episode III, while episode V contained various embellishments of the life of the seventeenth-century insurrectionist Guy Fawkes that connected him to the locality through an established local family: this particular storyline was derived from a popular Victorian novel by the Manchester-born author William Harrison Ainsworth, and probably influenced by an earlier film adaptation made in 1923.¹² High drama, colourful costumes, battle scenes and a heavy dose of 'ye Olde England' as the backdrop to most of the episodes were what carried the spectacle. It seems that the pageant provided a good show and was generally welcomed, with a local magistrate even congratulating the town for the low rate of arrests for drunkenness during pageant week.¹³

The pageant galvanised municipal will to try to do something to help the town overcome its problems. Yet however successful the

pageant was as large-scale entertainment, it could do little to stem the painful economic decline of Salford. Nonetheless, it certainly effected some bolstering of community spirit and civic pride. There were moves afterwards to install a replica of Salford Cross, which had been a backdrop to many of the pageant episodes, as a lasting memorial to the event, the original edifice having been demolished in 1824.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Salford Society was formed a few months after the pageant, aiming to 'sustain and direct the spirit of civic patriotism evoked by the recent pageant' and to 'create a permanent feeling of unselfish friendship between all classes of citizens'.¹⁵ Although the society seems to have been relatively short-lived, its foundation emphasises the role it was hoped that engagement with the past could play in encouraging active citizenship in the present.

5. Pageants in Focus (c): Nottingham 1949

The Nottingham Quincentenary Pageant was a key attraction of the city-wide anniversary celebrations staged to commemorate the charter granted to Nottingham by King Henry VI in 1449. The pageant took place in the indoor setting of the Nottingham Ice Stadium, and was performed twelve times. In many ways it epitomised the changes that pageantry had undergone by the post-Second World War period, while also maintaining a link with some of the defining elements of the original epidemic of 'pageantitis'. In terms of press opinion and public engagement, it was seemingly very successful, though its financial records were never published. The script was written by Lawrence du Garde Peach, a nationally renowned playwright and author, known especially as a pioneer of radio drama (Mackerness, 2004). Peach saw the pageant as, in the words of one of his critics, 'a cross between a review, a musical comedy, a psychological play, and entertainment'.¹⁶ Peach himself emphasised the need to 'compete with cinema ... and the dance hall', and he admitted that he would 'sacrifice any historical fact in order to get entertainment value in my script' – certainly not something that Louis Napoleon Parker would have claimed.¹⁷ Similar tendencies were at work in other post-war pageants: for example, a dragon featured in the St Albans coronation pageant of 1953, and was described by one observer as the 'comic highlight' (quoted in Freeman, 2013: 447).

Despite Peach's free-and-easy attitude to the historical record, however, some of the traditional themes of historical pageantry were still in evidence at Nottingham, notably civic pride and the connection of local events to the wider national story: the latter could be seen in particular in episodes featuring the English Civil War, royal visits such as that of Princess Anne in 1688, and – in the final scene – the sacrifices made by local servicemen in modern wars, including the most recent. The pageant also told a tale of growing municipal power. This emphasis was particularly evident in scene VII – which featured a masque of the kings who had given Nottingham its early charters – and scene XIII, which recounted the history of the municipal police from 1820 to 1949. Yet, while this civic agenda was certainly in line with established traditions of pageantry, the depiction of the very recent past was a deviation from Parker's blueprint (and, as noted above, this deviation was common to many mid-twentieth-century pageants). Moreover, in a further departure from the early days of 'pageant fever', the costumes at Nottingham were mostly hired rather than made, and the actors, rather than being drawn from across the local community, were mostly recruited from amateur dramatic societies.¹⁸

In attendance terms, the Nottingham Quincentenary Pageant, and the celebrations of which it was a part, were a great success, marred only by a disastrous fire on the final night.¹⁹ The trade exhibition and medieval fair that were held alongside the pageant drew visitor numbers of 117,000 and 12,297 respectively, while over 40,000 people paid for admission to the pageant itself.²⁰ The local critical reception was mixed, however. Although, on the whole, the press reported positively on the achievements of the pageant, there is little indication of it lasting in popular memory as long as some other twentieth-century pageants, which themselves became significant events in the social history of the communities that staged them.²¹ The most notable lasting memorial was a statue of Robin Hood, the erection of which incited feverish debate in the press.²²

While many of its elements differed from Parker's original vision, the Nottingham pageant still quite obviously bore the imprint of the historical pageantry movement. It epitomised the evolution of the form, influenced by broadcasting and cinema as well as by new approaches to the past in the early post-war years. Moving the action indoors probably kept costs down, while keeping the storyline light and humorous helped to ensure good audiences at a time when

increasing leisure provision created competition for the pageant. As a well-attended and (generally) well-reviewed spectacle, its success also attests to the popularity that a historical pageant could still muster in post-war Britain, and the continued belief that engagement with the past was a key means of bolstering a sense of community identity in the here-and-now. Indeed, the pageant linked past and present in explicit terms. Introducing the pageant in the souvenir programme, Nottingham's Lord Mayor, William Sharp (1949), was straight to the point in describing its purpose:

This Pageant ... is designed to bring to the citizens of this City and their guests a vivid visual impression of the history and traditions which lie in the background of our civic life. Every age has its problem and the manner in which we solve our own will determine what the future will be. The Nottingham our children will know to-morrow will reflect our achievements, and our failures of to-day. Our hope is that this Pageant may, through the medium of theatrical entertainment, enhance your knowledge of Nottingham's past, increase your pride of [sic] Nottingham's present, and strengthen your sense of responsibility for Nottingham's future.

In the years that followed, and especially in 1951 and 1953, more pageants up and down the country presented local history to communities in similar ways, with a powerful emphasis on the contemporary uses of the past, and the role of events like this in sharpening a sense of local identity and civic purpose.

6. Conclusion: Pageantry, Localism And Civic Identity

We can draw a number of conclusions from this small selection of pageants in twentieth-century England (archival records exist for more than 400). First, it is important to note the vitality of historical pageants well into the mid-twentieth century: the Nottingham pageant of 1949 was followed by a wave of pageants across the whole of Britain in the 1950s. Although their scale and ambition, and the element of visual spectacle, declined, in many places pageant plays survived and evolved in the 1960s and 1970s, and indeed beyond, and the practice of re-enacting a series of scenes from the history of a community or an organisation remained widespread. Many schools and churches performed historical pageants, and the tradition of the 'Left pageant' also persisted: there was, for example, a 'Highlights of the Struggle'

pageant at a Communist Party rally in 1972.²³ Unsurprisingly, perhaps, there were both continuities and divergences from the pageants of the early twentieth century, but in many respects Louis Napoleon Parker would have recognised the post-war pageants, with their extravagance, amateur ethos and close connections with civic life, not to mention the continued popularity of Queen Elizabeth I and scenes from her reign. Indeed, Parker's own grandson Anthony Parker was one of the best-known pageant-masters after the Second World War. Although the pageant plays and other events of the 1960s and 1970s lacked the scale of the earlier costume dramas, the form never died out completely.

A key theme of pageants across the country, and indeed internationally, in the twentieth century was localism and civic identity. The American pageant-master William Chauncy Langdon described the historical pageant as a play in which 'the place is the hero and the development of the community is the plot' (quoted in Glassberg, 1990: 69, 78). Early pageant scriptwriters were eager to demonstrate the contribution that their town or city – and script-writers, unlike pageant-masters, were usually local people – had made to the national story, although this was easier in some places than others. This ambition never went away, although by the post-Second World War period the distinctiveness of local history was often emphasised. At St Albans in 1948, for example, the pageanteers re-enacted the achievement of city status, which had occurred in 1877: this event had no particular national significance and involved no nationally recognisable characters (Freeman, 2013: 442-3, 445). Such re-enactments had become more common in the interwar years and retained their purchase in the 1940s and 1950s. Such localism makes sense in the context of the rapid changes of the twentieth century which, it has sometimes been suggested, promoted a national identity at the expense of local identities, saw the ascendancy of central over local government, and entailed the erosion of long-standing loyalties, customs and autonomy. Early twentieth-century pageants were popular cultural responses to the experience of change, and the same can be said for pageants that took place in towns and cities after the Second World War, in the wake of bomb damage and the impact of urban planning. Pageants – in their presentation of history and in the mobilisation of collective effort in their planning and organisation – were used to promote a 'community spirit' that was often remembered long after the event itself: the St Albans pageants, for example, lived long in popular memory into the twenty-first century.²⁴ Conflict and

local rivalries were often not far below the surface when pageants were staged, but their repeated success in mobilising large sections of local communities and attracting even more people as spectators, over large parts of the twentieth century, is worthy of note. From Warwick in 1906 to Salford in 1930 to Nottingham in 1949 and in many other places too, pageants promoted local identities and pride, and brought the past into the service of the present.

Notes

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¹ This account of the Sherborne pageant is taken from 'The Sherborne Pageant: "Mother of All Pageants"', *The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain*: <http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageant-month/sherborne-pageant-1905/> (8.05.2015).

² *Herts Advertiser*, 23.10.1953, 10.

³ Community plays share with historical pageants the aim of raising community consciousness: the past may be depicted, and brought to bear on contemporary concerns, in different ways from before, but in both traditions there is a theatrical and a social purpose behind the endeavour (Beddow, 2001: 10).

⁴ This section on the Warwick pageant is based on the account on the website *The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain*: <http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageant-month/warwick-pageant-1906/> (8.05.2015).

⁵ 'Charter celebrations', *Burnley Express*, 7.06.1930, 13.

⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 7.07.1930, 13.

⁷ 'Special Church Services', *Manchester Guardian*, 6.06.1930, 13; no evidence has been recovered as to whether this service did take place.

⁸ See for example 'The Spirit of Salford', *Yorkshire Post*, 27.06.1930, 3.

⁹ 'Salford Pageant: Parts for Unemployed', *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 9.06.1930, 5; see also *Yorkshire Post*, 9 June 1930, p. 5; *Dundee Courier*, 13.06.1930, 14.

¹⁰ 'Salford Pageant: 700th Anniversary of the Charter', *Manchester Guardian*, 30.04.1930, 15.

¹¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 30.04.1930, 15.

¹² *Guy Fawkes* (1923): <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0297157/> (8.05.2015). This was a British made film first released in September of that year.

¹³ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 10.07.1930, 3.

¹⁴ 'Salford Pageant and Surplus', *Manchester Guardian*, 24.07.1930, 13; no record has been recovered of this being built, however, and it is assumed the idea had to be abandoned.

¹⁵ 'Salford Society: Founders' Meeting', *Manchester Guardian*, 11.10.1930, 15.

- ¹⁶ 'Nottm. Pageant Critics', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 7.05.1949, 1.
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- ¹⁹ 'Priceless Treasures Destroyed in Nottingham Fire', *Nottingham Evening News*, 11.07.1949, 5.
- ²⁰ 'Charter Week Tributes', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 13.07.1949, 1.
- ²¹ Letter from Barry Elliot to Editor of *Nottingham Evening Post*, 14.06.1989: Nottingham Archives (NA), DD/2464/1/4 (ii).
- ²² 'Churchill Preferred' – letter from Robbing Hoodwink to Editor's Letter Bag, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 8.07.1949, 4; 'Money "Wasted"' – letter from Bill Cole to Editor's Letter Bag, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 8.07.1949, 4; 'Poor and Needy' – letter from Hemlock to Editor's Letter Bag, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 8.07.1949, 4.
- ²³ See documents in the Labour History Archive, Manchester: CP/LON, EVNT/02/16.
- ²⁴ *Herts Advertiser*, 9.06.2011, 20.

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HISTORICAL THINKING AND OBJECTS OF NOSTALGIA

Adele Nye

Objects in history classroom can be regarded as generative opportunities for exploring historical thinking, pedagogical development and epistemology. In this article objects and assemblages of objects are discussed in light of nostalgia. It recognises that individual and families embed narratives of nostalgia within objects as a marker of generational connection and belonging. This custom provides teachers and students of history the opportunity to explore the processes of historical thinking and practice.

1. Introduction

From where does the power of the historicised object derive? A seemingly innate object or an over embellished item can possess a prevailing narrative of nostalgia and the past. The embedded narrative or broader discourse of an object has the potential to command social and cultural obligations; they can offer a warm nurturing embrace across generations or reveal political and anthropological insights into a long gone era. The possibilities for historical analysis are seemingly endless and history educators in universities and schools have been using objects in the classroom as a means for engaging students and developing skills. The objects teachers use might vary from a Roman coin to a domestic object but in each case the teacher can draw from the original embedded narratives as well as those attached to the object in the process of its preservation.

In this paper I will examine the stories of four objects as a means to explore the pedagogical and epistemological value of this practice with a particular focus on nostalgia. These include objects embedded narratives of generational care and survival, imagined objects, memory assemblages and finally a story about the keeping of objects. By exploring objects as windows into the past that are marked by nostalgia and personal narratives we can also think about the teaching of history and questions of historical thinking and the scholarship of teaching and learning in the discipline. By embracing the notion of the historian

self as a key to understanding historical practice and applying historical thinking, these types of objects can be especially useful for history educators.

2. Background

2.1 *Historical Thinking in Education*

Historical thinking has been articulated as an ontogenetic process comprising of a series of shifts and transformative moments (Rüsen, 2004, Nye et al, 2011). Rüsen (2004: 71) offers four categories as a methodological tool to explore and demonstrate development and change in historical consciousness: the Traditional, Exemplary, Critical and Genetic. It is part of a lifelong learning process, it is ontogenetic and it is also deeply personal and shaped by the moral guides we use in our daily lives: '*lebenspraxis*'. Rüsen (2005: 12) shows how students often initially understand history as something static with 'pre-given cultural patterns of self understanding'. Progress occurs when this concrete view of the past changes to one of fluidity: temporal and contestable at every turn: where historicism itself comes under scrutiny. Development is reliant on a sense of agency and self-efficacy among students and where they recognise their participation in the knowledge making process. In turn, the student gains a sense of ownership of that knowledge and of their own learning. Kolbl and Konrad (2015: 25) have similarly argued that insight into 'one's own historically mediated identity' is essential, particularly as researchers of historical thinking and education expand our perspectives in the field. Seixas (2006: 11) has, for some years, been promoting this broadening of scholarship on historical thinking, likening the breadth with a series of ropes by which scholars can grasp for leverage. It is in this inclusive and collaborative research conversation that my work and this paper bring together education, material objects, nostalgia and historical thinking

2.2 *Material Culture and History Education*

The idea of material culture in the context we think of today was first explored in 1875 by A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, who proposed objects could be thought of as 'outward signs and symbols of particular ideas of the mind' (cited in Schlereth, 1985: 21). Since then material culture

has traversed disciplines, and academics have expanded the idea of materiality with: the gift (Mauss, 1954) of theories of thing (Heidegger, 1998; Brown, 2001; Latour, 2004), fingertip knowledge (Hindle, 1983), the agency of objects (Domanska, 2005), performativity and fixivity (Butler, 1993), 'interior truths' (Classen & Howes, 2006) and inscribed narratives (Bell, 1987; Butler, 1993; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Meskell, 2005).

Material culture and objects are also understood in terms of their construction and the meanings embedded in historical objects as always contestable (Gell, 1998; Domanska 2005). Brown (2001) argues they can be a good starting point or instigation for a complex process of historical thinking, theorising and construction of voice. For Jones (2010: 199) objects play a key role in negotiating an authentic place for oneself in the world. Hood (2008, 178) has demonstrated in his history classroom that what starts as a basic premise of raising a series of questions about an object 'leads to a consideration of a complex, multifaceted historical question'. Any concern about the 'allure' of objects leading to questions of reliability and rigor in historical practice, Jordanova (2012: 3) has argued, should not be heeded. Instead she has suggested, the very seduction associated with curiosity and personal response can be used to the historian's advantage in their research.

2.3 *Nostalgia*

Nostalgia is closely connected with notions of belonging and connection. It was first used to express a sense of longing for home in 1688 by Johannes Hofer and later, by Immanuel Kant as having a direct connection to one's childhood (McDermott, 2002: 390). Nostalgia has since been variably critiqued in the academe as lacking in historical depth and as representing an unstable phenomenon. Bellow (1977: 190) has suggested nostalgia and memories merely 'keep the wolf of insignificance from the door'. Psychologists have linked it with depression, transition and anxiety (Zinchenko, 2011: 84). Margalit has suggested that rather than being a harmless yearning for home and personal connection, nostalgia can be politically contested and even dangerous (Margalit, 2011: 273). He explores nostalgia as 'an exercise in moral psychology' and argues it distorts history and creates ethical dilemmas and says 'Nostalgia takes a free ride on memory. It removes

disturbing thoughts about the past and retains only the good ones' (Margalit, 2011: 280). While one might argue that any historical process is inherently contestable and problematic, it is more than feasible to imagine that we are in fact enriched by the understanding of this frailty and in turn must be perpetually critically reflective of whatever tool or term we employ. In her exploration of the politics of personal and collective and ultimately 'prosthetic' memories, Landsberg (2004: 143) argues that the contestability of such histories is the key to thinking about the ethics and empathy in history and as a result, has the potential to transform a person's consciousness. Resistance to including sources of historical nostalgia, Landsberg (2004: 32) suggests, could be perceived as a yearning for an 'unmediated' approach to history. Similarly, Lizardi (2015), while acknowledging the risks for exploitation and commodification of nostalgia, also queries new and different possibilities for historical representation.

In this paper I examine the ruptures of nostalgia and objects and story the multiple opportunities for history educators. Nostalgia is deeply embedded in the processes of historical thinking, yet it also acts as a source of personal enrichment and a comfort. It is deliberately constructed and performed through the act of keeping and preserving objects. This perspective is perhaps sentimental, highly personal and shaped by the emotions and lived experience of the individual. It is however like any process of historical thinking shaped by the historicised self and requires mediation and translation of evidence. Like Radstone (2010: 189), I would suggest that nostalgia has a transitional capacity that contributes to meaning making and might be thought of as a 'point of departure, opening out into those questions of knowledge and belief, temporal orientations and cultural, social and sexual politics that it condenses'.

3. Research Methods

This paper draws from more than a decade of research on the connections between historical thinking, objects and education (Nye, 2008, 2011, 2015). Each of these studies have primarily been located in the qualitative paradigm. The initial doctoral research was developed using postmodern emergence (Somerville, 2007) and focused on history education and historical practice developing the term *matrilineal historicism* as a means for articulating a practice primarily undertaken by generations of women. The second source utilised here was a national

study *Historical Thinking in Higher Education* which involved fifty qualitative interviews with history academics and over 1450 surveys with history undergraduates across twelve Australian universities (Hughes Warrington et al 2009). The large scale scoping project utilised a Participatory Action Research approach (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000) and drew from Grounded Theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1999). It shed light on how teachers and students of history perceive historical thinking and historical scholarship in the university setting. This paper also utilises the findings of research undertaken through participation in living history projects (Gapps & Nye, 2006) and interdisciplinary collaborations with museum educators (Nye, 2010). Consolidating these eclectic but connected undertakings allows for a nomadic exploration of the objects and the narratives embedded within them (Richardson & St Pierre, 2005)

4. The Objects

In recent research (Nye, 2008; Nye et al., 2011) I have explored various aspects of objects in the home, museum, university and the school classroom. They have included a story of museum educators using a soldier's handkerchief with primary aged children. A simple crumpled object, the handkerchief was used as vehicle for showing that soldiers were ordinary and real people. I am reminded of Wineburg's comment that the evidence or document held by a historian is never just 'a piece of information. It is a fragment of a human being. And one cannot engage with that fragment unless one knows to whom one is speaking' (Lucas, 2008: 37). From these perspectives, we consider the way in which a roman coin was used in an ancient history classroom in a university. The lecturer stated:

I think being able to turn up to a classroom with something that is 2000 years old, like a brick, hand it to a student and say: 'Okay a Roman walked on that and you can tell by the hobnail imprints that you have in your hand right now' ... And it is moments like that— they get that it was real, it is not modern or something on the television not something they have seen in a movie, it is real. These people actually existed. Holding a coin that is 2000 years old is one of those things that really makes them think. And when you are looking at the depictions on the coin — you know, you are trying to tell students that these things acted almost like a newspaper, in the past, it doesn't work until you give them the coin, they look at it they touch

it, they realize it has circulated through people's hands, it is not just an image on a wall. I think that's it.

In this paper however I discuss more personal objects, ones that one might not immediately imagine have a place in the school history classroom but ones that have offered entry points for engagement in historical inquiry among university and adult education settings.

They include four storylines:

- Generational Care and Nurture;
- The Imagined or Partial Objects;
- Digital Assemblages;
- Keepers of Historical Objects.

5. Objects of Generational Care and Nurture

Notions of generational care and nurture have increasingly been used by researchers from multiple disciplines as an attempt to articulate these subtle but heartfelt connections within homes and families, across time and through collective community memories (Bell, 1987; Baldassar, 2001; Nye, 2008; Clark, 2014). Lee has argued that children learn of the existence of the past initially from the home environment, prior to school history lessons (2004: 134). The objects and shapes of the home space are therefore often deeply embedded and powerful memories. The narratives embedded in kept domestic objects are often part of family heritage but also reflective of a generational nurturing. Many of the stories are happy ones as they nourish the connectiveness between generations but they can also have a more serious aspect to them as being tools for surviving hard times. (Atkinson, 1992; Bell, 1987; Nye, 2008). As Domanska (2005: 4) suggested 'Technologies are not thought to estrange people from themselves and their world anymore, but to mediate their existence and experiences'. The objects of specific interest in this case are the sewing machine, baskets and the associated tools (Bell, 1987; Nye, 2008). These are traditionally women's objects and in turn part of women's social history. In Australia, they have been noted as part of the night landscape of inner city slums of Surry Hills in Sydney at the turn of the century, where women's presence, and work was noted by 'the late night hum of the sewing machine' (Keating, 1991: 38). From Bell's collection of oral histories (Bell, 1987: 72) comes the following story of the sewing machine. It reflects the inscribing of survival narratives through

objects but it is also a unique glimpse of a not –often spoken tradition, indeed one that in this case is half forgotten but enacted as if through an instinctive mothering practice.

Do you know why Mum gave me that machine? It was because if you ever go bankrupt, the two things they cannot take are your bed and your sewing machine. It was because you need your bed to sleep on and you can earn a living on the machine. I gave you that machine when you were married, but I didn't really think about the why of it until you asked.



Illustration 1.

A similar story was shared by a participant in my research (Nye, 2008) surrounding an unusual Cornish sewing basket, gifted by her grandmother during hard times but with a clear instruction that she was to develop her needlework skills. At the time of this research the participant was about to return it to the UK to give it to a young niece living there. The cycle of care and guidance was being continued and

evoking a sense pilgrimage and returning home (Baldassar, 2001). The much treasured glory boxes also share similar narratives of generational nurturing across time and across borders (McFadzean, 2009). This research highlights the way the traditions of the boxes reveal multiple narratives for historians including the histories of migration, women's media, popular culture, household management and adaptation.

The sewing machine and associated objects have been useful tools for initiating discussion in my research with women historians as well as with community history groups. They invited familiar and often nostalgic narratives such as generational gifting of such items. They also raise other historical questions of social history, women's labour history and, more broadly, poverty and survival.

6. The Imagined or Partial Objects

Historicised objects need not always be tangible items. They can also be imagined or partial and still emit powerful historical and personal narratives. Such stories of objects can be bound in grief, absence and loss. Another participant in my doctoral study (Nye, 2008) told the story of stairs that exist as fragments but in memory as much more. She and her brother visited the site of the old family home, long demolished in an isolated region. They stood on the escarpment looking out to the sea some fifty kilometres away. They came across pieces of wood that once were the stairs that led from the front veranda to the garden.

There's no farmhouse now, but strangely enough the big Sassafras trees are still there and there were three stairs leaning against the tree. And I said to my brother, 'You probably don't realise the significance of those stairs.' My grandmother once told me that she used to sit on the front stairs of the house and look out and she could just see the ocean, and Uncle Bert was in Darwin, Tim was in Canada and Dad was in ...

She then told her brother the story of her grandmother sitting on those stairs tracking the wartime movements of her three soldier sons via radio reports. Those unremarkable and discarded pieces of wood evoked dramatic images of nostalgia and yearning of the home front. The speaker then shared a longer narrative of the home front wartime experiences of women alone in isolated rural communities. A rich

nostalgic story emerged from those remnants of stairs; twice told – on site with her brother and then again with our small research group.

Partiality was also evident in the traditions, obligations and ritual that are associated with objects. They can be powerful tools for embedding narratives in generations of families. Photographs, for example, are often ritualistically placed. One participant in my study brought an assemblage of her grandmother's spoons and a small framed photograph to the workshop (Nye, 2008). She arranged them for us, just as she does at home and just as her Grandmother had done too. The nostalgic act of ritual and practice provided a sense of repetition, affirmation, connection and continuity across time.

7. The Digital Assemblage

In contemporary times the digital artefact takes many forms and there is little doubt that the future born-digital objects will fulfil a magnitude and shape beyond our imagination. History educators have striven to keep up as education spaces and technologies are increasingly digitised (Oblinger & Oblinger, 2005). Collections of rare objects far too fragile to ever be seen or held by museum visitors are instantly available to view. Information from the deepest corners of records rooms is being digitalised. In recent years the process of digitalisation in museums has come to include 3D reconstruction, a slow but monumental undertaking.

As the digital humanities becomes more established as a disciplinary field of inquiry we see increased discussion of hypertext/textual/digital scholarship. Accessibility is increasing dramatically as existing tools are extended and new ones created. In recent years collections have become available through Wordpress plug-ins, social networks, Wikis, pod casts, blogs, geo-scaping, immersive technologies and data bases of all shapes and formats. With the internet less than two decades old, there is already a field of digital archaeology that is preserving web sites and the technology from which they were constructed. Theorists and history educators have been arguing, despairing, debating and experimenting since the mid-1990s (Brabazon, 2002; Jordanova, 2000; Featherstone, 2000; Cohen & Rosenzweig, 2006; De Groot, 2009; Lyons, 2011) but the expansion of technology seems to be moving at an even greater pace.

In the school classroom teachers are using film, audio recordings, maps, and accessing museums (Eamon, 2006; Dobson & Ziemann, 2009) In higher education there are also clear indications that digital sources are increasingly being utilised (Nye et al, 2011). Currently images and films remain the most common sources for analysis but it is not difficult to predict accessing multi-layered and multidiscipline data bases will become far more utilised in the future.

In the home people are taking up digital memorials and other personal assemblages. An interesting development is the nostalgic reconstruction of life in lost communities which attempt to reconnect, affirm and re-inhabit these lost places. One example is outlined in the doctoral thesis on pre-war life (music, images, historical social media) Yugoslavia by Martin Pogacar's. The loss and destruction caused by war cannot be covered in the short space of this paper but it is of course intertwined in the story how objects and memories are reconstructed. In Bevan's (2006) examination of the destruction and reconstruction of monumental architecture, he reveals the deeply divided histories and the impact of those volatile divisions on people and place. Just like the monumental the small and even the partial objects are highly valued.

The first image included in this paper is one relatively unsophisticated digital assemblage but it is one I have used over a number of years as a reflective prompt in teaching and for sharing ideas on historical consciousness. This type of assemblages builds on Delueze and Guattari's (1987) notion of multiple constructions which signify numerous meanings and boundaries. The possibilities for learning are twofold: in the construction and in the interpretation. They can be constructed as devices for memory work or collective biography revisiting meaningful perceptions of childhood and ontogenetic development in education. They can also be interpreted and analysed in in light of historical questions relating to representations of class, material consumption, and popular culture. The use of such assemblages could span a variety of age groups in the classroom and also draw from multiple pedagogical purposes. The nostalgic images of childhood are a rich source such tasks.



Illustration 2.

The second assemblage is quite different and is connected to living history and historical re-enactment. This is a collection of reconstructed artefacts from a historical re-enactment group in NSW, Australia that focuses on Northern Europe in the 10th century. This collection represents items that are arguably authentic in their representation but some that are equally questionable. Living History and historical re-enactment are sometimes regarded as having peripheral value (Jordanova, 2000: 18); however, done well and accurately, it sits on an important verge in the discipline (Gapps, 2002).

Objects, and their reconstruction and use through authentic means, are at the core philosophy of the field of living history and the tensions and impossibilities heighten the potential for learning. The sense of individual or collective connection in such cases might be more related to the acquisition, the enactment and development of the skill and technologies. Assemblages of reconstructions might be used in a history class to question the construction and validity of evidence recognisable as a key concern for history teachers in universities (Nye et al, 2009). Just as recent research which examined the benefits of students undertaking field work in the historical landscape has proven illuminating (Ludvigsson, 2015) so too, would more research examining student engagement with living history and experimental archaeology.



Illustration 3.

8. The Objects of Generations of Keepers

Auslander (2009: 1357) has suggested that people are not always able to articulate why they keep, give or preserve an object, indeed this is sometimes beyond words. Csikszentmihalyi (1993: 23) argues that the keeping of things objectified the self in three ways: through power and energy, as a continuity of self and finally as a signifier of relationships. Each of these assertions align with my own view although I would add that in keeping objects we embed historical narratives that are multi-layered and indeed vulnerable to further signification. Savas (2014: 203) has demonstrated the way in which domestic objects of the diaspora communities are recast with new meaning under the processes of displacement and re-settlement. In the following story, an object is assigned new narrative in a different manner. One of the women participants in my doctoral study spoke of a journal of great historical significance to Australian and maritime history. She said:

*He sounded a bit restrained on the phone
The 1815 Journal
He said 'It would be safe with you'
He said 'I am the wrong person to look after this.'
He insisted on sending this precious journal by mail
It got here, wrapped in pink paper
With an inscription, just a like a jolly birthday present
When I got back from the residential school
I had a letter.
He had committed suicide
Only hours after he posted that thing to me
(Sigh)
I consulted my lecturers and his family
It's in the Mitchell Library
They tell me many people have consulted the journal*

This is a multilayered story, sad, unsettling and punctuated by jolly pink wrapping paper. The speaker is an enthusiastic historian and much of her research is based on a series of eminent men in her family and the many items she is keeper and conservator of. But this journal was particularly precious in historical terms, too precious, and now

laden with another unexpected narrative. Her story reminds us that the inscribed narratives are multilayered, new narratives are added – not just the initial story but ongoing stories of the keepers of items and their lives. We are therefore reminded that:

The historicised self is a troubled, but enthusiastic self, even more so when one has an understanding of the mechanics and orientation of history making. (Nye, 2008: 243)

9. Discussion

The discussion on the four different types of objects has demonstrated that seemingly insignificant objects can be interpreted in multiple ways. To articulate a coherent narrative of education, historical thinking and objects it is essential to return to the notion of the historicised self. Understanding history is reliant upon understanding the located historian self amid the narratives that we construct about the past. The self is value laden, subjective and temporal (Rüsen, 2002: 1-2). The learner must understand how and why the narrative is important or connected to their own thinking and to their own valid participation in knowledge making.

The history discipline tends to be quite modest about the complex underpinnings of historical pedagogy, practice and thinking. During the numerous interviews with Australian history lecturers (Nye et al, 2011) there was however a resounding and emphatic collective statement was that: ‘Everything has a history’ and everything must be historicised, contested and understood as temporal. This was a reflection of the 1980s call to ‘always historicise’ (Jameson, 1981) that has since been expanded and deeply embedded in historical thinking and practice.

Within the pedagogical stories of lecturers of Australian history was the affirmation of the importance of the historicised and located self. As one lecturer stated: ‘I say this is about you, this is about your history, it is about who you are. It is about the world in which you live.’ Lee and Ashby (2000: 219) have warned educators that lessons in historical thinking can be quickly forgotten unless a framework that can be perpetually re-occupied and debated is encouraged. It is imperative that the student/historian understands their context and the degree of agency they possess within that context (Rüsen, 2005; Nye et al, 2011). Further to that, they must be open to a critical examination of their role as keepers of objects and question to what

degree they are embedding new narratives and new connections upon the object.

As Auslander (2010: 199) states:

[It] is clear that in the conservation and curation of objects we need to find the meanings to acknowledge how their materiality informs the relationships they embody, and try to find ways to accommodate how people use these relationships to negotiate authentic places for themselves in the world.

Students may be a momentary keeper, the holder of the Roman coin as it is handed around in the classroom. Passed between fingers centuries later; re-storied and re-imagined. Individual's personal curation might even be more fleeting and ambiguous, such as the not-there object, the re-constructed object that fills a void. As Lowenthal (2000: 79) suggests, there is considerable value and possibilities for enlightenment through the unexpected. All of the objects discussed in this paper tend to occupy a peripheral site on a broader spectrum of what is regarded as authentic historical objects. Yet these are often the objects that are remembered and fill an emotional space and their historical significance can be interrogated with as much rigor as any other. The inclusion of nostalgia as a connective thread problematizes the analysis further, but rather than being a superficial lens for education, it is an opportunity for meaningful interpretation and epistemological orientation by the history student. Effective historical thinking, pedagogy and practice need not be rooted in singular education locations rather they can, and indeed should, evoke Becker's 'everyman' the historian (1932). Such skills have a place across the broad reach and use across society, time and place.

The partial status of some objects adds further dilemmas for both teacher and student. Stewart's (2003, 151) view on souvenirs is a particularly useful one in that she argues objects are always partial until the contextual narrative is known. Without this narrative there is a kind of 'failed magic' when an object is bereft of meaning. For the historian (be they student, curator, keeper or researcher) can begin to reconstruct or even reimagine connections and context. This new meaning making is fraught but clearly consequential. The reconstruction of the stairs from pieces of wood scattered on the ground was a pivotal storytelling moment: in a very personal familial sense with the speaker's brother but then again in a research setting

among a group of women historians participating in a research project that asked what did it mean to think historically and undertake historical practice. The possibilities for historicism had multiplied tenfold in that moment resonated across the group and initiated other wartime stories that were not the typical history textbook content.

The same process can occur using the digital assemblages, by interrogating the construction process as a well as probing the viewer's interpretation of the final construction. The construction process involves a process of themed selection and collation procedure. The second stage, the viewing of others' assemblages has possibilities for interpretation of historical representation. The constructiveness of evidence adds a degree of risk that can be a useful inclusion for a teacher. This is best demonstrated in the fraudulent evidence task applied in an Australian university (Nye, 2015). Students are broken into two groups and are required to construct fake evidence and include it amongst genuine articles. The collection of evidence is then rotated to the next group whereby their task is to identify the forgery. The idea that evidence is always contestable and problematic can be regarded as a strength and source of multiple teaching opportunities for history teachers seeking to refine and enhance historical thinking skills.

Exploring the notion of keepers of history as inscribers is similarly crucial to developing a sophisticated understanding of the discipline. Put plainly it demonstrates the view that what a historian or keeper *does* with objects or a historical story will emphatically impact on the historical narrative of that item and its context. Historians shape history in every stage of the historical practice. The historian's intentions and actions must therefore be perpetually critiqued and reflected upon. As Rüsen (2005, 27) has suggested, orientation of the self in the processes of historical thinking is crucial, it is 'the interweaving of one's own identity into the concrete warp and woof of historical knowledge'.

10. Conclusion

By encouraging history educators to broaden their perceptions of evidence and the role of the history student in the classroom, we create more opportunities for diverse learning. Understanding the key concepts of history is neither easy nor as Wineburg (2001: 17) argues, natural; students need to 'navigate the tension between the familiar and

the strange'. Objects can illuminate or indeed rupture, notions of nostalgia can be utilised as tools of transitions in learning and more specifically in the ontogenic shifts and liminal spaces of historical thinking described by Rüsen (2004: 71). This it requires critical reflection and a complex, but personal, orientation of often perplexing pathways of historiography and history theory. By learning some of the key skills, and using very familiar and personal nostalgic items, students of history have the opportunity to take these experiment with the complex stages of historical thinking – that is: placing themselves in the narratives of history and in the knowledge making processes. The historian self, is one who seeks evidence, interprets and analyses it but all the while being conscious of their own locatedness in the process. These objects are not representative of a grand narrative of how to teach history; rather, they represent a possibility and an opportunity for experimentation: to dabble in the personal and the nostalgic of the troubled and precarious world of history education.

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**‘THE AIR RAID SHELTER WAS GREAT.’
NOSTALGIC EXPERIENCES OR AUTHENTIC
HISTORICAL LEARNING? ANALYSING
INTERACTIVE APPROACHES TO LEARNING ABOUT
WORLD WAR TWO WITH PRIMARY AGED PUPILS**

Penelope Harnett

Living history days are becoming increasingly popular in schools, museums and heritage sites as a way of stimulating young children’s interest in the past and of engaging them in historical activities. With an emphasis on fun activities, such days are sometimes criticised for their lack of historical authenticity. This paper considers whether this criticism is justified through evaluating pupils’ and trainee teachers’ responses to a living history event organised at the University of the West of England by trainee primary teachers.

Drawing on field notes and visual and documentary data the paper considers how the war in Bristol is represented to pupils aged 8-11 years; firstly through a critical analysis of how artefacts and other sources of information are displayed and utilised and secondly through an evaluation of pupils’ and trainees’ learning as they engaged with different activities. It considers both pupils’ views of the past and the views of trainee teachers as they planned the day and evaluated their work.

1. Nostalgia and the Past

Discussion on the relationship between nostalgia and historical consciousness appears particularly pertinent at this time; the desire to look back to ‘the good old days’ pervades many aspects of society and is a shaping cultural force. In the UK over the past two decades there has been an increasing interest in the past in different social spheres and activities (Samuel, 1996). The past and its nostalgic representations are eminently marketable and young people are exposed to a wide variety through a range of media including advertising, theme parks, films, on-line games and resources, historical fiction and TV programmes.

Nostalgic representations are often seen in contrast to the more formal ways of learning history at school and considered as incompatible with each other. Lowenthal (1989: 22) suggests that the

commercialisation of nostalgia, its pervasion of the media and its reactionary slant 'glossing over the past's inequities and indignities' pose particular challenges for historians.

There is an assumption that nostalgic remembrances undermine history as a 'proper' academic discipline and should therefore be valued less in educational terms. However, it might be more useful to consider ways in which learners could be encouraged to critically analyse nostalgic representations as one of the many interpretations which are made of the past. Indeed Lowenthal (1989: 30) reminds us that nostalgia shares its presentist bias with many other historical perspectives and that there exists no, 'non nostalgic reading of the past that is by contrast 'honest' or authentically true'.

In addition, nostalgic representations may also stimulate pupils' interest and enthusiasm for the past. When linked with creative activities they may provide opportunities for imaginative responses and what Craft (2000; 2001; 2002) calls 'possibility thinking'; thinking which encourages pupils to explore 'what if' questions in multiple ways, and to look for alternative answers. Possibility thinking is characterised by pedagogical approaches which include: posing questions; play; immersion and making connections; being imaginative; innovation; risk taking and self-determination (Burnard et al, 2006). Such approaches are compatible with living history days and contrast with more formal learning approaches in school.

It is timely therefore to analyse empirical data from pupils and trainees working together to consider the extent to which these approaches are useful for both developing enthusiasm as well as developing a more critical awareness towards studying history.

2. Learning History in Schools – History as a Distinct Discipline

The comment in the title, 'The air raid shelter was great' was made by a nine year old child reflecting on his experience at the living history day. It was evident the child had enjoyed himself but we also wanted to explore the contribution of the day to his knowledge of history. Since the introduction of the National Curriculum in England in 1990 all children in primary schools have the statutory entitlement to study history and this had led to an increasing interest in researching how

primary children learn history (see for e.g. Cooper, 2012; Levstik and Barton, 2014; Hoodless, 2002).

The originators of the first history National Curriculum for English schools, made the distinction between 'history' and 'the past'. They indicated that the past encompassed everything which has happened and that this differed from history which involved a more critical analysis of past events and ways of life (DES, 1990). This distinction led curriculum developers to consider particular processes and ways of working which would support the development of pupils' historical understanding within specified Key Stages (Key Stage 1 - 5-7 years; Key Stage 2 - 7-11 years and Key Stage 3 - 11-14 years). These processes were subsequently incorporated into the first history National Curriculum in 1990 and have been further refined in more recent versions (DES, 1995; DfEE and QCA, 1999; DfE, 2013).

The content of the history National Curriculum in England has been fiercely debated from its first inception as a national curriculum subject. Debates have focused both on what historical knowledge should be taught and also the processes through which pupils should learn history (Phillips, 1998). In recent years concerns have been expressed about pupils' lack of historical knowledge and more specifically knowledge of British history (Paton, 2013; Ferguson, 2013). In primary schools HMI (Her Majesty's Inspectors) have noted concerns about pupils' fragmented knowledge of history and their limited understanding of chronology making it difficult to make connections between different events. HMI have also indicated that in some schools the adoption of cross curricular organisation has diluted history's specific subject identity and observed that the best learning in history takes place when the teaching develops pupils' historical knowledge and historical thinking and, as a result, enables them to show their historical understanding (OfSTED, 2011: 4).

The current National Curriculum for history was introduced in September 2014 and states the historical knowledge to be taught at different Key Stages. It also includes expectations for learning history which are characterised by the development of skills in critical analysis and a growing appreciation of historical concepts which help explain historical developments such as causation, change and continuity, significance and chronology. In particular, the history curriculum requires pupils to, 'construct informed responses that involve thoughtful selection and organisation of relevant historical

information' ... and should enable pupils to, 'understand how our knowledge of the past is constructed from a range of sources and different versions of past events may exist, giving some reasons for this' (DfE, 2013: 206). The acquisition of historical knowledge thus goes alongside the progressive development of a range of historical skills and conceptual understanding.

3. Meta-histories and Understanding of the Past

The English history National Curriculum has expectations for how pupils might make progress in learning history in formal, structured settings, but it does not necessarily embrace all the encounters which young people have with the past and the growth of their historical thinking. Rüsen (2008) draws attention to the importance of individuals' metahistorical understandings which combine knowledge of history as a discipline as well as their more personal experiences of the past; both of which he suggests contribute to the development of their historical consciousness.

For Rüsen historical consciousness is characterized by different competences progressing from 'traditional forms of thought' up to 'genetic modes' which are developed through historical experience, interpretations and orientation (Rüsen, 2004: 81). Learning history therefore is an induction into different ways of thinking about the past. This view underpinned the rationale for the living history day which was also aligned with the history National Curriculum requirements. The living history day was planned by primary teacher trainees many of whom are not history specialists and have not studied history in formal settings since the age of 13 years. As they planned activities for the pupils, trainees were encouraged to experience and to question interpretations of the past and to develop their own orientations towards how to teach the past to the pupils visiting the university. During their visit pupils were provided with a range of immersive activities to promote different ways of thinking about and of experiencing the past.

Many of the activities were different from those which could be presented to pupils at school since they were reliant on the university's specialist equipment (food preparation; technology and textile rooms; Dig for Victory garden) and also the availability of a wide range of historical resources (Anderson shelter; World War 2 artefacts etc.).



Illustration 1. Dig for Victory Garden

The activities also took account of forms of curriculum organisation in English primary schools where subjects are often linked together in integrated approaches. Although the day focused on the acquisition of historical knowledge and historical thinking skills and concepts, other curriculum subjects were also important and these are indicated in the table below.

	Workshop activity	Subject area
1.	Codes and Ciphers Learn Morse code and semaphore. Imagine you are trapped in enemy territory. Send a message in your code in French/Spanish.	Literacy/Modern Foreign Language
2.	Propaganda Compare and contrast a range of wartime posters to begin to understand the meaning of propaganda. Construct your own propaganda poster	Art and Design/ Literacy
3.	Cookery Club Recognise and name different vegetables used during war time.	Science/Design and Technology

	Make your own soup and pies following war time recipes.	
4	Make Do and Mend Learn about how to save resources during war time. Make your own toy out of scraps of wood.	Science/Design and Technology
5	Digging for Victory Visit the Dig for Victory garden and learn about the planting schedule and crop rotation. Prepare a seedbed and plant potatoes in your garden.	Science/Design and Technology
6	Evacuation Use the display about evacuation and the artefacts in evacuees' suitcases to learn about why children were evacuated during the war. Imagine you have been evacuated and write a letter/postcard home.	Language and literacy
7	Gasmasks, shelters and staying safe Visit the Morrison shelter and try lying down inside it. Learn about how people kept safe including looking at old gas masks.	History
8	Bristol during the war and using oral histories Watch and listen to a DVD about Bristol during the war. Write a newspaper report about the bombing of Bristol imagining that you were a witness there at the time.	History/Language and Literacy
9	Keeping up our spirits Find out about the songs which were sung during the war and the dances people danced. Sing the	Music and Dance

	songs and practise the dance steps.	
10	Lyons Corner House Cafe What were the Lyons Corner Houses and why were they important during the war? Order your own tea and cakes from the menu in the cafe and create your own menus.	Art and Design
11	The Home Front: the role of women in World War 2 Find out about what women did during the war. Act out some of scenes showing women in wartime.	Drama

Table 1. Cross Curricular Activities during the day.

4. Resourcing the Living History Day

The University has gathered a wide range of contemporary resources relating to World War two. Its collection includes many artefacts reflecting social and domestic life at the time (kitchenware, clothes toys, cleaning, washing and gardening utensils), as well as objects used by emergency services such as fire hoses, bandages and first aid kits, sirens, tin helmets and gas masks.

In the past two decades, historical artefacts have been increasingly used in schools, museums and other historic sites to support pupils' historical understanding. As Fines and Nichols (1997) indicate artefacts are important because 'they carry with them ideas, associations and messages about the people who made, owned and used them, and the environment from which they came' (1997: 146). Pupils enjoy handling artefacts and may raise many questions about their use, ownership, manufacture and value (Cooper, 2012) The touch and feel of different objects provide alternative ways of connecting with people who lived in the past; they provide a sense of age and may generate, 'feelings of awe and wonder' (Turner Bisset, 2005: 33). The artefacts were also supplemented by pictures and photographs of ways of life during the war and documents (facsimile ration books, letters, diaries, information booklets etc.) relating to the time.



Illustration 2. An air raid warden's office.

These different sources of information were displayed in contemporary settings so that pupils could appreciate how they might have been used. These settings included: a hospital ward, a living room, a kitchen, a Morrison shelter, a Lyons cafe and an air raid warden's office. Outside there was a large allotment for growing vegetables, a garden shed and an Anderson Shelter. A war time atmosphere was further created by playing popular songs and dance music together with the harsh sounds of the air raid sirens going off.

5. Developing Activities From These Resources

The challenge for trainee teachers was to consider how such resources could be utilised to support the development of pupils' historical consciousness. In terms of their pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1985) trainees were expected to have knowledge of the period and an awareness of how historical accounts are constructed and represented as well as a repertoire of pedagogical strategies which could be utilised to develop pupils' historical understanding.

Activities were underpinned by social constructivist learning theories (Bruner, 1963, Vygotsky, 1978). Bruner's conception of the spiral curriculum, influenced ways in which trainees sought to make complex ideas concerning domestic life during the war, accessible to young pupils. There was an emphasis on 'doing' activities, rather than

pupils listening and being told what happened. Trainees were asked to consider different pathways to learning, 'what we see, hear, taste, touch, smell and do', in planning their work (DES, 2006: 5).

Opportunities were created for pupils to develop and to share their ideas with each other as they worked. Talk was central to their learning and supported their shared thinking (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). Trainees were encouraged to reflect on their own roles in supporting discussion and to think about how to shift attention from transmitting information and asking questions to a greater focus on promoting dialogues with pupils and eliciting their views.

6. Using Artefacts in Different Contexts

Many of the artefacts were displayed in contemporary settings and before the day, trainees were encouraged to interpret these displays and to consider ways in which the past might be represented through multi-dimensional perspectives (Hooper Greenhill, 2007).

For example, the Morrison Shelter display was situated in a large corridor space where there was enough room for pupils to walk all the way around the display. All the objects within the display were thus clearly visible and could be viewed from different angles. Using tables as protection, the Morrison Shelters were designed to provide very basic protection from the bombing. Several thousands were manufactured and they were in widespread use in London where they saved many lives.

On one level, the pupils learned information about war time shelters; what they looked like and the objects which might be found inside them. The shelter contains blankets and pillows suggesting that families were always prepared for attacks; the table is set with tea things giving the impression that life continues as normal despite the war.

At another level, this display provided opportunities for more in-depth interactions; pupils were able to creep underneath the table and to lie down on the quilt. Sharing the quilt with other pupils, they could experience the cramped conditions endured sheltering beneath the table and the limited opportunities for movement. The toilet bucket beside the shelter served as a reminder that occupants could not move beyond the confines of the room.



Illustration 3. Morrison Shelter

Interacting with the display, pupils had some glimpse of life during the war although this was only partial; the noises, the smells and people's actual experiences of fear could never be represented fully. Similarly, a reconstruction of a 1940's kitchen provided pupils with opportunities to learn about domestic life during the war with information about kitchens, the types of furniture, utensils and appliances which could be found in them. Kitchens are familiar contexts for all pupils and as pupils began to investigate the kitchen, they began to identify similarities and differences between past and present kitchens and to provide reasons behind some of their observations.

Pupils were also asked to think about how the kitchen had been constructed. What appears to be significant in the display? Why have objects been arranged as they have been and what choices have been made? In considering these perspectives pupils' ways of thinking were progressing from simple descriptions to more complex and explanatory interpretations.



Illustration 4. 1940's kitchen

During the Second World War many children were evacuated from large cities to avoid the bombing and stayed with families in the countryside. A suitcase belonging to a child who was evacuated was included in the display and pupils were able to handle the different objects inside. These artefacts provided information concerning the experiences of children who were evacuated during the war and included items of clothing, books, toys and safety equipment.

Handling the artefacts within the suitcase, pupils were able to gain a more nuanced knowledge of the past. Feeling the artefacts such as the rough material of the child's trousers and the thick paper of the books permitted useful comparisons to be made with present day clothing and books. Opportunities for dialogue were also created as the pupils felt the objects, weighed them in their hands and turned them around to look at them from different angles. 'These trousers feel scratchy'; 'This book hasn't got many pictures in it', were some of their comments.

The artefacts were used in conjunction with photographs of evacuees which also acted as a stimulus for further activities ; how would pupils feel if they were evacuated? Would they miss their families? What objects would they choose to place in their suitcase? In this instance pupils were invited to create additional resources – to draw a new suitcase which represented their views on what they believed to be significant items for children living during the war and to write an imaginary post card home from a child who had been evacuated.

7. Pupils' Learning about Past Ways of Lives through Role Play

Prior to their visit to the university, pupils were provided with information about children during the war and the clothes which they wore. They were encouraged to come to the university dressed in 1940's costumes, so that they were in role from the outset. In addition, the trainee teachers also dressed up in war time costumes appropriate for the different roles which they undertook during the activities.

Dressing up was a visible reminder that pupils were to be working in different ways and prepared the pupils for the day. When they arrived at the university, the day's timetable was handed out to them and they dispersed to their different working groups.

Pupils engaged enthusiastically with the activities; their enjoyment was evident from the comments which they made and the ways in which they engaged with their work. Trainees were surprised by the wide range of knowledge which the pupils possessed, although this varied from group to group.

Data from field notes, pupil and trainee evaluations provide insights on ways in which the activities were implemented.

'They all got into character straight away and really enjoyed the tasks set for them. The task of looking through an evacuee's suitcase proved to be exceptionally successful; the children seemed to have grasped the idea as to what a child during the war would have been able to take. We then got them to write postcards and explain their life within the area they had been evacuated to. This was really successful and they all participated and empathised with the evacuees. During the task we played war music which seemed to have encouraged them to get into a character. They all participated in the role and were very inquisitive.' (Trainee evaluation).



Illustration 5. Evacuee's suitcase

Another popular activity was having tea in the Lyons Corner House and making menus illustrating the food available. Pupils were immersed in this role play.

'They were sitting properly at the table and they were using the strainers and the sugar cubes ... As the music was on in the background as well they really seemed to feel like they were there. We had them taking orders and serving and we said to them they had to be really polite as the Nippy waitresses would have been and they were doing this'.

Teachers from the pupils' schools commented that sometimes it was difficult to get the boys to sit nicely together, but in the Lyons Corner House, 'they were sitting nicely and drinking from a cup and saucer. This was something quite different to what they would get at home and the fact that they were doing it meant they were getting a full experience' (trainee evaluation).

Such comments are reminders of how getting dressed up and taking on different roles may influence individuals' behaviours and responses to their learning. Living history events stress the importance of performativity and the adoption of different roles to support varied interpretations. As Jones (2011: 319) concludes in her research, 'living history's potential lies in enabling young people to encounter, ideally through first-person interpretation, perspectives on ... society which (as far as possible) come from within that society'.



Illustration 6. Lyons Corner House Cafe

In another activity at the allotment, where food was grown to feed people during the war, trainees presented themselves as different characters and explained their life histories to pupils. They took on the personae of young people too young to fight; a war widow; a disabled soldier and a young woman who had left her family and was seeking work to support the war effort. In role, trainees were able to provide pupils with a range of perspectives of what life was like for different people during the war. Pupils knew trainees had created these characters and enjoyed interacting with them in role and asking them more about their imaginary lives. The role play also permitted pupils to make links with their own experiences outside of school with one pupil commenting that like the disabled soldier his 'step granddad had had a bad back so he was an air raid warden during the war'.

8. Being Critical; Taking on Historical Perspectives

Rüsen cites historical consciousness as including an element of critical reflection on the past. Within the exhibition a large replica railway carriage was created with photographs of evacuated children in the carriage windows and life sized cardboard cut-outs of parents and

children waving to the train's passengers. Prior to the day trainees were asked to analyse how the evacuation of children from the cities was represented. Initially trainees noted the features of the display which were immediately apparent; the children's clothes; what they were carrying for example, but as they were probed more for their opinions, the trainees began to look more deeply on the effect of the evacuation on individual lives and to recognise different historical perspectives as indicated in some of the questions which they asked below.

- What happened to those evacuees who were orphaned? Were they notified during/after the war?
- Was there any contact between the families when they split up?
- Were all children well treated?
- Was there any crime amongst the evacuees?
- Did the rural folk want to take on the evacuees?
- When did the 'adventure' excitement wear off?
- Was there discrimination? Were rich and poor children sent to different places?

Such questions led to discussions of implications for teaching since trainees recognised that learning about the evacuation was a potentially sensitive issue particularly for those pupils who might have been separated from their parents where learning about the evacuation might recall painful events in their lives.

Once they began the activities, trainees observed that the pupils believed war time propaganda and thought that they would be going on a 'nice holiday'. Trainees continued to support pupils' views that this was the case since, 'we didn't want to make it too intense'. This raises an interesting dilemma for teaching young pupils about conflict and the extent to which pupils should be exposed to the harrowing effects which war might have on individual lives.

It was a concern for the trainees who were only meeting the pupils for a short period of time – whether as one trainee commented, 'it would be too much for the pupils to handle'. On the other hand, following the event all the trainees believed it was important that pupils should know something about what had occurred and they saw themselves as responsible for representing the war to the pupils in an age- appropriate representation. It was a question of creating the right balance and one trainee commented, 'My mum would have said you were going too far if you had made it traumatic and had done the Blitz realistically'.

Trainees also learned about the wartime experiences of women and considered how women's changing roles might be taught. Some trainees took on roles of women working in factories, or in shops during the war, explaining that this was unusual since previously they had stayed in the home. When pupils questioned them about their roles, trainees observed that pupils 'did not see the significance of women being allowed to work since it's just normal to them'.

The role of women was also discussed in another group who trained pupils to be members of the home guard, learning about their self-defence roles which they were expected to undertake.

One trainee commented, 'It could be argued that our representation of history was male-centric. However this was the reality of the home guard'. Reflecting on this, the trainee then began to consider, 'Maybe we could have done more to raise questions about why this was the case and whether this was right. If women were willing to defend their country maybe they should have been allowed to!' and concluded, 'Possibly we could have raised the issues of women more prominently. The certificates we gave out just said the word 'him' and we hadn't told the children how it was just men in the home guard'.

The trainee recognises the potential here for extending pupils' historical consciousness through looking at changes in society and through taking on the perspectives of those living at the time to encourage pupils to form their own opinions. It illustrates the trainee's developing awareness of the complexities of history teachers' roles in the classroom and how the present may orientate understanding of the past.

9. Evaluating Pupils' Learning

Before and following their visit pupils were asked to complete questionnaires eliciting their views on what they already knew about the Second World War, where they had gained this information and what they would like to know more about. Following the living history day, the same questionnaires were presented to pupils asking them to add to the answers which they had made before the visit.

All pupils had some knowledge about World War 2 before their visit and data from the questionnaires indicate that most pupils added to this knowledge following living history day.

Before the Living in Bristol in WW2 day	After the Living in Bristol in WW2 day
What do you know about World War 2?	What do you know about World War 2?
<i>Food was rationed such as cheese and eggs. You could not choose the shoes that you wanted – you had to have the ones in your size. They had shelters to protect them from the bombs and planes. The leader of Germany was Hitler. One of the planes was called a Spitfire. Children were evacuated to the countryside.</i>	<i>They grew a lot of potatoes A policeman's job is to get everyone safely to the shelter. They used allotments to plan extra vegetables. They did not have any electronic toys.</i>
<i>I know that Winston Churchill was the leader of Britain during the war. I also know that everyone had ration books. Bristol was very badly bombed. The war lasted 6 years.</i>	<i>After digging up potatoes I found out that children during the war helped on farms and fields.</i>
<i>Britain won and there was the Holocaust. Anne Frank is famous. There were sandbags. No bananas and oranges. They introduced rationing.</i>	<i>I know that some of the vegetables that grew very well in the UK. The evacuees' bags are really small and you can only fit small things in. I know how the warden's small room looks.</i>
<i>Lots of people died during WW2. Hitler decided to kill himself. The world war 2 started in 1939 and ended in 1945.</i>	<i>During the WW2 lots of children had been evacuated because they won't be safe so some of the children went to the countryside and some are in America or Australia. The needed to have a new family – some have a mean family and some are good and rich.</i>

Table 2. Pupils' questionnaire responses.

Pupils cited a number of ways in which they had learned about the war prior to coming to the university; parents and grandparents, films, internet, books and TV programmes. Following their visit to the university, pupils continued to cite these sources of information, but it was also significant that several pupils commented that they knew

about the war through their engagement in activities. 'They had wooden toys because we were making toys from wood' 'They had a lot of potatoes because we dug them up'.

Pupils' responses to questionnaires indicate the effectiveness of active approaches to developing their awareness of the effect of the war on people's lives was heightened. Several groups worked in the Dig for Victory garden, digging the soil and planting vegetables which led one pupil to comment, 'I know that digging for vegetables is hard work'. Similarly, reconstructing the beginning of a bombing raid, encouraged one pupil to observe, 'I know that the air raid siren was very loud and I know all the people will be screaming everywhere'.

Prior and following their visit to the university pupils were asked what would you like to know about the war? 128 questions were recorded; of these 93 questions related to fighting, bombs, reasons for the war, who was involved and who died; Exactly how many innocent people died because a bomb landed on their house when they were inside the house? I would like to know how many weapons (such as guns, sword, tanks and so on) were used during the war. How many British ships were sunk?

Pupils wanted to know more about the background to the war, in particular why it started, how it ended and furthermore, 'How Germany and England became friends', 'what did Germans do when they lost?' They also wanted to know about the effect of the war on other countries, 'Did the bombs hit other countries?'

Initially we were surprised with the subject matter of these questions, particularly following the living history day since trainees had focused activities mainly on domestic life and the effect of the war in Bristol. However, these questions do reveal the importance of providing pupils with historical contexts for their learning and for teachers to provide sufficient information to orientate them towards the past (Rüsen, 2004).

10. Concluding Remarks

Pupils and trainees really enjoyed the day and were immersed in the activities. It was a memorable experience for them; there was a lively and enthusiastic atmosphere and a real commitment by all involved to the different activities. Moving outside the confines of the classroom provided opportunities for more imaginative approaches for learning history which took into account pupils' feelings and placed emphasis

on their enjoyment of different activities through memorable learning experiences. The value of such approaches has been endorsed by several organisations, for example, the Council for Learning Outside the Classroom (2006) comments in its manifesto that such, 'memorable learning experiences help us to make sense of the world around us by making links between feelings and learning. They stay with us into adulthood and affect our behaviour, lifestyle and work. They influence our values and the decisions we make. They allow us to transfer learning experienced outside to the classroom and vice versa' (DES, 2006: 3).

Away from the classroom, the living history day provided more exciting and imaginative approaches so important for learning. As Egan (1992: 50-52) argues, 'The human memory is not an orderly place with slots or shelves for each item to remain inertly until called for ... The more energetic and lively the imagination, the more are facts constantly finding themselves in new combinations and taking on new emotional colouring as we use them to think of possibilities ... Genuine education inescapably involves emotional engagement'.

Observing the pupils excitedly talking about their day as they left the university and reading their enthusiastic thank you letters, raised some interesting questions. Had the day been too joyful an event? Had the suffering caused by the war been neglected in the day's nostalgic representations of the past? We had no answers to these questions but shared our thoughts with adults whose childhood had been spent during the war. As children they remembered the fun they had had playing on bomb sites, searching for shrapnel and even deliberately staying out playing when the air raid sirens were going to experience adventure. It was an important reminder of the complexity of representing the past and the many layers of interpretation and experiences which are ever present.

The data provide some insights into ways in which pupils' and trainees' historical thinking were developing and how the informal context fostered more divergent thinking and a critical awareness of the past. Trainees discussed potentially very sensitive issues including death and separation, and considered implications for teaching. They also demonstrated an awareness of the influence of contemporary values on historical interpretations and in considering the women's roles during the war they began to question ways in which they represented the past to their pupils. In this respect the living history

day encouraged trainees to re-orientate how they saw themselves as teachers and subsequently to rethink some of their pedagogical approaches.

The range of activities extended pupils' awareness of ways of life during the war and also encouraged them to ask further questions about the past. The informal learning context supported pupils in making connections with their experiences outside of school and many pupils made references to their families and different ways in which they had gained information about the past. This was further enhanced by the different opportunities provided to talk through their learning, to communicate their understanding and to hear other opinions.

The provision of a wide range of historical sources of information enabled both trainees and pupils to gain some glimpse of how the past is represented in the present. Trainees were constantly reminding the pupils to look at the resources and to ask themselves what evidence they provided concerning life in the past. They encouraged pupils to observe the different resources closely and to draw their own conclusions from them.

Taking on different roles, permitted trainees and pupils to think imaginatively about people's feelings and to create some emotional connection with the past. It was an approach which supported further questioning and re-evaluations of existing beliefs and understandings. In terms of the formal history curriculum, both pupils and trainees were engaging with processes of historical enquiry and developing their conceptual understandings.

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**PUBLIC COMPENSATION
AND PRIVATE PERMANENT LOSS:
THE MEMORY OF TWENTIETH CENTURY
EUROPEAN REFUGEES**

Patrizia Audenino

My research is focused on three groups of refugees, adopting a comparative approach. They experienced exile in the second half of the century, after a similar past of migration, colonization and exposure to invasive nationalistic propaganda.

On the public side, in Germany, in Italy and in France different methods have been experienced in order to provide moral compensation, to nourish the memory and to include the experience of these refugees in national public history. On the private side, a wide volume of literary products and memories allows identification of those elements of the past which have survived in families and individuals during the effort to build their new identities, including their experience of flight and of their happier past, in order to give some relief to their incurable homesickness.

The mass expulsion and flight which followed the Second World War in Europe and the decolonization process have attracted attention from historical research only lately, especially after the end of the cold war, and mostly after 2000 (Gatrell, 2013; Lowe, 2012; Ferrara & Pianciola, 2012: 325; Reinisch & White, 2011; Salvatici, 2008; Ther & Siljak, 2001; Marrus, 1985). The timing of and the reasons for flight or expulsion and of previous persecutions have been the main subjects of research in this field. Less attention has been paid to the social organizations and political initiatives promoted by the refugees in order to preserve the memory of their tragedy and past life, and even less attention paid to their feelings.

This is a comparative research, focused on three groups of refugees, better named as repatriated. They experienced exile after a similar past of colonization and exposure to pervasive nationalistic propaganda from their cultural or institutional homeland. The first two groups are German refugees from Banat (Sevic, 2000; Prauser & Sretenovic, 2004), and Italians who left Istria and Dalmatia (Pupo, 2006). They share a history of ancient colonization, dating from the 16th to the 18th centuries, a long heritage in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the ultimate inclusion of their ancestral territories in Tito's Yugoslavia.

Their fate was the result of the defeat of Italy and Germany during the Second World War, and of the flow of forced migration that took place in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the war. The third group of refugees is a result of the decolonization process (Miège & Dubois, 1994). They are the French Pieds-Noir, who populated Algeria from 1830 as part of the only European colonization project of the Nineteenth century based on the mass migration of rural people; they were promptly expelled after the Evian treaty in the summer of 1962 (Verdès-Leroux, 2001; Hureau, 2001; Baussant, 2002; Stora, 2004).

The three groups were granted return to the homeland by citizenship rules whereby they could claim a right to repatriation. Refugees of Italian heritage from Istria and Dalmatia and the refugees of French descent from Algeria, were considered Italian and French citizens; German refugees from eastern Europe could claim the right to citizenship in Germany on the basis of the national constitution (Brubaker, 1992; Fahrmeir, 2007). Nevertheless, the legal right to return to their homelands was not accompanied by a welcome from their fellow-citizens. Annoyance and discrimination emerged soon after the arrival. As the refugees knew they would never go back, a feeling of abandonment by the motherland and of loneliness was common to all these populations.

Their stories raise common questions. How did governments manage with uncomfortable memories of the expulsion and the flight of their citizens from the former homeland and how did the refugees try to achieve public recognition of their suffering? Privately, which psychological skills were used to nourish memory and provide relief for the perpetual loss of the homeland?

The answers to these questions are found through the analysis and the combination of a wide range of sources of different origin. Historical and anthropological research, published tales and private memories, narratives, reminiscences found in newspapers and in internet sites have provided multifaceted information.

1. Public Memories: The Long Road to Remembrance

The experience of the three groups can be compared in several ways, such as the construction of public memories and their political exploitation, the assessment of the character and aims of their associations, the public actions for preserving the memories of the lost past and mourning the suffering.

How was the image built in Federal Germany of the Donauschwaben as a distinct group, different from other much more numerous groups, like the three million expelled from Silesia? In contrast to the Silesian refugees, the Donauschwaben came from a territory separate from the late German Reich (Demshuk, 2012), but within the Austro-Hungarian empire, which was also inhabited by other populations: Serbs, Rumanians, Hungarians and Italians. The name Donauschwaben came in use only after the end of the First World War, to better differentiate Germans from other national groups, after their common homeland was partitioned between Serbia, Rumania and Hungary (Dragan, 2010: 918; Magris, 1986: 345-362)

There was a need for a new collective memory after the Second World War. The sufferings of German minorities from all over Europe were described in a research project, published in several volumes starting 1953; the last volume, edited in 1961, was dedicated to the Germans of Yugoslavia (Schieder, 1961). The wish to recover from the anguish of expulsion, to find political sponsorship and the desire to collect memories to maintain identity, prompted many initiatives by the millions of refugees from ex-German areas and exiles from Yugoslavia. Since 1950 an ad-hoc parliament in Stuttgart ratified an Expellee Charter, declaring the fundamental right to the Heimat granted by God (De Zayas, 1994: 172-177; Demshuk, 2012: 93). In 1949 the first Federation of Germans of Yugoslavia was born. In 1951 a Committee of ethnic Germans of south-east Europe was created in Bonn; in 1954 Baden Wurttemberg offered sponsorship to the Donauschwaben, followed in 1964 by the town of Sindelfingen, who endorsed officially the Donauschwaben of Yugoslavia. Institutions of historical research were created in Munich in 1978 and in Tübingen in 1987 (Dragan, 2010: 927-28). With the aim of building a new identity incorporating the past, new symbols were created and new traditions discovered or invented. The most important can be considered the emblem, designed in 1950 with an accurate selection of evoking the river Danube, the struggle and victory over the Muslims, empire and Christianity, the military power of the fortress defending the national border, with six towers referring to the six areas of colonization of Germans in the Danubian region (Dragan, 2008: 182). Though attentive to heritage, the Donauschwaben, as well as the main stream of German refugees, concentrated their efforts on the construction of the future and of a new identity in the new political scenario of the

DDR and FDR (Schulze, 1997, 2001). Nostalgia was dismissed as a feeling of the elderly, who were committed to silence and oblivion to protect new generations from the nightmares of the past.

The second step was taken after the cold war. The memory of the ancestral land was used to build a new, more promising identity in contemporary Europe. In addition to the Haus der Donauschwaben Sindelfing in Stuttgart, a charter signed in 1994 established a foundation devoted to the History of the Donauschwaben, financed by the city of Ulm, the Federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg and the Federal Government. Its most important achievement was a Museum, founded in 1998 and opened in 2000¹ whose internet site adopted Hungarian, Croatian, Serb and Rumanian languages, in addition to German and English. The museum recalls the history of the Donauschwaben, but the emphasis is on a past of 'ethnic mixed villages', shown by the mixture of different social characters typical of the Danubian world, such as artisans and peddlers in traditional Hungarian or Rumanian folk dresses. The transnational internet site of the museum offered an example of how past Danubian society is engaged in the construction of a new Europe, beyond national states. In Italy, the building of a common refugee heritage occurred at three different levels: the first was the assembly of a collective identity, the second the political and lobbying activity to gain public acknowledgement of the suffering, the third is related to historical research and its findings.

The first need was to provide material help to the expellees. Relief was supported mainly by associations belonging to the radical right, nostalgic for fascism. Documentation and tales of individual and family persecutions helped the exiles to build a new identity, supported by the collective memories of traumatic escape and of the new status of refugees. Among the many activities which were conducted by a rising number of associations the most important was ANVGD (Associazione Nazionale Venezia Giulia e Dalmazia), founded in 1947 and reorganized in 1956. It still includes 40 provincial local and 14 major delegations in 16 Italian regions, with 8.000 subscribers in 2012. The second level of engagement was political activity to support the recognition of refugees, sponsored mainly by the parties of the far right. The major success of a long political struggle was the establishment by law in March 2004, of a *Giorno del Ricordo* (Remembrance Day), to be celebrated on February 10th, in memory of the mass killings of the Foibe and of the expulsion of Italians from

the Adriatic region. The name intentionally recalls the Memorial Day of the Shoah; however, the law was the expression of the right wing majority of that time and of the power achieved by the political heir to fascism Alleanza nazionale in the coalition Casa delle libertà, founded in 2000. The celebration concluded a political battle fought for more than fifty years by the extreme right parties, that finally achieved part of their nationalistic objectives. The choice of the date is revealing. Two different days were proposed: one was March 20th, the anniversary of the departure from Pola/Pula of the last ship carrying Italian refugees; the other was the anniversary of the annexation of Istria to Yugoslavia. The date recalling the territorial loss was selected, in order to transform the mourning of the exiles into a territorial claim.

The third level of engagement is historical research, both on the Italian and the Yugoslavian side. Most reconstructions of the early years were published by a press supported by refugees' associations, with the aim of expanding the knowledge of persecution and suffering. Accordingly, the origin of public remembrance was the year 1945, carefully avoiding the embarrassing mischief of the fascist rule of and discrimination against Slovenians and the Croatian population. Only in 1993, after the institution of a bilateral historical commission, formed by Italian and Slovenian historians, the experience of persecution and flight was reviewed in a wider historical context, that raised awareness of the aggressive nationalistic policy by the Italians in the Nineteenth century and by the fascist government in Istria (Crainz, 2008: 188). Of note, however, the final Report, written in Slovenian, Italian and English was published in 2001 in Slovenia and in Italy only in 2009.² In an effort to understand the dynamics of the expulsion, academic history has since 1980 insisted on the long confrontation of rival states and opposing nationalisms on the eastern Adriatic border, and on the need to write a comprehensive tale with all the various populations involved (Ballinger, 2003; Wörcsörfer 2004; Cattaruzza, 2007); nevertheless, even at present these results have not reached public opinion and have no impact on general sentiment. As a demonstration, the history of these refugees is not mentioned in school textbooks, as their experience does not fit in with the public narrative of contemporary Italy.

The arrival in France of refugees from Algeria was accompanied by the rejection of colonialism which had ultimately determined the acceptance of the independence of Algeria. In view of this attitude, the

repatriated were considered guilty for the shameful war and were given much less solidarity than expected. To react to general resentment they soon gathered in associations of their own. The first and more longlasting were the associations of soldiers, who fought in a war that nobody wanted to remember, as it was considered injurious to the principles of freedom, brotherhood and equality of the French Republic. Many associations flourished, aimed at providing an answer to the need for recognition of thousands of veterans, who spent years in a war labelled as 'dirty' (Brazzoduro, 2012). The first two associations were established in 1958, among veterans of North African wars nostalgic for French Algeria. A third was founded in 1963: the CATM (Combattants d'Algerie-Tunisie-Maroc), with 120,000 members, which was also endorsed by the socialist and pacifist François Mitterand. Overall in 1980 600,000 members had joined the three associations (Stora, 1992: 267).

Much more elaborate was the project to re-create a community of refugees, as all of them identified themselves 'expatriated' more than repatriated. A common symbol was identified early, as soon as one year after the departure; in 1963 a pilgrimage started to a sanctuary in the town of Nîmes, in Provence, hosting the image of the Notre-Dame-de-Santa-Cruz, transferred from Orano, which was considered the major holy reference of the community in exile (Baussant, 2002: 5-57). The statue, taken to the Algerian town of Orano in 1850 and named Nostra Señora d'El Salud, eventually known as Notre-Dame-de-Santa-Cruz, was transported back to France with the exiled devotees. The annual pilgrimage assembled a community which recognized the festivity of the Ascension as the only chronological and geographic epicenter. Dispersed all over the country, the Pieds-Noirs gather every year on this date to celebrate the beloved statue and recreate the lost community. The religious character of the festivity is not limited to Catholics, but includes participants of Judaic and Islamic faith. Since most of the participants came from Oran, the community identified itself as that of Oranîmes, a name that served also to recall the links of Oran to Nîmes. A second wider site of gathering was created by refugees in a sanctuary in a small suburban town of Marseille, Carnoux, where the statue of Notre-Dame-d'Afrique was transported in exile from the Cathedral of Alger. This urban development, built for housing immigrants from North Africa, of French and Arab descent, was looked on with suspicion by the neighbours for its strong North-African character; the repatriated

recreated a social atmosphere similar to that in Algeria, with small cafés, ethnic grocery shops, colours and flavours resembling their 'paradise lost'.

One last major appointment of the Pieds-Noirs with the past was in 2012: the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the repatriation. Ceremonies were held in various places of southern France in May and June; the day of Memory and of Transmission was celebrated in Marseille when the statues of Notre-Dame d'Afrique, Notre-Dame-de-Santa-Cruz and the Saint Augustin banner were taken in procession after a religious function. A ceremony of transmission of memory was celebrated in front of the sea, that refugees from Algeria crossed twice in a circular journey (Hureau, 2001: 113).³ The need to raise awareness with these ceremonies however, reveals the substantial lack of interest and the desire to forget from the rest of French population, and confirm that the war for Algeria, unnamed until 1999, remains a page of history deleted from public memory.

2. Private Mourning

How do private memories differ from public? What are the issues and how have they changed in time? What is left of the old identity and how have the exiles nourished a new identity?

For Germans and Italians a first distinction can be made between memories related to expulsion and persecution and memories collected in the following years, to nourish the group identity. The former were painful tales of mass and random killings, rapes, robberies and terror, recalled into consciousness for the Germans by the trials and the research conducted by Alfred De Zayas (De Zayas, 1994). Since 1950, in Germany literature became the main tool to express the feelings related to the lost world of the exiles. Given the social and cultural impact of 12 million refugees living in the country, the whole post-war narrative deserved to be named a 'Babylon Chorus' (Kempowski, 1999). Nevertheless, for many years a common effort was made to keep or rather to gain a new identity inclusive of the past, while people tried to build a future in Germany or elsewhere. Silenced during the many years of the cold war, the mourning became again a collective recognition of unforgotten sufferance on the eve of the new millennium: the Gunter Grass' novel *Im Krebsgang* led to a wide

rediscovery of the exiles' tragedy, echoed by popular novels and TV documentaries.

For German refugees from the Yugoslavian Banat two steps were important in the itinerary of a collective therapy for individual nostalgia. The first was the refugees' desire to gather together. The second was the building of a new de-territorialized identity. Their German heritage, so strongly reaffirmed in the previous years, turned out to be much weaker when confronted with modern German society. The feeling of being Danubian could not be overcome: only people arrived from the same territories could share the common heritage of a past life forged by an intense transnational experience. Language played a crucial role. In everyday life the Danubian used to speak indifferently German, Serbian, Hungarian and Rumanian, depending on different public and private activities. The linguistic skills and the easy switch from German to the other languages of the territory was a distinctive character of the group. The memory of this multilingual and multicultural past was shared only by those arriving from the same lands. Participation in social activities, with the accurate reconstruction of traditional garments, and the preparation of typical foods, favoured the survival of a shared cultural heritage.

Culinary traditions and religion played an important therapeutic role. Religion has maintained identity in the many destinations of the diaspora, since the Donauschwaben were born as defenders of the Christian border against the Turks. More intriguing seems the role of culinary traditions. As with language, cooking had the unsurpassed power to evoke the past of mixed cultures experienced in the Banat, with recipes derived from Serbian, Hungarian and Rumanian cuisine. According to Dragan, it is possible to identify a Danubian-Balkan cuisine: its character derives from many ingredients, such as spices typical of Hungarian tradition. In particular, must be mentioned the presence of paprika, used also in the preparations of sausages, and the role of green peppers and tomatoes. Moreover, the tomato is typical also of Croatian culinary tradition. Rolls of grape leaves filled with meat were of Rumanian derivation, but common to all the Balkan region. Also Bohemian preparations such as the knödel and the strudel were common, as the palatschinken, and probably of Serbian heritage (Dragan, 2007-8: 169-73). As a consequence, identity was rebuilt on a de-territorialized basis; individuals and families of a group that for centuries identified themselves as a German minority, asserted a new

identity based on memories and behaviours connecting to their ancestral territories, rather than to the country of emigration.

The Italian refugees from Istria and Dalmatia can be compared with Silesian German refugees, as they shared a similar experience of arrival from a region of mixed populations contiguous to the eastern border of the country, which was lost after the war to a communist country and underwent ethnic cleansing. After some years, territorial contiguity has allowed visits to the country they had left. However, rather than a remedy for homesickness, visits home were invariably painful, since the refugees had to face the transformation of the social ethnic environment, where every aspect reminiscent of their previous existence had disappeared. Familiar places looked radically transformed, disorienting the visitors (Ballinger, 2003; Bettiza, 1996). The private mourning of Italian refugees could be divided in two categories. The first, comprehensive of most part of the literature promoted by the refugees, deals with the tragedy of flight, the memory of random killings, the brutality of the new order and fear. Accurate descriptions of violence were published throughout the years by publishers linked to refugees organizations (Rocchi, 1969).⁴ This stage includes the remembrance of the first years of settlement in Italy, marked by memories of the hospitality in camps and army barracks, provided by international organizations. These tales often focus on the difficulties of rebuilding a new life after the loss of every belonging, yet recall also the fraternity and mutual help of other refugees (Miletto, 2005; Id., 2007; Leuzzi, Esposito, 2009).

With a different perspective, the soul of refugees can be recognised in the writings of professional historians, journalists and freelance writers, who described the mixed feelings of refugees over time and the ultimate awareness of the perpetual loss of their ancestral country (Crainz, 2005). First reported was the feeling of estrangement which pushed people to leave, second the persistence of the same feeling on arrival in Italy, then the experience of the label 'refugee' painfully linked to humiliation, and finally the knowledge of a perpetual division in the soul, as a result of the loss of every Italian characteristic of the territory, such as the names of streets, buildings, church, schools. The ultimate recollection was a feeling of nostalgia for a cosmopolitan world, typical of the north Adriatic society, lost forever with the nationalistic projects of the new post-war Yugoslavia.

Humiliation and the feeling of being uprooted were the most frequent expressions in the memories of the Pieds-Noirs. Banned from independent Algeria as an unacceptable heritage of colonialism, they met discrimination and refusal instead of welcome and understanding in their homeland. They also experienced different levels of mental elaboration after the first shock of flight: the desire to join together was accompanied in the course of time by an increasing consciousness of the perpetual loss of an entire world. In the seventies, novels, memories and also songs gave expression to the mourning of the repatriated, leading to a clearer identification of the different elements of suffering (Hureau, 2001: 334-346). The literary expression of the Pieds-Noirs' 'nostalgia' was named Algerianism, with the novel *Le coup de Sirocco*, by Daniel de Saint-Hamont becoming in 1978 the most famous title, followed in 1980 by the Louis Gardel novel *Fort Saganne*, winner of the most prestigious French literary award, made into a movie in 1984.⁵ Literature allowed recognition of the most significant elements of mourning: the natural environment, the relaxed way of life, the peaceful contiguity with the Arabs and the sharing of their everyday life (Stora, 2006: 118; Cardinal, 1980). Also in this case the accurate preservation of food traditions, resulting in a complex fusion of French, Italian, Spanish and Arabic recipes, brought some relief.

3. Conclusions

The politics of public memory enforced by the Donauschwaben, Italian refugees and the Pieds-Noirs share the difficulty in finding room in national history for these refugees, their 'unwanted' status, because their presence recalled a recent past that official history was trying to put into oblivion, and finally the long path to gaining recognition on the political stage. Nevertheless, important differences can be found: the first is the difference between Italy and West Germany with regard to the political endorsement of refugees: initially in both countries their requests were supported by parties of the extreme right, but in Italy, in contrast to the FDR, the claims for a revision of territorial loss became the main argument of the parties nostalgic for fascism. The second difference lies in their recent policy toward the refugees' legacy. The end of the cold war led Germany to adopt a new policy of memory, based on the rescue of the cultural heritage of the repatriated. With regard to the Donauschwaben, efforts

were directed to historical activities, such as the collection of books and the building of museums: objects and tales were collected to provide a detailed reconstruction of a centuries long story of migration and of a lost multicultural and multilingual world.

In Italy acknowledgement of the sufferings of refugees came to national attention mainly as a consequence of the new political role gained by the far right in the parliamentary majority after 2000. For this reason, the right to public recognition of the killings, the expulsion and the financial damage was accompanied by the usual claim for territorial losses that was the main political battle of the heirs to fascism. Only in 2015 the newly elected president described the drama of refugees from Istria and Dalmatia as a 'ripped page' of national history.

In France public memory faced many difficulties in accepting refugees from Algeria. The long war against the Algerians remained unnamed until 1999. Refugees were an embarrassing legacy of a shameful war. They were blamed for it, accused of racism and experienced discrimination because of their Mediterranean and African heritage and behaviour. The support given by the right parties, nostalgic for colonialism, did not help the integration process.

On the private side many more aspects are similar: first the need to join together in order to share the memories of a happier past. For all three groups, associations played an important role in preserving the identity and in providing relief. Second, material culture and mainly food habits have provided a linkage: collecting recipes and preparing traditional meals has proven to be an unsurpassed therapy for nostalgia, encouraging refugees to gather together for dinners evocative of flavours and tastes of the past. The common element of food has helped to create a de-territorialized identity, linked to smells, tastes and common memories.

The last and most important shared aspect is the birth of a new literary tradition: the literature of exile. This was the main stream of narrative in post-war Germany and it was rediscovered in recent years by the generations born after the war, intrigued by the past suffering hidden by their parents. In Italy the exile's literature flourished mainly in the last twenty years, giving expression to the tragedies of the loss of the ancestral home and recalling the mixed cultures of North Adriatic towns. Memories and novels displayed the nostalgia for a transnational world lost forever. A similar character can be found in

the Nostalgerie, a literary movement which is not related to colonialism and its unavoidable violence. But instead, it tells the everyday life of the petit blancs, in a widely different way from the usual narrative of colonialism.

Notes

¹ See <http://www.dzm-museum.de> (26.06.2016).

² Relazione della Commissione storico-culturale italo-slovena, Relazioni italo-slovene 1880-1956, in Algostino A. et al, Dall'Impero austro-ungarico alle foibe. Conflitti nell'area alto-adriatica, Appendix, 243-274.

³ Français d'Algerie. (http://www.babelouedstory.com/thema_les/asso/5233/5233.html) (26.06.2016).

⁴ See: <http://intranet.istoreto.it/esodo/> (26.06.2016).

⁵ Grand Prix du Roman de l'Academie Française.

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NOSTALGIA OF POLISH POLITICAL ÉMIGRÉS IN AMERICA AFTER WWII

Joanna Wojdon

The Polish political émigrés in America after WWII formed a specific group, significantly different from the 'old' Polish Americans most of whom emigrated to USA 'for bread' at the turn of the 20th century. These people came to America in order to avoid the communist regime. Denying the regime any legal status of the government of Poland they decided to break all official relations with their homeland. They constantly criticized the regime and refused any contact with it, including visits to Poland. Did such an attitude eradicate nostalgia for the old country, so typical to immigrants? In my opinion it did not.

The paper analyses how this 'suppressed' nostalgia found its way to be expressed. It is based on several case studies of prominent members of this immigration cohort and discussions they initiated or participated in. Different attitudes that resulted from the combination of total negation and nostalgia will be presented, starting from 'the steadfast' for whom negation became the meaning of their lives and ending with those whose nostalgia was so efficiently used by the regime that they started collaborating with the communists.

The didactical potential of including these issues in school history education is suggested.

1. Introduction

The term nostalgia comes from Greek nostos – return home and algia – pain or longing and means homesickness. The feeling of nostalgia is experienced by many people who left their home either of their own accord, or forced by certain circumstances beyond their control: from college students who study outside their home town to soldiers, slaves and immigrants (Wilson, 2005: 21). In the latter case, nostalgia is typical for the first generation of immigrants: those who physically left home, and distinguishes them from the generations of their children and grandchildren. Even if the children and grandchildren feel some contact and emotional ties with the country(ies) of their parents, speak their language, keep ethnic tradition, they do not experience the same emotions as the immigrants themselves. 'Immigrant is a stranger, someone who has left home and cannot quite function in the new environment' (Ritivoi, 2002: 38). Some *psychologists* who research

nostalgia (which before the end of the 19th century was regarded as a disease (Starobinski, 1966)) compare the level of emotions involved in nostalgia to the ones involved in love, especially in a moment when a love affair has ended (Wilson, 2005: 24; cf. Matt, 2011: 164-170).

There is not only one response to homesickness. Some immigrants, especially those who left their home of their own accord and achieved success in the country of immigration (an economic or personal one), overcome it relatively easy. Although Theodor Adorno claimed that 'the life of an exile can never be the same as it was before the departure' (Rativoi, 2002, 39), they assimilate rather quickly and effectively, and are difficult to trace by the researchers.

On the other end of the spectrum of reactions are those whose nostalgia drives them back home (Matt, 2011: 144-148). The very possibility of travelling back may be a relief. Emigration is usually not anymore 'as if we buried each other before dying, because we will not see each other's faces again on this side of the grave.'¹ But both sociologists and historians describe the experiences of the returning migrants as traumatic ones (Matt, 2011: 170-175; Radzik, 1990: 373). Very often it turns out that the home they had remembered and expected differs significantly from the home they actually returned to. They have changed, their family members and neighbours have changed, they started noticing things that had not mattered to them before but began to matter after the migration experiences (e.g. if compared to the country of immigration). In case of the Polish Americans, when they are in America, they long for Poland, when they come back to Poland they long for America. Some of them become nomads, travelling back and forth, to and from their home country.

Here we come to another important issue raised by the researchers of nostalgia. Do people nostalgize rather for a place or for particular time of their life? As Jean Starobinski (1966: 103) wrote, 'while the term nostalgia points to a given place [...] modern theories designate individuals and their likenesses, and symbolic substitutes which dominate childhood.' This may explain the reason for the disappointment of re-migrants: one can return to a certain place, but cannot travel back in time. Moreover, nostalgia tends to idealize the past, to diminish or erase its negative elements, and strengthen the positive aspects (Wilson, 2005: 34-35). As Rativoi (2002, 29) notices: 'it consists of a cheerful remembrance of the past in the context of a slightly negative attitude toward the present'. The idealization of the past makes nostalgizing even more painful. To cite Dante (after

Radulescu, 2002: 190), 'There is no worse suffering than the memory of happy moments in times of misery'.

The third response to immigrants' nostalgia is given by those who decide to stay in their country of immigration ('an immigrant is a stranger who ultimately hopes to make a new home, rather than return to the old one' (Rativoi, 2002, 38)), yet try 'to restore and re-create what they had left behind' (Matt, 2011: 8, 9, 153-164, 264). They cultivate their traditions, organize ethnic festivals, celebrate ethnic holidays, publish (and read) ethnic press, buy food in ethnic groceries, fund ethnic churches and schools in order to cultivate their homesickness in their children. They 'put to work a complicated system of mimetic representations that helps them reduce unfamiliar to the familiar' (Rativoi, 2002, 38), even if it keeps them somewhat separate from mainstream society. The existence and vitality of the American ethnic groups is an illustration of this response.

This article deals with the homesickness of the post-World War II Polish political exiles whom Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann presented to English-speaking audience in her book *The Exile Mission* (2004). It was a group of over 100,000 people who decided not to return to Poland after the war in order to avoid the communist regime. Most of them were 'Displaced Persons': former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, forced labor or POWs. They resisted the repatriation propaganda of the officers of the communist regime, supported by international organizations such as UNRRA. Many of them were afraid that their involvement in the underground activities of the Polish government in exile in London during the war would pave their way to the communist prisons immediately after returning 'home' (see e.g. Krawiec, 2015). Others lost their homes in the Polish eastern territories, annexed during the war by the Soviet Union. If they were to look for a new home, they preferred to do it in the free Western World rather than in communist-ruled Poland. Initially, most of them lived in Germany, but from 1948 started arriving in the United States, thanks to the DP Act that was valid until 1952 (US DP Commission, 1953). In 1953 the Refugee Relief Act came into force, and 1956 ended this wave of immigration.

The article concentrates on the presentation of the very issue of the immigrants' nostalgia rather than on its didactical implementations in history education in Poland. Quite surprisingly, despite the considerable size of the Polish diaspora estimated at 21 million people

(Wspólnota Polska, 2007), it remains on the margins of the school curricula. As a result, the popular knowledge of *Polonia* is very superficial, full of myths and simplifications. Even professional historians, if they do not deal specifically with this group in their research, tend to share this ignorance and either marginalize or overestimate the role played by diaspora in the history of Poland.² People of Polish origin are perceived either as the Poles abroad, as if nothing had changed in their ethnic identity for three or more generations, or their assimilation is mourned as a loss of their Polishness. There is little understanding of the processes of changes that the immigrants and their children undergo in the host country (Wojdon, 2002 and 2014). The post-WWII political exiles are hardly ever mentioned in the secondary school textbooks, except from a sentence or two that the leaders of the government in exile decided not to return to Poland after WWII and in 1990 they passed the insignia of the pre-war Poland to the democratically elected president of Poland, Lech Wałęsa (Stola, 2012: 97, 235; Brzozowski & Szczepański, 2012: 218-219, Dolecki et al., 2012: 377). Everyday life in exile is neglected, so are dilemmas and emotions.

This text has been written with a hope of presenting the complex issue of the nostalgia of the post-WWII exiles not only as a fascinating topic per se but also of revealing its didactical potential for history lessons. It can be taught to emphasize the human dimension of the past, to research emotions or to discuss conflicting values. It can be illustrated by a wide variety of sources, including oral histories, correspondence, diaries and memoirs, the secret files of the intelligence services, press articles, political manifestos and other official statements. I believe that teaching about diaspora is not only a Polish problem and that the relations between a country and its diaspora are part of the more general issues of historical identity and memory. The collections of essays on the post-WWII political exiles from various countries dominated by communism prove that they all experienced similar problems, dilemmas and conflicts (e.g. Zake, 2001 and Łukasiewicz, 2005).

2. First experiences

Coming back to the Poles arriving in the United States at the turn of the 1950s, it became clear very quickly how much they differed from the so-called 'old Polonia', the Polish ethnic group formed

predominantly by the peasant immigrants from the turn of the 20th century.³ Usually the newly arrived Poles were better educated, more involved in political activities and preoccupied with the fate of Poland. Contrary to initial expectations, they did not receive a warm welcome in the Polish community in the United States (Blejwas, 1981; Iwańska 1998).

Their feelings must have been quite similar to those presented by Hannah Arendt in relation to the post-World War II Jews: 'We lost our home, which means the familiarity of our daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, and the spontaneous expression of our sentiments. We left our relatives in the ghettos of Poland and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps, and that means the rupture of our private lives.'⁴ Moreover, their home country fell under communism.

Their experiences conformed with the conditions of nostalgia as formulated by sociologists (Ritivoi, 2002, 32): the past had 'forever gone' and the future looked unpredictable, the present was 'deficient in contrast to the past' and the past was 'somehow available in symbolic representations – images, objects, associations', in this case: the Polish government in exile in London.⁵

The political leaders of the exiles, so-called 'steadfast', never recognized the communist government as a legal authority in Poland – they remained loyal to the government in London and actively participated in its political debates and conflicts. As a result they did not recognize the diplomatic and consular posts of the Warsaw government in the United States. Nor did they travel to Poland, which required obtaining a visa, issued by the Warsaw regime, upon an application filed in a consulate. But denying recognition of the regime did not mean denying their Polishness. On the contrary, it was the most active group of the American Polonia after World War II. Their goal was the full independence of Poland (Kirchmann, 2004). Physically living in the United States, mentally they were busy with Polish politics. They were analyzing the situation in Poland and in the Soviet bloc; they issued memoranda and letters of protest, advised those who showed the slightest signs of willingness to listen and strived for the attention of those who did not.⁶ Nostalgia towards the pre-war Poland can serve as an interpretation of these attitudes.

3. The exiles in the United States

Their living conditions in the United States further added to the nostalgia. Contrary to the economical immigrants, the political exiles had problems finding satisfactory positions in the American society. Having done white-collar jobs in Poland they had to start with the blue-collar ones in the United States which some of them found beneath their dignity even if the job gave them money to live (Iwańska, 1998: 53-58). White-collar jobs were beyond the reach of the majority of new immigrants. Most of them did not speak English as French was widely learnt by the Polish intelligentsia in the pre-war Poland, but not English. They did not receive much support in increasing their job market potential from the old Polonia, contrary e.g. to the Jewish group, as Barbara Burstin (1997) showed using the example of Pittsburgh. Old Polonia expected them to take jobs immediately and to follow its own pattern of progress from the simplest menial positions. Hard physical work left little time and energy for social life and political activities, though some managed to combine both, but it must have been frustrating.⁷

Some of the post-WWII immigrants later achieved economic, or social success, but the situation of political activists was similar to the one of exile writers presented by Domnica Radulescu (2002): their position depended on the culture that surrounded them, and most of them could not become part of the dominant American culture due to the language barrier. Politicians, just as writers, could either limit themselves to the ethnic audience, which was rather narrow, or try and use the English language, foreign to them, which they could never fully master, or give up and try to build their positions in other walks of life. All these were rather frustrating options that might increase nostalgia.

4. The exiles and Poland under communism

As it was argued earlier, visits to the old places are the natural response to nostalgia. This was not the case with Polish political émigrés, however. The leaders of political emigration had no wish to visit the places of their youth. In some cases it was impossible – if the places had become part of the Soviet Union. But the exiled leaders refused even if invited by families or by the Warsaw authorities that generally welcomed Poles from abroad after 1956 and imposed restrictions only against a handful of individuals notorious for their anti-communist

activities in the United States.⁸ On the contrary, 'the steadfast' exercised pressure on others not to visit Poland – through publications, pamphlets, speeches, warnings against the regime, or through ostracism towards those who had broken the rule. It was a political demand, however, and had nothing to do with nostalgia. It was hardly observed even on the institutional level. Officers of the Polish American Congress were not allowed to go to Poland and would have been expelled from the organization had they broken this rule. But many of them simply did not run for office or resigned from office in the year when they planned to travel to Poland, or found excuses for visiting, such as charitable help to the Polish people. Others decided to completely leave the PAC (Wojdon, 2015; Krawiec, 2015). On a private level, even family members of the 'steadfast' visited Poland (e.g. Gierat, 1998). Stories about their trips – both written and told – enjoyed large interest in the Polish American community, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1956/57 the bi-weekly of the Polish Women's Alliance of American *Głos Polek* and Buffalo-based *Everybody's Daily* published multipart stories of their reporters and the newspapers reported an enthusiastic response from readers.⁹ The country had changed profoundly, however, as a result of both the war and communist rule. Visits, thus, could not verify 'the authenticity of the remembered descriptions' (Stenberg, 1993, 128) of the pre-war past, which did not heal but rather further nourished the nostalgia.

There were instances of the 'steadfast' returning to Poland. In some cases it was a result of communist propaganda that played on nostalgia and presented Poland as a nice friendly home for every person of Polish heritage. Klaudiusz Hrabyk is probably the most famous case. A pre-WWII nationalist, a journalist by profession, he spent some time as a DP in Germany and in 1949 emigrated to New York city. There he joined the Pilsudski Institute of America, but when the communist authorities opened the Polish borders in the mid-1950s he established contact with them, presented his doubts and his desire to return, in his publications and eventually came back to Warsaw. In the new period of his life he worked for the intelligence of People's Republic of Poland, spied on Polish Americans, published a number of texts diminishing their position in America and interpreting their actions according to the needs of Polish communists (Gałęzowski, 2005: 218-234).

Other returns were not as spectacular, yet they occurred from time to time. Witold Borysiewicz left the United States as a pensioner in the 1980s though in previous decades he had been a very critical commentator of Poland's realities for the Illinois state division of the Polish American Congress, which he did not mention in his application for residency in Poland (though he mentioned his membership in the Polish American Congress).¹⁰ Apparently the Polish authorities had no idea about it from other sources, nor did they make any use of his return.

Some of the 'steadfast' came back to Poland after the collapse of the communist regime in 1989 or a few years later when the political situation stabilized. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, the former director of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe and a member of the US National Security Council was one of them. He received an enthusiastic welcome upon landing in Warsaw.¹¹

5. The exiles' world

Most post-WWII immigrants, however, remained in the United States and cultivated their Polishness there. Some of them still oppose calling them Polonia or Polish Americans. They think about themselves as the Poles in America¹² (to cite Janelle Wilson (2005: 157): 'nostalgia can help to facilitate the continuity of identity.') According to the findings of the Polish psychologist and sociologist Danuta Mostwin (1995), most immigrants of this cohort never totally Americanized, they rather adopted 'the third value', between being Polish and American. They take care that their grandchildren learn Polish, attend Polish schools or join the Polish American scouts.

I do not think that the level of nostalgia can be measured by the decision to return or not to return to the homeland. Many personal and professional factors influence individual decisions. For instance, Nowak-Jeziorański had no children and no family members in the USA, and could use his reputation and contacts to keep participating in the public life both in Poland and in the United States. Others might not be so lucky.

However, the decision to stay in America may be interpreted as another proof that the WWII exiles longed for the lost time (pre-WWII) rather than territory (Poland). They put a lot of effort into commemorating pre-war Poland in the Polish ethnic community in America. They celebrated the pre-war holidays, especially November

11th, the day when Poland regained its independence in 1918, and the WWII anniversaries. They did not manage to reach wider audiences for these observances, however. It was part of the exiles' world in America.

Creating this world, via social contacts, but also through some institutional structures can also be interpreted as the manifestation of nostalgia. If the exiles could not return home they could at least try to cultivate old contacts, ties, rituals. They put a lot of effort to organize meetings of exiles from all over the world, which resulted in establishing the Coordinating Council of the World Polonia in 1978 during the conference 'Polonia of Tomorrow' in Toronto. The Polish American Congress, inspired and constantly pressured by WWII exiles, played a crucial role in this endeavour (Wojdon, 2006). The Council had its political goals – free Poland in the first place – but the Conference itself was a big social event for the exile generation. Obviously, they were not longing for the war years or for the DP camps, but meeting old friends for the first time since the 1940s must have been a nostalgic experience and one more reason for promoting such international gatherings.¹³

It did not mean that the exile group was a monolith. On the contrary, the exiles were involved in various political debates and divisions as well as personal grievances and conflicts (see e.g. Kardela, 2000). Yet, such tensions usually happened within the group and often were incomprehensible to the world outside. The DP cohort distinguishes itself from the rest of Polonia to this day.

Many WWII émigrés who stayed in the United States blame the newcomers from the post-1989 Poland for their lack of nostalgia, for not cultivating Polishness in America, for distancing themselves from Polish American institutional life. The question is whether the newcomers are really not nostalgic, or maybe they do long for Poland but do not long for the Polish American organizations and institutions that they find incompatible with their interests, beliefs and way of life. They may also find ways of coping with their homesickness other than participating in ethnic activities. Visits to Poland are much easier (and cheaper) than before, so is constant communication with friends and relatives there (via e-media) and participating in Polish, not Polish American, culture thanks to the Internet, satellite television etc.¹⁴

6. Conclusions

Apparently, immigrants' nostalgia does not manifest itself in only one fashion. Nor was it only nostalgia which determined the activities of the WWII Polish immigration cohort in the United States. However, it can be worthwhile to take this factor into consideration when interpreting their attitudes and deeds. The observation of Domnica Radulescu (2002: 190) may be relevant not only to the exile writers, but also to the politicians in exile: 'The tragic level of exile from the point of view of the drama of memory consists in the perpetual failure to create the experience of the homeland, doubled by its failure to forget those experiences and thus liberate the psyche from that painful duality; finally, this double failure is generally capped by the refusal of the exile to forget'.

Taking into consideration the realities of today's Poland – where over two million citizens have emigrated since 2004 (GUS, 2012) and in various opinion polls many young people declare their desire to follow this pattern – an in-depth presentation of the emigrants' lives could be an important factor of not only historical, but civic education. It is not necessary to discourage young people from emigration but at least make them aware not only of its benefits and opportunities but also of costs, problems and ways of dealing with them. Such an approach would bring the history of the Poles in exile closer to the students' own experiences and make it more meaningful to them – which is one of the key aims of school history today.

Notes

¹ Cited in Matt, 2011: 141.

² See e.g. my review of the book by Patryk Pleskot, Kłopotliwa Panna S, *Polish American Studies* 2016 (1).

³ On the history of the Polish ethnic group in America see Pula (1995) and Bukowczyk (2009).

⁴ Cited in Ritivoi, 2002: 13.

⁵ According to Wilson (2005: 25), nostalgia requires comparison to the present and desire to return to the past. The WWII émigré's attitudes certainly met both requirements.

⁶ Kardela's (2000) biography of Stanisław Gierat, one of the fiercest 'steadfast' provides an insight to this group.

⁷ The exchange of mail between Kazimierz Łukomski and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański (Ossoliński Institute, Wrocław, Nowak-Jeziorański's correspondence), both WWII exiles, of 1980 is symptomatic in this regard. They were to work on the issue of Poles in the Soviet Union, but ended up quarrelling about the time of the phone call of Nowak-Jeziorański to Łukomski on April 23. Nowak called after 10 PM in order to spare money on long-distance calls (as he covered his office expenses himself) and Łukomski was irritated since he had to wake up at 5 AM next day, as every day, to go to work. His tone irritated Nowak who resigned from all his activities in the Polish American Congress.

⁸ E.g. Roman Pucinski (but he was removed from the list of personae non grata in 1989 and already in 1988 allowed to come to Poland despite being on the list) – see Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN) archive: BU 1368/17924. Cf. IPN BU 1268/21280.

⁹ Łażewski, A. (1956) 'Co widziałem w Polsce', *Dziennik dla Wszystkich*, September; Łagodzińska, A. (1956-1957) 'Polska jaką widziałam w r. 1956', *Głos Polek*, October 1956-May 1957.

¹⁰ The file with Borysiewicz's application: IPN BU 1368/18571; Minutes of the PAC Illinois Division meetings documenting activities of Borysiewicz in Chicago: Immigration History Research Center (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Illinois 6.

¹¹ 'Kurier wrócił do Warszawy', *Rzeczpospolita*, 22.07.2002.

¹² Personal experiences of the Author in Chicago in 2014 and in Warsaw in 2015.

¹³ Wilson (2005: 34) distinguishes also a type of 'nostalgia for collective – the characteristics and activities of a group or institution in which an individual was a participant.'

¹⁴ Though Svetlana Boym (2001, 350-351) argues that technology does not necessarily cure the nostalgia.

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DEVELOPING CREATIVE INTERACTIONS OF LOCAL,
NATIONAL AND GLOBAL TOPICS OF HISTORY EDUCATION

KREATIVE ZUGÄNGE ZUR VERKNÜPFUNG LOKALER,
NATIONALER UND GLOBALER THEMEN IM
GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT

LE DEVELOPPEMENT CREATIF DES RELATIONS ENTRE SUJETS
LOCAUX, NATIONAUX ET MONDIAUX DANS LES COURS
D'HISTOIRE

RETHINKING THE LOCAL AND THE NATIONAL IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Urte Kocka

History topics are not only of local, national, and global dimensions, but are also embedded in long-term ecological and cosmological processes of change. The advocates of 'Big History' hold that cosmological changes and the history of humankind belong together. As people nowadays are living in an era of globalization, they are influenced by all four dimensions of history. All four levels of history topics belong together; they actually include one another. It is possible to teach them together with broad problem oriented questions of worldwide concern or by showing entanglements and encounters which link local, national, global, and cosmological history subjects together.

1. Introduction: Everyday Globalization

The effects of globalization are present everywhere and affect our normal life, although many people may not notice how much their lives are influenced by globalization, because they take it for granted and do not think about it anymore. Just some examples of everyday globalization: the world wide web, television, radio, and movies offer people visual and acoustical information about nearly all parts of the world. Anyone may be able to participate in distant peoples' fates, or take an active part in discussions, festivals or aid organizations far away. Of course consumerism includes food and clothes from different world regions. International traveling has become much more common, and there are many other things which belong to the everyday-life of many and document the increasing interdependence of different regions of the world.

Young people use digitalization much more than their parents or probably their teachers. Young people know about the possibilities of these media and choose their favorite topics, games, and connections from transnational menus. This is the general context which requires schools to modulate their curricula for history teaching in order to cope with the globalization which already exists and will probably further advance.

In addition there is a more specific reason for rethinking traditional history teaching, which appears to be even more urgent: migration into

countries which may have previously thought to be still homogeneous. Young people experience and are accustomed day by day to live together with young people from other parts of the world in their kindergardens, schools and classrooms and of course as well outside their educational institutions. Societies become more multiethnic and multicultural, in a lot of everyday-life situations.

In the context of such different kinds of ongoing globalization the perception and the narration of history have started and will continue to change. Manifestations of these changes can be found in documentations of history culture, newspapers and other media, photography and in a lot of publications in the field of public history too. A local monument or a local event are not anymore perceived by locally born people only, on the basis of local memory and through local eyes, but are also perceived by others and thus related to meanings and questions for a transnational and global world. Local and national history topics are this way put into translocal and transnational contexts of perception and expectations. This new constellation should be reflected theoretically and influence teaching in the classroom.

2. Changing History Reaching in the Classroom

All three levels, the local, the national and the transnational or global dimensions are part of a history curriculum. For students they are important to deal with. In conventional teaching and in the traditional history curricula and textbooks the three levels are often separated from one another. They also differ with respect to the functions they are intended to serve. On the first level local topics are dealt with in order to show, praise or sometimes criticize local identities hoping for engagement and identification with the local level. On the second level issues of national identity are dealt with. On the global level, the history of other nations may come in which happen to be thought to be important per se, and which are treated for their own sake, in an additive way, just for learning and knowing about them.

But it is not enough to teach the three dimensions of history topics separately, because local monuments, occurrences, heroes, schools are imbedded in the national history and history-culture, they mostly need national support, maybe money or expertise for their local functioning. At the same time national history is not at all exclusively national any more, since many decisions and most of the history-culture are

dependent on transnational or global influences. These global influences on the national level are frequently important for the local level as well. On the other hand, all new decisions in history culture or politics on whatever level should be made with a sense of responsibility for all the other levels as well. One level includes the other and, from the global perspective, it has been: 'The global other is in our midst' (Beck & Grande, 2010: 194-195).¹

How to teach history classes nowadays knowing that it is difficult to separate the three levels – local, national, global – from one another without including perspectives from the other levels and most important to reflect their inclusion in larger contexts with respect to the global perspective?

In addition people do not live just their local or national life, but are at home in several identities; history topics cannot be taught by separating and distributing them on the mentioned levels.

Here is one example which shows how a local topic is taught traditionally and how it could be taught today:

In a German history textbook from 1996 19th century German industrialization is the topic (Geschichte und Geschehen, 1996: 169-70). One chapter 'The rise of a modern City' deals with the local level and shows the growth of Berlin when lots of people migrated to the city looking for jobs. The city was expanding dramatically. The textbook mentions the newly built train and metro lines, the newly created spaces of industries, and shows the growth of the city on a map. Students are able to recognize today's map of Berlin with its former suburbs, now being part of the city and with its former places of industries. The chapter ends with asking the students to compare the former city with the city today, spot the places where in former times industries were located, and plan a guided tour for today, showing where the old places have been and what is there today. This makes sense, especially if a special event is to be remembered or architectural city-planning is intended to be studied.

In today's history classes you probably would not want to end the chapter with the comparison between the former map and today's, but relate it to broader problem oriented questions: Why did Berlin lose its former industrial places? What kind of industry was it? Which ones do we need for the present and for the future? Are there better places for specific industries somewhere else in Germany or at other locations in the world? How did life in industrial cities change? Who migrated to

the city? What about the living conditions, for the poor and for the rich? Is the former situation of a growing city comparable with the situation of today's megacities in other parts of the world?

Such questions or similar ones would be adequate, because they could open up students' minds for the inclusion of local phenomena in national and global contexts and deal with broader problems of the nation and the world. This way thinking skills and reflection would be stressed. Teaching the topic today differs from teaching it 20 years ago. It is necessary to think and reflect on the problems of the present while studying the past. This means that students will learn about new and multiple perspectives. As a consequence, they will be more interested in information about the past, because their own everyday or world problems will be touched upon and dealt with. Combining the local, the national and the global will be essential. Certainly, local and national history topics continue to be important. They should not be given up or reduced, but should be taught in an open and globalizing way, starting with problems of today, which mostly have a global dimension.²

3. A Fourth Dimension: Big History

For one or two decades, in addition to the three dimensions a fourth one has come up. It deals with the history of humankind in a cosmological perspective. 'Big History' deals with these problems, e.g. by bringing together the history of humans with all their ingenuity, inventions, and progressive developments on the one hand and the frightening ecological perspectives and threatening catastrophes on the other hand.³

In this direction new narratives are constructed in an interdisciplinary way by archeologists, historians, sociologists, economists, physicists and others. They try to integrate human history with the history of the globe and of the cosmos. The most recent period of a very long term cosmological-global development is sometimes called the Anthropocene, which is seen as having been shaped by humans, and is threatened by them with all their not always responsibly applied technological knowledge and inventions (e.g. Renn & Scherer, 2015).

Taking up this perspective, one cannot teach topics of history, especially industrialization without teaching about problems of

worldwide pollution, climate change, energy production, the risk of nuclear incidents and the threatening exhaustion of natural resources. Consequently the local, the national, the global dimensions of history should be supplemented with the ecological-cosmological dimensions of Big History.

4. How Can This Be Done?

A first proposal is easily manageable: one can start with a local history topic of present concern or importance – otherwise it may be left out! –, and contextualize it with respect to national or/and global frameworks, that means to nationalize or globalize it. The example of growing cities during industrialization shows how this is possible: by asking questions or giving work tasks which have a broader meaning and show the relevance of the local topic for the nation or for the world, by making the topic glocal. Even the local question of water supply for a big city may gain a cosmological dimension and concern by relating it to the shortage of the natural water resources, e.g. in Mexico City (Radkau, 2011: 169) or other cities and specific regions in the world.⁴

A second proposal: Having in mind a broad present day problem, like the relation between religion and state, labor and leisure time, unemployment and social injustice or similar ones of global concern, it is possible to use such problem oriented questions to globalize national topics. The national topic or problem of migration should not be taught without looking at different reasons for migration worldwide, even if the topic is primarily of local or national-historical interest, e. g. the migration of Huguenots to Prussia in the 17th century or the migration of Germans to the U. S. in the 19th century. It would be a chance left out if one taught these topics without looking at the migration problems of today and their special reasons. Such broadening of the topic will make students more willing to look into and study the past because this way they will learn something for their present life, too.

Both ways of teaching – from the local to the global and to the ecological perspective of Big History or the other way around – have in common that they either start or end with a problem of the present, which is of relevance for the public outside the classroom and for the students in the classroom with or without migration backgrounds.

Specialized history topics will remain important, but will gain broader and new perspectives for a better orientation in the everyday world.

A third way of treating the three or four levels of history topics together derives from history research on global history and global perspectives. In most of the research on global history nowadays done at universities, it is stressed that global perspectives should deal with encounters, entanglements, and transnational or global influences between countries, regions, and peoples. (e.g. Conrad & Randeria, 2011: 11, 17-22) In this sense many studies deal with shared histories of two or more countries in several respects. In the meantime authors have experimented with bi-national or tri-national textbooks.⁵ They concentrate on the relations and entanglements between the histories of two or three countries, like France and Germany.

Historians have dealt with entanglements and encounters between colonizers and colonies in many different ways. Colonizing and colonized countries have influenced each other in both directions and have shared histories in a lot of respects: cultural, social, economic, political and much more. After the end of colonialism shared histories nevertheless went on in a lot of cases. Of course entanglements, encounters should be taught in history classes, not only with the help of bi- or tri-national textbooks, but also with respect to traditional history topics.

One example in a global sense: the invention and diffusion of the 'Spinning Jenny' and the mechanical weaving loom in Great Britain in the 18th century had an immense influence on local people in other parts of Europe, the Silesian Weavers e.g., weaving by hand and becoming bitterly poor, because of technological and economical competition. For this type of influence and entanglement there will be a lot of examples, starting with topics from the ancient world up to the present day on the local, national or global level. There will be examples for customs, music, science, religions, goods, treaties, close alliances and much more. This way traditional subject matters get a new twist, being much more interesting for students, opening up their minds and teaching about important relations with other countries or people. They become aware that they do not live in an enclave of their own local or national surroundings, and that people of the past never did so, either.

Concerning shared history, the teaching of imperialism may today include the results of postcolonial studies. Even the relatively short period of German colonialism shows a lot of encounters between the

colonies and the colonial power, with long lasting effects until nowadays. Studies found out, e.g., that German missionary schools sent missionaries to the colonies with their traditional slogan 'ora et labora'. This kind of thinking contributed to the stereotype of the 'lazy black people' in the colonies. This debate about 'lazy people' (Arbeitsscheue) in Africa spilled over into the debates about 'deserving' and 'non-deserving' poor in Germany. So it contributed not only to racism against Africans, but also to the interpretation of social problems at home, including the decision of who should be sent into workhouses (Conrad, 2004: 111-21).

5. Teaching with Global and Big History Curricula

The U. S. has been pioneering in global history research for decades, and therefore curricula for teaching Global or World History courses in U.S. American High Schools and Colleges were worked out early. Since the late 1990s a free online curriculum exists for use in schools.⁶ This Curriculum integrates all levels, it distinguishes nine eras, and it is structured chronologically and systematically. Chronologically the most relevant and influential historical changes and turning points in history are used as structuring principles. The first era is called 'Humans in the Universe, 13 Billion – 200 000 years ago', the second 'Human Beings Almost Everywhere, 200 000 – 10 000 Years ago', and the ninth and last one 'Paradoxes of Global Acceleration, 1945 – Present'.⁷ Each era is presented in a kind of 'panorama' – overview of the whole world at the mentioned time in ecological-(Big History), economic, cultural, and political respects. Then, broad 'landscapes' are presented, e.g. 'From the Mediterranean to India: An Age of Greek and Persian Power 600 – 200 BCE'. Afterwards, for each era, 'close-ups' of national and local history are selected topics. In this way national and local history are embedded in broader ecological-cosmological and global narratives. They show up at their time, can be followed through several eras, depending on their starting point in the history of the whole world.

In the framework of this curriculum national or local history cannot be presented in a very detailed way; a lot has to be left out in contrast to the traditional nation centered curricula, but students may gain a better understanding of the world, in which they live. They may understand the entanglements between all four levels as well as the

connections and the belonging together of the different aspects and parts of history. They even might gain a feeling for a collective responsibility for the endangered human and ecological world, the 'one world' we have.⁸

Another curriculum started nearly at the same time, the 'Big History' curriculum.⁹ Around the world high schools are teaching history classes according to this curriculum. Here Big History starts with the Big Bang and follows the history of humankind and cosmological timespace up to the present. The courses are taught in an interdisciplinary way by teachers of biology, chemistry, physics, and of course history.

In the framework of this curriculum, because of the immense range of Big History, local and national history will only be taught as far as it is affected by big events or historical turning points. For example, the thesis is that the Mongols, in the 13th century, had to leave their normal living places because of ecological and cosmological reasons, since a long lasting drought forced them to find other places to live. In this context different national histories can be inserted since the Mongols conquered several countries. Big History aims to show selectively the whole of humankind and cosmological changes together. Local and national history are brought into this broad narrative, e.g. at special turning points or with respect to their contributions to world history, influencing humankind and the cosmos in important ways.¹⁰

6. Conclusion

Concerning the question, how to handle local, national and global history topics in the classroom, the three last examples, two from global, one from Big History, clearly suggest that national, local, and transnational – either global or 'Big' – history topics can indeed be linked and taught together. But in these approaches national and local topics have to demonstrate their relevance and their connectedness worldwide, maybe at important turning points or with contributions like inventions, victories, defeats or discoveries which changed the world.

In contrast to this proposal of teaching with a global or even Big History curriculum in several countries, not only in Europe, there was and still is a lot of discussion about a canon of national history matters to be known and learned by heart by every history student. But from

the point of view of a global perspective this would not be adequate any more. From the curricula, debates and practices in the U.S., German and other European countries may learn a lot in respect of teaching with global or Big History perspectives: 'think globally, act locally; think locally, act globally'. (Symcox, 2009: 46) But the pioneers of this new teaching approach, the National Standards of World History, had to fight for it in the 90s and face many controversies, some even spoke of 'History or Culture War' (Nash et al., 1997). In the meantime compromises emerged: in many High Schools three separate history courses are taught: National History, Western Civilization and Global History. But unfortunately only in the Global or World History Classes the three dimensions of the local, national and global are brought together and studied with relevant questions of today, although it is said that Western Civilization Courses may open up for globalizing history topics. (Dunn, 2009: 57-60)

Even though there are no global or Big-History curricula in Germany or other European countries, the existing history curricula of mostly traditional national perspectives and narratives could open up for globalizing national and local history and be open for ecological Big History perspectives and questions.

Notes

¹ This quotation seems to me very much to the point, I used it already several times in articles and in talks.

² Globalizing national history is recommended e.g. by Popp, 2003 and Stearns & Frankel, 2008 (especially the articles by Stearns and Gillis).

³ www.ibhanet.org (5.01.2016).

⁴ spiegel.de SPIEGELONLINE WISSENSCHAFT (11.05.2016) Frank Patalong: Drohende Wasserknappheit (3.11.2011).

⁵ There are textbooks between Germany and France, finished since years; Germany and Poland, which will come out; Japan, Korea and China, which already exists.

⁶ It was written by university professors at San Diego University and at the 'National Center for History in the Schools' of the University of California, Los Angeles, <http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu> (3.01.2016).

⁷ Under Coursera of the online curriculum www.ibhanet.org (14.05.2016).

⁸ For global history at high schools and colleges there exists a very heavy and big textbook – also online – besides the already existing online curriculum, titled: 'Panorama' – A World History – by Ross E. Dunn and Laura J. Mitchell (2015). It is compatible with the online curriculum of 'worldhistoryforusall', although it reduces the nine eras to seven. For each era there is an overview and four to six landscapes with individual topics about empires, outstanding individuals – men

and women! – and each with a discussion about the stage of research on the specific subject. Sources are integrated in the chronological and topical narratives.

⁹ www.ibhanet.org (5.01.2016) 'There are all the data about 'Big History'', including the curriculum under HOME Coursera.

¹⁰ 'Big History Classes' are taught in the digital classroom. Material, work tasks and even exams are done online. Online tests and exams can be done worldwide at the same scheduled time. Big History classes, teachers, and students are connected with each other and may communicate easily.

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LOCAL, NATIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVEL IN HISTORY TEACHING IN ESTONIA

Mare Oja

The teaching of history has always sought a reasonable balance between the expansion of knowledge and the development of skills, between different dimensions of teaching history (political, economic, social, cultural, history of ideas) and emphasis (distant past or recent history). The question of what the local, national and global historical relationship should be, has been an important point in the development process of the national curriculum, as well as in history syllabi, since the re-independence of Estonia. All three levels have always been supported by various arguments, but with slightly different emphasis, content and examples. There have always been those among teachers and students, who sympathise with the local or global level, and those, who praise the importance of the national history. The national curriculum represents an agreement, which was reached after weighing different opinions. It was influenced particularly by the history of education and experience in history teaching in Estonia, social developments and processes in Europe and the world beyond.

1. The Soviet Time and Period of Transformation

During the Soviet time, history was learned and researched in Estonia as in the Soviet Union. The initial training of future history teachers, as well as research work, was held in Tartu State University in 1944-1973, in the faculty of history and language, which was divided into two separate faculties in 1973. After the Second World War, the faculty of history included the departments of history of Estonia and archaeology, which were united with the department of the history of the Soviet Union in 1949. So, since 1950 there were only departments of the history of the Soviet Union and the department of general history. It was possible to research the problems of Soviet Estonia and other Baltic Sea countries under the department of the history of the Soviet Union. Most of the topics were political turning points of the 20th century, which were treated from the Soviet Union point of view. But topics of the Estonian peasantry and demography, as well as the relationship between Russia and Estonia from the 9th to 13th century, were also researched. Topics like the Estonian economy and culture in the Swedish time, the Estonian economy, social history and settlement,

were researched under the department of general history.¹ Departments of social sciences, like departments of history of the Communist Party, philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, were for the whole university and supported studies in all faculties. The main task of these faculties was to teach the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to develop the students' communist worldview.²

Since 1947, scientific research was held in the Institute of History under the Academy of Science. Institutes followed the approved research plans. Research topics were based on the main stipulation of the Soviet science: to build the Soviet Unions' economy and culture up quickly and efficiently. Topics of the Estonian peasantry and the working class after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the history of building up Soviet society and the economy of the Estonian Socialist Republic held the main position in history. The Communist Party also considered Estonians' relations with their neighbours an important area for research. Researchers of the Institute of History were interested in topics of earlier periods, but not after 1917,³ because of their politicization. Priit Raudkivi, who was director of the Institute of History in 1994-2006, remembers that research topics were divided into periods, like the history of feudalism. In every period, the most important topics were the history of peasantry and the working class, which all the research topics had to relate to. In the end, it was possible to research only topics which had been approved in Moscow.⁴

Programmes for general education, developed in Moscow, were common in all regions of the USSR. It was possible to learn the history of Soviet Estonia as part of the history of the Soviet Union and from the Soviet point of view. History of the World was learned independently, not as part of the general periodisation. The aim of history teaching was ideological – the development of the Soviet person. Historical development was treated as the movement from class society to a classless society. Historical narrative contained, either directly or indirectly, the guiding role of the great Russian people and the motive of assisting the neighbouring nations in shaping history. There was no creative freedom and self-determination, as programmes prescribed all topics of learning, the time and the order of handling to teachers. Inspectors checked compliance to the program. The question of whether to focus on local, European or world history, was answered in Moscow and there was no opportunity for teachers to take their

understanding into account. The history of the Soviet Union held the centre in learning history.

This was the starting position in education for the modernization of history teaching, which began after the teachers' congress in 1987. In such a situation, the most important issue was to get rid of ideologization in history teaching. The second step was to include national history in the history syllabus. When the independence of the state was restored, national history had a very important place, which was reflected in increased interest of both pupils and the general public towards the history of Estonia. It was a reaction to Soviet-era history teaching, which treated the history of Estonia in a superficial and biased way. Students wanted to learn about history and teachers tried to meet their desire in every way – they searched for additional material in the press, because history literature was Soviet, and new textbooks to match the developed curricula had not been published yet. The important position of Estonian history was reflected mostly in the interest of pupils and teachers getting to know about the past of their country, because it was not part of the history syllabus in Soviet time. So-called white spots – chapters of history – were filled carefully, because they were known little or not at all.

The first reprocessed program in 1988 was still Soviet, but there was an attempt to incorporate topics on the history of Estonia. Teachers were advised to establish links between teaching about the same phenomenon in various countries, for example, when teaching about the enlightenment, to also speak of August Wilhelm Hupel's activities in Estonia,⁵ in order to overcome the separation of the people of the USSR from world history.⁶ Estonian Russian-speaking schools generally did not follow these changes, but continued to teach history according to the same structure and content as in the USSR, teaching only general history and the history of the USSR. The history of Estonia was not systematically taught, only topics parallel to the course of the Soviet Union and its basis were covered.⁷ Some Russian-speaking schools, however, tried to follow the changes taking place in education and emphasised that every inhabitant of Estonia should also know the history of the people they lived amongst.⁸

In the programme of 1989, history teaching was built up in chronological order, as world history, which included the history of Estonia. The biggest change in the programme was that the inclusion of a special systematic course (70 hours)⁹ of history of Estonia at

gymnasium level, for three hours per week.¹⁰ Topics, which had to be followed by teachers, were described in the programme. The aim of teaching the history of Estonia¹¹ was to develop understanding about the history of Estonia in the wider context of world history. All areas and cultural contacts with other countries were acknowledged. So – getting to know the history of Estonia was extremely important, but the greater emphasis was on world history. The history of Estonia was taught in three courses in gymnasium, but general history was taught in nine courses. History was taught two lessons per week in the basic school level (5th to 9th grade). The history of Estonia was integrated into European and world history. Local history was not important at that time. It was taught in elementary school (1st to 3rd grade), the aim was to develop the course of country-study – a combination of history and natural science.

2. Developments in the Estonian Republic (since 1991)

During the period of re-independence, the development of historical consciousness and identity became important through history teaching.¹² It was opposed to Soviet society, which valued the overall mass of people, but not individuality. Access to information and the opportunity to participate in decision-making was important in the development of identity. For that reason the development of identity was important, but not the main aim of history teaching. The most important aim was development of knowledge and understanding, which help the person decide and develop his/her own personal identity, and not to exaggerate the sense of national feeling.¹³ The danger of exaggeration was realized and for that reason it was underlined *that there is a need to develop strong regional feeling. Nurturing patriotism should not develop a negative attitude towards other nations.*¹⁴

3. National Curriculum 1992

The main principle of the national curriculum (1992) after the re-independence of Estonia formulated the need to consider the geographical closeness, cultural unity and intensity of historical interaction. The principle of moving from the closest surroundings to further means that learning starts with getting familiar with the home place, the history of Estonia and moving from the history of the Baltic Sea region to the history of Western culture and to the history of the

world, which was considered in particular as the history of Asia and Africa. The learning principle was chronological and thematic, approximate and detailed.¹⁵ The local-national-global scale sought to find a balance and treat all topics fairly. The nation-centred approach of the late 1980s had subsided. The opportunity to study unknown chapters of the history of Estonia became part of learning history and the proportions of the emphases of the history syllabus were equilibrated.

4. National Curriculum 1996

Basic principles of the first national curriculum (1996), which also directed emphasis in the history syllabus, framed the basic values of the general part of the curriculum. The education goals stood for the *preservation and development of the Estonian nation and culture, while also taking into account the Estonian society's trend to integrate with Europe*. The main task of general education was *the development of the personality that identifies himself as a member of the nation, as a citizen, feeling collective responsibility for the future of Europe and the world*.¹⁶ The general part of the curriculum clearly referred to the need to maintain the culture, but also a clear intention to become European. Membership of European political associations was seen as premise of the state's survival, existing cultural links were highlighted through the long history.

The history syllabus was structured concentrically – this approach was reached by analysing the Swedish experience in history teaching. This meant that in the basic school the world, particularly European (and also Estonian) history was learned from the oldest time to the present and in the gymnasium the so-called second round was completed, but with different emphases. The independent course of history of Estonia covered the history of the Baltic Sea States from the oldest period to the end of the 19th century. The history of the 20th century of Estonia was part of the recent history course. The course of world history from ancient times until the early 20th century was built on the priorities of: man, society and culture.¹⁷ This idea developed during the curriculum development process in 1992. The main idea of the course put emphasis on the history of culture, including the history of mentality, everyday life and gave an understanding of how people lived, dressed, behaved, etc. Until this

time, despite reform efforts, history teaching centred very much on politics (wars).

5. National Curriculum 2002

Amendments and additions introduced to the National Curriculum (2002) were necessitated by working according to the previous curriculum (1996). However, some additions were made due to the development of society. For example, the development of national culture, but also the cultural identities of ethnic minorities.¹⁸ The latter was due to the desire of recognising various cultures in the Estonian society. The general principles of the syllabi were not revised. Introduced amendments were editorial, rather than substantive, and aimed to make the syllabus more compact and logical. The number of examples was reduced and some topics were re-assembled. Only the most typical examples were chosen to describe the general phenomenon. The topic Industrial countries in recent history in 9th grade had to deal with the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany as examples. *The Baltic Sea region and Asia, Africa and Latin America between the two world wars, as well as the countries of Eastern Europe and the Nordic countries after the Second World War, and global problems* were removed. *The disintegration of empire after the Second World War and the Restoration of Estonia's independence* were added.¹⁹ The introduced changes resulted from the need to make the curriculum more feasible for students and give more space to focusing on academic issues. In addition to the history of the world, similar changes were made in the course of Estonian history. It does not mean that the importance of world history is lower. Topics were aggregated for generalisation in gymnasium level,²⁰ and as in the basic school, the most typical examples were chosen. The course of the history of Estonia became more Estonian-centred. Inclusion of the Baltic Sea region was abandoned. The reason for the change was to avoid possible superficiality in the learning process – not enough time to concentrate on certain topics. The principle of multiperspectivity was emphasized more than ever before. The aim was to open various angles and positions of the interpretation of historical events.

6. National Curriculum 2011

The next national curriculum (currently valid) was adopted in 2011. For an interim period of nine years Estonia joined the European Union and NATO. Due to the enlarged labour market, Estonians went to work elsewhere. Society was in development. The topics of student-centred education, research based learning, expanded learning environment, increasingly wider use of digital tools, young people even as the e-generation²¹, the changed role of the pupil and the teacher were increasingly under discussion in education. Internet and social networks will bring globality to every learner.²² Therefore the development of curricula steered the following keywords: greater integration, taking into account and support of each learner, the expansion of the learning environment outside of the school building, the forming of values.

Local history has been highlighted in the basic school history syllabus. Teachers are advised to use examples from local history in dealing with various historical topics. Since learning must be personally meaningful for pupils, examples of local history help to bring abstract and distant topics closer to pupils. It is also suggested that the history of culture and everyday life be taught more, compared to political history. History teaching is seen as an opportunity, to enhance both the value of national culture and cultural diversity.²³ The history of Estonia is integrated into world history in basic school. The principle of teaching topics moves from the closer to the wider, also with the aim of creating a personal connection to the topic being learned. In basic school, the human-centred approach towards history is used. The focus is on the culture and way of living, compared to other dimensions of history teaching. The goal is not intended to prejudice the completion of a comprehensive picture of the history of the world, but to create a bridge between the past and the events and phenomena of modern history.²⁴ Compared to the previous National Curriculum, a stronger focus is put on everyday life, culture and local history, however, in practice, political history still dominates in school. The principle of teaching history from the nearest to furthest, from home to the world, originated from 1989.

By contrast, changes in the structure of the upper secondary school syllabus are great, when compared to the previous (2002) history syllabus. There are six compulsory courses and one of them is general

history, but additionally it is possible to teach general history in two optional courses.²⁵ It is expected that the reduction in the volume of compulsory courses of general history is compensated by adding topics of general history into the history of Estonia, before the bigger topics, as background information, to put the history of Estonia into a broader framework. This decision was preceded by a thorough discussion in the History Teachers' Association and in the development group of the history syllabus. Pupils' opinion was also taken into account. Teachers were used to teaching the course *Human, society, culture* in 105 hours per year. On the other hand, it was necessary to decide, which courses would be compulsory and which optional, as the number of compulsory courses in history was reduced. Most of the teachers thought that the history of Estonia should be compulsory. The argument was that it is important to know the history of the country you live in. It provides understanding of who we are, where we come from, helps us to understand today's society, and to imagine future trends. Critics felt that the older Estonian history has been given too much time. It was pointed out that for members of today's society, it is important to understand the recent past. These arguments resulted in two courses for the history of Estonia and two and three courses for recent history. The courses of recent history also include the history of Estonia, with an overview of the essential topics of world history preceding large thematic blocks of Estonian history. So, only one course is dedicated to the earlier history of the world. Supporters of the decision gave the argument that basic school level is world history-centred. Critics have found that many of today's questions arise from the distant past, and such a brief overview does not provide enough opportunity to learn about the European culture. This could be compensated with the optional courses: General history – World History: civilizations outside of Europe; General history – history of European countries and the United States. However, the history of optional courses may not be top priority for students and schools. All the arguments which emerged in the discussion are valid. However, the decision must be made regarding, which topics belong to the common part compulsory for all pupils, and with consideration of what kind of possibilities could be used to support an individual approach to deal with topics in depth.

7. Conclusion of Trends to Teach Local, National and Global History

In conclusion, it can be noted, that local, national and global aspects have always been part of history teaching in Estonia. The emphasis has changed over time to a certain extent. Re-independence of Estonia made it possible to research and study Estonian history, and also provided the opportunity to have a European approach towards history. Before that both Estonian and world history were addressed from a biased Soviet point of view. The principle from near to further is given more emphasis in basic school, because of the pedagogical point of view – it is easier for younger pupils to understand history through personal involvement and when the teacher uses examples, which are already known from the local region. Future trends are taken into account for choosing topics for gymnasium level – what kind of knowledge and skills will the young need for living in tomorrow's society. The balance of local, national and world history in the history syllabus cannot be precisely defined, because the open curriculum gives teachers the right to decide the length and depth of learning different topics, when they move towards achievement of learning outcomes. It is possible to compare the number of courses. According to the national curriculum (2011), in gymnasium it is two for Estonian history and four for world history, three of which are for recent history. Also, this ratio is not quite adequate, because three of recent history courses include subjects of Estonian history.

8. Future Developments

What about future developments? Development of the national curriculum will start again in 2017. The world around us is changing. If we want today's students to receive the best possible preparation as future decision-makers, then the aims of history teaching must be analysed and re-evaluated during the development. Today's central application – development of critical thinking – will certainly be important tomorrow as well. In addition to the expected skills like cooperation, independent and creative thinking, analytical skills, etc., it is necessary to re-assess the content of the subject. This should be done not only at the level of state-approved curriculum, but each teacher must ask if the aim of history teaching is to develop pride and

shame through a strong sense of ethnic history or prioritize democratic values, or to find reasons from the past to explain today's developments, or seek instead some other purpose. Is it important to support the national identities of people living in Europe with open borders to feel at home and not leave home/homeland easily, but keep and preserve national cultural values? Or is the future of ethnic assimilation an inevitable phenomenon? What can history teaching do to relieve global problems, such as conflicts, migration crisis, etc.? On the one hand, to develop empathy and tolerance, but on the other hand to seek solutions through analogies in history. To analyse processes with the students, their causes and consequences, and to try to find possible solutions, taking into account that the world is not static, i.e. current and past situations are not exactly the same.

Teaching material supports the achievement of learning outcomes in compulsory subjects of the curriculum. Additional teaching materials are prepared to follow the emphasis of curriculum. In 2011–2013, teachers willing to learn about local history developed, in collaboration with the museum staff, the History of the culture of Estonia, which includes 17-books from all counties and the two largest cities of Tallinn and Tartu.²⁶ The books are structured like the periodisation in the history syllabus. Each period is covered with the most characteristic examples, information texts and worksheets with tasks for pupils. The teacher can use the history of culture as a parallel textbook, adding the corresponding examples to a broader topic or period. Therefore, it provides the possibility to become more familiar with home surroundings, and broader historical processes and events become more understandable.

To get to know the basic sources of Estonian history, the assets of the national culture, 90 lesson plans were developed by teachers and museum and archive pedagogues,²⁷ which can be used for learning in museums or archives. The information list for teachers includes a description of the topic, a link to the history syllabus, learning outcomes and different parts of the lesson. Based on this information, the teacher can decide, whether it would be more effective to study the topic in an out-of-school environment or to invite partners to run the lesson in school. The central objective is once again the use of local examples for better understanding of the bigger picture.

After Estonia's accession to the European Union, the proportion of promotional materials increased. Study material compilers were from both Estonian and European structures. It was hoped that

selection of study material guarantees a greater attention to the topics in the learning process. For example, during the International Year (2015), the Handbook for teachers: Assistance of international development was compiled and translated into Estonian. The purpose of the handbook is to provide support to teachers in communicating the results of the European Union as the largest donor of development aid in the world to young people, future decision-makers, and to help them understand global problems better. The handbook contains information text, lesson plans and student worksheets.²⁸

World education in the broadest sense is introduced by the Estonian independent NGO Mondo since 2008, which works on global education and humanitarian assistance and cooperation²⁹. They support teachers by training and teaching materials.³⁰

9. Teachers' and Pupils' Opinion – Answers to the Questionnaire

However, the national curriculum, including the history syllabus, is an agreement between decision-makers, even if all interested people could contribute in the debate. Therefore, I asked the list of history teachers for their opinion, as to what they considered to be the most reasonable balance between local, national and world history. I asked them to forward the questionnaire to their pupils as well. There were only three questions: 1. To what extent should history teaching include local, national and world history? Please give arguments, why; 2. Should the balance be different at basic school and gymnasium level? Please give arguments, why; 3. Please bring specific examples, topics or problems from local, national and global level, of what should be taught in history in Estonian schools. Please give arguments, why. The questionnaire was forwarded by Google Form and attachment as well on 14th of December. Answers were expected until the end of 2015. I received 27 answers: from 21 teachers and from 6 pupils. 10 teachers work in basic school (5 male and 5 female), 11 teachers work in gymnasium (6 male and 5 female). Six pupils (3 male and 3 female) learn at the gymnasium level. The answers illustrate the opinion of both teachers and pupils – to what extent do they agree with the balance of the national curriculum and what kind of expectations they have. As the opinions of the teachers were very different, the opinions of pupils are not similar either. I did not prepare a review of

respondent group, but provided an overview of the individual opinions with reasons.

All respondents agreed that local, national and world history should be represented in history teaching, but there was disagreement on how much time each of the levels should be given. The reason for covering all areas was based on the need to complete the whole picture. Opinions about proportion vary from one extreme to another. There were those who thought that local history is the most important – it will be the beginning; as well as those, who found that local history will be presented to people in other ways, and history of the world should be primarily learnt – we are, after all, citizens of the world. Expectations of all the represented groups were very different. The same or similar opinion was not represented by the students, primary school teachers or secondary school teachers.

Four of the respondents thought that world history, national and local history should be equally represented, as ... *orientation in general history is required, because it is the general framework, as far as it affects and is affected by the local and contemporary processes ... More and more important in understanding what has happened in today's world is to have knowledge about Oriental history ... Local history requires appreciation for both reasons: to have knowledge about the living environment and in terms of identity formation... Without having knowledge about national history one cannot compare it with the history of other nations, to see parallels, similarities and differences. ... For example, what occurred in the Orient, while the Reformation took place in Europe.* Respondents also expressed their opinion on the approach of history teaching: *local should be learned and understood in a global context. ... Both support each other ... Estonian history should be treated in the context of Eastern and Western European culture.*

Five respondents considered Estonian history to be the priority. The reason for this stated that it is easier for pupils to make connections through acquaintance: *Understanding the surrounding world begins from the knowledge of the history of own country and people.* The need to know the history of the native land was emphasized: *every citizen of Estonia should be aware of how the Estonian Republic was born and what happened in our country before the establishment of the Republic.* Such citizen-centred reason was pointed out by the pupils.

Overall, it was noted that the proportion of world, national and local history depends on the school level: *In an earlier age should have more local and national history, which gives a good platform to move forward in the direction of world history. The principle could be from closer to wider, to start with*

local history and move to national and world-level. To follow this it might be possible to develop connections and retain the interest. The history syllabus of the current national curriculum follows the described principles.

Satisfaction with the current curriculum was expressed by another (student's) opinion: The current system is good: *history of Estonia is studied during two/ three years.*³¹

The largest representation of world history was requested by five respondents. There was also the opinion that there should be more topics from history of distant lands: *Otherwise, the horizons are limited only with history of Europe and North America.* One respondent explained the greater role of world history with changes in the world, which could help to understand today's challenges: *Changes that occur at the global level (globalization, refugee-crisis, climate change, human rights violations, growing inequality between countries, wars and conflicts, etc.) affect our economic and social well-being more and more.* However, the extension of knowledge is not enough, but the emphasis should be put on development of skills, attitudes and values, which help students become active and responsible citizens of the world. It was confirmed in reply that the scarcity of this perspective in the Estonian education system was also noted in the Estonian Human Development Report 2014/2015.³² The activities of international organizations were referred to, when emphasizing the importance of world education and sustainable development in education.³³

Specific proportions of local, national and world history were proposed: *in the basic (contemporary) school 90 % should be world history and local together with the national history 10 %; on the gymnasium level world history should be 75-80 % and local together with the national history 20 to 25 % (or one special course and some topics in other courses).* There were also other opinions: 15 % local history, 40 % national history and 45 % world history. The latter represents the above-described principle: from closer to wider. Equal representation of Estonian and world history was the preference of four responses.

The opinion of most responders was that the primary school history syllabus has an almost ideal proportion of the local, national and world history.³⁴ There were expectations of a higher representation of Estonian history: *as basic school is compulsory and all students do not continue in upper secondary school, the history of the homeland should be learned in this school level.* The respondent, however, stressed the need for a broader

context, Estonian history must not remain separate, but be integrated into the world's history.

One respondent felt that national history has too much space in gymnasium level – *Estonian history is taught throughout the year (two courses, 70 hours all together). It should be limited to half a year (one course).* Nationality was not specified in the questionnaire, but the respondent himself added a comment: *Estonians may love it, but for me, being a Russian, it is somewhat dull.* On the other hand the same person thinks that *high school students are aware of where they live, and must therefore be thoroughly familiar with the history of county and country.* But once again, the need for inclusion in the context of world history was underlined, which gives the event/topic broader significance and meaning, and that today's perspective and relations should not be overlooked.

To the question of whether local, national and world history should be taught differently in basic school and gymnasium, 16 respondents answered yes and 7 no. The attitude was unclear in four responses. 10 of those who supported difference in basic school and gymnasium thought that the principle from close to wider is reasonable: there should be more local and national history in the basic school and problems of the world history in gymnasium. They justify their position by the fact that for the primary school pupils are closer to their neighbourhood and the history of Estonia, which makes it easier to relate to. It was also brought out that it might be possible to develop respect towards homeland in working with younger pupils: *young people are more susceptible and their understanding of the world is in development and hopefully it is possible to develop at the same time patriotism and also lay the foundation to the wider picture of the world.* The importance of Estonian history was justified with the argument that *it is the only country in the world where it is taught.* However, the relationship between creation and the history of the world context is necessary in any case: *Local history is a good place to start, but local events are mostly caused at national or international level.* Learning world history in gymnasium was justified with pupils' broad-minded and more advanced analytical skills: *... are able to understand the problems ... have broader horizons, might look at the world beyond.*

Six respondents felt that learning in basic school should start with world history, because elementary school is compulsory and it should provide a basic knowledge of history. Two respondents considered world history more interesting to students: *since learning in primary school must be interesting for pupils, it seems to me that to them learning is only a matter of interest, then history of as many countries as possible should be taught, in order*

to cultivate students' interest towards the subject. Estonia's history could be represented with examples, but world history should dominate, possibly in ratio of 70:30. Another respondent suggested proportions: 10 % local, 20 % national and 70 % world history, precisely because primary school students *are not able to analyse more deeply, but need to acquire a broader understanding of the history of mankind.* Increasing the importance of local history in gymnasium was seen as a possibility to get *to know their country's past in more depth, which could help to find themselves.* Respondents believed that high school students learn more consciously and thus their getting to know local and national history would be more effective than in the basic school.

The question of overlap of basic and secondary school programs arose. One teacher saw this as justification to put emphasis on local and national history in basic school and deal with the problems of world history in gymnasium. One student thought that the periods of history could be divided between basic school and gymnasium, *just not to waste time of re-learning the old thing (the most important things can be repeated for introduction).*

Those who responded that the proportion of the local, national and world history should not be different in basic school and gymnasium used an argument, that primary school builds the foundation which will be strengthened at the next school level. There were also arguments that local and national history are in basic school as important as world history and if *the education for sustainable development and global education topics could begin in basic school, then it is possible to continue with similar themes in the third recent history course.*

The third question was asked to provide specific examples of issues that should definitely be a part of the curriculum, and to justify the choice.

Respondents gave examples mainly contained in the history syllabus, highlighting some specific event or process. Perhaps the topics of syllabus are in accordance with the teachers' perception of necessary and appropriate subject content or teachers are simply accustomed to dealing with topics of the syllabus and therefore these seem to be the most important. Four respondents, who all were teachers, repeated the topics of gymnasium recent history course about the 20th century or agreed with the syllabus and found it unnecessary to add anything further.

Medieval Tallinn was offered as a typical example of local history in learning the medieval time. Ida-Virumaa³⁵ was also proposed as an example of local history, especially the development after the Second World War in Soviet time: *the roots of our present life are in Soviet time*. Students, especially the locals, should be made aware of what happened there and why, to explain the current way of life, and the difference from other regions of Estonia. Another respondent suggested that it is important to study the genesis and evolution of the county, and to introduce interesting and broadly known historical personalities, as well as buildings and historical events that have influenced the hometown. There was also the opinion that the program of local history should be compiled not centrally but in the place (county, village), and the examples should be addressed to younger students in particular. In older school levels it is enough to relate to other topics.

In the history of Estonia, respondents brought out the formation of Estonian republic, the loss of independence, occupation and the restoration of independence. Challenges and dilemmas related to the events and periods need to be analysed. *This is the most important thing that any young people wants from history and that every society needs, that people have an adequate picture of the history*. The respondent was indeed a teacher, but I hope the opinion is based on debate with students. Other topics considered important were the foundation of Estonian territory, the development of the nation, centuries of serfdom, when the locals had a secondary position in their own country: the peasants, the landlords and the history of the manor. It was found that these topics are the backbone of the Estonian identity.

One of the respondents criticized the current curriculum, because 20th century Estonian history is integrated into general history, while the broader context is needed – it leaves little time for the analysis of the 20th century history problems. *This period, the consequences of which we are dealing with today, is interesting and meaningful for students*. Knowledge of historical figures from Estonian history was also mentioned as an important topic: *pupils know, who Konstantin Päts³⁶ and Johan Laidoner³⁷ were, smarter ones know Treaty of Tartu and who Jaan Poska³⁸ was. There are more events and personalities, who influenced history of Estonia that should be known better*.

The topics of world history were selected because of their importance in influencing the development of the world: *events and*

processes that have heavily altered societies. It is important to know why the world is what it is now.

Students were more interested in the recent history of the world and in more distant countries. Two responses emphasized the need for a better understanding of today's world: *in today's world, China is quite a dominating country, and it is important to know how it has gotten there. In addition, I would like to know about Japan's emperor, Australia, Arab countries, Africa, South America and Canada. These are states with very exciting backgrounds. It is necessary to know history of the country to understand the actual crisis of the world. Better understanding of distant countries might reduce undue fear in front of a foreign nation. ... In my opinion, there could be contemporary conflicts or conflicts from the near future in our history syllabus. Such as the Vietnam War, the Ukraine and the Russian crisis, the war in Afghanistan.* The student, who wrote the last comment, apparently had not learned the recent history, as the Vietnam War and the war in Afghanistan exist in the syllabus as examples of the Cold War. Contemporary tensions are studied in the last recent history course of gymnasium. The answer, however, shows that the student seeks answers to his political interests from school. The discussion in media may be too abstract for young people. Discussion among peers and teachers' guidance and clarifications are requested. Another respondent felt that it would be logical to focus on Western history in general history, particularly in cultural and political history: *Estonia is a small and open country, we need to know the history of the world, and European identity is increasingly important in a globalized world.*

Some specific examples are highlighted: the discovery, culture, including development and influence of art, science, technology and ideas, revolutions, important events, such as wars, the cultural upheaval, turning points, relations between different processes and the main characteristics and interchange of different periods: what and why the change took place, why historical periods are distributed in this way, as well as everyday life in different times and during changes. It was considered important to deal with the most influential nations of contemporary world, including ethnic minorities and the role and historical background of religions. It was suggested that learning about wars be concentrated on the consequences and the (negative) impact, but also the possibilities of achieving and keeping peace. History is the human story. People are looked at as individuals and members of society. On three occasions, today's important issues were highlighted, such as the refugee crisis; democracy vs. dictatorship; economic

conditions, human rights, historical reasons of migration, questions which would allow to look into the future – what the future will be. It was recommended to focus more on process than specific events.

10. Conclusion

As a conclusion of the survey, the proposals were different and sometimes countered each other. On several occasions, the current curriculum was referred to: the principle to move from closer to further was accepted and also (with certain exceptions) content choices of the history syllabus. It makes it possible to conclude that teachers can realize their own personal interests and the interests of their students within the open curriculum. In the future curriculum development process students' fascination with distant lands, which attract interest in today's world, but are not included in compulsory topics of the history syllabus, should be taken into account.

Local, national and world history were, are and should be represented in history teaching, but the proportion and specific topics should be discussed by taking into account the contemporary world and developments.

Notes

¹ Tartu Ülikooli ajalugu III. 1918-1982. Koostanud Karl Siilivask ja Hillar Palamets. Kirjastus Eesti Raamat: Tallinn, 1982, lk 248-250.

² Tartu Ülikooli ajalugu III. 1918-1982. Koostanud Karl Siilivask ja Hillar Palamets. Kirjastus Eesti Raamat: Tallinn, 1982, lk 238.

³ Ken Kalling, Erki Tammiksaar. Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia ajalugu. Arenguid ja järeltule. Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia, 2008, lk 91, 131, 136, 144: http://www.akadeemia.ee/_repository/file/PUBLIKATSIOONID/2009/Ajalugu.pdf (9.04.2016).

⁴ Interview with Priit Raudkivi, 8.14.2016.

⁵ EPAM. R20471, Uutest programmidest ja õppemeetodilisest kirjandusest 1988/89. õppeaastal. Koostanud Juta Nurmik. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Haridusministeerium, 1988, lk 21-23.

⁶ Piirimäe, H. (1989) 'Uuendame ajaloo õpetamist üldhariduskoolis', Kleio, (1), 3.

⁷ EPAM R20683. Üldhariduskooli programmid. Ajalugu V-XII klassile. Koostaja Silvia Õispuu. Tallinn, 1990, lk 10.

⁸ EPAM R27531. История Эстонии, граждановедение, человек и общество. Программа для общеобразовательных школ с русским языком обучения, профтехучилищ и техникумов. Таллинн, 1990, 3.

⁹ One course is 35 hours long in Estonian national curriculum. It means that there are 35 study weeks in a year – one hour per week.

- ¹⁰ EPAM R20469. Programmidest ja õppemetoodilisest kirjandusest 1989/90 õppeaastal. Koostanud Juta Nurmik. lk 35.; EPAM R29296. Täiendused 1988. aastal ilmunud ajaloo programmide juurde. Eesti NSV Riiklik Hariduskomitee. Autor-koostaja Silvia Õispuu. Tallinn, 1989, lk 5.
- ¹¹ Ibid, lk 27.
- ¹² Pedagoogika Arhiivmuuseum. F K44268. E. Vilde nim. Tallinna Pedagoogilise Instituudi Pedagoogikauuringute Instituut. Ajaloo-ja kodanikuõpetuse kontseptsiooni lähtekohad. 1991. aasta teadusaruanne. Käsikiri. lk 2-3.
- ¹³ Ibid, lk 45-48.
- ¹⁴ Õispuu, S. (1991) 'Ajaloõpetuse probleemid rahvusvahelisel sümposionil ja meil', *Õpetajate Leht*, (44, November 2), 4.
- ¹⁵ Õispuu, S. (1993) 'Ajaloõppekavadest', *Haridus* (5/6), 33-36.
- ¹⁶ Eesti põhi- ja keskkhariduse riiklik õppekava. Riigi Teataja I osa, Nr. 6-69, 27.09.1996, lk 1960.
- ¹⁷ Eesti põhi- ja keskkhariduse riiklik õppekava. Riigi Teataja I osa, Nr. 6-69, 27.09.1996, lisa 13: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/29725> (16.12.2015).
- ¹⁸ Põhikooli ja gümnaasiumi riiklik õppekava. Vabariigi Valituse määrus nr 56, 25.01.2002. – RT I 01.09.2002, 20, 116: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/12888846> (02.02.2015), lk 870.
- ¹⁹ Põhikooli ja gümnaasiumi riiklik õppekava. Vabariigi Valituse määrus nr 56, 25.01.2002. – RT I 01.09.2002, 20, 116,, lk 1015.
- ²⁰ Ibid, lk 1017-1018.
- ²¹ Wilson, N. (2014) *History in Crisis? Recent Directions in Historiography. Third Edition*. London: Pearson, 159.; I-Generatsioon is a generation born in 1990 and later who is living in a electronic world. The term referring to the technology company Apple brand, such as iPod, iPad, iPhone, etc. I-Generation defines itself through the use of technology and media, and the need to use technology on a daily basis. Rosen, L. 'Teaching the iGeneration', <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/feb11/vol68/num05/Teaching-the-iGeneration.aspx> (20.06.2015).
- ²² Sheldrake, R. & Watkin, N. (2013) 'Teaching the iGeneratsioon. What possibilities exist in and beyond the history classroom?', *Teaching History*, (3), 30-35.
- ²³ Põhikooli riiklik õppekava, RT I, 20.09.2011, 9, lisa 5, lk 21.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Gümnaasiumi riiklik õppekava RT I, 14.01.2011, 2, lisa 5, lk 1.
- ²⁶ Eesti kultuuriloo õppematerjal. Koostaja Mare Oja. Toimetajad Mati Laur, Kärt Jänes-Kapp, Mare Oja. EAÜS_ 2011-2013: <http://www.eays.edu.ee/aja/index.php/ajaloopetus/ajalugu/126-est-ikultuuriloo-oppematerjal-caus-2013> (16.12.2015).
- ²⁷ Tunnikavad projektis Muuseum-ja arhiiv õppekeskkonnana, 2013: <http://www.eays.edu.ee/aja/index.php/ajaloopetus/ajalugu/181-muuseum-ja-arhiiv-oppekeskkonnana> (16.12.2015).
- ²⁸ Õpetaja käsiraamat: rahvusvaheline arenguabi: https://europa.eu/eyd2015/sites/default/files/toolkit/teachers-corner/handbook/eyd-teachers-handbook_et.pdf (16.12.2015).

²⁹ Activities started in 2008 under the umbrella of the Institute of Jaan Tõnisson as Centre for World Education, since 2010 they came together with NGO Mondo. Head of Mondo Johanna Helin's clarification. Electronic correspondence 16.12.2015.

³⁰ MTÜ Mondo: www.Mindo.org.ee (16.12.2015).

³¹ Schools decide the order of the courses and organization of teaching in gymnasium level themselves. The length of one course is 35 hours. The student's response indicates that the number of courses is not mentioned in the description, but the distribution of lessons during the study period in gymnasium. (author's comment).

³² Eesti inimarengu aruanne 2014/2015: <http://www.kogu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/EIA-2015.pdf> (5.01.2016).

³³ In September 2015 the United Nations adopted the sustainable development goals of global education and highlighted the importance of education for sustainable development separately. (respondent's comment).

³⁴ History of Estonia is integrated into the world history course in the basic school level, each bigger topic is illustrated with examples of Estonian history. There is no separate course for Estonian history only. (author's comment).

³⁵ Ida-Viru county's population today is predominantly Russian-speaking. According to the 2011 census, about 20 % of Estonians living there. (author's comment).

³⁶ National character of Republic of Estonia and the first president in years 1938-1940.

³⁷ Chief of the Armed Forces of Republic of Estonia.

³⁸ 1913-1917 mayor of Tallinn, 1917 Estonian government commissioner, 1917 member of the Constituent Assembly, 1917-1919 minister, 1919-1920 Head of the Estonian delegation during the peace negotiations of Tartu Treaty.

ON THE GLOBAL – NATIONAL – REGIONAL – LOCAL LAYERS OF SLOVAK SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Barnabás Vajda

According to the present study, recent Slovak history textbooks almost exclusively concentrate on the grand narrative of West Europe and of the Slovak nation. On the one hand, practically no lower (regional or local) levels of peoples' historical consciousness is presented as 'a value' in Slovakian textbooks, on the other hand, higher levels of historical consciousness (international or global) only matter when Slovakia as a nation is reflected in or by them. The author argues that this kind of nation-centered narrative, which serves too narrowly understood national unity, is outdated.

I have analysed the content of the most contemporary Slovak history textbooks in order to find out more about their level of globalization. My main questions have been these: Has globalization as such had any effect on Slovak history textbooks? If yes, in what way? If not, why not? Further on: If globalization is indeed apparent in our textbooks, then how do they correlate with other levels of historical consciousness such as national and regional and local history, which can be considered as lower levels of historical consciousness of any individual? At the end of my research, I found this: (i) The ongoing process of globalization (understood here as a prevailing cultural context) has not had a significant impact on Slovakian history textbooks, and with very high probability, not on the history teaching of the country either. (ii) In most actual Slovak secondary school history textbooks, there is a very strong narrative of the successful Western-type-of-civilization, which 'the history of Slovakia has always been a part of'. (iii) In Slovakia, the grand narrative of national history has prevailed in secondary school history textbooks, to an extent that the appearance of local and/or regional historical events is indeed a rarity. And even when history textbooks refer to some local or regional historical events, even then these events do not appear on their own right but they purely exemplify national features on regional or local level.

1. Some General Remarks on Current Slovakian History Teaching

In the Slovak Republic, at secondary level, compulsory history teaching is in the first three years of the four-year-long secondary

schools (called 'gymnázium'), when students are 16 to 19 years old. According to the State Core Curriculum (Štátny vzdelávací program z dejepisu), there are 2 history lessons per week in the first 3 years of the secondary school. In the last year (called '4. ročník gymnázia' or Class 4) history is an optional subject, and the school-leaving exam (called 'maturita') for history is optional, too.

As far as *regional education* is concerned, it has to be noted that some school subjects other than history include learning materials (questions, tasks, projects, etc.) on local and/or regional history, such as geography, civic education, homeland studies (vlastiveda), and Slovak literature. At primary school level, there is a separate subject on local and regional culture, called Regionálna výchova a tradičná ľudová kultúra (Regional education and traditional folks culture). Regional Education is an optional school subject ('prierezový a nepovinný predmet') in classes 5 to 9, i.e. for 11 to 15 year-old-pupils. Since it is an optional subject, this lesson, however, is not taught in all schools, or if it is, than it is usually an after-school activity. According to the description by the Slovak Ministry of Education, this subject is 'organically linked with the subject of Multicultural Education', but in contrast with that, 'it deals with human values, the material and spiritual cultural heritage of the Slovak Republic even more deeply'. All in all, according to the core curriculum of the subject, Regional Education is a highly historicized subject, because its curriculum not only mentions several key historical terms ('cultural heritage'; 'our ancestors'; 'getting familiar with the history and culture of our own locality'; 'cultural identity'; 'patriotism', etc.) but it also offers topics which are explicitly part of the primary school history curricula, such as research on pupils' family trees; relation of memory and history; historical consciousness, etc.²

2. Some Methodological Remarks

I consider as important to remark that the present study is based on research of three Slovak history textbooks which: (a) were written and supervised by the same team of historians; (b) were written as a three-volume-series of a state-sponsored solo textbook (which means that currently there are no other textbooks on the market except them); (c) cover *all* types of secondary schools where pupils can take a school-leaving exam in history; (d) and were written and issued by the same publishing company within a short period of three years. These

conditions give us an optimal opportunity to research these textbooks, actually three volumes of them, and make some relevant conclusions regarding the correlation of global, national, regional, and local layers of history teaching in the Slovak Republic.

The secondary school textbooks analysed in this study are:

- Vol. 1: Bada, M., Bocková, A., Krasnovský, B., Lukačka, J., Tonková, M. (2011) *Dejepis. Pre 1. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo (hereafter referred to as Bada et al., 2011).
- Vol. 2: Bocková, A., Kačirek, L., Kodajová, D., Tonková, M. (2013) *Dejepis. Pre 2. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo (hereafter referred to as Bocková et al., 2013).
- Vol. 3: Letz, R., Tonková, M., Bocková, A. (2014) *Dejepis. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo (Further on, referred to as Letz et al., 2014).

3. What Do the Prefaces of the Textbooks Tell Us?

In the Preface of all three books, the authors make some explicit remarks on the links between national and general history. The most substantial explanation is in Volume 1: 'It is important that in this textbook you find general (world) history mutually interlinked with Slovak history. This interlink has been created under difficulties because historical developments have not taken place equally everywhere. This [*interconnection*] helps us, however, comparing where we were able to catch up with the world and where we fell behind. By considering general history, you can better understand what is particularly Slovak, you can understand, how the world has influenced us, and what could we, though a small nation, contribute to the world.' (Bada et al., 2011: 7)

The idea is pretty much the same in Volume 2, in a slightly shorter version: 'This textbook connects general history with Slovak history. It is logical, since the Slovak nation has never been torn out from wider historical processes and contexts. Thus you would understand national history better.' (Bocková et al., 2013: 7)

The shortest reference to the interlinks between general and Slovak history is in the third Volume of the series. After a reference on the very successful nature of Slovak history in the 20th century, in one of the last lines of the Preface, the authors tacitly state: 'This schoolbook

contains ten chapters which deal with world history as well as with national history.’ (Letz et al., 2014: 5)

It is worth noting two interesting things in the Prefaces. Firstly, that in the three Prefaces, there is no reference whatsoever to regional or local layers of history. Secondly, that pre-1989 Czecho-Slovak history textbooks used to sharply separate national and world history, in most cases putting them physically in separate textbook volumes. At elementary school level, that is still the way it works in Slovakia. Yet, at secondary school level, national and world history have been put together in one book volume for some years.

4. What do Slovak History Textbooks Tell Us About Western Europe?

It is absolutely evident that the grand narrative of our Slovak history textbooks is the successful history of Western civilization. Western politicians, thinkers, scientists, military leaders, artists, and countless examples of material and spiritual heritage of Western Europe – this is the dominant historical context and also the foundation of our Slovak historical heritage. This is openly and clearly stated in all three textbook volumes under our survey, proven by a rich variety of textual references, by illustrative images and also by primary sources.

Not surprisingly, we find very substantial chapters on Western European historical context in our textbooks, such as ancient Greece (Bada et al., 2011: 36-56); ancient Rome (Bada et al., 2011: 57-83); medieval Europe (Bada et al., 2011: 84-106), etc. There are very substantial chapters on Habsburg, German, Italian, French, British modern history, too. The history of economics and arts are also dominated by Western Europe. (e.g. Bocková et al., 2013: 22). For someone who reads through our three Slovak textbooks, it can be a revelation that the implicit agenda of these books is that we are a little brother of the West – and that we have always been.

Though global perspective is missing from our textbooks, on the other hand Western Europe is a pretty logical context for Slovak history. For the most influential West European nations, such as France, England, Italy, Germany, it is quite obvious that the events of their national history have been the mainstream events of European history (as for instance the French revolution of 1798). Nevertheless, Slovak history is not in this privileged position. Slovakia as a small nation, which has contributed to big European events only

occasionally, has to find and create its own space in the European historical narrative dominated by big nations. (I wonder, how many times Slovakia is mentioned in the history textbooks of Spain or Italy?) This is a very serious challenge for Slovak historiography, but an even bigger one for school history teaching.

So, the authors of the current Slovak secondary level history textbooks follow the traditional (or classical) *Europe-centric political narrative*, based on (among others) the Dictatus Papae; the Encyclopaedia; The Declaration of Independence; the Revolutions of 1848; the World Wars; etc. These are the mainstream historical milestones that have so strongly dominated history teaching in most European countries for many, many years. There is, however, a serious challenge to this Western-centred approach. As some Slovak historians have rightly pointed out (e.g. Alberty, Július 2006; Drál, Peter 2007; Holec, Roman 2008; Vörös, László 2010), many historic processes simply had different forms in Eastern Europe rather than in their land of origin in the West. Ancient Rome; the feudal system; the knights' culture; medieval town culture; absolutism, merkantilism, republicanism, etc. either simply did not exist on our territory, or even if they did, than they existed in under-developed forms and much delayed in time. So representing these West European historical processes *as fully ours*, is somewhat problematic.

5. How and When Are National and World History Joined in Slovak Textbooks?

The first thing which strikes our attention is that the Slovak national narrative does copy the way West European personalities and events are presented in the textbooks. Exactly as in the case of the West, the chapters on Slovak national history are all about 'the best-we-have'. There are literally endless examples when both the descriptive text and the didactical apparatus (incl. images, primary sources and questions) are full of high-ranking politicians (E.g. Letz et al., 2014: 63, 64), top artists, and the most influential scientists. (E.g. Letz et al., 2014: 78-79) As far as particularly *political history* is concerned, it is also full of references to the main national political parties and their leaders. (E.g. Letz et al., 2014: 88) High-ranking personalities are especially dominant in the third volume where some 99.8% of all personalities are top-politicians, plus the most quoted textual sources are from them, too. (E.g. Letz et al., 2014: 42-43)

As to the *structure* of Western European and Slovak topics within the three textbook volumes, it needs to be said that there are three types of them: some chapters are purely Western European topics; some are purely Slovakian topics; and some are mixed or joint topics, where the Slovak historical narrative is indivisibly interwoven into the Western narrative. The most relevant question regarding these patterns of presentation is this: Under what circumstances and why, for what purpose do the authors of these textbooks separate or combine general and Slovak history?

On the one hand, there are several totally separate world history chapters in our books, like the French revolution; the unification of Germany and Italy; history of Russia; history of the USA; the age of imperialism, etc. – full chapters that could be found probably in any history textbook in France, Italy, USA, etc.,³ and where there is hardly any direct linkage to the Slovak history.

On the other hand, in many cases, there are organically joint chapters, like the one on so-called Slovak national awakening, initiated by Ľudovít Štúr, which in Volume 2 is literally part of the Napoleonic times. Maybe the most spectacular example of combining the Slovak national narrative with the general European historical narrative is the example of the first World War. (Letz et al., 2014: 18-19) Here, almost all Czecho-Slovak related events are subordinated to some determinative Western political events. Military fronts are where Western soldiers fight, and where Slovak soldiers die, too; the intention of the war, i.e. abolishing an outdated world order, and creating a modern new order, is a factor that calls the Czecho-Slovak Republic into existence; and the after-war peace settlements give a general frame for the peace treaties which Czecho-Slovaks are most concerned with. The authors of our books repeat this same pattern, i.e. almost inseparably combining Slovak history with that of West Europe, two more times in the history of the 20th century. Once, regarding the year 1938 as a key year in Czecho-Slovak history. And then in the text on the ideologically separated post-1945 world, where Czecho-Slovaks again are passive objects of the general context of the Cold War, as one of the Eastern European countries (though there is one additional chapter [VIII.] on Slovakia's fate during communist times).

From the final text of our textbooks, it is impossible to figure out any firm or clear pattern by which authors of the books separated or combined general and Slovak history. In my understanding, our

textbooks are, in this respect, edited quite inconsistently: sometimes they link or combine particular chapters, in other cases they totally separate them, without coherent rules.

6. What do Slovak History Textbooks Tell Us on ‘Local’ and ‘Regional’ History?

It would be an exaggeration to write that there are no traces of regional or local history in our history textbooks – but there are indeed only a few of them.

What do Slovak history textbooks tell us on ‘regions’? Basically there are two types of concepts of the term ‘region’ in our books. The first is ‘*region Slovakia*’, a territory smaller in geographical terms and especially in relation with its neighbouring territory. This type includes e.g. Slovakia as a region of Hungary; or a region next to some territory occupied by Turks, etc. (Bada et al., 2011: 226) The second version is ‘*region Eastern Europe*’ which Czecho-Slovakia has been part of. This latter phenomenon appears for the first time in the second volume (Bocková et al., 2013: 56), and again in the third volume as a ‘region’ which gets rid of Soviet-type-Communism. (Letz et al., 2014: 190).

Beyond these two types of concepts of regions, there are occasionally some questions as part of the didactical apparatus of the textbooks, which refer to some kind of ‘regions’. ‘From your region, name some personalities who contributed by their activities to the national struggle in the first half of the 19th century. How do you commemorate their memory?’ Project No. 1 repeats the same idea, and Project No. 2 is a similar one, too: ‘According to the map of your locality, make a list of streets which are named after some Slovak personalities. Then divide them into two categories, of national and regional importance.’ (Bocková et al., 2013: 49; Kontrolujeme a prehlbujeme si vedomosti č. 4; Projekty ... č.1, č. 2)

Interestingly enough, most local/regional references can be found in Volume 1, which deals with history from ancient times up to the 18th century. Typically, almost all references to regional or local history, are included in the didactical apparatus, namely among the questions and exercises. Also typically, these references are parts of didactical apparatus marked as *school projects* (‘Projekty a medzipredmetové súvislosti’), and many of them have a religious character. Some examples in the first volume, are the following: ‘Do you know any place of remembrance or an archeological site from

ancient Moravian times in your neighbourhood?’ (Bada et al., 2011: 121; Kontrolujeme... č. 4); ‘What is a parish church? Find out if there are any in your neighbourhood!’ (Bada et al., 2011: 135; Projekty ... č. 8); ‘Find out the [medieval] privileges of your locality!’ (Bada et al., 2011: 141; Projekty ... č. 8); ‘Find out more about the confessional characteristics of your region!’ (Bada et al., 2011: 239; Projekty ... č. 6); ‘Is there any religious building, a cloister or a sacred building in your area?’ (Bada et al., 2011:257; Projekty ... č. 9)

In Volume 3, which deals with the 20th century world, it is rare to find traces of regional or local references. Again, these tasks are ‘hidden’ in the didactical apparatus, among the Project tasks: ‘Characterize the life of an average person in the [1939-1945] Slovak Republik’; or ‘Describe life in your town or village in the 1948-1989 period.’ (Letz et al., 2014: 160. Projekty ... č. 2; and 243. č. 4) These examples are not par excellence examples of local or regional history. They neither make history more palpable through local famous people, nor they are supposed to specify local or regional peculiarities, differences, specificities, etc. And of course, they do not serve to foster pupils’ local/regional identity, or their local/regional historical consciousness.

On the contrary: these examples *serve as ‘good’ examples of historical processes on the national level.* Their ‘duty’ is purely to illustrate the national narrative. This is very clear when the purpose is achieved not by text but by images. On one particular page, there are two church interiors of a lavish baroque and a wooden church; on another page, there are colour images of four Slovakian castles as remarkable examples of castles built in medieval, renaissance, classical, and classico-rococo style. (Bada et al., 2011: 236, 260; in both cases images occupy some 60-70 % of the total number of pages).

In almost all examples, concept ‘region’ does not appear as a value on its own. The ‘region’ is purely an exemplification of national features at a local level. One of the reasons why Slovak history textbooks do not use the phenomenon of ‘regions’ is that par excellence or ‘independent’ geographical regions as in Western Europe (such as for instance Scotland, Tuscany, Braunschweig, etc. have always shown some political, economic, ethnographical, gastronomical, etc. uniqueness) have never ever existed in the territory where Slovakia is situated today.

The other possible reason why our history textbooks lack genuine local and regional historical examples, is that in the Western European

context (analysed above), Slovakia is already a regional example of some historical events on a bigger scale. It means that Slovak history is a local, national example of some 'big' European events and processes. This is a very typical case in our textbooks regarding the enlightenment or the early industrial revolution, for instance. In these (and many more) cases they spread the hidden message that we the Slovaks are a smaller but a worthy example of those 'big' events in the West.⁴

7. What do Slovak History Textbooks Tell Us About the Rest of the World?

As we have seen above, Slovak secondary school history textbooks currently combine world and national history physically in three joint volumes. It is worth noting that terms 'world history' (svetové dejiny) and 'general history' (všeobecné dejiny) in present-day Slovak textbooks alternate freely in the Prefaces. And yet, even though everything what is not Slovak national history' (slovenské-národné dejiny) is referred to as 'world history' or 'general history', despite this fact it is *indeed European history*, even though it is referred to as 'world' or 'general' history.

It is not as if other parts of the world would not have been dealt with in our books. Of course, non-European parts of the world, e.g. discovered during the exploration times (post-1492), and also Africa, America, Asia as objects of European racial exploitation and colonialism – are all there; even in the 20th century, colonialism in India, Vietnam, the Arabic countries, etc. is present in our books. (E.g. Bocková et al., 2013: 96; and Letz et al., 2014: 197) The maps in our textbooks correspond with this rule, and as a consequence, some 95 % of the maps in the three volumes in our survey, present Europe or its parts (West, Central, East, Balkans, etc.), rarely the whole World.

It is a fact that no country and no people outside Europe are dealt with in our secondary history textbooks as *carriers of cultural values*. Here someone might object that the kind of cultural variety and mutual racial appreciation, which we experience today, did not exist in earlier times, and of course the relationship of Europeans with other cultures/races was much different. Should history schoolbooks project back-in-time the kind of peaceful multiculturalism that liberal societies prefer today? Or should our textbooks preserve the Europe-centric view of events, and along with it the bad image of colonialist

Europeans ruthlessly exploiting other parts of the world? I regard theses as interesting theoretical questions for further professional debate.

8. What do Slovak History Textbooks Tell Us on 'Globalization'?

The topic 'globalization' has been explicitly part of the Slovak core history curriculum since 2008, and the first separate chapter on the topic appeared in 2014, in the third Volume of the textbooks under our investigation. Chapter No. IX is titled '*Globalization and the Road leading to European Integration*', and as a 17-page-long chapter, it forms some 6 % of the entire 285-page-long Volume 3. (Letz et al., 2014: 246-262) It is a chapter in which the main stress is on the re-integration of Slovakia into West European political-economic-cultural structures. Globalization serves here as the biggest and widest frame for the history of mankind. It is a world-scale process that concerns the whole human community, and which has had and will have an impact on all of us as far as technology, travel, environmental issues, multiculturalism, multinational companies, global financial markets, social inequality, etc. etc. are concerned.

9. Summary

As we have seen above, Slovak history textbooks almost exclusively concentrate on the grand narrative of Western Europe and of the Slovak nation. In this nation-building endeavour, practically no lower (regional or local) levels of peoples' historical consciousness is presented as 'a value' in our textbooks; also higher levels of it (international or global) only matter when *we as a nation* are reflected in or by them. I regard this approach as a nation-centered narrative, where local or regional examples are useless if and when they do not support the main national narrative. *Through the eyes of our textbooks, all historical trends aim at national unity.* And in this context, for instance, a letter from a soldier-private; or a memoir of a successful woman or of a desperate serf; a history of a region would be significantly different; or a life profile of an unfamous child – are all impossible.

It is important to note once again that this grand narrative is true for both European and Slovak history. In both cases, it is exclusively

the dominant/mainstream/high-political historical events that are dealt with in the books, let it be either Western European or Slovak history. Within this concept – which is, of course, a legitimate concept of any textbook author – there is no room for ‘less significant’ personalities or events; no room for unusual or untypical historical patterns. And of course, there is no room for historical mistakes, failures, or self-criticism.

And there is one more general problem. *Ordinary people* as such in our history textbooks are nothing other than passive *objects* (not subjects) of historical processes. They do not actively engage in historical events. Their ‘fate’ is determined by ‘people at the top’, or by ‘national leaders’, or by ‘great powers’. This certainly is not expressed literally; however, this pessimistic message is at the root of the hidden agenda of these books when one reads them through.

My whole analysis goes down to the core question: Why do we teach history in Slovakia? or more precisely, For what purposes does the Slovak state want us to teach this subject? Of course, there might be several answers to this question, such as (i) history is a fine science about society, and in schools the emphasis should be put on society; (ii) teaching history develops and fosters historical consciousness; and (iii) history might be a tool achieving social or national cohesion, etc. – all of which answers I consider legitimate. But even after being open for several answers, at least one question occurs in me: Is it right if reinforcing national consciousness through history textbooks is the only and exclusive goal of our history teaching?

Notes

¹ See some more on this kind of a scientific discourse, among others: Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011, and particularly the contributions by Viliam Kratochvíl: History Teaching in the Slovak Republic regarding Slovakia [195-229], and by Blažena Gracová and Zdeněk Beneš on the Czech issues [139-153]. Cf. Borries, 2000 and Pingel, 2000.

² See more on ‘Regionálna výchova a tradičná ľudová kultúra’ in Slovak language at: <http://www.statpedu.sk/clanky/statny-vzdelavaci-program-svp-pre-prvy-stupen-zs-prierezove-temy/regionalna-vychova-tradicna> (22.12.2015).

³ For some general analysis of European history schoolbooks, see e.g. Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011; Leeuw-Roord, 2004; Pingel, 2000, Smart, 2007.

⁴ Recently, there have been some interesting publication written on the role of regional education, e.g. Hrbáček-Noszek, 2011; Nogová & Reiterová, 2009; Ruda & Szabó Mihály, 2013.

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FORUM

COLONIALISM AND DECOLONISATION IN ESTONIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Anu Raudsepp and Karin Veski

The topic on the agenda is emphasized by the EU project 'Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective' (CoDec, 2013-2015). The main aim of the article is to clarify, how the contents and focus of colonialism and decolonization changed in Estonian history textbooks and curriculum within the past decade. Proceeding from the National Curriculum of 2002 and 2011, the treatment of those topics in Estonia within the past decade has considerably lessened. It can be associated with an increased Europe-centredness (also in case of global topics). Apart from curricular, Estonian history textbooks did not much reduce the treatment of colonialism and decolonization. The treatment of colonialism dominates that of decolonization. However, recent history textbooks show that more and more attention is dedicated to questions of decolonization. Through this, the textbook authors can associate global history of the recent past somewhat more with the history of Europe. The topics of colonialism and decolonization represent a sensitive subject area of global history which would help understanding of the background of numerous serious current problems (e.g., poverty and conflicts of the so-called Third World, nature contamination, migration etc.). Those questions are closely connected with European history but they could be observed more globally than before.

1. Introduction

By their actions and consequences, colonialism and decolonisation have made a substantial impact on the whole world to date. To a greater or lesser extent, directly or indirectly, they are related to both global history and local as well as national histories – some nations being colonisers, others being colonised or bystanders etc. Thematically, the colonial policies of Germany, Great Britain, USA and Russia in various regions (Africa, India, Cuba, Caucasus, China) were discussed while statistics, caricatures from different periods and perspectives, textbook texts, contemporary historical treatments etc. were used as sources for worksheets.

The topic on the agenda is emphasized by the project 'Colonialism and Decolonisation in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective', carried out in the framework of the

EU Lifelong Learning Programme of 2013-2015, and resulting in the publication of collections of modules for the teaching of history in German, English and French (Fenske et al, 2015). The core idea of the project was to discuss to what extent national historical cultures¹ in the context of colonialism and decolonization can be found in a collective European framework. With reference to Bärbel P. Kuhn and Uta Fenske, 'Especially in history education the European character of this past, as can be shown in the entanglements of colonial politics as well as similar, yet distinct practices and experiences of the colonial powers, has received little attention so far. This was highly visible in the project's initial question of how the subject is mediated in history education in the partner countries. When Europe appears in school textbooks as an imperialistic and colonizing continent, national politics are often only additively introduced and differences are pointed out. The question of the importance of the colonial past for national historical cultures and memory politics of the present is dealt with in different ways, more or less critically.' (Fenske et al, 2015: 9-10). The project also raised a question: how the subject area of global history is going to be dealt with from the national perspective in contemporary history textbooks.

The relevance of the current topic to the present is also indicated through the 2014 annual conference of the International Society for History Didactics on 'Colonialism, Decolonisation and Post-colonial Historical Perspectives – Challenges for History Didactics and History Teaching in Globalising World', as a result of which a bulky collection of articles was issued. The studies by Katja Gorbahn (2014), Barbara Techmańska (2014) and Alexander Khodnev (2014) are more closely related to this paper.

This topic has been dealt with relatively modestly in Estonia as yet. There is only one teachers' handbook on colonialism in Estonian, compiled and published in the series *Ajalugu koolitunnis* (History in Class) about 'Majandusteemad ajalootunnis' (Topics on Economy in History Class – Raudsepp et al., 2009). Here Karin Hiiemaa (Veski) gives an overview of colonial economic policy in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries. Anu Raudsepp composed worksheets on colonial economic policies, partly following the example of the journal *Praxis Geschichte*.²

Thus the aim of the current article is to clarify, on the Estonian example, how in history textbooks the image of colonialism and

decolonisation changed within the past decade³ as well as to discuss the need to discuss the topic in history textbooks.

2. Estonian National Curriculum and Textbooks to Be Analysed

The current Estonian National Curriculum was adopted in 2011,⁴ after the one issued in the year of 2002.⁵ In lower secondary school history lessons, students acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to orient themselves in cultural space and historical environment, while the structure of teaching is chronological-thematic. Beside teaching students the necessary knowledge and skills for orienting themselves in cultural space and historical environment, history teaching in upper secondary school leads students to grasp and analyse changeability and different interpretations of past events, their interrelations and links with the present day whereas the structure of teaching is chronological-thematic and thematic. Of the main factors (the development of society, history science and the history curriculum of the school) that influence substantial writing of history textbooks, at present it is necessary to focus on curriculum development.

Compared to the curriculum a decade ago, the significance of the treatment of colonialism and decolonisation as topics in the current Estonian curriculum has considerably lessened. When in accordance with the curriculum of 2002, the lower secondary school level 3 (13–16 year-olds) were taught topics such as ‘Colonial empires with? the example of England’ and ‘The crumble of colonial empires after World War II’, then in the 2011 curriculum ‘The politics of Russian provinces’ (the world in 1815–1918) was the only topic, indirectly related to that above. When in the earlier upper secondary school curriculum (2002) both colonialism (*colonial policy in the 19th c.*) and decolonisation (*the crumble of colonial empires after World War II*), were treated equally, in the current curriculum (2011) colonialism and decolonisation are dealt with only briefly. As to colonialism, in the framework of the course ‘Contemporary history in Estonia and worldwide’, it is only required to *point out colonial empires on a map* and *explain the concept of imperialism in the context*. In connection with *decolonisation*, the course of ‘Contemporary history: the main features of 20th-century developments in Estonia and worldwide’ teaches *the reasons for and consequences of the crumble of colonial empires*.

As a basis for this analysis, the currently most widely used or the most recently issued lower secondary school⁶ and upper secondary school⁷ textbooks in Estonia were selected from the period, related to two curricula (2002 and 2011) which deal with colonialism, decolonisation and post-colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. Half of the textbooks are of chronological-thematic structure and the other half being of thematic-chronological structure. The authors are overwhelmingly academic historians, PhDs, (Marten Seppel, Mati Laur, Tõnu Tannberg, Ago Pajur, Mart Laar, Mati Laur, Mart Nutt, Lauri Vahtre, Einar Värä, Olaf-Mihkel Klaassen), almost all of them have teaching experience and stand out as main authors of history textbooks in Estonia. Ursula Vent is a historian working in a publishing house. The textbooks were mainly published in the largest Estonian textbook-publishing company Avita (founded in 1988, private publishers). Colonialism was dealt with in the context of 19th-century history and the discussion of decolonisation remained in the second half of the 20th century. Textbook analyses are based on the didactic recommendations of Falk Pingel (2010). Methodologically, the point of departure is qualitative content analysis for studying attitudes, possible stereotypes and definitions of notions etc., related to the presentation of the current topic.

3. Colonialism and History Textbooks

Colonialism is derived from the Latin word *colonia*, literally meaning a settlement, place of residence or abode. In the context of political history it means colonialism policy which tries to turn underdeveloped or weaker countries into colonies or subjecting them in some other way.

The topic-related terms in textbooks are overwhelmingly connected to 19th-century colonialism and the activities of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent, Germany, Russia and USA. Pertaining terms are, e.g.: *colonial empire*, *colonial country*, *colonial conquest*, *colonial expansion*, *colony*, *colonial power*, *colonial policy*, *coloniser*. Colonialism is the term explained most precisely in the recent lower secondary school textbook on modern history: *colonialism* is a policy with an aim to subject underdeveloped or weaker countries and turn them into colonies to make use of their resources. The same textbook also defines the term *imperialism* – the policy of superpowers to gain as dominant a global influence as possible (Seppel & Pajur,

2013: 30). In the case of Russia, important in the context of Estonia, the term *colonial policy* is very differently used. In 2009, Russia was defined *undoubtedly as a colonising state, whose colonial policy was established by three mutually interconnected principles – unification, bureaucratisation and Russification*. (Laur & Tannberg, 2009: 103). In 2013, it was underlined that *Russia did not have overseas colonies (emphasizing once again that Russia did not own colonies and did not take part in European countries' race for new colonies)* (Seppel & Pajur, 2013: 30). In 2014, Russia was again described as a colonial power. (Vahtre & Nutt, 2014: 171-172). In 20th-century history, the colonialism-related terms are used only in connection with the Soviet Union: *settlement colonialism* (migration into Estonia) and *colonial economy*.

Colonialism is often treated in connection with 19th-century European countries' colonial policy, bringing forth economic (e.g. raw materials), political (power struggle with other countries) and social (possibility for the people of overpopulated Europe to find new homes and easier life) reasons. Assessments of European colonial policy refer to *Europe-centredness, European countries' race for colonial possessions, turning underdeveloped countries into developed countries' sources of industrial raw materials and more so, also into their markets* (Laar & Vahtre, 2014: 14, 170).

The mission of civilization has traditionally been regarded as an ideology justifying the domination of European countries elsewhere in the world (Adas, 2004: 78). As far as various spheres of life are concerned, Estonian textbooks publish quite a lot about the Christian mission work⁸ and promoting education as positive results of colonialism. At that, it is emphasized that superpowers justified their policy by the need to take care of underdeveloped peoples and disseminate European civilization achievements among them, proclaiming European civilization (with its leading principles such as personal liberty, private property and democracy) as the only possible option (Laar & Vahtre, 2014: 14). However, poor treatment of indigenous peoples and making them work for Europeans gave the most negative feedback.

Connections between the Russian Empire and colonial policy as presented in textbooks raise problems. Several textbooks however refer to the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, giving examples of forced recruitment of local inhabitants (Estonians) to the Russian army,

Russian colonial policy involved both Estonians' emigration movement to the Crimea, Caucasus and elsewhere in the hope of making a better life and the resettling of Russians to occupied areas, including the Baltic region. Close contacts were also noted between Russian imperial politics and that of Europe. Russia's contacts with the so-called overseas colonies of European countries were indirectly shown in connection with Estonian Kreenholm Manufacturing Company (founded in 1858), where cotton that was imported from America was manufactured and whose product was sent to Russian clothing factories (Piirimäe et al, 2015: 112).

The 20th-century colonialism is primarily related to the Soviet occupation of Estonia in the years of 1944-1991, the aim of which was to re-annex to the empire all the areas that had formerly been under Tsarist Russia. The leading topic deals with the Soviet colonial economy and its negative impacts as, e.g. prioritized development of heavy industry in the interests of the Soviet Union, turning Estonia into an economic base for Leningrad (Pajur & Tannberg, 2006: 120-121), etc. In addition to the aforesaid considerations, the greatest attention is paid to migration which essentially reduced the number of Estonians as indigenous people in their homeland to 65 % of the population. Negative consequences of the location of the Soviet Army in Estonia (ecological catastrophe, violence of the military, setting up restricted areas etc.) are also dealt with. (Pajur & Tannberg, 2006: 102).

In connection with Russian colonialism it is important to know present-day Russian historians' viewpoints. Alexander Khodnev's thorough and most interesting research paper shows that considerable changes took place during recent years, and continue to take place, in history teaching in Russia. Discussion of colonialism has highlighted the problem of the evaluation of Russian colonial policy (including Soviet colonial experiment). Citing Khodnev, 'In this case, the tone of presentation of educational material related to the history of colonialism changes immediately. Evaluations of Russian State policy towards the conquered peoples in the approved textbooks show elements of Russian patriotic nationalism. At the very least, all the attempts of the new nation-states that have emerged from the Soviet Union to create their own national histories from standpoints of decolonization and condemnation of Russian colonialism are considered destructive and are estimated negatively in Moscow (Khodnev, 2014: 187).

Textbooks portrayed colonisers and native peoples mainly in connection with the European colonies in Africa in the 19th century, and descriptions of the latter were scarce, e.g., native peoples were *poor victims, expressed their joy in dances and songs*. A lot more attention was paid to Europeans' opinions that emphasized their superiority over the native peoples: *they justified their colonial policy by white people's superiority over other nations and races, European civilization was considered as more advanced and dissemination of which was their duty etc.* At the same time, the English were described separately, when citing Cecil Rhodes, as being supposed to be the first race in the world so that penetrating new territories would give the English race the possibility for growth (Seppel & Pajur, 2014: 32-33). There was criticism of the fact that Europeans were convinced of the superiority of their culture and religion. Exceptionally, Americans were described, when citing Herman Melville, as a *chosen nation, Israelites of their era, from whom mankind expects heroic deeds, and a mention is made about the European-American world view which divided the world into a civilized West and the rest of the world*.

In connection with Russian 19th-century colonial policy, as far as Russian ideology was concerned, governmentally-supported Russification policy (language, religion with Orthodox church and educational sphere involved, e.g., the German-language University of Tartu was turned into the Russian-language University) was dealt with (Püürimäe et al, 2015: 106-108).

As far as the Soviet colonial policy in the second half of the 20th century in Estonia was concerned, Estonians as a rule were never described, however the immigrants who arrived in Estonia had minimal qualifications. Textbooks were more concerned about Russification: *mandatory orientation towards Russian culture, attempts to selectively destroy previous cultural heritage of Estonians, anti-religious struggle, ideological terror against the intelligentsia etc.*

4. Decolonisation and History Textbooks

What is decolonisation? Standard definitions of the term suggest that decolonisation is a process through which Europe's colonies achieved political independence. However, the term itself, coined in the 1930s by Moritz Julius Bonn (1873-1965), has a variety of definitions (Bonn, 1938).

For example, Karl Hack (2003: 113) broadened the concept, stating that *imperialism and globalization are themselves the taproots of decolonisation*. The historian John Darwin (1997: 214) suggests that decolonisation should not be defined simply as the transfer of power, or as a constitutional procedure but as the crumbling of *colonial world order*, identified by political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and even demographic characteristics.

Terms related to the 20th-century decolonisation are few in textbooks: 1) *mandated areas (mandated territories)* are former colonies of Germany and Turkey which were placed under the government of other countries until the indigenous peoples were ready to establish their own states; 2) Third World – the countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Oceania which gained independence from colonial power in the 19th and 20th centuries; 3) *metropolis or mother country*; 4) *neo-colonialism or new colonialism* – superpowers trying to establish their economic and political control in new countries.

Decolonisation was dealt with in half the space compared to the topic of colonialism in textbooks. According to Barbara Techmańska, the topics were similarly treated in Poland where *the core curriculum treats decolonisation very symbolically* and that it *merely states the issue*. Establishing the background to the problem, she explains that during the process of decolonisation Poland was in the Soviet sphere of influence but was not a colony (Techmańska, 2014: 137-138).

The topics related to decolonisation were presented in chronological order: the Latin-American *anti-colonialism liberation movement* in the 19th century (Tannberg et al., 2003: 60-63); the hopes of colonial countries in Asia and Africa which fought in World War I to gain independence at the end of the war, their role in providing mother countries with raw materials, groceries and soldiers; as a result of World War I, the crumble of four empires and the achievement of independence in a number of countries (Arab countries, also Estonia, Poland et al); the redistribution of colonial possessions and recognition of one-another's areas by the victorious countries (USA, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy) in the period between two world wars; aspirations to independence after World War II in Asia, in particular; the liberation of African countries from colonial rule in the 1960s. (Värä, Tannberg, 2004:66-67). In connection with the crumble of the Russian colonial empire after World War I, one could mention the gaining of independence in Estonia in 1918 and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the re-establishment of independence in Estonia in 1991. In

both cases, the re-orientation of Estonia to European cultural and economic space is worth mentioning.

Within the past decade, Estonian history textbooks have dealt more with decolonisation from the colonies' perspective as their right to gain freedom, while immediate violence of the whites was reported only with the example of the South African Republic and the deadly colonial war in Algeria (Vahtre, Nutt, 2014: 175).

History textbooks issued in 2014 dealt with decolonisation much more thoroughly in comparison to earlier textbooks, bringing forth a number of new aspects (Vahtre, Nutt, 2014: 174-176). For example, it is noted that *the expanding liberation movement of colonies after World War I made the export of mineral resources more and more complicated for mother countries and that managing the colonial system became more expensive than giving it up*.

It is noted that after Algeria had gained independence from French rule (1962), *the majority of Frenchmen began to understand that it was in their own interest as well as in the interest of France to give Algeria its independence or else the war would never have ended* (Fjodorov, 2002: 102).

Consequences of decolonisation were not written much about, only the most recently published textbook excelled among the other textbooks by its critical attitude (Vahtre & Nutt, 2014: 176). For the first time it pointed to *inadequate state borders as an evident legacy of colonial system*, since the administrative borders established by mother countries did not ever take into consideration ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural backgrounds, often not even economic integrity, but only proceeded from the spheres of influence of various colonial countries or just the whim of a clerk. This legacy has caused continuous border conflicts, civil wars and separatism. It is also the first time when an interest in independent former colonies by the USA, German Federal Republic and also China in recent decades was mentioned in connection with making large-scale investments and drawing them into their sphere of influence.

From the European perspective it was regarded as positive to try and guide Africa towards democracy but when viewed critically, *Western values along with ideas of democracy would not suit Africans*. More references can be found to Europeans as former colonists in connection with negative aspects of decolonisation in new countries, primarily related to the managing of the introduction of mineral resources (copper production in Zaire, oil refinery in Nigeria) or

agricultural production (coffee, cocoa, tea): *They established mines, ironworks, plantations and built towns (through which they abolished part of the population, i.e., the traditional way of life of tillers of the soil or cattlemen)* (Fjodorov: 2002: 132).

The migration of inhabitants of former colonies to their metropolis also bears a negative nuance as e.g., re-settlement of Asian and African peoples to Great Britain has often caused *inter-racial problems* (Fjodorov, 2002: 99). Apart from Western Europe, the Soviet perspective aimed singularly to *reinforce the socialist world system*, therefore negative aspects included offering military aid (weapons, military experts) and economic assistance to any dictator who proclaimed their choice of socialist orientation. As to the Soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989), a mention was made about Estonian young men who had to serve their mandatory military service in that war.

As to different nationalities – while Europeans were hardly ever described in great detail local inhabitants were portrayed a lot. As positive images one can find: *enthusiastic young African nations, Indian peoples as the happiest in the world next to Americans, and enjoying peace-loving philosophy*. As negative descriptions, the textbooks include: *poor, illiterate, weak traditions of democracy, AIDS patients*. The most drastic example belongs to the Central African Republic when describing its ruler Bokassa – there had been eyewitnesses *who claimed that he was a cannibal who ate his political opponents* (Värä & Tannberg, 2004: 75).

There are a few references made to Europeans to explain, e.g. what Europeans customarily consider as a form of corruption, Africans consider as tribal relationships. Racial problems are ever so seldom observed and if at all, then in connection with a mass of people from the former British colonies who had migrated to the metropolis and *whose ideal was the British lifestyle which tended to die out when in freedom*.

Conclusions

Proceeding from the National Curriculum of 2002 and 2011, coverage of the topics of colonialism and decolonisation in Estonian history textbooks within the past decade has considerably lessened. It can be associated with an increased Europe-centeredness (also in the case of global topics). It is possible that the tendency towards a Europe-centred history of colonialism was influenced by the integration of Estonia into the European Union in 2004 and following it, the major unification of Estonian educational life with that of the European Union. For example, German history textbooks also

underline the European perspective when touching upon the history of colonialism (Gorbahn, 2014: 65).

Apart from curricula, Estonian history textbooks did not much reduce the coverage of colonialism and decolonisation. The treatment of colonialism dominates that of decolonisation. However, recent history textbooks show that more and more attention is dedicated to questions of decolonisation. Through this, textbook authors can associate the global history of the recent past somewhat more with the history of Europe. Although owing to the dominance of Russian and Soviet empires Estonian history is related to both colonialism and decolonisation, relevant explanations in textbooks are somewhat indefinite and inconsistent.

The topics of colonialism and decolonisation represent a sensitive subject area of global history which would improve understanding of the background to numerous serious current problems (e.g., poverty and conflicts of the so-called Third World, nature contamination, migration etc.). Those questions are closely connected with European history but they could be observed more globally than before. At that, it is important to pay more attention to the clarification of the perspectives of various colonised peoples. Thus, Estonian history textbooks hardly ever touch upon achievements of African countries (except the South African Republic), although it would be important to point to steps forward in democracy, like in Botswana, Mali, Ghana and elsewhere. Therefore it is of utmost importance when writing history textbooks on the topics discussed above to take more into consideration the viewpoints of the former colonised peoples themselves on the histories of their countries.

Notes

¹ Erdmann (2008) writes more closely about the notion of historical culture.

² Praxis Geschichte. Imperialismus. 2009, 2.

³ See about the change of the meaning of notions in a broader European context:: Karly Kehoe, 2015 and Kraft, 2015.

⁴ Põhikooli Riiklik Õppekava. Lower Secondary School Curriculum. <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/13273133> (4.02.2014). Gümnaasiumi Riiklik Õppekava. Upper Secondary School Curriculum. <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/114012011002> (4.02.2014).

⁵ Põhikooli ja Gümnaasiumi Riiklik Õppekava. Lower and Upper Secondary School Curricula. <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/174787> (4.02.2014).

⁶ Tannberg et al., 2003; Värä, Tannberg & Pajur, 2004; Värä & Tannberg, 2004; Seppel & Pajur, 2013; Värä, Pajur & Tannberg, 2015.

⁷ Fjodorov, 2002; Laur et al, 2006); Pajur & Tannberg, 2006; Laar & Vahtre, 2007; Laur & Tannberg, 2009; Vahtre & Nutt, 2014; Laar & Vahtre, 2014; Piirimäe et al, 2015.

⁸ Christian mission work is one of the topics linking Estonia to colonialism. At the beginning of the 19th c. when serfdom was abolished, in the then Russian Empire Estonians found it hard via foreign missions to get a possibility of work in more distant areas of the world. In the 19th c. Estonia was just a protestant province of the Orthodox Russian Empire. Majority of Estonians were protestant. Their pastors were mainly of German descent whose genealogical roots and cultural identity linked them with Germany. Therefore the ideas and perspectives of Estonian mission activity were mainly related to German mission societies and schools. In their mission work, Estonian missionaries faced an ethical dilemma – an Estonian, living under foreign rule in their native country, became a representative of hegemonic world view and an indirect executive of colonial policy in colonies. – See more closely in Hiimäa, 2000.

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FASCINATION FOR DARK: MEDIEVAL HISTORY BETWEEN EDUTAINMENT AND *VERGANGENHEITSBEWIRTSCHAFTUNG*

Wolfgang Hasberg

The following article does not present the results of a particular research project but follows an explorative purpose as it tries to sketch the outlines of edutainment in German-speaking culture in an essayistic way. Using the example of Medieval History several implications should become apparent which belong to edutainment and have to be regarded in further scientific research. Thereto belongs the relationship to historical science as well as to historical culture and above all the economic impacts of edutainment. History in this context rather becomes a marketable product which can be bought and sold.

1. Introduction – or: Duck and Mouse Tales

In spring 2014 I got a fascinating present. It should have been a funny joke – I suppose. But nevertheless I was a little bit shocked. It was a book entitled *Dangers of the Middle Ages* (*Gefahren im Mittelalter*, 2014). One can be sure that I was neither horrified by the serious topic, which promised fascinating reading nor was I disappointed by the cover, which showed a lovely knight of the Middle Ages. What did confuse me was the face, which looked through the open visor of the helmet. It was Donald Duck. What I learned in addition was that it was the third volume of the famous book-series *Funny Paperbacks: History*, published by the Disney Enterprises.

Rushing to read the first story which deals with Attila, the ruler of the Huns at the very beginning of the Medieval Ages, one finds a very simple narrative: In the archaeological museum of Mouseton the time-machine was found broken, because one of the bad inhabitants of Duck-City, Tomcat Carlo, used it for travelling into the past, right in the middle of the fifth century. His plan was to find Attila's treasure, which he read about in a chronicle. With his knowledge of the present he aimed to steal the treasure in the past and spend it in the future. But – as one has to remember – the time-machine is damaged and Tomcat Carlo cannot return. Therefore Mickey Mouse and Goofy repair it, go



Illustration 1: Cover *Lustiges Taschenbuch History* 'Gefahren im Mittelalter'

into the past and take their neighbour back – without the treasure of course, since they are the good ones, who do not steal and do not want to change ‘true history’. But their worry is not well-founded, because Attila’s treasure was buried very well by Hagen, who dumped it into the Rhine. Perhaps Tomcat Carlo read the poem of the Nibelungs, because he could not have read a chronicle of the Huns, who were an oral people. – Nevertheless, this funny history book asserts that all stories are true to their core.

This duck-tale is not a specific story of medieval history. It is a general narrative in the sense that people want to succeed by changing the past. The idea could have been applied to any other epochs or periods of time as well.

Therefore, yet another story was examined, which promised to be such kind of story, because it is entitled: ‘In the kingdom of Richard the Lionheart’. But the pattern of the story is nearly the same: Certainly, in this case, King Richard has gone astray and travelled into the present, because of a failure of the time-machine. In this case, the heroes of Mouseton must bring him back.

One further story shall be mentioned which has ‘a true core’, too, as the editors affirm. When a group of Normans occupied Mouseton – which is obviously situated near France! – they made an agreement with Mickey Mouse, the chronicler of Mouseton, to accompany them and write down the history of their achievements. However, this Norman group was attacked by another Norman group and had to flee. When they got away from their enemies, Mickey Mouse tried to hide his book in a barrel. Accidentally, this barrel was thrown in the direction of the other ship and hurt the leader of the opposing group. The battle was won and the chronicle recovered. The moral of the story is: Nobody can change the past against written history! By the way, in the background American Indians can be seen. Thus, the story should be an explanation of the American expedition of Normans around 1000 AD, suggested by the *Vinland Map*, whose authenticity has not finally been proven (Skelton et al, 1995; Seaver, 2004).

Of course, the allusion to historical truth in these three stories can only be recognised by those people who already know the facts; the stories can only be funny for them: all other readers can neither find ‘the true core’ nor the humour.¹

Therefore, the question can be asked whether comics are a kind of ‘edutainment’. If so then ‘history edutainment’ is not limited to

computer games or electronic applications and devices. A very simple definition of what edutainment means is the combination of fun and learning (Fritz, 1997).

Therefore, the question is a serious one. If one needs previous knowledge in order to learn from reading comics or visiting historical exhibitions, then it seems that historical knowledge is a precondition for learning from edutainment of whatever kind. Therefore the question as to whether the user needs historical competencies in order to understand and learn from what is on offer from the edutainment sector.

The benefits, and the risks, of edutainment need to be considered in relation to a developing understanding of medieval history. In this way it can be explained that edutainment can easily become a business and thus a part of *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*, for to use a concept of Christoph Kühberger, which does not easily translate into English without a lack of emphasis. Ch. Kühberger's point is to emphasise the economic aspect of (public) procurement of historical knowledge rather than any attempt to cultivate or manage the past (Kühberger & Pudlat, 2012).²

2. The Middle Ages Are Everywhere (in Historical Culture)

When Rolf Schörken (1928-2014) established historical consciousness as a core concept of historio-didactical research he made the criticism that the non-scientific area of history had not been adequately considered as a factor in the genesis or development of historical thinking, although historical consciousness is effectively influenced by the impact of public history (Schörken, 1972). Therefore in Germany since the 1970s, the public use of history is a special field of research in history didactics.³ Since the 1980s this field is called *Geschichtskultur* (historical culture). It embraces all phenomena and occurrences of history in society, and according to Jörn Rüsen (2008: 233-284), consists of the articulations of historical consciousness. The position of this concept between *Erinnerungskultur* (Hasberg, 2006) and public history is not easy to explain (Rauthe, 2001), but is divided into various models to define this heuristic approach, which there is not space to describe here. (Schönemann, 2000; Hasberg, 2004; Demantowsky, 2005 and Erdmann, 2007). It is important to emphasise that the historical consciousness of individuals or social collectives cannot be seen, but can only be observed in its articulations. And the articulation

of historical consciousness, even in words or in material products such as monuments or movies, produces – in all cases – the media of historical culture. In consequence: historical consciousness cannot be investigated by itself, but only by its products, that is by the analysis of historical culture.

‘There has never been more Middle Ages than today!’ may be rightfully exclaimed as an adaption Klaus Bergmann’s (1938-2002) essay title (Bergmann, 1998). And, according to Horst Fuhrmann (1926-2011), one could proclaim: ‘The Middle Ages are everywhere!’

One of the most famous medieval-historians in Germany, H. Fuhrmann (1996) wrote a book about the presence of the Middle Ages as a bygone-age, whose influences affect the every-day-life in the present,⁴ and K. Bergmann, a history didactician, agrees that history is omnipresent in contemporary historical culture: this second observation is what has to be considered here.

In a time when medieval science loses more and more importance in academic fields as well as in history lessons,⁵ at least in Germany, the historio-cultural business in this epoch is booming, and its constructed character is appreciated. It is even given a greater meaning as a theme to increase the fascination. In terms of historical culture, it is irrelevant whether the Middle Ages are dark or colourful. What is essential is that it remains opaque and therefore mysterious: it is a perfect refuge for living out instincts and nurturing illusions.

Consequently, Medieval History seems to be a good field for edutainment, and in fact, in Germany, *exhibitions* of Medieval History attract high attendance figures. When in 1977 a big exhibition about the ‘Time of the Staufer’ was conducted in Mannheim, the organisers were surprised by the high visitor numbers (Hausherr, 1977)⁶ whereas the popularity of a follow up exhibition in 2010 was anticipated for the *Staufer and Italy* exhibition in 2010 (Wieczorek et al., 2010). In another example a 1965 exposition about Charlemagne in Aix-la-Chapelle proved popular (der Große, 1965), but was beaten in visitor numbers by a 2014 exhibition to mark the 1200th anniversary of Charlemagne’s death (Pohle et al., 2014).⁷ The medieval past in Germany has grown popular!

Medieval novels as *The Medicus* (Gordon, 1987) or Dan Brown’s pseudo-medieval books produce great demand in Germany as in many other countries, too.⁸ Umberto Eco’s (1980) *The Name of the Rose* is perhaps the most famous, nearly legendary historical novel.⁹ But also

other topics, for example Canossa, inspired the authors and satisfied the readers.¹⁰ Many of the predicted books found their way into the cinemas including *The Medicus* in 2013,¹¹ although the novel by Noah Gordon was already published in 1986.

All these examples can be regarded as media of edutainment, but based on empirical research we know that the moviegoers watching such films are not younger people. In Germany the main group of people who watch films set in the medieval period are aged between 32-50,¹² while younger generations play PC-games, perhaps with a medieval content instead. One of the first of these games, when personal computers were rare, was *The Town in the Middle Ages*, created by a small software-development company in Bergisch-Gladbach, nearby Cologne.¹³

Today the game is nearly unknown because nobody has hardware compatible with programming from that era, or the 5.25 inch floppy-disc drive. The game mostly consists of fixed-images which are well known from the picture book called 'In the alley and behind the stove. A town in later Middle Ages' (Müller, Siegfried & Schneider, 1986) which includes many pictures that one can find in text books for history lessons today. In a review of this game, published in the 1980s, the author complained that he could not give a true evaluation, because he did not achieve the aim of the game (Wunderer, 1996).¹⁴ From this it becomes obvious that historical culture has changed. 'The Town in Middle Ages' was a real edutainment medium, because it informed the user about life in medieval towns and the player had to apply the knowledge acquired by playing for solving the challenge to find the treasure.

Although new computer games are much more complex and much faster this aim of educating in an entertaining way holds for many contemporary computer games: the player collects the knowledge and technology which are necessary for achieving the higher levels and reaching a goal to end the game. It is not always true that the player will be acquiring knowledge of a particular period: in *Assassin's Creed*, one of the most successful games of recent times, the content plays a subordinate role, because these games are strategy-games. In such games the player must, for example, create a town, organise a state or an army, and make decisions corresponding to general rules, which do not depend on the circumstances of actual historical time. The historical topic seems to be unimportant, as one can see on the example of the *Assassin's Creed*, where early games had a medieval

content, but the more recently released editions such *Assassin's Creed III: Liberation* are set in modern times) but keep the core concept related to strategy.¹⁵

Despite this, medieval content remains very popular in all media of historical culture in Germany and the question is: Why? What are the conditions for this achievement? To answer this question it is important to consider the historical consciousness of the recipients of such offers of historical culture.

3. ... the Middle Ages in Historical Consciousness, Too?

The Middle Ages as content of the historical consciousness of pupils was investigated several times, since Wolfgang Hug (1965) established this approach in 1965. He examined perceptions of the Middle Ages of 800 primary school pupils and 200 secondary school pupils. The results were sobering: The interest of primary school pupils (25 %) surpassed that of older pupils significantly, yet it was focused on single events, which appealed to their sense of fantasy. However, primary school pupils had no clear idea of the Middle Ages as a clearly defined epoch. Although being able to date the epoch exactly, the results may be transferred to the older pupils. The research showed the same items occurring over and over in what learners thought they knew about the period, such as Charlemagne, the Crusades, the Investiture Controversy and similar topics. For older learners Knighthood, relations between Church and State, and Gothic Cathedrals appear as three commonly held, but often stereotyped pools of knowledge, and unsurprisingly these are elements of the school curriculum, too.

A structured overarching deeper knowledge cannot be found. Especially as the educational worth of the epoch is being negated and there are voices demanding to swap medieval content for modern topics. W. Hug (1965) suggested that considerations of enhancing political education and overcoming historicism would reduce deep coverage of detailed content which might challenge these stereotypes, and was concerned that the ability and readiness 'to love and understand an epoch of the past for its own sake' might be lost. W. Hug's research suggest that for school pupils the Middle Ages are interesting yet totally useless, they are alienated from and un-familiar with the epoch.

All later research upon knowledge of and interest in the Middle Ages replicated this early finding: Of all epochs, the Middle Ages are most disliked, but most unknown and regarded as useless.¹⁶

When Bodo von Berries carried out research to revisit the findings of earlier empirical studies showing pupils neither like nor know much about the Middle Ages¹⁷ he found that younger pupils like the adventurous side of the Middle Ages, which they characterise as an epoch of knights and cathedrals, of adventures and pressure. Teenagers were more calculating, they do not know which era they should prefer. Young adults described medieval times as an epoch of bondage and oppression of poor people by the rich and powerful gentry and clerics: a dark epoch.

This positioning seems to match mainstream opinion towards the epoch in German society, and suggests pupils are acquiring and replicating socially accepted attitudes towards the Middle Ages.¹⁸ Levels of interest in Medieval History in Germany, and demand for knowledge of the period in schools and history lessons are therefore somewhat shallow, but medieval offers in historical culture have a much better chance of being successful.

4. The Fascination for the Female Pope – or: How Joan Inspires Edutainment

A topic, which was taken up by nearly all institutions and media of historical culture in Germany was the saga of the female pope, Joan.¹⁹ Of course, not all efforts and media can be mentioned in this article, only the most important shall in order to show the opportunities and the risks of edutainment. The most famous book in this subject is Dona W. Cross' novel, published in 1996, and although this was a bestseller few know that there were earlier novels about the same topic, for example the book about Pope Joan, written 1866 by the Greek journalist and author Emmanuel Rhoides (1836-1904), which was republished in German in 2000 to capitalise on the publishing success of D. Cross's novel. Rhoides (2000) had taken a critical attitude toward the church, and in his romantic and satiric novel he investigated the possibilities of the existence of a female pope in the 9th century. His book was a scathing attack 'on an uneducated, uncultured, superstitious and hopelessly backward clergy' and led to E. Rhoides's

excommunication from the Greek Orthodox Church which perceived that its own clergy was the real target of those attacks.²⁰

The main theme of D. Cross's book is not an explicit criticism of the church, but a plea for the emancipation of women and therefore implicit criticism of the church, as an institution of male dominance. D. Cross is not deeply interested in the sources and the tradition of the story, and recounts the life of Joan without any doubt about the potential validity and reliability of the original sources encountered. This approach is not, of course, condemned by historical sciences, because it is a novel which follows the standards of literature, but in an appendix Cross explains that events *could* have happened in the described or a similar way in the 9th Century. Strong doubts are suggested, but this is not the point we have to deal with here. Church historian Ignatz v. Döllinger (1991: 7-43) published his studies about fables about the papacy in 1863, around the time when Rhodes' book was popular, and concentrated on the available facts. However when Cross' novel became popular in the 1990s the discussion by medievalists was not on the events of the past, but to the life of the story itself.²¹ It is remarkable that in this case the impulses were released by belletristic or aesthetic impulses, not by scientific ones. The new scientific interest in the topic was a reaction to the popularity of the topic: perhaps not an exception, but the norm in connections between the historical sciences and historical culture?²² Looking at the inspiring function of anniversaries, the circumstances of setting scientific agendas by actors of historical culture should be reflected more often and more precisely.²³

But D. Cross's Joan-novel did not only evoke scientific research. The success of the book inspired a lot of popular non-fiction books, too. One group of them describes the real-life of Joan (Kruse, 2002), the other group, e.g. the book of the British journalist Peter Stanford, describes the mysterious nature of the tradition of the story, the conspiratorial efforts of the church to hide the awkward existence of a female pope and the successor groups in Eastern Europe which preserve their belief in a female pope (Stanford, 2002). In the case of Pope Joan it was a single publishing company (Aufbauverlag), which published all those kinds of books, and also new editions of Rhodes' book and a gender-theological study about the female pope (Gössmann, 2000). The publisher sought to maximise their sales not just to those seeking entertainment, but those seeking greater

knowledge/education. Ergo the publishers' programme on the whole is a kind of edutainment based on books which offer half entertainment, half education. But does such a programme try to clarify the reader's historical consciousness? Is it able to do so?

Cross's appendix was – probably – intended to illuminate the historical consciousness of readers. Obviously, her aim was to show the possibilities for the emancipation of women in history, especially in the dark Middle Ages, and encourage her female readers. Therefore in her appendix, she must insist, that the events could have happened in the way she described. Historians do not agree with this. The example opens the feeling, that the gap between edutainment and education is small: if one steps into the gap, the fall will be long and dire.

This will become more explicit regarding to other variations of the Pope Joan story which can be found in historical culture. Meanwhile, a movie was produced in 2008 by Sönke Wortmann using the Cross content. In the end, a young girl, whom Joan meets during her escape, appears on the screen, asserting she would be ready to relive Joan's life because there would be no other way to be successful as a woman (Wortmann, 2009).



Illustration 2: Musical *Pope Joan*, performance in Fulda

And the same message is strengthened by a musical first released 2011 in Fulda, near the monastery where Joan is supposed to have lived as a monk. In the songs the protagonist rearticulates many times that she is powerless, but in the end, when she died on the streets of Rome, she asserts, that she ‘revolted against the world’ and that she now will find peace, which the choir confirms:

<i>Nun finde deinen Frieden.</i>	<i>Find peace, now.</i>
<i>Wir geben dir Geleit</i>	<i>We escort you to your grave</i>
<i>Und bauen dir ein Denkmal</i>	<i>And will build a monument</i>
<i>Aus Stolz und Dankbarkeit.²⁴</i>	<i>Out of pride and gratitude.</i>

These final words, *Papa Populi*, sound really romantic: The people love their Pope. In the musical Joan is a pope favoured and elected by the poor people because she is not a member of the mighty Roman clans and she cares for poor and sick Romans. In the musical as well as in the Cross novel, and in the Wortmann movie Joan becomes the representative of all human beings who are oppressed, especially if they are poor or powerless like the women of the time.

Unfortunately, there are no sources to prove the life of such an imposing woman, because the story was not written before 1250, historians cannot explain when the female pope should have lived, in the 11th century as Pierre Ailly maintained or in the 9th century as later authors in the Middle Ages reported. Indeed, there are no sources which can give evidence that a female pope ever existed. Truly, a bad position for historical research, but a good position for edutainment: no facts exist to disturb the imagination!

Perhaps one wants to interpose at this point, that the examples were not examples of edutainment, but of entertainment? In this case, one can refer to a serious history magazine in a German state-TV-channel (ZDF), which in every way is a format of edutainment, because it combines the intention of entertainment (e.g. by fictional scenes) and of education (e.g. by referring to sources). At the end of such a broadcast, wherein four historians confirmed that there is no evidence for the existence of a female pope, the female presenter stated in the end: ‘Historically, the female pope could not have existed. But why is she alive in the minds of the people, in arts, in novels and in movies? Yet perhaps, she existed, in substitution for all the female heroes of her time. The message is important: Joan did not want to be

segregated, she wanted to participate in knowledge and education, like a man. A woman, who wanted to cross borders. Who would not like this woman?²⁵

Definitely, Pope Joan, a woman who is alive in the media of historical culture is amiable, but she did not exist in the past, she only existed and exists as an imaginary figure, probably since the early Middle Ages. The statement of the broadcaster makes clear the danger that edutainment can bring: superimposing modern values and aspirations on the past. While a combination of entertainment and education seems to be a principle way of delivering historical culture, at least in Western societies, the standards of Enlightenment influence the everyday dealing with and the public understanding of history; and scientific or pseudo-scientific attitudes enlarge the acceptance of history.²⁶ Therefore the re-construction of history by combining written or material sources becomes a more and more important approach of such TV-magazines as well as of printed magazines, and the circulation of myths, legends and sagas like the one of Joan presents challenges, especially since this form of dealing with history seems to be fascinating for more and more people as it appears exciting and entertaining. Obviously, this kind of historical TV-magazine corresponds to the requirements of a growing number of people.

Meanwhile, the cine film *Pope Joan* was broadcast on television several times. Historical movies in many cases are broadcast as blockbusters on German TV channels; often public channels produce a two to four series period drama set in history, usually about events of German history. Usually, after the motion picture a documentary on the events mentioned is broadcast as a follow-up, wherein the 'true story' is explained. That does not mean that these documentaries permit only one interpretation of the past, but they discover which parts of the movie match the actual sources and which events or persons in the film are created for dramatic effect.²⁷

The use of history for entertainment, which is not a new phenomenon,²⁸ confronts the intentional processes of teaching and learning history with a new task: pupils have to learn how to de-construct historical narratives, like the story of a female pope, on the one hand, and to de-construct the historical narratives of TV-magazines, films or other offers of the media and institutions of historical culture (e.g. expositions, museums, history festivals, historical board games, videogames, comics etc.) on the other. The de-

construction of such public proposals, which cannot be explained at this point, assumes the competence of re-constructing history.²⁹

Since most offers of historical culture, medial as well as institutional, are in some way a kind of edutainment, pupils have to learn how to deal with and how to use such propositions of historical sense in a critical way, and examples of edutainment should become topics of the history lessons for the reason that the students learn how they are constructed and how they try to cajole the recipients into absorbing their interpretation of the past. Therefore it is one task of history didactics to find and evaluate ways for integrating media and institutions of historical culture (edutainment) into history lessons.³⁰ However, the proportion of entertainment and education in the media and the institutional arrangements of historical culture seem to vary. Obviously, the educational percentage in a TV documentary or a popular history magazine is higher than in a movie or a novel. Therefore it would be a challenging task of historio-didactical research to investigate this proportion in different media and institutional arrangements of the historical culture. These necessary investigations seem to be a part of basic research because it is a precondition for the commitment of docutainment(s) in history lessons to get some knowledge about their effective operation and the influence on pupils (and other recipients of historical culture).

5. Medieval History as *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*?

According to Christoph Kühberger and Andreas Pudlat *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung* is an aspect of public history and means the coherence between historical sciences and the public application of history and the ethical implications of this connection. The main feature of the term *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung* is that history, which is not more than an imagination of the past, will be transformed into a monetary merchandise or service by its public use (Kühberger 2012: 14). Therefore there is a need to consider the ethics of history which has to be obeyed by both scientific and public use of history (Kühberger & Pudlat, 2012).

The example of *Pope Joan* shows that since the investigation of I. v. Döllinger it was clear that there is no contemporary evidence for the existence of a female pope either in the ninth or eleventh century. In *Pope Joan* the media found a new topic, which could both be used to

reveal drawbacks in the churches or, at the end of the 20th century, to draw out the not yet completed emancipation of women. The functionalisation of history works much better if the intended opinion is suggested by an amusing or – one can say – entertaining arrangement. Who would not love *Pope Joan*, the supporter of widows and orphans, of the poor and of women?

Obviously, there is a corresponding relationship between popular use of history or historical edutainment and historical research. This corresponding relationship calls for attention by using history in the public domain as well as in school history lessons, and this relationship has to be investigated by history didactics. The changes and reciprocal coherences of peaks of interest in specific topics, historical research, and the public use of history have to be explained scientifically. ‘Which topics of edutainment have their sources in social, economic or scientific interests?’ is one of the main questions which has to be answered by historio-didactical research. On which interests does historical edutainment depend?

On the other hand, the example mentioned of the TV-magazine makes clear that such institutions or media of historical culture have to follow the standards of dealing with history, which is accepted in society. In Western societies the use of history in film generally follows history reasonably closely, and respects historical methods – more or less.³¹ But these norms can often come into conflict with commercial aims and needs. For example: the Musical of Pope Joan was not produced in order to inform people about the truth or fiction of Pope Joan, but to earn money and, second, to transmit a message about female empowerment. Medieval contexts seem to be preferred, and the recipe seems to be: take a well-known outline story or topic, where the majority of potential recipients do not have any detailed knowledge of the narrative, and where there are not too many sources then you can impose a narrative that suits modern values, aspirations and expectations. Of course, not all offers of edutainment are produced from this recipe!

One can say, in the popular field the fascination with Pope Joan was produced by people who followed different interests: first the ones who took the chance and intended to make money; secondly the ones, who used (or abused) the story for spreading their socio-political ideas – and as a result this mysterious story gained new popularity. In both cases the actual subject (Pope Joan), is not as essential because the (potential) function and motive is key. Pope Joan or the (unknown)

Middle Ages are just vehicles for *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung*: the epoch is adapted, because its characteristics, pointed out here several times, can be functionalised, not (at least) because of the role of historical consciousness.

The third of Ch. Kühberger's points, ethics in *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung* or edutainment reminds us that the accuracy of the historical sciences and objectivity should be the main guiding principles to ensure neutrality and ethical behavior. But this is effective only in the field of historical research. At the moment when historical knowledge is applied in processes of argumentation the problem of ethical aspects gains much more brisance or explosive potential. If history is used in political debates or – to name a typical non-scientific branch of historical argumentation – in advertising, historical argumentation pursues a goal: to convince a political opponent or to persuade a potential customer. In both cases ethical integrity depends on (historical) arguments. It is evident whether the historical facts, from which the arguments are formed, are based on empirical truth (proven by sources) and if the coherence, produced by the facts, is plausible, but the aim aspired to by the use of historical argumentation – in scientific as well as in public fields of history becomes evident.³²

Is it sincere in an ethical sense to sell merchandise using historical associations? Is it opportune to use history for entertainment? Is it ethically allowed to attract people to history by using media, methods or other offers of edutainment? The last question is especially evident in reference to the role edutainment can play in educational coherence: one of the core questions of the ISHD conference 2014 in Wrocław, which considered the question of permissibility of motivation when the manipulation of pupils can be the result. Therefore all kinds of edutainment operated in educational contexts where historical thinking should be developed, have to be analysed by de-construction. That means by discovering the empirical truth of the facts, the plausibility of the stories told about the past and the convincibility of the imposed interpretation and the power to orientate in the contemporary praxis of life.³³

6. Recapitulation

In the end, the results of single units can be concentrated in theses and generalised in this way:

1. The concept 'edutainment' is not very clear. Edutainment is a very wide field which covers multiple kinds of media reaching from comics to serious forms of historical intermediation.
2. History didactics in Germany deals with entertaining forms of historical intermediation since at least historical consciousness was established as the main subject of research and historical culture was discovered as its area of application. The comprehension of historical culture is well defined, and historical edutainment is a part of it.
3. The example of Medieval History demonstrates that the public or entertaining interest in historical topics does not correlate with knowledge or serious interest. The fascination of the dark Middle Ages has its own stimulus.
4. The example of the story around the female pope Joan, which covers nearly all forms of historical intermediation, illustrates that popular (edutaining) topics in historical culture are not always effusions of scientific discussions but can be impulses for scientific research. This agrees with the definition of historical culture which runs from the scientific to the trivial use of history, which means: from education to entertainment by history.
5. Finally, the example of Pope Joan as topic of popular historical culture or edutainment reveals that history may gain status as merchandise by which ideas (or ideologies) can be transmitted. This means not only that one can earn money by dealing with history but that history loses its critical potential if it turns into of a marketable product which can be owned by somebody (Hasberg, 2016).

Before considerations are indicated on how to introduce edutainment into history lessons there are two other academic voids neither of which could be answered conclusively during the Wrocław Conference:³⁴ First, criteria have to be created to define which phenomena count as edutainment. The question is not answered with any satisfaction if edutainment uses media to transfer of historical knowledge and – perhaps – competencies. As already mentioned, it is always a task of historio-didactical research to investigate offers of entertainment in order to gain information about the proportion of educational and entertaining aims and potentials therein. In the first instance, this is an empirical task. The second question is a theoretical

one concerning the relationship between form and content. In the same way as Hayden White asserted rightly that linguistic forms influence historiography and historical argumentation, this is true for entertainment, too (White, 1987). Therefore historio-didactical research has to analyse in which ways the form of edutainment influences the content and especially the transparency of historical argumentation.

The answers to these questions seem to be preconditions for the implementation of edutainment in history lessons because they would build the ground whereon de-construction of edutainment offers will become possible.³⁵

Notes

¹ This indication corresponds to findings of museum sociologists who discovered that those visitors gain most knowledge from an exhibition are the ones who enter with initial knowledge of the topic.

² The word Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung is borrowed from the novel of Hanika (2010). Kühberger (2012: 14) defines it – with little selectivity – as: ‘transformation of resources (ideas, relicts, narrations etc.) of the past which are available in the present into goods of high value of money’.

³ Cf. e. g. *Geschichte in der Öffentlichkeit* 1979; Schörken, 1981, Schörken, 1995 or the issue *History in mass media* of the journal *Geschichtsdidaktik*, s. *Geschichte in den Massenmedien* 1983.

⁴ Cf. Groebner 2008.

⁵ Cf. Fried, 2002; Goetz, 2007; Hasberg 2012.

⁶ Cf. Erdmann, 2009.

⁷ Cf. <http://www.karldergrosse2014.de/> (23.12.2014).

⁸ The most famous books of Dan Brown are *Angels & Demons*, New York: Random House Large Print, 2000; *The Da Vinci Code*, New York: Doubleday, 2003; *The Lost Symbol*, New York: Doubleday, 2009 and *Inferno*, New York: Doubleday, 2013.

⁹ Cf. Eco, 1984.

¹⁰ Cf. examples in *Canossa* 2012. As example of a new novel which was successful cf. Berger, 2004.

¹¹ Stölzel, Philipp, dir., *Der Medicus* (Potsdam: UFA Cinema, 2013).

¹² Cf. Kuchler, 2011: 160.

¹³ Freies Historiker Büro Bergisch Gladbach 1195.

¹⁴ Cf. Thieme, 1995 and Heinze, 2012.

¹⁵ <https://www.ubisoft.com/de-DE/> (10.02.2015).

¹⁶ The German empirical research regarding the role of Middle Ages in the historical consciousness until 2003 is summarised by Hasberg 2002, wherein the preferences of and the knowledge about epochs, which was investigated by

Borries, 1995, Küppers, 1966; Mielitz, 1969; Oehler, 1969 and others, are compared. There are only few newer explorations, especially comparisons.

¹⁷ Cf. Mielitz, 1969: 102 and Oehler 1969: 48.

¹⁸ Cf. Borries 1989, 1995 and 1999; Angvik, 1996.

¹⁹ Originally it was really a sage not a legend how it is often called, e.g. Kerner and Herbers 2010.

²⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emmanuel_Rhoides (12.12.2015).

²¹ Kerner & Herbers, 2010. For didactical implications cf. Hasberg 2013.

²² Cf. Hasberg, 2012.

²³ For example: The 1200th anniversary of the death of Charlemagne did not only bred a big exhibition but new scientific biographies by famous scholars, too, e.g. Fried (2013) and Weinfurter (2013).

²⁴ Die Päpstin. Das Musical. Originalcast 2011, Booklet No. 18: Papa Populi.

²⁵ Das Geheimnis der Päpstin 2012, in the end Petra Gerster, the anchorwoman, states: *Historisch soll es die Päpstin Johanna also nicht gegeben haben. Aber warum lebt sie dann in den Köpfen der Menschen weiter, in der Kunst, in Romanen und in Filmen. Vielleicht gab es sie eben doch, stellvertretend für alle vergessenen Heldinnen ihrer Zeit. Wichtig bleibt die Botschaft: Johanna wollte sich nicht aussperren lassen, wollte wie jeder Mann an Wissen und Bildung teilhaben. Eine Frau, die Grenzen überschreitet, wer wollte das nicht sympathisch finden.*

²⁶ It may be that the history lessons are responsible for such a scientific attitude. Although there is no empirical research it can be presumed that they are a factor of the historical consciousness found in the public field.

²⁷ At least *Tannbach – Schicksal eines Dorfes*, 3 parts, dir. Alexander Dierbach (GDR: ZDF, 2015) (<http://tannbach.zdf.de/tannbach/tannbach-35186806.html>) and *Tannbach – Die Dokumentation* (<http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek/kanaluebersicht/2274904#/kanaluebersicht/2274904>). The first part and the documentation were on air January 4th, 2015. The film series tell the story of the fate of Mödlareuth, a small Bavarian village which was divided into an Eastern and a Western part by a wall after World War II.

²⁸ Already in 1977 the German Konferenz für Geschichtsdidaktik dealt with public history, cf. *Geschichte in der Öffentlichkeit* 1979 and as another early example cf. Schörken, 1981.

²⁹ Cf. Hasberg 1997 and 2012.

³⁰ Cf. Mütter, 1998; *Geschichtskultur. Theorie – Empirie – Pragmatik*, 2000; Reeken, 2004; Pandel, 2009.

³¹ This does not have to be true for other societies. How different the historical consciousness of pupils all over Europe is can be seen in Angvik, 1997. Cf. Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011.

³² For that complex of problems in general cf. Kühberger & Sedmak (2008).

³³ De-construction as mental operation and educational method is explained by Hasberg (2013) and by another example from Hasberg (2007). For the theoretical background cf. Rösen (1986: 90-116; 1990: 106-152; 2013). The approach does not coincide with the Anglo-American discourse, cf. e.g. Manslow, 2006.

³⁴ Cf. the articles in *International Journal of Research on History Didactics* 36/2015, 13-179.

³⁵ De-construction as a mental operation and as a method in history lessons was introduced by Hasberg 1997 and explained several times, cf. Hasberg 2007 and 2013. The concept is widely accepted, cf. Schreiber, Waltraud/Mebus, Sylvia: Durchblicken. Dekonstruktion von Schulbüchern (Neuried: ars una 2005).

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IS SEEING BELIEVING? ON THE EDUCATIONAL USE OF MAINSTREAM HISTORICAL FILMS IN THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

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Historical films constitute an important source of knowledge about the past and of historical representations among young people. Students, however, often consider them as mirrors of the past instead of constructed representations. Therefore, it is very important to get students acquainted with audio-visual grammar, by analysing and questioning films in a critical way, in order to foster their historical and critical thinking skills. This paper examines how students and teachers in Flanders perceive historical films, and how teachers use them educationally in their classroom practice. Secondly, based on an extensive literature study and on our own analyses of historical films, it presents a model, distinguishing eight layers in historical films that can be discerned and are worthwhile to question, to foster students' historical thinking skills.

The cheering and shouting from smiling and optimistic faces while assailing the Normandy coast on D-Day, 6 June 1944, is brought into vision in the historical film *The Longest Day* (1962, Ken Annakin, Andrew Morton, Bernhard Wicki and Darryl F. Zanuck). It seems as if 'our boys' go to meet the German enemies with a smile on their face. The same event is brought into vision very differently in *Saving Private Ryan* (1998, Steven Spielberg). Here we see close-ups of the tensed and terrified faces of soldiers, some of them puking while sitting in their landing crafts, approaching that same Normandy coast. One historical event, two completely different representations. Does that mean that one film is historically more 'truthful', and thus 'better', and that a history teacher should confine himself to the 'best' film? Or is something else going on here?

It is a widespread misconception in society at large, and especially among non-historians, that historical films can represent a past reality in an accurate manner. Of course they do not. The directors of historical films do not even aim to do so. Historical films are not meant to be school history lessons, but are situated first and foremost in the entertainment business. Instead of wanting to provide a scientifically underpinned historical representation of a past event or development,

directors especially want to create a good entertainment product which is commercially successful (Rosenstone, 1992). Directors are not, and do not pretend to be historians. They want to make films which convince people that they actually witness the past, that what they see is real, and is not just a construction of reality (Chapman et al., 2007). Only then a film is successful, from a commercial perspective.

Although they create an illusion of reality, historical films, however, are always only representations of a past reality. Just like all historical sources, historical films therefore provide excellent opportunities to foster students' strategic knowledge and historical thinking skills, and to teach them how to critically analyse audio-visual source material. The latter is all the more important, since historical films constitute an important source of knowledge about the past and of historical representations among young people especially (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Rosenzweig, 2000; Wineburg et al., 2000; Rosenstone, 2002; Marcus et al., 2006; Butler et al., 2009). In his doctoral dissertation, Sommer (2010) found a firm connection between representations of the past young people have in mind, and historical films. In order to imagine the life of gladiators for instance, or military tactics in classical antiquity, they especially lean on historical films such as *Gladiator* (2000, Ridley Scott), *Troy* (2004, Wolfgang Petersen) or *300* (2006, Zack Snyder). The less knowledge they have of a certain historical theme, the less young people take a critical stance towards historical representations in films. The regular use of (excerpts from) historical films in history education thus seems very important. Marcus (2005: 66) argues that 'teachers have an obligation to contemplate the influence of Hollywood film on students' historical understanding and to consider the use of film in their teaching practices'. This plea even gains urgency, when considering how young people perceive historical films, and the common use of historical films in the classroom.

Research by Peter Seixas (1993 and 1994), confronting students with two historical films about the same topic (Native American-white relations in North America in the 19th century) but stemming from a different time period (*Dances with Wolves* – Kevin Costner from 1990, and *The Searchers* – John Ford from 1956), shows that, the more a historical film makes the past resemble the present, the more the film is perceived as trustworthy. Students do not obviously consider historical films, especially recent ones, as mere representations of the past. On the contrary, they consider them as mirrors of the past, thus taking a rather naïve copier stance, as Liliana

Maggioni (et al., 2009) describes students who think past and history are the same, and consider sources to be direct entries to the past and exact representations of the past. When watching older historical films, by contrast, students are actually able to interpret them as a historical representation reflecting the mentality of the time in which they were made.

American history didacticians Marcus & Stoddard (2007) examined how and why 84 American social studies teachers used historical films in their lesson series on American history. They conclude that teachers especially put films into practice for content-related reasons, and to develop historical empathy (in the sense of both perspective taking and caring). Reasons to use historical films were to motivate students, to help them understand historical contents, and to make the lessons relevant to their lives. Issues such as revealing the constructed and interpretative nature of history, fostering students' historical and critical thinking skills while analysing film excerpts, or the development of audio-visual literacy were not mentioned by the participating teachers. Concerning concrete teaching practices, teachers indicated that they especially provoked debate among students after showing a film excerpt. The analysis of the open-ended answers in this respect, however, revealed that teachers did not so much 'debate' the film excerpts. They rather used the excerpts to transmit historical knowledge, to outline a historical context, and to paint a vivid picture of the past. In short, teachers particularly used historical films to transmit historical content. In his research, Metzger (2007) comes to the same conclusions, even though he found that history teachers have a lot of ideas on using historical films in order to foster their students' historical thinking, but do not put them into practice. Metzger explains this, by pointing out that using films to reveal the constructed nature of history and to foster students' historical thinking skills requires a huge effort and investment of time from history teachers. Not only must they devote a lot of time to analysis in their history lessons, but also they must look up and prepare a lot of information regarding the making of the historical film in advance. Furthermore, Metzger indicates that many teachers seem to want to keep control of the lesson they teach. Therefore they strictly direct the questioning of film excerpts themselves, instead of organizing a free debate about it among students.

This paper addresses two main research questions. First, it examines how students and teachers in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking, northern part of Belgium) perceive historical films, and how teachers use them educationally in their classroom practice. Secondly, assuming that the educational use will not differ that much from findings in the above-mentioned studies, I raise the question of how a teacher can analyse and question (excerpts from) historical films as historical sources, in order to contribute to fostering students' historical thinking skills, and to make them acquainted with audio-visual grammar. In this respect, a model is presented, distinguishing eight layers in historical films that can be discerned and are worthwhile to question, to foster students' historical thinking skills. The model is based on an extensive literature study and on my own analyses of historical films.

1. Exploratory Research into How Students and Teachers in Flemish History Education Perceive and Deal with Historical Films

Partly based on the research of Marcus and Stoddard (2007) and Metzger (2007), an exploratory, qualitative research was set up in Flanders by Plevoets (2014), supervised by the author of this paper. We examined how eight history teachers from the 11th and 12th grade of general secondary education, use historical films educationally in their classroom practice. Specific research questions addressed the educational goals for which teachers used historical films, and how they subsequently presented and contextualized them. Those questions were connected to the beliefs the participating history teachers cherish concerning the nature of historical knowledge, and concerning (the goals of) history education. Eight Flemish teachers, all experienced teachers from the 11th and 12th grade, six men and two women, all academically trained historians with an additional teaching degree, were observed during – in total – 18 history lessons of 50 minutes each, in which they used historical films; furthermore, they were interviewed in a semi-structured way. In designing the semi-structured interviews, we drew on previous studies on teachers' epistemological and educational beliefs (Marcus & Stoddard, 2007; Moisan, 2010; Wils et al. 2011; Yilmaz 2011). Through classroom observations, we established a view on history teachers' teaching practices; through semi-structured interviews, we gained an understanding of their beliefs.

When looking at history teachers' epistemological beliefs on the nature of historical knowledge, we found that four teachers put themselves in a very explicit way on a perspectivist stance. They demonstrated an awareness that history is an evidence-based interpretation and construction, and that not all interpretations of sources are equally valuable. Those teachers stated that history cannot tell one story only, but that multiple perspectives on one historical event are possible. Regarding films, they were aware that films only give one perspective, and cannot be considered at all as trustworthy representations of the past. They mentioned that they paid attention to epistemological issues during their classes. The four other teachers especially emphasized critical thinking as an important teaching and learning goal for history education. In their opinion, students have to be critical, ask questions and consider the trustworthiness of sources. When descending, in the semi-structured interviews, to the level of concrete history lessons, it is very striking that teachers started to tell another story. When asked why they (would) use historical films, teachers answered that they use them as illustrations of content, or to enliven their lessons, in order to make the past more concrete, and to help students in memorizing the lesson contents. Epistemological reflection or critical thinking were no longer mentioned as concrete lesson goals.

When analyzing the concrete classroom observations, it is indeed notable that excerpts from historical films (lasting three to twenty minutes) were mainly used for their content, as an illustration accompanying content knowledge that was already taught, or to support content knowledge being transmitted. Six out of eight teachers used a film excerpt in this way. When teaching for example about the Cuban missile crisis, one used a small excerpt of *Thirteen Days* (2000, Roger Donaldson); when teaching about the Vietnam War, one showed an excerpt of *Platoon* (1986, Oliver Stone), and when talking about the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution, one showed excerpts of *Daens* (1992, Stijn Coninx), a Flemish film about the 19th century gulf between workers and employers, and the accompanying social injustice. At the same time, teachers also tried to establish – emotional or affective – empathy. All three teachers that made use of the film *Daens*, selected a scene visualizing child labor, in order to stir emotions among their students.

Two teachers used historical films for more than their content. One teacher included audio-visual grammar in his questions. He compared the landing scene of allied forces on the beaches in Normandy, D-Day, 6 June 1944, as shown in *The Longest Day* and *Saving Private Ryan*, and asked questions about the camera perspective and the use of sound. The other teacher paid attention to the *mise-en-scene* (staging) and the use of symbols in the film *Daens*, when pointing out that the *mise-en-scene* in one particular scene was inspired by Van Gogh's painting 'The Potato Eaters'. He did not, however, elaborate the significance of this observation.

The historical films were not contextualized very much. Three out of eight teachers gave no contextual information at all. Only one mentioned what the film was about. Four gave the name of the director, and time and place of shooting the film. The lack of context information accompanying film excerpts hinders an in-depth questioning. Because, without some context information, it is difficult to go beyond a content-related questioning of films.

Out of this – small, exploratory – research, it can be concluded that, although most of the participating history teachers place themselves on a perspectivist stance, they do not put this epistemological belief in practice while teaching. This conclusion is somewhat in line with research of Stoddard (2010 and 2012). Here, the participating history teachers explained their behaviour by referring to the time pressure they experience to complete the content-related curricular requirements, and to the excessively high difficulty level of an epistemological questioning of film excerpts. Canadian history didactician Moisan (2010) concluded in her PhD research about the epistemological beliefs of Canadian history teachers also that, although Canadian history teachers consider history as an interpretation, many of them resist the idea of bringing this insight into their own history classes, as they assume that students lack the necessary basic knowledge or intellectual abilities to perform such operations. Hardly any history teachers participating in her research indicated that he or she systematically applied a constructivist approach in his or her daily teaching practice. The Flemish history teachers interviewed in our research made similar remarks, or referred to a lack of time. In their opinion, two hours a week for the subject of history, did not allow time to stimulate epistemological reflection. Addressing constructivist issues in history classes, as well as critically analyzing sources is very time-consuming, they argued, and would prevent them from offering

students enough pure historical contents. Those teachers tended to give priority to providing a 'complete' historical overview, over epistemological reflection. They preferred to foster students' substantive knowledge, instead of also developing their strategic knowledge.

And what about the students? After the initial research on teaching practices, we organized semi-structured (exploratory) group interviews with a selection of 24 students who were present in the observed history lessons. Interview analysis clearly demonstrates the need to pay attention to the constructed and interpretative nature of historical films in the history classroom. For in the interviews, students testified of a rather naïve understanding of historical films. This finding confirms earlier research of for instance Seixas (2000). On a general level, all students indicated the need to be critical when watching films, but on the other hand, when asked about specific historical films, and after watching some excerpts from such films, all of them considered all mentioned historical films as mirrors of the past, except perhaps for some details being wrong. They thus testified to holding a copier stance. This clearly demonstrates the need to go beyond content-related questions, when questioning film fragments, in order to foster students' historical and strategic thinking and to raise awareness of the constructed and interpretative nature of historical representations. How this can be done in concrete history classroom practice, is addressed in the next part of this paper.

2. The Educational Use of Historical Films to Foster Students' Historical Thinking Skills: An Exploration of Possibilities

Starting from an abundance of existing literature on this subject, combined with my own analyses of historical films, in what follows, I try to map all elements in which respect a historical film can be critically and worthwhile questioned as a historical source, in order to foster students' historical thinking skills (Toplin, 1985; Briley, 1990; Cates, 1990; Barta, 1998; O'Connor, 2001; Sorlin, 2001; Weinstein, 2001; Briley, 2002; Vos, 2004; Marcus, 2005; Matz & Pingatore, 2005; Marcus, 2006; Marcus et al., 2006; Stoddard & Marcus, 2006; Marcus & Stoddard, 2007; Metzger, 2007; Van Nieuwenhuysse, 2007; Woelders, 2007a and 2007b; Metzger & Suh, 2008; Butler et al., 2009; Marcus & Stoddard, 2009; Marcus et al., 2010; Metzger, 2010; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010; Stoddard, 2014; Stoddard et al., 2014). I

distinguish eight layers in historical films, worthwhile questioning. Each of those layers is explained and illustrated with some examples. Teachers are, of course, not supposed to question one historical film excerpt on each of those eight layers. Those layers merely serve as a source of inspiration for history teachers when preparing concrete questions, focused on reasoning about the historical film (historical-critical and strategic questioning, to assess the value of the representation) instead of only on reasoning with the historical film (solely substantive, content questioning to select information).

2.1 *The Content-related Layer*

A logical starting point for a critical questioning of a historical film excerpt is a classic content analysis. Taking into account an important constructivist teaching principle, the content can be compared with students' previous knowledge. It can also be compared with other sources addressing the same topic, such as books, magazine articles, other films, documentaries, or websites. A critical corroboration of those sources may lead to an examination of the extent to which the historical representation in the film is in line with the current state of disciplinary knowledge; to an examination whether all actors involved in the historical event are present in the film or a selection has been made; whether a distinction has been made between facts and opinions; and whether the director paid attention to the multiple historiographical perspectives on the theme. *The Patriot* (2000, Roland Emmerich) for instance, of which the central theme is the victory of the American colonists fighting for a noble cause over the arrogant and corrupt British, clearly adopts only the point of view of the American colonists. One scene shows the hanging of a captured colonial soldier by the British. In reality, however, captured soldiers were only very rarely hanged. An exception is what happened in South-Carolina in October 1780, when the colonists hanged nine captured British soldiers. More generally, it can be noticed that almost all atrocities shown in the film were committed by the British (Metzger, 2006). Reality, however, was much more nuanced. Both the British and the colonists committed atrocities.

An important element of the content analysis concerns the sources on which the directors relied to make their film. Did they make use of a wide range of sources, allowing for an accurate representation of the historical event or development in their film? Or did they spend only

little attention to the historiography about the historical event or development? And why was that? This immediately brings students to the subject of the aims the directors pursued with their historical film, an issue occupying centre stage in the second layer.

2.2 *The Intentionality Layer*

Since the author's goals determine to a large extent the representation of historical persons, events and developments in a historical source, it is important to examine the goals of the directors of a historical film. Depending on the goals, certain techniques of persuasion are used, such as intentionally omitting parts of the story, depicting adversaries as 'the bad guys' in a very sinister manner, or presenting opinions and perspectives as recognized facts.¹

The goals of a historical film can be various: commercial, political, ideological, identity-formative, educational, citizenship-formative. Ferro (2003) for instance explored how several historical films supported certain ideologies and were used in a propagandistic way. Many historical films, however, especially in Hollywood, first and foremost pursue commercial success. It is no coincidence that one uses the word 'film industry'. A successful film is one that draws full houses, regardless of whether the film is historically accurate or not. Commercial goals can of course go hand in hand with additional goals. The abovementioned *The Patriot* for example also reinforces American feelings of identity, by creating a strong, black-and-white us-them feeling (the 'good' Americans versus the 'bad' British). *Schindler's List* (1993, Steven Spielberg) on the other hand, according to the director, did not pursue commercial success, but only commemorative and educational goals. In an interview, Spielberg stated: *I sincerely hope that Schindler's List can cause a crack in the societal indifference towards the Holocaust. ... That's all. I do not want to earn one penny with it; it would be blood money. If the film would be profitable, then I will donate the money to Holocaust research initiatives* (Butstraen, 1994).

2.3 *The Story Grammar Layer*

Film directors are active in the field of story-telling. They do not want to tell a historically accurate story in the first place, but they rather want to construct their film in such a manner that it draws as many full

houses as possible. As a consequence, the story cannot be too hard to keep up with (Thompson, 1999). Furthermore, the viewer must be able to identify himself with the main figure of the story, and to immerse himself in the story. As a result, mainstream historical films demonstrate some typical characteristics (Rosenstone, 2001). Recognizing them helps students to gain a critical understanding of the concrete shape of historical representations in films, and thus contributes to fostering students' historical thinking skills.

A first characteristic of historical films is their presentist interpretation and shape (1). Since the success of a historical film partly depends on the extent to which a viewer can himself identify with what is shown, directors interweave present-day opinions, feelings, ideas and values with a historical theme. This is done in a subtle way, because at all times the film must create the illusion of historical authenticity. In an episode of the historical television series *Pillars of the Earth* (2010, Sergio Mimica-Gezzan), the figure Aliena, during a Sunday picnic, gets angry with her husband Jack. She reproaches him that he works too much, and is too much focused on his career instead of on his family. As a result, she bears all the responsibility for the care of their child, and she cannot develop her own talents. It probably goes without saying that this scene rather reflects a 21st century situation than a medieval one, and thus clearly demonstrates presentism. For the 21st century viewer, however, this situation is familiar, as a result of which identification with the protagonists increases. A second characteristic concerns romanticization and emotionalization (2). Films emotionalize the past. Rosenstone (2002: 469-470) argues that historical film directly aims at the emotions of the spectator: *It doesn't simply provide an image of the past, it wants you to feel strongly about that image – specifically about the characters involved in the historical situations that it depicts. ... The desire to elicit strong, immediate emotion and the emphasis on visual, even tactile reality, are no doubt the practices that most clearly distinguish the historical film from academic history in our time.* Historical films are also characterized by personalization (3). Major themes and conflicts display their consequences on a personal and individual level, rather than films focussing on structures and the structural aspects of events and developments. A viewer sees the unfolding of historical events such as wars, revolutions, dictatorships, resistance movements, experiments, or strikes solely through the eyes of a limited number of individuals and their lives (Rosenstone, 2002). Historians, by contrast, emphasize the interplay between individuals, groups and structural factors.

Simplification is another characteristic of historical films, which do not at all reflect a past reality in all its complexity (4). The film *The Kingdom of Heaven* (2005, Ridley Scott) for instance, is about the conflict only between 'the Christians' versus 'the Muslims'. At no time, the film mentions the existence of Arabs, Kurds, Persians or Turks, even though distinguishing between those groups is essential (Metzger, 2005). This, however, would have made the plot too complex, and thus the film too difficult to keep up with. A fifth feature is dramatization (5). Films tell a story within dramaturgical conventions, with the emphasis on a conflict. The average historical film tells a story in which a beginning, a middle and an ending can be discerned. It includes a moral message, and often also the idea of progress through time (Rosenstone, 1992).² The story told in a film is most often a closed story, rather than one that would reveal alternative perspectives (6). This should not surprise us. The medium of film is less suited in this respect. As Toplin (2002) argues, in a book of 300 pages, an author has the chance to address different perspectives on one event. A historical film, by contrast, is often confined to an unambiguous, unproblematic approach of the past, and presents a coherent story, not an analysis that deconstructs the story. Historians try to explain past events, historical films only want to bring them into vision. The film *Amistad* (1997, Steven Spielberg) for instance, as Stoddard & Marcus (2006) argue, reveals little about slavery in the US: *It does for instance not explain why the government would not legally free the millions of black slaves who resided in the US for another thirty years, and that decision would not be settled in a court of law.* A seventh and last characteristic of historical films is that they offer a visual overall picture (7), including landscapes, buildings, historical costumes, artefacts, weapons, all contributing to the illusion of authenticity.

2.4 *The Audio-visual Grammar Layer*

Just as written language, audio-visual language has its own grammar. A good analysis of historical films requires the necessary knowledge of this audio-visual or film language. Below, four elements, together forming the audio-visual language, are addressed: the camera work, the mise-en-scene or staging, the use of sound and the montage or editing. Each of those includes techniques of persuasion, which influence the historical representations at stake and people's viewing of it. Again,

deconstructing them can foster students' historical and critical thinking.

2.5 *The Camera Work*

A film is composed of different scenes, which each demonstrate a unity of place, time, figures and act, and which are for their part composed of different shots. A shot is the recording between putting the camera on and off. That camera used to make shots is necessarily acting in a subjective manner. For it only shows what happens in front of the camera, and not behind it. Furthermore, a camera image suggests the reality, but does not constitute the reality itself. A camera can shoot events from different angles (at eye level, bird's-eye view, worm's-eye view), each of them resulting in a different representation, causing different meanings and feelings. Furthermore, audio-visual language is composed of a three-part basic syntax with which a director can tell any story. A distinction can be made between the total shot (used to outline the context), the medium shot (in which people are brought into vision up to their middle), and the close-up (detail shot, used to draw attention to a detail, a face or an artefact). Drawing students' attention to the camera actions helps them to better understand films.

The way in which the camera moves, also plays an important part in the audio-visual grammar. A travelling camera allows the viewer to be more involved in the action, to the extent that the viewer gets the feeling of being part of the action. In *Schindler's List* (1993, Steven Spielberg) for instance, the eviction of the Krakow ghetto is brought into vision in a very dynamic manner. The director clearly pursued intense involvement and empathy of the viewer in this scene.

2.6 *The Mise-en-scène or Staging*

The mise-en-scène is 'everything that is constructed within the framework of view: the scenery, the location, the lighting, the costumes, the make-up and the way in which the actors are positioned in front of the camera' (Vos, 2004: 22-23). In historical films and historical television series, the mise-en-scène might provide an indication of the efforts the directors made or not to pursue historical accuracy. The mini-series *Cleopatra* (1999, Franc Roddam) for instance, is riddled with mistakes: the suits of armour are anachronistic;

all Egyptians wear horizontally striped headscarfs, while in reality, only the pharaoh was allowed to wear those; and so on.

Within the brief scope of this paper, only the lighting and use of colours are addressed. The interplay between light and shadow can draw the viewer's attention to certain things, and makes the space tangible. The lighting determines to a considerable extent the atmosphere of the set and influences the viewer's perception. The lighting of the face especially can be strongly suggestive. Specific lighting can provide characters with an aura of credibility or unreliability. Lighting from below, for instance, often gives a face a devilish touch. In *Schindler's List*, the lighting plays an important part. Bright light for instance suggests the Nazi terror in several scenes. The glare of searchlights symbolizes the control exercised by the Nazis on the inmates (Toplin, 2002).

The use of colour equally determines the atmosphere and the perception of the film. In the opening scene of *Saving Private Ryan* (1998, Steven Spielberg), representing the landing on Omaha Beach on 6 June 1944, the colours yellow and red fiercely contrast with the predominantly grey, ashy tenor. The yellow stems from the many flames of explosions, the red from blood. These colours are meant to emphasize the intensity of the event. In the coloured version of *The Longest Day*, by contrast, the red colour is completely absent in the landing scene. It is as if no blood is shed. Spielberg filmed *Schindler's List* completely in black-and-white. By his own account, he associated the period of World War II with black-and-white, and furthermore, these colours would less distract the viewer. Only once, the black-and-white is broken, when, during the eviction of the ghetto of Krakow, the camera mostly follows a little girl with a bright red jacket. This way, Spielberg draws extra attention to the cruel fate the girl faced (Verbestel, 1994).

2.7 *The Use of Sound*

Sound is almost everywhere in historical films, whether it concerns human voices, natural sounds or music. Every sound has a certain texture (hard/soft, high/low, timbre) and a source (originating from a source belonging to the actual story or not). Sound not originating from a source belonging to the actual story creates, often unnoticed, a

specific atmosphere, like for instance the heroic and triumphalist tune accompanying the landing on Omaha beach in *The Longest Day*.

The kind of sound, texture, and source each have their own significance. Sound often guides emotions, determines the interpretation of images, and directs our attention to certain figures, situations and artefacts, and moulds our expectations. It is therefore important to draw students' attention to the effects of sound on their viewing. A worthwhile exercise in this respect is to have students watch the same film excerpt twice: once with, once without sound. This way, they immediately experience the effects of sound.

2.8 *The Montage or Editing*

According to the famous Soviet director Sergej Eisenstein, the essence of film is not located in images or shots, but in the mutual relation between them, in the principle of montage. This means that the rules of montage are at the same time the rules of audio-visual grammar. Montage rests upon our tendency to see connections between consecutive images in a film (Vos, 2004: 27). In order to be able to deconstruct a film story, one must understand the basic rules of montage.

There are two types of montage. Continuity montage focuses on the continuation of the displayed action. It is used to display a story in a clear manner, and at a certain speed. This montage is discreet, and avoids making strange leaps in time and space. Parallel montage is about alternating two or more scenes that often happen simultaneously but in different locations. An example of the latter is the following, from *Schindler's List*. In a touching scene, Amon Goeth, commander of the labour camp Plaszow, carries out a monologue to the Jewish maid Helena, who he is in love with, even though that is strictly forbidden. Spielberg alternates this scene with two other ones, thus drawing additional attention on what he wants to make clear. In the first of the two alternating scenes, he displays how protagonist Oscar Schindler unashamedly and spontaneously kisses a Jewish girl, against all official rules. In the second scene, Spielberg displays a marriage between two young people in the labour camp. Their feelings are put in sharp contrast with *Übermensch* Goeth, who has no human feelings anymore (Verbestel, 1994).

2.9 *The Symbolic-ideological Layer*

The science of semiotics and structuralism added, from the 1960's-1970's a new layer to the analysis of historical films. It focuses on the symbolic and ideological meanings, examining the (somewhat hidden) symbolic and ideological messages, present in historical films. One can search, for instance, for symbolic signs, which have the power to persuade the viewer, and which are, furthermore, necessary to transmit difficult or abstract issues. An American flag is often used as a symbol to express American patriotism.

Besides, the use of stereotypes and generalizing characterization is worthwhile examining as well. Those phenomena can occur in the design of scenery as well as in the casting of the actors. In *The Longest Day*, in which the idea of the triumph of democracy over dictatorship occupies centre stage, allied officers are displayed as sympathetic men, who do not feel superior to ordinary soldiers; many German officers, by contrast, have unsympathetic faces, and bark at their lower ranks. The ordinary German soldiers, however, are displayed in a rather neutral, impartial manner.³ In *Der ewige Jude*, not only are Jews compared to rats, but only those Jews were cast, whose face could reinforce the very 'stereotypical' image of 'the Jew'.

2.10 *The Societal Context Layer*

Like every historical source, a historical film is also a child of its own time. Therefore, it is important to include in the analysis the influence of the societal context in which the film was made. A historical film often reveals more about the society in which it was made, than about the society it displays. *The Birth of a Nation* (1915, David Wark Griffith), about American history before, during and after the civil war (The Age of Reconstruction) is very interesting as a representation of the time in which it was made, since it clearly reflects certain ideas prevalent among white people, such as fierce criticism of the interfering government, and racism and hostility towards black people. *Bloody Sunday* (2002, Paul Greengrass) is another example of a film being illustrative of the atmosphere and societal context in which it was made. It was directed 30 years after the violence itself in Northern-Ireland. In the beginning of the year 2000, the Northern-Irish peace process had been going on for some years (since the Good Friday

agreement of 1998). The film engages itself in this process: it demonstrates attempts at reconciliation. The film *Spartacus* (1960, Stanley Kubrick) about a slave uprising in the first century BC, cannot be seen as separate from the black struggle for emancipation and equal civil rights in the United States in 1960. It is thus important, in order to understand a historical film representation, to gain knowledge of the contemporary society in which the film was made.

2.11 *The Film-historical Context Layer*

In examining historical films, it can be important to include the state of the film industry in the analysis. The landscape of the audio-visual sector in a country – whether for instance a lot of independent production companies were active in the sector, or only few, large production companies dominated it – can certainly influence the historical representation. For the more players on the market, the larger the extent of freedom and creativity directors often experience. When only a few production companies become dominant, there is the risk that historical films become much more straitjacketed.

The camera, montage and computer technique possibilities at the time the film was made should also be included in the film-historical context analysis (Vos, 2004). Not only can they explain specific representations, but also they can reveal unsuspected falsifications. In the first decades of the 20th century for example, the size of the camera limited its possibilities. Most cameras were unwieldy, and very expensive. Their presence on battlefields therefore was not evident at all. On the contrary, battlefield scenes, such as in *The Battle of the Somme* (1916, Geoffrey Malins and John McDowell) were often filmed during training, in a setting several kilometres behind the frontline. Taking this into account, it appears that a lot of ‘authentic’ footage about the First World War, is in reality rather fake (Hastings, 2004: 106).

2.12 *The Reception Layer*

A final layer examines the impact of historical films on public opinion and society at large. Such an analysis often reveals a lot about the contemporary society and its preoccupations. Did the film provoke certain discussions? Was it appreciated or not by the audience? Did it bring about political, economic, cultural or societal consequences?

Bloody Sunday for instance provoked fierce debates, immediately after its release. Unionists criticized the fact that the British were represented in a too aggressive and negative manner. The short film *Auschwitz* (2011, Uwe Boll, length: 30 minutes) even provoked discussion before its release. Advocates supported the idea that it is necessary to confront young people very explicitly with the abhorrence of the Holocaust, while opponents, such as Claude Lanzmann (director of *Shoah*, 1985), argued that the short film de-abhorred the Holocaust, exactly by displaying it.

The way the public interpreted the historical film can be examined as well. It should in this respect be taken into account that interpretations, and appreciations, can evolve over time. *The Birth of a Nation* (1915, David W. Griffith) for instance is nowadays considered as an extremely racist film. Shortly after its release, however, the perception was completely different, at least among many white people: 'Reviewers were ecstatic in their praise, audiences unrestrained in their enthusiasm. This was the film everyone had to see, a unique and awesome experience for Americans.' (Litwack, 1995) The United States had a difficult time just behind them, with racial violence and segregation claims. At the end of the film, when the Ku Klux Klan appeared as a ministering angel, many viewers spontaneously started to applaud. This reveals a lot about certain ideas prevalent among many white people. The US president at that time, Woodrow Wilson, seemed to be very enthusiastic about the film as well. Only several years later, he changed his mind, and called it an 'unfortunate production'. The film was nevertheless a huge success. Before the Second World War, no less than 200 million Americans saw the film, that was – not accidentally – also popular in Germany and South-Africa. This success, however, should not make us forget that many African Americans contested the film and heavily protested against it. Their negative reception was nevertheless largely ignored in society at large (Blight, 2001).

3. Conclusion

Research on the educational use of historical films concludes that history teachers mostly use those films for content-related reasons, and to develop historical empathy. They use film to foster students' substantive knowledge and their reasoning with historical films rather than to foster strategic knowledge and reasoning about historical films.

Consequently, young people consider historical films as mirrors of the past instead of very specific representations of the past. They do not spontaneously take a critical stance when watching historical films. It is, however, possible to foster students' historical and critical thinking through the questioning of films. In this respect, eight layers in historical films were discerned, worthwhile of questioning. If it seems as if those layers are hardly addressed in the questioning of historical films in the history classroom to date, this can be explained by the time pressure many history teachers experience, and by their assumption that students lack the necessary basic knowledge or intellectual capacity to reflect on epistemological issues.

Perhaps, however, something else is at stake as well. Are both history teachers and students sufficiently familiar with the parameters of audio-visual materials, to grasp them? Do they have a sufficient understanding of audio-visual grammar? We live nowadays in a visual culture, but we often understand too little about how audio-visual images originate, and how to deal with them. This is problematic, since historical films are an important source for the historical representations young people hold. It is therefore important to get them acquainted with audio-visual grammar, by analysing and questioning films in a critical way, in order to foster their historical and critical thinking skills. Only then, students will start to understand that historical films, like any other historical source, are never a mirror of the past, are always biased, are not a collection of facts, and never provide a complete and/or objective account of a past event. The identification of eight layers in historical films, worth questioning, can hopefully be of help in this pursuit.

Until now, I have not conducted a study (applying a pre-post-test design) measuring the effect of what happens when history teachers are made acquainted with those eight layers. What I actually do, is I spend a two hour seminar with prospective history teachers on this theme. I first show them a historical film excerpt, and subsequently ask them to come up with some questions they would ask students if they used the film excerpt in their teaching practice. It goes without saying that those questions are almost always exclusively content-related. Afterwards, I explain the eight layers, and present some general sample questions for each layer. I then show the historical film excerpt a second time, and ask the prospective history teachers to come up with new questions they would ask their students if they used the excerpt. This process proves to be very effective, at least in the

seminar, where the prospective teachers always come up with excellent, reflective questions. The extent to which they apply what they learnt during the seminar in their pre-service training, and later on in their in-service, however, still needs to be examined.

Notes

¹ The directors of a historical film are not the only ones setting goals for the film. The financiers of the film, or the facilitating institutions rendering their assistance to the making of the film (by placing locations and material at the director's disposal) set goals as well, that influence the final outlook of the film. The Pentagon for instance, before allowing any assistance, requires a positive, even glorious role for the American army in historical films they are asked to facilitate. If this requirement is not met, it forbids a director to shoot his film on locations managed by the American army, or to make use of its military equipment (Campbell, 2001).

² Regarding the story told in a historical film, it needs to be noted that there are only limited ways to tell a story which is at the same time clear and provokes a considerable emotional involvement of the viewer. To that end, directors often follow a strict grammar, which can be recognized in most historical films. A classic film story has a linear, chronological sequence of events beginning with a set-up, introducing the theme, followed by the development of the plot, and an ending or outcome. Quite a few variations on this three-act model exist. Thompson (1999) for instance, examining narrative techniques used in Hollywood, distinguishes between four acts: the 'set-up', the 'complicating action', the 'development' and the 'climax'. Within each of the three or four acts, moreover, the events have to follow each other rapidly, given the fact that a film cannot last endlessly. Consequently, many incidents occur at short notice in historical films, in order for the plot to develop swiftly (Rosenstone, 1992). The main figure Balian for instance, in *The Kingdom of Heaven*, receives a knighthood very quickly, whereas in reality, this took years of formation and combat training.

³ According to Ambrose (1995: 241), this can be explained from the societal context. In 1962, the war had already been over for two decades, West-Germany had joined NATO, and played an important part in the battle against communism: 'Thus, the larger political purpose of the film, with its forty-two international stars, was to show that Germans, British, French, and Americans could now 'act' together against the Communist threat from the East.'

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**ABSTRACTS
ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS**

Patrizia Audenino

Public compensation and private permanent loss: The memory of twentieth century European refugees

My research is focused on three groups of refugees, adopting a comparative approach. They experienced exile in the second half of the century, after a similar past of migration, colonization and exposure to invasive nationalistic propaganda.

On the public side, in Germany, in Italy and in France different methods have been experienced in order to provide moral compensation, to nourish the memory and to include the experience of these refugees in national public history. On the private side, a wide volume of literary products and memories allows identification of those elements of the past which have survived in families and individuals during the effort to build their new identities, including their experience of flight and of their happier past, in order to give some relief to their incurable homesickness.

Meine Forschung konzentriert sich auf deutsche, italienische und französische Heimatvertriebene, die einander komparativ gegenübergestellt werden. Alle drei Gruppen erlebten das Exil in der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts nach einer von Migration, Kolonisierung und intensiver nationalistischer Propaganda ähnlich geprägten Vergangenheit. Die Hauptfragen stellen sich in Bezug auf die unterschiedlichen Richtungen, die Deutschland, Italien und Frankreich eingeschlagen haben, um eine Art moralischer Entschädigung in die Wege zu leiten, ein vielgestaltiges Gedenken zu fördern und die Erfahrungen der Flucht in das kollektive historische Gedächtnis miteinzubeziehen. In zahlreichen literarischen Produktionen und Memoiren finden sich Elemente, die Versuche aufzeigen, neue Identitäten zu konstruieren. In diese Versuche der Neukonstruktion von Identitäten, die in Familien und Individuen lebendig geblieben sind, fließen Erinnerungen an die Erfahrung von Flucht und an eine glücklichere Vergangenheit. Auf diese Art kann unerschütterliches Heimweh gelindert werden.

En adoptant une approche comparative, ma recherche se focalise sur trois groupes de réfugiés. Ils ont vécu l'expérience de l'exil dans la seconde moitié du siècle, ayant vécu un passé similaire de migration, de colonisation et ils ont tous été exposés à une propagande nationaliste envahissante. Du côté public, en Allemagne, en Italie et en France différentes modalités ont été expérimentées afin de fournir une réparation morale, nourrir la mémoire et inclure l'expérience de ces réfugiés dans l'histoire publique nationale. Du côté privé, une grande quantité des œuvres littéraires et des recueils de la mémoire permettent d'identifier les éléments du passé qui ont survécu dans les familles dans l'effort de construire leurs nouvelles identités en incluant leur expérience de fuite et de leur passé plus heureux, afin de soulager leur incurable mal du pays.

Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Paul Readman and Charlotte Tupman

The redress of the past: historical pageants in twentieth-century England

This article examines the phenomenon of historical pageants, which were important events in many English towns, cities and villages in the twentieth century. It describes the origins and development of historical pageantry, emphasising the grand scale and wide spread of these community dramas. We emphasise the importance of the sense of local pride and identity that was presented in historical pageants, and the success that they had in promoting local community consciousness. Some historians and theatre scholars have seen pageants as backward-looking, conservative events, but we argue that they were seen as opportunities to shape the future as well as to commemorate the past..

Dieser Artikel untersucht das Phänomen historischer Festzüge, die im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert in vielen englischen Städten und Dörfern als wichtige Veranstaltungen galten. Er geht der Herkunft und der Entwicklung der Festzüge nach und fragt nach der Präsentation und der weiten Verbreitung dieser Schauspiele. Verwiesen wird auf die Bedeutung des Gefühls von Identität und Stolz, welches bei den historischen Festzügen implizit mitschwingt. Dargestellt wird auch, wie das lokale Gemeinschaftsbewusstsein erfolgreich gefördert wird. Einige Historiker und Theaterwissenschaftler haben Festzüge als rückwärtsgewandte, konservative Veranstaltungen betrachtet. Festzüge lassen sich aber auch als Gelegenheiten begreifen, sowohl die Zukunft zu gestalten, als auch der Vergangenheit zu gedenken.

Cet article examine le phénomène des spectacles historiques en Angleterre. Dans les villages et villes du XXe siècle, ces événements étaient très répandus et prenaient souvent une grande importance. L'article décrit les origines et le développement de ces drames créés par la communauté locale. Nous soulignons l'importance de la fierté et de l'identité locale provoquées par ces spectacles historiques, ainsi que le succès qu'ils avaient dans la promotion d'une conscience de localité partagée. Certains historiens et chercheurs sur le théâtre voient, dans ces spectacles, l'expression d'un sentiment conservateur orienté sur le passé. Nous soutenons plutôt que ces événements offraient l'occasion non seulement de commémorer l'histoire mais aussi de façonner l'avenir.

Penelope Harnett

'The air raid shelter was great.' Nostalgic experiences or authentic historical learning? Analysing interactive approaches to learning about World War Two with primary aged pupils

Living history days are becoming increasingly popular in schools, museums and heritage sites as a way of stimulating young children's interest in the past and of engaging them in historical activities. With an emphasis on fun activities, such days are sometimes criticised for their lack of historical authenticity. This paper considers whether this criticism is justified through evaluating pupils' and trainee teachers' responses to a living history event organised at the University of the West of England by trainee primary teachers.

Drawing on field notes and visual and documentary data the paper considers how the war in Bristol is represented to pupils aged 8-11 years; firstly through a critical analysis of how artefacts and other sources of information are displayed and utilised and secondly through an evaluation of pupils' and trainees' learning as they engaged with different activities. It considers both pupils' views of the past and the views of trainee teachers as they planned the day and evaluated their work.

„Living-History“-Tage werden in Schulen, Museen und Kulturstätten immer beliebter. Das Interesse von Kindern an der Vergangenheit soll durch ihre Beteiligung an historischen Aktivitäten gefördert werden. Weil der Schwerpunkt oft auf Aktivitäten mit einem Spaßfaktor liegt, wird solchen Tagen mangelnde historische Authentizität bescheinigt. Dieser Beitrag untersucht, ob diese Kritik gerechtfertigt ist. Ausgewertet wurden Antworten von SchülerInnen und angehenden LehrerInnen, die an der University of West of England an einer Veranstaltung zu „lebendiger Geschichte“ teilgenommen haben.

Aufgrund von Zeichnungen, Notizen, Visualisierungen und urkundlichen Daten wird untersucht, wie in Bristol der Krieg von SchülerInnen dargestellt wurde. Die kritische Analyse untersucht erstens, wie Artefakte und andere Informationsquellen aufbereitet/dargestellt und benutzt wurden und zweitens die Beurteilung der verschiedenen Aktivitäten durch die daran beteiligten SchülerInnen und angehenden LehrerInnen. Analysiert werden auch die Geschichtsbilder der SchülerInnen und die Planung und Evaluierung des Tages durch die angehenden Lehrkräfte.

Des jours d'histoire vivante gagnent en popularité dans les écoles, les musées et les sites du patrimoine comme un moyen de stimuler l'intérêt des jeunes enfants dans le passé et de les faire participer à des activités historiques. En mettant l'accent sur le plaisir des activités, ces jours sont parfois critiqués pour leur manque d'authenticité historique. Cet article examine si cette critique est justifiée par l'évaluation des réponses des élèves et des enseignants stagiaires à un événement de vie histoire organisé à University of West of England.

S'appuyant sur des notes de terrain et des données visuelles et documentaires l'article examine comment la guerre à Bristol est représentée aux élèves; tout d'abord à travers une analyse critique de la façon dont des artefacts et autres sources d'information sont affichés et utilisés et deuxièmement à travers une évaluation des stagiaires et des élèves concernant les différentes activités. Cette évaluation montre comment les élèves voient le passé et quelles sont les opinions des enseignants stagiaires sur la préparation et l'évaluation de ce jour.

Wolfgang Hasberg

Fascination for dark: medieval history between edutainment and Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung

The article does not present the results of a particular research project but follows an explorative purpose as it tries to sketch the outlines of edutainment in German-speaking culture in an essayistic way. Using the example of Medieval History several implications should become apparent which belong to edutainment and have to be regarded in further scientific research. Thereto belongs the relationship to historical science as well as to historical culture and above all

the economic impacts of edutainment. History in this context rather becomes a marketable product which can be bought and sold.

Edutainment ist als wissenschaftlicher Begriff in der deutschsprachigen Geschichtsdidaktik noch nicht etabliert, obwohl er in der Allgemein Didaktik und in der Medienpädagogik Verwendung findet. In der Geschichtsdidaktik steht er in Konkurrenz zur Geschichtskultur, die als ein eigenes Forschungsfeld betrieben wird. Am Beispiel des Mittelalters macht der Artikel mit verschiedenen Medien und Angeboten der Geschichtskultur bekannt. Ein Überblick empirischer Untersuchungen zeigt auf, dass das Mittelalter im historischen Bewusstsein tatsächlich dunkel ist, weil die Probanden kaum etwas darüber wissen und ihm nicht zutrauen, für die gegenwärtige Orientierung von Bedeutung zu sein. Vielleicht erfreut die Epoche sich gerade wegen dieses Unwissens großer Beliebtheit. Ein zweiter Aspekt, der thematisiert wird, ist das Verhältnis von Geschichtswissenschaft und Edutainment. Einerseits stellt sich die Frage, in welchem Maße Edutainment jeweils durch historische Bildung bzw. Unterhaltung bestimmt wird. Andererseits wird am Beispiel der Papstin Johanna der Frage nachgegangen, ob Geschichtswissenschaft die Geschichtskultur befruchtet oder umgekehrt. Schließlich wird das Risiko thematisiert, dass Geschichte in Form von Edutainment zur Ware verkommen kann. Obwohl bzw. weil die Geschichtsdidaktik diesem Trend nicht entgegenwirken kann, muss sie das Feld der Geschichtskultur sorgfältig erforschen. Zunächst allerdings gilt es den noch schillernden Begriff „Edutainment“ theoretisch zu schärfen

En Allemagne Edutainment n'est pas un terme scientifique de la didactique de l'histoire bien qu'il est utilisé par le didactique général ou le pédagogique des médias. Dans la didactique historique il concourt avec le concept «Geschichtskultur», que présente un terrain particulier. Par l'exemple du Moyen Age l'article fait connaissance avec de médias diverse et avec l'autre offres de «Geschichtskultur» (culture d'histoire). Une vue d'ensemble empirique montre que le Moyen Age est réellement obscur. Les participants d'enquête ne savent pas beaucoup de l'époque et ne croient qu'il est important ou capable pour offre une orientation actuelle. Peut-être l'incertitude est la raison pour la popularité de Moyen Age. Un autre aspect qu'est thématise, est la relation entre la science historique et l'edutainment. La question que se pose est dans laquelle proportions l'edutainment est déterminé par éducation historique ou divertissement. D'autre part, en exemple de la papesse Jeanne la question sera discuté si la science historique fécond la culture historique ou à l'inverse. Enfin le risque sera thématise que l'histoire peut devenir une marchandise. Bien que ou parce que la didactique de l'histoire ne peut pas retarder ce trend, elle doit explorer la culture historique ou l'edutainment soigneusement. Mais d'abord il faut préciser théorique le terme ambigu de «l'edutainment».

Urte Kocka

Rethinking the local and the national in a global perspective

History topics are not only of local, national, and global dimensions, but are also embedded in long-term ecological and cosmological processes of change. The advocates of 'Big History' hold that cosmological changes and the history of humankind belong together. As people nowadays are living in an era of globalization, they are influenced by all four dimensions of history. All four levels of history topics belong together; they actually include one another. It is possible to teach them together

with broad problem oriented questions of worldwide concern or by showing entanglements and encounters which link local, national, global, and cosmological history subjects together.

Heutzutage sind historische Themen nicht mehr nur lokaler, nationaler oder globaler Art, sondern beinhalten auch eine ökologische Dimension. Der Begriff der „Big History“ besagt, dass die Geschichte der Menschheit und die Geschichte des Kosmos zusammengehören. Da heute Globalisierung auch das alltägliche Leben prägt, sollten alle vier Dimensionen von Geschichte miteinbezogen und nicht getrennt voneinander unterrichtet werden. Dies lässt sich erreichen, indem mit problemorientierten Fragestellungen von globaler Bedeutung die zu unterrichtenden Themen bearbeitet oder indem Beziehungen, Verflechtungen und gegenseitige Beeinflussungen aufgezeigt werden.

Les sujets de l'histoire dite «Big History» (la Grande Histoire) intégrant l'histoire de l'humanité et l'histoire du cosmos ne sont pas seulement de dimension locale, nationale et globale mais également écologique. Comme la globalisation caractérise notre vie quotidienne, ces quatre dimensions de l'histoire sont inséparables et font partie de l'enseignement. Pour satisfaire à ces exigences, il faut – pour chaque sujet – partir d'un problème de dimension globale ou démontrer les rapports et les liens de ces quatre dimensions.

Adele Nye

Historical thinking and objects of nostalgia

Objects in history classroom can be regarded as generative opportunities for exploring historical thinking, pedagogical development and epistemology. In this article objects and assemblages of objects are discussed in light of nostalgia. It recognises that individual and families embed narratives of nostalgia within objects as a marker of generational connection and belonging. This custom provides teachers and students of history the opportunity to explore the processes of historical thinking and practice.

Objekte im Geschichtsunterricht können als Möglichkeiten für die Erkundung des historischen Denkens, der pädagogischen Entwicklung und der Erkenntnistheorie dienen. In diesem Artikel werden Objekte und Assemblagen von Objekten im Licht nostalgischer Konnotation diskutiert. Der Beitrag zeigt, wie in einzelnen und familienbezogenen Erzählungen Objekte als Marker für die Zugehörigkeit zu Generationen und deren Verbindung dienen können. Dies bietet Lehrern und Schülern die Möglichkeit, Prozesse historischen Denkens und Handelns auszuleuchten.

En classe d'histoire, les objets peuvent être considérés comme des occasions génératives servant à explorer la pensée historique, le développement pédagogique et l'épistémologie. Dans cet article, les objets et les assemblages d'objets sont discutés sous le jour de la nostalgie. Il admet qu'individus et familles associent des récits de nostalgie à des objets comme marques de lien et d'appartenance entre les générations. Cet usage fournit aux enseignants et aux étudiants d'histoire l'opportunité d'explorer les processus de la pensée et de la pratique historique.

Mare Oja

Local, national and global level in history teaching in Estonia

The teaching of history has always sought a reasonable balance between the expansion of knowledge and the development of skills, between different dimensions of teaching history (political, economic, social, cultural, history of ideas) and emphasis (distant past or recent history). The question of what the local, national and global historical relationship should be, has been an important point in the development process of the national curriculum, as well as in history syllabi, since the re-independence of Estonia. All three levels have always been supported by various arguments, but with slightly different emphasis, content and examples. There have always been those among teachers and students, who sympathise with the local or global level, and those, who praise the importance of the national history. The national curriculum represents an agreement, which was reached after weighing different opinions. It was influenced particularly by the history of education and experience in history teaching in Estonia, social developments and processes in Europe and the world beyond.

In der Geschichtsvermittlung wurde immer nach einer Balance zwischen Wissenserweiterung und der Entwicklung von Fähigkeiten, zwischen verschiedenen Dimensionen der Geschichtsvermittlung (wie der Politik-, Ökonomie-, Sozial-, Kultur-, Ideengeschichte) und einer Gewichtung der Epoche (ältere oder neuere Geschichte) gesucht. Seit Estlands Wiedererlangung der Unabhängigkeit war die Frage, wie die Beziehung zu lokaler, nationaler und globaler Geschichte sein sollte, ein wichtiger Punkt im Verlauf der Erarbeitung eines nationalen Curriculums sowie des Lehrplans für Geschichte. Alle drei Ebenen wurden jeweils durch verschiedene Argumente gestützt, die sich jedoch hinsichtlich Gewichtung, Inhalt und Beispielen leicht unterschieden. Unter Lehrenden und Studierenden gab es jene, welche mit Lokal- oder Globalgeschichte sympathisierten, und jene, welche die Wichtigkeit der Nationalgeschichte priesen. Das nationale Curriculum stellt eine Übereinkunft dar, welche nach dem Abwägen verschiedener Standpunkte erzielt wurde. Es wurde besonders durch die Bildungstradition und durch die Erfahrungen der Geschichtsvermittlung in Estland sowie durch soziale Entwicklungen und Prozesse in Europa und der übrigen Welt beeinflusst.

L'enseignement de l'histoire a toujours cherché l'équilibre entre l'expansion du savoir et le développement des compétences, entre les différentes dimensions de l'enseignement de l'histoire (politique, économique, sociale, culturelle, histoire des idées) et de mettre l'accent sur la préhistoire ou l'histoire contemporaine. La question concernant les relations historiques entre locales, nationales et globales seront ont été un point important pour le processus de développement du curriculum national et des programmes de l'enseignement de l'histoire, dès l'indépendance retrouvée de l'Estonie. Les trois niveaux furent soutenus par des arguments différents, avec des accents, des contenus et des exemples différents. Parmi les enseignants et les étudiants, les uns ont vu le niveau local et le niveau global d'un bon oeil, les autres ont fait l'éloge de l'importance de l'histoire nationale. Le curriculum national représente un accord, qui fut atteint après avoir comparé avec soin les opinions diverses. Le curriculum fut partiellement influencé par l'histoire de l'éducation et les expériences de l'enseignement de l'histoire en Estonie, le développement social en Europe et les processus en Europe et dans le monde.

Anu Raudsepp and Karin Veski

Colonialism and decolonisation in Estonian history textbooks

The topic on the agenda is emphasized by the EU project 'Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective' (CoDec, 2013-2015). The main aim of the article is to clarify, how the contents and focus of colonialism and decolonization changed in Estonian history textbooks and curriculum within the past decade. Proceeding from the National Curriculum of 2002 and 2011, the treatment of those topics in Estonia within the past decade has considerably lessened. It can be associated with an increased Europe-centredness (also in case of global topics). Apart from curricular, Estonian history textbooks did not much reduce the treatment of colonialism and decolonization. The treatment of colonialism dominates that of decolonization. However, recent history textbooks show that more and more attention is dedicated to questions of decolonization. Through this, the textbook authors can associate global history of the recent past somewhat more with the history of Europe. The topics of colonialism and decolonization represent a sensitive subject area of global history which would help understanding of the background of numerous serious current problems (e.g., poverty and conflicts of the so-called Third World, nature contamination, migration etc.). Those questions are closely connected with European history but they could be observed more globally than before.

Das Thema auf der Agenda ist hervorgehoben durch das EU-Projekt „Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective“ [Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung in nationalen historischen Kulturen und Geschichtspolitik in europäischer Perspektive] (CoDec, 2013-2015). Das Hauptziel des Beitrages ist, näher zu erläutern, wie die Inhalte und der Fokus auf Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung innerhalb des letzten Jahrzehnts in den estnischen Geschichtslehrbüchern und im Lehrplan änderten. Von den nationalen Curriculum von 2002 und 2011 herrührend, hat in Estland die Beschäftigung mit jenen Themen innerhalb der letzten Dekade beträchtlich nachgelassen. Das kann mit einer vermehrten Europazentriertheit in Verbindung gebracht werden (auch bei globalen Themen). Vom Lehrplan abgesehen, haben estnische Geschichtslehrbücher die Behandlung von Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung wenig reduziert. Die Behandlung des Kolonialismus herrscht gegenüber derjenigen der Entkolonialisierung vor. Die jüngsten Geschichtslehrbücher zeigen jedoch, dass Fragen der Entkolonialisierung mehr und mehr Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden. Dadurch können die Autoren von Lehrbüchern die Globalgeschichte der jüngsten Vergangenheit etwas mehr mit europäischer Geschichte verknüpfen. Die Themen von Kolonialismus und Entkolonialisierung stellen einen sensiblen Themenbereich von Globalgeschichte dar, der helfen würde, den Hintergrund zahlreicher gravierender aktueller Probleme zu verstehen (z.B. Armut und Konflikte in der sogenannten Dritten Welt, Umweltverschmutzung, Migration). Jene Fragen sind eng mit europäischer Geschichte verbunden, aber sie könnten globaler wahrgenommen werden als zuvor.

L'intérêt actuel pour le sujet traité dans cet article est manifesté par le projet de l'Union Européenne «Colonisation et décolonisation dans les cultures historiques et les politiques de mémoire nationales en Europe» (CoDec, 2013-2015). Le but principal de cet article est d'étudier de quelle manière l'interprétation et les analyses du colonialisme et de la décolonisation ont changé dans les manuels d'histoire estoniens depuis la dernière décennie. Dans les curricula nationaux

estoniens de 2002 et de 2011, la part des sujets traitant du colonialisme et de la décolonisation a diminué de manière considérable. Ce fait peut être attribué à la généralisation en Estonie d'une approche eurocentriste, même en ce qui concerne les thèmes mondiaux. Cependant, à la différence des curricula, ces thèmes ne semblent pas être moins présents dans les manuels d'histoire estoniens. Dans ceux-ci, le traitement du colonialisme domine, tandis que la décolonisation reste à l'arrière-plan. Néanmoins, dans les manuels récents, la décolonisation semble recevoir de plus en plus d'attention. Par cela, les rédacteurs des manuels semblent associer un peu plus l'histoire récente du monde à l'histoire de l'Europe. Le colonialisme et la décolonisation relèvent d'un domaine délicat de l'histoire mondiale, contribuant à la compréhension de plusieurs problèmes importants du monde contemporain (par exemple, la pauvreté et les conflits du Tiers-Monde, la pollution, la migration, etc.). Même s'il s'agit de problèmes étroitement liés à l'histoire de l'Europe, il conviendrait donc de les observer, plus que jamais, dans une perspective mondiale.

Barnabás Vajda

On the global – national – regional – local layers of Slovak secondary school history textbooks

According to the present study, recent Slovak history textbooks almost exclusively concentrate on the grand narrative of West Europe and of the Slovak nation. On the one hand, practically no lower (regional or local) levels of peoples' historical consciousness is presented as 'a value' in Slovakian textbooks, on the other hand, higher levels of historical consciousness (international or global) only matter when Slovakia as a nation is reflected in or by them. The author argues that this kind of nation-centered narrative, which serves too narrowly understood national unity, is outdated.

Der aktuellen Studie zufolge, konzentrieren sich die neusten slowakischen Geschichtslehrbücher fast ausschliesslich auf die bedeutende Erzählung (grosses Narrativ) von Westeuropa und der slowakischen Nation. Auf der einen Seite sind praktisch keine geringeren Ebenen (regional oder lokal) des Geschichtsbewusstseins der Bevölkerung in den slowakischen Lehrbüchern als Wert aufgeführt, auf der anderen Seite sind höhere Ebenen des Geschichtsbewusstseins (international oder global) nur dann von Bedeutung, wenn die Slowakei als Nation in ihnen oder durch sie reflektiert wird. Der Autor spricht sich dafür aus, dass diese Art von Nationen-zentrierter Erzählung, welche einem zu engen Verständnis von nationaler Einheit dient, überholt ist.

D'après la recherche présentée, les nouveaux manuels d'histoire slovaque concentrent sur le grand narratif de l'Europe de l'Ouest et de la nation slovaque. D'un côté très peu de niveaux inférieurs (régionaux ou locaux) de la conscience historique de la population sont présentés comme «valeur» dans ces manuels. Par contre, des niveaux supérieurs de la conscience historique (internationaux ou globaux) sont uniquement évoqués si la Slovaquie en tant que nation y est impliqués. L'auteur est de l'avis que ce genre de récit historique centré sur la nation est démodé.

Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse**Is seeing believing? On the educational use of mainstream historical films in the history classroom**

Historical films constitute an important source of knowledge about the past and of historical representations among young people. Students, however, often consider them as mirrors of the past instead of constructed representations. Therefore, it is very important to get students acquainted with audio-visual grammar, by analysing and questioning films in a critical way, in order to foster their historical and critical thinking skills. This paper examines how students and teachers in Flanders perceive historical films, and how teachers use them educationally in their classroom practice. Secondly, based on an extensive literature study and on our own analyses of historical films, it presents a model, distinguishing eight layers in historical films that can be discerned and are worthwhile to question, to foster students' historical thinking skills.

Historische Filme, und mit ihnen die Art der historischen Darstellung, sind für junge Menschen eine wichtige Quelle des Wissens über die Vergangenheit. Die SchülerInnen betrachten sie jedoch oft als Spiegel der Vergangenheit, anstatt als konstruierte Darstellungen. Darum ist es wichtig, SchülerInnen durch die kritische Analyse von Filmen mit der audio-visuellen Grammatik vertraut zu machen, um ihre historische Analysefähigkeit und ihr kritisches Denken zu fördern. Dieser Beitrag untersucht, wie SchülerInnen und LehrerInnen in weiterführenden Schulen in Flandern historische Filme wahrnehmen und wie LehrerInnen historische Filme in ihrer Unterrichtspraxis pädagogisch nutzen. Basierend auf einer umfangreichen Literaturstudie und auf eigenen Analysen von historischen Filmen, präsentiert dieser Beitrag ferner ein Modell, um acht Schichten in historischen Filmen zu unterscheiden. Sie zu erkennen und zu befragen lohnt sich, um bei SchülerInnen historisches Denken zu fördern.

Les films historiques constituent une source importante de connaissance du passé et des représentations historiques chez les jeunes. Les élèves, cependant, considèrent des films historiques souvent comme des miroirs du passé au lieu de représentations construites. Il est donc très important de familiariser les élèves avec la grammaire audio-visuel, en analysant et en interrogeant des films historiques d'une façon critique, afin de favoriser leurs compétences historiques et la pensée critique. Cet article examine comment des élèves et des enseignants dans l'enseignement secondaire supérieur en Flandre perçoivent des films historiques, et comment des enseignants utilisent des films historiques pédagogiquement dans leur pratique de classe. Deuxièmement, basé sur une étude approfondie de la littérature et sur des propres analyses de films historiques, l'article présente un modèle, en distinguant huit couches dans les films historiques qui peuvent être discernés et valent la peine de questionner, afin de favoriser la pensée historique des élèves.

Joanna Wojdon**Nostalgia of Polish political émigrés in America after WWII**

The Polish political émigrés in America after WWII formed a specific group, significantly different from the 'old' Polish Americans most of whom emigrated to USA 'for bread' at the turn of the 20th century. These people came to America in order to avoid the communist regime. Denying

the regime any legal status of the government of Poland they decided to break all official relations with their homeland. They constantly criticized the regime and refused any contact with it, including visits to Poland. Did such an attitude eradicate nostalgia for the old country, so typical to immigrants? In my opinion it did not.

The paper analyses how this 'suppressed' nostalgia found its way to be expressed. It is based on several case studies of prominent members of this immigration cohort and discussions they initiated or participated in. Different attitudes that resulted from the combination of total negation and nostalgia will be presented, starting from 'the steadfast' for whom negation became the meaning of their lives and ending with those whose nostalgia was so efficiently used by the regime that they started collaborating with the communists.

The didactical potential of including these issues in school history education is suggested.

Die Polen, die aus politischen Gründen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in die USA emigrierten, bildeten eine besondere Gruppe, die sich deutlich von den „alten“ Amerikanern polnischer Herkunft unterschieden. Diese waren um die vorletzte Jahrhundertwende meistens aus ökonomischen Gründen emigriert. Die anderen gingen nach Amerika, um dem kommunistischen Regime aus dem Weg zu geben. Dem Regime jeden legalen Status als Regierung von Polen verweigern, entschlossen sie sich, alle offiziellen Beziehungen zu ihrem Heimatland abzubauen. Sie kritisierten das Regime ständig und lehnten jeden Kontakt zu ihm – Besuche in Polen miteingeschlossen – ab. Merzte eine solche für Einwanderer typische Haltung nostalgische Gefühle für das Heimatland aus? Meiner Meinung nach tat sie dies nicht.

Der Beitrag analysiert den Weg, wie es zum Ausdruck dieser verdrängten Nostalgie kam. Er basiert auf mehreren Fallstudien über führende Mitglieder dieser Einwanderergruppe und auf Diskussionen, welche sie initiierten oder an welchen sie teilnahmen. Vorgestellt werden unterschiedliche Haltungen, die sich aus einer Kombination von völliger Ablehnung und Nostalgie ergaben, angefangen mit den „Standfesten“, für welche Ablehnung zu einem Lebensinhalt wurde und aufhörend mit jenen, deren Nostalgie vom Regime so effizient ausgenutzt wurde, dass sie anfangen, mit den Kommunisten zusammenzuarbeiten.

Durch das didaktische Potential drängt es sich auf, dieses Thema in den schulischen Geschichtsunterricht miteinzubeziehen.

Les émigrants polonais en Amérique après la deuxième guerre mondiale formaient un groupe très différent par rapport aux «anciens» américains d'origine polonaise, qui ont émigré aux USA pour gagner leur pain autour de 1900. Ces émigrants sont arrivés en Amérique pour fuir le régime communiste. En niant ce régime tout statut légal de gouverner la Pologne, ils décidèrent de rompre toutes les relations officielles avec leur patrie. Ils critiquèrent constamment le régime et refusèrent é tous les contacts, même les visites en Pologne. Une telle attitude, a-t-elle éradiquer toute nostalgie pour le vieux pays? A mon opinion, non.

Dans mon étude, j'analyse de quelle manière cette nostalgie «opprimée» a trouvé un chemin pour s'exprimer. Elle se base sur plusieurs études de cas concernant des membres célèbres de la cohorte des immigrants et des discussions qu'ils ont initiées ou auxquelles ils ont participé. Différentes attitudes, résultant de la combinaison d'une négation complète et de nostalgie, seront présentées, en commençant par «des immuables» pour qui la négation devint le sens de leur vie, et en terminant avec ceux pour qui la nostalgie fut abusée par le régime afin qu'ils collaborèrent avec les communistes.

Je suggère d'introduire le potentiel didactique de ces questions dans l'enseignement de l'histoire.

AUTHORS' INDEX

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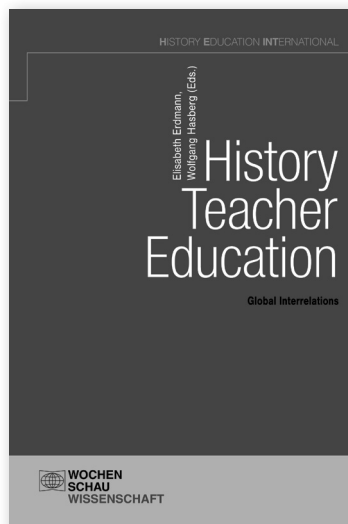
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