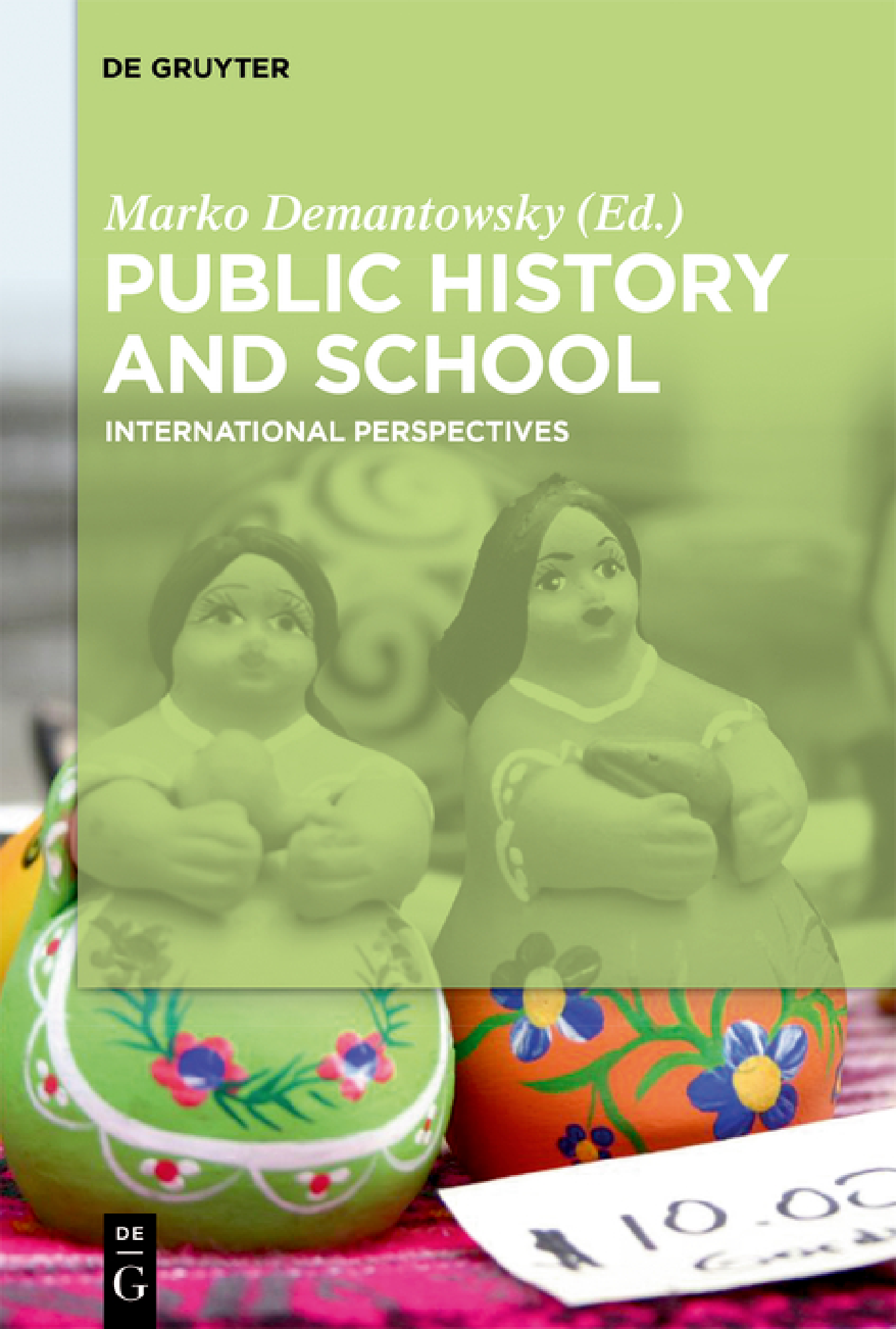
DE GRUYTER

Marko Demantowsky (Ed.)

PUBLIC HISTORY AND SCHOOL

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES



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Preface

The state-guaranteed giant institution called school, which exists worldwide, is one of the most successful projects of modernity, especially when it is offered for free and made compulsory for all. What marks the gradual emergence of this immensely expensive governmental project since the 18th century is characterised by the specific interests that fit partially within an ecclesiastical and military tradition. There was a specific purpose behind the success of the establishment of schools as comprehensive obligatory institutions or, if you like, as a collective long *rite de passage*. This purpose was the internal integration of the newly emerging nation states and the foundation of coherence in the face of diverse religious, linguistic, social and scenic identities.

This important task was achieved through the so-called mind-shaping school subjects, namely historically formatted instruction in national literature, Christian religion, and, last but not least, history. In this way, from the beginning, schools have played a key role in the enforcement of national identity in an assertive way, against the traditional collective and as historically as linguistically far-reaching self-understandings of a Saxonian Vogtländer, a member of the Polish Catholic community in Berlin, a free imperial city citizen of Dortmund, or a free East Frisian farmer and so on. These traditional and regional, linguistic, religious limited self-understandings could only appear as particular in the mirror of the new idea of integrated major nations that cover up a thousand cultural differences in favour of an idea of vaulting unity (whatever its character: political, ethnic, cultural). For the new national alignments, the establishment of the new state-guaranteed school systems was as effective as the almost same-time construction of the railway systems.

Whoever talks about the temporal dynamics of and changes in public history or history culture, politics of history, culture of remembrance, etc. cannot but consider an essential actor in their frame of reference: the "nation", which is first of all culturally embedded in the constituent parts of the school system as a whole. These parts are the curricula, teaching aids, professional actors, authorities, traditions, generations, discourses, rituals and disciplinary regulations. This applies, of course, primarily to all forms of history teaching.

Just as history textbooks were once called "Autobiographies of Nations" (Wolfgang Jacobmeyer),[1] so school history education is the place of establishing

1 Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, "Konditionierung von Geschichtsbewusstsein: Schulgeschichtsbücher als nationale Autobiographien," In Historisches Bewusstsein und politisches Handeln in der Geschichte ed. by Jerzy Topolski (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1994), 21-34.

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national self-understanding. It is the essential laboratory of public history. This is the case both historically and in present times. School is a symbolic place where the continuous negotiation of discourse power is evident. Show me the textbooks and I'll explain the zeitgeist.

No wonder then that school public history also affects other fields of instruction and socialising institutions: school classes visit museums, medieval reenactment sites or cinemas. The archives, heritage sites or memorials have well-established educational departments. How much do the different actors actually know about each other? Are they aware of the exemplary and long-lasting character of school education about national public histories? The authors of this book are working on these emerging questions and provide some answers to them.

The following volume with its contributors from 10 countries opens the framework theme of the book in four sections.

In his detailed keynote chapter, the editor undertakes to restructure the terminological field, which is internationally referred to as "Public History", but also uses terms such as "Cultural Heritage", "Collective Memory", "Culture of Remembrance" or "History Culture" etc. He expands on current ways of understanding the term "Public History" and the core characteristics that make up this field of practice and research. This is done without an exclusive reference to or focus on schools, but rather in a general and, for some, quite a radical way.

This is followed by four chapters with a total of 14 contributions. These four chapters aim to systematically explore this volume's field of inquiry. Accordingly, it addresses

1. how public history could be treated in history lessons,
2. how schools themselves become the subject of public history,
3. how history education? policy affects public history in schools, and, finally,
4. it takes a cautious look into the possible future of the relationship between public history and school.

The volume pursues a systematic interest, is structured according to subject matter, and has emerged from a lively discussion lasting several days. All authors of the volume met in Basel in autumn 2015 to discuss these questions on a conference (#PHI15). They discussed these problems in public lectures, informal discussions and courses for the students at my university. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Swiss National Fund (SNF) and the Educational School FHNW (Basel, Brugg-Windisch) for their generous financial support of this event.

Our open-access blog-journal *Public History Weekly* has discussed the relationship between history educators and public historians time and again in recent

years (among others Apostolidou 2018, Dean/Wojdon 2017).[2] To me, however, this does not seem to be a problem at all – provided one does not understand public history as a distinct and jealously-guarded academic discipline. Rather, it should be seen as a transdisciplinary and open field of research, inquiry and area of work, which depends largely on combining expertise from very different scientific backgrounds for the benefit of expanding knowledge and for the encouragement of a culture of debate.

The quality review of this volume was conducted through an Open Peer Review (OPR) organized by the publishing house in June and July 2018.

As the editor of this volume I have many supporters to thank: first of all, Dr. Jan Hodel and Simone Dietrich, who worked tirelessly on the organisation of the International Public History conference in 2015;[3] Samuel Burri, who played an important role in supporting the editing of the contributions to this book; and Dr. Elise Wintz and Rabea Rittgerodt of De Gruyter Oldenbourg for their persistent patience together with their professional and friendly editorial staff. Nevertheless, I am responsible for any remaining editorial problems.

Basel and Dortmund, June 2018
Marko Demantowsky

2 Eleni Apostolidou, "The Public Lure of History Education," *Public History Weekly* 6, 10 (2018), DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2018-11540.
David Dean, Joanna Wojdon, "Public History and History Didactics – A Conversation," *Public History Weekly* 5, 9 (2017), DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2017-8656.
3 See http://www.gesellschaftswissenschaften-phfhnw.ch/events/phi2015/ (last accessed July 18, 2018).

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History Politics, School, Public History

The Future of Public History – What Shall We Teach Perspectively?

Keynote

Marko Demantowsky

What is Public History

How we communicate is not self-evident. Neither at a meeting of colleagues from different language backgrounds, whatever their nature, because social milieus, regions, religions, clans, and tribal communities also form different linguistic codes and rules, even if they speak "the same language" toward the outside world. This lack of self-evidence applies even more to exchanges between the representatives of national language cultures. This may strike the English-speaking reader as a mere abstract triviality. And yet this situation presents a significant challenge in other settings, for instance, in the multilingual practicing of public history at the editorial office of *Public History Weekly* (ever since its establishment in 2013) or, as is becoming increasingly common, at conferences of the *International Federation for Public History*. This communicative challenge applies in particular to *termini technici* and the content-related metadata to be generated from them.[1] This essay, initially written which in German, endeavors to anticipate (and cater to) the horizon of the English-speaking community already in its footnotes–as far as possible for the author. Nevertheless, its English version, a translation, will necessarily differ from the original.

Already everyday experience suggests that it is of little help to indicate whatever might *also* be covered by this or that term in such trans-lations, as long as we lack specific rules to explain particular names or designations. Our desired fellow player or teammate does not understand the game in this way. To be perfectly honest, many of our concepts actually function according to such convention-based deixis and association. Even so, they only work as long as we encounter as little diversity as possible, i.e., as long as we are dealing with like-minded people or ones who have been socialized the same way. Thus, it is quite fortunate when Wittgenstein (1953) likens this problem to a party (or "going on holiday," in Anscombe's translation):

> This is connected with the conception of naming as, so to speak, an occult process. Naming appears as a *queer* connexion of a word with an object. – And you really get such a queer connexion when the philosopher tries to bring out *the* relation between name and thing by

1 See *Contents*, Public History Weekly. The International BlogJournal. https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/contents/ (last accessed 1 May 2018).

Note: Many thanks to Dr Mark Kyburz (http://englishprojects.ch) for the editorial overhaul of my first English text version.

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> staring at an object in front of him and repeating a name or even the word "this" innumerable times. For philosophical problems arise when language *goes on holiday.*[2]

"Public history," a research and practice-oriented discipline committed to internationalization for good reasons,[3] will therefore do well to intensify its conceptual work, to open up a game whose internal rules are explicit and whose hidden inclusiveness does not prevent other potential players from participation. Thus, what we need is not a more or less and unintended closed society or private club, but an open, and undoubtably pluralistic discipline. Paradoxically, we can achieve this goal by agreeing on the most important rules beforehand. For it is only once we have done so that we may keep trying to celebrate our academic "parties" inclusively and with the prospect of success. This paper seeks to make a small contribution to accomplishing this objective. It does so by offering a substantial clarification of what exactly public history is. This involves considering the rule(s) according to which we decide what public history is, and what it is not.

Since the much-invoked cultural turn in the late 1980s, the historical sciences have also theorized the field of "public history," namely, the public and societal dealings with history. These had previously been studied primarily by social psychology and classical studies, but also, since the 1960s, by German-speaking history didactics,[4] for reasons of their own and with little interdisciplinary contact.

Among European historians, only some few outstanding academic representatives (my list is purely exemplary) – Johann Gustav Droysen (1868),[5] Johann

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2 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), 19.

3 Serge Noiret, "L'internationalisation de'l Histoire Publique / Internationalizing Public History / Internationalisierung der Public History," *Public History Weekly* 2 (2014) 34, DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2014-2647; Thomas Cauvin, "Traverser les frontières: une histoire publique internationale / Crossing Barriers: an International Public History / Grenzen überschreiten: eine Internationale Public History," *Public History Weekly* 5 (2017) 13, DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2017–9018.

4 In the Federal Republic of Germany, the first concept seems to have presented by Rolf Schörken in his "Geschichtsdidaktik und Geschichtsbewußtsein," *GWU* 23 (1972), 81–89. In the German Democratic Republic, this work began 10 years earlier and was soon conceptualized empirically. The results, however, were published only to a limited extent. Among others, see Marko Demantowsky, "Der Beginn demoskopischer Geschichtsbewusstseins-Forschung in Deutschland: Die Forschungsgruppe 'Sozialistisches Geschichtsbewusstsein' am Institut für Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik* 4 (2005), 146–75.

5 Johann Gustav Droysen, *Grundriss der Historik* (Leipzig: Veit, 1868); translated into English by Elisha B. Andrews as *Outlines of the Principles of History* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1897).

Huizinga (1950 [1929]),[6] or Alfred Heuss (1959)[7] – recognized the importance of a second-order history or of a histories of histories early on. Their work, however, long remained largely unnoticed. Nietzsche's early impetus, formulated outside the guild of historians (1873), could long be ignored as a better piece of feuilleton.[8] The long early history of public history thinking in the English-speaking academic world has recently been described by Thomas Cauvin.[9]

These days, once they have gained a certain degree of public acceptance, i.e., have become a *turn* in their own right,[10] scientific turns generate offensively-minded lines of financial support from state and private donors. Correspondingly, the broad-based entry of the historical sciences into the cultural turn, and thus also into public self-reflection on their own practice and societal impact since the late 1980s, was associated with a large number of applications for third-party funding and with the establishment of young researchers' programs. These developments almost inevitably led to competitors clearly dissociating themselves from each other in this new third-party funding and employment market and consequently to a large number of competing concepts. This has not always been helpful for the development of mutually interconnectable broad empirical research on this topic. It is time to once again actively search for possible interconnections and to multiply these.

Preliminaries

In 2015, the readers of *Public History Weekly* were asked whether the term "Public History" might not be suitable to end the meanwhile older and, in my opinion, increasingly fruitless dispute in German-speaking scholarship over the correct terminology for public dealings with history, as well as for its consumption and

6 Johan Huizinga, "Over een definitie van het begrip geschiedenis," *Verzamelde werken. Deel 7* (Haarlem: Willink & Zoon, 1950), 95–103. German Translation by Werner Kaegi: "Über eine Definition des Begriffs der Geschichte," In *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1930), 78–88.

7 Alfred Heuss, *Verlust der Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

8 Friedrich Nietzsche, "Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben," In *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. Walther Linden and Wolfgang Deninger (Kettwig: Phaidon, 1990), 219–20; English translation: *Untimely meditations*, translated by R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

9 Thomas Cauvin, "The Rise of Public History: An International Perspective," *Historia Critica* 68 (2018), 3-26, esp. 5–7.

10 Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 2018); English version: *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016).

production.[11] At the same time, that article gave English-speaking readers a brief insight into the German debate and sought to enhance mutual understanding between German- and English-speaking scholars and practitioners. In brief, the argument went something like this:

1. The competing terms are so-called umbrella concepts (Jordanova, Grever).[12] Umbrella concepts are characterized by the fact that behind a specific word (denomination) extends a broad and permeable range of terms (range of definition); the latter is so flexible and receptive because it is enabled by weak terminological intensity (inclusion attributes), recognizable as metaphorical formulations. Language gives a party (Wittgenstein). One recognizes that many historical theories are basically umbrella concepts that create a heuristic apparent calming, but they are beyond that suitable for assembling schools behind them as academic loyalty groups.
2. More or less harmful umbrella concepts exist for debate: the less detrimental ones do not serve the establishment of academic schools, but liquefy them instead; besides, they offer no pseudo-answers, but make new questions possible. It is therefore not about an either-or, as the concepts of history culture (*Geschichtskultur*) and culture of remembrance (*Erinnerungskultur*) are also negotiable; it is rather about abolishing fruitless scholasticism in favor of interdisciplinary, integrated, and unbridled ("free") research and development on history in the public sphere.
3. The umbrella concept "public history" meets these alternative demands to a certain extent, because it enables both German-speaking historians and cultural scientists as well as history didacticians to pursue joint projects with their colleagues worldwide. Not only does this promote linkages within a multilingual discussion, but it also means that the genuinely didactic aspect of the German tradition might help to enrich the international discussion.

My 2015 paper was intended to pacify, to build bridges, just as I had attempted as early as 2005 (in the same vein, yet often misunderstood since) to limit the false claims to supremacy by those representing the concepts of history culture (*Geschichtskultur*) and culture of remembrance (*Erinnerungskultur*). My purpose,

11 Marko Demantowsky. "Public History – Sublation of a German Debate? / 'Public History' – Aufhebung einer deutschsprachigen Debatte?" *Public History Weekly* 3, 2 (2015), DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2015-3292.

12 Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London and New York: Hodder Education, 2000), 126–149; Maria Grever, "Fear of Plurality: Historical Culture and Historiographical Canonization in Western Europe," In *Gendering Historiography: Beyond National Canons* ed. by Angelika Epple and Angelika Schaser (Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus Verlage, 2009), 45–62.

then and now, was differentiation, and thus clarification, rather than discord.[13] As my 2005 and 2015 papers presented the main arguments against the previous versions of the respective concepts, they need not be repeated here in detail. They were also motivated by academic policy, which intended to counter the (generally unspoken) disciplinary dimension of the existing divergent cultures of discussion. This paper, the third one in a series of reflections, seeks to develop an in-depth concept of public history, one that claims to increase its operationalizable explanatory power and its empirical correlation, without, however, jeopardizing the indisputable advantages of its open umbrella character in terms of scientific policy.

Context

However, some more contextualization is first needed. Conceptual offerings abound, alone on the German "menu." They include, by way of a quick reminder, two rather specific and analytical concepts: Norbert Frei's politics of the past (*Vergangenheitspolitik*) and Edgar Wolfrum's politics of history (*Geschichtspolitik*).[14] Both concepts have historically clearly delimited definitions. Thus, while they are actually not typical umbrella concepts, their specific determination is not evident in their denomination. This explains their frequent recurrence in many publications over the past years, even far beyond their original scope of definition. In fact, both concepts have been overgeneralized time and again.

Beyond that, another, colorful spectrum of terms exists. Employed in non-scientific dealings with history, their general meaning and explanatory power, encompassing all phenomena of modern history, have been claimed from the very beginning. One example is Pierre Nora's concept of places of remembrance (lieux de mémoire), which was adapted by Etienne François, Hagen Schulze, Georg Kreis, and others for the German-speaking debate.[15] Another case is Maurice Halbwachs's

13 Marko Demantowsky, "Geschichtskultur und Erinnerungskultur: Zwei Konzeptionen des einen Gegenstandes," In *Geschichte, Politik und ihre Didaktik* 33 (2005), 11–20.

14 Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (Munich: Beck, 1996); Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung 1948 – 1990* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999).

15 Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992; Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires); Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, eds., *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 2001); Georg Kreis, *Schweizer Erinnerungsorte: Aus dem Speicher der Swissness* (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 2010).

concept of collective memory (1925),[16] especially as represented and further developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann.[17] Then, of course, the concept of the culture of remembrance: this has made an astonishing career in German historiography over the past 20 years, evident in an enormous number of dissertations and major scientific projects that have prominently promoted this concept,[18] and (last but not least) in its widespread usage in the public and in the media. Based on the writings of Wolfgang Hardtwig[19] and Jörn Rüsen,[20] the concept of history culture (*Geschichtskultur*) subsequently became highly influential, most of all in history didactics, one of several historical subdisciplines. Finally, especially in recent years, the term *public history* gained ground and became formative in the German-speaking community, even if its literal translation ("Öffentliche Geschichte") was considered appropriate from time to time. The main driving force behind this conceptual adaptation was Paul Nolte.[21] Based on his work in particular, a number of degree programs have recently been established in Germany and Switzerland and, associated therewith, the successive establishment of a very

16 Maurice Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008).

17 Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992). Translated into English by the author: *Cultural Memory and Early Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Aleida Assmann, *Cultural memory and Western civilization: functions, media, archives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

18 See, for instance, Christoph Cornelißen, "Was heißt Erinnerungskultur? Begriff – Methoden – Perspektiven," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 54 (2003), 548–63. For a critique, see Demantowsky (2005).

19 Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Geschichtskultur und Wissenschaft* (Munich: dtv, 1990), 7–11.

20 Jörn Rüsen, "Was ist Geschichtskultur? Überlegungen zu einer neuen Art, über Geschichte nachzudenken," In *Historische Faszination: Geschichtskultur heute*, ed. Klaus Füssmann et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 3–26. Rüsen's concept of historical culture as the "practical articulation of historical consciousness" in an aesthetic, cognitive, and political dimension has since been frequently taken up; it is basically also an umbrella concept whose logical consistency has, however, rarely been carefully examined: it tied in all too well with the historical-didactic discussion (historical consciousness), just as its three dimensions were suited too readily to possible further use. One might have noticed that these dimensions lie on completely different levels of logic and therefore fail to produce a coherent system; in addition, clarifying what "political," among other terms, means within each dimension, and what exactly belongs to it, occurs without fixed, and above all without common, logical rules. Even "practical articulation" remains vague. Thus, for instance, does every utterance already constitute historical culture? This view turns everything historical into historical culture and overextends the concept to the point of exhaustion.

21 Paul Nolte, "Öffentliche Geschichte: Die neue Nähe von Fachwissenschaft, Massenmedien und Publikum: Ursachen, Chancen und Grenzen," In *Aufklärung, Bildung, "Histotainment"? Zeitgeschichte in Unterricht und Gesellschaft heute*, eds. Michele Barricelli and Julia Hornig, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 131–46.

small German-speaking public history subdiscipline, which attempts to distinguish itself from the numerous existing disciplinary trends in this field of research and development.[22]

The situation in English-speaking historical academia is clearly different, not least because the corresponding projects and discussions already began emerging from the early 1970s. They were not bound to the cultural turn, but instead to the rise of everyday and social history, although first and foremost and most dominantly to counterstories, so-called "history from below." The term "public history" did not mark out an intra-academic field of competition, but a field of conflict between academic historical research and teaching and non-institutionalized, sometimes non-academic historians, between institutes and a grassroots movement.[23] Incidentally, a similar line of conflict also existed in German-speaking countries at that time, namely, between the "barefoot historians" of history workshops and the academic world.[24] But, and this is the difference, the debate over understanding the exoteric approach to history, addressed to laypersons, was not a genuine part of this conflict. Nor were "history culture" (*Geschichtskultur*), "culture of remembrance" (*Erinnerungskultur*), and "place of remembrance" (*Erinnerungsort*) the banners of a competing approach to the past – rather, they were and still are an integral part of traditional academic discussion.

Public history later became a recognized field of scholarship in the USA and Canada, and more slowly in the UK (under the label "cultural heritage") and Australia. University positions have been created over time, little by little. Nevertheless, university chairs or even institutes of public history are still few and far between. There are, however, literally hundreds of Master's programs, a very powerful American professional association (NCPH), and now also a thriving *International Federation for Public History*. The utterly pragmatic handling of definitions and self-concept declarations may be considered a strongly beneficial prerequisite for the admirable success achieved during this start-up phase. We might perhaps imagine this as an intellectual frontier, which, during a long pioneering period, invited and enticed explorations of this uncharted territory of knowledge and in which, in the movement phase, keeping the treks close together and protecting the early settlements was crucial.

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22 Thorsten Logge, "Public History in Germany: Challenges ans Opportunities," *German Studies Review* 39 (2016), 141–53.

23 Susan Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, "Introduction," *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), XV–XXIV.

24 See, for instance, Hubert Christian Ehalt, *Geschichte von unten: Fragestellungen, Methoden und Projekte einer Geschichte des Alltags* (Kulturstudien 1) (Vienna: Böhlau, 1984).

Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig (1986) proposed a basic, yet exemplary solution to the problem of defining public history. Their highly readable account suggested the following distinctions:

a. a "slick form" of public history, as found in the media and dominated by commercial and political interests;
b. professional public history;
c. and a radical history from below.[25]

This threefold definition might be called an extensional (denotative) definition, whose elements are determined in purely descriptive nominal or rather functional terms. The definiens is determined by the respective diverse institutional and practical framework: its useful purpose. In fact, this is merely a weakly explicated denotative, sometimes only epidictic definition and certainly not a real definition, which must ground the debate in research making empirical claims, i.e., serve as the constitutive level of discussion: what is it that we are investigating or practicing?[26]

Such weakly pronounced nominality quite obviously explains why this definition and its countless offshoots and forerunners have worked socially and still continue to do so today. It is a compromise formula. Or, to quote Ludmilla Jordanova (2000), it is a kind of umbrella concept,[27] i.e., a concept that brings everyone's needs for conceptual protection under one roof.

The pattern devised by Benson, Brier and Rosenzweig (1986) may be said to have engendered a lengthy series of other public history definitions (using slightly different registers, yet whose logic is equally casual): Robert Kelley's (1978),[28] Jerome de Groot's (2009),[29] Hilda Kean's (2013),[30] Thomas Cauvin's (2016),[31] and most recently Irmgard Zündorf's (2017).[32]

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25 See Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, "Introduction," XVI–XVII.

26 For more information on the classification of definitions, see Eike von Savigny, *Grundkurs im wissenschaftlichen Definieren* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1970).

27 Jordanova, *History in Practice*, 130.

28 Robert Kelley, "Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects," *The Public Historian* 1 (1978), 16–28.

29 Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1–7.

30 Hilda Kean, "Introduction," *The Public History Reader*, eds. Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), XIII–XXXII.

31 Thomas Cauvin, *Public History: A Textbook of Practice* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 10–11.

32 Irmgard Zündorf, "Contemporary History and Public History," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte* (16 March 2017), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.1017.v2 (last accessed 1 May 2018).

"Public history" in the form of degree programs or institute positions is far less well established in German-speaking academic institutions than in the USA, for instance. Intellectually, however, the fundamental question of the public use and application of references to the past is academically widely accepted, even if only in specific respects, whether as reception histories of historical ideas or events, or as the now readily accepted task of popularizing research findings in the media. Put more succinctly, German-speaking historians have literally inhaled the fundamental concern of public history, in a specific refraction since the cultural turn—and beyond the confines of individual subdisciplines.[33] And perhaps that is just as well, and in the best interests of the cause. Thus, "public history" is neither *de facto* nor *ex ratio* a privileged field of inquiry in contemporary history, as some believe, with any inherited rights or privileges so to speak.[34] Conceptually, however, each subdiscipline approaches this concern differently; also evident is a partial ignorance about neighboring approaches.[35] Besides, no functioning authority exists that might provide a relevant view of good criteria, good procedures, and any ethical aspects whatsoever for practicing and reflecting on public history,[36] for instance, along the lines of those devised by NCPH in the USA.

German-speaking history didactics has taken up the *de facto* heuristics of public history since the 1960s, beginning with the question of how extracurricular factors affect learning in history teaching in different contexts. Based on this question, the concept of historical consciousness, and subsequently also that of historical culture, was developed.[37] If school history education, as a state

33 Stimulating für this aspect, see Stefanie Samida, "Public History als Historische Kulturwissenschaft. Ein Plädoyer," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte* (17 June 2014), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.575.v1 (last accessed 2 May 2018).

34 See Zündorf, "Contemporary History and Public History."

35 The memory research of medieval scholars tends to be overlooked in this respect; see, for instance, Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1995).

36 For an interesting approach in this respect, see Cord Arendes and Angela Siebold, "Zwischen akademischer Berufung und privatwirtschaftlichem Beruf. Für eine Debatte um Ethik- und Verhaltenskodizes in der historischen Profession," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66 (2015), 152–66.

37 Already Jeismann's category of "historical consciousness in society," formulated very much in the spirit of Schörken (1972), systematically conceived of horizons of inquiry for public history; see Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "Didaktik der Geschichte. Die Wissenschaft von Zustand, Funktion und Veränderung geschichtlicher Vorstellungen im Selbstverständnis der Gegenwart," *Geschichtswissenschaft. Didaktik–Forschung–Theorie*, ed. Erich Kosthorst (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 9–33. Jörn Rüsen was able to build on Jeismann's work when he pub-lished his groundbreaking essay on "historical culture" in 1994. Bernd Schönemann summarized the debate in a lecture delivered in 1999 at Seeon Monastery and developed it further conceptually; see Bernd Schönemann, "Geschichtsdidaktik und Geschichtskultur,"

agency, not only seeks to disseminate the dominant ideology of the past, then the history education of young people must at least enable them to build the competencies needed to face such dominant perspectives autonomously.[38] The main question of history didactic teaching and research in the field of public history in the past 40 to 50 years has been the interrelations between school and extracurricular historical education, between formal and non-formal and informal historical education, between intended and unintended history-related learning. In English-speaking countries, history research, public history and history didactics are definitely more clearly distinct disciplines, also institutionally, than in Germany, for example. As a result, only some few scholars cross disciplinary boundaries there. This "compartmenalization" makes the integrated perspective and the anchoring of German history sciences including history didactics interesting for English-speaking public historians. Here, then, lies a specific opportunity for the German-language debate to connect with the international one.

The concept of public history and most of its German equivalents form an umbrella concept, as Jordanova has put it. And indeed, closer scrutiny reveals that these definitions are often only persuasive or at least metaphorically charged, as sometimes happens with the "culture of remembrance"; at best they are extensional definitions. Moreover, they are often incoherent and at least partly mutually exclusive. This leads to a fundamental problem: we have no definition of the phenomenological and practical context of "public history" that could be operationalized (beyond the proclamatory) in specific, especially interdisciplinary research and development projects, and which could not only be donned by way of contextualization, as the king did with his clothes in Hans Christian Andersen's well-known fairy tale.

In what follows, I attempt to explain public history as a process of normative and mutual perception. As such, my explanation itself will not be normative, at least not to begin with, but strictly descriptive. Eventually, however, I will also suggest criteria for good or bad public history – or at least offer some initial ideas in this direction.

There will be no question of defining a discipline, on the contrary. It is (only) about the definition of a transdisciplinary field of non-academic and academic inquiry.

Geschichtskultur. Theorie – Empirie – Pragmatik, ed. Bernd Mütter et al., (Weinheim: Beltz, 2000), 26–58.

38 One exemple is Johannes Meyer-Hamme and Bodo von Borries, "Sinnbildung über Zeiterfahrung? Geschichtslernen im Spannungsfeld von Subjekt- und Institutionsperspektive," *Sinnkonstruktion und Bildungsgang. Zur Bedeutung individueller Sinnzuschreibungen im Kontext schulischer Lehr-Lern-Prozesse*, ed. Hans-Christoph Koller (Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2008), 107–135.

Towards a definition

Fundamental constellation

Take any individual. He or she has many needs, most of which can be satisfied only in a group, i.e., in association with others. And yet properly considered, why do we (so often) not make use of others and their creations, at least by way of relief?[39] Individuals, in everything they desire, feel, think, and above all do (i.e., in their practice), carry within themselves the whole of humanity – at least potentially. This explains why "understanding" or the like can arise in the first place.[40] To become a stable member of a group, we must achieve identification through our clothing, accessories, language, behavior and, last but not least, through speech acts, e.g. stories, that is to say, through history, in the broadest sense of the term.[41] This also applies to the child, after being assigned initial affiliation, through which it also acquires personal identity.[42]

Sometimes, but actually not very often, these (everyday) stories are quite elaborate and complex. Mostly, however, they are far from that. Indeed, how could they be? We must communicate constantly in abbreviations, with immanent metaphors, using coarse symbolic hints.[43] A few words, a gesture, or simply a look sometimes suffices to connect individuals with underlying collective contexts of historical attributions of meaning. This explains why the hopes of teachers or researchers, that their tasks, interview questions, or questionnaire items will prompt individual and original stories, are so often dashed. Frequently, those stories simply cannot be found or only with difficulty, or must

39 Here, a long line of discussion extends back to Johann Gottfried Herder. The most important reference might be Arnold Gehlen, even if we need not follow all of his further conclusions; see Arnold Gehlen, *Der Mensch. Seine Natur und seine Stellung in der Welt*. (Wiesbaden: Aula, 1986), 62–73.

40 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1990), 347–48 et iterum.

41 Emil Angehrn, *Geschichte und Identität* (West Berlin, De Gruyter, 1985), 1; more recently, see his "Der Mensch in der Geschichte. Konstellationen historischer Identität," In: *Identität und Geschichte,* eds. Emil Angehrn and Gerd Jüttemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2018), 7–52.

42 In this respect, one can follow the positions of so-called narrative psychology, developed in the wake of Paul Ricoeur, for instance, his "Narrative Identität," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 31 (1987), 55–67. See also Wolfgang Kraus, *Das erzählte Selbst. Die narrative Konstruktion von Identität in der Spätmoderne* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1996).

43 Jörn Rüsen, Klaus Fröhlich, Hubert Horstkötter, and Hans-Günter Schmidt, "Untersuchungen zum Geschichtsbewusstsein von Abiturienten im Ruhrgebiet," *Geschichtsbewusstsein empirisch*, ed. Bodo v. Borries et al. (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1991), 221–344, esp. 230.

first be produced with great effort. However, the fact that in very many cases no detailed and elaborate narratives are detectable among individuals does not mean that these individuals are not in a position to make historical identifications and to implement these specifically in the various common reference systems (e.g., schools, families, peer groups, football clubs, carnival associations, or even the nation).

We may therefore assume that a relation to the past, a vulgo-historical dimension, exists in every brain that possesses language.[44] Yet despite all neuropsychological imaging, semantically this brain is only ever a black box for us. While we might, then, speak of historical *consciousness*,[45] the term itself presupposes self-reflection on and self-knowledge of this particular dimension of ourselves. Thus, at least in this context, we do well to assume little. Perhaps no more than this: that at least empirically, and very often (and I happily include myself), all that exists are untamed balls of wool, if this allegory is permitted here; or indeed topological,[46] non-verbal, pictorial relationships between elements of object knowledge, norms, loaded meanings, and emotions.[47] My proposal here is to refer to this complex of phenomena cautiously, and quite traditionally, as "views of the past" (*Geschichtsbilder*).[48] Historical consciousness may represent an individual, yet merely sublimated, self-reflected form of this cognitive and emotional "ball of wool." Based on the existing consensus, it seems reasonably safe to assume that historical consciousness is the elaborate,

44 See Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 387–393.

45 The famous and heavily reflected concept of historical consciousness should be avoided here. For even if (or to the extent that) it is generally accepted, its character is just as umbrella-like as that of many other common concepts. This explains its tremendous success over the past decades. Nevertheless, this term rarely helps to explain and not simply to describe individual and specific historical forms of expression. While the operative concept of historical, or rather history-related thinking, now preferred by many experts of history didactics, is better suited to teaching research in a pragmatic way, it is unable to grasp the complexity of the social events addressed here.

46 Gert Ueding, *Klassische Rhetorik* (Munich: Beck, 2004), 79–83.

47 The question of emotions also looks back on a successful career. See, at first, Chad Berry, Lori A. Schmied, and Josef Chad Schrock, "The Role of Emotion in Teaching and Learning History: A Scholarship of Teaching Exploration," *The History Teacher* 41 (2008), 437–452. See also the many interesting contributions in Juliane Brauer and Martin Lücke, eds., *Emotionen, Geschichte und historisches Lernen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), esp. Jörn Rüsen and Johannes Meyer-Hamme, "Die Macht der Gefühle im Sinn der Geschichte. Theoretische Grundlagen und das Beispiel des Trauerns" (27–44) and ">I never liked history at school<. Identitäen und Emotionen beim historischen Lernen," (125–137).

48 Marko Demantowsky, "Geschichtsbild," *Wörterbuch Geschichtsdidaktik* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2006, 82–83).

educated form of wild and idiosyncratic "views of the past." As mentioned, it is a very rare form. Nevertheless, it serves to describe the (rather utopian) goal of all kinds of projects of purposeful dissemination. Those, however, who take the existence of historical consciousness as a prerequisite will easily miss the needs and opportunities of the respective target group – if this business term is permitted here.

Now what can actually be discovered of these really existing idiosyncratic "views of the past" in teaching or research contexts are individual narrative pieces in all possible kinds of human expression. They are literally charged with the symbolic world of their current social environment. However different, they have two common foundations: they always refer consciously or mostly unconsciously to a collective past. That much is clear. Beyond that, however, their sole and genuine essential purpose is collective *recognition*.

This *recognition* is by no means granted automatically, especially if you are young, different, or simply an outsider or a stranger. The collective recognition of an individual historical identification with a group can be considered a valuable prize, an instrument of collective integration, and ultimately also of social (self-)disciplining.[49] This also explains why schoolchildren were once called disciples and why specific scientific communities are still called "disciplines."

In the end, it is about the eternal struggle for social recognition. This varies from situation to another, and time and again involves an obviously utterly superior collective counterpart, who characterizes public history from the perspective of the individual, as Rüsen (1983), has mentioned after all.[50] We all have the need to be recognized, and at best to be loved, not least historically. This turns this redundant imbalance of power into an anthropological experience.

What, however, characterizes the counterpart of this narrative desire for recognition? Beyond such abstract terms as "the group," "the collective," or even "society"? The process of negotiating identity recognition requires at least two complementarities: on the one hand, the participants (here the individual and a group); on the other, the medium. Individual narrative pieces can only be recognized within the framework of collective narratives.

49 Especially relevant to this kind of thinking is Michel Foucault, especially his *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the French Prison* (1975), where he explores the emergence and the characteristics of this modernity. For an exemplary account, see Ulrich Johannes Schneider, *Michel Foucault* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004),125–129.

50 Rüsen described this briefly, but did not make it a fundamental element of his theory. See his *Historische Vernunft. Grundzüge einer Historik I: Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 78, 131.

Basic narratives vs. master narratives

At this juncture, I need to introduce a term that has suddenly sprung to life in the German-speaking debate in recent years, roughly since the last turn of the millennium: the "basic narrative." On closer inspection, this is perhaps difficult to explain, because at the same time, two other terms, "master narratives" and, almost by default, "narratives," also remained in circulation. Barely any cultural analysis can operate without more or less specific, yet often merely fuzzy references to "narratives." As far as can be seen, the differences between these terms have not yet been explicitly clarified. Not that I shall do so here exhaustively, because for my present argument any such explanation is merely a means to an end.

In a contribution like the present one, written against the background of a German tradition of thought, and aimed at a multinational, mainly English-speaking audience, clarification is probably still necessary at this point, not least because the common German translation of "master narrative" (*Meistererzählung*) seems to miss something essential. Moreover, it might even lead to false associations, as if the dominant narratives in the sense of Glucksmann's *Meisterdenker* (1977)[51] were meant, rather than dominant narratives per se or even more abstract, dominant narrative patterns.

The roots of differentiation are, as usual, heavily ramified and complex. We might, however, note the parallel development in American analytical philosophy, which gradually revealed the narrative logic of historiography and history after the war and perhaps culminated for the first time in "Philosophy and History," a conference held in 1963.[52] The distinction, however, also goes back to the first volume of one of Claude Lévi-Strauss's major works, published just a year later (like many other fundamental insights on closer inspection).[53] In his groundbreaking structuralist study *Mythologiques* (1964–1971), Lévi-Strauss identifies the incommensurability of the narrative structures of indigenous South American mythologies and Western observers and attempts to convey this hiatus methodically. Hayden White's famous "emplotments" (1973),[54] and above

51 André Glucksmann, *Die Meisterdenker* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1989).

52 Sidney Hook, ed., *Philosophy and history. A symposium* (New York: New York University Press), 1963.

53 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques. Volume 1: The Raw and the Cooked* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 1–34. German translation by Eva Moldenhauer: *Mythologica I: Das Rohe und das Gekochte* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1976), 11–53.

54 Hayden White, *Metahistory. Die historische Einbildungskraft im 19. Jahrhundert in Europa* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1991), 15–62.

all Jean-François Lyotard's critique of the "méta récits" (or "grand narratives") (1979),[55] were subsequently able to build on these models. In the same year 1979, Lawrence Stone proclaimed the "revivial of the narrative."[56] This laid the foundations for a wide variety of other forms. This theoretical development was accompanied by the onset of the "memory boom" in Western societies,[57] and not least by the gradual establishment of a scientific public history in the USA.[58] The rest is as legend has it.

Since around 2000, the term "basic narrative" has crept into scholarly discussion. Several authors have recently used it pragmatically and increasingly frequently, but hardly anyone has defined it specifically.[59] Precisely this, however, seems imperative: a definition would help to sensibly distinguish the variants outlined above, especially the now renowned "master narrative" (*Meistererzählung*)[60] from the "basic narrative."[61]

Basic narratives

As far as I can tell, three attempts have been since 2006 to define basic narratives: first, from a communications science perspective (2008/2016); second, from within the pragmatic discussion on history teaching (2012); third, from the perspective of empirical historical-cultural research (2006).

55 Jean François Lyotard, *Das postmoderne Wissen. Ein Bericht* (Vienna: Passagen-Verlag, 2015).
56 Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a new Old History," *Past and Present* 85 (1979), 3–24.
57 Jay Winter, "Die Generation der Erinnerung. Reflexionen über den Memory-Boom in der zeithistorischen Forschung," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 10 (2001), 5–16.
58 See Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, "Introduction," XV–XXIV.
59 Many other possible examples for this kind of pragmatism might be cited. Recent examples include Wolfgang Müller-Funk, *Die Kultur und ihre Narrative: eine Einführung*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Springer, 2008), 223–247. In history didactics, we might mention Susanne Popp's influential essay "Ein global orientiertes Geschichtsbewusstsein als zukünftige Herausforderung der Geschichtsdidaktik?" *Sowi-Online* 2, 1 (2002), 1–13. Or more recently Andrea Kolpatzik's "History goes Online. Sprachproduktion und medialer Wandel im Spiegel," *Geschichte und Sprache*, eds. Saskia Handro and Bernd Schönemann, *Zeitgeschichte, Zeitverständnis* 21 (Berlin: LIT-Verl, 2010). 162.
60 Konrad H. Jarausch and Martin Sabrow, eds., "Meistererzählung – Zur Karriere eines Begriffs," In *Die historische Meistererzählung. Deutungslinien der deutschen Geschichte nach 1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 9–32.
61 Peter Gautschi, Markus Bernhardt, and Ulrich Mayer, "Guter Geschichtsunterricht - Prinzipien," In *Handbuch Praxis Geschichtsunterricht*, eds. Michele Barricelli and Martin Lücke (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2012), 326–48, esp. 332–34.

Following Fasulo and Zucchermaglio (2008),[62] Perrin and Wyss (2016) observed:

> Narration not only develops facts or discursive arguments, but combines incommensurable discourses from the context of specific situations by causally linking them and thus making sense for narrators and recipients. These include basic narratives that are part of every culture and are handed down from generation to generation.[63]

Much comes together in this version, but what seems most important – alas, only implicitly – are the references to Lévi-Strauss, especially the relevance of everyday life, tradition, and incommensurability. Nor is the generative imprinting of these communicative frameworks truly executed; a referring to the writing of the ethnologist Jan Vansina (1985)[64] would seem promising; Jan Assmann, as is well known, further developed this approach in his theory of cultural memory a few years later.[65]

Markus Bernhardt, Peter Gautschi, and Ulrich Mayer went about defining "basic narratives" in 2012.[66] Referring to the problems of the school curriculum, as Susanne Popp had done previously (2002), they took a stand in the debate against a national-historical and chronological structure. They use the term "master narrative" in this context for negative characterization. For Bernhardt and his colleagues, "basic narratives," on the other hand, denote topics so relevant to "collective memory" that they must be taught, normatively. Two other fundamental terms are derived by Bernhardt et al. from such a concept of basic narratives: "basic knowledge," as the knowledge aspect of these narratives, and "individual representation". Even if the latter subdivision seems somewhat arbitrary, even if the respective theory is barely contextualized, even if the polemical contrast with what is actually obsolete, and even if, finally, the confining national "master narratives" can be questioned against the background of theory development since 1960, both the attempted differentiation and the cursory reference to the category of "identity" seem to advance the search for definition.

A few years earlier (2006), I had already made a stab at definition. At the time, however, my attempted distinction – between basic narratives and master

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62 Alessandra Fasulo and Cristina Zucchermaglio, "Narratives in the workplace. Facts, fictions, and canonicity," *Text & Talk* 28 (2008), 351–76, esp. 371–72.

63 Daniel Perrin and Vinzenz Wyss, "In die Geschichten erzählen. Die Analyse von Narration in öffentlicher Kommunikation," In *Handbuch nicht-standardisierte Methoden in der Kommunikationswissenschaft*, eds. Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz and Michael Meyer (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 241–56, esp. 247.

64 Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 21–24.

65 See Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (1992).

66 Gautschi, Bernhardt, and Mayer, "Guter Geschichtsunterricht - Prinzipien," 332–34.

narratives – attracted little attention.[67] Twelve years later, I return to it, albeit in a modifying and critical manner. It goes like this: basic narratives are collective narrative patterns. Not only do they involve national-historical symbol formation, but also and above all religious, pseudo-religious, tribal, and occupation-related symbol formation. These formations, however, cannot be attributed to specific authors as a rule. These basic narratives are the semantic vessel of collective views of the past.

Basic narratives are anonymous and profound identification structures of opinion and meaning in societies. They often appear as unspoken preconditions. Moreover, they offer a system of coordinates for every kind of collective self-concept and thus of exercised normality[68] – combined with the usual rewards and of course also with sometimes sublime, sometimes explicit punishments. Basic narratives can have such effects because they are not simply blurred, opaque ideas, but instead institutionalized and socially proven beliefs incarnated in our everyday institutions, which Maurice Halbwachs (1925) described as social frameworks.[69] This idea is particularly obvious when we look at educational institutions, school systems, history lessons and curricula. But these basic narratives also live in museums, archives, memorials, television series, Bollywood movies, in our parliaments, traffic rules, and house numbers, and not least in universities. They are an essential part of our cultural system and understanding. Thus, in this respect, we may indeed encounter basic narratives. They are neither simply a theoretical construct nor an eccentric idea. Each of us is of course invited to give this issue different names, and yet terms are not just words nor a matter of one-upmanship. In the interests of advancing discussion, we would do well to ensure that our statements can be followed up, made coherent, and operationalized.

In this sense, basic narratives are not *méta récits* à la Lyotard; they represent nothing, therefore, which could be brought to a gestalt by a reflective arrangement of a base of measured and appropriate validity and dissolved into quasi-natural, specifically, case-related bound back narratives and be dissolved into

67 Marko Demantowsky, "Österreichische Schulbücher als Quellen der Geschichtskultur-Forschung. Die Behandlung der 48er Revolution und des magyarisch-habsburgischen Konflikts," *Geschichtsdidaktische Schulbuchforschung*, eds. Saskia Handro and Bernd Schönemann, *Zeitgeschichte - Zeitverständnis* 16 (Berlin: LIT-Verl, 2006), 149–76 (162).

68 Or, as Foucault put it: "Eine Normalisierungsgesellschaft ist der historische Effekt einer auf das Leben gerichteteten Machttechnologie"; see *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), 172. The quote translates as: "A normalizing society is the historical effect of a life-oriented technology of power" (translated by Mark Kyburz).

69 See Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*.

quasi-natural, locally rootable narratives. Rather, they are related to the implicit theories or "alternative frameworks"[70] that appear individually but are always collectively anchored: they claim validity in the consciousness of group members, yet without these either wanting or even being able to account for them. On the contrary. They have always existed, endowed with tremendous persistence, because their bearers derive a substantial part of their identity from such implicit theories. Typical forms of such theories include personalization, mentalization, personification (as described by Halldén 1997), which would certainly complement, also at different levels, hypostasis and presentism. On closer inspection, the relationship between basic narratives and implicit theories can be seen as one of implication. Implicit theories, in Halldén's sense, form – across groups – the specific form of basic narratives. These acquire their identifying, group-constituting power through reference to content-related provisions. Ideologies of all stripes have their place here. The actors of all basic narratives may be said to shape their material in a set of equal forms. *In substance*, however, they often pit their efforts against each other, for the purposes of self-recognition and distinction. This practice necessarily has recourse to a "limiting structure"[71]; what emerges from this is that basic narratives constitute cultural entities, the vehicles of collective identity.

Narrative differences

The productivity of an analytical perspective on the connection between the categories of "narrative" and "identity" has already been explored by Margret R. Somers (1994)[72]:

> … we must reject the decoupling of action from ontology, and instead accept the same notion of social being and social identity is, willy-nilly, incorporated into each and every knowledge-statement about action, agency, and behaviour. … the reframing of narrative allows us to make that enlargement.[73]

70 Ola Halldén, "Conceptual Change and the Learning of History," *International Journal for Educational Research* 27 (1997), 201–210.

71 Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann, "Ethnogenie und Ethnogenese. Theoretisch-ethnologische und ideokritische Studie," In *Studien zur Ethnogenese*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 72 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985), 9–27, esp. 19.

72 Margret R. Somers, "The narrative constitution of identity," *Theory and Society* 23 (1994), 605–649.

73 Ibid, 615–16.

This approach, Somers argues, means that research does not look for isolated semantic assignments in order to analyze group-specific identities, but instead follows a basic claim:

> … that we discern the meaning of any single event only in temporal and spatial relationship to other events. Indeed, the chief characteristic of narrative is that it renders understanding only by connecting … parts to a constructed configuration or a social network of relationships … composed by symbolic, institutional, and material practices.[74]

The distinction between these practices would need to be questioned, in particular whether the three types exist on a logical level. What is essential, however, is that identity references can only be sufficiently understood in their narrative character. Moreover, they generate group cohesion and manifest themselves subcutaneously in practices.

Importantly, Somers distinguishes four dimensions of group-related narrativity:

- *Ontological narratives*: "These are the stories that social actors use to make sense of – indeed, to act in – their lives. Ontological narratives are used to define who we are; this in turn can be a precondition for knowing what to do."
- *Public Narratives*: "Public narratives are those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand, micro- or macro-stories …"
- *Metanarrativity*: "This third dimension of narrativity refers to the 'master-narratives' in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history and as social scientists. Our sociological theories and concepts are encoded with aspects of these master narratives – Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment, etc."
- *Conceptual Narrativity*: "These are the concepts and explanations that we construct as social researchers."[75]

The doubling of "Ontological Narratives," as individual achievements of identification, compared to "Public" and "Metanarratives," as group-related, institutionalized phenomena, provides valuable insights, even if their concrete interaction remains unclear. The distinction between the latter two terms does not seem entirely obvious. Their respective definitions encompass much of what has been discussed above as "basic narratives," and may thus be summarized below. The metanarrative aspect corresponds to the above approach of implicit theories.

74 Ibid, 616.
75 Ibid., 618–620.

It concerns recurring formal patterns, which are used by different groups and charged differently.

Strikingly, what Somers refers to as "Conceptual Narrativity" lies on a different level than the first three dimensions. This concerns specifically addressable, authorial achievements. Somers's confinement to scientists does not strike me as compelling, because such narrative creations can not only be introduced into discourse by journalists, politicians, artists, etc. Rather, this is often done by persons possessing a higher social efficacy. Here, we are dealing with nameable pressure groups and their narrative offerings. These are influential but not identical with the social framework of collective memory (Halbwachs 2008 [1925]) as they find in the basic narratives their own alternative existence. This is perhaps what the German-speaking discussion collapses into a "master narrative," a category perhaps conceived of by "old white men." Allegorically speaking, they are the flags or banners (visible from afar) of collective historical sense-making and their basic narratives. Given their popularity and personalization, they easily conceal the deep and institutionally ubiquitous system of roots from which they have grown. Master narratives are a case for history politics and value-oriented education or for the recurring celebrations of official holidays. In contrast, basic narratives represent the matrix of our historical thinking, the implicit theories of collectives. They are our everyday historical frame of thought.

To establish the greatest possible clarity for our discussion, I consistently follow Somers's "Conceptual Narratives" in what follows.

The distinction between basic narratives and conceptual narratives seems important for the research methodological distinction and delimitation of scientific public history projects: we need other research methods in order to, on the one hand, understand the origin, life, and possible decline, for instance, of the Treitzschke, Michelet, or McNeill narrative and their respective historical forms; or whether, on the other hand, we are trying to explain the structure of collective historical imputations, the structures of collective memory. For the latter, hermeneutic interpretations of published or archived material are simply not adequate enough; we need serial sources, statistical analyses, qualitative social research, and also the various instruments of cultural anthropology.

Four analytical aspects of basic narratives

For research purposes, it still seems useful to consider the analytical aspects of basic and conceptual narratives. A critical approach based at the least on the

works of Klaus P. Hansen (1995),[76] Jan Assmann (1992), and Bernd Schönemann (2000)[77] is capable of distinguishing four aspects:

a. *Social roles*, for instance, professions and functions, which are determined by basic narratives and their specific recruitment procedures, cultivations, and social situation. Relevant groups include, just for example, priests, museum guides, communist propagandists, and teachers.
b. The *social and linguistic rules* of the basic narratives as limitations of normality and order. Here, it seems particularly fruitful to systematically include research on implicit theories in public history research, and thereby to make metanarratives empirically tangible in Somers's terms.
c. The *media* of the basic narratives as the forces shaping their social interaction. Perhaps this needs no further explanation, other than the hint that we have been emphatically made aware of the mediality of public history through our current generation's experience of the digital revolution. Oftentimes, facts, and circumstances must become non-self-evident in order to render their meaning visible.
d. Finally, the *rituals* of the basic narrative as its social reality. This aspect has not yet been discussed sufficiently here, because claiming that basic narrative practice is essentially ritualistic is admittedly quite daring. I must forgo a detailed discussion for reasons of space, but two hints are possible. On the one hand, in the empirical analysis of the places of public history, be they museums, cinemas, classrooms or even memorials, it is apparent that these places can only be observed through their structural design, architecture, specific paths, communications, consumer actions, etc. This is a fruitful field of research.[78] On the other hand, the limited structure of basic narratives has also been addressed (Mühlmann 1985). This structure is practically and empirically observable in the social actions involved, for instance, with group admission, with proving oneself worthy in groups, and with sanction and exclusion processes: that is to say, socially hazardous rites of passage characterized chiefly by limitality, being challenged to overcome all kinds of boundaries. These ritual processes were originally

76 Klaus P. Hansen, *Kultur und Kulturwissenchaft. Eine Einführung* (Tübingen: UTB, 1995).

77 See Schönemann, "Geschichtsdidaktik und Geschichtskultur.".

78 Marko Demantowsky, "Gedenkstätten der 48er Revolution als Historische Lern-Orte. Eine Übersicht," In *Orte historischen Lernens*, eds. Saskia Handro and Bernd Schönemann, *Zeitgeschichte – Zeitverständnis* 18. (Berlin: Lit, 2008), 149–164. See also, Marco Zerwas, "Lernort 'Deutsches Eck'. Zur Variabilität geschichtskultureller Deutungsmuster," *Geschichtsdidaktische Studien* 1 (Berlin: Logos, 2015), 49–73.

investigated by van Gennep (1960 [1909])[79] and later by Victor Turner (1997 [1969]).[80] Put simply, they constitute identity.

"Recognition" as pivotal to identification

At the latest since Hegel, we know that individuals necessarily strive for forms of social recognition.[81] They do this not least with regard to their relationship to the past and their *identity*.[82] While such efforts may succeed or fail, groups and societies are also strongly interested in interrogating young people, foreigners, or

79 Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

80 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (New Brunswick and London: Aldine Transaction 1997).

81 The category of "recognition" is central not only to Hegel's entire early philosophy, but also to his later reflections on social processes. Thus, if we go back behind Rüsen, we need to think of the Herr-Knecht passage in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807), and beautifully explained also in the *Philosophy of Law*, § 192 (1820). See G.W.F Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1986), 349; see also *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1986), 150–153. Some contemporary philosophy does not interpret the Herr-Knecht chapter from a social-philosophical point of view, whereas in fact the context also justifies the philosophy of law from a social-philosophical point of view. In any case, the latter became effective in Hegel's political and philosophical reception. Especially important is the young Marx (1844). See his "Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte. Drittes Manuskript," In *Marx Engels Werke Ergänzungsband 1* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1968), 530–588.

82 The relationship between history and identity has been discussed for a long time. See, for instance, Hermann Lübbe, "Die Identitätspräsentationsfunktion der Historie," In *Identität*, eds. Odo Marquard and Karlheinz Stierle (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1979) 277–292; see also other contributions to this volume. As it is, schools and parties have emerged within such a broadly developed discussion, sometimes criticizing this concept outright (rightly so, if it is instrumentalized normatively), and sometimes postulating it affirmatively. This contribution does not see itself as belonging to any of these factions. Instead, it employs "identity" as a descriptive category of individually and collectively experienced self-understanding, experienced self-knowledge, i.e., as an empirical fact guiding human behavior. This fact has different facets, of which the time-related one is of interest here. As Rüsen put it, "Sinnbildung über Zeiterfahrung [sense-making over the experience of time]"; see his *Historische Vernunft* (1983), 51–57. Jürgen Straub provides a good overview of the debate in "Identität," *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften,* vol. 1, eds. Friedrich Jaeger and Burkhard Liebsch (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011), 277–363. This attempt can be based on Samuel's insight, not systematically developed, to link "identity" with public history. See Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Cultures* (London: Verso, 2012), 278.

outsiders. The failure or rejection of identification requests remains the main tool of social disciplining.

The explanation of society's handling of history is not yet complete. There is another process of recognition, one which runs in the opposite direction. As we have seen, individuals seek collective recognition – but no basic narrative group exists without competing alternatives. This may be seen as a market of overbidding, symmetrical and asymmetrical identity offers.

This is particularly evident when one recalls Eastern European dissidents during the Cold War. Their rejection of the communist narrative made them dissidents for the first time. If one considers individual scopes of action and behavioral opportunities in relation to identification offers with a totalitarian claim, then a wide spectrum of different individual non-recognitions of collective meanings opens up. Not only straightforward rejection exists, but so do many types of resilient, resistant, or dissenting behavior.[83] Mind you, however, these options are valid not only in dictatorships, but also in pluralistic societies and in the many, many groups competing for confessors and consumers. Collectives are constituted by their basic narratives and need to worry about their historical capacity for integration, their power of persuasion, and their emotional efficiency. Collectives that lose the ways in which they identify members usually collapse one day in November.

In the true sense, we are talking about a permanent and complex historical and *past-related discourse on identity*.[84] Culturally and historically, it is always newly constituted. It is an actual confrontation of anonymous power, within a power system, with and by the individual; and it is a permanent, yet hazardous option to refute these claims.

It is a complex and more or less continuously circulating system of success, partial success, and failure in the business of mutual acceptance. It is about power, self-determination, and collective integration. The concept of discourse allows us to understand the position of the individual, to determine his or her fragile space of freedom – that is limited by individual needs and the rules of

83 See the long debate about the resistance against the Nazi dictatorship, for instance, Ian Kershaw's "Widerstand ohne Volk? Dissens und Widerstand im Dritten Reich," In: *Der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, eds. Jürgen Schmädeke and Peter Steinbach (Munich: Piper, 1986), 779–98.

84 The term "discourse" is legendary in itself. While I have referred to Foucault several times, many other relevant contributions to this debate obvious exist, for instance, by Habermas, Bourdieu, or most recently also by Laclau and Mouffe (2000). For an overview, see Achim Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2008), 91–99.

social satisfaction. The handling of history is fixed in the manifold processes of inclusion and exclusion.

And this is now indeed the "pivotal point of identity," as a process of socially uncertain inquiry into the mode of narrative self-reference of individuals and smaller and larger groups.

Definition

In sum, I propose the following definition of public history. It is, somewhat daringly, more than a denotative definition in that it intends to show what public history is, both factually and as what is empirically observable:

Public history is a complex past-related identity discourse. Operated by collectives and individuals, it serves the mutual recognition of narratives. Collectives empower

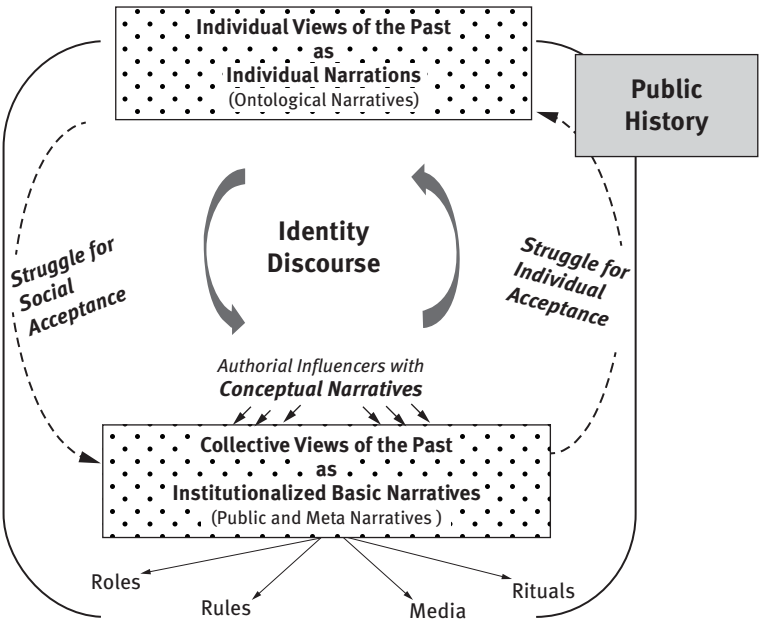

Figure 1.1: The system of Public History

their basic narratives in institutional frameworks through role allocations, rules of sanction and reward, as well as through media design and ritualized practice.

This definition is compatible with all existing pragmatic extensional definitions: this complicated dialectical process of identity discourse may be called "Public History," which in turn restores the ever so useful international umbrella. Pragmatic extensional definitions like those proposed by Rosenzweig et al. can coexist very well with the real definition proposed here. I also assume that this concept of public history can be easily translated into German terms of historical culture or memory culture, depending on the temporal field of application.[85]

Quality criterion

The ethics of public history has become an issue in recent years and is hugely important in view of the enormous conflictuality and social relevance of identity discourses.[86]

A basic criterion for distinguishing between good and bad public history actually arises self-evidently from the previous argumentation: this kind of public history is productive, enables individual reorientation, remains adaptable to new circumstances, which keeps this circular and conflictual process of mutual recognition alive.[87] Pluralism is the elixir of dynamic public history. This, however, only remains possible in a society that guarantees democratic pluralism and makes it possible in everyday conflicts. Defending and developing democratic pluralism in (necessarily historical) identity conflicts must therefore be the primary concern of any public historian.

On the other hand, any public history that either fails to grant individuals the freedom of dissidence or rejection or that no longer makes any binding offers whatsoever, and which individuals who challenge rejection or commitment must deal with, will be unable to function in the long term. The former is the basic difficulty of all forms of dictatorship, open or disguised; it is, as Karl Popper

85 See Demantowsky, "Public History – Sublation of a German Debate? /'Public History' – Aufhebung einer deutschsprachigen Debatte?" (2015).

86 See Arendes and Siebold, "Zwischen akademischer Berufung und privatwirtschaftlichem Beruf. Für eine Debatte um Ethik- und Verhaltenskodizes in der historischen Profession" (2015).

87 In view of the countless "History Wars" in the past decades, the fundamental conflictuality could of course also not remain hidden to others. See, for instance, Hilda Kean (2013), XVIII–XX.

observed, the problem of closed societies.[88] The latter, however, is the invisible or at least conveniently hidden risk of pluralistic, open societies.[89]

Research systematics

One last step is needed. I have claimed from the outset that progress in defining public history also needs to prove itself operationally in research and development, and thus also potentially in all efforts of education and dissemination, whether in museums, memorials, mass media, schools, etc.

The scientific field defined above can only be meaningfully researched on an interdisciplinary basis; this has already become clear from the literature cited from anthropology, sociology, philosophy, the historical and educational sciences, including psychology. It is about fundamental questions of human coexistence, of civilization, in the past and the present; it is impossible to advance such questions within one scientific discipline alone. This perspective, along with the above questions and perspectives, enables us to develop an ideal type of interdisciplinary public history research institution.

Such an R&D institution would be home to both senior research projects, funded externally, and junior (mostly PhD) projects. Generally, projects would need to satisfy four requirements, although junior ones would obviously not need to fulfill each of these. Consequently, there would be four types of public history projects (R&D):

a. Empirical analyses of offers
b. Empirical analyses of uses and beliefs
c. Empirical analyses of formations
d. Pragmatic application developments accompanied by empirical studies (dissemination & education).

a. *Empirical analyses of offers* are the most common type of public history research, irrespective of label; they are also the most common subject of all available anthologies and monographs. The usual examples (from reenactments to curricular analyses) need not be rehearsed again here. I am sure that readers will be able to imagine the copious footnotes that would be

88 Karl R. Popper, *Die offene Gesellschaft und ihre Feinde* (Munich: Francke Verlag, 1957/58), 1, 2.
89 One author should be mentioned here who, from a decidedly conservative point of view, is concerned with the basic liberal and democratic order. He provides important impulses and admirably – drawing on Tocqueville – recognizes this decisive dilemma very early. See Joachim Fest, *Die schwierige Freiheit. Über die offene Flanke der offenen Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Siedler, 1993), esp. 15–47.

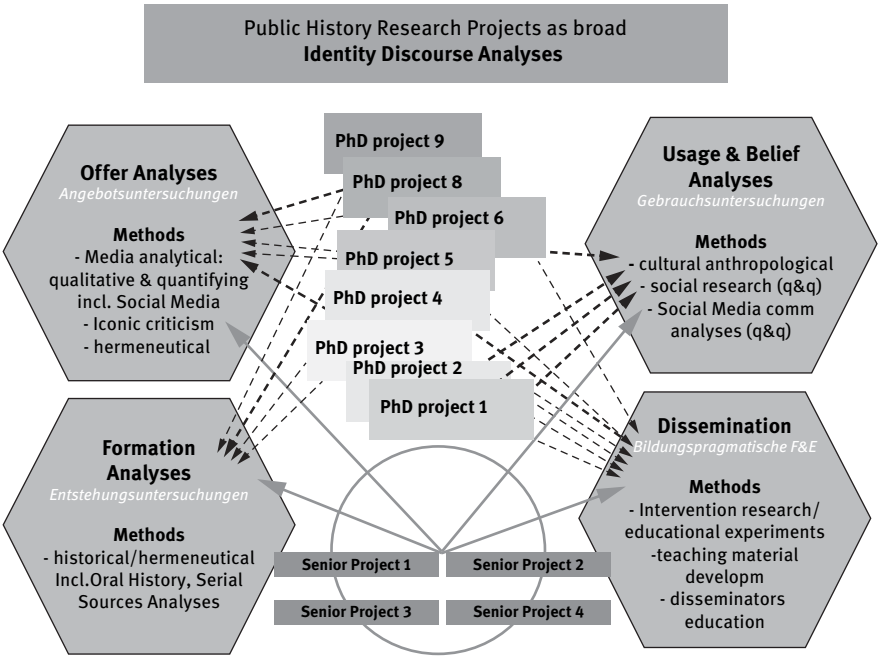

Figure 1.2: Research systematics for Public History

possible here, just as (implicitly addressed) future authors may complete the imaginary apparatus in their own studies. The common research methods in such projects are conventional hermeneutics (no intended devaluation!), but most recently also image and media analyses. Especially the digital opportunities available to public history allow and demand the use of quantifying methods; among others, data mining has provided public history with completely new possibilities for analysis.[90] Perhaps the most requirements to be fulfilled by contemporary analyes of offers are integrating and systematically applying these different methodological approaches and, if possible, not relying and limiting oneself to conventional hermeneutic methods.

b. *Empirical analyses of uses and beliefs* are much rarer. How are specific public history offerings actually used? What outreach and impact do they have? Such questions can be linked on the one hand to museum visitor research, encouraged for decades, to television audience research, to teaching and learning research in the educational sciences, and to the tracking of digital

90 Christof Schöch, "Quantitative Analyse," In *Digital Humanties. Eine Einführung*, eds. Fotis Jannidis et al. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2017), 279–298.

offerings. Here, too, digitization offers researchers completely new possibilities; they just need to be used consistently. Meaningful usage analysis requires prior in-depth analysis of offers. The characteristics of the product or offering must be well known in order to adequately assess differences in types of use, courses of use, and the actors involved.

c. *Empirical analyses of formations*, into the development and emergence of a product or offer, is a field as well known and as well-proven as analyses of offers. In essence, these are historical projects. This is also an eminently important field of research because it enables one to compare and contextualized the findings of supply and use studies. Paradoxically, only a historical view makes the present understandable. Here, too, however, current historical public history research projects need to meet the requirements of state-of-the art research, especially by including serial source analysis, contemporary witnesses, non-state traditions, and above all by diversifying the heuristic horizon.

For the same reason (i.e., the necessary epistemological contextualization), which makes historical-genetic projects so valuable, it would of course always be a desirable goal, also for the project types listed above, to establish public history research within an *international comparative perspective*. This book is also committed to this idea.

d. Finally, this systematic approach also points to one other field of research and development that has enjoyed great success with many funding institutions under the banner of dissemination, practical application, competence development, and outcome testing. Nevertheless, it should not only be considered an annoying duty, but also the actual fulfilment of scientific public history action: *pragmatic application development accompanied by empirical studies*. Scientific public history practice does not take place primarily at universities, but above all at the numerous institutions doing non-university historical work. “Public history” is one of the rare truly trans-academic disciplines. While it promises much stimulation and knowledge for all those involved, it also involves the risk of remaining politically noncommittal.

This insight seems to be important if we are to understand the unity of our field of inquiry and if we are to prevent disturbing reflexes of demarcation. Alix Green has brought this thinking together in the concept of academic citizenship.[91]

91 Alix Green, “Back to the future? Public history and the new academc citizen. / Zurück in die Zukunft? Public History und der neue ‘Academic Citizen,’” *Public History Weekly* 3, 7 (2015), DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2015-3590.

Dissemination is a crucial cornerstone of public history research and development. Non-university institutions are therefore the natural partners of academic research institutions and vice versa. This almost inevitably means that even basic research in the field of public history always, *nolens volens*, remains integrated in a horizon of application. It always does well to reflect on this linkage conceptually.

Public history, and the science of history

In many discussions on this approach, two questions have arisen time and again and will here be discussed briefly.[92]

a. With this approach, "Public History" is not declared to be a kind of historical super-science, quite the opposite: it was precisely not about the proclamation of a new discipline with claims to resources and power in the academia, but rather about the painfully lacking distinction of an interdisciplinary field of work and research, to which every historian in every epoch and specialization can contribute and many have also long contributed. So this is about productive limitation, not thoughtless expansion. This specific field differs systematically from historical research (unless it itself is historicized). Negotiation processes of group affiliations and self-understandings are examined and dealt with in a research-methodologically hybrid way, insofar as they relate to the past.
b. Accordingly, "Public Historian" is also a difficult term, because in this context it does actually not refer to a type of profession, but to a role in a specific practice. Historians or sociologists etc. can be public historians, if they move in the above mentioned field as an actor, but as soon as they pursue another practice, they are no longer. Historian XY, for example, is in the role of a public historian when he takes part in past-related identity discourses, whether at the family table, in a seminar course, with a book, on television or at a demonstration, or when he scientifically investigates corresponding practices. But if a historian, in his history-scientific practice, whether in the archive, at the lecture desk, turns to the past without addressing current identity discourses, then he is in the role of the historian. In this perspective, basic historical research and applied research are conceivable without constituting a practice of public history. They are (simply) different language games.

92 Many thanks especially to Constantin Goschler and Per Leo for the stimulating discussions recently. Thanks as well for feedback to Serge Noiret, Alix Green, Holger Thünemann, Christine Gundermann.

The roles can be clearly distinguished, but not the people who sometimes play these roles, sometimes those and sometimes a completely different one. However, role awareness and role sovereignty are helpful both for the addressees of communication and for the communicator himself.

Outlook

The international public history scene is lively, richly faceted, and diverse – which is saying a great deal about an interdisciplinary cultural field of inquiry. Is this scene already pluralistic? This question calls for a more skeptical assessment. Hitherto dominant conceptual nominalism, which has enabled a constantly expandable additive consensus on what can be added to "public history," has tended to conceal fundamental differences in content about the orientation, function, and factors of the public uses of history, at least in academic discussions, conferences, and publications. Large public history conferences may therefore strike the outsider as colorful fairs than as platforms for necessary disputes and fruitful controversy.

However, such profound differences may be safely assumed to exist, not least because identity discourses have become increasingly relevant politically and have subsequently been instrumentalized throughout the world, from China through India to the Arab world, Russia, Europe, and so on, in recent years. The much-vaunted return of religion and the clash of cultures determine the agenda of the public sphere, both as domestic and as foreign policy. An international multilingual trans-academic discipline may either mirror this situation or lose itself in mutual backslapping and in historical antiquarianism. Or as Nietzsche famously put it (1874):

> The antiquarian sense of a man, a community, a whole people, always possesses an extremely restricted field of vision; most of what exists it does not perceive at all, and the little it does see it sees much too close up ans isolated; it cannot relate what it sees to anything else and it therefore accords everything it sees equal importance and therefore to each individual thing too great importance. There is a lack of that discrimination of value and that sense of proportion which would distinguish between the things of the past in a way that would do true justice to them; their measure and proportion is always that accorded them by the backward glance of the antiquarian nation or individual.[93]

93 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Untimely meditations*, translated by R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 74.

In this horizon, the proposed definition of public history gains further ground: it opens the door to a politically committed trans-academic discipline that is always able to see and comment on its objects in the light of their public instrumentalization. The reflections offered here have identified and substantiated both the guiding principle and the quality criterion: the defense and the development of democratic pluralism.

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Public History in the Classroom

Rob Siebörger

Public History and the School Curriculum: Two South African Case Studies

Case study provides an opportunity both to explore historical incidents or topics and to discuss the inherent questions that they raise. In considering the challenges faced by teachers and students in the public history content of prescribed school history curricula, it seems appropriate to select the most obvious cases to investigate. South Africans who went to school before the democratic era (pre-1996) would have no hesitation in identifying The Great Trek[1] as the dominant narrative and prevailing public history theme in the history they experienced at school. Similarly, anyone, citizen or visitor, who was asked to identify an iconic site in the history of apartheid and the political transformation of South Africa would be bound to identify Robben Island, on which Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for eighteen years (see Siebörger 2012 regarding the post-apartheid school history curriculum).[2]

Case 1, The Great Trek: When public history takes over the school curriculum

A colleague recently said to me, "All I remember from school history is that all we did was the 'Great Trek' and each time we did it I got less and less interested." This echoes the experience of generations of school-goers of all races.

The trek is the iconic event in white Afrikaner history. It was the exodus of a significant proportion of the Dutch-speaking settler farmers from the south-eastern districts of Cape Colony (which had been annexed by Britain in 1806) between 1834 and 1837. They trekked north with their wagons, crossed the frontier of the Cape and settled beyond the Orange River in the lands which were to become trekker republics, that they named Natal, the Free State and the Transvaal (South

1 The trek is *die Groot Trek* in Afrikaans, which is 'the big trek'. It was big because so many more farmers took part in that emigration than in previous treks within the Cape. The term "The Great Trek" is a contested one, as it is only great when considered from one perspective. A number of alternative names exist, including "Boer trek", "Afrikaner Difaqane" and simply, the trek.

2 Rob Siebörger, "Dealing with a Reign of Virtue: the Post-apartheid South African School History Curriculum." in *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives*, eds Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver (Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age, 2012).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-002

African Republic). It was the centenary celebrations of the trek in the 1930s that brought it to public consciousness. In the depression years Afrikaners were lifted by the re-enactment of the trek and by a fervour which swept the country for all things to do with the *Voortrekkers*.

There are no existing contemporary illustrations of the trek but this gap was filled by artists and sculptors at the time of the centenary, who portrayed the Voortrekkers in heroic poses and the trek as a triumph against mountains and rivers and the indigenous people (Figure 2.1). Prominent in these depictions were battle scenes, particularly those of the battle of Blood River (the Ncome

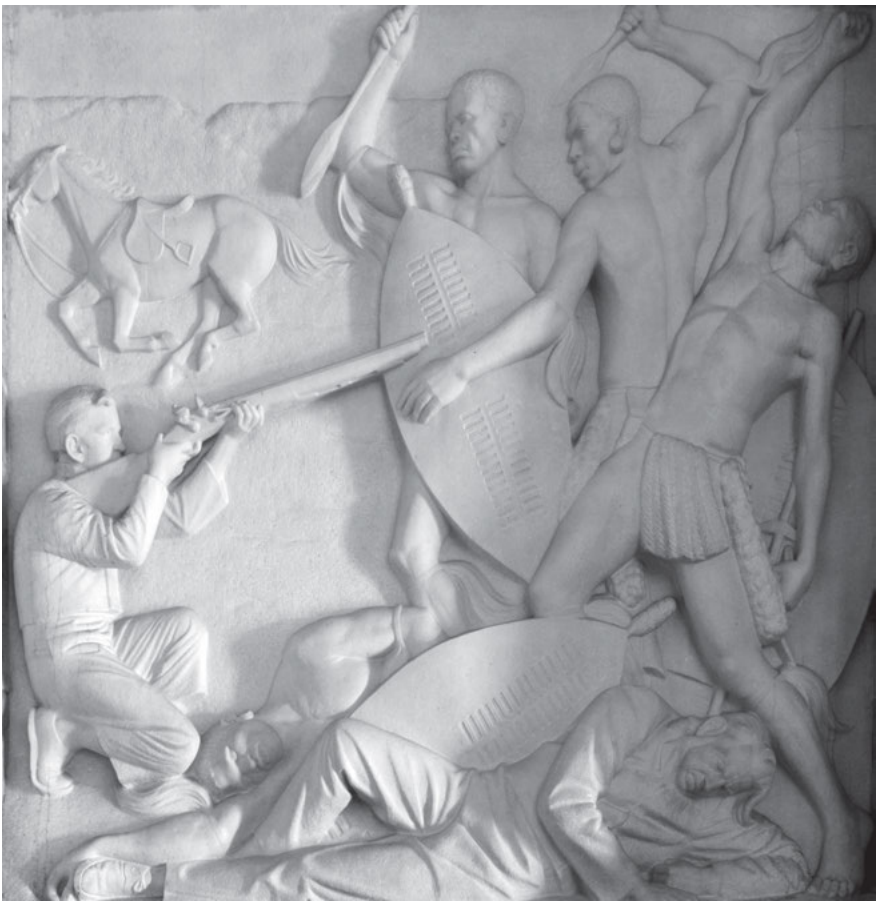

Figure 2.1: Detail of marble frieze panel in the Voortrekker Monument. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2014-11-19_Marmorrelief_Voortrekker_Monument_Pretoria_08_anagoria.JPG)

Figure 2.2: Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:9_2_228_0003-The_Voortrekker_Monument-Pretoria-s.jpg)

river), where a small force of trekkers fought off a far larger Zulu force from a laager (ring) of their wagons. They had taken a pledge to God to celebrate the day, 16 December, in posterity as a remembrance to him if they were granted the victory. 16 December became a significant public holiday which assumed religious and political overtones in the twentieth century. It was on that day in 1949 that the Voortrekker monument (Figure 2.2) was opened, a towering symbol over the capital city. Pretoria. On the same day in 1971 a laager of 64 exact-replica Voortrekker wagons cast in bronze was opened at the site of the battle (Figure 2.3).

The enthusiasm for the trek was carried over to the school curriculum and textbooks – and even an Afrikaner youth movement, founded to inculcate *Voortrekker* values. As the National Party was in government from 1948 to 1994, it was easy for the trek to be accorded the dominant place in the school history curriculum. There was a significant proportion of the content of the Standard 4, Standard 6 and Standard 8 (Grades 4, 6 and 8) history syllabuses devoted to it. For many white teachers, however, it was the only history content that they knew well, so it spilled over into other grades and the classroom posters, illustrations and maps of the trek were so ubiquitous that anyone in their classrooms would be left in no doubt of its overwhelming importance. Outside the school, it was little different. The insignia of the National Party was a powder horn, the *Voortrekker* flags formed part of the national flag, while symbols of torches, wagon wheels and *kappies* (women's bonnets) were common all over. The public history had invaded the school curriculum.

Figure 2.3: Laager of bronze wagons at Blood River. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bloedrivier_laer.jpg)

Case 2, Robben Island: When public history struggles to find a place in the school curriculum

The prominence of Robben Island in the contemporary public history of South Africa is almost entirely due to its use as a prison for black political prisoners, most notably Nelson Mandela, during the apartheid era (from 1961 to 1991). The island, prominently located in Table Bay, 14 km from Cape Town and easily seen from Table Mountain (Figures 2.4 and 2.5), has, however a long and notorious history of incarceration before this time. One of its first notable colonial prisoners was Krotoa, who was ironically, also the first indigenous South African to be baptised. In the Nineteenth century the legendary Xhosa prophet Makhanda Nxele was imprisoned there and drowned in an escape bid in 1819, while the prominent Chief Maqoma died on the island during his second banishment there, in 1873.

Prior to 1996, many South African school history syllabuses ended in 1961, some only went as far as 1948. 1961 was year that South Africa declared itself a republic and left the British Commonwealth. To many Afrikaners, 1961 represented

Figure 2.4: Robben Island from Table Mountain. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robben_Island_from_Table_Mountain.jpg)

Figure 2.5: Table Mountain from Robben Island. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robben_Island_Tour_48.jpg)

the triumph of the "Great Trek" – the regaining of sovereign independence and the title Republic, which echoed the former name of President Paul Kruger's South African Republic. This narrative had no place at all for the politics of black resistance in the 1950s and early 1960s, so Robben Island was never mentioned.

There had been frequent calls for contemporary history to be introduced into the school curriculum as part of the fight against apartheid and to popularise People's history during the decade before the democratic election in 1994. It was something of a triumph that the new curricula developed from 1997 onwards allowed history to the taught till the present day. The new narrative which took the place of the old one focused largely on the key events of the anti-apartheid struggle and to a lesser extent on its leaders. The Treason Trial of 1956, the Sharpeville massacre, the Soweto uprising, the unrest of the 1980s and the negotiated settlement which led to 1994, are the staples of this account. There was little emphasis on personal biographies, so even the life history of Nelson Mandela has not been studied in detail in the school curriculum. There was no obvious place for Robben Island in this scheme of things either.

Other aspects militating against the inclusion of Robben Island were that it was history about a place, and local history at that. The history curriculum was organised by big questions, periods of political, economic or social history, and theories and interpretations. Both the history of places and a thematic approach to history play very little part in the traditional views of the South African past. Local history is also under-emphasised, unless it is built into individual projects and investigations. Robben Island is peculiarly Cape Town history and national curriculum writers are very careful to try to balance the history of all of the provinces and cities. An emphasis on Robben Island could weight Cape Town and the Western Cape province too heavily in relation to the history of other provinces. That admitted, it is possibly more likely that the omission of a focus on the history of Robben Island in the official history curricula since 1997 might simply have been an unintended oversight. The writers of one phase (the 12 years of schooling are divided into four phases of three years) might have assumed that it would be included in another phase, for example. If this sounds implausible, consider that the National Curriculum Statements in use from 2004 to 2011 neglected to include the mineral revolution of the 1870s – 1890s, which many consider to be the beginning of the modern history of Southern Africa, in the final phase, and that the first edition of a text written especially for schools on "Turning Points" in South African history[3] completely omitted the South African (Anglo-Boer) war.

3 Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, *Turning Points in History* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2004).

Figure 2.6: Robben Island Maximum Security prison. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robben_Island-006.jpg)

Robben Island has a special place in the conscience of many South Africans and many visitors from elsewhere (Figure 2.6). A peculiarly endearing post-apartheid tradition is that mass wedding ceremonies take place on it on Valentine's Day each year. But the history of the island and of the lives and experiences of those imprisoned on it has not been given a place in the history curriculum, despite its iconic nature and its position in public memory and present-day tourism.

The two case studies present an interesting set of issues and questions regarding the relationship between public history and classroom history teaching. The case of the Great Trek is considered first.

A dominant single narrative

The Great Trek became the narrative that absorbed all others in the apartheid history curriculum. History for many was only the trek and they either liked it or hated it. The exigencies of the apartheid state made it a key narrative of the state: it represented both the triumph of the Afrikaner over the British and the triumph of white over black. It was also overlain with religious justification and, together

with what has become known as the "myth of the empty land", established the right of the Boer (farmer) nation to its existence in Africa. Its classroom dominance was such that it side-lined all other historical avenues for investigation and discovery in South African history in schools, something that was true in both black and white education.

It was not only dominant in that it was so much greater than any other narrative in the curriculum, but also the one which had all the resources and which many teachers felt they had the most confidence to teach. It was presented in a singular fashion: the causes of the trek were laid out in such a way that the trekkers were seen to be righteous victims and the counter evidence was completely ignored; the actors were painted as bold, tactical and honest, though there was much to suggest the opposite; despite the precarious economic circumstances of the trekker states, Britain was always painted as the enemy, not as many would now indicate the colonial co-conspirator which brought prosperity; and narrative of the trek was adulterated by the subsequent experiences of the Afrikaner nation in the scorched earth policies and concentration camps for women and children during the South African war. This was the message of the public history, faithfully translated into the classrooms.

Repetition in the curriculum

The legacy of the Great Trek in the South African history curriculum has been that there is now a concerted attempt not to repeat content topics unless there is very good reason. The trek was repeated in each phase, presumably on the basis that not only was it worth revising the topic and bringing it to mind again, but that some students would leave school at the end of primary school, some would leave halfway through high school and the rest would complete high school. Every group should, therefore, it was believed, be exposed/re-exposed to the history of the trek.

Repetition was obviously also intended to convey importance. The more the repetition, the greater the impact, as public history often demonstrates in society: street names, statues, monuments, museums, heritage sites, magazines and books, popular speeches and celebrations, music and drama, video and films and websites all compound the impact of what might be a relatively small and shallow body of historical knowledge, which is accorded significance because it is endlessly replicated. The trek was certainly a case of this.

There have, however, been examples of repetition in post-apartheid curricula. Previously there had been little attention paid to Cape slavery. What there was had carried the message that slaves at the Cape were treated well when

compared with slaves in other countries. It also perversely conveyed within the Great Trek account that slavery was justified, in that it was the British who had freed the slaves of the Afrikaner farmers. They had lost capital and labour as a result and this was, thus, a legitimate cause of the Great Trek. The school curriculum needed, it may be argued, to correct this account, to provide a new narrative about slavery which was substantially bigger, included history from below and accorded a worthy place to the origins and history of those who were descended from slaves, who had previously had no place in school history. Not only was there an important story to tell within South Africa, it was also important to make the links between Cape slavery and the Indian Ocean, transatlantic slavery and the influence of slavery on the industrial revolution in England. It was deemed appropriate, then, that slavery should be a topic to be repeated in more than one phase. Another example of "new" and revised history that was also repeated was the history of the Holocaust.

Likewise, the history of the liberation struggle, specifically the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, deserved a prominent place in the school curriculum and, as the majority of students stop studying history at Grade 9 (it is an optional subject in the final three-year phase), it was only logical that this topic be repeated in Grade 12. There are, however, other opportunities to cover aspects of the struggle in the primary school, under topics of celebrating public holidays and democracy/citizenship. Some have unfavourably likened this range of coverage to that of the Great Trek, though it was far less systematic and much less doctrinaire.

What the Great Trek also demonstrated was that it was not just repetition that was an issue, but similar repetition. The differences between the histories contained in the three grades were not very significant. The maps and pictures used were virtually identical, the cast of characters and their assigned roles did not differ, the history was always top down and there was no emphasis on sources, either primary or secondary. There was some extra elaboration, longer lists of names and more specific dates mentioned, while extra information was provided, for example, about the names of the tribes engaged in conflict by the Voortrekkers and the forms of government developed.

The introduction of progression in historical understanding through skills and concepts has meant that not only does the procedural knowledge increase through the years, but that the substantive knowledge of the curricula can be approached and specified in far more sophisticated ways. How a topic is repeated is far more important than whether it is repeated or not. The influence of public history on the classroom is noteworthy. The public history represented in the Great Trek desired conformity and sameness, it encouraged shallow interpretations and wished to inculcate rote memorisation of the deeds of heroes and (a few) heroines.

Interrogating the public history by multiple narratives and explanations

The case of the Great Trek does, however, present fairly readily accessible examples of multiple narratives and explanations for classroom use. As there are relatively few written accounts of the trek, it is possible for a class to interrogate all (or almost all) of the primary sources for an event. The battle of Blood River is an example, and, unexpectedly perhaps, provides a range of conflicting details, which enable students to construct their own explanations or to interrogate and correct secondary or textbook accounts. These include the time of the beginning of the battle and its length, the numbers of the enemy and the number of the slain, the sequence of events during the battle, and, more crucially, whether a massacre was perpetrated or not. While it is not possible to contrast trekker written accounts with Zulu ones, the sources make the exercise of envisaging a Zulu counter history a very feasible one. Fictionalising missing aspects, using the techniques of drama and scripting are all facilitated, it is suggested, by the accessibility to the public history. As the history of World War I is providing at present (and the centenary of the South African War provided in a much more limited way in 1999–2002), the revived focus on both the big and the small details of the war through the intense public interest has enormous benefits for what it provides in terms of resources that can be used in schools.

Keeping history interesting for students

Often the need to keep history interesting overtakes other demands in classroom history. All teachers have their favourite history topics, which are the ones that they know they can teach in an interesting way, can sustain, or can get good responses to from their students – their "go-to" topics. The dedicated, well-prepared and well-resourced teacher is able to make most topics relevant, challenging or enjoyable, but even for them it isn't always easy. For some teachers the Great Trek was the history that they returned to if they wanted to keep the history interesting (and familiar). For others, the trek was just the opposite – its very existence in the curriculum was calculated to make history uninteresting for students.

There are topics that have an appeal that is universal, that of themselves raise the interest levels for students and teachers. Ancient Egypt, slavery, the Industrial Revolution and the mining revolution, the trenches in World War I and the Vietnam War are examples of this in South Africa. It would be an inadequate curriculum that did not bear these realities in mind and chose a set of "higher"

priorities instead, something to which the Schools Council History 13–16 Project prominently drew attention in England in the early 1970s,[4] but which has never been actively pursued in South Africa.

History that is public or that becomes public history can both kill or kindle interest. The Cape Town Holocaust Centre has a deliberate policy that it is not open to group visits by primary school children, as experience has shown that they have an inoculating effect on them in later years. Children leave with improperly formed understandings and emotions, but regard themselves to have "been there and done that" – the visit has effectively removed the interest which they would otherwise have kindled and deepened at a later age. Films and television series may have the same result. They may also do the opposite, as demonstrated by the popularity of university courses in film and history, or by the waves of interest generated by popular series with historical contexts among primary children. History curriculum designers need to pay far greater attention to the dialectics of the relationship between curriculum content topics and public history, in all its manifestations.

The second case raises similar questions. It enables discussion of what it is that can bring public history into school history, illustrating, though, that the two may have dissimilar logics at times.

Building selected or valued public history into the school curriculum

Granted that the Great Trek provides many examples of how not to introduce topics of public history, is there anything in the history of Robben Island that is conducive to inclusion in the school curriculum?

A neglected aspect of curriculum specification and textbook writing in South Africa is the construction of the narratives that will convey the history in the classroom. An laudable attempt to address this was made in the curriculum documents of the National Curriculum Statements.[5] For example, in Grade 8 the topic "Changing worlds: industrialisation" begins with the industrial revolution in Britain, moves next to industrialisation in South Africa, then to sugar and labour in Natal and finally to early trade union movements. One might not necessarily agree with the chosen content or the sequence within the four themes, but

4 Schools Council, *A New Look at History* (Edinburgh: Holmes Mc Dougall, 1976), 43.

5 Department of Education, *Revised National Curriculum Statement: Social Sciences* (Pretoria: Department of Education, 2002). Department of Education, *National Curriculum Statement: History* (Pretoria: Department of Education, 2003).

they attempt to present the history within the context of a pre-conceived narrative. Robben Island was not a part of any such proposed narratives but it could easily have been. The same curriculum contains within the topic "Apartheid in South Africa": "repression and the armed struggle in the 1960s" (with no further elaboration). It could easily, instead, have woven a narrative of the experience of repression for those within the country and those exiled, and of the leaders who had been imprisoned and those who were on the outside. Other sites of heritage such as the Old Fort and Constitution Hill in Johannesburg and District Six in Cape Town, which are also icons of public history, could be included within similar curriculum document narratives.

Accessibility for students has been a reason why curricula (though not always textbooks) have not included sites such as Robben Island – a reason that has lost much relevance since virtual internet experiences have been possible. Contrarily, Robben Island can be looked upon as elitist history, as it's only the rich in Cape Town who can afford the trip to the island and only the very wealthy in the rest of the country who are likely to make school trips to Cape Town. Robben Island's history of political imprisonment is, however, richly documented by the memoirs of former prisoners and there is much scope for source-based investigations, tasks and project work. The present Grade 10 curriculum includes a compulsory "Heritage assignment", which is open to any content, "[t]he focus and resources... are heritage sits, museums, monuments, oral histories, commemorative events...". Assignments that could include Robben Island fit this rubric perfectly.

Going beyond the site of memory/commemoration to the lives and historical contribution of the people involved

The trek history was built around the leaders of the trek parties, the commandants of commandos and those who set up the trekker republics. Robben Island history is built around Nelson Mandela and to a far lesser extent Robert Sobukwe. There were, however, many other men in prison there who have become important political leaders in the post-apartheid period. The Great Trek history was heroic in that the leaders were cast in roles similar to Old Testament figures, conquering a new land for their children's inheritance. Robben Island presents the opportunity to place the emphasis on people and groups from below: how the years on "the Island" affected them and their families, how they often grew by their experience and how they remained comrades after their release from prison. The South African history curriculum does not have many examples of groups of

people like this. The slaves, for example, are often nameless, or their names don't enable their history to be traced. Likewise, the many who fought the British and Afrikaners in the wars of dispossession in the Nineteenth century, or left their homes to work on the Witwatersrand mines.

The case of Robben Island presents the opportunity to study the histories of people who were not in the top rank of leaders and to move beyond a focus on the site the history to biography and political and social action. It is for this reason, a far richer resource than the first case study.

The popularity of the history and its relationship to the classroom

To what extent should the history curriculum reflect topics that are popular at the time? The Great Trek was obviously popular amongst Afrikaners and Robben Island enjoyed considerable popularity in the years after the release of Mandela and its establishment as a museum, which opened it to tourist visits. It may be argued that Robben Island is now less popular; if so, perhaps it should not be given as prominent a place in the curriculum? And, equally, should a future television series popularise it amongst school-goers, should it not then be promoted? Both the case studies reflect the results and the vicissitudes of popularity. Public history has a significant stake in popularity and some might say it feeds off it. School history also needs to be able to grasp the interest and attention span of students if it is to succeed in many of its more lofty aims to enhance skills and understanding and to create appreciation and values.

This paper has presented, by means of the case studies, many of the nuts and bolts considerations that inform content choices and their specification in school curriculum documents. It illustrates both the power and the weakness of public history to influence what takes place in classrooms and the arbitrary nature of this. By examining key aspects that the case studies raise, it is possible to inform the dynamics of the relationship between the prescribed curriculum and what in reality becomes "history" to students.

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Cord Arendes

Learning, and Understanding of Public History as Part of the Professional Historical Education at German Universities

Introduction and Outline

Today Public History may be viewed as a particularly promising area of academic teaching and research at German universities within the science of history. Progress and form of its institutionalization have so far mostly followed the US-American model.[1] Certainly, Public History has been established internationally as an academic research and teaching discipline.[2] However, in the German Higher Education system Public History is still in a kind of standby position: The institutionalization of Public History had in recent years been rooted with a noticeably increasing number in professorships, staff positions, university courses and areas of focus. So far, however, it has not been possible to determine to what extent this trend has contributed to the establishment of Public History as a generally accepted part of historical research in Germany. A number of important questions have not yet been answered: They relate on the one hand to content, theoretical and methodological boundaries of Public History.[3] On the other hand they refer to the actors involved: Who exactly are Public Historians? Do they differ from 'normal' historians and, if so, in which form?[4] What about the many contact zones between the science of history and the public? And how can we overcome

1 For a German perspective on the topic see Simone Rauthe, Public History in den USA und der Bundesrepublik (Essen: Klartext, 2001). and Irmgard Zündorf, Public History in den USA und der Bundesrepublik. *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte* 11.2.2010, accessed May 1, 2016, http://docupedia.de / zg/Public _History?oldid=106468.

2 See Serge Noiret, "Internationalizing Public History," *Public History Weekly* 2, no 34 (2014), accessed May 1, 2016, doi: 10.1515/phw-2014-2647.

3 The few attempts to bring theoretical and practical approaches of Public History to a common denominator at least for the German university system have not been able to solve the existing deficit in theory. See Marko Demantowsky, "Public History – Sublation of a German Debate?," Public History Weekly 3, no. 2 (2015), accessed May 1, 2016, doi: 10.1515/phw-2015-3292. For internal differentiations and delimitations see Jacqueline Nießer and Juliane Tomann, eds., Angewandte Geschichte. Neue Perspektiven auf Geschichte in der Öffentlichkeit (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014).

4 See Cord Arendes, "Who We Are: Public Historians as Multiple Personalities?," *Public History Weekly* 3, no. 36 (2015), accessed May 1, 2016, doi: 10.1515/phw-2015-4908.

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the well-known communicative deficits which can be stated for both sides – academia and the public? Herewith, albeit plentiful hidden, a classical "what-is-question" is formulated, namely in regard to aims, limits, and challenges of a German Public History, both based at the University *and* settled in professional historical research. "What-is-questions" usually mark dissatisfactions with lines of argument which have become too common. They therefore also point to a necessary (re-)positioning or even a fundamental change of attitude. Overall, one must ask whether a statement made by the Berlin historian Martin Sabrow on the disciplinary nature of Contemporary History is also valid for Public History: "Its profile is of peculiar blur."[5] But neither self-positioning nor opening to new perspectives of knowledge is possible without clarification of one's own point of view: With reference to different approaches of history or with reference to related disciplines in the humanities and/or to a non-academic public. Without such a clarification, it might not come to a shift and an exceeding of the existing limitations. Zones of enhanced contact may only occur when the boundaries between academia and the public are sufficiently open or if the overlaps and not the separations are stressed. Public History aims to remove the existing limitations in spaces of thought and communication. This essay would like to sharpen and clarify the scope of Public History: *First*, it tries to determine the status quo of Public History in Germany: This is measured on the one hand in regard to its position in the wider context of professional historical education at German universities. On the other hand in regard to its position within history as an academic discipline as well as within the non-academic public. After clarifying these basic conditions, *secondly,* a different approach to Public History will be introduced: not as a theoretical or ideal type, but by using a concrete example which comes directly from the daily work of teaching and research at Heidelberg University.[6] Above all, the proximity to practice and the public should be stressed. *Thirdly,* and a last important goal of this self-positioning, is the approach to the suspected intersections of Public History between research and teaching, and between practice and the public. What aspects of their everyday work specify historians as Public Historians? By answering these questions, it should be possible to overcome the previous attempts to interpret Public History in Germany, which were especially inspired by Contemporary History and/or History Didactics.

5 Martin Sabrow, "Einleitung," in *Zeitgeschichte schreiben. Von der Verständigung über die Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart*, ed., Martin Sabrow (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014), 7.

6 The author of this article is Professor of Applied History – Public History at Heidelberg University. For both, ongoing and completed research projects with a main focus on practice see www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/mitglieder/lsarendes_forschung.html. accessed May 1, 2016.

Public History: Status quo in Germany

Closely intertwined with the development and success of Public History is the noticeable and growing worldwide interest in historical knowledge and in history since the 1970s. This is reflected first and foremost in a quantitative increase in both the demand *for* and the range *of* history-promoting products in the wider public. The past has become something like a possession of our everyday life: It is almost a commonplace and yet it is relevant for our identity. At a first glance it makes not much of a difference whether this trend concerns traditional cultural activities like history museums,[7] memorials, documentaries, and non-fiction books[8] or flourishing trends like medieval fairs, re-enactments of historical battles as formats of living history,[9] computer games, or comics.[10] History has an important function as a form of social entertainment[11]; it is used as an argument in politics and as an effective component of the culture of remembrance.[12] Not at least shown by the keyword "history management" (Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung), it has also become an important economic factor.[13] But Public History in terms of a *public* history not only follows the lines of the growing historical interest. It is in its quintessence primarily a response to the rise in public demand for historical content and to the challenges and opportunities for the discipline of history linked to this development.[14] Especially during the last five years, the

7 Rosmarie Beier-de Haan, *Erinnerte Geschichte – Inszenierte Geschichte. Ausstellungen und Museen in der Zweiten Moderne* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2005).

8 For short introductions to different fields of history in the public see Sabine Horn and Michael Sauer, eds., *Geschichte und Öffentlichkeit. Orte – Medien – Institutionen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (UTB), 2009).

9 Wolfgang Hochbruck, *Geschichtstheater. Formen der „Living History". Eine Typologie* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2013). Miriam Sénécheau and Stefanie Samida, *Living History als Gegenstand Historischen Lernens. Begriffe – Problemfelder – Materialien* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2015).

10 Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paletschek, eds., *History goes Pop. Zur Repräsentation von Geschichte und populären Medien und Genres* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009).

11 Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Verlust der Geschichte – oder wie unterhaltsam ist die Vergangenheit?* (Berlin: Vergangenheitsverlag, 2010).

12 Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands. Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).

13 Wolfgang Hardtwig and Alexander Schug, eds., *History Sells! Angewandte Geschichte als Wissenschaft und Markt* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2009). Christoph Kühberger and Andreas Pudlat, eds., *Vergangenheitsbewirtschaftung. Public History zwischen Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2012).

14 Some examples for recent attempts of linking the interests from recipients from inside and outside academia in Germany can be find in Thorsten Logge, "Public History in Germany: Challenges and Opportunities," *German Studies Review* 39, no. 1 (2016).

US-American model[15] has been copied at German universities, which are implementing it in different ways, depending on their organizational requirements and policies. This can take the form of anything from individual classes[16] all the way to entire Masters-programs.[17] Depending on the focus of each university, the offered courses are implemented by creating new teaching positions at the interfaces between history and profession,[18] hiring lecturers to teach additional classes in this field, or establishing subject-related or specialized professorships for Public History, Applied History and/or History Didactics.[19] As a teaching and

15 In the US the term describes different workspaces for academically trained historians beyond university and school (non-teaching careers). In addition to the aim of strengthening the employability of graduate students, Public History in the US always has been a form of active demarcation of the academic historians: As a movement from below, as an own discipline and as a contractor of both public and private sector services. The *unity* of historical research and dissemination of historical knowledge has been maintained in this context only slightly.

16 These are mostly *complementary courses* in the new B.A. and M.A. degree programs with respect to "practical relevance" (Praxisrelevanz), for "transversal skills" (übergreifende Kompetenzen) or "career-related additional qualifications" (berufsfeldbezogene Zusatzqialifikationen).

17 A comprehensive overview that lists all such offers does not yet exist. For a straight Public History Master Program see the "Public History Master" at the FU Berlin, www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/phm/index.html, accessed May 1, 2016. In the meantime, at least two further MA courses in Public History were established. The Master Program "Public History" at the University of Bochum (since winter term 2017/18), https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/public-history/index.html.en, and, starting in winter term 2018/19, the Master Program "Public History and Cultural Education" at the University of Regensburg, http://www.uni-regensburg.de/sprache-literatur-kultur/vergleichende-kulturwissenschaft/studium/studiengaenge/master-public-history-und-kulturvermittlung/index.html, accessed July 16, 2018. A comprehensive overview that lists all such offers does not yet exist. For a straight Public History Master Program see the "Public History Master" at the FU Berlin, www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/phm/index.html, accessed May 1, 2016. In the meantime, at least two further MA courses in Public History were established. The Master Program "Public History" at the University of Bochum (since winter term 2017/18), https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/public-history/index.html.en, and, starting in winter term 2018/19, the Master Program "Public History and Cultural Education" at the University of Regensburg, http://www.uni-regensburg.de/sprache-literatur-kultur/vergleichende-kulturwissenschaft/studium/studiengaenge/master-public-history-und-kulturvermittlung/index.html, accessed July 16, 2018.

18 Two examples among many others are the "Schnittstelle Studium und Beruf" at the University of Muenster, www.uni-muenster.de/Geschichte/histsem/LG-G/Organisation/krull.html and the "Arbeitsbereich Public History" at the University of Hamburg, www.geschichte.uni-hamburg.de/arbeitsbereiche/public-history.html, accessed May 1, 2016.

19 In chronological order of the vacancies and/or staffing: Professorship of "Applied History –Public History" at Heidelberg University, https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/mitglieder/arendes.html; Assistant-(Junior-)Professor of "Public History" at the University of Cologne, http://histsem2.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/gundermann.html; Professorship of "History Didactics and Public History" at the LMU Munich, https://www.did.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/personen/lehrstuhlinhaber/prof_-dr_-michele-barricelli/index.html; Assistant-(Junior-)Professor of

training discipline, Public History does seem to be helping historians to meet the growing demand for answers to questions related to their area of study. Besides, the German Public History also has a functioning communicative infrastructure for their researchers. Applying classical criteria of the sociology of knowledge to identify and characterize scholarly and scientific disciplines, such a "sufficiently homogeneous" communicative space,[20] can be considered as a further step on the road towards establishing Public History as an important and sustainable part of historical education at German universities: The most important institutions enabling this broad communication among the various actors involved include the multilingual blog journal "Public History Weekly"[21] and, in particular, the "Working Group on Applied History and Public History" of the German Association of Historians.[22] As a teaching and education field, Public History – at least at a first glance – has succeeded to provide answers to many problems associated with the increasing demand for historical knowledge and which are directly linked to the science of history.

As part of this incipient institutionalization there are three aspects which should be highlighted and discussed: The field is characterized on the one hand by a staff and research structure, which is marked by differing denominations of the professorships, in regard to which a clear trend in favor of the term "Public History" can be identified.[23] On the other hand, the emphasis on the field of History Didactics catches the eye: Only the Heidelberg professorship and the Berlin Master's program are based on a predominantly professional academic anchoring and are *not* explicitly defined as a part of the field of didactics. Besides, it plays no role, whether new Assistant (i.e. Junior) professorships

"Public History and historical learning" at the University of Flensburg, https://www.uni-flensburg.de/geschichte/wer-wir-sind/personen/prof-dr-astrid-schwabe/; Assistant-(Junior-)Professor of "Public History" at the University of Hamburg, https://www.geschichte.uni-hamburg.de/arbeitsbereiche/public-history/personen/logge.html; Assistant-(Junior-)Professor "History Didactics" at the University of Bochum, http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/histdidaktik/Mitarbeiter/bunnenberg.html, and Professorship of "History Didactics and Public History" at the University of Tübingen, https://www.uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/geschichtswissenschaft/seminareinstitute/geschichtsdidaktik-und-public-history/institut.html, accessed July 16, 2018. None of the three Assistant-(Junior-)Professors includes a tenure track option.

20 Rudolf Stichweh, "Differenzierung der Wissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 8, no. 1 (1979): 83–85.

21 https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com, accessed May 1, 2016.

22 www.historikerverband.de/arbeitsgruppen/ag-angewandte-geschichte.html, accessed May 1, 2016.

23 For details see footnote 19. With the exception of Heidelberg University (professorship for "Applied History – Public History"), all other professorships are limited to the term "Public History".

were established or existing professional didactics professorships extended or their denominations changed. This focus has its specific reasons: The English-language Public History discourse does not incorporate History Didactics (i.e. History Teaching) in its definition – or at least only very marginal.[24] In Germany, however, a strong connecting line refers to the didactic discussions of the 1970s and 1980s. Professional didactics approached the science of history *and* ventured a quite early arrival in the public[25] – by a more intensive and broader transfer of knowledge. The widely discussed theoretical concepts in History Didactics like *außerschulische Öffentlichkeit* (extracurricular public), *Geschichtsbewusstsein* (historical consciousness) or *Geschichtskultur* (historical culture) refer to the existing potentials of reasoning and communication of scientific history in its relationship with the public. They all already point to a crucial aspect of Public History, namely the mutual involvement of readers, viewers, listeners, or decision-makers in discussing the standards, methods and contents of historical-academic work: A procedure that perceives the constant transfer of historical knowledge as a reciprocal process – not as a one-way street. Public History in Germany shows another special feature: Many actors involved in the field attributed it to twentieth century history. Martin Sabrow for example assigns Public History undoubtedly to Contemporary History: As a historical "field of work" which "tries to integrate the tension of aim-oriented science free of purpose, from basic and applied research, knowledge acquisition and knowledge transfer in the field itself."[26] However, although the public interest in Contemporary History and/or the history of the twentieth century is particularly large,[27] the increased importance of history in the public is also true for other epochs[28] and neighboring historically or cultural-academically working disciplines.[29] But is it at all

24 See Demantowsky, *Public History*.

25 Siegfried Quandt, "Öffentlichkeit," in *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, eds. Klaus Bergmann, Annette Kuhn, Jörn Rüsen, and Gerhard Schneider (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1979).

26 Sabrow, "Einleitung," 7. Hanno Hochmuth and Irmgard Zündorf, "Public History als Zeitgeschichte," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte* 21.5.2015, accessed May 1, 2016, http://docupedia.de/zg/Public _History_als_Zeitgeschichte?oldid=107578.

27 Alexander Nützenadel and Wolfgang Schieder, "Zeitgeschichtsforschung in Europa. Einleitende Überlegungen," in *Zeitgeschichte als Problem. Nationale Traditionen und Perspektiven der Forschung in Europa*, eds. Alexander Nützenadel and Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 7–8.

28 Angelos Chaniotis, Annika Kuhn, and Christina Kuhn, eds., *Applied Classics. Comparisons, Constructs, Controversies* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2009).

29 Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Miriam Sénécheau, eds., Geschichte, Archäologie, Öffentlichkeit. Für einen neuen Dialog zwischen Wissenschaft und Medien. Standpunkte aus Forschung und Praxis (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010). Stefanie Samida, "Public History als Historische

disadvantageous when the term "Public History"– in the German context still far more than in the American – is still waiting for a clear definition up to today? Can this supposed deficit not be turned into something positive? Is it not its openness[30] that makes Public History able to connect to all sorts of claims and differing interpretations and concepts within the scope of a science of history which is modern, interdisciplinary, and committed to the field of cultural studies?

Public History: Education, Practice, and Research

The term "public" refers to the context, in which historians do their daily work and which is likely to influence their methods, contents, and interpretations alike. The term "history" emphasizes the disciplinary standards that apply without a direct or even an indirect reference to places and audiences.[31] "Public" unfortunately in many cases is synonymous for a generalized and at the same time anonymous and passive public to which the products of the work of the historians are 'offered'.[32] The focus of an innovative Public History should instead be laid on the *common working processes*. Doing so, Public History is defined less about its products (texts, websites, etc.), but by its *procedural character:* as a reflexive practice or application of scientific history.[33] Public History then does not act primarily as an agent in the framework of a common practice with the public, but is above all asking questions that deal with the relations within and the motivations for communication with all participants in its projects. This *special* understanding of Public History is able to decisively bridge the gap prevalent in the historic landscape: Its interpretations combine professional academic work with everyday life while also respecting partnerships with non-university actors *and* the public – through the act of balancing research and public interest. Public History therefore can provide the necessary contact zones for a scientific approach to

Kulturwissenschaft: Ein Plädoyer," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 17.6.2014, accessed May 1, 2016, https://docupedia.de/zg/Public_History_als_Historische_Kultuerwissenschaft.

30 Thomas Thiemeyer, "Inszenierung," in Museen verstehen. Begriffe der Theorie und Praxis, eds., Heike Gfrereis, Thomas Thiemeyer, and Bernhard Tschofen (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015), 59.

31 Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments and national parks. Toward a New Genealogy of Public History* (Armherst/Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), iv, xvi.

32 Public refers to the macroscopic audience instead of the microscopic audience or the given limitations of the scientific community. See Phyllis K. Leffler and Joseph Brent, *Public and Academic History: A Philosophy and Paradigm* (Malabar: Robert E. Krieger, 1990), 15–20.

33 Rebecca Conrad, "Public History as a Reflective Practice," The Public Historian 28, no. 1 (2006).

history in the future. What is specific to Public History, which is not meant to be a popularized form of historiography or a typical contemporary variant of remembrance culture? Public History in the university classroom does not fit easily into the traditional canon: It's transverse to history's traditional structure, above all the temporal focus or the sectoral division of the discipline. But it's capable to make the necessary connections. Public History must not confine itself to comply with demands for competency profiles, career guidance or key skills for students which are to be found in almost all scientific and educational position papers today. The aim is a comprehensive professionalization, not only the preparation of apprenticeship. Public History, therefore, needs a new, an extended perspective: It integrates the results of the entire history and it provides the necessary modes of communication between history as a science and individual social groups. Let us follow two basic assumptions: Public History can develop its full potential only if it constantly reflects its close relation to practice (public) in a critical manner. Additionally, Public History should simultaneously always be defined actively as a research field (history). Its market value of cognitive experiences, good arguments, and reflection depends strongly on the reference to both, practice and research. Objectives and challenges of Public History can be summarized with the ideas of professionalization, proximity to practice, and research activities – all three of which include students *and* the general public.

What does this mean for the everyday university life of research and teaching? So far, the research activity of students is closely linked to drafting theses or takes place as a "companion" of the research of their lecturers and professors. Instead students should make their own authentic experiences in research, develop a scientific curiosity and recognize their own research interests as early as possible. Moreover, this experience should offer a realistic insight into the work of historians. Such a concept can only be implemented successfully if the university maintains a relationship to the professional reality of the daily work of historians. This relationship to the reality requires the development and implementation of new teaching formats centering on specific questions. The core of course forms related to Public History should be the *project related teaching* (Projekt- bzw. Praxisseminar)[34]: Especially project related teaching is characterized by

34 For the field of of *project related teaching* in Heidelberg see Angela Siebold and Cord Arendes, "Historisch Forschen – Professionell vermitteln. Ziele und Herausforderungen einer universitären Public History," in Projektlehre im Geschichtsstudium. Verortungen, Praxisberichte und Perspektiven, eds., Ulrike Senger, Yvonne Robel, and Thorsten Logge (Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, 2015). For general information on this topic see Ulrike Senger, Yvonne Robel, and Thorsten Logge, eds., Projektlehre im Geschichtsstudium. Verortungen, Praxisberichte und Perspektiven (Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, 2015).

immediate feedback on current research questions. It doesn't merely build an alternative to research because the students themselves are an active part of the research process itself. After an independent scientific analysis of a topic, the next steps are always to think about the necessary aspects of a successful knowledge transfer and the reflection of the social relevance, limits, and difficulties in dealing with historical themes in the public. At Heidelberg University, regional and local historical research with a medium range have emerged as a focus of Public History through a series of partnerships with non-university partners.[35] Right here the function of Public History as an instance of reflection for the relationship between academia and the public has great effects: *First*, let us consider the connection to the public: The special appeal of regional or local history is that their locations are well-known and their concepts sound familiar. This comes with the great opportunity to situate oneself historically, especially in times of uncertain identities. This means that the experience not only stimulates the audience. It also has the consequence that in many places the involved researchers and authors from outside of academia are engaged to lay their own historical roots free. *Secondly*, we can find the connection to academia: Today's public image of research, for example about National Socialism, is still largely influenced by political, social, and legal aspects centered on the national level. There are no or only few explicit regional or local references. The reception in the media moves almost entirely at the level of prestigious public events, people, and institutions. A proper consideration of regional or local history will possibly take place locally and will not always achieve the research echo it deserves. It therefore seems essential to check the rough structures and findings which worked out

35 In detail: A research project concerning *"Forced labor in the city of Schwetzingen, 1939–1945"* in cooperation with the city and the city archives, https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/forschung/HPH_Schwetzingen.html; the exhibition "*Heidelberg's wild 1970s*" with student support and in cooperation with the city's historical museum (Kurpfälzisches Museum Heidelberg), https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/mitglieder/lsarendes_forschung_1970er.html; a student based analyses of the visitors resonance of both the 5th and 6th International Fotofestival Mannheim-Ludwigshafen-Heidelberg ("*MAGNUM: TRANS-TERRITORIES*" 2013 and *"[7P] – [7] Places [7] Precarious Fields*" 2015) in cooperation with the Cultural Office of the city of Mannheim; a partnership with two high schools in the Heidelberg region concerning the project *"Locally Encounters – Administrative History and NS everyday life"* with a sponsorship of the Robert-Bosch-Endowment, https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/mitglieder/lsarendes_forschung_denkwerk.html, and the teaching project series *"Public History & Theater"*, which combines independent research by students with the communication of their research results, https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/histsem/mitglieder/lsarendes_theater.html, accessed July 16, 2018.

at the national historical grid in micro-regional studies to determine the different levels, and if necessary, to add new research questions. These questions should be developed in dialogue with the directly and/or indirectly affected audiences. Such a "glance into daily worlds" has the advantage that it allows historians to dive deep into contemporary social relations and regard them not only as "sideshows" of history: This is especially true for those local actors who otherwise would have aroused only little or no interest in history, but whose framework as well as their respective individual maneuvers are able to be used as examples for the analyzed period. The collaboration with archivists, citizens, or representatives of local educational institutions also widens the views of the researchers involved. At the same time it usually becomes clear what issues would be better moved aside in the discourse or which special interests connected to our own history predominate in the public. And a final important aspect: Especially the students, as future historians, were yet to be integrated in these processes as far as possible during their studies. Several semesters of *practiced* Public History at Heidelberg University have shown that students could benefit immensely if they can make their own authentic and hopefully realistic experiences with the daily work of historians. And this is foremost achieved by research-based and project-related teaching. Project related teaching conveys, based on research results, additional skills; especially practical skills that are existential for later professional work life. These include assessing one's own role in a team or just to be able to process texts or other products of research in a relatively short time and based on clear deadlines. A mere by-product are contacts which are being created between students and potential future employers in non-university education, in public institutions, or in the private sector. This last aspect also includes information about the ethical aspects of doing historical research both in the university and the public sphere.[36] Students in courses with project related teaching don't act and feel like learners or even as pupils, but as researchers and scientists. In this way they develop a professionalized identity as historians as early as possible. To study Public History, therefore, means primarily to learn how to "do research": at realistic conditions, in real time, and in a sphere which goes beyond the aspects of the scientific evaluation. Public History – as a concept – represents an important part of academic research. It reflects and analyzes the challenges and opportunities of the increased demand for history or historical knowledge. It promotes its self-image in the public as well as its position in the humanities and social

36 Cord Arendes and Angela Siebold, "Zwischen akademischer Berufung und privatwirtschaftlichem Beruf: Für eine Debatte um Ethik- und Verhaltenskodizes in der historischen Profession," Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 66, no. 3–4 (2015).

sciences. It is about the many forms of dialogue between science and society, the elimination of existing barriers between scientific experts and politically conscious and historically interested citizens.

Public History: Building Bridges to the Public

To raise a final question: Which of the personality profiles described above is able to embrace both the public relevance *and* the research and scholarly aspects of public history? Or, to put it another way, which of them could make it easier for scholars and lay persons to join forces and spawn new types of dialog while dismantling barriers among historians, practitioners, and interested members of the public? One answer might be to merge the multiple personalities of historians, who bring together "the best of all worlds" and are also able, at the very least, to comprehend the work of everyone else involved in a given project.[37] Although practical experience on the other side of the fence is good for everyone, it is not advisable for public historians to play the role of "daring pioneers" or "dangerous adventurers".[38] In the view of the progressive specialization and differentiation of historians, this statement may seem anachronistic. However, in terms of the goal of stressing and strengthening the character of Public History as a process that involves *reflecting on* or *applying history*, it certainly deserves consideration. It is not necessary to invent a "new kind of person" – many historians already situate themselves in the hybrid zone[39] between research and teaching, on the one hand, and between practice and becoming involved with the public, on the other. It is common for them to play widely diverging roles: as *academic historians* and, specifically, for the most part, as contemporary historians whose work, amongst other things, focuses on the culture of history and remembrance; as *public historians* whose principal goals are to acquaint the public with the processes and mechanisms involved in studying the past and to build bridges for their audience, while, in many cases, also being actively involved as *experts* in practical projects, such as exhibitions. This is not an appeal to define public historians as multiple personalities. Rather, it calls on all players to reflect on the different and changing roles they perform: as historians who preserve their core activity of research-based

37 See Arendes, *Who We Are*.

38 Henry Rousso, "Applied History, or The Historian as Miracle-Worker," *The Public Historian* 6, no. 4 (1984): 65.

39 For a different reading of the term "hybrid" see Matthew Flinders, "The Tyranny of Relevance and the Art of Translation," *Political Studies Review* 11 (2013): 160–161, 165.

scholarship, and as practitioners who also apply scholarly methods. At the end of the day, perhaps, the described hybrid personality structure – firmly anchored in historical studies yet, at the same time, practical in its orientation – will turn out to be exactly what is needed to ensure the future of historical studies in the twenty-first century.[40] To establish a new field of work in academic teaching and research within the German university system is a multifaceted and exciting task. A concept that wishes to form its own brand also faces many different claims that sometimes are difficult to redeem. Because of its close relation to practice *and* research, Public History is able to become a relevant concept for the field of history research. As a new concept it is independent within the discipline and capable of gaining reputation. Beyond the narrow limits of a specialization it is also communicable to a broader public. Science requires a public.[41] It is the place, where its results were discussed. The public purpose is not only imposed from the outside but must also be thought within the science of history itself. In the crucial processes of knowledge creation and knowledge transfer Public History can act as an interpreter or even as a "translator"[42] in historical thinking and therefore build the necessary bridges to the public.

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40 See Arendes, *Who We Are*.

41 Ivan Karp, "Public Scholarship as Vocation," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 11 (2012): 291–294.

42 Bernhard Pörksen, "Die Angst der Geisteswissenschaften vor den Medien," Pop. Kultur und Kritik 1, no. 1 (2012): 25.

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Christoph Kühberger

The Private Use of Public History and its Effects on the Classroom

Introduction

In the German-speaking countries, the paradigm of historical consciousness as differentiated since the 1970s by Jeismann, Pandel, von Borries et al.[1] has resulted in a tendency to view historical culture as the "practically effective articulation of historical consciousness in a society" (Jörn Rüsen). Historical thinking and learning must therefore also take into account this level of public confrontation with the past and history. The various representations of the past and their use in very different contexts ranging from television commercials to amusement parks do not always follow academic standards, but are, as Oswald and Pandel claim, not just "banal derivatives of academic history", but instead offer interpretations and forms of representation that actually have an influence on the ways people think of the past that inevitably seep into the academic discourse.[2]

Even the everyday encounter with history represents a major challenge for all of us. The diverse forms and media in which history is (re)presented are powerful tools that shape our perceptions of the past and, in many aspects, replace academic debate. In my own childhood, I was a fan of the 1970s German, Austrian and Japanese TV cartoon series "Vicky the Viking". In Austria at that time, in contrast to northern European regions, we were largely cut off from other cultural encounters with Viking culture. As my own studies focused on the contemporary history and there was no one with particular expertise in early medieval cultures at my universities to inform me otherwise, my ideas and understanding of Viking life was based on the TV series until a visit to a museum in Stockholm some ten years

1 Cf. Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "Geschichtsbewusstsein – Theorie," in *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann, Klaus Fröhlich, and Annette Kuhn (Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 1997), 42–44.

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Jörn Rüsen, *Historisches Lernen. Grundlagen und Paradigmen* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 20082).

Hans-Jürgen Pandel, *Geschichtsunterricht nach PISA*, (Schwalbach/ Ts.: Wochenschau, 2005).

2 Vadim Oswald and Hans-Jürgen Pandel "Einleitung," in *Geschichtskultur. Die Anwesenheit von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Oswald Vadim and Hans-Jürgen Pandel (Schwalbach/ Ts.: 2009), 9.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-004

ago. I was naturally disappointed at first, especially when I found that they had worn helmets without horns, before I was able to dig more deeply into this past culture that was really all new to me.

If we look at this instructive experience, it can be stated that it is quite unlikely that a sustainable, critical study of history can take place by ignoring historical interpretations which we encounter in everyday life. Today's history classroom is rather a mass of allegedly correct facts and fixed interpretations without sufficient appreciation of history as a construct. Since one does not encounter historical sources in everyday life nearly as often as different representations of the past, history teaching should place more emphasis on critical reflection of such representations.[3]

I would thus like to propose the productive, but critical use of a wide range of everyday, real-world representations of history to show that public history and its products (e.g. novels, non-fiction, exhibitions, computer games, hypertexts, TV documentaries, comics , newspaper reports, toys) can indeed have a legitimate role in the teaching of history, especially if one accepts historical learning as a project of sustained enlightenment designed to train students in the skills of critical historical thinking. It is with this in mind that pupils should be taught those analytical skills necessary to deconstruct or evaluate history in such a way that will allow them in the future to query other representations of the past for their inherent perspectives and prejudices, to question those conditions and intentions behind such representation as well as questioning the explanatory and interpretative models chosen.[4] Academic history as the traditional source of topics for use in history classrooms is supplemented by the questioning and interpretation of public history. The themes and questions of public history are, however, more prone to agendas directed to the public market and the politics of history[5] arising from a bourgeois canon that shaped the teaching of history in the last century.

In Western democratic systems, apart from certain recurring "classics" (such as the 1950s movie trilogy "Sissi" in Austria), there have been waves of managed attention in how we address our societies' pasts and histories that are actually quite difficult to pin down. The current products of public history consumed by today's pupils and which ought to find their way into history instruction cover subjects that cannot be fully identified and often cannot even be anticipated. There are probably various genres and types of media that represent history in

3 Christoph Kühberger, *Kompetenzorientiertes historisches und politisches Lernen* (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2009), 52–53.

4 Reinhard Krammer, "Paradigmenwechsel? Geschichte, Politische Bildung und eine neue Herausforderung: Globalgeschichte," *Informationen zur Politischen Bildung* 23 (2005): 50.

5 Cf. Margaret MacMillan, *The use and Abuse of History* (London: Profile Books, 2009), 3–5.

specific ways than one ought to include in curricula. They should not, however, be restricted to certain products (such as "Vicky the Viking"), because there are continuously created new kinds of products on a daily basis. The kids' and teenagers' everyday life and the representations of the past that currently engage them should help drive their selection for use in teaching. In addition one should not avert one's eyes from artistic works that address the past or history critically from an aesthetic perspective.[6]

The private use of public history

In general, teachers know little about what representations of history are consumed by their pupils. Often, it is even considered disruptive when individual children in primary schools have a deeper knowledge of "knights", for example.[7] However, the origin of this knowledge is influenced by the accessibility of history. The cultural preferences and socio-economic status of the children's parents probably play a not insignificant role, although this has not yet been investigated.

When considering children's books, one can observe the public history trends for children three years and older even in colouring and picture books.[8] Swiss researchers have been conducting random samples of the availability of children's non-fiction books in book shops to extract data about what kinds of representations are available on the market. This has resulted in a relatively clear picture that aligns perfectly with the traditional themes of what is taught in the schools of the German-speaking countries. The Middle Ages (30%), Ancient Egypt (18%), the Stone Age (15%) and the Romans (12%) represent the themes that are most commonly offered by market-oriented historical culture in the children's non-fiction books segment and thus, one could possibly infer, are also purchased.[9]

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6 Cf. Hans-Jürgen Pandel, "Geschichtskultur als Aufgabe der Geschichtsdidaktik. Viel zu wissen ist zu wenig," in *Geschichtskultur*, ed. Oswald Vadim, and Hans-Jürgen Pandel (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2009), 19–34. Jörn Rüsen "The Visibility of History. Bridging the Gap between Historiography and the Fine Arts." *Historien* 5 (2005): 130–141.

7 Cf. Rita Rohrbach, *Kinder & Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft. Was Erwachsene wissen sollen* (Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 2009), 73.

8 Rohrbach 2009, 63.

9 Markus Kübler and Sabine Bietenhader, *Historisches Denken bei 4- bis 10-jährigen Kindern in der deutsch-, italienisch- und romanischsprachigen Schweiz* (2011), accessed May 17, 2015. www.historischesdenken.ch/assets/files/hd_gdsu _maerz_2011.pdf (17.5.2015), Cf. also Markus Kübler, Sabine Bietenhader, Urs Bisang, and Claudio Stucky, *Historisches Denken bei 4- bis*

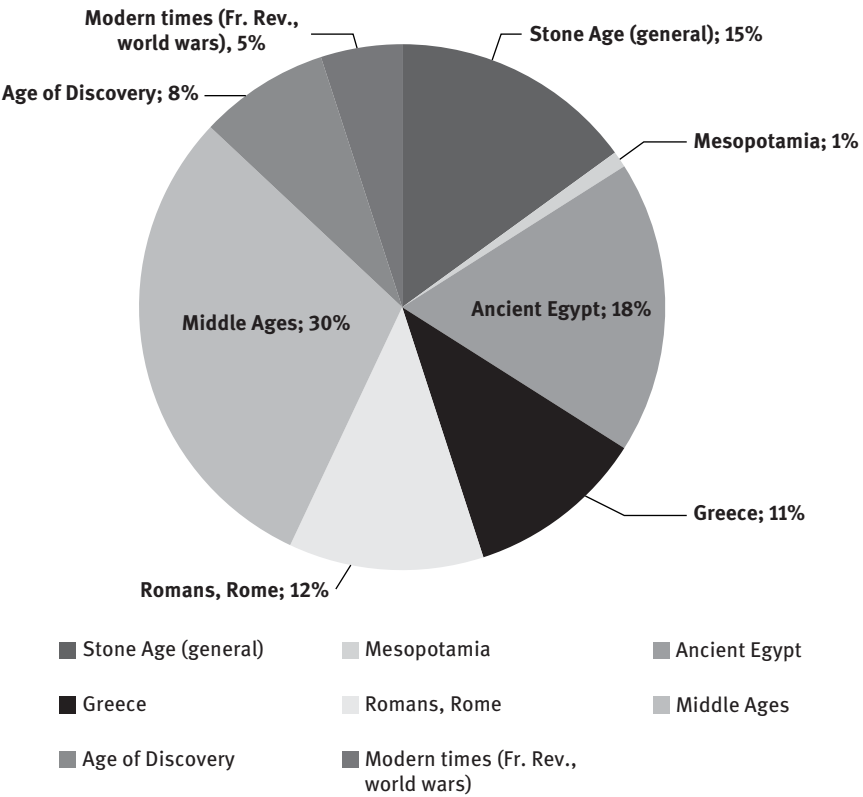

Figure 4.1: Sample of children's non-fiction (Switzerland) (Kübler and Bietenhader, 2011).

In this framework, it is also important to consider those toys and games with which the children generate their own imagination of the past. These can include board games, plastic figures, building blocks, or costumes. However, similar data to that already available for children's books is not, to the best of my knowledge, available for the products offered by toy shops.

One should also not forget those media and digital products that grab the attention of children, adolescents and adults. The sales of computer games that are set in the past have shown an overall social trend in recent years. According to the 2013 JIM study in Germany analysing usage patterns, 45% of adolescents

10-jährigen Kindern – Was wissen die Kinder über Geschichte? (Basel: gde13, September 2013), www.geschichtsdidaktik-empirisch.ch/ueber-die-tagungsreihe/vergangene-tagungen/gde-13/abstracts/Kuebler-%20Bietenhader-%20Bisang%20-%20Stucky.pdf (17.5.2015).

ages 12 to 19 play computer, console, or online games on a daily basis or several times a week. 17% say they play only once or twice every two weeks. The others say they play rarely (21%) or never (17%).[10] The adolescents report one computer game with historical content as their top choice, namely, "Call of Duty" (2003 ff.).[11]

With reference to computer games, there is a social phenomenon which already existed around television documentaries a decade ago. Sixty years after the end of World War II, there was a boom in television documentaries driving a new kind of public history in Germany. The nightly flood of these representations of history has since become a cornerstone of television programming, at least based on that currently offered by broadcasters. The interpretations and representations of history they present are not being socially negotiated as part of a "communicative memory" (A. Assmann) and can thus be located at some distance from a "cultural memory" without special mnemic quality. Instead, they often represent an isolated, individual product for consumption to be consumed outside of any particular social context. It should therefore not be surprising that this (new) kind of light entertainment has been labelled "entertaining history pornography" (W. Kansteiner).[12] However, despite all the critical discussions among historians, one still must accept the ongoing success on TV and deal with the interpretations produced there as a part of our societies' cultural inventory that has successfully found its place in our public history. Computer games can be considered a related medium, despite their interactive nature.

If one takes the title of this article "The private use of public history" seriously, it will be necessary to dig deeper and probably break new ground in research. Such research should primarily consider subjective moments when questioning how to deal with individual structures and developments in historical consciousness and how specific, thinking individuals address the past and history within their social context:

Subjects who think historically will receive particular attention because they are capable of reorganising their historical consciousness on the basis of new insights, knowledge, methodologies, attitudes, etc. both in society and especially in their own, domain-specific learning process in order to acquire or retain access to individually relevant social conditions. The individual mental

10 Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, ed., *Jim-Studie 2013. Jugend, Information, (Muli-)Media* (Stuttgart:[no publisher], 2013), 45.

11 Medienpädagogische Forschungsverbund Südwest 2014, 49.

12 Cf. Wulf Kansteiner, "Die Radikalisierung des deutschen Gedächtnisses im Zeitalter seiner kommerziellen Reproduktion. Hitler und das „Dritte Reich" in den Fernsehdokumentationen von Guido Knopp," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003): 648.

structures, i.e. the ideas about the past and history and the concepts they use to structure these imaginations are undoubtedly evidence-based at the centre of their consideration.[13]

But finding out the source of the ideas in the heads of these subjects and what concrete impulses helped shape those ideas, especially in the hitherto neglected realm of the private, makes a look at public history a necessity. If one wants to make such "private use" a basis for learning how to think historically in school, one will have to penetrate more deeply into the subjective experiences, the private lives of the pupils to avoid falling into generalities about the historical culture shared by these children such as may be found in the relevant literature and which I have often allowed myself to explore as well.

While from a pragmatic perspective one might be able to ask the pupils to contribute different aspects of the historical cultural as they perceive and use it to one's history teaching, empirical research can even go one step further. An ethnological look at a child's bedroom could bring a whole new empirical dimension into the discourse. If one understands the child's bedroom as an everyday, real-world cosmos containing or displaying manifest deposits of the child's historical culture, one can then regard it as the real-world environment of the children's material, historical culture. A German study from 1995 showed that 60% of primary school children preferred to spend their time in their bedrooms (and the garden).[14] Already in the 1990s, about 75% of children had a room of their own.[15] By 2011, this figure had climbed to 88%.[16]

There is a risk of assuming that the child's bedroom is an absolutely child's zone. Anyone who has current experience in families with children knows that the

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13 Christoph Kühberger, "Subjektorientierte Geschichtsdidaktik. Eine Annäherung zwischen Theorie, Empirie und Pragmatik," in *Subjektorientierte Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Heinrich Ammerer, Thomas Hellmuth and Christoph Kühberger (Schwalbach/ Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2015), 40–41.

14 Maria Fölling-Albers, and Arnulf Hopf, *Auf dem Weg vom Kleinkind zum Schulkind* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1995), 45. – Quoted after: Jutta Buchner-Fuhs, "Das Kinderzimmer. Historische und aktuelle Annäherungen an kindliches Wohnen," in *Teenie-Welten. Aufwachsen in drei europäischen Regionen*, ed. Burkhard Fuhs, Jutta Ecarius, Manuela du Bois-Reymond, and Peter Büchner (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998), 150.

15 Anna Brake and Peter Büchner, "Kindsein in Ost- und Westdeutschland. Allgemeine Rahmenbedingungen des Lebens von Kindern und jungen Jugendlichen," in *Vom Teddybär zum ersten Kuß. Wege aus der Kindheit in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996), 58 – Quoted after: Buchner-Fuhs 1998, 159.

16 Anja Beisenkamp et al., *LBS-Kinderbarometer. Stimmungen, Meinungen, Trends von Kindern und Jugendlichen. Ergebnisse des Erhebungsjahres 2011* (Münster – Herten: RDN Verlags GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 96, accessed July 13, 2015, www.prosoz.de/fileadmin/daten/mandanten/prosoz/filme/Endbericht_erster_Teil _26_01_2012_f.pdf.

kids will claim the entire home as their own if you let them. This spilling of toys and other objects produced for and by children is also indicative of the fact that children have preferred playthings and will want to have these by their side in various private spaces. But there are other objects that are simply present (and located within the space), with which the child does not play (any longer). These can be understood as mediators that may have some passive and unconscious influence on the child's ideas about the past and serve as stimuli for further historical imaginings.

Toys usually have voids that result from a reduced representation or are due to technical moments of representability. Toys thus contain abstractions that are reshaped in play or perhaps even merely by being seen and thus shape how the past is imagined. Certainly, these witnesses of a historical culture that are present in the child's space must also be considered critically. The parents' influence on the child's room and all its things is, in fact, still present, even if the research currently emphasises the appropriation and interpretation of the room from a child's perspective ("mixed realities").[17] Therefore, in addition to the individual character of the historical cultural product, its integration in the "web of meanings" (C. Geertz) must be understood: "The child's room always unfolds in a triangle that consists of the child, the adults, and a complex space with his or her things."[18]

With ethnographic approaches, it might be possible to overcome assumptions and conjecture about some aspects of children's historical culture and their everyday experience and instead underpin hypotheses with pieces of empirical evidence.[19] As always with such ethno-sociological approaches, only selective

17 Cf. Jutta Buchner-Fuhs, "Das Kinderzimmer und die Dinge. Von Normalitätsentwürfen und heterotopen Orten," in *Kinder und Dinge. Dingwelten zwischen Kinderzimmer und FabLabs*, ed. Christina Schachtner (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 159, 168 and 170.

18 Buchner-Fuhs 2014, 152.

19 Cf. approaches of the educational science: Helga Kelle and Georg Breidenstein, "Kinder als Akteure. Ethnographische Ansätze in der Kindheitsforschung," *Zeitschrift für Sozialisationsforschung und Erziehungssoziologie* 16, no. 1 (1996)..

Jürgen Zinnecker, "Pädagogische Ethnographie," *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, no. 3* (September 2000).

Betina Hünersdorf, Vhristoph Maeder, and Burkhard Müller. eds., *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen* und *empirische Annäherungen* (Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2008).

Friederike Heinzel, Werner Thole, Peter Cloos, and Stefan Köngeter, eds., *„Auf unsicherem Terrain". Ethnographische Forschung im Kontext des Bildungs- und Sozialwesens* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010).

Barbara Friebertshäuser et al., eds., *Feld und Theorie. Herausforderungen erziehungswissenschaftlicher Ethnographie* (Opladen: Budrich, 2012).

Anja Tervooren et al., eds., *Ethnographie und Differenz in pädagogischen Feldern. Internationale Entwicklungen erziehungswissenschaftlicher Forschung* (Bielefeld: transcipt, 2014).

statements reflecting a particular time and place can be made about childhood development, cultural conditions, and a constantly changing zeitgeist. They will each need to be updated.

Nevertheless, such case studies could allow entirely unknown dimensions of a child's encounter with the historical as a private, real-world background of appropriating history to devise at least some tentative pure type typologies for the private use of (public) history. An empirical approach with the children's own photographic documentation, with their subjective evaluation and an inventory list of products of public history combined with interviews with the parents could establish such a framework.[20]

In the future such exploratory investigations can help to use individual results as landmarks, but at the same time one needs to update and revise the so created typologies in order to redirect historical learning.

Effects on the history classroom

If one takes a look at the curricula, textbooks, and teachers' manuals, the public history products that are anchored in the everyday lives of pupils remain inadequately taken into consideration.[21] The private use of public history is still largely ignored, even if the German *academic discourse* about the teaching of history has arrived at a *consensus* that dealing with the products of public history is a necessary component of history teaching and the acquisition of a reflective and (self-) reflexive historical consciousness. Adequate attention and sustainable implementation of these ideas remains largely ignore in the school systems. There are only a few aspects that have garnered attention based on interventions in the research and development of history teaching. These include a critical examination of memorials and questioning how the past is represented in film.

In 2015, a newly developed Austrian curriculum for the lower levels of secondary education for history and social studies/civics has placed a recognizable emphasis on this. The phenomena of public history (public exhibitions, films, books, computer games, comics, advertising products, etc.) are explicitly mentioned in that curriculum in order to foster historical competencies designed to

20 Cf. Buchner-Fuhs 2014, 151.

Sebastian Schinkel, *Familiäre Räume. Eine Ethnographie des „gewohnten" Zusammenlebens als Familie* (Bielefeld: transcipt, 2013), 71–121.

21 Cf. general approaches: Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paletschek, eds., *History Goes Pop. Zur Repräsentation von Geschichte in populären Medien und Genres* (Bielefeld: transcipt, 2009).

promote a critical reception (de-construction) of histories. The competencies include[22]:

- distinguishing among different sources and representations of history with respect to their characteristics;
- recognising the specific aspects of related to the genres of such sources and representations;
- identify references to sources in representations of history;
- working out (hidden) references to sources in representations of history and checking them;
- working out the genre-based aspects of such representations and comparing them with other forms of representation;
- analysing the structure of such representations (how the content is weighted, lines of argument, the narrative logic, and assessments);
- scrutinising representations of the past (representative drawings, comics, non-fiction) systematically;
- comparing representations (with the same content);
- working with, comparing, and questioning history maps etc.

Although there is little quantitative evidence on the preferences of children and young people when it comes to dealing with the products of the Public History, the findings of Bodo von Borries in 1999 are not really surprising (Figure 4.2). At a time when it was even rarer than it is today for pupils to examine the products of historical culture (novels, films, television documentaries) critically, there was evidence of the younger generation's motivational affinity for audio-visual and tangible media. This involves insights that should ultimately be exploited more often for motivational moments of historical learning as well as anchoring history instruction in the everyday lives of the youth.

In this context, I would like to give an insight into a qualitative empirical study on the perception of films about the past.[23] Films about the past, whether in the cinema, on TV, or on websites in their entirety or only in snippets, continue to

22 Cf. testing version of the Austrian curriculum for "History and Social Studies/ Civic Education" which should be introduced 2016/17 ("Verordnungsentwurf"), accessed March 28, 2016, www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/Begut/BEGUT_COO_2026_100_2_1188936/BEGUT_COO_2026_100_2_1188936.html.

23 Christoph Kühberger, ed., *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel "Spielfilm". Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise* (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013).

Christoph Kühberger, "Empirische Befunde zum Umgang mit Spielfilmen über die Vergangenheit in der Sekundarstufe I," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7–8 (2014).

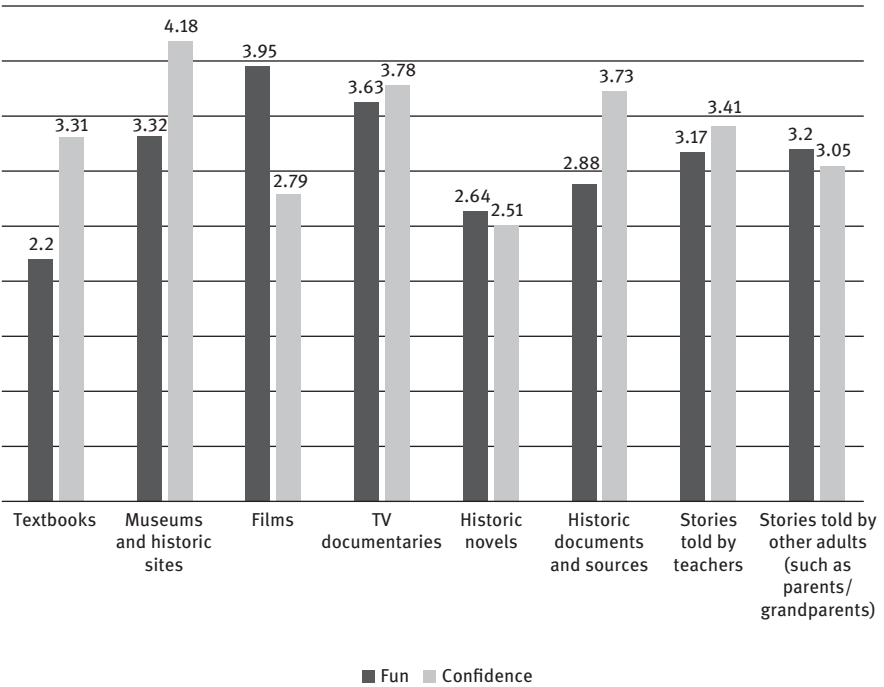

Figure 4.2: History media from the perspective of pupils, mean values on a scale of 1 to 5 (Bodo v. Borries, 1999).

Note: Bodo von Borries, *Jugend und Geschichte. Ein europäischer Kulturvergleich aus deutscher Sicht* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1999), 52.

be a part of the everyday experience of children and adolescents. What my team found interesting was the extent to which teenagers about 13 years of age understand such filmic representations as images of the past. The distinction between "past" and "history" is essential:

The past [...] is all those events and incidents that have gone on in the world of human experience before this moment. [...] The key point here I realizing that our access to the past is mediated by residue and relics [...]. [...] History emerges as distinct from the past in that it is the name we give to our efforts to interpret the past, to tell stories about what it means.[24]

24 Bruce A. VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking & Understanding. Innovative Designs for New Standards* (New York – London: Routledge, 2014), 26–27.

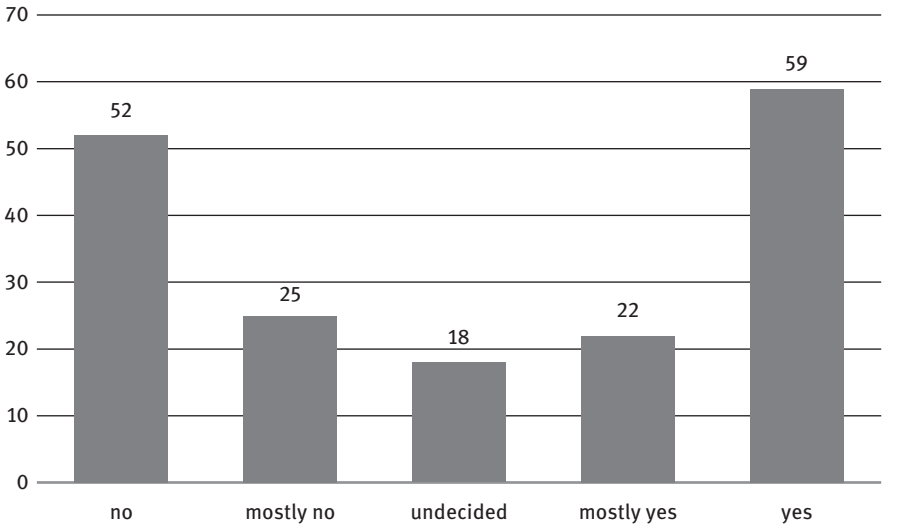

Figure 4.3: Considerations of the test subjects (n = 176) on the question of whether the film shows the past.

Using a qualitative survey (n = 176) conducted with essays, we were able to discover how much potential was possible for those teenagers without any systematic instruction in the critical engagement with filmic representations of the past (de-construction). We were also able to discover the extent to which private consumption of films, i.e. the private use of public history, has an effect on historical thinking. Our analysis showed that more than 30% of the pupils tend to assume that it would be possible to replicate the past in films in positivistic manner.[25]

If one only considers only those pupils who gave an adequate argument for their view (n = 115), it is striking that an academically-orientated history instruction can connect well with the preconceptions of approximately 36% of pupils (constructivist type). However, in order not to be mistaken about the spectrum of historical understanding, it is necessary to identify all of the variants present in the age group investigated. For example, one should consider those views that can be classified as naïve or orientated to factuality (approx. 17%), because these young people make no distinction between history and the past. Those pupils

25 Christoph Kühberger and Bianca Schartner, "Quantitative Auswertung der Schüleressays, "in *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel „Spielfilm". Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise*, ed. Christoph Kühberger (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013), 53–54.

classified as positivist or historicist (approx. 17%) and who assume that it is possible to represent the past objectively, and those who are classified as agnostic/sceptical (approx. 4%), who believe that the past is not even accessible, would both need differentiated introductions to historical thinking in the classroom.

Type		Exemplary excerpts from essays	%
a	**the agnostic/sceptical type** This type believes the past is inaccessible or only accessible to a very small extent entirely unable to be or only minimally so.	"It was probably like that, but no one really knows. The people that were around in 1492 are long since dead and buried."	4.35
b	**the constructivist type** This type believes that history is a (re) construction with certain quality criteria. An objective representation would therefore be impossible, but only a construct driven by the interests, skills, intentions, sources, and the medium of representation, etc.	"The music was a bit exaggerated and the clothes more funny than serious. All the snakes have the impression of a jungle, but the birds were a little too naturalistic. Nothing actually happened that would excite anyone. I didn't find it all that special."	36.52
c	**the critical type** This type believes that a representation of the past is steered or even distorted by certain aspects. Its character as a construct is not clearly addressed.	"No, because it's pretty unlikely that America once looked like that. Besides, these sailors must have been hungry [...]. As the sailor said: Land in sight was all fog, such that you couldn't even see the sand. I don't think that can be the case."	26.09
d	**the positivist/historicist type** This type believes that it is basically possible to create an objective representation of the past, if the author works hard enough at it.	It "is well represented. It looks true. It's modern, but the period is well represented."	16.52
e	**the naïve/factuality-orientated type** This type does not believe in a distinction between history and the past. The idea of history as a construct is a completely foreign concept.	"Yes. Because the film was well-done and with lots of precise detail, just like it says in the book. They were really very happy when they arrived ashore and fell down on solid ground. Columbus also called the land San Salvador."	16.52

Figure 4.4: Historical understanding typology, with frequency of occurrence in the sample (n = 115).
Note: Ammerer/Kühberger 2013, 79–80.

Only those young people who can be classified as critical of such representations (approx. 26%) could be positively classified as being more likely to accept the shift to constructivism.[26]

Ultimately, one has to admit that empirical research to date has shown too little about the private use of public history in children and adolescents and therefore further research will be required to obtain a more systematic overview. However, this does not mean that the products of public history should not find their way into the school history instruction; indeed, quite the opposite. The consideration of a wide range of forms of representation, including everything such as plastic figures, comic books, and computer games should be a part of developing critical historical thinking so that the pupils' real-world encounters with the historical can serve as a starting point for their learning and as gateways to an academically-orientated confrontation with the past.

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26 Heinrich Ammerer and Christoph Kühberger, "Typen des Umgangs mit Geschichte," in *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel "Spielfilm". Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise, ed.* Christoph Kühberger (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013), 79–80.

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Daisy Martin

Teaching, Learning, and Understanding of Public History in Schools as Challenge for Students and Teachers

Commentary

History is a part of everyday life. We consume stories about the past in films, musicals, and lectures. We read historical fiction, create and consume memes, visit historical sites and museums, play historical games, and preserve and investigate family history. We seek out information to contextualize and understand the present. This everyday public history lives mostly independently from the history taught and learned in schools. What is the role of public history in schools? What are the challenges it presents in the history classroom? What are the opportunities it creates?

This set of essays originated with a Fall 2015 panel titled, "Public History in the Classroom: Teaching, Learning, and Understanding of Public History in schools as challenge for students and teachers."[1] With speakers from Austria, Germany, South Africa and the United States talking about a relatively underexamined aspect of public history, the possibility of contrasting interpretations of our title and purpose was great. But this set of essays show that we shared some fundamental assumptions about our purposes and focus.

First of all, these papers discuss public history *in* the classroom, rather than *as* the classroom. There is an argument to be made that the pre-collegiate history classroom is a site of public history, but scholars still differ regarding this point. Is it a "blind spot" that the English-speaking conversation about public history does not include the teaching of history?[2] Or is public history partially defined by where it happens, i.e., "outside [of] academic settings"?[3]? While Arendes in

1 A special thanks to *Public History Weekly* and Marko Demantowsky for organizing this conference.

2 Marko Demantowsky, "'Public history'– Sublation of a German Debate?," *Public History Weekly,* 3 (2015) 2, accessed October 31, 2016, public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/3-2015-2/publichistory -sublation-german-debate/.

3 Serge Noiret, "Internationalizing Public History," *Public History Weekly,* 2 (2014) 34, accessed October 31, 2016, public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/2-2014-34/internationalizing-public-history/; Thomas Cauvin, "Defining Public History. A Work in Progress. What Do You Think?," accessed October 31, 2016, thomascauvin.com/uncategorized/defining-public-history-a-work-in-progress-what-do-you-think/?platform=hootsuite.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-005

this collection addresses the problem of defining public history in the context of Germany universities, the larger debate need not be settled here nor is it the focus.[4] Rather this set of papers focuses on public history as part of the curriculum rather than schools as sites of public history.

The authors also share an assumption that a central goal of any history curriculum is to understand history as a discipline, how it works and the conventions that it demands. Arendes talks about "a set of disciplinary standards," Kühberger talks about "train[ing] students in the skills of critical historical thinking" and Siebörger mentions "procedural knowledge" and "skills and concepts" as learning goals. Rather than only focus on the products of the discipline – the stories and arguments that historians produce – the scholars also value and prioritize learning historical thinking within the context of studying particular historical topics, questions, and problems.

Students as Consumers of Public History

Given a consideration of public history as curricula and historical thinking as learning goal, the authors here agree that public history belongs in the classroom. Kühberger calls our attention to the fact that students bring in public history regardless of whether educators intentionally make it part of the curriculum or not. Students know stories about the past and have mental pictures of aspects of the past from their everyday, outside of school, experiences. Whether it be the inaccurate idea that Vikings wore horned hats or knowing only a single triumphal story of the Great Trek in South Africa, students' prior ideas affect their learning. Researchers know that students use existing schema and prior knowledge to make sense of new information and concepts.[5] Educators who ignore that students construct new understandings and knowledge using what they think they already know do so at their own peril.

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4 Peter Seixas, "A History/Memory Matrix for History Education," *Public History Weekly,* 4 (2016) 6, accessed October 31, 2016, public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/4-2016-6/a-historymemory-matrix-for-history-education/. Seixas offers an important perspective on how collective memory and disciplinary practices overlap in the classroom.

5 John D. Bransford, Anne L. Brown, and Rodney R. Cocking, eds., *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000); Richard Anderson, "The notion of schemata and the Educational Enterprise: General Discussion of the Conference," in *Schooling and the Acquisition of Knowledge,* ed., Richard C. Anderson et al. (New Jersey: Erlbaum, 1977), 415–432.

Given the ubiquity of historical references and stories in national and regional popular cultures, it behooves local educators and researchers to consider, what Kühberger calls, society's cultural inventory of public history interpretations. He asks us to consider that such an inventory would find that these interpretations not only include types that are most common in history education discussions and research such as films, museums, and historical novels but also types that are often overlooked such as computer games, comic books, re-enactments, and even toys and games. He also urges us to consider the variety of private uses of public history and that different students will encounter different representations of history in their private lives, creatively proposing ethnographies of young children's bedrooms as one way to access those variations and representations.

The variety of historical representations that students encounter, explore and internalize outside of school pose a significant challenge to the educator. Educators will need to consider which representations have had the greatest impact on significant numbers of their pupils in regards to the existing curriculum, and access and uncover students' thinking about particular representations.

Curricular Approach – Students as Critical Consumer

Yet, intentional inclusion of some public history in the curriculum may also offer opportunities that help navigate these challenges. Teachers can use these popular stories and representations purposefully to accomplish significant learning goals. Consider a First Encounter story of Pocahontas and John Smith in the early days of the Jamestown colony in what is now the state of Virginia. A story popularized in the United States by Disney films depicts the Powhatan Indian princess Pocahontas and the English colonist John Smith as an romantic couple who are brought together by Pocahontas' daring rescue of Smith from a tribal beheading. The film tells a moralistic, tidy story that follows a familiar and triumphal narrative arc. Bringing this public history story into the classroom allows U.S. educators to make visible and teach how the discipline of history works. A lesson guided and framed by the question "Did Pocahontas rescue John Smith?" has students start with what they think they know and how they know it (i.e., Disney films), then move to investigating successive rounds of primary and secondary sources[6]

6 Peter Seixas, "Translation and it's discontents: key concepts in English and German history education," Journal of Curriculum Studies. DOI:10.1080/00220272.2015.1101618. 4. Secondary

directly related to this supposed rescue.[7] As students do source work, their prior "knowledge" about this encounter is challenged. Debriefing this learning experience with students allows teachers to make explicit key tools and processes for reconstructing the past and the interpretive, evidence-based, and complex nature of history.

Students too frequently see history as a single story that is certain and complete. Directly challenging a story they think they know can puzzle and perplex them, prompting them to ask questions. This, in turn, can open doors to learning how history works. Curricula such as this Pocahontas lesson, a "what is history" lesson, facilitate this,[8] and its focus on a public history narrative is part of its success. Using a story that is well known by many students from their experiences outside school means that many are engaged with the lesson from the start and interested in the challenge. Additionally, evaluating such stories means that students are working with and questioning secondary, rather than primary, sources. This is important because as Kühberger points out students encounter secondary sources much more frequently in their everyday lives than primary sources.

Including public history stories in the history curriculum in intentional ways can open up engaging opportunities for students to critically analyze familiar historical narratives and representations, and learn more about how the past is reconstructed. Students become critical consumers of historical narratives constructed for a popular audience. Given that these public narratives frequently are shaped by agendas that do not value the completeness, multiperspectivity, or contingency of the story as highly as a message they wish to promote or sell, could their use be more productive in fostering historical thinking and critical analysis than more staid or accurate narratives?

Rob Siebörger's discussion of two case studies of South African curricula make clear that it is not that simple. His analysis of how the Great Trek narrative was enacted in the curriculum and the absence of Robben Island from that curriculum shows the importance of the choice of public history narratives to teach and of the instructional approach to any such narrative.

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sources "narrate or explain from a position later than the time that is under study," and primary sources are those that are produced during the time under study.

7 Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin, and Chauncey Monte-Sano, *Reading Like a Historian: Teaching Literacy in Middle and High School Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2013), 1–16.

8 Denis Shemilt, *13–16 Project Evaluation* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1980); Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives,* eds., Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 336–340; Wineburg, Martin, and Monte-Sano, *Reading Like a Historian,* 6.

The story of the Great Trek, a "key narrative of the state" during apartheid, was popularized both through "similar repetition" in the school curriculum and outside celebrations and representations. In school, students studied an overly heroic, triumphant story of the Great Trek in multiple courses and the content of that study changed little except to add additional information and specifics about the event. Missed were opportunities to frame the story in different ways or engage students in analyzing the narrative using progressively sophisticated historical thinking. Public history in the curriculum in this case meant "conformity and sameness," "shallow interpretations," and "rote memorization of the deeds of heroes." Similar repetition over multiple years meant that a single dominant narrative essentially colonized the curriculum. This curricular approach essentially valued a heritage approach to studying the past rather than an historical approach.[9]

Heritage, in David Lowenthal's scheme, is more interested in a worship of the past than a careful reconstruction or critical interrogation of it. The essential aim of heritage stories is a "prejudiced pride in the past," and building unity, identity and "civic allegiances" from shared, mythological stories.[10] Those stories are "immune to conscious revision" and thrive on "formulaic repetition."[11] Heritage stories deliberately celebrate some aspects of the past while entirely omitting others. Siebörger's analysis of the case of Robben Island, an island that served as prison for black political prisoners, shows how a heritage focused curriculum holds no space for particular aspects of the past – in this case, the politics of black resistance to the state. In a heritage approach, public history narratives in the curriculum become a way to promote particular messages about the past that serve present interests, and critique of those heritage stories may be risky or condemned. Putting students in the role of critical consumer of such a story is a qualitatively different move than questioning a story mostly crafted for entertainment and business purposes such as the Pocahontas and John Smith interaction. As educators and researchers think about selecting popular representations to interrogate for the school curriculum, these differences will need to be considered.

Siebörger's analysis of these two curricular topics and changes to the school curriculum highlights additional practical considerations for situating students as critical consumers of public history narratives. He indicates that the existence of multiple sources and narratives relevant to an historical phenomenon matter

9 David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (1998), 5–24.
10 Ibid., 3, 4.
11 Ibid., 18.

to its curricular potential, and notes that these do indeed exist for both the Great Trek narrative and a study of Robben Island. The latter also offers opportunities to study the content of political and social activism and the traces left behind by activists and ordinary people rather than only political leaders. Siebörger also cautions against the assumption that all public history is engaging for students and points out that similar repetition and the content of that study matter to that engagement.

Curricular Approach – Students as Reflective Producers

Situating students as producers of knowledge is another approach to including public history in the curriculum. In this role, students create their own representations of the past, such as memorials, museum exhibits, and historical plaques. These kinds of projects require that students do thinking similar to what they do in the consumer role (e.g., analyze multiple sources, harness background information); but, they also require that students make the necessary choices involved in creating consumable historical interpretations and narratives for an audience outside school.

Arendes, in his essay, advocates for a students as producers approach being at the heart of a university program in public history. He asserts that project related teaching should be the focus of this curriculum and that students should have "authentic experiences in research." Students would develop their own research interests and questions, conduct independent research, and then, rather than only producing a paper for their professor, consider how to communicate their findings to a public audience in a particular format. The subsequent and final step would be to reflect on the limits and difficulties in crafting that public communication and knowledge transfer. These final processes – presenting research to a non-expert audience outside of the academy and required reflection – add two steps to the production of historical knowledge that go beyond the demands of a typical university based study of history. This set of working processes is one concrete, specific way that the study of public history can, as Arendes proposes, break down traditional boundaries between scholarship and practical application.

Making the doing of public history projects central to the training of public history university students makes sense as this curricular approach essentially apprentices these students into public history's craft and study. But producing public history is not only for public history university students, it is a promising curricular approach for other educational contexts as well.

Consider the lab-based experience where students co-constructed an exhibiton a local event that one history teacher educator required.[12] Professor Linda Sargent-Wood designed a project that required teacher candidates to create an interpretive sign to explain the 1928 disappearance of a honeymooning couple in nearby Grand Canyon National Park. The project included researching the event and then having to make choices about how to represent the mysterious story to the public on an interpretive sign. This was a group project and the professor chose the topic, but it demanded similar processes to those Arendes identifies, including research and translation of that research for a public audience.

High school students can also become producers of public historical representations. In *People Need to Know: Confronting History in the Heartland*, researcher Rob Lucas described and investigated one teacher's local "Community History Project."[13] This project, a partnership between the local public high school and library, was a key part of the teacher's curricula for more than a decade. Students selected local research topics, investigated those topics, and then presented their findings in a public product. These products included oral histories, essays for the local library's archives, web pages, and videos, and addressed many aspects of the local past, including the focus of Lucas' study, one particularly horrendous event, a mob lynching in 1930. In designing this curriculum, this teacher rejected the idea of the "disposable project," or one intended only for classroom use, in favor of products with public value. Students worked to create consequential products that local community audiences could learn from. Lucas' analysis shows that in projects such as this one, creating work of public value becomes an important learning goal for the activity. Additionally, the question – what should we contribute? – becomes part of the process of designing the curriculum and one that can be addressed collaboratively by teachers and students.[14] (Arendes points out that even identifying the research questions can be a collaborative activity between the outside community and students.) In integrating the production of public history into the school curriculum, students not only potentially learn aspects of communicating and constructing the past, but they also work on products that hold real value outside school.

Frequently students, if expected to create interpretations at all rather than parrot existing ones, usually do so for class credit and only the teacher's eyes. An authentic audience means that students must meet a higher bar – they must

12 Linda Sargent Wood, "Hooked on Inquiry: History Labs in the Methods Course," *History Teacher* 45, no. 4 (2012): 549–567.

13 Robert M. Lucas, *People Need to Know: Confronting History in the Heartland* (Washington D.C.: Peter Lang Publishing, 2016).

14 Ibid., 45.

argue and explain for a more diverse, and likely less informed, audience than their teacher. They must meet particular purposes such as education as well as historical accuracy and audience engagement. Producing public history allows for more learning about how audience and purpose matter to interpretive stances and narratives.

Producing public history artifacts also can, as these authors point out, integrate local, regional, and place-based stories into the curriculum. The Community History Project and teacher education project both require that students investigate the local past. Moving the lens from routinely beginning with national history to starting with local or regional pasts may be more interesting for students. It also opens up opportunities to help students understand the issue of scale in history, an important analytic historical approach.[15] Students face questions such as, What is the significance of this historical phenomenon, (i.e., person, place, event), for local, regional, national audiences? How does it fit into larger regional or international stories? Partnerships between local and regional public history organizations (e.g., museums, parks, historical associations) and the school both facilitate these kinds of projects and are supported by them.

And in producing public history, the existence and challenge of the heritage/history divide rise to the top of the work. Siebörger's South African case studies demonstrate the tendency for public history to focus on boosterism and a simplified, glorified and sanitized past – in other words a heritage approach. Producing public interpretations of the past thrusts students into this quandary of how to remember the past, what and whose story (or stories) to tell, and the purposes of that telling. Within a curriculum absent public history projects, students have to strive for historical accuracy and completeness but the political and social implications of their interpretive decisions, the necessity of communicating with a broader audience – these aspects of representing the past are less salient. Taking students through Arendes' "common working processes" of public history that includes both communicating historical knowledge and interpretation to a general audience, and reflecting on this communication make these tensions and choices explicit and unavoidable. Students potentially learn that different purposes shape how we represent the past and recognize existing tensions between scholarly products and public history products.

15 Robert B. Bain and Lauren McArthur Harris, Preface to *This Fleeting World: A Short History of Humanity*, by David Christian (Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group, LLC, 2008), ix–xv.

Public History Lessons – Summary and Conclusion

The papers in this collection suggest that situating students as producers or consumers of public history brings specific teaching and learning opportunities into the classroom. These include building on, and critiquing what students encounter outside school, and incorporating more secondary sources into the curriculum thereby facilitating students' understanding of how those types of sources work. Public history in the school curriculum may offer additional engagement and learning advantages given its frequent connections to place, and that students create representations with public value for a real audience. Curricula where the student becomes a skeptical consumer of historical narratives or a producer of purposeful public histories allow students to build skills of historical thinking, while delving deeply into particular historical topics and questions.

But whenever we talk about the contents of the school curriculum, certain challenges loom – the first being the fact of limited space in that curriculum. Instructional time is always at a premium in the history classroom. Is public history more worthy than other curricular topics and approaches? And if it is worth it, what public history topics should be used? Kühberger shows us that different students are familiar with different public representations – which ones should be included to meet teaching goals most effectively? Siebörger calls attention to a concern that time for studying national history is reduced if local and regional public history is included in the curriculum. These kinds of choices and concerns undoubtedly arise in decisions about what students will study in the classroom. And however they are navigated and resolved, engaging students in investigating and producing public history is necessarily contingent and dependent on teacher knowledge and available instructional materials and resources – important factors in the success of any curricular change.

Incorporating public history into the school curriculum also brings specific challenges that go beyond these general challenges of time, selection, teacher knowledge, and instructional materials. Our collective memory stories, our museums, memorials, monuments, and myths matter to us. And the truth of those stories is not necessarily a community's primary concern, it is the emotional connection, the group identity and pride, and the lessons that these representations provide that is valued most. Question the American story of Thanksgiving as a unifying event where Pilgrims and Indians became partners in the New World? Question the story of the dropping of the atomic bomb as necessary to ending World War II? Such questioning is not taken lightly nor routinely welcome outside the academy. The emotional connections and the satisfaction we get from public history representations and heritage stories is heartfelt and significant.

But what this means is that any inclusion of public history must be done in the context of a curriculum that values and prioritizes the teaching and learning of historical thinking and disciplinary competencies. Otherwise the risk in inserting heritage stories is that memorizing, or at best the skilled retelling, of those stories becomes the goal of history education. "Formulaic repetition" could dominate and then rather than discussing public history *in* the classroom as these papers do, the conversation needs to shift to focus on the classroom *as* a site of public history.

It is also precisely because of this risk that given a curriculum aimed at teaching historical thinking, public history should be a necessary part of the curriculum. Rather than hide from students these contrasting ways of approaching the past (i.e., heritage versus history), make them explicit and students can learn more about the differences between representing the past for truthful or mythic purposes.

Ultimately, including public history intentionally and thoughtfully in the school curricula is partly necessary to prepare students to wisely navigate and consider the multitude of representations of the past that they will encounter outside of school in their futures. Through well-designed lessons, students can learn to be critical consumers of the easy story and ask probing questions of interpretations related to purposes and audiences, evidentiary warrants, and missing voices and perspectives. One can teach historical thinking without explicitly addressing public representations of the past, but the curricular potential of using or creating those representations is too great to ignore. Siebörger tells us that "History curriculum designers need to pay far more attention to the dialectics of the relationship between curriculum content and topics and public history, in all its manifestations." This set of papers is a step in that direction.

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School as an Institution of Public History

Mario Carretero

Imagining the Nation throughout School History Master Narratives

Questions regarding how people construct historical narratives in current societies have taken center stage in recent public and academic discussions, particularly since the seminal work on nations as "imagined communities".[1] The master narrative has been developed as a unit of analysis in current social scientific and historical thought. Heller describes master narratives as general interpretation patterns.[2] Their function is making sense of the past, present and future of a cultural community. The importance of this topic is reflected in many current political debates that are characterized by their increased "historisation".[3] Billig refers to how politicians invoke events of national history in order to meet their political agendas.[4] Analyses of school history contents, from the perspective of the history discipline[5] or from the history education point of view,[6] reveal their close resemblance to "official narratives" that aim at historically legitimizing the present and future political agenda. In relation to master narratives and associated historical representations intense debates are taking place about the kind of historical contents that should be taught. What history should be transmitted in schools and through Museums, TV series and other formal and informal educational devices, is under discussion.[7] These debates starting in the mid 1990s are still carried on in many countries. The salience and significance of this issue is revealed in the

1 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

2 Agnes Heller, *European master narratives about freedom,u in Handbook of contemporary European social theory*, ed. Gerard Delanty (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006).

3 Anouk Smeekes, The presence of the past. Historical rooting of national identity and current group dynamics (Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University, 2014).

4 Michael Billig, Banal Nationalism (London: Sage, 1995).

5 Stefan Berger, "De-nationalizing history teaching and nationalizing it differently! Some reflections on how to defuse the negative potential of national(ist) history teaching," in History education and the construction of national identities, eds. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Marof national identi (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

6 Stuart Foster, "Re-thinking historical textbooks in a globalized world."ing *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, eds. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Maronal Identitiescal (Charlotte, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

7 Peter Seixas, "National history and beyond," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 6 (2010).

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"History Wars" sustained in numerous societies throughout the last decade (see Carretero 2011, Taylor and Guyver 2011).[8]

History Wars have led to the revision of the historical narratives in which, as Hobsbawm said, "the nation is invented"[9] (see also Berger, Eriksonas and Mycock 2008[10]). Research conducted in several countries in the last ten years has documented how the production of school historical narratives is closely related to the construction of national discourses[11] Interestingly, this revision of historical narratives coincides with, and probably originates from, the intensification of the globalization process and its social, political and economic effects. Profound transformations such as the crisis of political identities, the emergence of new discussions about nationalism and giving new significance to the question "who are we" affect the history that is taught to young people in any society. In the European Union, for example, several countries have undertaken a reinterpretation of the 'national histories' taught in schools in light of the need to promote the idea of a common future.[12] These different cases reveal intellectual and educational movements in which a reconsideration of the past is emerging, favouring the profound revision of national and local histories both at the academic level and at the school level.

Tensions in History Education and their effects on representation

Building upon and extending this tradition of research a new and important line of questioning has emerged: How do the conflicting narratives found in academic and public debates and in school textbooks, manifest in students' minds? How do the characteristic features of the social production of historical narratives

8 Mario Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism. Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (Charlotte, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2011).
Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver,,*History Wars and Robert Guyver ,, 2011 tory and Memorie*(Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing, 2011).
9 Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
10 Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas, and Andrew Mycock, eds., *Narrating the nation: Representings in history, media and the arts* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2008).
11 Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of nation-state, historical knowledge and school history education,a *Review of Research in Education* 32, no. 1 (2008).
12 Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, eds., *Beyond the canon: History for the 21st century* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2007).

translate into the processes of individual consumption of historical narratives? Our empirical work expands on this last line of inquiry.[13]

For these issues considering the objectives of History Education is necessary, as they contribute to the construction and imagination of the nation. Different researchers have considered the existence of competing objectives of school history.[14] Carretero[15] (see also Carretero and Bermudez 2012[16]) has redefined these objectives as "romantic" and "enlightened", because their features and functions stem from their respective intellectual roots in Romanticism and the Enlightenment. In other words, it is supposed that history has been taught in all national school systems attending to two different -and to some extent contradictory- goals: to make students "love their country"[17] and to make them "understand their past".[18] In a romantic vein, history education is a fundamental strategy used to achieve: (a) a positive assessment of the past, present and future of one's own social group, both local and national, and b) an identification with the country's political history. In an enlightened vein, fostering critical citizens capable of informed and effective participation in the historical changes of both the nation and the rest of the world has been aimed at. This can include the criticism of the own local or national community, or even larger political units. In their more recent manifestation in several countries, enlightened goals translate into the following disciplinary and cognitive objectives: (a) to understand the past in a complex manner, which usually implies mastering the discipline's conceptual categories[19]; (b) to distinguish different historical periods, through the appropriate adequate comprehension of historical time (Barton, 2008); (c) to

13 Mario Carretero and Floor van Alphen, "Do master narratives change among high school students? A characterization of how national history is represented," *Cognition and Instruction* 32, no. 3 (2014), doi: 10.1080/07370008.2014.919298.

14 Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

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15 Mario Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism. Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (Charlotte, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2011).

16 Mario Carretero and Angela Bermudez, "ario Carretero and Angela Be*Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

17 Martha C. Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen, eds., *For Love of Country?: A New Democracy Forum on the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002).

18 Peter Seixas, ed., *Theorizing historical consciousness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

19 Mario Carretero and Peter Lee, rLearning Historical Concepts.e in *Handbook of Learning Sciences*, 2nd ed., ed., Keith Sawyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2015).

understand historical multi-causality and to relate the past with the present and the future[20]; and (e) to approach the methodology used by historians.[21]

These romantic and enlightened goals of history education have coexisted from the very beginning of school history teaching and developed over time. The romantic goals were the most important from the nineteenth century until approximately 1960. Even nowadays they are the only goals of History Education in a number of countries. Therefore, national histories "were born to be taught". They are contained in a variety of records such as museums,[22] monuments and patriotic celebrations.

Patriotic rituals and heritage celebrations play an important role in many countries.[23] After the 1960s and 1970s, the disciplinary goals started to have an increasing importance.[24] When enlightened goals were included as part of the historical contents they were considered perfectly compatible with the romantic objectives. However, several studies have indicated the tension this might generate in students' minds.[25] In this vein, it is essential to clarify how this tension is affecting the understanding of historical contents, and how the romantic goals of history instruction might hinder the comprehension of a more complex and disciplinary history. This becomes particularly clear in colonial and postcolonial history teaching. Spanish school textbooks have traditionally omitted essential issues in the American colonization such as the subjugation of indigenous people or slavery as a generalized social and economic practice.[26] Therefore, it could be said that aiming at loving the Spanish country has had serious consequences for understanding its colonial past. In contrast, these colonial issues are highlighted in Mexican

20 Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*.

21 Chaunces Monte-Sano, hDisciplinary Literacy in History: An Exploration of the Historical Nature of Adolescents' Writing,is*Journal of the Learning Sciences* 19, no. 4 (2010).

22 Simon Knell, Peter Aronsson, and Arne Bugge Amundsen eds., *National Museums. New Studies from around the World* (London: Routledge, 2011).

23 Mario Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism.*
Joel Westheimer, *Pledging allegiance: The politics of patriotism in America's schools* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007).

24 Carretero and Bermudez, *Constructing Histories*.

25 Cesar Lopez, Mario Carretero, and María Rodriguez-Moneo, "Telling a national narrative that is not your own. Does it enable disciplinary historical consumption?" Cultuture & Psychology 20, no. 4 (2014).

26 Todorov, Tzvetan. *The conquest of America: The question of the other* (New York: Harper and Collins, 1999).
Marc Ferro, *The use and abuse of history: Or how the past is taught to children.* London: Routledge. New and revised edition in French (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1984–2002) (vgl. Kommentar in Bibliographie (SB))

or Brazilian textbooks.[27] Similar findings are reported when former colonizer and colonized countries are compared in France/Algeria, Great Britain/India, China/Japan[28] and Japan/Korea (The Academy of Korean Studies, 2005). These tensions are not only a matter of controversial issues in recent history, but remote history matters are really at the bottom. That is, the historical issues at the roots of national identity construction are a fundamental part of the problem. For this reason, it can be said that even nowadays historical master narratives are playing an important role in the imagination of the nation. They serve the romantic goals of history education particularly well. And their influence is becoming more widespread and more intense in the emergence of new nationalisms in Europe and other parts of the world. As Alridge[29] and Straub[30] have indicated, these "master narratives" pervade underneath a variety of specific contents and through time. While specific narratives may change frequently, these underlying master narratives rarely change, and manifest once and again in subsequent revisions of history contents.

In American textbooks the vast majority of national narratives are organized around the concepts of progress and freedom and students reuse these motifs to explain past events.[31] Thus the resistance of Native Americans to the waves of European settlement is seen as an obstacle to achieve progress. In a similar vein, the Spanish master narrative is based on the Reconquest and the expulsion of the Muslims (Alvarez Junco, 2011).[32] National narratives raise certain questions as to what happens when people identifying with the 'other' in these narratives have to appropriate them. How do immigrants and minority groups receive and appropriate school historical knowledge in general and master narratives in particular? In Spain, a country with much Latin American immigration, the American colonization is represented in a very positive way.[33] How does this affect a migrant's representation? And how do national master narratives, in the societies where the immigrants come from, present historical developments, particularly in relation to colonization process? So far there are hardly any studies about these issues, even though the immigration process has intensified. In

27 Mario Carretero, Liliana Jacott, and AsunciónMario Carretero, Liliana Jacott, and Asunciextbooks: are Mexican and Spanish students taught the same story?"*xLearning and Instruction* 12, no. 6 (2002).

28 Ferro, *use and abuse of history*.

29 Derrick P. Alridge, "The limits of master narratives in history textbooks: An analysis of representations of Martin Luther King, Jr." *Teachers College Record*, 108 (2006).

30 JDerrick raub, ed., *Narration, identity, and historical consciousness* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2005).

31 Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History*.

32 Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism*.

33 Carretero, Jacott, and L and ero, Jac*Learning history through textbooks*.

Europe, for example, contemporary political debates demonstrate an increased "historisation" of national citizenship.[34] Politicians stress the need for citizens, both migrants and natives, to gain more knowledge of the national heritage. They claim that increased knowledge of national heritage will lead to a much-needed community cohesion in today's globalized societies.[35] Nevertheless, the implications of that knowledge for the inclusion of migrants and for intergroup relations in multi-cultural societies are dubious. That is, until a more complete picture of how historical knowledge is represented by immigrant citizens is drawn.

Uncovering a new angle on master narrative representation, Wineburg's study on the cross-generational communication about the Vietnam War shows the production of a national rhetoric that homogenizes popular views despite the complexities of the lived past. In the context of the European Union, Welzer, Moller & Tschuggnall (2002) have studied how different generations make sense of the Nazi era and the Holocaust. They present fascinating discourse and cognitive analyses about how collective memories could include sophisticated ways of historical denial. Recent international conferences (http://www.schoolxmemory.eu/) demonstrate a heightened interest in school and family memories and the necessity to studying generational influences. Unfortunately, there are hardly any studies about generational transmission concerning historical master narratives in the context of immigration, even though very relevant questions can be asked that could clarify the relation between history representation and national identity. How do first, second and third generation migrants coincide or differ in their take on national histories of the countries of origin and destination? Do conflicts arise between generations in their representation? Or is there homogenization between them and a conflict with other groups' historical representations? More in general, studying generational transmission, immigration and the colonization's influence on history representation might further clarify the tensions involved in imagining the nation.

The contributions of collective memory and social and cultural psychology studies

From the perspective of socio-cultural psychology, official narratives on the nation's origin constitute cultural tools that configure schematic templates in

34 Smeekes, *Presence of the past*.

35 Jan W. Duyvendak, The politics of home: belonging and nostalgia in Western Europe and the United States (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

the minds of students.[36] Schematic templates define the underlying structure of historical narratives and of the understanding people have of these narratives. National master narratives have been primarily studied in the context of their production, that is, in history textbooks and in other cultural devices related to the public uses of history.[37] Much less work has been done on how exactly students "consume" master narratives (Wertsch & Rozin, 2000). Importantly, the process of learning or consumption is more than a passive reproduction of the produced educational content. Rather, it is actively appropriated and processes of resistance, expressed by counter narratives, have been found to occur.[38]

Present research has shown three key characteristics of these national narratives.[39] First, the nation and nationals are established as the main historical subjects of these narratives. They are displayed as if they were timeless and static entities and encountered throughout history. Second, the actions of the national group are always judged morally positive in contrast to foreign actions. In other words, the past is presented in an ethnocentric, biased manner. Finally, a conflict over a national territory, that stresses its supposed atemporal connection to the nationals, is one of the narrative's main themes.[40] The key paradox is that this common national identity – which constitutes the subject of national narratives – that is meant to bind people in the past and the present even includes events from the past in which the nation and the nationals did not exist at all. This misconnection between the past and present creates a misunderstanding of the nation and national identity. As Billig coined it, it creates beliefs based on a "banal nationalism".[41]

Research on social psychology and collective memory has stressed the importance of history perceptions in shaping national identity.[42] The contents of collective memory,[43] transmitted from one generation to another, are collective constructs that within a given society define rights and obligations, legitimize

36 James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

37 Alridge, *Limits of master narratives*.

38 Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*.

39 see Carretero and Bermudez, *Constructing Histories*.

40 Cesar Lopez, Mario Carretero, and María Rodriguez-Moneo, "Conquest or reconquest? Students'onquest or reconquest? Stuedded in a historical narrative," Journal of the Learning Sciences (2014).

41 Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.

42 Stephen Reicher and Nick Hopkins, *Self and nation: Categorization, contestation and mobilisation* (London: Sage Publishing, 2001).

43 Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

political agreements and determine right and wrong actions according to historical experience.[44] This research is therefore consistent with social identity and cognition theories, which postulate that people who define themselves in terms of their membership in a specific group are motivated to evaluate their group positively (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This national identification connects the feeling of self-esteem to in-group esteem and establishes a cultural continuity between past and present. The result is a simplified understanding of history that is skewed favorably toward one's national group and exclusive to the 'other' (Barreiro, Wainryb & Carretero, 2015; Kadianaky, Eleni & Carretero, in press). Furthermore, a number of studies focuses on how for example the history of colonialism, slavery and genocide leads to group-based emotions (i.e. collective guilt, shame) and how historical events like these relate to attitudes towards intergroup relations (i.e. attitudes of compensation). There is also a reverse focus, namely on the 'victims' of conflict and on their group-based emotions (i.e. collective victimhood) and their attitudes towards intergroup relations (e.g. Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori & Gundar, 2009).

Cognitive change of historical concepts and narratives

Finally, considering research on cognitive development and conceptual change processes is also fruitful, because learning processes and conceptual abilities seriously affect how school historical contents are represented throughout school experiences. Research on conceptual change has received much attention in the last decades. It is important for capturing the process of change from intuitive and everyday knowledge to complex and expert knowledge (Vosniadou, 2013). In this field, initially focused on natural scientific knowledge, there has been increased attention to social scientific and historical. Our research group[45] has developed an argument on how the work of Koselleck[46] on the change of historical

44 Chris S. Sibley, James H. Liu, John Duckitt, and Sammyh S. Khan, "Social representations of history and the legitimation of social inequality: The form and function of historical negation," *European Journal of Psychology* 38, no. 3 (2008).

45 Mario Carretero, Jose A. Castorina, and Leonardo Levinas, "Conceptual change and historical narratives about the nation. A theoretical and empirical approach," in *International Handbook of Research on Conceptual Change*, 2nd ed., ed., Stella Vosniadou (New York: Routledge, 2013).

46 Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures past: On the semantics of historical time* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004).

concepts could illuminate cognitive change research on history concepts. The argument establishes a relation between the change of concepts throughout different historical periods and conceptual change across cognitive and social development of individuals and social groups. Cognitive and educational studies have analyzed how students develop core historical concepts (Barton, 2008).[47] As it was stated before, historical narratives have been studied as to their contributing role in the construction process of national and cultural identities (Hammack, 2011).[48] However, this kind of narratives, apart from involving a number of events in relation to a story, also contain social, political and historical concepts. These concepts can refer to either rather concrete social objects and problems or to abstract ones (see Box 6.1). Our studies show that historical concepts such as nation, revolution and independence are expressed within the framework of the general structures provided by master narratives.[49] Therefore, students use a concept to construct a narrative and, at the same time, that narrative expresses the concept itself. Concepts thus play a double role in historical narratives. On one level of analysis they are tools for building narratives, giving them meaning and direction. At the same time the characteristics of the concepts are developed through the narratives, which contextualize and particularize them.

Box 6.1: Dimensions of Analysis for Master Narratives

Narrative Dimensions	Main questions and analytic categories
Historical and Social Subject	Who is the main voice of the narrative? Which groups are represented? That is, what inclusion/exclusion process is going on? How does the selection of the subject influence the whole narrative? Is the national subject a timeless one?
Identification Process	Which group do the participants identify with? Do they apply a "we" versus "them" structure? Do the "we" and "they" belong to the present or to the past or to both?
Main Historical Figures	Who are the main figures? How are they conceived and valued? Are they considered in their social and historical context or just as individual quasi mythical characters? Are they presented as heroes?

(continued)

47 Mario Carretero and Peter Lee, "Learning Historical Concepts," in *Handbook of Learning Sciences*, 2nd ed., ed. Keith Sawyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2015).

48 Phillip L. Hammack, *Narrative and the politics of identity: The cultural psychology of Israeli and Palestinian youth* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011).

49 Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Marik Rodríguez-Moneo, eds. *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

Box 6.1: (continued)

Narrative Dimensions	Main questions and analytic categories
Main Topic of the Narrative	What is the main goal of the narrative? I.e., searching for freedom, defending the national or local interests? Is this goal considered in a complex historical context or in a simple and anecdotic way?
Moral and Civic Values	What kind of moral and civic values are displayed in the narratives? How do these values apply to different national groups?
Nation & National Identity Conceptions	Are these conceptions socially constructed or naturalized? Is national identity viewed as a timeless entity?

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Marco Zerwas

The German Federal President History Competition. A Public History Occasion

Exploring the past: New audiences and expeditions

The German History Competition

In Germany, there is a veritable landscape of student competitions that allows students to show their ability to work and think independently, to compete, and not least to obtain a meaningful position in their personal vita. Besides Olympiads in the STEM-subjects there are 'speech clubs' and additional offers from the humanities to kindle the participation of young people.[1] In most cases, these competitions are awarded by the government or foundations; in the case of private financing, the competitions are regularly subsidized by government funding or placed under the auspices of the politics.[2]

An outstanding example of an established student competition in Germany is the 'History Competition of the Federal President'. Since 1973, the competition has been tendered by the Körber-Foundation with the aim to motivate students to engage with the history of Germany. Its regulation states: "The history competition of the Federal President hopes to awaken the interest for the own history, promote independence and strengthen a sense of responsibility in children and adolescents."[3] The methodical access is determined by 'research-based learning' and 'life-world orientation': young people get in touch with history, which took place right on the own doorstep – often continuing into the present. The

1 An overview of in Germany advertised student competitions can be found on the website of the 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft bundesweiter Schülerwettbewerbe' (*consortium of nationwide student competitions*), which has set itself the goal to promote the participation of pupils in pedagogically worthwile and learning supporting competitions, accessed March 18, 2016, http://www.bundeswettbewerbe.de/wettbewerbe.html.

2 In most cases, this assignment is executed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the ‚Kultusministerkonferenz' (*assembly of ministers of education of German states*) – and not least: by the German Federal President.

3 The eligibility requirements of the competition, accessed March 18, 2016, http://www.koerber-stiftung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/bildung/geschichtswettbewerb/pdf/2016/Teilnahmebedingungen.pdf.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-007

competition was launched by the former Federal President Gustav Heinemann and Kurt Körber, an enterpriser and philanthropist from Hamburg.[4]

In a six-month project, students trace – often guided by their teachers – a history topic in their environment. The findings and results are elaborated on, for example, in a written report, an exhibition or through a movie. The principle of the history competition is called 'inquiry learning': pupils research in archives, consult experts, conduct inquiries with local politicians, carry out street surveys and perform oral history interviews with witnesses.[5]

The Competition and Public History – a combined endeavor?

It is obvious that the Competition and Public History both cover the spectrum of possible topics, as well as the methodological approach and the design and presentation of any research:

The definition and objectives of Public History research frequently includes phrases such as communication, engagement, cooperation and collaboration. These could nearly be phrases of the biennial competition description. Public History as well as the History Competition could be described as "the communication of history to the wider public" or "the engagement of the public in the practice and production of history"[6] as it is proclaimed on the NCPH website. Thus, the term Public History is highly complex and deeply evocative as it attempts to construct a historic identity.[7]

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4 Josef Schmid and Dirk Wegner, *Kurt A. Körber. Annäherungen an einen Stifter* (Hamburg: Edition Körber Stiftung, 2002), 206–225. The first competition was the result of a conversation between Kurt A. Körber and the former German President Gustav Heinemann. They talked about Heinemann's desire to bring the democratic traditions of Germany into the public awareness. Heinemann argued that there "the benefits of Democratic pioneers of the 19th and early 20th century could bring political self-confidence" to the German public. The reflection of the roots of German democracy should lead to a positive identification with German past and promote the social understanding that a broad study of history is indispensable to establish democratic traditions.

5 Bodo von Borries, *German History. A Pupil's Competition for the Federal Presidents's Prize* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1989), 19–27.

6 The website of the National Council of Public History, accessed March 18, 2016, http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/.

7 In its simplest meaning, the definition of Public History refers to an use of historical method outside the academia. See Robert Kelley, "Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects," *The Public Historian* 1, no. 1, (1978): 16–28. Nonetheless, one thing is clear: Public History aims to convey a view of past through narrative communication in a concise, clear form; in a perspective addressed to the public.

Moreover, there is a compelling similarity in the circumstances of development of the Competition and the origin of the Public History movement. Both of them date back to the early 70s and have endured for the last 40 years. Therefore I invite you to look back with me at this period and pursue the timeline of development of Public History and the History Competition.

A new view of the past

Public History in the United States during the seventies

The Civil Rights movement in the USA during the fifties and sixties provided a new perspective on historical study which changed the relationship between the public and the history in a way that public perception and interpretation of the past were viewed as equal to that of professional academic historians.[8] The phrase "Public History" first formally appeared in the USA during the early seventies. Public History continued to be linked to wider socialist movements, aligned to political liberal ideals and followed democratic approaches to history, for instance with workshops and workers' education programs.[9] This period represented the public fighting for a voice beyond traditional authority. In some senses, Public History aimed to make the past more consensual, with individuals and organizations showing a range of interests in interpreting the past; this includes topics such as racial debates, feminism, and working-class histories.[10] Historians, both academic and Public Historians, realized the active role the public could play in uncovering hidden and untold stories that provided a more comprehensive story of the past. Subsequently, the multiple "Publics" started to play a major role in historical research.

Formation of the History Competition in Germany

The German Competition has had a number of phases; more precisely the preoccupation with history is closely related to the political climate and the prevailing

8 Ludmilla Jane Jordanova, *History in Practise* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010).
9 Peter Claus and John Marriot, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practise* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), 217.
10 Michael Scardaville, "Looking backward toward the future: an assessment of the public history movement," *The Public Historian* 9, no. 4 (1987).

historical culture. It would be presumptuous to ascribe it a leading role, but it would also be inappropriate to see a merely reflection of social reality. In my opinion, the Competition has certainly contributed to the political and ideological consciousness of participating students and institutions.

The late sixties were a time of crisis for the cultural development of the Federal Republic. During the 1968 student revolt, a part of the intellectual youth was no longer able to share the political views and traditional views of history of their fathers' generation. An 'extra-parliamentary opposition' stood vehemently against the government and the establishment by stirring up public opinion with blockades and demonstrations.[11] Politically, too, this period took place against the backdrop of significant shifts: A change of government to the, until then, oppositional Social Democratic Party initiated a correction of German foreign policy – especially towards to the East.

At the same time, German historiography faced a deep crisis: for young graduates traditions were expendable, older historians clung to conventional political history of states and national-conservative viewpoints. Even the newly arising social history was referred to as irrelevant. A public pursuit of history beyond school barely took place in the years after 1945: the defeat in the war, the loss of territory and the hushed up Holocaust had left uncertainties, the study of past was sidelined.[12]

Federal President Heinemann has been requiring a re-analyzing history since his election in 1969. He called for alternative traditions to be developed instead of maintaining the lack of history: the "German freedom movement of 1848" and the existing "democratic traditions" of the Weimar Republic of 1918 should contribute to a modern and democratic image of history.[13] Rather late, these requirements were followed in the History Competition:

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11 Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung 1948–1990* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999). In the decade from the mid-sixties to 1974 Wolfrum states the establishment of a separate state of historical consciousness and a left-wing "Sonderweg" (*special path*) thesis for the Federal Republic of Germany: Historical consciousness based no longer upon ritualization but on "political discourses" (p. 353).

12 Thomas Etzemüller, *Sozialgeschichte als politische Geschichte: Werner Conze und die Neuorientierung der westdeutschen Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945* (München: Oldenbourg, 2011), 190; 262–267. See also Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*. 2nd ed. (München: Beck, 1997).

13 Gustav W. Heinemann, "Die Freiheitsbewegungen in der deutschen Geschichte, Ansprache aus Anlaß der Eröffnung der Erinnerungsstätte in Rastatt, Rastatt 26. Juni 1974," in *Allen Bürgern verpflichtet. Reden des Bundespräsidenten 1969–1974*, *Reden und Schriften 1*, ed. Gustav W. Heinemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1975), 36–44. For Heinemann was the manner in

History Competition 1974–1976:	
Understanding German Freedom movements*	
1974	The German Revolution 1848/49
	4,525 participants/760 contributions
1975	From the German Empire to the Republic of Weimar (1918/19)
	2,721 participants/464 contributions
1976	Democratic Start 1945/46
	3,226 participants/505 contributions

***** All statistics values are taken from the website of the Körber-Foundation, accessed March 18, 2016, http://www.koerber-stiftung.de/bildung/geschichtswettbewerb/portraet/historie.html.

The three competitions 'Understanding German freedom movements' (1974–1976) called for research about the revolution of 1848–49, the founding of the Weimar Republic in 1918–19 and the new beginning in 1945–46. After initially great success, there were falls in the number of participants, so a new series of Competitions was opened:

About the mid-seventies, the crisis of political consciousness was largely overcome; in the public debate, new issues (such as the oil price shock, long-term unemployment as well as national and international terrorism) dominated. Pressing current problems, however, have not become the competition's focus, but its development has reflected the transformation of historical consciousness and academic historiography.

The Competition became part of the rising new micro history. Moreover, a change in the kinds of sources took place. From formerly more assiduous study of literature tasks covered by the changing competitive topics, the inclusion of family estates became real: letters and diaries, photo collections, newspapers, etc. The academic social history "top down" was confronted with an interest in concrete people – within the sense of the Public History movement. Exploring students used the survey of the older generation as a research method, although the academic research of history had only discovered it in a few exceptional projects for themselves.

which a society pursues its tradition of education, essential for its future. He looked for a way off a primarily representative orientated historical culture towards "fostering history ... in front of ones own door." [p. 40].

History Competition 1977–1979:	
Social History of Everyday-life	
1977	Working-World and Technique through Changing Times
	5,023 participants/1.271 contributions
1978	"Living" through the Ages
	4,112 participants/991 contributions
1979	"Daily Closing-Time" and Leisure through the Ages
	3,995 participants/756 contributions

Bodo von Borries, a German historian, was already engaged in the early competition (as a scientific advisor, in the jury and later by qualitative analyzes of competition entries), he soon realized that an unreflective Applied Oral History brought forth "nostalgic-romantic transfiguration" or even "drastically-pointed black outs" of the reference person's youth.[14] Fears of academics historians about the limits and difficulties of oral history seemed to have come true: The operation of memory and mental function of remembering stories needed to be considered carefully.

The new topics had, however, a reinforcing effect on the participation of the competition. The sectors 'Working-World' (1977), 'Living' (1978) and 'Daily Closing-Time' (1979) picked up three key areas of life, which they recorded successfully. It is astonishing in retrospect that the micro history underlying theory, the "process of civilization" by Norbert Elias[15] (written in 1939) was successfully distributed from the mid-70s on; in the same time the 'Annales school' of French historiography[16] or 'The Social Construction of Reality' of Berger/Luckmann[17] achieved a prominent status.

14 Bodo von Borries, "Ein Übungsfeld für Selbsterprobung und Geschichtserkundung. Grundgedanke und Wandlungen des Schülerwettbewerbs," in *Geschichte, wie sie nicht im Schulbuch steht. Der Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten*, ed. Jörg Calließ (Rehburg-Loccum: Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 1991).

15 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Vol.I. *The History of Manner*s, reprint 1st ed. of 1939, supplemented by a preface (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969).

16 The main scholarly outlet of the Annales-School has been the journal *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* ("Annals of economic and social history"), founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, which both broke radically with traditional historiography by insisting on the importance of taking all levels of society into consideration and pointing out mentalities as a part of historical interest. In Germany, the Annales school was of little interest until the political upheavals 1968; an enhanced reception began only in the 1970s.

17 See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966). The social constructionist approach of Berger and Luckmann points out that the social order in which people live, can

Consolidation of Public History and the Competition in the eighties

The practice of Public History expanded in the 1980s, particularly in the USA, Australia and Canada. More and more university programs were realized. During this decade more than 50 universities in the USA arranged courses, integrating public outreach activities specifically linked to communicating and engaging the public in their past.[18] Government agencies and universities came together to adopt formal approaches to investigate and communicate the history of local areas. This included working with marginalized case studies. There was a focus not just on the new research methods but also on communicating this new perspective on history.[19] During this period, in the US the subfield of Public History was academically established as a valid part of history, although this was more a pragmatic engagement, and not theoretically founded.[20] In Germany, the national growth of, and support for, Public History developed albeit at a slower pace than in the US, whereas the theoretic grass roots and fundamentals were vigorously discussed in academic debates.[21] But also professional historians discovered the public as their audience and wrote more and more for an interested group of non-professionals.

These new public pressures required history to justify its wider role in society. Nonetheless, in Germany the concept of Public History was still an activity principally performed by local history groups ('*Geschichtswerkstätten*'), private historians without an academic background, and individuals, usually within the working class. Non-professionals – sometimes instructed by professional historians -, were given the chance to work on a local history project.[22] Academic

not be referred to an objectively constructed past but as a communicative process produced by humans themselves. By this it is evident that history contributes a reciprocal influence of cultural knowledge resources. "The symbolic universe also orders history. It locates all collective events in a cohesive unity that includes past, present and future." [92–104].

18 Paul Ashton and Hilda Kean,.*People and their Pasts. Public History Today* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1–15.

19 Faye Sayer, *Public History. A practical guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 12.

20 Phyllis K. Leffler and Joseph Brent, *Public and Academic History: A Philosophy and Paradigm* (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1990), 82–97.

21 Simone Rauthe, *Public History in den USA und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Freiburg: Klartext, 2001), 154–160.

22 Etta Grotrian, Geschichtswerkstätten und alternative Geschichtspraxis. In *History Sells! Angewandte Geschichte als Wissenschaft und Markt*. eds. Wolfgang Hardtwig and Alexander Schug (Stuttgart: Franz-Steiner-Verlag, 2009), 243–253.

historical science animadverted these non-professionals because of their theoretical shortcomings and their uncritical identification to the explored objects.[23]

Coming back to the History Competition: In January 1979 the TV-event 'Holocaust' provoked a national interest in history and the German responsibility in World War II.[24] Even German pupils were confronted with their grandparent's conceivable guilt. The generation of young people did not impeach their grandparents in the confrontational way their own parents had done some years ago. They asked their grandparents about the personal mistakes during National Socialism and the war in a composed manner. This opened the opportunity for a clarifying conversation between the generations. But even in the historical research it came to a new development. The personalization and demonization of Adolf Hitler changed to questions for the structure and the function of the regime.[25] Who was promoter, who was beneficiary of the system? The Competition reacted quickly. The next themes dealt with everyday life during the National Socialism:

It is obvious, the numbers of participants tripled compared to the last Competition about 'daily closing time' in 1979. This great number of

23 Alfred Frei and Michael Wildt, "Hirsebrei und Seifenblasen. Die Geschichtswerkstätten und ihre Kritiker," in *L'80. Zeitschrift für Literatur und Politik* 39 (1986). See also Lutz Niethammer, "Fragen – Antworten – Fragen," in "*Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten*". *Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern*, eds. Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato (Berlin: Dietz, 1985), 426. Niethammer, one of the most popular Oral Historians in Germany, delimitates to overstate the oral history results, especially to generalize without reflection.

24 The series tells in four parts the story of the Holocaust from the perspective of the (fictional) Weiss family, who has been German Jews. Produced in 1978, the US-miniseries aired in Western Germany in January 1979 and led to an increased public interest for the crimes committed during the Nazi era. Watched by 20 million people (about 50% of West Germans population) it first brought the matter of the genocide in World War II to a widespread public.

25 At the beginning of the eighties it were mainly the historians Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen who shifted the perspective of historical research away from a all overlapping person of Adolf Hitler towards the structures and apparatuses of the Nazi regime. Mommsen has forcefully contended that the Holocaust cannot be reduced to Hitler alone, but was instead a product of a process of "cumulative radicalization" in Nazi Germany which led to the Holocaust. This 'functionalist' Nazi research also asked about the responsibility of individuals in the Nazi dictatorship, whereas many conservative historians emphasized the role of Hitler and a handful of vassals as instigation for all political and social developments, and thus concentrated the fault to a few prominent members of the political, military, and economic leadership of Nazi Germany. See Martin Broszat, "Soziale Motivation und Führer-Bindung des Nationalsozialismus," in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 18, no. 4, (1970) and referring to the "cumulative radicalization" see Hans Mommsen, "Die Realisierung des Utopischen. Die 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' im Dritten Reich," in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 9, no. 3, (1983).

History Competition 1980–1985:
Outstanding Contemporary History

1980/81	Everyday-life during the NS-time. 1933–1940 12,843 participants/2,172 contributions
1982/83	Everyday-life during the NS-time. 1940–1945 5,894 participants/1,168 contributions
1984/85	From the collapse to recontruction. Everyday-life in post-war Germany 3,994 participants/708 contributions

contributions brought about the modification that from now on the yearly competition was changed to a biennial duration. The Nazis in former history lessons were the 'others', the different people. Now, it came to the surface that even neighbors and own family members were integrated in the 'machine' of Nazi Germany.

After years, again the number of participants was declining. During the eighties a deep pessimism came up in society: Ecologically disasters, increasing armament and impoverishment in the 'third world' were frequent problems in public discussion. The new series of Competitions asked legitimate questions, but admonished to reflection and foundation. In a way the series of 'Social history of everyday life' (1977–1979) was completed. The Competition was, year for year, related to the most obvious public theme:

History Competition 1986–1991:
Current Issues

1986/87	Environment has got history 5,004 participants/1,016 contributions
1988/89	Our place – homeland for strangers? 5,646 participants/1,005 contributions
1990/91	"tempo, tempo ..." People and traffic in history 6,311 participants/1,226 contributions

In the year 1986 the catastrophe of Chernobyl shocked the European society and vitalized the increase of the Green party in Western Germany. Pollution and the anti nuclear movement were their salient topics in this time.[26] Or another

26 Melanie Arndt, "Verunsicherung vor und nach der Katastrophe. Von der Anti-AKW-Bewegung zum Engagement für die 'Tschernobyl-Kinder'," in *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 7, no. 2, (2010).

example: At the end of the eighties the large number of late repatriates and immigrant workers that became established in the country caused a short time of right-wing violence.[27] Even to this unpleasant development the Competition reacted. The competition of 1988/89 animated works about homeland and strangers. To the Körber-Foundation it was important to set an example against xenophobia and for integration. Again that topic led more then 5,000 participants to join in the Competition.

It would lead too far to mention all competitions from that point on. Just let me give an overview of the topics from 1992 on:

History Competition 1992–2015:
Tendency to anthropological issues
Monuments: reminder – annoyance *(1992–93)* | East-West History – teenagers ask for *(1994/95)* | From the workhouse to addiction counseling. The history of helping *(1996/97)* | Rebellion, Action, Change – Protest in the Past *(1998/99)* | Animals in our history *(2000–01)* | Leaving-Arrive: Migration in history *(2002/03)* | Avoid a painful? Working in the history *(2004/05)* | Together – Against each other? Young and old in the past *(2006/07)* | Heroes: adored – misunderstood – lost *(2008–09)* | Nuisance, Outrage – Scandals *(2010/11)* | Foreigners – Neighbors *(2012–13)* | Being Different – Outsider in the past *(2014/15)*

Remarkable is the point that the Competition's topics changed to an anthropologic manner: The issues have been opened in the course of the development of a historical culture of a collective memory and memory handling. In times of rapid change, the resolution of traditions and self-evident employment with past seems to be an almost anthropologic human requirement.

Conclusion

The History Competition has had an important influence on the engagement with the past and history to the German public:

1. It has placed topics at the center of attention that would not have been considered in that dimension by media, school and history research.

27 Wilfried Heller, Hans-Joachim Bürkner and Hans-Jürgen Hofmann, "Migration, Segregation und Integration von Aussiedlern – Ursachen, Zusammenhänge und Probleme," in *Aspekte der Zuwanderung, Akkulturation und emotionalen Bindung*, ed. Hartmut Heller (Erlangen: Verlag der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 2002).

2. The Competition promoted methods of research (like Oral History, street surveys and so on) being determined by the "research-based learning" and "life-world orientation".
3. As a part of the Public History movement the Competition supported local perspectives on the past that had been unconsidered by the academic history research.
4. Social and micro history awarded a new significance.
   The impact has not only been on the pupils that took part in the Contest. It has also had influence on the formulation of tasks and the development of curricula.

I will not declare the Competition only as a part of the Public History movement although it had great overlapping with the history of Public History. Anyway, the competition as well as the Public History movement were part of public interest and depended on political trends and progress. Both brought the privacy of history to the public and followed one common aim: Even the local and private is of interest. In that sense it was not only a coincidence that both had overlappings in its progress. It followed a new public orientation to anthropological questions and interests.

I will close with the finding that there is already a way of Public History education in German schools. It is of significance for a broad acceptance of Public History results in society. The History Competition supports understanding the basic principles of historical thinking and the perspective of any narration proposed by Public History.

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Robert J. Parkes

Public Historians in the Classroom

Commentary

This article explores school history as a site of public history. It will start with some observations of the important points raised by Zerwas and Carretero in this volume, about school history and its relationship to public history, and then consider these ideas in the context of an example from Australia, my own national context. It will conclude by considering some of the challenges facing history teacher education and its role in producing public historians for the classroom.

Public History and the democratizing of historical discourse

Zerwas provides a good overview of the emergence and transformation of the Public History field, characterising its early development as an attempt to democratise authorship of the past, allowing for voices beyond traditional authorities. Although he doesn't use the phrase, this can be articulated as an increasing respect for what has been called "history from below",[1] the articulation of history from the perspective of once silenced, or marginalised groups. In the context of schooling, this democratizing of historical discourse has been advocated as a didactic or pedagogic process that Giroux articulates as "the rewriting of history through the power of student voice",[2] a project whose limits may relate precisely to: (1) whose voices are present in any one classroom; and (2) the capacity of the students to get beyond inherited discourses, or the "schematic narrative templates"[3] that mediate their interpretations of the past. This is not impossible, as the late Roger Simon argued, but neither is it easy to accomplish.[4] The history

1 Jim Sharpe, "History from below," in *New perspectives on historical writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991).

2 Henry Giroux, "Border pedagogy and the politics of postmodernism," in *Postmodernism, postcolonialism and pedagogy*, ed. Peter McLaren (Sydney: James Nicholas Publishers, 1995), 51.

3 James V. Wertsch, "Collective memory and narrative templates," *Social Research: An International Quarterly, 75*, no. 1 (2008), 133–156.

4 Roger I. Simon, *The touch of the past: Remembrance, learning, and ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-008

competitions for German youth explored by Zerwas, arguably operate as a specific manifestation of one kind of this pedagogical approach to public history, and are certainly not unique to the German Federation. Such a history competition, Zerwas concludes, allow for the writing of social and micro histories on topics that would not otherwise have been considered within the media, school or academic research. Though he also notes that the trends evident in the competition reflected the contours of political progress and public interest. This is a point I will return to below in my exploration of pre-service History teachers as public historians.

In curricula materials and syllabus documents the same democratizing of public history phenomenon emerges wherever local authorities incorporate the histories of marginalised peoples into the national narratives being taught. Even with the strong presence of critical and feminist discourses during the 1960s and 1970s, it took until the early 1990s, on the back of the 1988 bicentennial of the nation, for the official curriculum in the Eastern states of Australia to register alternative interpretations of the nation's past. The emergence of Feminist and Indigenous historical perspectives, in the New South Wales curricula of the time, challenged the master narratives of 'famous men' and 'peaceful settlement'.[5] It was this curricula shift, alongside a broader debate about Aboriginal land rights claims (historically enshrined as the High Court's Mabo and Wik decisions), which ignited significant public debate and ultimately erupted into what we today call Australia's 'History Wars'.[6]

Underlying the history wars of the 1990s in Australia, was a concern with representations of the colonial past.[7] As Carratero has cleverly suggested, history wars emerge from the collision of Romantic and Enlightenment views of the past. Carratero's articulation of the Romantic aligns well with Nietzsche's[8] notion of the *monumental* and *antiquarian* forms of historical discourse. For

5 Robert J. Parkes, "Teaching History as historiography: Engaging narrative diversity in the curriculum," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–132.

6 Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The history wars* (Melbourne:Melbourne University Press, 2003).

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7 Robert J. Parkes, "Reading History curriculum as postcolonial text: Towards a curricular response to the history wars in Australia and beyond," *Curriculum Inquiry* 37, no. 4 (2007): 383–400.

8 Friederich Nietzsche, "On the uses and disadvantages of history for life," trans. R. J. Hollingdale, in *Untimely meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1874/1983).

Nietzsche, monumental historical discourse arises when 'great events' and deeds of people in the past are venerated and serve as models for present action; while antiquarian historical discourse is evident when attempts are made to preserve the past as cultural heritage and a source of identity. With my colleague Heather Sharp, I have argued elsewhere that these forms of historical discourse reflect precisely Rüsen's[9] notions of *exemplary* and *traditional* historical consciousness respectively.[10] Alternatively, what Carratero refers to as an Enlightenment view of history aligns with what Nietzsche[11] called *critical* historical discourse, in which the past is interrogated and challenged from the standpoint of present understandings. Reading Rüsen,[12] this Enlightenment view is arguably divided across what he calls *critical* and *genetic* historical consciousness. The former is the analogue of Nietzsche's critical historical discourse, in which present perspective challenges constructions of the past. However, the latter is more clearly the adoption of a strongly defined temporal or developmental perspective. It reflects what Seixas[13] defines as a disciplinary approach to the past. For Carratero, the defining feature of the Enlightenment approach to history is the application of historical thinking and historical method, or the disciplinary approach to the past. He recognises the Enlightenment approach as an increasingly dominant feature of school history education since the 1960s, an assessment that can also be observed in the history curricula of New South Wales, Australia.[14]

Carratero notes that the tensions that erupt between Romantic and Enlightenment notions of history – the result of their conflicting instructional goals – are often more evident in colonial and postcolonial history teaching. Certainly it is worth noting that others have demonstrated that this kind of conflict is evident not only within post-colonial states, but is a potential of any

9 Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration - interpretation - orientation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).
10 Robert J. Parkes and Heather Sharp, "Nietzschean perspectives on representations of national history in Australian school textbooks: What should we do with Gallipoli?," *ENSAYOS: Revisita de la Facultad de Educación de Albacete* 29, no.1 (2014).
11 Nietzsche, *history for life*.
12 Rüsen, *History*
13 Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! or does postmodern history have a place in the schools?," in *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives*, eds. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
14 Robert J. Parkes and Debra Donnelly, "Changing conceptions of historical thinking in History education: An Australian case study," *Revista Tempo e Argumento, Florianópolis* 6, no. 11 (2014): 113–136.

post-conflict or multicultural society.[15] Importantly, Carratero claims in his own national context, that history teaching aimed at getting students to love their Spanish country, has serious consequences for understanding Spain's colonial past. It is difficult to construct a narrative that invites students to fall in love with their nation, while simultaneously offering a critique of the traumas it has inflicted on the peoples of other nations, or marginalised groups within its own society. It is precisely this tension that saw the history wars erupt in Australia, when the historian Geoffrey Blainey[16] lamented the teaching of what he labelled the 'black armband' or mournful view of Australia's past; and proclaimed the need to get the 'balance sheet' right. His arguments appealed to the conservative Howard government of the time, who were concerned by the emergence of Indigenous perspectives on the past which rejected the "great Australian silence" that had erased the violent conflicts of the colonial period from public memory.[17]

This debate over the national narrative focused on the curriculum as ground zero, perhaps because of its perceived capacity to influence the historical consciousness of the nation's young people. This kind of focus on the site of the curriculum as a battlefield for rival narratives of the nation is common to similar conflicts across the English-speaking world.[18] Nietzsche also recognised the conflict that arises between the various perspectives on the past, though I read his argument as more positive about the need to deliberately pit one perspective against the other. To paraphrase Nietzsche's argument using Carratero's terms, an Enlightenment perspective alone leaves the student without narrative moorings, and their identity in limbo. An exclusively Romantic perspective leaves the student trapped in the limitations provided within the discourse of the past. Therein lies one of the central dilemmas facing school history. Is its purpose to offer students a form of historical literacy in which they are capable of critiquing representations of the past, or is its function to provide them with a source of identity? Can it do both successfully?

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15 Sirkka Ahonen, "Post-conflict history education in Finland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Nordidactica*: *Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education* 2013, no.1 (2013), 90–103. Taylor and Guyver, *History wars*.

16 Geoffrey Blainey, "Drawing up a balance sheet of our history," *Quadrant* 37, no. 7–8 (1993): 10–15.

17 Bain Attwood, *Telling the truth about Aboriginal history* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).

18 Jack. L. Granatstein, *Who killed Canadian history?* (Toronoto: HarperCollins, 1998).
Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past* (New York: Alfred A, Knopf, 1998). Parkes, "Reading History". Robert Phillips, *History teaching, nationhood and the state: A study in educational politics* (London: Cassell, 1998)

Remembering the Nation's Past

Australia has experienced two decades of public and political struggle over the national narrative.[19] A vision of history as the collective memory of the nation has led to this growing political interest in History curricula, and arguably motivated the establishment of a national curriculum with History as one of its cornerstone subjects[20]; and may also be responsible for on-going attempts at political interference in History education.[21] Concerns over whose history is being taught in schools,[22] continues to parallel anxieties over what the public knows about the nation's past[23] often driven by survey research that expects an encyclopaedic knowledge of the past. The concern is compounded by the problem that both teachers and school students seem to find Australian history of little interest,[24] and evidence that many teachers find themselves teaching History without the necessary historical knowledge and disciplinary training.[25] Many studies internationally have concluded that subject-matter knowledge, including knowledge of the discipline and disciplinary modes of inquiry, is essential to good History teaching,[26] but despite this, many History teachers often resort to didactic

19 Macintyre and Clark, *history wars*.

20 John Howard, "Unity vital in battle against terrorism," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, January 26, 2006: 11.

21 David Crowe, "Christopher Pyne tackles leftist 'bias' in classrooms," *The Australian*, January 10, 2014. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/policy/christopher-pyne-tackles-leftist-bias-in-classrooms/story-fn59nlz9-1226798590821-mm-premium. Tony Taylor, "Howard's End: a narrative memoir of political contrivance, neoconservative ideology and the Australian history curriculum," *Curriculum Journal* 20, no. 4 (2009): 317–329. doi:10.1080/09585170903424765

22 Blainey, "our history". Kevin Donnelly, "The black armband view of history," *Agora* 32 no. 2 (1997) 15.

23 Paul Ashton, Jane Connors, Heather Goodall, Paula Hamilton, and Louelle McCarthy, "The Australians and the past at the University of Technology Sydney," *Public History Review* 8(2000): 168–173. Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the crossroads* (Ultimo, Sydney: Halstead Press, 2007).

24 Anna Clark, *History's children: History wars in the classroom* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008).

25 Tony Taylor, *The future of the past: Final report of the national inquiry into school history* (Retrieved from Churchill, Vic. 2000).

26 Christine Counsell, "Disciplinary knowledge for all, the secondary history curriculum and history teachers' achievement," *Curriculum Journal* 22, no.2 (2012): 201–225. Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching history education: Theory, method, context* (New York: Routledge, 2008). Samuel. S. Wineburg and Suzanne M. Wilson, "Subject-matter knowledge in the teaching of history," in *Advances in Research on Teaching* Vol.2, ed. Jere Brophy (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1991).

approaches when faced with managing student behaviour and what they perceive to be an over-whelming volume of curriculum content.[27] The result seems to be that many teachers may resort to simply retelling narratives of the nation's past.

Given this situation, my colleagues in the HERMES Historical Cultures and History Education Research Network established at the University of Newcastle, decided to explore the stories pre-service History teachers tell when thinking about their nation's past; whether they embrace common narratives; what events they see as historically significant; how they deal with conflicting accounts; and the extent to which their narratives may have been influenced by school textbooks, popular film, or other historical media. The small pilot study was funded through the Faculty of Education and Arts' competitive Strategic Networks and Pilot Projects Grant Scheme. Our project 'borrowed' a methodology developed by Jocelyn Létourneau,[28] in which participants were asked to "Please account for the history of Québec, as best you know or can remember it". The outcomes of Létourneau's study refuted survey research and media reports that suggested Canadians had limited knowledge of their national history. Instead it was found that Québécois held detailed narratives about their collective past; and that some narratives appeared to be widely shared. Létourneau compared these commonly accepted narratives with official histories that participants would have encountered in school history textbooks, and determined that relationships did exist between these two sets of stories.

In the Australian context our research team asked a group of 97 pre-service History teachers (consisting of 27 males and 70 females, the overwhelming majority of whom identified as either or both European and Anglo-Celtic) to "Tell us the history of Australia in your own words." This followed the latest refinements in Létourneau's methodology. The participants were given 45 minutes to write their personal account of the nation's past. They were instructed not to access the internet, and that we were interested exclusively in their accounts (not a perceived correct or incorrect answer to the question). The most common question in the various data collection sessions was "When should we start our narrative?"

Susanne. M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, "Peering at history through different lenses: The role of disciplinary perspectives in teaching history," *Teachers College Record* 89, no. 4 (1998): 525–539.

27 Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, "Why don't more History teachers engage students in interpretation?" *Social Education* 67, no. 6 (2003): 358–361.

28 Jocelyn Létourneau, "Remembering our past: An examination of the historical memory of young Québécois," in *To the past: History education, public memory, & citizenship in Canada,* ed. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

We refused to provide an answer to this question, inviting the participants to select the time period they thought relevant. Most started with reference to the ancient Aboriginal past, though a few were clearly 'Big historians',[29] and went far back into geological time when Gondwanaland was still part of the mega-continent Pangea. An even smaller number started with Federation and the official formation of the Australian nation. Once the narrative scripts were collected, they were analysed by the research team, seeking to identify any shared narratives and narrative templates that emerge from the data. These narratives were compared with the 'national narratives' evident in both the curriculum and popular media. We predicated the study on the assumption that our narratives of the past can be influenced by a variety of media forms.[30] Our project was also predicated on a distinction between collective memory and "formal history".[31] Formal history "views narratives as hypotheses against which evidence from archives, interviews, and other sources can be tested" whereas "collective memory often takes narratives as objects of dogmatic loyalty".[32] Thus, the study was concerned with identifying shared narratives that underpin the collective memory or historical consciousness of pre-service History teachers.

Pre-service History teachers represent those individuals who, upon graduation, will be tasked with teaching the nation's past to future generations. A recent study of pre-service teachers at the University of Sydney found that alongside seeking to make a difference in the lives of young people, and work in a personally meaningful career, participants had made the decision to teach because they wanted to maintain a meaningful engagement with the subject area they were drawn to.[33] A meaningful engagement with History suggests a strong interest in the past and the stories we hold about it. By developing an understanding of the narratives pre-service History teachers have appropriated, how they navigate competing accounts, and the influences on the formation of these narratives, we hoped to provide insights that night benefit the design of method courses in History teacher

29 Cynthia S. Brown, *Big history*: *From the big bang to the present* (New York: The New Press, 2012). David Christian,"The case for "Big History"," *Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (1991): 223–238.

30 Martin L. Davies, *Historics*: *Why history dominates contemporary society* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). Jerome de Groot, ed., Consuming history: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

31 Maurice Halbwachs, The *collective memory*, trans. F. J. Ditter Jr and V. Y. Ditter (New York: Harper Collins Books, 1980).

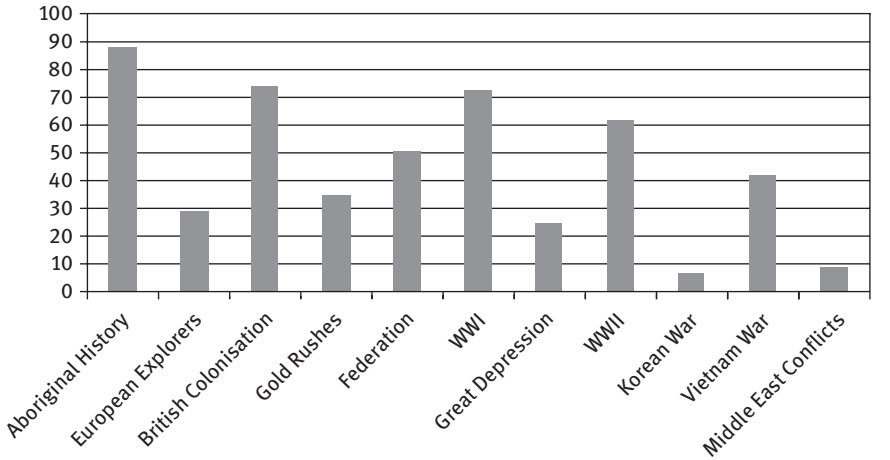
32 James V. Wertsch and Zurab Karumidze, "Spinning the past: Russian and Georgian accounts of the war of August 2008," *Memory Studies* 2, no. 3 (2009): 379.

33 Jackie Manuel and John Hughes, "'It has always been my dream': exploring pre-service teachers' motivations for choosing to teach," *Teacher Development: An international journal of teachers' professional development* 10, no. 1(2006): 5–24.

education programs. Further, our research sought to better understand how a group that are interested in the past (pre-service History teachers), engage with both collective memory and official history in their own narratives of the nation.

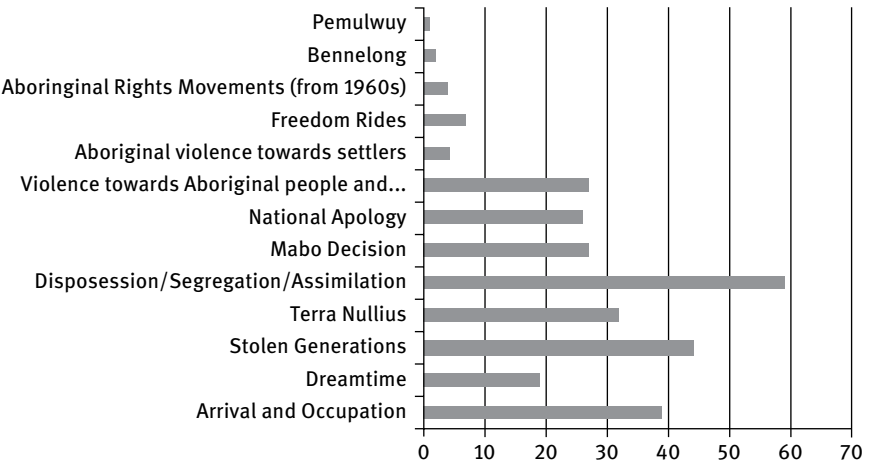
Contours of the Narratives

[Historiacal Significance, n = 97]



Aboriginal History in the Narratives

[88 of the 97 narratives referenced Aboriginal History]



The first graph above reveals the 'contours' of the narratives the pre-service teachers told. Of the 97 participants from whom narratives were obtained, 88 discussed Aboriginal History, and 72 the British Colonisation of the Great Southern Land. 71 mentioned WWI, but only 29 discussed the European exploration of the continent, a topic that was once central to the curriculum. When Aboriginal History was discussed (as outlined in the second graph above), the overwhelming majority of the narratives concentrated on occupation, dispossession, segregation and assimilation during the colonial period; and a significant number focused on the stolen generations. Almost no one mentioned any Aboriginal resistance leader by name, and when they did, it was only Pemulwuy who entered the historical narratives they produced. The tone of the narratives was clearly negative towards the Europeans who had colonised the country, and Aboriginal people themselves were constructed as victims of European imperialism and oppression, with little room for agency. Statements appeared in their narratives such as the following:

- Aboriginal people had a spiritual connection with the land; their purpose for life was to care for the land. If they did not do this they had no purpose. Different to the white settlers' viewpoint on land and land use. They viewed land for expansion and industrial reasons. This caused many tensions between English settlers and Aboriginal people**,** *the ignorance of the white settler cause Aboriginal people and their culture to be discriminated and devalued*. Upon the settlement of the English, Australia was proclaimed as 'terra nullius' Meaning that there is no man's land, therefore the settlers were allowed to do whatever they wished to do with the land. [#21]
- *From an indigenous perspective, Australian history has been fraught with the annihilation of the Aboriginal race through to the assimilation in order for white settlers to gain dominance over the land and therefore resources*. [#40]
- The Aboriginal people, however, lived on Australia for many thousands of years, before being *invaded* by Europeans . . . *The lives of the Indigenous community were still being valued as inferior; Aboriginals could be killed without major concern*. [#37]
- For the aboriginal people this meant they were displaced from their land and many thousands were killed as europeans expanded. At the same time, *guerrilla warfare* began to take place between the aboriginals and the new settlers as both sides fought for the right to their land. [#74]
- Australian history begins with the colonisation by the English and the inhabiting of the country prior to the colonisation by the Indigenous Australians, the Aboriginals. *From then the history of our country is concerned around the treatment of the aboriginals by the white settlers*. The policies of the time that were implemented controlled the treatment of these people. The Assimilation,

> Self-Determination, ___ and ___ were the policies brought in by the government of the time before the "White Australia" policy was introduced as an attempt to breed out the original owners of the land that was wrongly labelled "terra nullius". [#50]

These narratives reflect a tendency towards a 'black armband' perspective on the past, particularly those sections highlighted in italics. This is evident when it is recognised that the narratives painted a one-sided picture of the colonial past, in which Europeans were the oppressors and Aboriginal people were victims without agency. Strangely, when faced with the story of Gallipoli, another controversial moment in debates over Australian history, the participants adopted what Blaineycalled the "three cheers view" of Australian history,[34] as evident in the following excerpts (particularly the sections highlighted in italics):

- 1914–1918- WW1 *Australia's first real chance to show its strength as its own country and show it is strong enough to be its own country. Gallipoli the great battle ground where we showed our true strength and Aussie spirit.* [#8]
- When World War One came around, Australia was still very much so a baby country, not valued very highly by others as it was still only so new. *Australian's saw WWI as an opportunity to prove themselves, as a chance to be on the 'stage of the world' and show their abilities.* [#37]
- 1914 was the outbreak of the first world war, Australia participated in a bloody conflict on the Peninsular of Gallipoli in Turkey in April 1915 as part of the conjoined ANZAC forces (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps), *this is retrospectively considered to be a baptism by fire of the newly formed nation. Solidifying what Australian meant as opposed to British.* [#97]
- Throughout the war *the ANZACs engaged in British battles and garnered some level international influence due to its role.* [#39]
- Men were known to be strong and brave if they joined the war and thousands were shipped off overseas to fight battle in Europe. *The first time Australia really made a mark on the world was in Gallipoli* which could also be seen as Australia's biggest military fail. From here the idea of the ANZAC a brave solider who partakes in mate-ship and courageous acts was born. This idea has and still is imbedded in much of Australian society. [#74]

34 Geoffrey Blainey, "There is a rival view, which I call the 'black armband' view: The John Latham memorial lecture," in *Well may we say... The speeches that made Australia*, ed. Sally Warhaft (Flinders Lane, Melbourne: Schwartz Publishing, 1993), 268.

Conclusion: The Education of History Teachers as Public Historians

The paper by Zerwas reveals the intimate connection between public history and contemporary political discourse through the changing nature of a popular German history competition. Carratero's paper articulated the tension between Enlightenment and Romantic views of the past, and the particular problem this presents in postcolonial educational contexts. The Remembering Australia's Past study reported above suggests, I would argue, that the pre-service teachers whose stories of the nation we collected, have largely adopted popular discourses circulating in contemporary Australian society. They reflect, as Zerwas noted in reference to the German history competitions, public interest and the current state of political 'progress'. While on first glance the narratives of the colonial past may appear critical, the lack of agency attributed to Aboriginal people, and the virtual absence of Aboriginal resistance to the European colonisation, suggests a less well thought out engagement with the past. That for many of the participants the representation of Gallipoli rehearses the public rhetoric of this event as setting Australian on the world stage, further suggests the influence of popular discourse on the histories our pre-service teachers have readily accessible. This would suggest that much more work needs to be done with pre-service History teachers to help them explore the narratives they mobilise, how they have developed, and the perspectives from which they emerge. Following Nietzsche, I want to suggest the need to play between the tensions afforded by the Enlightenment and Romantic perspectives on the past identified by Carratero. I would argue that there is a need for our future history teachers as public historians to offer their students narratives which provide some form of temporal mooring or historical orientation in which to know themselves as historical beings. There is also need for critical perspectives that assist them to deconstruct the narratives 'truths' they have inherited and taken for granted. The tension between these approaches can be a productive one, and is arguably central to the project of public history in the classroom.

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History Politics, School, Public History

Peter Gautschi

History Teaching in the Focus of the Swiss People's Party – The Way Policies Take Influence on Schools, too

Introduction

The textbook *"Hinschauen und Nachfragen – Die Schweiz und die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Licht aktueller Fragen"* (Looking losely and questioning – switzerland and the National Socialist era in the light of current questions)[1] already attracted great attention in the Swiss media landscape when published as the following brief summary of headlines makes clear:

- The "scandal" gets into our schools
- A textbook causes controversies
- A new book that gives food for thinking
- A new textbook with explosive content
- Textbook: the new political battlefield
- A new textbook shakes our collective memory
- A dispute about shaken views of history[2]

That this publication aroused that particular attention was due to the topic. For the first time ever, the findings submitted by the independent commission of experts (UEK)[3] about Switzerland during the National Socialist era were processed for school use. In particular, three findings resulting from the extensive work of the UEK could usefully be exploited for developing textbooks:

1. At the time Swiss people in different life contexts – be it politics, economy or culture – had sufficient leeway for shaping life.
2. Switzerland was prepared for its defense as well as politically and economically entangled. Thanks to the UEK studies this ambivalence became

1 Barbara Bonhage, Peter Gautschi, Jan Hodel, and Gregor Spuhler, *Hinschauen und Nachfragen. Die Schweiz und die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Licht aktueller Fragen* (Zürich: Lehrmittelverlag des Kantons Zürich, 2006).

2 The articles are available on the website of the publishing house: www.lehrmittelverlag-zuerich.ch/Lehrmittel-Sites/HinschauenundNachfragen/ÜberdasLehrmittel/Medienspiegel/tabid/488/language/de-CH/Default.aspx (accessed on 15 September 2015).

3 Detailed information on UEK is available on the website www.uek.ch (accessed on 15 September 2015).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-009

particularly clear with respect to the following three areas: a) refugee policy b) economy, industry and traffic c) financial business.
3. Switzerland had underestimated the significance of the Human Rights Society in the 1950s and failed to pay enough attention to processing the events happening in its own country during the National Socialist era.

In particular the Swiss People's Party[4] which, already then, was the strongest party of the national legislature with a vote share of roughly 25 % and at time was also represented by two Federal Councilors reacted sharply to the textbook. The Swiss People's Party thus attempted to have the textbook legally prohibited shortly after its publication. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)* headlined on 11 March 2006:

"The Swiss People's Party attempts to have the history textbook prohibited. Reproaches for indoctrination against the authors and educational policy-makers. The Swiss People's Party of the Canton of Zurich judges the new secondary level textbook about Switzerland in the Second World War to be the work of left-wing historiography aimed at indoctrination. It demands to legally prohibit the admission of the textbook in the schools of all the cantons."[5]

As co-author of the textbook my awareness for the Swiss People's Party's endeavors to take influence on history teaching has since then been sharpened. I will use this party as a case example for the purpose of demonstrating how influence is exerted on history teaching from the field of history culture, here more concretely from history policy, in order to solidify and strengthen one's own respective societal and political position. I will do this in three steps along different historical-political actions of the Swiss People's Party:

1. A polemic pamphlet against the history textbook "*Hinschauen und Nachfragen*"
2. A programmatic paper for a new history curriculum
3. A people's initiative for subject-specific history teaching

Just already my first three chapter headings make clear: History teaching is important for the Swiss People's Party and in its focus. History teaching is

4 Swiss People's Party SVP policy is marked by national-conservative positions favouring the unrestricted political sovereignty of Switzerland and a markedly conservative model of society. In the last national parliamentary elections 2015 again the party clearly became the strongest party, with a vote share of 29.4 per cent in the National Council.

5 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 11 and 12, 2006, 55.

assessed to have an effect that strongly impacts on society and forms their identities. This reflects what Jörn Rüsen puts as follows in his work "*Historik*" ('Historics'): "Forming identities is therefore one of the most important, if not the most important function of historical thinking in the life practice of one's time".[6]

A polemic pamphlet against the history textbook "*Hinschauen und Nachfragen*"

At the time when "*Hinschauen und Nachfragen*" was published the educational and historical policy of the Swiss People's Party was to a large extent marked and still is it today by National Councilor Luzi Stamm who has been a member of the Federal Parliament since 1991, and there was also President of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Council and a member of both the Committee for Legal Affairs as well as of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

As a reaction to "*Hinschauen und Nachfragen*" in 2007 National Councilor Luzi Stamm brought out a publication of his own about the history textbook and wrote the following in the preface:

A perfect example of manipulative technique. On 3 March 2006 the textbook "*Hinschauen und Nachfragen – die Schweiz und die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Licht aktueller Fragen*" was published. The findings of the Bergier Report thus enter the schools. Whoever reads the book superficially hardly recognizes the ideology hidden behind; the entertaining style and the apparent balance cleverly conceal the political intentions (...). For all times people who wanted to convert history for their own political purposes have tried to manipulate the youths. The present textbook is a – unfortunately "superbly" done – perfect example of this manipulative technique.[7]

National Councilor Luzi Stamm judged the textbook to be even worse than the Bergier Report itself. Stamm had in fact also written a book of his own entitled "*Der Kniefall der Schweiz*" (Switzerland's genuflection) concerning

6 Jörn Rüsen, *Historik. Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Publishing House, 2013). 267. Cf. also Peter Gautschi, "Social Identity Through Public History," in *Public History Weekly* 3 (2015), doi: 10.1515/phw-2015-4410.

7 Luzi Stamm: Bergier-Bericht. *Politische Ideologie in den Schulstuben? Kommentar zum Zürcher Schulbuch "Hinschauen und Nachfragen"* (Aarau: Interessengemeinschaft Schweiz – Zweiter Weltkrieg, 2007),2.

the discussion about Switzerland in the National Socialist era and detected the same "self-accusing basic tone" as in the Bergier Commission. This attitude he meant stood for an erroneous view of history. It would be disastrous if this attitude should now become part of school education. In addition, this textbook, for example, had used the figures of the Bergier Report as regards the refugee issues without comparing them against the background of other figures.

In the Zurich Canton Council already the announcement of the textbook had given rise to a debate. An excerpt of the debate was already printed in the preface to the textbook. The following quotation shows how the different political positions result in different assessments. Or to put it differently: The political fundamental conviction defines the view of history.

Rolf André Siegenthaler (Swiss People's Party, Zurich) reproaches the Bergier Commission with trying to rewrite the history of Switzerland with the report. The report should serve the political purpose of the 68 generation and would twist the facts. And our children should now be fed with this kind of historiography. One would thus contribute to the stultification of society, since what was going to be told in the schools would be difficult to correct again.

Ursula Braunschweig-Lütolf (SP, Winterthur) explains that the textbook is not mandatory but optional. Additionally, the Bergier Report is not converted into a textbook but it is only based on the report. The Bergier Report did not rewrite the history but it supplemented it with new findings. There will never be a final history of Switzerland. The perception of the past is being marked by the present. The textbook does not proclaim any final truth. Young people should realize that history is not set in stone but being created.

Hanspeter Amstutz (EVP, Fehraltorf) explains that teachers who have until now presented history based on facts will not be thrown of the track by the textbook now. More alarming than the Bergier Report used as a textbook is the reduction of the number of history lessons at the secondary level.

Thomas Heiniger (FDP, Adliswil) points out that history cannot be denied. It catches up with us. The Bergier Report is part of our past and thus also belongs in our schools. We are confident in the structures which know how to prevent the arbitrary and tendentious processing of history.[8]

8 Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 31 May 2005, Nr. 124, p. 56; quoted from "Hinschauen und Nachfragen" (footnote 1), 5.

A programmatic paper for a new history curriculum

Of course, each of the above-quoted sentences could serve as a starting point for a reflection about beliefs of politicians about history and history education:

- "History cannot be denied. It catches up with us."
- "More alarming than the Bergier Report used as a textbook is the reduction of the number of history lessons at the secondary level."
- "Young people should realize that history is not set in stone but being created."
- "What is going to be told in the schools will be difficult to correct again."

Who like the parliamentarian Rolf André Siegenthaler of the Swiss People's Party believes in the powerful impact of schools and history teaching does consequently not only have to pay great attention to history textbooks but in particular also to curricula. The Swiss People's Party also pursues this approach, and has increasingly done so for the last ten years, because since 2006 a new dynamic has been set in motion in Swiss schools.

At the time the Swiss voters and all the States Councils have approved a new constitutional article concerning education with a proportion of "yes" votes of 86 %. Since then, the constitution has obliged the cantons to regulate important benchmark parameters concerning compulsory schooling nationally consistently. Inter-cantonal contracts form the basis for this tool. By means of the HarmoS Concordat, Article 62 of the Federal Constitution has been implemented for compulsory schooling by harmonizing all therein listed benchmark parameters: school entrance age, compulsory education, duration and objectives of the individual levels of education and their transitions. After the ratification by ten cantons the Concordat became effective as of 1 August 2009. With respect to the school harmonization of educational objectives a second project was initiated in addition to HarmoS: The implementation of a common curriculum for primary and secondary schools in all German-speaking and multilingual cantons. It is called *"Lehrplan 21"* (Curriculum 21).

In 2010 the Cantonal Directors of Education of the 21 German-speaking and multilingual cantons approved the basics for this new common curriculum. 2015 it has been finalized, and since summer 2015 the first canton, namely the Canton of Basel-Stadt, has started to teach according to Curriculum 21.[9]

9 Curriculum 21 is available on Internet too, but only in German language: www.lehrplan21.ch (accessed on 15 September 2015).

These explanations make also clear that Curriculum 21 was however developed with a view of the entire German-speaking area of Switzerland, but that due to the distinctly federalist educational system with a lot of regional particularities along with the important principle of subsidiarity the individual cantons decide themselves whether and when to implement Curriculum 21 in their own canton.[10]

Already at a relatively early stage fierce resistance arose within the Swiss People's Party against the project of Curriculum 21, and a few months after the first concrete benchmark parameters concerning Curriculum 21, the so-called basic report, were approved in spring 2010, the Swiss People's Party presented a curriculum of its own in autumn 2010.[11]

From the introduction of the Swiss People's Party's curriculum some of this political party's main concerns become clearly apparent, in particular their emphasis on direct democracy, proximity to the people, simplicity and volunteerism:

Out of concern for the quality of our primary and secondary schools a group of teachers have set to work to exemplarily implement for some subjects the sovereign's mandate for formulating common learning objectives for the core subjects for each school year without infringing the cantonal autonomy in education. The development of the present Swiss People's Party's curriculum as an alternative project to Curriculum 21 was preceded by an extensive comparison of all the curricula still available today in all the cantons. Eventually, the important learning objectives were formulated and determined in the form of a simple framework curriculum. Although the Swiss People's Party's curriculum was worked out extremely cost-effectively (all the participants of the undertaking work on a fully honorary basis – they also personally assume all the expenses), one succeeded in formulating coordinated learning objectives for all Swiss schools.[12]

Subject curricula are presented for a few selected subjects only, amongst others history,[13] which as such already shows that this subject is particularly significant for the Swiss People's Party. In the paper – which will be called the

10 For further information about History Education in the Swiss federalist educational system, see e.g. Beatrice Bürgler and Peter Gautschi (forthcoming), "Historisches Lernen und Politische Bildung in der Deutschschweiz auf der Sekundarstufe I," in *Wiener Beiträge zur politischen Bildung. Band 4: Fächerkombination und Flächenfächer*, eds. Thomas Hellmuth, Wolfgang Sander, and Manfred Wirtitsch (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2017).

11 Der SVP Lehrplan. Papier der Lehrerarbeitsgruppe der SVP. November 2010. Available on the website of the SVP: www.svp.ch/de/documents/custom/web/Papier%20Volksschule%20-%20 Lehrplan_d.pdf (accessed on 15 September 2015)

12 Ibid, 2.

13 Ibid, 77-82.

"Swiss People's Party Curriculum" in the following – the sense of history teaching is pointed out in its introduction. The focus is set on three aspects:

1. The process of how the present has come into existence
2. The great importance of knowledge
3. The contribution to the integration of migrants

What seems particularly interesting is the argumentation as to why the process of how the present has come into existence gains so much importance:

In this age of globalization and mechanization, of rapid social development and change triggering some or even deep uncertainty with many people, it is especially important to young people to recognize that all that exists today and all that is taken for granted at one point in time came into existence or was created – not seldom with a lot of efforts, upheavals and contradictions. In contrast to the demand nourished by today's 'zeitgeist' expressing that "everything is for free and right away" there have never been times in which one could get anything for free. Everything always has its cost, sometimes even claiming one's own life when people fought for new or defended existing things. If thus complaints arise today as to how laborious and not always enjoyable everyday life is, growing knowledge about how things have come into existence in the past has a healing effect.[14]

History thus serves the purpose of coming to terms with the hard present times and realizing that there is no enjoyable everyday life at all. Life means hardship, nothing is for free, whoever wants to get something has to work hard and fight for what is important to him. This is the crucial lesson to be learnt from how the present has come into existence in the past.

Knowledge is in the first place needed to realize that history does not repeat itself constantly. In the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" it says that whoever *"disposes of profound knowledge understands that history does not repeat itself constantly and that a lot can be learnt from history. Knowledge causes enthusiasm and 'a fire' for history."*[15]

A third aspect of the sense it makes to deal with history consist in the fact that migrants *"whose roots are not in Switzerland"*[16] can better be integrated into the local society. History creates understanding for *"our culture, way of life and system of values"*.[17] History helps form identities.

14 Ibid, 77.
15 Ibid, 78.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.

When it comes to how to design teaching lessons two points are particularly emphasized: First of all, the curriculum contains a plea for historical culture:

There are innumerable didactically valuably designed museums and real objects which document the changes in society and technology. It is all there, it only has to be used skillfully for teaching. Such lively teaching also impresses today's young people, triggers concernment and removes the blemish of mustiness, of dreary data collection and dead knowledge from teaching.[18]

Apart from demanding this encounter with historical culture, history teaching should as a second point ensure an understandable and comprehensible broader context. Whoever possesses such overview knowledge is able to recognize how great things could be achieved with moderate resources in the past.

The core of the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" consists of a program of subject contents. It is divided up into school years and distinguishes the two areas "Switzerland" and "Europe, World". Both these areas are again chronologically structured. The program of subject contents includes the following three rubrics:

1. Topics and contents
2. Learning objectives and skills
3. Terminology and people

A comparison with Curriculum 21, which at that time was only just sketched out in the form of rough benchmark parameters in 2010 when the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" was already available and not finalized before 2014, yields an astonishing picture:

As already mentioned above the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" consists of three rubrics that characterize the program in more detail (topics and contents, learning objectives and skills, terminology and people). The rough concept of Curriculum 21 available in 2010 contained only one rubric concerning competences which, with respect to key words and formulations, corresponded to the second rubric "learning objectives and skills" of the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum".

It now is interesting that the other two rubrics of the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" were also gradually integrated into Curriculum 21 in the years 2010 to 2014. On the one hand, a planning example was namely added to Curriculum 21, and this planning example now also contained clearly signposted "topics and contents" being chronologically structured. The rubric "terminology and people" was added as well, though not in a special and separate column but becoming part of the competences. Whether these changes from the rough structure of

18 Ibid.

Curriculum 21 to the final version of Curriculum 21 is due to the "Swiss People's Party's position paper" is hard to prove, and probably difficult to reconstruct from the files but quite plausible and likely.

The comparison of the topics and contents, the learning objectives and skills as well as the terminology shows considerable similarities. Both proposals, namely the older "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" as well as the 4 years younger Curriculum 21 start the topic "world history" with looking at the modern times first. Both structure chronologically, both take into account the fundamental dimensions by Wehler.[19] It has, however, to be noted here that this was already the case in the rough structure of Curriculum 21. Here the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" might possibly have adapted itself to Curriculum 21.

Content-related differences become apparent though when it comes to the people mentioned in both the curricula. The entire "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" does not refer to a single woman at all, but the names of men, however, not appearing in Curriculum 21 find mention, such as e.g. *Emperor Wilhelm II, Hindenburg, Trotzki, the Federal Councilors von Steiger and Minger, Friedrich Ebert, Elvis Presley, Saddam Hussein, Honecker, Genscher, Kohl.*

Differences between both the curricula become also obvious in the rough structure – at least at first glance. Whereas Curriculum 21 includes four so-called competence areas – 1. Understanding Switzerland in its tradition and change; 2. Explaining world-historical continuities and radical changes; 3. Analyzing and using historical culture; 4. Understanding democracy and human rights and committing oneself for them – the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" only contains the two sections focusing on Swiss and world history. At second glance it, however, becomes clear that the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" also repeatedly and prominently mentions the historical culture and then also emphasizes it once again in the program of subject contents: "The primary objective at this level is that history shall be concretely experienced and perceptible. Spread all over Switzerland there are enough objects, locations, museums and media that allow this to happen."[20]

Political education appears to be of less importance in the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum". The terms democracy and human rights which are of great significance in Curriculum 21 do not find any mention in the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum". Whereas this is astonishing with respect to the term "democracy" that is positively connoted in the Swiss People's Party's program, it does not

19 Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Band 1.* 4th. ed. (München: C.H. Beck, 2007), 7.

20 As footnote 11, p. 80.

come as a surprise that the human rights are blinded out. They are permanently discredited in the current political discourse by the Swiss People's Party as can be proven from different campaigns.[21]

In contrast to Curriculum 21which does not say anything about school structures the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" takes a clear position on this issue and demands a structured three-level secondary school. Level C shall allow students to learn simple manual professions. Level B shall allow students to learn more demanding manual professions and to make commercial apprenticeships. Level A is aimed at acquiring a vocational diploma that is a "vocational Matura" and a grammar school diploma that is a "grammar school Matura". This structuring mainly has its effects on the foreign languages as well as on the number of history lessons offered. Whereas at level B and A the total of four annual hours of history teaching is offered, that is exactly the same number of lessons as in Curriculum 21, at level C then aimed at students with basic standards the total of six annual hours of history teaching is offered, that is two weekly hours in all three of the secondary school years, which is clearly more than is planned in Curriculum 21. The less gifted students, in particular those with a migrant background need fewer foreign languages but more history lessons.

With a view to historical learning the most significant difference between the two curricula, however, lies in the fact that the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" requires a specific subject history being offered already from the fourth grade of intermediate primary school on, this with a total of two annual lessons per week for each year. Here it becomes apparent that the main difference between both the curricula consists in the fact that the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" makes a clear plea for subject specification whereas Curriculum 21 promotes subject combination.

This orientation of Curriculum 21 towards interdisciplinary nature, by the way, was diminished in the course of the development of Curriculum 21 due to different circumstances. To what extent the "Swiss People's Party Curriculum" contributed to this is hard to prove too, and probably not to reconstruct from the files, but once more plausible and likely.

But the initial interdisciplinary condition that a subject "history" must not exist in Curriculum 21 and that historical learning in a subject area with the adventurous title "Spaces, Times, Societies" shall take place, was not put in question by the Cantonal Directors of Education despite the fierce discussions and demands from the part of different organizations such as the Swiss Historical Society or the

21 Cf. e.g. www.svp.ch/kampagnen/uebersicht/selbstbestimmungsinitiative/argumentarium/ (accessed on 15 September 2015).

Swiss-German Society for History Didactics. This is only one of the reasons that the Swiss People's Party launched people's initiatives in several cantons with the purpose of anchoring the subject designation "history" in the school law and thus to ensure subject-specific history teaching.

A people's initiative for subject-specific history teaching

Curriculum 21 has been developed by teachers and didactics in a large-scale project over several years, and this happened on behalf of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Education, a body consisting of the executive members of the different cantons who are responsible for education. This body also approved and adopted Curriculum 21 and thus brought the project to a successful end. It is now up to the individual cantons to implement this curriculum. As a rule, this happens at the decree level and thus by the executive authority.

In several cantons the Swiss People's Party has now tried to transfer the competence for the implementation of curricula from the executive to the legislative authority, which has, however, mostly failed. This has now led to the attempt by the Swiss People's Party to impede or even to prevent the implementation of the curriculum. These initiatives have to be submitted in each individual canton due to the federalism that assigns the educational sovereignty to the cantons.

In the Canton of Aargau the people's initiative is for example worded as follows: "*'Yes' to a good education – 'No' to Curriculum 21!*"[22] The initiative demands to replace paragraph 13 in the school law which stipulates that the government has the legislative power to pass the curriculum. The Swiss People's Party wants to have the law text changed as follows:

"Firstly: The curriculum serves the purpose of implementing the educational task in schools. Thereby the youth's right for education, knowledge and ability forms the basis in compliance with the Cantonal Constitution and the preamble of the school law."[23] – Here it is striking in the first place that the term competence which is otherwise predominant in all the papers on educational policy and school development is lacking. The Swiss People's Party is not able to deal with the term "competence".

22 www.lehrplan21-nein.ch/ (accessed on 15 September 2015)
23 Ibid.

"Secondly: The curriculum is based on the canon of school subjects. After having heard the Educational Council the Cantonal Council determines the number of school lessons and their length as well as the learning objectives of each grade."[24] – Here it is particularly significant that the learning objectives of each grade find mention whereas in Curriculum 21 the latter are removed and replaced for basic competences for the respective cycles.

A decisive point then follows in section three where newly the subjects shall be determined in the school law. The passage here says:

"The canon of school subjects encompasses the subjects German, foreign languages, mathematics, computer science, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, music, ethics and religion, creative design, textiles as well as handicrafts, sports and home economics."[25] – Now then, in contrast to Curriculum 21 the orientation towards the disciplines and the demand for subjects rather than subject areas as planned in Curriculum 21 becomes clear here.

What this would mean to Curriculum 21 if such a passage was fixed in the school law by the Swiss voters, would still have to be clarified. I myself as a co-author of Curriculum 21 took into consideration with respect to the areas of geography and history that Curriculum 21 would be suitable for subject teaching as well. It is also conceivable that this passage demanded by the Swiss People's Party would be included into a school law, but in the areas of geography and history one could still teach according to Curriculum 21.

By the way, as a fourth point it should be stipulated in the law that intercantonal agreements on harmonization of the curriculum and school matters was going to be approved by the legislative authority and subject to an optional referendum. Here the intention to shift competences for designing schools and history teaching from the executive to the legislative authority becomes apparent, logically because the Swiss People's Party generally reaches majority decisions being favorable for them more easily by a legislative process and popular votes than by an executive process.

By means of a lot of printed argumentation and flyers these people's initiatives are now promoted. They are in the first place directed against Curriculum 21 which in broad public is controversially discussed. Apart from the fragmentation of the educational comprehension into a thousand so-called competences the Swiss People's Party's main point of criticism against Curriculum 21 lies the lack of the subjects primarily. Here it for example says*:* "Many of the classic

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.

subjects (amongst others history, physics and biology) disappear. Only part of their contents is, torn out of context, molded into competences and appears in new vessels, e.g. "Spaces, Times, Societies". Thus, the structure of knowledge gets lost – which is the actual prerequisite for learning and understanding."[26]

Conclusion

History culture, in particular history policy, for example the Swiss People's Party, exerts influence on history teaching in order to solidify and strengthen one's own respective societal and political position. It campaigns against history textbooks, writes programmatic papers and curricula and launches people's initiatives.

This demonstrates a high degree of confidence in history teaching. History teaching is said to have an impact on individual youths and on society, and to contribute to forming identities, shaping attitudes and opinions, and history teaching is also said to ensure integration. Only little empirical research has so far been done on whether this is really the case, but the belief in the great significance of history teaching has not been shaken in large parts of society.

This makes clear that everybody dealing with history teaching is confronted with the question of what role history culture and history policy plays.

Already in 1926 this was pointed out by Erich Wenger in his basics for history teaching. In the conclusion of his book "Die Grundlagen des Geschichtsunterrichts" (The Basics of History Teaching) Erich Wenger writes in chapter *"Der Staat und der Geschichtsunterricht"* (The State and History Teaching): "Of course, schools must not become the scene of party-political influences. In reality it is often difficult to recognize where that kind of influencing begins. But as shown above the large contrasts of the parties must and can also have their place in schools."[27] This, however, must not lead to the fact that educational powers such as science, economy and church – to say it with Weniger's terminology – gain the upper hand when educational plans are designed.

In case this happens or threatens, the teachers are called upon to search a shaped world which spares the child the shock of an immediate confrontation

26 Ibid.

27 Erich Weniger, *Die Grundlagen des Geschichtsunterrichts. Untersuchungen zur geisteswissenschaftlichen Didaktik* (Leipzig: Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1926), 241.

with the cruelty of life.[28] The following story elucidates this quotation and transfers it to our present time[29]:

It happened in 2011: The Street Parade is going on in Zurich and the main station is packed with people. Right in the middle there the 62-year-old history teacher Lüthi is going ahead with his illegal action. He is in fact not willing to see how the Swiss People's Party, at such a prominent location, is able to exert influence with its posters saying things like: "Stop mass immigration" and "Swiss people vote for the Swiss People's Party" without being contested. In the eyes of the history teacher the visual language of the Swiss People's Party's posters has "many significant parallels to the visual language of the anti-Semitic propaganda of the National Socialists" and violates the human dignity of the foreign population. The black hands, for example, which "greedily" grasp at the Swiss passport strongly remind of the "greedy hands the way they could be found on posters in the 1930 – at the time they belonged to the Jews".

In late summer 2011 Lüthi, illegally and with penal consequences for himself, added his own feelings to the Swiss People's Party's posters in format A3. He glued prefabricated white notes onto the posters saying: "Profile of the Swiss People's Party: Inciting fear and hatred".

As long as history teachers like Lüthi exist in Switzerland who react so sensitively to influences on historical images attempted by political parties and, if necessary, also act with civil courage to protect higher interests, we can, with a certain degree of calm, look at what it says in school laws, curricula and history textbooks, and ask questions as to where these determinations and formulations come from, in any case this is certainly well worthwhile. Looking closely and questioning – that is what students, teachers, didactics and also actors of Public History have to do.

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28 Cf. Erich Weniger. *Didaktik als Bildungslehre*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1960, 11.

29 Cf. Simona Rau: „Aus Empörung überklebte der Geschichtslehrer SVP-Plakate." *Tages-Anzeiger*, April 19, 2012, 13.

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Thomas Hellmuth

National Integration and the Idea of "Zweckrationalität"

"Public History" and History Teaching in the second Republic of Austria

Society can be subdivided into several subsystems, which contributes to its continuity and further development. The individual is not isolated, not completely autonomous, as the representatives of the Enlightenment claimed. Identity is, instead, a dynamic process of adapting the inner world to the outside, to the external world. The psychologist Edward E. Sampson writes that the "other is a vital co-creator of our mind, our self, and our society".[1] A simple structural model, created by Dieter Geulen und Klaus Hurrelmann,[2] illustrates the interaction of individual and social structures. This model connects the social micro level with the social macro level. Thereby, it distinguishes four inter-related areas: The first area of the model describes the formation of individual identity, the second area the social interaction, which is mentioned, inter alia, by Edward E. Sampson. In the third area we find the institutions within which social interaction takes place. These institutions include families, schools or the educational system, workplaces, or leisure activities. Finally, the fourth area describes the entire society: the economic, social, political, and cultural structure of society.

It is obvious that the educational system is important in this model. It socializes the younger generation according to certain values, norms, and role expectations.[3] History teaching can support this process because it plays a key role in the development of responsibility (*Mündigkeit*). Simultaneously, there is also the danger of indoctrination through historical legitimation of political action or by evoking a certain student behavior. A contradiction of the Enlightenment may exist that we can find, even today, in the educational system – despite progressive didactic models or, maybe, only allegedly progressive models.

1 Edward P. Sampson, *A dialogic account of human nature* (London: Harvester Weathsheaf, 1993), 109.

2 Dieter Geulen and Klaus Hurrelmann, "Zur Problematik einer umfassenden Sozialisationstheorie," in *Handbuch der* Sozialisationsforschung, eds. Klaus Hurrelmann and Dieter Geulen (Weinheim: Beltz, 1980),64.

3 Niklas Luhmann, *Das Erziehungssystem der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2002). Klaus-Jürgen Tillmann, *Sozialisationstheorien. Eine Einführung in den Zusammenhang von Gesellschaft, Institution und Subjektwerdung*, 15th ed. (Reinbek b. H.: Rowohlt, 2007), 108–115.

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In this context, two periods of history teaching – with regard to the politics of history or "public history" – can be distinguished in Austria since the end of the Second World War: first, the "period of democratic indoctrination" and second, the "period of active citizenship". Both periods are marked by contradictions.

The *period of democratic indoctrination* is characterized by the formation of national identity after the Second World War. History should legitimize the delimitation from Germany, which was burdened by National Socialist crimes. In this context, history should also prove the "victim thesis" (*Opferthese*). Textbooks, for example, described the Austrian identity as a contrast to National Socialism. Thus, the Austrian identity consisted of harmony and good nature, as well as an interest in culture. Austrian people were also characterized by their alleged need for peace. A black-and-white image was created, a contrast between Austrian identity and National Socialism.[4] For this reason, differentiated views of the past were impossible. The textbook, "*Unser Österreich*"[5] illustrates this contrast of "good" and "bad". It was certified in 1955 for the "*Hauptschule*" (which is approximately equivalent to secondary school) and includes all the mentioned official elements of identity.

The textbook's authors consider the Austrian identity as a result of the past and imagine a line of continuity from the past to the presence. Therefore, the "peaceful coexistence in a state" for more than a hundred of years would have formed the "nature and character of the Austrians". Moreover, the Austrians "have always understood how to unify peoples peacefully" and "to bridge differences".[6] Due to their love of culture and music or, so to speak, due to their artistic gene, the Austrians gave also birth to many poets and thinkers, to musicians, painters, sculptors, and architects. And not only artists were acclaimed but also "inventors and researchers, doctors of medicine and technicians, [...] who are recognized around the whole world".[7] An illustration in the textbook "*Mein Österreich*" clearly shows this line of continuity that is drawn from the past into the present (cf. Fig.10.1). During the Nazi regime, Carry Hauser, who drew this engraving, had fled to Switzerland. In 1947, he returned to Austria. His personal

4 Oliver Rathkolb, *Die paradoxe Republik. Österreich 1945–2005*, (Wien: Haymon, 2005), 17–59. Susanne Breuss, Karin Liebhart, and Andreas Pribersky. *Inszenierungen. Stichwörter zu Österreich* (Wien: Sonderzahl, 1995). Thomas Hellmuth, *Historisch-politische Sinnbildung. Geschichte – Geschichtsdidaktik – politische Bildung* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2014), 88.

5 Arbeitsgemeinschaft.

6 Verordnung der Bundesministerin für Bildung und Frauen, mit der das NMS Umsetzungspaket, die Verordnung, mit welcher die Lehrpläne der Volksschule und der Sonderschulen erlassen werden, sowie die Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen geändert werden. Beschlussreifer Entwurf vom 4. Februar 2016, 6–7.

7 Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 6.

Figure 10.1: Illustration by Carry Hauser in the textbook "Unser Österreich": a line of continuity is drawn from the past into the present (VBK, Verwertungsgesellschaft bildende Kunst, Fotografie u. Choreografie, Wien).

history explains his specific perspective on the past: it was important to create a specific history to differentiate Austria from Germany and National Socialism.

In the Austrian context, historical continuity also means appreciating certain royal houses. Thus, the Babenberger and Habsburger were closely connected with the "fate of our country for more than a hundred years".[8] Paradoxically, historical figures who fought against any democratic impulse were included in the canon of knowledge and also celebrated. For example, Field Marshal Radetzky has become an essential part of collective memory, despite his role in the suppression of the revolution in 1848. To this day the Radetzkymarsch, composed by Johann Strauss Junior, is a highlight of the New Year's concert in Vienna. In contrast, Austria's early democrats are forgotten; they are kept secret. Worth mentioning are, for example, Austrian Jacobins such as Franz Hebenstreit. He fought for revolutionary changes in the Habsburg monarchy and was executed in 1795 for high treason. We do not find any mention of him in textbooks – not least, because revolution seems to be too radical for the Austrian character. The historian, Hubert Christian Ehalt, writes:

Mozart, the creative and unyielding humanist and follower of Enlightenment, was belittled as 'cute Wolferl'; the freedom movement of the first 'Wiener Moderne' was named 'Josephinism' after the monarch Joseph II [...]. Austrian history is especially insidious: First, the democrats and resistance fighters were eliminated – physically eliminated; they were chased away and murdered. Second, historical research and history teaching prevented the exploration, perception, and presentation of this part of Austrian history on a larger public scale [...]. Finally, the destruction of democracy and democratic potential is [in a positive sense] redefined as a lack of will for resistance and – so to speak – to an anthropological component of the 'Austrian soul' (*österreichische Seele*), [...].[9]

And this soul is defined as a disposition of restraint, modesty, and silence. The textbook *Mein Österreich* illustrates this alleged disposition: Some people would characterize the Austrians as "slow and pleasant" but, in their way, they would "better achieve what is necessary. [...] We are not quick-tempered; we've learned to tolerate and – much more – we've learned patience."[10]

The aim of history teaching was not education for active citizenship but the identification with the nation, specifically the second Austrian Republic. The younger generation should be indoctrinated, in order to form a democratic identity. For this purpose, manipulative mechanisms of education that were also used

8 Ibid.

9 Hubert Christian Ehalt, "Rehabilitierung des Demokraten der ersten Stunde," Die Presse, June 28, 2010.

10 Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 9.

in authoritarian systems were initiated.[11] This contradiction is obviously typical in the early stages of the process of democratization.

The "period of democratic indoctrination" was replaced in the 1970s by the *period of active citizenship*. The politics of history focused on the development of *Mündigkeit*, in the tradition of Kant, on the development of responsibility. However, the necessary didactic foundation remained underdeveloped until the 1980s. In practice, history teaching was mostly limited to historical narratives and to the presentation of an alleged historical "truth", which was reflected in historical textbooks. This "truth" was mostly affected in Austria by the consociational democracy. For a long time, the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ) and the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) patched up all issues and conflicts, tried to find a minimal consensus in economic and social matters, and filled positions in public institutions with party members.[12] An example of this consensus is the Austrian civil war in 1934. The official explanation for this conflict was the *geteilte Schuld*, i.e., the Social Democrats and the conservative Christian Socialists shared the blame, even though historical research was of a different opinion.

Only during the last ten years has the didactics of history changed or, better, history didactics was recognized in Austria as a scientific discipline. Consequently, competency models boomed and became the subject of intense debate. They were implemented in the school curricula and claimed to give history teaching a social significance. A current example is a draft of the curriculum for the so-called "Sekundarstufe I"[13]; lower secondary schools for 10- to 14-year-old children. The students should practice competences; furthermore, the chronological order of historical topics is largely abolished and conceptual learning is implemented. Conceptual learning means that certain concepts reappear in various topics and school levels. Thereby, concepts enable teachers, as well as students, to structure the wide field of historical knowledge. In addition, the curriculum assigns the topics to different modules; inter alia we also find modules only for civic education.

The system of the curriculum can be illustrated by the following example, a module that deals with the topic "Migration from the nineteenth century to the present". First, the module describes the competences: The students should describe, analyze, and interpret historical sources, perceive diverse perspectives, create historical narratives and use findings which were gained by working

11 Hellmuth, *Historisch-politische Sinnbildung*, 87–100.

12 Peter A. Ulram, "Politische Kultur der Bevölkerung," in Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs. Die Zweite Republik. 3rd ed., eds. Herbert Dachs, Peter Gehrlich, Herbert Gottweis, Franz Horner, Helmut Kramer, Volkmar Lauber, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Emmerich Tálos, Emmerich (Wien: Manz'sche, 1997), 514–525.

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with historical sources for orientation in society. Then, the curriculum defines the thematic focus. According to this, students have to understand, define, and differentiate between the terms "migration" and "integration"; they also have to compare global migration flows and to identify the causes of migration. It is also important to analyze the challenges that arise from migration and to discuss solutions. Finally, Austrian migration in the nineteenth century is focused by a historical approach called *Alltagsgeschichte*, a form of microhistory that focuses on daily life. It is a term that was broadly prevalent amongst German historians, particularly in the 1980s.

Of course, on the one hand, competency models can contribute to critical faculties and also – in the ideal case – to a political democratic resistance; in short, to the development of *Mündigkeit*. This means that knowledge should be applied to the development of society and that it is not only memorized. However, on the other hand, the utilitarian and economic tenor of bourgeois society is implicit in these competency models. The tension between *Mündigkeit* and utilitarianism will become clear because – at the very least – everything we learn must be socially and economically usable. It seems to be necessary to reflect that competency models will also enforce an idea of humanity that propagates the so-called *Zweckrationalität* (purpose rationality) – a term created by Max Weber.[14] *Zweckrationalität* evolved during the eighteenth century, as a result of the enforcement of bourgeois society.[15] In this context, broad knowledge loses its importance; it is disintegrated into loose fragments and often replaced by superficiality.

A caricature, published in the daily newspaper *Der Standard* illustrates this problem (and the position of the artist is not really clear): A pitiable, bespectacled, and non-sporty boy collapses under the burden of heavy books or under the burden of knowledge (cf. Fig.10.2). The caricature supposes that society's knowledge, in other words, its cultural heritage, restricts mental and physical movement. However, the very sporty girl minces to school, balancing knowledge like an acrobat. She is healthy because she has less knowledge. And, therefore, she is also ready to perform. Idleness connected with reading books is reprehensible. Imagine that someone reads "Waverley", by Walter Scott, a 600-page book. In our society, that is, in a meritocracy, the question of utilization is obvious.

But we must be aware of the risk that the cultural context may be lost with loose fragments of knowledge. An example are teaching materials related to the

14 Max Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, 6th ed., ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985), 404.

15 Franco Moretti, *The Bourgeois. Between History and Literature* (London: Verso, 2013).

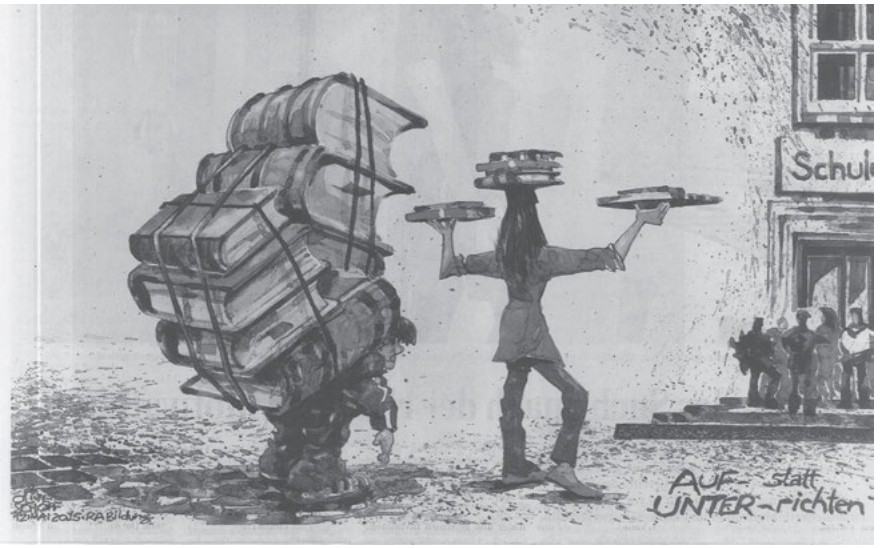

Figure 10.2: The burden of knowledge? – "Der Standard" (may 12, 2015).

topic "historical competence for social orientation"[16]; in German, this is called *historische Orientierungskompetenz*. This means that history should enable learners to orient themselves in a confusing world. Therefore, the title of these teaching materials is *Geschichte nutzen*; in English: "to use history". In order to avoid misunderstanding: Without a doubt, the teaching materials are innovative and offer good ideas for history lessons. But we also find the mentioned problem of loose fragments. An example illustrates this[17]: One proposal for teaching deals with different forms of strikes. Inter alia, three pictures have to be compared. For this, only a small text box with working knowledge is provided. At least the image analysis must, inevitably, remain superficial. Therefore numerous questions remain unanswered. For example, what goals were pursued with strikes in the nineteenth century? What was or is the function of street barricades? In short:

16 Heinrich Ammerer, Wolfgang Buchberger, and Johannes Brzobohaty, eds. *Geschichte nutzen. Unterrichtsbeispiele zur Förderung von historischer Orientierungskompetenz* (Wien: Edition polis, 2015).

17 Wolfgang Buchberger, "Geschichte nutzen. Unterrichtsbeispiele zur Förderung von historischer Orientierungskompetenz," in *Geschichte nutzen. Unterrichtsbeispiele zur Förderung von historischer* Orientierungskompetenz, eds. Heinrich Ammerer, Wolfgang Buchberger, and Johannes Brzobohaty (Wien: Edition polis, 2015), 10–18.

The proposal for teaching does not really enlarge on the economic, social, and cultural context.

But social participation based on a differentiated view of social problems is not possible without a broad knowledge about such a context. This is one side of history teaching, which can be called "political utilitarian function". The other side is an interest in history beyond functional thinking, something that I would term "history teaching for idleness". Knowledge that has hardly any significance for a meritocracy, because it seems to be functionless, becomes more important. Then, history teaching has to enable self-discovery and self-reflection, as well as satisfaction with one's own existence. Of course, satisfaction is not to be equated with complacency and immobility. On the contrary, satisfaction means a mental state that is characterized by great interest in the world and in society. Beyond a functionalism determined by economy, the study of an artwork or of literature, for example, opens up an intellectual space. And, in this space, someone can achieve great pleasure, because only historical and political education enables understanding. And, at the same time, understanding makes it possible to gain insight into the (political) structures of society and – as a consequence of this process – to participate in politics and society.[18]

The question arises whether an alternative public history will prevail. This public history should be – in addition to its socio-critical function – an end in itself, as a foundation for individual satisfaction. In this way, history teaching could enrich a society focused on performance. Without a doubt, this is difficult to achieve, because we are all socialized in a bourgeois society and therefore trapped in the idea of *Zweckrationalität*. But we have to remember that the idea of "history teaching for idleness" is also found in bourgeois society: A watercolor by Honoré Daumier, "The Connoisseur" (1860–1865), shows a bourgeois sitting in a room crammed with artworks (cf. Fig.10.3). He admires a reproduction of the Venus of Milo, removed from reality or, better, temporarily removed from the bourgeois public to be prepared for being successful in society. Therefore, idleness in terms of enjoyment of art and – in a broader sense – of history, must be considered as a necessary part of modern society and not only as a romantic attitude. Public History could illustrate this context and encourage creative history didactics beyond narrow functionalism.

18 Thomas Hellmuth, "About Compentences, or – instead – how about Education?," *Public History Weekly* 3, no. 27 (2015). doi: 10.1515/phw-2015-4536.

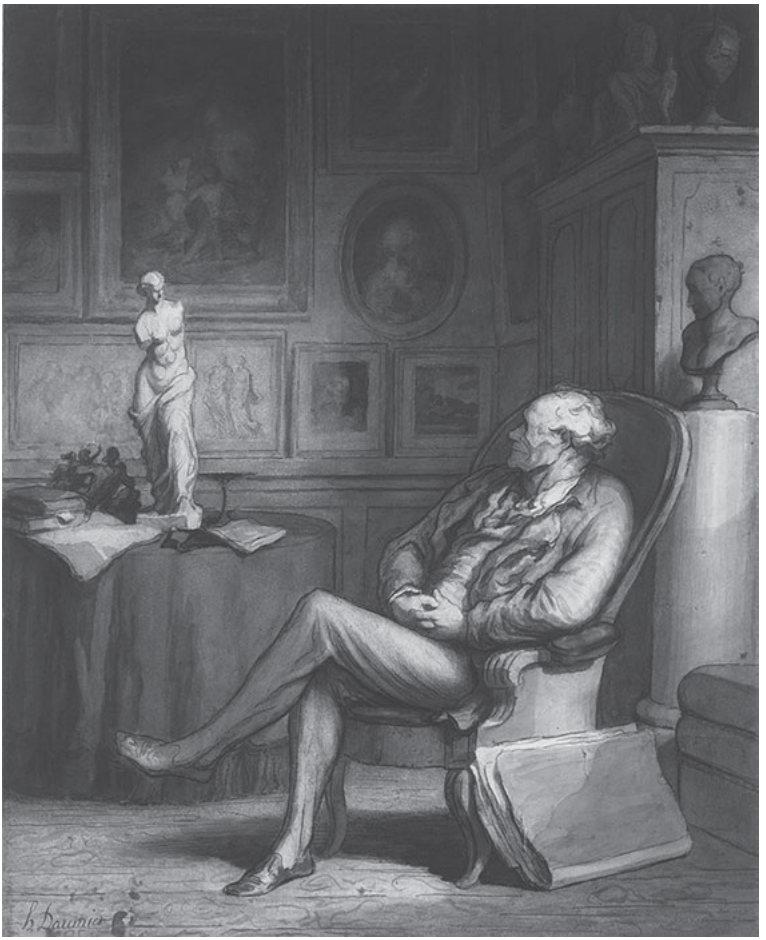

Figure 10.3: "Le Connaisseur" (Honoré Daumier, 1860–65, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection).

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Jan Hodel

If They are Taxi Drivers – What Are We? Archives and Schools

It may sound strange that this contribution deals with taxis and their drivers. What do taxi drivers have to do with Public History? Actually, they have much more to do with it than one might see at a first glance, once we enter the world of metaphorical equivalents.

The idea for this text stems from reading a tweet that was posted by Jessamy Carlson.[1] She works at the National Archives in London and posted the following tweet during the British Archives & Records Association conference in 2011: "Archivists must be the taxi drivers of knowledge, directing people to interesting and innovative places they might like to see."[2]

As soon as we enter the field of metaphors, many questions arise. In this particular case, the most pressing for my situation was: If they – the archivists – conceive themselves as taxi drivers of historical knowledge who take people to places of historical interest (to paraphrase Carlson) – then what are we history educators? Are we bus drivers who get groups of people (i.e., students) on a tight schedule (i.e., timetable) to places where they more or less want to be, but that are held important and interesting by the management of the bus company (i.e., ministerial curriculum authors)? Or are we taxi drivers as well? And if so, do we belong to a competing company – or to the same one? What would represent the traffic system in this case? And, after all, do both sides see this metaphorical situation in the same way?

Of course, using metaphors takes us only so far. You easily can get lost – and not in a metaphorical way, even though you might have experienced getting lost with taxis and busses as well. So let's stop using metaphors for now and get into the matter more thoroughly: What are the following considerations about?

The first question is: Why are archives engaging in history education? And what for? This leads inevitably to the underlying question: Why should this self-conception of archivists as taxi drivers of knowledge, presented by a British archivist in a tweet, be of any concern to Public History, to history education, and to history educators in the first place? We live in a free society – and should we not

1 Thanks to Daniel Hagmann for drawing my attention to this tweet, see Daniel Hagmann, "Taxidienste Für Basels Geschichte: Zur Rolle von Archiven für die Regionalgeschichtsschreibung," *Basler Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Altertumskunde* 112 (2012).

2 Jessamy Carlson, "Archivists must be the taxi drivers of knowledge," @jessamycarlson, August 31, 2011, accessed December 28, 2015, twitter.com/jessamycarlson/status/108889818485891073.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110466133-011

be glad about anyone who is willing to support the tedious task of history education?

Before I get to this last question, let me try to find preliminary answers to the first one: Why are archives interested in history education? What are their objectives and their means? And to what extent do the current conditions within the field of Public History affect their efforts?

I will try to probe these topics in three very different areas. I hope they will culminate in convincing or at least plausible findings, because it must be clear that I am exploring this matter from a history educator's point of view, which is an outsider's view, in this case. So bear with me if my presentation lacks some consistency in its rationale. I will start by examining the matter in question on a historical scale. Then I want to suggest taking a look at architectural aspects that might offer some insights. And, finally, I want to close with some remarks on the impact of the digital change that we are currently witnessing.

Archivpädadogik – or how archives became history educators

So let's do what historians do most of the time when they encounter a problem to be solved: They turn to history and ask how it all evolved, i.e., where it all began. In this particular case, this question must be answered first in a biographical way.

There are two reasons why the role of archives in history education began to interest me: One is a personal experience that I had during the last two years through contacts with two archives in our region. The other one is a concept, a term, that I found while preparing this presentation. This might well be very typical for how discussions about Public History arise. They do not necessarily stem from theoretical consideration but may just spring to life in the context of our social relationships.

Three years ago, I asked the archive of *Aargau* whether I could bring my students from the school of education to the archive, to give them an insight about how history is being made. With great joy I found that the colleagues at the archive were not only very friendly about complying with my request but even showed explicit interested in having *more* teachers at the archives. They asked whether these visits to the archive could become a regular part of our educational curriculum for history teachers. The same thing happened at the archive of *Basel-Stadt*. Subsequently, I learned that my colleagues from the archive were even offering specific classes for teachers within the continuing education program of our canton. At this point, I started to wonder about the reasons – and the consequences.

The second reason why I became interested in the history of the archival activities related to history education was a German term that I encountered during my talks with the colleagues at the archives: *Archivpädagogik*. There is no English translation; instead, the term "educational services" is used in the United Kingdom,[3] but this captures only part of the meaning. The term comprises all activities undertaken by an archive with the aim of giving people the opportunity to learn from the past – especially by using the documents (a.k.a. sources) stored in the archives, but also by using the skills and the knowhow of the archivists to find the documents they might need. These offerings are not only targeted at individuals but also at schools: either at classes or at teachers who could bring students with them on a field trip.

When I started to explore the matter, the first thing I found out was that it would be nice to have more time to spend exploring the issue in depth. Unfortunately, time has been scarce, so I can only offer a preliminary view, a sketch with broad brush strokes. Not very surprisingly, I also found that the situation differs from one country to another. But, still, there are some similarities that lead to a general view.

There were early efforts during the nineteenth century to open archives to an interested public. But only after World War II did the archival community start to place more interest on providing teachers, in particular, with insights into how archives work and how they could help teachers to teach history to students. In France, Charles Braibant introduced the concept of the "*service educatif*" that systematically brought literally thousands of teachers to the archives and granted them an insight into the daily tasks of an archive. Based on this example, archivists in other countries started to discuss a more thorough form of educational activities in and through archives, namely in the Netherlands and the German Democratic Republic in the 1960s. In the 1970s there were official recommendations in the United Kingdom that underscored the importance of the educational work of archives.[4] In the United States, the field of "outreach" activities of archives became more important after the bicentennial of the American Revolution,[5] even though these activities mainly

3 Cf. Thomas Lange and Thomas Lux, *Historisches Lernen Im Archiv. Methoden Historischen Lernens* (Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau Verlag, 2004), 33.

4 Cf. Franz Georg Eckhardt, *Archives and Education. A RAMP Study with Guidelines. General Information Programme and UNISIST, UNESCO* (Paris, 1986) accsessed December 12, 2015, unesdoc.unesco.org/images /0007/000709/070930eo.pdf, 5 – 8.

5 Cf. Elsie Freeman Freivogel, "Education Programs: Outreach as an Administrative Function," *American Archivist* 42, no. 2 (1978). and: Ann Pederson, "Archival Outreach: SAA's 1976 Survey,"

consisted of publications and exhibitions, whilst the possibilities of touring students were merely mentioned.[6]

But nowhere (as far as I can see) did such considerations have more impact than in Western Germany. Two aspects deserve to be pointed out: the activities of the „*Geschichtswerkstätten*" ["History Workshops"], a grass roots movement that used the archives because of its interest in regional and local history.[7] And, of course, the „*Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten*" ["History competition of the Federal President"][8] that sent hundreds of thousands of students to the archives to search for, work with, and demonstrate sources in order to corroborate their findings in the contributions that they submitted.

In the years that followed, and especially since the 1990s, there has been an ongoing dynamic development of educational services throughout Germany. There has been a mutual participation of archivists and history educators in this development. Long lists of specialized publications and dedicated sections of professional associations are evidence for this perception.[9] And even though there have been similar developments in other countries, especially in France,

American Archivist 42, no. 2 (1978), accessed December 12, 2015, americanarchivist.org/doi/pdf/10.17723/aarc.41.2.l2070166pt18j487.

6 Cf. Jane Meredith Pairo, "Developing an archival outreach program," *Georgia Archive* 10, no. 1 (1982), accessed December 12, 2015, digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/georgia_archive/vol10/iss1/3..

7 About the impact of the *Geschichtswerkstätten* on the development of the *Archivpädagogik* cf. Lange and Lux, *Historisches Lernen Im Archiv*, 38-43. For the history of the Geschichtswerkstätten cf. Etta Grotrian, "Geschichtswerkstätten und alternative Geschichtspraxis in den achtziger Jahren," in *History sells!*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009).

8 Cf. Körber-Stiftung, "Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten: Porträt," accessed December 12, 2015, www.koerber-stiftung.de/bildung/geschichtswettbewerb/portraet.html. Also, especially regarding the impact of the Geschichtswettbewerb on the development of the *Archivpädagogik* cf. Stefan Frindt and Ludwig Brake, "Schülererfahrungen in der Archivarbeit: Zur Rolle und Bedeutung der Kommunalarchive beim Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten," in *Profilierung der Kommunalarchive durch Historische Bildungsarbeit: Beiträge des 18. Fortbildungsseminars der Bundeskonferenz der Kommunalarchive (BKK) in Wolfsburg Vom 9. - 11. November 2009*, eds. Marcus Stumpf and Katharina Tiemann (Münster: Landschaftsverb. Westfalen-Lippe, LWL-Archivamt für Westfalen, 2010).

9 Visit the website of the section „*Archivpädagogik und historische Bildungsarbeit*" (established 1988) of the Association of German Archivists (*Verband deutscher Archivare*) accessed December 12, 2015, www.archivpaedagogen.de/startseite.html. and there, the bibliography section, accessed December 12, 2015, www.archivpaedagogen.de/bibliographie.html.

the Netherlands, and Russia,[10] Eckhardt's conclusion in his 30-year-old report[11] still seems to describe the current situation appropriately: "That service to education is an integral part of the archivist's functions [...] seems to be a matter of almost general consensus today, although there are still wide differences in the degree to which this postulate has been put into effect."[12] Educational services in archives still are some kind of "extra". They have not yet been established as an integral part of the expected tasks of archives.

Buildings – and what they tell

But what could be the obstructions that prevent archives from realizing their plans and their aims? I would say that they stem from a deeply rooted self-concept of how the archives relate to the public. A very basic and visually stunning way to find out about the relationship between archives and the public is to analyze how architects conceived archival buildings.[13]

10 Cf. T. Lange's overview based on the first European conference on archival educational services: Lange and Lux, *Historisches Lernen Im Archiv*, 33 – 35. Another good account: Dieter Klose, Roswitha Link, Joachim Pieper, Clemens Rehm, and Günther Rohdenburg, "Archivpädagogische Perspektiven – Eine europäische Bilanz. Tagung für Archivpädagogik in Bocholt," *Der Archivar. Zeitschrift für Archivwesen* 57, no. 3 (2004).

Unfortunately, all efforts for a joint European initiative on archival educational services seem to have been abandoned; the website www.elan-net.info (ELAN = Educational Learning in Archives Network) was only up and running from 2003 to 2006, according to archives.org, where the last screenshot as of 29 June 2006 can be found, accessed December 12, 2015, web.archive.org/web/20060629202618/http://elan-net.info/.

11 Eckhardt's findings are still the only international survey of archival activities regarding history education that also consider nations outside Europe: cf. Eckhardt, *Archives and Education*.

12 Ibid., 8.

13 The assumption that I present here cannot claim to be more than a mere glance at the obvious first impression. Nevertheless, it should be stated that the approach in this article is rather a phenomenological, not a semiotic one. Therefore, it is close to Robert Scruton's attempts to analyze architecture, but without his conservatist views (cf. Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Architecture. Princeton Essays on the Arts 8* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979). The concept of Havik might be more useful for analyzing the buildings of archives. She suggests three categories of analysis: description, transcription, and prescription. Description is understood in a phenomenological way, transcription focuses on the social use of space and building, whilst prescription is about imagining spatial arrangements that are not yet in place. In this sense, the statements in this article clearly belong to the category "description", whereas analyses in the categories of transcription and prescription still have to be performed

So, I now invite you to take a quick glance at some of those buildings. Please form your own opinion about how you would judge the buildings in terms of how they depict the relationship between the institutions they house and the public. In Figure 11.1, you see the federal archives of Switzerland in Berne (cf. Fig.11.1), completed in 1899. In Figure 11.2, the national archives of the United States of America in Washington (DC), completed 1937 (cf. Fig.11.2). Figure 11.3 shows the federal archive of the Federal Republic of Germany in Koblenz, completed 1986 (cf. Fig.11.3). And Figure 11.4 is the national archives of France at Pierrefitte sur Seine, in the northern suburbs of Paris, completed 2013.

Figure 11.1: Federal Archives of Switzerland in Berne, completed in 1899.

I don't know what you think of those buildings. So I will have to take into account that you might disagree. But my personal take on this short series would be that not much has changed over the last one hundred years with regard to the way these archives show their connection to the public through their architecture. Let me explain with a local example.

(cf. Klaske Havik, *Urban Literacy: Reading and Writing Architecture* (Rotterdam: Nai010 Publishers, 2014).)

Figure 11.2: National Archives and Record Administration of the United States of America in Washington (DC), completed 1937.

Figure 11.3: Federal Archive of the Federal Republic of Germany in Koblenz, completed 1986.

In Figure 11.5 you can see the cantonal archive of the Canton *Basel-Stadt* - the "*Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt*". It was completed 1899 and was the first dedicated building to house an archive in Switzerland. I am leaving out further comments on why the government of Basel built an archive that looks as if it has been built

Figure 11.4: National Archives of France at Pierrefitte sur Seine (near Paris), completed 2013.

Figure 11.5: The cantonal archive of the Canton *Basel-Stadt,* completed 1899.

in the sixteenth century. It has to do with the fact that the archive was built as an appendix to the renaissance town hall of Basel. I just want to make the point that this building (like the others we saw before) tries to convince the spectator: Everything is safe here, trust us, your highly esteemed and very valuable records and archival documents won't get into the wrong hands!! This contrasts, somehow, with the aims of educational services, with which archives want to convince the user that archives are open and welcoming.

As I mentioned, the archive of *Basel-Stadt* was built 1899. Now, in 2015, the Canton of *Basel-Stadt* needs a new building for its archive – there are too many records, too many documents to store. So, it just recently (in August 2015) presented the following plans for a new building.[14]

The cantonal authorities plan to build a new archive close to the industrial area of Basel, which is supposed to house not only the cantonal archive but the museum of natural history as well. That's why both „*Museum*" and „*Archiv*" are written on the building that you see in Figure 11.6. As you can see, there is quite a contrast to the building we have just seen – and not only because you can see actual people in front of the archive.

I like to point out that, on one hand, there is no fence around the building. On the other hand, you may notice that the public rooms for the users are situated on the second floor, where you just see a wall of windows. This is an architectural solution that shows transparency at its utmost extent. Of course, the records are not stored up there; they are stored safely underground: the building has several basement floors.

At the end of this small case study, we might conclude that there have been changes in the conceptions of how archives want to relate to the public: they want to present themselves as open, transparent, and accessible institutions, more than just safeguards for old documents. But changes in the way how institutions relate to the public seem much easier to put down in conceptual papers, strategic objectives, and task descriptions than into practice, where the institutional conditions and spatial constraints might prove to be persistent obstacles. And these hindering conditions do not necessarily have to be of an architectural nature alone: They can also be of a mental nature in either the people who operate or use the archives.

14 Cf. Karen N. Gerig, "Ein Turm mit Bar ziert den Neubau des Naturhistorischen Museums," *Tageswoche*, August 19, 2015, accessed December 12, 2015, www.tageswoche.ch/de/2015_34/kultur/696397/.

Figure 11.6: New Museum of Natural History Basel and State Archives Basel-City. EM2N, Zurich (visualization of the planned new building)

The archives and the digital change

In the past twenty years, all efforts to change the character of archives and their services have been impacted by digital change. At first glance, the internet seems to offer an easy way to implement these changes. Becoming an open and accessible institution seems to be merely a matter of first putting your archival documents on a scanner and then on a website. And there have been considerable efforts by various archives to put huge amounts of digitalized documents at the disposal of the public.[15]

But there are some aspects to consider that complicate this seemingly easy task. The motive of introducing educational services originated in the idea that the non-professional user needed help to figure out how to find the required documents and how to deal with them correctly. Just putting documents online

15 But interestingly enough, it was a library, not an archive, that put the first exhaustive collection of historical sources on a dedicated website: 1995, the Library of Congress launched the American Memory Website, accessed December 12, 2015, memory.loc.gov/ammem/about/index.html.

will not do. The user needs some sort of guidance. Of course, archives are aware of this. And there are ways to respond to this challenge: For one, build an online introduction on how to use the archive. Some archives have developed such introductory sections on their web sites,[16] although none in such a thorough fashion as the project "*Ad fontes*" at the University of Zurich.[17] There you find not only introductory modules on how to use an archive but training modules as well, with which you can learn about and practise transliterating sources. Other tools focus on enhancing the search possibilities. Another interesting approach is to use meta search engines that allow one to search within the databases of several archives at once.[18]

More recently, archives have started to use the new opportunities offered by social media tools to interact with the public. Social media give archives the opportunity to put the aims of accessibility, transparency, and the free flow of information better into effect. It has never been easier for the public to get in touch with an archive or for the archives to get in touch with the public. But much experience has to be collected and evaluated and many questions have to be answered.[19]

On the other hand there is a revival (or maybe the persistence) of the *"real physical thing",* the authentic document that you can hold and touch and that actually has survived time and decay. The wish to see and touch the authentic documents is more a wish of the users than of the archives. But the archives happily grant these wishes, because it helps to draw attention to the work of archives. Therefore, the lines between museums and archives, as keepers of auratic, authentic objects that promise to grant access to the past, continue to blurr.[20]

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16 A very thorough one at the National Archives of the United Kingdom,accessed December 12, 2015, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/start-here. Also worth noting: National Archives of the USA, accessed December 12, 2015, www.archives.gov/research/start/.

17 *Ad fontes* has won several awards over the last few years. Unfortunately, it is only available in German. You must register to use all the modules of the project, accessed December 12, 2015, www.adfontes.uzh.ch.

18 For example, the Archives Portal Europe,accessed December 12, 2015, www.archivesportaleurope.net. or the Swiss-based website *archives online*, accessed December 12, 2015, www.archivesonline.org.

19 Cf. the results of a recent survey with twenty-three archivists in the United States: Joshua Hager, "To Like or Not to Like: Understanding and Maximizing the Utility of Archival Outreach on Facebook," *The American Archivist* 78, no. 1 (2015).

20 Cf. for a summary about the role of authenticity in museums (though with no mention of objects in archives): Achim Saupe, "Authenticity. Version 3.0." Docupedia.de, April 12, 2016. http://docupedia.de/zg/Authenticity_.28english_version.29?oldid=108984.

Conclusion

Thus, it seems as if the digital change helps archives to pursue the aims of the educational services more efficiently. But there is still the question of total costs and the financial resources available. The digital change does not come for free. Numerous smaller and midsized archives suffered essential cutbacks in recent years and are not capable of extending their services beyond their previous offers.

Therefore, both public expectations, driven by new possibilities of the digital change, and the alteration in their self-conception lead to a difficult situation for archives, and for history educators as well. One might think that there would be no problems if archives opened up to the public in general and to schools and students in particular. This should be a welcome way of expanding the public history space for the good of all, and especially for the purposes of history education.

But this concept of an expanding public history space can only be applied to a society without any restraints regarding the availability of resources to do so. There is only so much time, staff, and money available, and the possibilities of actually implementing history education within the framework of school institutions are limited. So there seems to be an inevitable trade-off: for every hour that students spend in archives, one they could have spent on traditional history education in the classroom is lost.

The only way to resolve this dilemma is to tie these two specific areas of history education together. In Switzerland, working at archives has become a compulsory part of the revised new curriculum "Lehrplan 21".[21] This does not solve the problem of limited resources, but it offers a more specific incentive to look for topics that can be used in both realms of history education.

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21 Cf. the article by Peter Gautschi in this volume.

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Alix Green

Professional Identity and the Public Purposes of History

Commentary

Professional identity is a central concern of these three papers; my commentary takes this notion as a lens through which to view the nexus of historical knowledge and practice, history education, politics and citizenship. To do so is, quite deliberately, to encourage a reflexive turn – to recognise that who we think we are as historians, archivists or history educators is as relevant as how we characterise our constituencies: students, legislators, publics and so on. This endeavour is partly about where we understand the parameters of our crafts to lie, and how these communities of practice relate to and engage with one another. There is certainly a central and common concern with the past as it is presented and represented in the present and to a variety of audiences. Professional identity also, however, prompts more searching questions about authority (and its limits). They – we – are not merely *concerned* with the past. We also claim a kind of 'mandate' over it, whether we see ourselves as gatekeepers, custodians, guides or perhaps experts of another kind. In doing so, we must seek to understand how such a claim conditions the relationships we have with those constituencies.

Let us explore, and complicate, this theme of authority further. These mandates are often taken to rest on credentials. Public historians – if we can appropriate the 'umbrella term'[1] – are like other professional communities in taking our authority from training and qualifications, from experience and status, and from the job roles that we occupy. Such mandates are never stable, nor are they uncontested – particularly now. The internet has enabled wider access to information and new, diverse and dispersed communities of knowledge have emerged.[2] History is perhaps distinctive in that this challenge to professional status is far from new; a longer, and intellectually important, lineage lies in the idea of history as "the work... of a thousand hands", as Raphael Samuel so vividly described it.[3]

1 Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice*, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder Arnold, 2006).

2 Richard Susskind and Daniel Susskind, *The Future of the Professions: How Technology Will Transform the Work of Human Experts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

3 Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 2012), 18.

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Less readily acknowledged is that elected politicians also claim a stake in the content and status of historical knowledge through the provision and regulation of state-funded education. Of all the subjects taught in schools, history has been most often on the political front line, as 'textbook wars' in Australia, the United States and Japan, among many others, have shown (it is worth noting, however, that the very centrality of historical narrative to the politics of identity has also made the textbook a tool of reconciliation, as in the case of the Polish-German joint textbook commission).[4] Whether they are acting as ministers in government, as members of legislative or scrutiny committees or just as elected representatives, politicians draw *their* mandates for involvement in school history from the democratic system – and thus, ultimately, from the concerns and interests of wider society: the public. In defending these mandates, politicians often invoke a pervasive sense that social cohesion relies on shared identity and values, and those in turn on knowledge of – usually national – history.

Of course, the 'public' also have their own claims on history. The public is – *we* are – no homogenous mass, but made up of blurred and shifting groups and networks. Multiple pasts shape multiple identities, beliefs and attitudes, sometimes complementary, sometimes overlapping or conflicting. Education is one of the policy areas in which these difficult and contentious pasts are most prominent, but we can also see their influence at the moment in debates about immigration and borders, the future of Europe in all its complexities, intervention in Syria and many others.

For historians, these other mandates are often highly problematic, and the emerging field of public history has by no means resolved anxieties about what happens to history outside professional control. Drawing on Samuel's legacy, ideas of shared authority have been celebrated in the British discipline of history, if not widely or consistently practised.[5] There has been a marked disinclination, however, to extend such work from local and community history or museum contexts into the policymaking domain. These inconsistencies should suggest to us the need to look again at our own attitudes, assumptions and commitments. The mandates of politicians and the public over the past may have a different derivation from those claimed by historians, but can we question their legitimacy on that basis? Perhaps it is not so much the mandates themselves, however troublesome we may find them, but rather the *entitlements* taken to flow from a

4 See: accessed September 1, 2016, www.gei.de/en/departments/europe-narratives-images-spaces/europe -and-the-national-factor/german-polish-textbook-commission.html.

5 See for example: Laura King and Gary Rivett, "Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus," *History Workshop Journal* (June 16, 2015).

particular mandate and the challenges in managing the tensions and incompatibilies that inevitably arise *between* mandates.

In raising the issue of entitlements, we can, again, start in reflexive mode. How self-conscious are we about the status and privileges attached to our own professional roles? Here, I wonder if historical scholarship is somewhat ahead of the habits and dispositions of historians themselves. Historians now widely recognise that our understanding of the past is present-oriented, provisional, unstable and negotiated, yet we are often less comfortable with the implications of this understanding. That is, can we assume that our entitlement to guard or mediate access to the past is secure if we are not talking of singular, 'authorised' accounts but plural, contested interpretations that are constantly being made and remade (and not just by us)?

E. H. Carr memorably described history as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his [sic] facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past".[6] To those conversations must be added exchanges within and between professional communities, and also with audiences, consumers, recipients and associates of various kinds. All this means, I suggest, that we cannot simply 'take' our authority or assume our entitlements. Rather, we must realise, as geographer Sally Eden has argued, that expertise is 'built contingently' and has to be continually re-negotiated with those on whose recognition our expert status depends.[7] Who those people are is worth some thought – colleagues, peers, students, funders, readers? – as is how we see those constituencies and their claims on our attention. Introducing contingency means acknowledging that patterns of recognition and responsibility shift over time, often with changes in our professional roles and interests. So perhaps our authority and influence as historians are better understood not as substantive entities or inherent qualities, nor indeed as possessions (such as credentials) – but as "attribute[s] of the relationships within which [they are] exercised".[8]

To think in relational terms about our expertise is, I admit, challenging. We must critically examine our sense of the professional self. And, in the case of school history education, the relationships in question are highly problematic, particularly – as the papers in this section demonstrate – those with policymakers. In Britain, the construction of an 'educational establishment' in political discourse has made any conversation about the connection between historical

6 Edward Carr, *What Is History?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 24.

7 Sally Eden, "Green, Gold and Grey Geography: Legitimating Academic and Policy Expertise," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 3 (2005).

8 Christopher Clark, "Power," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

knowledge, historical understanding and history education hugely challenging. More provocatively, this leftist agglomeration of teachers' unions, academics, civil servants and others has been labelled 'the blob'. The term was imported from the United States by former Education Secretary Michael Gove. It conveniently lumps together a diverse range of professions to create a faceless, formless 'other' that can be easily dismissed as inveterately hostile to government scrutiny and reform, often pursued under the flag of raising standards (the anti-expert rhetoric of the recent Brexit referendum campaign drew its energy from the same source). With regards to history education, there is a further indictment to be added to the blob's record. As Margaret Thatcher put it: "a whole generation has been brought up to misunderstand and denigrate our national history... for the blackest picture is drawn by our Socialist academics and writers of precisely those periods of our history when greatest progress was achieved compared with earlier times, and when Britain was furthest in advance of other nations".[9]

This charge points us to the key site of conflict between two mandates over the past: that of historians (broadly understood here as teachers, historians and scholars of pedagogy) and that of government. In the selection of topics and events children should be taught, notions of *historical* significance become inflected with judgements about *political and social* significance – the extent to which those topics or events were constitutive of national narratives, for example, about principles of democracy or free speech, values such as tolerance or about advances in industry and science. These two understandings of significance do not sit compliantly alongside each other, and tension between politicians and historians is inevitable, if not inevitably incendiary.

Teaching the passing of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 1807 does not preclude exposing students to longer views of Black settlement in Britain or to histories of Black achievement and resistance. Nor should it elide British participation in and profit from the trade in enslaved people, the financial legacies of which have been traced into the present by an important project at University College, London.[10] Yet the term 'legacy' points us towards why what children learn about the past is, nonetheless, such a fraught issue. The social and political legacies of the slave trade are multiple, complex and elusive. They can intrude in often insidious, sometimes brutal, ways on people's lives and on wider public consciousness, from everyday discrimination to racially-aggravated violence.

9 Hugh Thomas, *History, Capitalism and Freedom* (London: Centre for Policy Studies, 1979), Thatcher wrote the Foreword.

10 See https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/

Recognising – and teaching children about – historical injustice becomes easily caught up with the present-day politics of identity, condemned in Britain as corrosive 'post-colonial guilt' that obscures narratives of pride and progress.[11] We can see in Gautschi's paper a similar pattern, with the Swiss People's Party rejecting as ideological 'indoctrination' a textbook encouraging students to engage actively and critically with the Nazi period. Gove's proposals aimed to challenge a supposedly anti-British agenda in the current history curriculum. That he was later prominent in the campaign to leave the EU should come as no surprise; we can connect attitudes to Britain's imperial past to beliefs about her (extra-)European future.[12] Indeed, the conspicuous neglect of Europe identified by Richard Evans in Gove's 2013 proposals for revising the history National Curriculum acquires fresh significance, if not a darker cast, following the referendum result.[13]

By attributing great political importance to the selection of topics for children to study, a false dichotomy is created between content coverage and the development of skills. There is so much weight attached to 'knowing' (an authorised past) that attempts to create space for students to develop those vital disciplinary techniques of appraisal, analysis and interpretation read not just as misguided but as *suspect*. Indeed, the development of a National Curriculum for England and Wales emerged from a moral panic among the political Right about the impact of 'progressive' or 'fashionable' practices on standards in schools.[14] History was a subject that drew particular attention, with the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) encapsulating the approbium. It had been set up by the Schools Council in 1972 to revitalise a subject with which pupils struggled to engage.[15] By the end of the 1980s over a third of schools were teaching the syllabus, which encouraged pupils to consider the perspectives of people to whom historical attention had rarely been given. SCHP placed the development of historical skills and

11 Lévesque has called these master narratives 'memory-history', which we can distinguish from disciplinary-history: Stephane Levesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 27.

12 Sally Tomlinson and Danny Dorling, "Brexit Has Its Roots in the British Empire – So How Do We Explain It to the Young?," *New Statesman*, May 9, 2016.

13 Richard J. Evans, "Michael Gove's History Wars," *Guardian*, July 13, 2013.

14 On the 'moral panic' on school standards: Keith Crawford, "A History of the Right: The Battle for Control of National Curriculum History 1989–1994," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 43, no. 4 (1995): p. 434.

15 On SCHP, see: Rosalyn Ashby and Christopher Edwards, "Challenges Facing the Disciplinary Tradition: Reflections on the History Curriculum in England," in *Contemporary Public Debates over History Education*, eds. Eire ne Nakou and Isabel Barca (Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age, 2010).

understanding in the foreground and emphasised the plural interpretations of historical evidence.[16] Affinities with the competence-based approach developed contemporaneously in Austria are clear.

It should be noted that this dichotomy of knowledge versus skills was not solely the preserve of politicians. An understandable response to a 'whitewashed' curriculum is to propose a more balanced, representative alternative. These challenges are important, but exchanging lists of who or what should be 'in' or 'out' only goes so far. An underlying problem is that professional history in its various forms also tends to prize the accumulation and display of knowledge. We confer an almost sacred status on the artifacts collected in archives, libraries and museums and accord professional esteem for the end products of research – books, articles, exhibitions and so on. But the complex, careful, *skilled* labour involved in between is largely hidden from view.[17] How we articulate and explain what it is historians do, why and for whom seem to me important questions. They are made urgent by a political context in which the whole notion that expertise can usefully inform policy and public debate is subject to dispute and the humanities, in particular, are being pressed to prove their worth.

Historians have not, of course, been absent from political debate, from school history to welfare reform to Brexit.[18] The problem, however, is that we are often in reactive mode – and the provocations are flagrant and frequent enough that response becomes a proxy for engagement. We defy and we rebut. Even while recognising the blob as a demon conjured up by the political right, we find the characterisation impossible to ignore. But the provocation is a trap as well as a rhetorical device, as Gove demonstrated well when he mocked scholars and educators as "bad academia" for criticising his plans for "children to learn things".[19] As soon as we react, individually or collectively, we reveal ourselves as blobberati, as experts or elites, whichever term is currently being used to aggregate and marginalise professional communities. A troubling tactic – setting expertise quite deliberately at odds with 'public good' and 'public opinion' – was seen in the Brexit referendum campaign.[20]

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16 See: Crawford, pp. 435–6; Abby Waldman, "The Politics of History Teaching in England and France During the 1980s," *History Workshop Journal* 68, no. 1 (2009): pp. 202–3; Ian Dawson, "The Schools History Project: A Study in Curriculum Development," *The History Teacher* 22, no. 3 (1989).

17 Jordanova, *History*, 161–163.

18 See in particular the work of the History and Policy network: www.historyandpolicy.org.

19 Jessica Shepherd, "Michael Gove Labels Professors Critical of New Curriculum as "Bad Academia"," *The Guardian*, March 21, 2013.

20 See for example: Ben Wright, "There's a Sinister Strain of Anti-Intellectualism to Gove's Dismissal of 'Experts'," *Telegraph*, June 21, 2016.

While it is vital that historians hold politicians, the media and others to account for false or tendentious uses of the past, reactive mode will only get us so far if we want to be able to define and explain our professional roles in ways that elicit trust and recognition. This means, I suggest, seeing past the provocation and trying to identify the broader questions and values at stake when caricatures such as the blob can find such a ready traction. Have our efforts to talk about learning history, about the value of historical reasoning and understanding and the importance of investing in the resources that give people access to the past been compelling to wider audiences? I wonder if our inclination to emphasise *specialist* identities (teacher, academic historian, archivist, curator and so on) has tended to undermine our professional credibility and influence. Could we create a more fluid and inclusive 'community of enquiry' that helps us all intellectually and in our relationships with political power – and the public?

One of the problems we could, perhaps, tackle together is the paradox of history being at the same time of central importance (that is, as a way of building civic identity through education) and of marginal value (so, of little economic utility in the so-called 'knowledge economy'). Let us unpack this paradox a little further. On the one hand, history clearly matters. It can sadden, offend, enliven and engage. It can define and it can dismantle ideas, identities and boundaries. It promises the ultimate appeal to justify one course of action or to render another indefensible. It can be seen to burden or to bolster a political party or a leader. Two powerful, historically-conditioned models of Britishness clashed in the referendum campaign: is Britain distinctive and apart in its institutions and traditions or fundamentally interconnected with continental Europe?[21]

So, to return to education, one important way history matters is that it gives us a more richly informed understanding of the present – not by means of crude 'lessons', but by developing the ability to ask searching questions (about immigration, human rights or welfare, for example). As people seek answers, reflect and return with further questions, they gain insights into the broader historical contexts and longer-term import of the policies under debate. Indeed, when the English and Welsh National Curriculum for history was first developed, one of the purposes identified for learning history was to "prepare pupils for adult life… [by giving them] a critically sharpened intelligence with which to make sense of current affairs".[22] But there was an evident 'dissonance' between the aims of the

21 These two positions were taken up by opposing historians' collectives, Historians for Britain, accessed September 26, 2016, www.historiansforbritain.org, then in response, Historians for History, accessed September 26, 2016, www.historiansforhistory.wordpress.com.

22 Department of Education and Science, "National Curriculum History Working Group: Final Report," (London: H.M.S.O., 1990), 1–2.

curriculum and the 'arrangements and systems for delivering them', the latter bearing the imprint of content coverage and the 'canon' of British – essentially English – history.[23]

We return here to political emphasis on *knowing* over active critical engagement. Indeed, when Kenneth Clarke became Education minister in John Major's first government (after Margaret Thatcher's resignation in 1990), he ordered political history to stop twenty years before the present, as if to insulate the now – and young people – from the toxicity of historical attention. This stricture was removed in 1995, but it does suggest ambivalence about the prospect of students emerging duly equipped with 'critically sharpened intelligence'. The saying goes that 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing', but perhaps, following Hellmuth's paper, it should instead read 'a little *Mündigkeit*…'. The English translation of *Mündigkeit*, 'responsibility', does not adequately capture the sense of agency and self-efficacy of the German word. My sense is that many historians, and scholars of historical pedagogy, would embrace the notion that history develops *Mündigkeit*. The discipline has prided itself on its 'disruptive' or 'destructive' credentials, the appeal of which must partly lie in the capacity to unsettle complacencies, dismantle received wisdoms and hold authority to account.[24]

Yet beyond notions of fostering shared identity, history, and the humanities more broadly, have tended to be cast by policymakers not as dangerous but as pointless – a far more troubling verdict from the perspective of historians. The discipline has struggled to articulate in ways persuasive to policy the value of history as a form of knowledge. "What counts is what works" was a manifesto slogan of New Labour on its way to ending eighteen years of Conservative government in Britain: the pitch of a modern, unideological party fit for power. Later formalised through electoral success into the doctrine of 'evidence-based policymaking' (EBPM), the phrase neatly captures a policy climate unconducive to expressions of uncertainty and complexity that are central to the humanities.[25] EBPM is highly problematic in both conception and implementation, invoking a simplistic rationalism that relies on misunderstanding scientific as well as humanistic

23 Terry Haydn, "History," in *Rethinking the School Curriculum: Values, Aims and Purposes*, ed. John Nov White (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 91–92.

24 Russell H. Hvolbeck and Peter N. Stearns, "Thinking and Rethinking History," in *History Anew: Innovations in the Teaching of History Today*, ed. Robert Blackey (Long Beach, Calif.: California State University Press, 1993); John Cannon, "Teaching History at University," *The History Teacher* 22, no. 3 (1989).

25 Peter Wells, "New Labour and Evidence Based Policy Making: 1997–2007," *People, Place & Policy Online* 1, no. 1 (May 22, 2007); Wayne Parsons, "From Muddling through to Muddling up - Evidence Based Policy Making and the Modernisation of British Government," *Public Policy and Administration* 17, no. 3 (2002).

methods.[26] It is a model into which the discipline of history is not readily accommodated, perhaps best illustrated in comments made by Charles Clarke in 2003, then Education and Skills Secretary in Tony Blair's second administration. When he needed an example of a subject without uses, it was to medieval history he turned: "I don't mind there being some medievalists around for ornamental purposes, but there is no reason for the state to pay for them".[27]

Perhaps Canadians should therefore be cautious in welcoming the former head of Blair's Delivery Unit, Michael Barber, as a close consultant to Justin Trudeau's Liberal administration.[28] On first inspection, Barber's doctrine of 'deliverology' captures the obvious of good government – you gather and analyse data then use it to monitor progress and so keep political promises – but like many self-evident truths it is far from neutral. Encoded in it is a set of values and assumptions that need to be exposed and inspected: here, about the nature of policymaking and the role of the executive, the mechanisms and levers available for policy implementation and the relationship between government and governed (among many others). What does not fit in the world of deliverology is the irreducible, unpredictable 'messiness' of being human and living in society. The humane disciplines have celebrated and taken as their especial concern the tensions, ambiguities and instabilities of human identity, judgement and expression – but rather than being recognised as providing insights vital for politics in a messy world, humanities scholars have been marginalised from policy. Indeed, the conceptualisation of the humanities as 'elective', the sciences by contrast as 'essential', has become widely assimilated into political discourse.[29] An extreme example is the letter sent by Japan's Minister of Education in 2015 instructing all universities to 'abolish' their social science and humanities programmes, or "to convert them to serve areas that better meet society's needs".[30]

I have suggested that creating a more inclusive community of enquiry might be one way to reframe our relationship as historians with political power. To pursue that idea, should we also be asking how far inclusivity might go? Responding to

26 I discuss this in: Alix Green, "History as Expertise and the Influence of Political Culture on Advice for Policy since Fulton," *Contemporary British History* 29, no. 1 (2014).

27 Will Woodward and Rebecca Smithers, "Clarke Dismisses Medieval Historians," *The Guardian*, May 9, 2003.

28 Evan Dyer, "'Deliverology' Guru Schools Trudeau Government for 2nd Time at Cabinet Retreat," *CBC News* 2016.

29 Julia Olmos-Peñuela, Paul Benneworth, and Elena Castro-Martínez, "Are Sciences Essential and Humanities Elective? Disentangling Competing Claims for Humanities' Research Public Value," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 14, no. 1 (2015).

30 Jack Grove, "Social Sciences and Humanities Faculties 'to Close' in Japan after Ministerial Intervention," Times Higher Education, September 14, 2015.

the problem of history being both dangerous and pointless in political terms is a task that involves a much broader 'we'. A history with 'public purpose' needs to engage, involve and animate the public – a principle easily invoked but not always given sufficient critical attention. Hodel's paper pointed us to the architecture of archives, and how such buildings communicate ideas about access and entitlement to the records of the past. His argument has a wider importance. The institutions in which we work, the associations in which we gather and through which we conduct our advocacy, the forums in which we communicate, the measures by which esteem and recognition are granted, and so on, are all *professional* structures. Like Hodel's archive buildings, these structures are not just 'there'. They instantiate the relational qualities of expertise and authority, creating frameworks that govern how and where – on what terms – the uncredentialled enter the expert world.

So where does this leave us? Peter Seixas has highlighted the 'distance' of history teachers from the academic community, which makes them "tend to see historical knowledge as being created by others." So, he goes on, "to the extent that they receive history as inert, opaque information, it is not surprising that they reproduce those presentations when they turn to face the students in the classroom."[31] Public and policymaking communities are also distant from academe and often have few opportunities or frameworks for participating in the construction of historical knowledge. Can we expect them to move beyond 'receiving' accounts of the past, to recognise history as a vital, vibrant, intellectually powerful way of knowing about the world without access to more than 'inert, opaque information'? I would say no, we cannot, and that shifting the terms of our engagement with public-political debate should be a disciplinary imperative for today. The rise of an emboldened right-wing populism in many parts of the Western world is divisive and troubling – on its fringes it is violent and criminal. It is also radically eroding the ground on which 'experts' and scholars of all kinds can stand in order to contribute constructively to public life. And so I come back to where I started, with the notion of professional identity. Who are we now? Can we as gatekeepers or guardians – or even taxi drivers – realise our public purpose, even act with civil courage? I am not sure we can. Something more fundamental seems necessary: being willing to redefine and reground our mandates, to revisit the limits and the entitlements of our authority and to reconfigure our relationships, not just with power but with our publics.

31 Peter Seixas, "The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning: The Case of History," American Educational Research Journal 30, no. 2 .

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The Future of Public History – What Shall We Teach Perspectively?

Alexander Khodnev

The Future of Public History – What Shall We Teach Perceptively: Russian Situation

Before we discuss the future of public history teaching a question should be raised if there is a future for the history in Russia? Francis Fukuyama saw the end of the history at the time of the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. And this was connected with the triumph of the West, with the victory of the international democratic liberalism for marxism. However, global contradictions have remained, they acquired a new shape and form, ensuring the continuity of history, and therefore its tomorrow. Yet, the history, of course, does not develop according to the paradigm explained by Francis Fukuyama, but according to its own laws. History have experienced in Russia serious difficulties in the last 25–30 years. It was tough for many Russian historians who defended the old marxist ideology to give up the idea that history cannot predict the future, and it does not have an authority to teach the lessons to the people. All alterations that happened in world historiography all the famous "turns" were met in Russia with much pain. Postmodernism was identified in Russia by many historians as a serious and harmful foreign influence on the verge of enemy ideology capable to undermine the very foundations of native Russian civilization and history. There exists an opposite point of view. Professor Andrei Sokolov encourages historians to experience "liberating influence of postmodernism on our historical consciousness, and on this basis to restore the prestige of history."[1] In general, the question of the future of history in Russia and possible ways of its teaching, especially in the field of public history, does not look simple and clear.

The retrospective of historical culture and public history: The case of Russia

Historical culture as a general understanding of the history, and the types of historical writing and the collective representation have developed in Russia in the nineteenth century. Historical culture is a network of the images and the representations of the past formed in the scientific historiography and transferred into

1 Andrey Sokolov. *Postmodernism i istoricheskoe soznanie*. *In Problemy istoricheskogo poznanija*, Ksenija V. Khvostova (ed.), 163–177. Moskva: IVI RAN, 2009.

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popular views on history through museums, literature, art, and in a broad sense through various means of communication. The American sociologist Charles Cooley in the early twentieth century attached a great importance to the changes in the industrial society, associated with communication, and included in this concept the post, telegraph, railways and education.[2] Consequently, with the growth of education and the emergence of new forms of communication there must develop a special relationship to history in society.

In Russia in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, there were major changes in historical culture. Famous works of historians Sergey M. Solovyov and Vasily O. Kliuchevsky caused the emergence of new images and representations of history among the educated people. Nevertheless, we cannot say that these images became the basis for mass people's perceptions of the past. The direct link between professional historians and literature, art and music were being only forming in the educated society. There have been only a few attempts to go into the people. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the public history did not appear in Russia in 1804 with the inception of the "Moscow Society of Russian History and Antiquities", as it was claimed by an article in the Russian part of Wikipedia.[3] This society was highly selective, and it appeared in the academic atmosphere at the Moscow University on the initiative of professor August Ludwig Schlözer. The position of the history in the society sometimes led to a decrease in the popularity of historical subjects. However, in general, in the life of pivotal era in the Russian Empire age, there existed a logical and pretty healthy interaction between professional historians and educated public demand.

Soviet era, which came after 1917, was a disaster for the history's social status. Previous professional historiography was gradually displaced by the main official "science" – the history of the Communist Party. In the new Bolshevik's Russian history, the history prior to the Soviet period, was counted of secondary importance. World history has been fixed to the frames of the Marxist theory of socio-historical formations change. The strict censorship was introduced, and it was echoed by the increase of the historians' self-censorship. Historians understood what kind of history to write and what the state awaits from them, and those who did not understand often became subjects to various repressions. The communication between historians and the society in the field that existed before was also destroyed. The Communist Party agitation and propaganda began to play a huge role in dissemination new images of the past into the masses of the people.

2 Charles H. Cooley. *Social Organization: A study of a Larger Mind*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, 61–62.

3 URL: ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Публичная_история (last accessed: 27 March 2016).

In the middle of 1980s, there has been a profound crisis of authority and communist ideology in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev initiated reforms in 1985. Soviet system of history acceptance in the society began to ruin since 1987 during Mikhail Gorbachev's "*Glasnost*" and "*Perestroika*" policy. History became particularly popular in the society in the end of 1980s. The public interest was very high because the popular Russian periodicals revealed so called "white spots in history". They were several very sensitive for most of Russians topics connected for instance with Joseph Stalin's time, great purges of the 1930s, casualties of the World War Two and may others. The circulation of the "*thick journals*" ("*tolstye zhurnaly*") that published history texts and the weekly "*Ogoniok*" were raising by about 20 million each year and in 1988 they were 65 million higher than in 1985. The periodical "*Rodina*" ("*Motherland*") that published its first copy in 1989 became a best seller and in a year in 1990 had already a 450 thousand readership.[4]

Starting with this epoch Russia, if not re-opened, it regained its complete and free history and a new historical consciousness about three decades ago. The history of Communist Party was still considered the main part in academic history in the last years of the Soviet Union. It was due to the state supported ideology. The academic history again due to the same state supported ideology missed important events names, personalities. This led to a certain decrease in the role of academic historians in society. In the last years of the Soviet Union the "white spots of history" began to be discussed outside the academic history, in different public media. I believe it was the beginning of extensive public history of a special kind.

However, the Gorbachev's "glasnost" and "perestroika" today is widely regarded in the political elite as a great national disaster that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. On 25 April 2005 President Vladimir Putin in his address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation called the collapse of the Soviet Union as "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century." Was it a catastrophe or not, it is still a debate. For real the place of history in the Russian society had changed with Mr. Gorbachev's movements. A new history was born, the history free from the dictation of ideologists and propagandists of the Communist Party.

The place of the history in the Russian society

Russia has been existing as a new state for more than a quarter of a century. During this time the policy has been changed and the political elite altered.

4 V. Bondarev. "Press Svobody i Svoboda Pressy," *Rodina*, 7 (2007): 14.

Russian society had experienced a severe crisis, and there were limited gains. One development trend remained unchanged. The Russian public consciousness is historical-centric. This does not mean that Russian society is living with history, entirely captivated by it, or knows it deeply. Opinion polls show very peculiar visions of the Russians about history, often far from the actual assessment of the facts. However, references to the past are the main component in collective representations. The value of history, as polls show, is growing in the structure of the construction of collective identity and memory images.[5]

History as an agenda generates an intense debate in the public debate and criticism of both from the right and from the left. For example, proponents of liberal reformers often argued about the "unpredictable past" of Russia. Their opponents from the camp of guardians of the Soviet past repeated the view that the true history of Russia was "demonized" by its enemies, acting at the direction of external Western forces. At the same time, not all the ages of Russian history fall into the epicenter of these disputes. The community of historians tried to deal with so-called "difficult questions" in recent years. More than half of items from "The Model List of difficult questions of the history of Russia" belong to the history of Soviet period and contemporary history since 1991.[6]

Two trends significantly affect the state of history in the modern Russian society. The first trend relates to the fact that the humanities in Russia, freed from the pressure of Communist party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology, are still not fully integrated into global social sciences. Russian historiography in many senses achieved the world level. Russian historians are divided into several groups. Historians who are fluent in foreign languages have become a part of international science. They are published in international publishing houses, they make presentations at conferences around the world. They accepted international standards, including those in the field of methodology. However, most of the domestic professional historiography remained closed to new trends. The history did not come out of its own identity crisis in this respect. Many historians still hope to retain their old positions. Professor Andrei Sokolov noted boldly in this connection that "the hope to restore history on previous principles – is as much an illusion as the hope for the restoration of the borders of empires of the past."[7]

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5 Boris Dubin. *Zhit v Rossii na Rubezhe Stoletii. Sotsoilogicheskie Ocherki I Razrabotki.* Moskva: Progess-Traditziya, 2007, 297–298

6 Kontseptsiya novogo uchebno-metodicheskogo kompleksa po otechestvennoi istorii: 65.

7 Andrey Sokolov. "Neravnodushnye zametki provintsialnogo professora istorii," *Znanie-sila*. 5 (2009): 95–101.

The second major trend is the politicization of history in Russia. The political context still is the main anxiety for school and other kinds of history in Russia. The government still tries to make decisions about what aspects of Russian history to remember and honor and which ones to forget. Russian historian Alexei Miller suggested a special term to describe this trend. He called it "the politics of history". It is an explicitly political phenomenon in which the government interferes into the work of professional historians for political reasons, usually to promote particular interpretations of history that match its political goals.[8] This interference occurs through such mechanisms as the establishment of institutes for historical memory, the creation of museums designed to enshrine a particular version of history, and state sponsorship of school history textbooks that promote certain historical interpretations while dismissing or ignoring other versions that are less favorable to the achievement of state policy objectives.

Alexei Miller describes the four key concepts of historical policy of the state as follows:

- History and memory are viewed primarily as an arena of political struggle with foreign and domestic opponents;
- The policy makers justify their actions by pointing to the universality of historical policy actions around the world;
- The policy makers argue that foreign enemies are working to establish an interpretation of past events that will harm their country if not countered;
- Historical politics is justified by the poor state of education in the country in question.[9]

Alexei Miller's observations help to understand another important part of the socio-cultural context of formation of historical memory in Russia. It is obvious that the policy of history, conducted by state institutions, invades the normal dialogue that exists in social practices in the field of history and it destroys them. The history images may vary significantly under the influence of the invasion of the policy. The politics of history, facing in the recent past, can be widely used to address both short-term tasks of government and justify the change of ideological priorities. The Moscow State University professor Elena Senjavskaja emphasized a strong influence of the "retrospective propaganda" on the collective historical memory of the people.[10]

8 Aleksei Miller. «Rossija: Vlast i istoriya," *Pro et Contra*, 3–4 (2009): 7.

9 Ibidem, 11–13.

10 Elena Senjavskaja. *Psikhologija voiny v 20 veke: istoricheskii opyt Rossii*. Moskva: Rossiiskaja politicheskaja entziklopedija, 1999: 48.

The trend to a strong state interference in history led to a tendency to protect academic history from all kind of other history subcultures. The well-known Russian historian Vladimir V. Sogrin divided all modern Russian historical culture into three subcultures: a popular subculture reflecting the perception of history by a mass public consciousness, a state-political subculture born through a state order, and a scientific academic subculture created by professionals on the basis of documentary sources and scientific disciplinary criteria. Vladimir Sogrin believes that only the third subculture of historical knowledge deserves to be nurtured, and only academic historiography can be called a true story.[11]

These trends of the history existence in Russia should be taken into account in the discussion about the future of public history in Russia and the teaching of public history.

The position of public history in Russia

History is in the center of public attention as it was stated. Many believe that the history as a school subject is a foundation of patriotic education and the construction of the people's collective identity. In this regard, the history at school is influenced by different social actors: the government, the Ministry of Education and Science, the Russian Academy of Sciences institutes, editorial boards of scientific and popular journals, community of historians and history teachers. In recent years there was significantly increased the influence on the history as a school subject by the new media, which are in the public history area.

By the word media we understand in Russia different means of mass communication, in other words - the system of public information that transfers news through technical means. There is a continuity of the following media in the order of their appearance in public sphere: newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, internet. Websites for teachers of history are particularly popular in the era of globalization in the field of modern media. The fact is that with the unlimited number of visits, the possibilities of interactive media discussions the Internet has opened new possibilities in comparison with magazines and newspapers. It changes the content of public history and the context of history living in the society.

Discussion about the problems of school history on the Internet falls under the definition of "public history". Public history, despite not being very well-knit sound of this term in Russian, is a new phenomenon and a way to present the

11 Vladimir Sogrin. «Tri istoricheskie subkul'tury postsovetskoj Rossii," *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost'*: 3 (2013): 92.

existence of history in society that is rising its interest to the Past. Academic historians do not have a monopoly in the "making" history in today's social environment. Society learns the history through its own practices, reconstruction, through the creation of new films and images, as well as through discussions on the Internet.

The professional community of historians has recognized new challenges of cultural history and seeks to answer. For example, a well-known Russian historian Lorina P. Repina emphasizes that "an important role in this necessary for community of historians' communication strategy should belong to the public history oriented to an audience outside the professional scientific community, or the so-called history for all".[12] It should be underlined that Lorina Repina expressed the approach of the majority of Russian historians to public history as to the applied area with limited opportunities to create new knowledge.

In reality public history in Russia no matter of it quality gains popularity by leaps and bounds. If we take the example of a school history, despite of all the influence and control from the part of state institutions, it is a vast border area between the public and adapted academic history. I argue that schoolteachers of history are public historians in an actual peculiar form. In this case a Russian translation in 1992 the book of the French historian Marc Ferro "The Use and Abuse of History: or How the Past is Taught to Children" played a major role in the Russian understanding of public history in the field of history education. M. Ferro in this book was one of the first to study the problem of the history of public in the context of education.

On the other hand, the representatives of many other professions in Russia: journalists, politicians, media commentators, theater and cinema directors, artists and bloggers also have access to the past, and often interpret it in an unusual and original form. These forms have nothing to do with the "competences and skills" proposed in the syllabuses of university historians. In other words, for a successful interpretation of the past, that modern society creates as a collective memory, according to Jerome De Groot not necessary today to be a professional historian.[13]

Of course, the Russian discussion on the role of public history and the history is not on the in the foreground. Russian historians are divided on political and professional reasons. They heatedly debating the problems of interpretation and teaching a lot of issues of history. The common mood is that public history is something new and standing far from general way of history.

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12 Lorina P. Repina. "Nauka i obschestvo: publichnaya istoriya v kotekste istorichskoi kultury epokhi globalizatsii," *Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta*. 157–4 (2015): 55–67.

13 Jerome de Groot. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary popular culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009. 1.

The debate is scheduled another, more traditional, look at the current state of history. I believe that a lot of Russian historians would support the famous British historian John Tosh who argued that the role of the academic historian in public history remains worthy. Academic historians have an important function of deepening the civil and public understanding of large national and international issues in the History that are not part of public history. According to John Tosh, public history, as a rule, does not rise to the big national problems and focuses on local history and construction on this basis of local identities. Consequently, academic history will continue to be linked to civic education. John Tosh says that public history is an applied area of cognitive and descriptive practices.[14] All beginnings in the public or application history are far enough away from the ethos and fundamental research topics of academic history and it is not capable to add new questions for academic research.

However, we note that in the last fifty years in Russia there were three waves of strong interest in the history in public. This can be considered as developments of public history. The rise of the mass movement of protection of historical monuments in the Soviet Union the mid-1960s. The society had a huge interest in the history of the church buildings, Andrey Rublev's frescoes and icons. The second wave was associated with the earlier described growth of the mass interest in the history of the end of Soviet period in 1987–1991. It began with history journalism campaign in the "Ogonyok" magazine, and "Novy Mir", "October" and other periodicals that marked the beginning of free media in Russia. The last, the third wave of interest in History from the public related to the appearance and development of the Internet in Russia from 1999 to the present. The new media and E-turn reached the history in Russia.

A distinctive feature is the lack of own methodology in public history. The history as a discipline suffered many external and internal changes that have affected historical science in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the points of view on the public history is that it is a field in which debate can take place between the historical science, historical memory media and representatives of civil society. In this case, representatives of the public history transfers methods of historical science. All these features are important in the issue of public history future and teaching.

14 John Tosh. Public History, Civic Engagement and the Historical Profession in Britain: *History. The Journal of Historical Association: 335* (2014): 191–212.

Russian pioneers of public history

Several historians and specialists in humanities played a prominent part in setting the agenda of public history in Russia. First, the name of Valery Tishkov should be mentioned. Valery Tishkov was the first to study the situation of history and historians in the United States.[15] He examined the fact that historians in the United States were prepared to work in the offices of various companies and public organizations. Valery Tishkov drew attention to the existence of a new phenomenon of history living outside the walls of the academy. He was also the first to use the terms "public history" and "public historian" in Russian.

Andrei L. Zorin, Russian historian and philologist, specialist in the history of Russian culture and intellectual history became the chief guru of public history. Andrei Zorin was the first to propose a training MA program in public history in 2012 in the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences ("*Shaninka*"). Public history in Russia began to develop in universities. Master's programs in public history have been opened in six Russian universities.[16] In the Russian part of the Internet there is a "Public History Portal".[17] The first specialists in the field of public history received diplomas and degrees. Graduates of these programs acquired skills and competencies in the field of applied history, modern media, innovative processes in Russian and foreign education, as well as in a wide range of humanitarian fields. They find relevance of their skills as research scientists, specialists in the socio-cultural sphere, in the museum business, in state and local government bodies, as well as in tourist-excursions.[18] However, the position of public history in Russia is of concern to many historians. Lorina P. Repina urged Russian historians to explore not only the content of public history, but also the entire structure of the relationship between scientific and popular knowledge, the system of forms and methods of public representation of the past, as well as the specific processes of translating scientific knowledge into new media.[19] Yegor Isaev published important insights about the interaction of the state history from

15 Valery Tishkov. *Istoriya i istoriki v SSHA*. Moskva: Nayka, 1985.

16 *Educational Programs in Russian Universities*: http://rupublichistory.ru/edu/edum.html (last accessed 16 July 2018).

17 *Portal of Public History*: http://rupublichistory.ru (last accessed 16 July 2018).

18 Alexander Khodnev. "Public History in Russia: What Is It?" In: *Public History Weekly* 6 (2018) 2, DOI:: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2018-11011 (last accessed 16.07.2018).

19 Lorina P. Repina, "Nauka i obshchestvo: publichnaya istoriya v kontekste istoricheskoj kul'tury ehpohi globalizacii," *Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta*: 157, (2015) 3: 65.

above and public history from below.[20] Noted professor Irina Savelieva discussed different facets of public history from the point of theory of history.[21]

Public history in Russia is a massive field of activity, far beyond the definitions of this movement. In the United States, public history is an approach that creates a joint study of history by professionals and nonprofessionals in order to maintain a broad dialogue with the state and move history to the public.[22] In Russia, public history means a broad historical movement mainly from below and often as a challenge and answer to the state propaganda of history. Yet a constructive dialogue with the state, society and professional historians is in question. Unfortunately, the attempts to convey new ideas and interpretations of history useful to society from below and pressure on history from above are too multidirectional lanes today.

Where to teach public history?

The public history is just beginning to emerge as a discipline in Russia. This is due to a much more pronounced than in Western Europe trend of the political regulation of history. In other words, the space in which the public history could exist is filled with "politics of history". The public history is usually based on a kind of dialogue practices. The present Russian politics of history is very rare based on dialogue or talk. It frequently destroys public practices in the field of history.

However, it was mentioned that in summer 2012 Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences, opened the first admission to a master's program "Public history: Historical knowledge in modern society". Several universities follow this example: National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow, European University in St. Petersburg, Perm University, the Baltic Federal University after Kant, Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University named after Konstantin D. Ushinsky.[23]

20 Yegor M. Isaev. "Publichnaya istoriya v Rossii: nauchnyj i uchebnyj kontekst formirovaniya novogo mezhdisciplinarnogo polya." *Vestnik Permskogo universiteta:* 33, (2016) 2: 7–13.

21 Irina M. Savel'eva. Professional'nye istoriki v «publichnoj istorii»: *Novaya i novejshaya istoriya*: (2014) 3: 141–155; Irina Savel'eva. Gorodskoe proshloe v praktikah publichnoj istorii: *Honoris causa: sbornik nauchnyh statej, posvyashchennyj 70-letiyu professora Viktora Vladimirovicha Sergeeva*. SPb.: Nestor-Istoriya (2016): 255–264.

22 *Public History Defined?* (2007). URL: http://blog.historians.org/2007/06/public-history-defined/ (last accessed 16.07.2018).

23 *Educational Programs in Russian Universities*: http://rupublichistory.ru/edu/edum.html (last accessed 16 July 2018).

Public history in MA level

Public history in master's Program at the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences "Public history: Historical knowledge in modern society".
Required Masters Courses:
- *Modern historiography*
- *Interdisciplinary approach to the study of history*

Module of elective courses "History and Media":
- *Instrumentalization of history in the Media*
- *Commemoration practices: a way of creating personal, collective and individual image of the past*
- *Institutes of historical knowledge and their representation*
- *Biography and family memory in historical research*

Module elective courses "Nationalism and Politics"
- *Studies of nationalism in historical perspective*
- *Critical History of State*
- *History of Human Rights*
- *Radical leftist terrorism in Russia*

In Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University, The Master's program was opened in 2015. "Educational aspects of public history":
- *Modern historiography*
- *Methodology and methods of scientific research*
- *The culture of foreign countries*
- *Public history in the modern media*
- *Modern museums*

What shall we teach perspectively?

I hope that in the future the aims/objectives of education will be determined not only by the Ministry of Education commissioned by the political authorities, but by the academic community and society in general, students and their parents.

1. Where to teach public history? Most likely it is the level of MA in Russia. However, the basic information, skills, knowledge of the history of dissemination in society should be given at the undergraduate BA level.

2. School history didactics at the bachelor's level (BA) must be supplemented. In addition to the study of the system of history education in Russia, should be given:
   - Information on the shape of the history in the society
   - Information about the design and main features and existence of collective historical memory in society
   - The knowledge of the ways of spreading of historical facts in the public space and social practices.
   - What competencies should be in the focus of the study support in student's leaning the public history at the departments of history? I think we need to rely on those social practices that are associated in recent years with the popularity gained by history:
   - The search for family trees and biographies, family history in historical research.
   - Historical Societies. Public organizations. Societies for Protection of Monuments.
   - Media, press. Journalists and the public in the field of public history.
   - Popular magazines in the field of public history.
   - Museums and society.
   - School museums.
   - The dramatization of historical events.
   - "Big events" in the public history: World War II, the Cold War, and so on ...
   - Television and cinema in public history
   - E-games in public history
   - Blogs, bloggers. Web-sites development in the field of public history

Conclusion

We are increasingly convinced that there are many "histories" as areas of knowledge and representations of people. The analysis of communication practices in the collision of different histories helps to understand how the modern Russian state appropriates and transforms people memories into its official history, as well as how society integrates into these practices or resists them, supporting or rejecting the national images acquiring various meanings stemming from local contexts.

Worlds of history beyond the borders and walls of the academia in the late 20th – early 21st century increased in Russia in multiple with the development of modern media: first television and popular history magazines, then in the 1990s

with the advent of the Internet. The ideology of creating museum expositions has changed significantly. It was naturally a popular, applied, mass or public history.

Public history in Russia erases borders thanks to mass interest, but not all. The forms of presentation of the material remain national, connected with linguistic possibilities, as well as features of communication of social groups, state institutions, universities, and new media. The specifics of these contexts and practices should be in the focus of the study of professional historians and the context of history teaching.

The emergence and dissemination of practices of public history is associated with a special case of interdisciplinary, dictated by the fact that people come to this field and create history for the public with a completely different experience, often far from professional discipline and the history training. It can be journalists, television directors, writers, various amateurs-voluntaries and even musicians and artists from the world of mass pop culture. The case of new interdisciplinary in teaching of public history must be in focus.

Charlotte Bühl-Gramer

The Future of Public History – What Shall We Teach Prospectively? Remarks and Considerations

The heterogeneous field of public history is gaining importance for history school education. This raises the question to what extent public history should be firmly integrated in nowadays school education. The term public history covers various expressions of history in the public field. These products influence pupil's individual and collective perception of the past, determining also their historical consciousness obtained in history lessons. Bringing public history in school offers the opportunity that pupils can come to appreciate history as an ongoing conversation that yields not final truths, but an endless succession of discoveries and interpretations that change our understanding not only of the past, but ourselves and of the times in which we live. Therefore, public history at school helps bridging the gap between history and the currently reality of the pupil's surrounding world. But pupils need to have the necessary tools to take part in the ongoing and various discussions of the meanings of the past. Public history in school can encourage pupils in consuming history as well as in participating actively in doing public history. In curricula, public history has not yet reached a structural part. In some curricula, it appears only one time as a single approach, in Germany often combined with National Socialism and memory culture. Although some curricula and history textbooks offer some topics, they seem to be rather casual, without any systematic categories. A central challenge is to conceptualize and systematize public history theory as central future issues. To enable teachers to teach public history in the future, methodological and theoretical-based concepts of approaches, contents and examples are necessary. What could such categories be?

Some reflections along this white-spread field for the future of teaching public history will be introduced in short here, regarding both, content and theory.

1. Teaching public history at school on the one side offers the opportunity of doing public history. In this regard, public history can be conceptualized as an engagement in society and as a social participation in cultural communication about history and memory. Doing public history together with pupils in project-based learning-settings brings back the opportunity of participation in history as a cultural practice in society. Schools can evolve into powerful public history agents, identifying partnerships between schools and museums, archives and local political authorities as a new market for public history. The current museological concepts to open museums as places and

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spaces of interaction with the past in the present and especially the new participatory museums allow mutual enrichment. In addition to museums, also archives have been changing their relation to school education as well as to the public. They have altered from closed institutions of preservation to transparent and publicly accessible spaces. This new conceptions offer new possibilities of cooperation and may help to entangle the discourse between museums, archives and public history at school. With a decentralist view on history, doing public history means here carrying history in the public realm by working on the past with local communities, agencies and institutions of public history as well as exploring family conscience as individual approaches to the past. Using oral interviews, remembering individual and collective memories, collecting and preserving sources enhances students to produce history on an epistemologically valid basis in various forms of representations and therefore contributing to the collective memory. To cite a few examples, possible projects of doing public history could be: engaging in history competitions, planning and designing exhibitions, producing audio-guides or audio walks for peers for exhibitions or historical sites in cooperation with public broadcasting stations or initiating a format of public commemoration and remembrance (for Germany f. ex. Stumbling Blocks)

2. On the other side, teaching public history does not only mean doing public history with the pupils, but also teaching students to deconstruct public history narratives, i.e. the representations of others. This approach includes analyzing how and why the public perceives and deals with history and how the demands for history presentations f.ex. in mass media such as films and on TV can be described analyzed and interpreted. The German-speaking conceptual developments of history didactics had adopted an approach of public history in connection with the question of the formative factors of non-formal off-campus learning scenarios, f.ex. in museums, and its interrelation between historical learning in the classroom. However, it has to be noted, that historical learning in off-campus learning scenarios is not automatically identical with an approach to public history. To visit museums and exhibitions in order to teach public history means, that students should recognize these presentations as offers of historical interpretation and critically evaluate the constructions of the past presented to them. This aspect is of crucial importance, following relevant theories of history didactics, to convey to students that historical narratives are always subjective and constructed.
3. Teaching public history in the future, we need categorizations of the various media-specific ways, with which historical narratives are presented to point out the difference between the scientific logic and the presentation logic.

When the medium changes, when the delivery system changes, public history itself changes – the latest example is the new "digital historical culture". Therefore, we need more systematization and categorization for the analysis and interpretation of public history products. A helpful tool could be to differentiate between those representations, which are closer to the forms of scientific logics and are strongly linked to historical science and research, and those, which have only weaker or especially selective links to historical science or are completely different to the scientific logics (f. ex. historical narratives as performative practice and asthetic forms of expression). People can (and do) engage with the past within the realms of aesthetics and sensibilities, not only within the domains of knowledge, analysis and empirical observations that are the common currency of historians. Artists, film directors, computer games developer, poets, comic-book authors and others besides have their own ways of working with the materials and sources left by the past: They don't want to be academic historians. They have alternative mnemonic practices and therefore, judging other historical practices by the standards of academic history does not touch the substance of the matter. Instead, there is a need to acknowledge that each form of historical representation has its own methodology, its own forms, codes and conventions, and its own cultural value. However, this acknowledgement reaches its limits in the case of ideologically driven and abusive efforts at remaking the past, so that public history at school has also to empower students how to assess critically those narratives.

4. By analyzing and deconstructing how today's public perceives and deals with history there is to take in consideration, that "public" is an umbrella phrase, often used to create an idea of unification and homogeneity of identity by often hiding or homogenizing the numerous publics that can and do exist simultaneously. For that reason, it makes sense to identify the various actor groups as target groups (recipients) as well because public history projects adapt to their specific contexts. A distinction concerning different approaches could be drawn between bottom-up-projects (grassroot-movement), which are run by individuals, local societies or community groups, all mostly non-professional historians, and top-down-projects, carried out of public institutions such as museums, archives or universities. This distinction does not mark strict boundaries, for example, grass-roots movements can initiate projects which are taken up by public institutions. Both social and public approaches to history have something important in common: both are not only representations of individual or collective memories, but can be described as discourses of power in order to establish specific interpretations of history.

5. There is to think about the relation between public and popular history. Popular accounts of history, audio-visual offers in the field of TV, film as well as in computer games and via web 2.0 have reached a new worldwide peak in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Given the currency of historical themes in mass culture, however, and the democratization of expertise promised by new digital frontiers, discerning public history from popular history has grown increasingly difficult. Nevertheless, one distinction can be made: Popular accounts of history address a non-expert but very interested audience under the pressure of commercial success, at least in societies with a market economy, and the orientation on interest of specific target groups. Popular media of historical representation offer a different style of engagement with the past. The intention to successfully sell historical topics as a commercial mass product often therefore tends to result in making "good stories", so that scientifically proven statements about history in many cases are of no relevance. Also in the field of popular history culture, we find products, which are closer to the forms of scientific logics, f.ex. forms that are to be contextualized in the vast field of popularization of scientific or academic knowledge, and those which are completely different to the scientific logics (f. ex. history as entertainment). Pupils meet and use a great variety of popular history products outside of the classroom. The accounts of history often seriously differ from the postulates about basic standards of history education. It is not a question devaluing popular forms of history and ban them from the history classroom. Popular history products can be important learning objects as well by connecting school classes with historical culture outside of school. Teaching popular public history has to provide the students with the competences needed to critically deal with and to develop standards for critically evaluating the presented concepts of popular history.
6. Teaching public history at school is not only a topic for advanced learners in higher classes or high schools. Younger pupils are able to participate in doing public history as well and they can reflect on user-centered history by examples of their local cultural environment (f. ex. why a jubilee of the city foundation is celebrated, which agencies are involved and which narratives are intended and why).
7. Teaching public history at school should also include approaches of historizing public history, reflecting f.ex. on institutions of public history on the meta level (museums, archives) as well as on public history projects in former times in order to focus on the historical context and the dynamic of public history. This includes also the question of historical forms and media of the popularization of (academic) historical knowledge to a broad, non-expert but nonetheless interested audience.

8. There is no doubt, that there remains a strong need for empirical research for teaching public history in the classroom. Some research issues could be:
   - the question to what extent and how students deal with public/popular history in their leasure time;
   - what kind of importance they attach to these accounts on history;
   - how they assess the relationship to historical learning at school
   - on the use of public/popular history products as learning objects in history education

Public history at school opens a new way, thinking about history in the classroom, because it focusses on the different ways in which people – individually and collectively – relate to the past, so that history at school gains relevance for the young peoples' present and the future. The understanding of non-academic forms of historical engagement and contemporary culture's ongoing fascination with the past has to be addressed at school. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that students have the right and the need for scientifically orientated history lessons as well so that the prevailing dichotomy between public and academic history is not to be transferred in the classroom. On the contrary: Deconstructing public (or popular) history narratives needs the knowledge of the logic and the methods of academic history in order to be able to recognize and critically evaluate the various forms of historical representation that do not adhere to the rules of evidence and standards of academic rigour. In a complementary access to both, students can understand, how the 'historical' is conceptualised by the scientific logic and by cultural imagination and reflect on different historical needs in society.

Mills Kelly

The Politics of Public History Education

Commentary

Any consideration of the future of public history in K-12 education must begin the fundamental question of why we teach history in the schools at all? A survey of educators, politicians, parents, and random citizens of any state would likely turn up answers such as: "To help children become better citizens," or, "To help children understand what it means to be German, Russian, Chinese, or whoever 'we' are," or, "To help children become more critical consumers of information about the world they live in." The notion that we must teach our children about the past is so ingrained in educational theory that to even consider dropping history from the curricula seems absurd.

But what history? Whose history? Which version of the past will help them become the kind of citizens 'we' want, or to understand the essential characteristics of our nation or culture, or to turn into the critical consumers of information we hope they'll become? These are the questions that bedevil educators, that often lead to intense and rancorous debates in legislative chambers, and that inspire journalists and social commentators to new heights of national rhetoric. How could it be that great leader X isn't highlighted in the curriculum? How could it be that the new curriculum fails to glorify the greatness of our nation? How could it be that our children are being taught a version of the past at odds with the values my generation holds dear?

Choose almost any national education system in the post-World War II era and you can find one or more examples of intense debates about what should and should not be taught to our children about the past – debates that almost never happen in any other discipline. Mathematics educators argue endlessly about the best methods for teaching children, but not about the content. Math students first learn numeracy, then calculations, then more abstract mathematics such as algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, before proceeding on to calculus. Teachers of language similarly argue over the best methods for promoting language acquisition, but none (or almost none) argues about the importance of vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and the ability to read, write, and speak a language. But the choices of content made by mathematics and

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language teachers never (or almost never) become the subject of parliamentary debates. Only history comes in for such scrutiny.[1]

Because so many school-aged children encounter the past through public history – at museums, historic sites, and increasingly through digital public history websites – teaching our children how to "read" public history, just as we teach them to read primary and secondary sources, is essential to their maturation as consumers of the past. But as both Professor Alexander Khodnev and Professor Charlotte Bühl-Gramer point out, there is a broad disconnect between the need to teach young people public history skills and the reality of their curricula. Khodnev and Bühl-Gramer are writing about Russia and Germany, but one could say much the same about the United States, where public history skills are almost entirely absent from K-12 history curricula.

As both authors describe in their essays on Public History in their respective national contexts, politics lie at the heart of the problem. Khodnev points out that in post-Soviet Russia, history museums are "designed to enshrine a particular version of history," which means that the space within which a more critically conceived public history might exist is filled instead with "the politics of history." Similarly, in Germany, the existence of "ideologically driven and abusive efforts at remaking the past" by those outside the educational complex means that German students who visit public history sites, whether in person or online, confront the intersection of political and educational imperatives but are generally not taught to discern where public history ends and politics begins. Given this reality in both Germany and Russia, Khodnev and Bühl-Gramer rightfully call our attention to the unsystematic adoption of public history in their respective school curricula, a lacuna that makes it all the more difficult for students to learn how to critically assess the content of the narratives presented in such sites.

Of course, this is not simply a Russian or a German problem. The American educational system has a long history of ignoring public history skills in its curricula. The problem is, in some ways, more acute in the United States because we have, in effect, fifty-two different history curricula (one for each state, plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia), and an umbrella set of nominal national standards called the Common Core that states are increasingly being forced to adopt or at least adapt to.[2] Neither the Common Core standards, nor a random sample of ten state history curricula examined for this essay make any mention of what might be called a "public history" skill or competency. At the level of

1 For a recent example from the American context, see Keith Erekson, ed., *Politics and the History Curriculum: The Struggle over Standards in Texas and the Nation*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).
2 Common Core State Standards Initiative, accessed September 16, 2016, www.corestandards.org.

American higher education, the "History Discipline Core," recently adopted by the American Historical Association also makes no specific mention of anything that might be called a public history skill or competency, focusing instead of critical reading of primary sources, writing, and classroom presentation skills.[3] Recent debates in Québec, Canada on the importance of narrative or competency in school history reflect a similar dynamic.[4]

Bühl-Gramer is correct to argue that schools can evolve into powerful public history agents, identifying partnerships between schools and nearby museums, archives, historic sites, and political authorities to both create a growing market for public history *and* to help teach students the public history skills they need to function as critical consumers of historical content. It is certainly the case that in all three countries under consideration here – Russia, Germany, and the United States – K-12 history educators take advantage of the opportunities afforded by public history sites to help create emotional, visual, or tactile connections between their students and the past.[5] But as both Bühl-Gramer and Khodnev argue, if these young people are not taught in a systematic and consistent way the skills for analyzing what they find at these sites, then they are very susceptible to the underlying politicization of the exhibit.

A well-known case of this exact problem happened in the United States in 1994. The Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum, arguably the most visited history museum in the world at that time with more than eight million annual visitors, staged an exhibit about the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan in 1945. As the opening of the exhibition drew near, a very public and highly politicized debate raged over the content of that exhibition – known afterwards as the Enola Gay exhibit. To some, especially veterans groups and some members of Congress, the original plan for the exhibition paid too much attention to the dropping of the atomic bombs as the beginning of the nuclear era in world affairs. Instead, these critics argued, the exhibition should have focused on the fact that by dropping these bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the United States brought the Second World War to a close and minimized American casualties in the process.

3 The History Discipline Core, American Historical Association Tuning Project, accessed September 18, 2016, www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/tuning/history-discipline-core.

4 Stéphane Lévesque, "Going beyond "Narratives" vs. "Competencies": A model of history education," *Public History Weekly*, 4 (2016) 12, accessed September 8, 2016. DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2016-5918

5 "Evoking the Past", accessed September 18, 2016, teachinghistory.org/best-practices/using-primary-sources/24135

Historians weighed in on both sides of the controversy, as did journalists, politicians, and members of the general public. As Khodnev points out in his essay on the politicization of Russian history museums, what was at issue in the Enola Gay controversy was not simply what the content of the exhibition should or should not be, but also who should decide what that content should or should not be.[6] In the end, the final version of the exhibition, which I toured with my own students, made little mention of the dawn of the nuclear era in international relations. Curators did manage to keep a significant portion of the original content on the aftermath of the bombings for the residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but the overriding theme of the exhibit was that the bombings won the war.

Bühl-Gramer and Khodnev argue that we must include public history as one of the core historical competencies we teach to our students. How else can they assess critically narratives like the one presented in the Enola Gay exhibit? How else can they understand the "politics of history"? How else can they understand the intersection of politics and the public history content they are interacting with? In none of the three national contexts referenced here is it easy to imagine a path forward for increasing the engagement of school history curricula with a critical examination of public history competencies and concepts. Bühl-Gramer's previously mentioned call for partnerships between the schools and local public history sites can have a beneficial effect for both partners – increased visitor traffic and engagement for the sites and new and critically engaged learning opportunities for the students and thus offers one possible avenue for change. Such partnerships would, as Bühl-Gramer argues, require a much more systematic approach to teaching K-12 teachers about public history, its methods, and its history. Am I optimistic that such partnerships will result in substantive curricular change? Not in the immediate term. But we have to start somewhere and partnerships between public history sites and their local schools seem, for now, to be the only fruitful avenue for initiating change from below.

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