

# Global Perspectives on the Role of Dialogue in History Education

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Socio-cultural, Psychological, and Digital Dimensions

Edited by Mario Carretero and Everardo Perez-Manjarrez

First published 2025

ISBN: 978-1-032-85440-3 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-53589-8 (ebk)

## Chapter 10

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**Teaching recent historical conflicts through dialogical controversies and documentary theater**

*Mario Carretero, María Cantabrana, and Alicia Barreiro*

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DOI: 10.4324/9781003535898-14



**Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

# 10 Teaching recent historical conflicts through dialogical controversies and documentary theater<sup>\*,†</sup>

*Mario Carretero, María Cantabrana, and Alicia Barreiro*

The link between history teaching and the construction of identities, particularly national identities, has been widely discussed in studies on history education. The persistence of the national character of history teaching is still present in how past events are remembered, particularly in the conflictive and recent events (Psaltis et al., 2017). The circulation of poorly nuanced interpretations, often underpinned by an emotional and identitarian connection to national histories, makes it necessary to ask whether a way of approaching the past that fosters critical visions while still considering the importance of social identities in understanding history is possible. Dialogic teaching (Alexander, 2008; van Boxtel & van Drie, 2017) appears as a promising approach, with the potential to favor the exchange of ideas in the classroom, the exploration of different perspectives, the confrontation of divergent opinions, and in sum, students' construction of reflective knowledge about the past.

This chapter will deal with the teaching of the Malvinas/Falklands War. On 2 April 1982, on the orders of the military dictatorship in crisis,<sup>1</sup> Argentine troops landed on the Malvinas Islands to dispute Britain's sovereignty. The

\* This chapter has been possible because of the support of the project [www.makinghistories.eu](http://www.makinghistories.eu) from the EU (Marie Curie Staff Exchanges Project 10108606), coordinated by the first author. The views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.



† The authors are grateful for the participation of the teachers Flavia A., Nuria M., Julieta B., and Julia V. in the planning and development of the didactic experience, the collaboration of Martina Guggiari in the collection and processing of data, as well as the guidance of Joaquín Ungaretti in the elaboration of the questionnaires.

Also, the project PID2021-1275290BI00 from the AEI contributed to the elaboration of this chapter.

British response, with Margaret Thatcher at the head of a government equally in crisis, was also military and confirmed the dynamiting of diplomatic efforts to resolve this dispute over the territory, which had been active since the British occupation in 1833. This began the most important British military intervention since World War II and the last Argentine War. It was a short but devastating war that ended in the Argentine defeat. Its effects are still evident in Argentinean society, where the conflict is still alive. People continue to claim sovereignty over the islands under the slogan ‘the Malvinas are Argentinean’ and ‘the Malvinas were, are and will be Argentinean,’ visible emblems in the country’s public space: public transport,<sup>2</sup> national roads, institutional buildings, presidential speeches, among others.

In this context, the documentary theatre project by the playwright Lola Arias, composed of a video installation, a play, and a film,<sup>3</sup> connects particularly with the ambition of dealing with the Malvinas/Falklands War without simplifications and dichotomic approaches. In his series of productions on the conflict, she explores the crisis of Argentine national identity (Malzacher, 2019), one of the bases of which is precisely the recovery of the archipelago, through the investigation of the effects of the war and the construction of memory in dialogue with a group of six former combatants from both sides. The film *Theatre of War* opens up the opportunity to access some of the fundamentals of documentary theatre in a film version in a way that can be more easily brought into the classroom.

Based on the interest in exploring the effects of dialogic formats in the teaching of conflictive pasts, this chapter presents the quantitative results of a didactic study on the teaching of the Malvinas War in a group of 66 students from the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina, aged between 15 and 17 years old. The study design was pre-test-post-test. The four-week project involved the development of a series of dialogical activities based on the screening of *Theatre of War* and the reading of historiographical texts, intending to analyze the impact of documentary theatre and dialogical controversies on the participants’ levels of subtle and manifest prejudice toward the British, the historical representations of the Malvinas/Falklands War and their moral judgment of this historical process.

## **Theoretical framework**

### *National identity and prejudice*

National or master narratives have traditionally been privileged for transmitting school history. James Wertsch (2002, 2018) has discussed in depth, drawing on Vygotsky’s idea of ‘mediation’, how we represent history through narrative tools that order and enable our understanding of reality. This kind of symbolic mediation is particularly strong concerning national histories and memories: narrative templates bind national communities together and separate them from others (Wertsch, 2018). This idea relates to the ‘myths of origin’ that historiography identifies as central to nation-building (Hobsbawm, 2013).

The persistence of master narratives derives from one of their primary functions: to promote national loyalty. National narratives prescribe moral orientations and legitimize the acts of the nation itself (Carretero & Perez-Manjarrez, 2022) through a series of operations that include, among other elements, the definition of the nation as a historical subject through a movement of inclusion/exclusion, and a process of identification linked to the conformation of an ‘us’ versus a ‘them’ (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012). The moral judgments that reinforce the master narratives tend to categorize historical processes in terms of ‘good’ and ‘bad’; they are aimed at legitimizing the group itself and are key to the appropriation of such narratives (Barreiro & Castorina, 2022; Carretero & Bermudez, 2012). The narrative format is also the linguistic form of historical consciousness, through which we ‘make sense of the past’ (Rüsen, 2004, p. 69). Among its competencies is temporal orientation, i.e., it can articulate “human identity with historical knowledge, and interweaving one's own identity into the concrete warp and woof of historical knowledge” (Rüsen, 2004, p. 70). Positive historical events tend to be attributed to the ingroup, and morally questionable actions to the outgroup (Sarti & Barreiro, 2014). A key element in understanding the process of individual appropriation of narratives is how they affect identity (Sarti & Barreiro, 2018). In their relevant work, Tajfel and Turner (1986) describe how people tend to identify with specific groups, which they value positively, instead of out-groups. According to these authors, one of the mechanisms for maintaining the positive evaluation of the group they belong, on which their self-esteem also depends, can sometimes consist of stigmatizing and discriminating against groups with which they have differences. In this process, prejudices and stereotypes toward others originate from what the social identity theory identifies as social categorization. That is to say, according to Tajfel and Turner, people classify themselves and others into social categories, which mark membership or exclusion from the social group, often based on stereotypes and oversimplifications. The legitimacy provided by history is at the basis of group identities, justifying the distribution of resources and the allocation of social roles (Liu & László, 2007); from that point of view, the weight of master narratives and representations of history not only affects the way we relate to the past but is constitutive of intergroup relations in the present. In this way, social groups construct their social identity based on narratives about the shared past, and, in turn, individuals develop a sense of themselves and others by appropriating such narratives, recognizing themselves in the collective memory of their group (Barreiro et al., 2020).

Historically, prejudice was defined as an antipathy based on an erroneous and inflexible generalization toward a social group or an individual for being part of a group (Allport, 1954). Today, however, prejudice is not defined based on antipathy but as the product of the (not necessarily conscious) intention to sustain hierarchical and power relations between social groups (Dovidio et al., 2010). In recent decades, studies in different countries have shown that hostile and direct forms of prejudice expression have been replaced by more subtle and socially adapted forms (Cramwinckel et al., 2018). Pettigrew and

Meertens (1995) pointed out that overt prejudice, understood as direct and hostile expressions resulting from negative attitudes toward social groups, has given way to the prevalence of more indirect and socially accepted subtle expressions of prejudice, such as exaggerating cultural differences with the target group, even if such differences are positively valued.

In Argentina, national school narratives have tended to reinforce a stereotypical figure of the ‘English enemy.’ The English invasions of 1805 and 1806 over the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata have been presented as the antecedent of the May Revolution and national independence (Fabian, 2022), a sort of kick-start of a first ‘national consciousness in the face of foreign aggression’ (Sansón Corbo, 2011, n.p.). This construction of otherness, in this case British, precedes, underpins and overflows the Malvinas conflict. The war integrates and, at the same time, updates the narratives that support Argentine national identity. The intense emotional and identity-based anchoring of national narratives constructs difficult-to-transform representations. It is necessary to continue to ask, then, whether it is possible to imagine strategies for learning about history that promote a critical, more complex approach, open to ‘accept ambiguities’ (Wertsch, 2018, p. 275), without ignoring the crucial link between history and the construction of social and individual identities.

### *Dialogic teaching and its possibilities in dealing with conflictive pasts*

Dialogical teaching has emerged in history education studies as a way to address the particularities of historical knowledge (van Boxtel & van Drie, 2017). The dialogical framework considers the indispensable role of dialogue in constructing knowledge (Bakhtin, 1986) and stresses that it is also an essential component of historical research (van Boxtel, this book). It points to teaching models that implement dialogue activities to work on the idea that historical problems do not have closed answers but are subject to investigation and confrontation of different interpretations. Van Boxtel and van Drie (2017) have highlighted some of the advantages of employing this type of methodology: developing the ability to develop reasoning in general and to improve historical reasoning in particular, opening up collaborative spaces for research and promoting the construction of knowledge about facts, concepts, and meta-concepts of history. Moreover, including productive debates in the classroom is considered a way to foster critical citizenship beyond the particular implications of learning history (Perez-Manjarrez, 2022).

The opportunities offered by dialogical education are particularly interesting when dealing with difficult pasts, where the view of the group of belonging is especially predominant (Barton & McCully, 2012; Carretero, 2017; Liu & László, 2007). Goldberg and Savenije (2018) present the use of controversies as an educational opportunity both to work on the presence of different voices in history and to encourage critical deliberation, which favors democratic attitudes, awakens interest and the reasoned opposition of different points of view, and can help for the development of argumentation and reasoning. Similarly, Ahonen (2017) develops the idea of deliberative discussion to deal

with conflicting issues from a multiperspective approach, which does not require students to renounce their historical identities but challenges the hegemony and exclusionary view imposed by dominant narratives.

The history of the Malvinas/Falklands War, in particular, and the archipelago in general, is deeply controversial and rarely appears detached from the framework of the sovereignty dispute (Lorenz, 2022a). In the diplomatic arena, there are currently two main opposing views: Argentina claims sovereignty based on what it understands to be its historical and territorial rights. On the other hand, Britain is relying on the rights of the population, who, in a referendum held in 2013, voted by a clear majority to remain part of the British crown. Argentina does not recognize the British referendum based on UN resolution 2065, which calls for the people's interests to be considered and not their wishes. Britain denies having historically accepted Spanish sovereignty over the islands and refuses to accept the principle of *uti possidetis iuris*<sup>4</sup> (Carassai, 2022). The dialogical approach is presented as a possibility to address the challenge of working around the existence of 'rival histories' (Elmertsjo et al., 2017) in the classroom.

However, while the literature on dialogic teaching agrees in pointing out its potential, it also frequently highlights the difficulties of conducting productive discussions in the classroom, where unidirectional modes of transmission tend to abound (Reisman, 2015). Developing dialogical and multiperspectival approaches is complex on several levels. On the one hand, teachers must structure and delineate narratives that include multiple experiences and voices without creating fragmented versions of the story that are pedagogically unmanageable (Nordgren & Johansson, 2015). On the other hand, the potential of dialogic teaching depends on teachers' activities and the tools available to engage students in these particular types of reasoning (van Boxtel & van Drie, 2017).

Arias' work is an interesting way to address some of the challenges of the dialogical approach. In other works (Cantabrana, 2023; Cantabrana & Carretero, 2022), we have analyzed its potential to promote multiperspectivity, dialogue, and a critical understanding of the conflict through a series of characteristics: (a) the questioning of official nationalist and/or imperialist narratives, contrasting them with historically silenced voices; (b) a dialogic approach to the problem that neither simplifies nor avoids conflict between divergent positions, (c) a presence of emotion that enables space for empathy but does not obtuse a rational and critical reading; and (c) the mediation of historical sources, which underline the constructed nature of history and questions the naturalization of narratives. Considering these characteristics, documentary theatre can be a useful pedagogical tool.

## **Objectives**

The general objective of the project was to evaluate whether the impact of dialogic activities in the classroom, through controversies and the presentation of a documentary theater piece explicitly based on a dialogic structure, changes the historical representations of the Malvinas/Falklands War (1982), the

moral judgment about that historical process, and the students' levels of subtle and blatant prejudice.

In addition, the following specific objectives were proposed:

- 1 To analyze whether participation in history instructional practices based on dialogical controversies is related to changes in students' level of historical knowledge.
- 2 To study whether participation in a didactic strategy based on dialogical controversies is related to changes in the levels of prejudice about members of the national exogroup.
- 3 To determine whether participation in different programmed activities affects moral judgments about the Malvinas War.

## **Method**

### *Participants and context*

A non-probabilistic sampling was carried out. A total of 66 students from a private secondary school located in an upper-middle socioeconomic neighborhood in Buenos Aires participated. All the students belonged to the fourth year of secondary school (which includes students aged 15/16 years) and were divided into two groups. The 51.43% were boys and 48.57% were girls. The school offers a curriculum in which cultural and artistic productions are relevant, making developing an experience of these characteristics possible with the necessary flexibility and interdisciplinary work.

The study's objectives were explained to the students, who were invited to participate voluntarily. They were informed that their anonymity would be maintained under the protection of Argentina's National Law 25.326 on personal data protection.

The participants completed the self-administered questionnaire in person in the pre-test and post-test. In both cases, it was distributed and supervised by at least one of the researchers.

Fifty-six students responded to the questionnaire before starting the planning, and 66 students responded to the same questionnaire provided at the end of the activities. It should be noted that the protocol against COVID-19 influenced the fluctuating number of students in force at the time of the study.

### *Instruments and procedures*

In both the pre-test and post-test stages, a self-administered questionnaire composed of three parts was used, as detailed below:

- Questionnaire on knowledge of the Malvinas War: It was designed for this study and is composed of 20 questions on specific aspects of the war: dates, contenders, political context, and specific facts, among others. The questionnaire was administered for the first time during the first week of the

experience, immediately after a brief presentation on general aspects of the 1982 war and the historical context in which it took place. Fifty-six students responded. It was administered again in week five once the didactic sequence was completed. Sixty-six students completed it.

- Prejudice scale toward the British: Based on the adaptation of a scale already used in the Argentine population to assess subtle and blatant prejudice toward subordinate groups (Muller et al., 2017; Ungaretti et al., 2018), the necessary adaptations were made to evaluate prejudice toward the British in a general way, including items of both forms of prejudice. The scale was composed of 16 items that include statements regarding both subtle (e.g. ‘English people consider their language to be better than other languages in the world’) and overt prejudice (e.g. ‘It would bother me to have a job where the boss was English’), following the model proposed by Gatica et al. (2015). The response options follow the Likert scale format with five anchors from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Its reliability was adequate ( $\alpha = .76$ ).
- Scale of moral judgment on the Malvinas War: This is the adaptation of a scale designed to evaluate moral judgments on another Argentine historical process (Barreiro, 2015). It is composed of five items that include statements of moral character about the Malvinas War, such as ‘The Malvinas War was a just decision because it was necessary to fight British imperialism’ and ‘The Malvinas War was a just war because the Malvinas belong to Argentina and it was essential to recover them.’ The response options follow the Likert scale format with five anchors, from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The reliability of the scale was adequate ( $\alpha = .75$ ).

The 66 students participated in a five-week didactic work. Four school teachers designed and organized the work as a collaborative project between the courses of Anthropology and Geography.

In the first week, a lesson was given, and an introductory historical background on the war and its context was presented. After this brief introduction, questionnaires designed to measure the impact of the intervention were administered, following a pre-test/post-test sequence. In the second week, the film *Theatre of War* by Lola Arias was screened, and a brief general debate was held to share general impressions and clarify any concerns.

The main debate took place in the third week. It proposed a work in five groups of 5/6 members, with a spokesperson, focused on analyzing and discussing a dialogue scene of the film and a text adapted from a historiographic production. The debate lasted two hours and was organized according to the following structure:

The students read the materials individually for 30 minutes during the first hour. On the one hand, they were a text adapted from the book by Argentine historian Federico Lorenz *Todo lo que necesitás saber sobre Malvinas* [Everything you need to know about the Malvinas Islands] (2014). Federico Lorenz is one of the greatest experts on Malvinas, and in that book, he reviews the archipelago history that transcends the points of view of national histories. The text

given to the students was adapted to be read in time. A transcript of a scene from the film was also distributed in which an Argentine and a British veteran exchange arguments to defend their countries' sovereignty over the islands in front of a map. This scene was chosen to reinforce the dialogic nature of the work, that is, to propose a dialogue exercise starting from a dialogue situation. After the individual reading, the discussion in subgroups began with a premise that invited students to contrast the different sources to conclude, which was in line with the literature on dialogic controversies (Goldberg, 2013; Reisman, 2015). The premise was: 'Imagine you are part of a UN committee for resolving the conflict over the sovereignty of the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, and you have to dictate a recommendation. What solution would you defend?' The teachers placed particular emphasis on the fact that the answer had to be argued, taking the texts as a reference. The spokespersons of each group recounted the conclusions in a WhatsApp voice message as a measure of adaptation to the distancing mandated by COVID-19. To facilitate the exercise, a series of options were offered to choose as UN opinion, which tried to widen the range and avoid the national dichotomous logic: (1) Argentine Sovereignty; (2) British Sovereignty; (3) Shared Sovereignty; (4) Argentine Associated Territory; and (5) United Kingdom Associated Territory.

During the fourth week, we continued working on the dialogue scene, but this time, we worked with the particular frames of the geography and anthropology courses proposed by the teachers. In geography, we worked on analyzing the discourses in the scene, that is, on the arguments each character uses to sustain and legitimize the sovereignty of one or the other country. The anthropology class focused on the Brechtian concept of *estrangement* as a way to question the film's formal choices and its quest to question naturalized narratives. In both classes, spaces for debate were reopened. The teachers guided all the sessions, and one researcher was present to conduct the observations.

In the fifth week, the students completed the self-administered questionnaire again to assess whether there had been a change after the intervention.

## **Results**

### *Knowledge about the war*

The results of the pretest show a poor knowledge of the war. Most students correctly answered only seven of the nineteen questions (36.8%). On the contrary, in the post-test, seventeen of the nineteen questions were responded mostly correctly (89.47%). Only two questions remained unanswered primarily in the post-test: 'What was the duration of the war?' and 'Do you know the names of the battles?' An improvement in the pre/post results is observed for all questions. The overall percentage of improvement is 138.39%.

Therefore, the results suggest that historical knowledge about specific aspects of the war is strengthened after the set of activities carried out. In addition to this general improvement, some results are particularly striking, and

they may be crucial to understanding the students' ideas at the beginning of the didactic intervention. These are the following questions: 'Which country started the war?' and 'Which country had sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands before the war?' The results are shown in Tables 10.1 and 10.2.

In both cases, the percentage of correct answers is higher in the post-test than in the pre-test; this knowledge about the Malvinas War improves substantially, and the results of the questions are reversed. As we will return to in the discussion, it is interesting to note that the students, before the experience, were unaware of these key elements in the conflict.

### *Prejudice toward the British*

On the scale of prejudice toward the British, pre-/post-test data were obtained from a total of 37 students. The level of prejudice on the pre-test was higher ( $M = 2.82$ ) than on the post-test ( $M = 2.49$ ), and the differences between the two scores were statistically significant ( $t_{(36)} = 3.55, p < .005$ ).

The results indicate decreased prejudice toward the British before and after participating in the didactic experience.

### *Moral judgment*

No statistically significant differences were identified in the moral judgment about the Malvinas War before and after participating in the experience. The mean scores on the scale, both in the pre-test and post-test, are close to 3. This would indicate that the participants generally tend to assume an intermediate position ('neither agree nor disagree') concerning the moral judgments presented in the items that make up the scale.

*Table 10.1* Percentages of the different answers to the question 'Which country started the war?'

	<i>Pre-test</i>	<i>Post-test</i>
Great Britain	44.3%	31.4%
Argentina	31.4%	52.9%

*Source:* Own elaboration

*Table 10.2* Percentages of the different answers to the question 'Which country had sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands before the war?'

	<i>Pre-test</i>	<i>Post-test</i>
Great Britain	28.6%	65.7%
Argentina	35.7%	21.4%
I don't know	14.3%	2.9%

*Source:* Own elaboration

The correlations between moral judgment and prejudice were also analyzed based on the results obtained in the pretest. A significant positive mean correlation was observed ( $r = .30, p < .05$ ). In other words, the more just the war is considered, the higher the level of prejudice toward the British.

## **Discussion**

The study's pre-test results confirm that significant knowledge about the war's concrete development was absent before the didactic experience. As in the previous case, this general lack of knowledge of aspects that can be described as 'essential' to a conflict in Argentine society is striking. This fact seems to corroborate the distance between the national master narratives and the substantial knowledge of history, as literature has been arguing for decades. The results of two of the questions are particularly significant in this sense. In the pre-test, most students affirmed that the UK had started the war. The same is true of the question about the Malvinas/Falkland Islands' sovereignty before the conflict. In the pre-test, most students thought that in 1982, the archipelago was under Argentine sovereignty. These two absences, so closely linked to responsibility for the war, provide an intriguing clue as to the function of this type of narrative. As noted in the study, absences are also significant in the remembrance of events that are considered important in national histories, significantly when they can challenge the predominant narrative and, as we say, directly affect one of the pillars of collective and individual identity construction (Barreiro et al., 2017; Sarti & Barreiro, 2018; Parellada et al., 2021). These two questions show how the responsibility for the war is placed on the UK, that is, on the ex-group. After four weeks of didactic work and dialogical activities, the answers to these questions are reversed. However, a considerable percentage (almost one-third) maintained that Britain initiated the war. James Wertsch (2018) recalls how, in historical disputes about events closely linked to the shaping of the nation-state, a privileged space opens up for observing how the fabric of identity can intervene in a complex way in understanding history.

The results point to the symbolic strength of the national narrative. In the same sense, no pre-test/post-test differences were found in the questionnaire related to the idea of 'just war' (students seem to remain in an intermediate zone: 'neither agree nor disagree' with this idea), indicating resistance to the change of moral values associated with the predominance of a narrative about the Malvinas Islands that understands them as usurped national territory. The entire didactic experience, centered on the viewing of the film, the structured dialogical discussions based on the analysis of the film scene and the historiographical text, in addition to the set of classes, nevertheless managed to significantly improve knowledge about the conflict and produce a decrease in prejudice toward the British. We believe that this comprehensive improvement is underpinned by a fundamental engagement with dialogic formats, critical examination of the production of narratives about the past, and recognition of an unavoidable affective engagement with the subject at all stages of lesson planning.

Dialogical activities facilitated a deliberative process (Ahonen, 2017). Debating and evaluating competing arguments provided students with tools to analyze and question historical information actively. The importance of approaching the historiographical text from the perspective of historiographical dispute, highlighting where reasonable disagreements persist, is critical to enable students to engage with the complexity of the Malvinas conflict. Critical analysis and more profound understanding were enabled by highlighting interpretative gaps and differing hypotheses, contrasting with traditional narratives' closed accounts. The dialogue format of *Theatre of War* contributed significantly to this process as an effective catalyst for the recognition of diverse positions through an interesting negotiation with the emotional side and ethical reflection. The geography and anthropology classes reinforced these objectives, working both on the social construction of the concept of symbolic sovereignty and on the denaturalization of narratives based on the Brechtian idea of estrangement.

## Conclusions

Renowned historians such as Federico Lorenz (2022b) have proposed moving away from the dichotomous scheme of interpretation of the Malvinas conflict and from the subsumption of the archipelago's history in the diplomatic dispute to make way for new interpretations. The task is arduous, considering the prominent role of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and its claim in shaping Argentina's national identity. National or master narratives have traditionally been the privileged vehicle for the transmission of history in school contexts; history plays a crucial role in constructing modern nation-states and forming identities, influencing our understanding of the past and our perception of ourselves. In history education, it has been identified that school national narratives tend to generate simplifying and exclusionary views of history (Carretero, 2011). In contrast, teaching models focusing on historical thinking have sought to develop disciplinary tools and a critical attitude in approaching the past (Barton & Levstik, 2004). However, overlapping these objectives means that history teaching can contain mutually contradictory programs (Carretero, van Alphen & Parellada, 2018). In the face of this, the dialogical approach has gained relevance in history education, mainly when dealing with conflicting pasts and rival histories, where the view of the group of belonging tends to prevail (Barton & McCully, 2012). As indicated, the film engages in dialogue with concerns relevant to history education: the questioning of the univocity of the national subject, the links between history and memory, the effects of conflicting pasts and ways of collectively processing them in people's lives, and, most notably, the possibility of dialogue between plural visions. In this chapter, dialogical activities aimed at establishing a multiperspective view of the past represent a valuable component of current and future research on history teaching, and the concept of dialogue should play a central role in theoretical developments around historical thinking and

historical consciousness. In our opinion, we need a much greater degree of systematic development in terms of empirical studies and, fundamentally, further theoretical elaboration within an interdisciplinary context. These studies must, of course, identify relevant perspectives, reconstruction of their contexts of meaning, and the ability to combine diverse perspectives into coherent accounts. Still, they cannot fail to consider the personal, relational process of recognizing, acknowledging, and making sense of divergent perspectives and incorporating them into one's understanding of a historical event.

## Notes

- 1 The Argentine civil-military dictatorship, which called itself the National Reorganisation Process, began with a coup d'état by the Armed Forces on 24 March 1976 and ended in 1983. It imposed the rule of a military junta composed of three commanders of the Armed Forces. The Malvinas war was a maneuver orchestrated under the de facto presidency of Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri to gain public support, but its subsequent defeat was a determining factor in the regime's downfall.
- 2 In fact, Law No. 27.023 (2014) establishes that all public transport vehicles must carry in a visible place the legend 'the Malvinas Islands are Argentine.'
- 3 *Veterans* (2014), *Minefield* (2016) and *Theatre of War* (2018).
- 4 From the Latin, meaning 'as ye possess according to the law, so shall ye possess'; the principle recognizing, for newly independent states, the boundaries of the colonial empire (Real Academia Española, s/f).

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