Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13

Joseph Zajda *Editor*

Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture

Springer

Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research

Volume 13

Series Editor
Joseph Zajda, Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia

Editorial Board for the Series
Professor Robert Arnove, Indiana University
Professor Birgit Brock-Utne, University of Oslo
Professor Martin Carnoy, Stanford University
Professor Lyn Davies, University of Birmingham
Professor Karen Evans, University of London
Professor Kassie Freeman, Alcorn State University
Professor Andreas Kazamias, University of Wisconsin
Professor Leslie Limage, UNESCO
Professor MacLeans Geo-JaJa, Brigham Young University
Professor Nikolai Nikandrov, President, Russian Academy of Education (Moscow)
Professor Marcella Mollis, University of Buenos Aires
Professor Susan Majhanovich, University of Western Ontario
Professor Val Rust, UCLA, USA
Professor Sarfaroz Niyozov, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Advisory Board
Professor Beatrice Avalos, National Ministry of Education, Chile
Professor Kingsley Banya, University of the West Indies
Professor Karen Biraimah, University of Central Florida
Professor David Chapman, University of Minnesota
Professor David Gamage, University of Newcastle
Professor Mark Ginsburg, University of Pittsburgh
Professor Yaacov Iram, Bar Ilan University
Professor Henry Levin, Teachers College Columbia University
Professor Noel McGinn, Harvard University
Professor David Phillips, Oxford University
Professor Gerald Postglione, University of Hong Kong
Professor Heidi Ross, Colgate University
Professor Jurgen Schriewer, Humboldt University
Professor Sandra Stacki, Hofstra University
Professor Nelly Stromquist, University of Maryland
Professor Carlos Torres, UCLA
Professor David Willis, Soai University, Japan

Aims and Scope

The *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research* series (volumes 13–24) aims to present a global overview of strategic comparative and international education policy statements on recent reforms and shifts in education globally, and offers new approaches to further exploration, development and improvement of comparative education and policy research globally. In general, the book series seeks to address the nexus between comparative education, policy, reforms and forces of globalisation.

The series will present up-to-date scholarly research on global trends in comparative education and policy research. The idea is to advance research and scholarship by providing an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information for researchers, policy-makers, college academics, and practitioners in the field. Different volumes will provide substantive contributions to knowledge and understanding of comparative education and policy research globally. This new book series will offer major disciplinary perspectives from all world regions.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/6932

Joseph Zajda
Editor

Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture

Editor
Joseph Zajda
Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne
VIC, Australia

Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research
ISBN 978-94-017-9728-3 ISBN 978-94-017-9729-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015935240

Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London
© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer Science+Business Media B.V. Dordrecht is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

To Dorothy, Rea, Nikolai, Sophie and Belinda

Foreword

A major aim of *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, which is volume 13 in the 24-volume book series *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, edited by Joseph Zajda, is to present a global overview of selected scholarly research on global and comparative trends in dominant discourses of identity politics and nation-building in history education and school history textbooks. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of nation-building, identity and citizenship education. Above all, the book offers the latest findings on discourses surrounding national identity, nation-building, and citizenship education in history education in the global culture.

The book explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research covering the state, globalisation, nation-building and identity politics. Various book chapters critique the dominant discourses and debates pertaining to national identity and cultural identity. The spirit of dialogical encounter has very soundly directed the editor and the book chapter writers' efforts in organizing this volume. The editor's task is to deepen, and in some cases open widely, diverse and significant discourses related to history education, historiography and the construction of historical narratives.

The book explores the ambivalent and problematic relationship between the state, globalisation and the construction of cultural identity in history education and school history textbooks. Using a number of diverse paradigms, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology and history curriculum reforms attempt to examine critically recent trends in history education and their impact of identity politics.

The authors focus on discourses surrounding three major dimensions affecting the national identity, nation-building, and citizenship education debate in history education and history textbooks: *national identity*, *democracy*, and *ideology.* These are among the most critical and significant dimensions defining and contextualising the processes surrounding the nation-building and identity politics globally. Furthermore, the perception of globalisation as dynamic and multi-faceted processes clearly necessitates a multiple-perspective approach in the study of history education and

this book provides that perspective commendably. In the book, the authors, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt insightfully to provide a worldview of current developments in research concerning nation-states, national identity, and citizenship education globally. The book contributes in a very scholarly way to a more holistic understanding of the nexus between nation-state and national identity globally.

Australian Catholic University Joseph Zajda
Melbourne, VIC, Australia

Preface

Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture, **volume 13** (edited by Joseph Zajda) in the 24-volume book series *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, examines the nexus between nation-building and history education globally and implication for cultural diversity and social justice. History education and history textbooks have attracted a great deal of debate recently. Recent research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation and accountability have affected the nature, and the value, of school textbooks in Russia and elsewhere. Since 2006 teaching 'national history' featured high on the agenda in many European countries. In Britain after the events of 7 July 2005 (refers to the 7 July 2005 London bombings, as a series of coordinated suicide attacks in central London, which targeted civilians using the public transport system during the morning rush hour), 'teaching *Britishness* through school history' gained even more importance than it already had (Roord, 2009, p. 75). Gordon Brown (2006) in his speech 'The future of Britishness', referred to the importance of the national identity and the values of liberty, tolerance, and the principle of fairness to all.

Recent and continuing public and political debates in countries around the world, dealing with understandings of a nation-building and national identity, point out to parallels between the political significance of school history and the history debates globally (Zajda, 2014a, b). Due to these on-going debates concerning the role of history teaching in schools, its content and delivery, history education has become a high profile topic of national and global significance.

New ideological biases and omissions have been detected in textbooks in Japan, the Russian Federation, USA, China and elsewhere. The 'Europeanization' of history textbooks in the EU is an example of western-dominated Grand Narrative of pluralist democracy, multiculturalism, and human rights, according to the canon of a particularly European dimension. Both the 'Europeanization' of history textbooks and politically-motivated reforms in history curricula and textbooks, as depicted above, demonstrate a new dimension of political socialisation, and the nation-building process currently taking place in the global culture.

By examining some of the major education reforms and policy issues in history education in a global culture, particularly in the light of recent shifts in history education and policy research, the volume aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, history education and policy-driven reforms. The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all. The volume is focussed on the importance of nation-building and patriotism in history education globally. It presents an up-to-date scholarly research on *global* trends in history education reforms and policy research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concerns in the field of globalisation, history education and policy research. The volume, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in globalisation and history education, provides a timely overview of current changes in history education reforms and policy research.

Melbourne, VIC, Australia Joseph Zajda

References

Brown, G. (2006). *The future of Britishness*. Speech by Gordon Brown to the Fabian Society, January 14. Fabian Society Press Release. Retrieved from: www.parliament.uk/.../LLN-2008-015

Roord, J. (2009). Moving forwards, stepping backwards: Supranational organizations and history teaching in post-communist Europe. *Political Crossroads, 16*(1), 75–93.

Zajda, J. (2014a). Ideology. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of educational theory and philosophy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zajda, J. (2014b). The politics of Russian history education in the Russian media. *Educational Practice and Theory, 36*(2), 53–77.

Editorial by Series Editors

Volume 13 is a further publication in the Springer Series of books on Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda.

The aim of *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture* (volume 13) in the *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research Book Series* is to examine the nexus between nation-building and history education globally and implication for cultural diversity and social justice. By examining some of the major education reforms and policy issues in history education in a global culture, particularly in the light of recent shifts in history education and policy research, the volume aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, history education and policy-driven reforms. The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all. The volume is focussed on the importance of nation-building and patriotism in history education globally. It presents an up-to-date scholarly research on *global* trends in history education reforms and policy research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concerns in the field of globalisation, history education and policy research. The volume, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in globalisation and history education, provides a timely overview of current changes in history education reforms and policy research.

We thank the anonymous international reviewers who have reviewed and assessed the proposal for the continuation of the series (volumes 13–24), and other anonymous reviewers, who reviewed the chapters in the final manuscript.

About the Series Editor

Joseph Zajda, Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia

Joseph Zajda, B.A. (Hons), M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D., FACE, is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specializes in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education, and values education. He has written and edited 28 books and over 100 book chapters and articles in the areas of globalisation and education policy, higher education, and curriculum reforms. Recent publications include:

Editor and author of the *Second International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*. Springer, 2015. http://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/book/978-94-017-9492-3; Zajda, J (2014). Globalisation and Neoliberalism as Educational Policy in Australia. In H. Yolcu & D. Turner (Eds.), Neoliberal Education Reforms: A Global Analysis. New York: Taylor & Francis/Routledge; Zajda, J. (2014). The Russian Revolution. In G. Ritzer & J. M. Ryan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization Online*; Zajda, J. (2014); Zajda, J. (2014). Ideology. In D. Phillips (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy. Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J. (2014). The Russian Revolution. In G. Ritzer & J. M. Ryan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization Online*; Zajda, J. (2014). Values Education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy.* Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J. (2014). The politics of Russian history education in the Russian media. *Educational Practice and Theory*, 36(2); Values Education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. Thousand Oaks: Sage; Zajda, J. (2011). Globalisation and Values Education in the history/Social Studies Classroom. Zajda (2011), *Educational Practice and Theory*, *33*(1), 83-96; Zajda (2008). *Schooling the New Russians* (James Nicholas Publishers 2008).

He is the Editor of the 24-volume book series *Globalisation and Comparative Education* (Springer, 2009 & 2016).

He is Editor, *Curriculum and Teaching*, volume 29, 2015. http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/ct/; Editor, *Education and Society*, volume 32, 2015, http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/es/; Editor, *World Studies in Education,* volume 15, 2015. http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/wse/

His works are found in 309 publications in 4 languages and 7,887 university library holdings globally.

He is the recipient of the 2012 *Excellence in Research Award*, the Faculty of Education, the Australian Catholic University. The award recognises the high quality of research activities, and particularly celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He was also a recipient of the *Australian Awards for University Teaching* in 2011 (Citation for Outstanding Contributions to Student Learning, *for an innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication*). He received the Vice Chancellor's *Excellence in Teaching Award in April, 2004*, at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Anthony Taylor, Monash University) for 2011–2013 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia ($315,000). He was elected as *Fellow* of the Australian College of Educators (June 2013).

Completed the UNESCO project (with Professor Dervin, University of Helsinki) *Governance in education: Diversity and effectiveness. BRICS countries*. Paris: UNESCO.

Contents

1 Globalisation and the Politics of Education Reforms: History Education 1
Joseph Zajda

2 Historical Thinking and Narrative in a Global Culture 15
John A. Whitehouse

3 Globalisation, Ideology and History School Textbooks: The Russian Federation 29
Joseph Zajda

4 Globalization and History Education: The United States and Canada 51
Lisa Y. Faden

5 Globalization, Politics of Historical Memory, and Enmification in Sino-Japanese Relations 67
Ria Shibata

6 Political, Educational and Historiographical Theoretical Perspectives in the History Curriculum 83
Robert M. Guyver

7 Citizenship Education and Active Student Participation: The Netherlands 103
Wiel Veugelers

8 The Politics of History Textbooks in Belarus: Between Globalization and Authoritarian Confinement 117
Anna Zadora

9 Globalisation and History Education in Singapore 131
Michael H. Lee

10 Facing the Challenge: Obstacles to Global and Global Citizenship Education in US Schools 155
Anatoli Rapoport

11 National History Curriculum and Standards for Secondary Schools in the Russian Federation 171
Liudmila Aleksashkina and Joseph Zajda

12 Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture 185
Joseph Zajda

Index 193

Contributors

Liudmila Aleksashkina is a Professor, Department of History Education, Institute of Contents and Methods of Education, the Russian Academy of Education, Moscow. She has written numerous Russian history textbooks for secondary schools in the Russian Federation. She was the author of the National History Curriculum (*Primernye programmy po uchebnym predmetam. Istoriya: 5-9 klassy*. Moscow, Prosveschenie, 2010). She contributed to the *History Education in Europe: Ten years of Co-operation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe* (Council of Europe, October 2006). Her recent works include: Aleksashkina L. & Vorojeykina N. *Results of History studying in lower secondary schools* (2014) and National standards and development of historical education: Experience of secondary schools in the Russian Federation, *Curriculum and Teaching*, *26*(2), 77–92.

Lisa Y. Faden completed her Ph.D. at the Faculty of Education, Western University, Ontario, Ontario. She has taught high school history for 10 years in U.S. public schools. Her research interests include history instruction, uses of historical narratives, teacher education, and citizenship education. She is currently a Research Specialist/Education Coordinator, Centre for Education Research and Innovation (CERI), Western University, London, Ontario, Canada.

Robert M. Guyver is Honorary Research Fellow, University of St Mark & St John Plymouth, UK. He was a primary teacher for 21 years (1969–1990), an advisory teacher for primary history (1990–1992), a Senior Lecturer in Education (1992–2008) and a Teaching Fellow (2008–2011). He was a member of the DES National Curriculum History Working Group (1989–1990). He co-edited (with Tony Taylor) *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (IAP, 2012). He is editor of the forthcoming *Teaching History and the Changing Nation State: Transnational and Intranational Perspectives* (Bloomsbury, 2015). He is also editor of *The International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*.

Michael H. Lee teaches modern history and society as well as education development in Singapore, Malaysia and Southeast Asia at the Department of History in The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He formerly served as Instructor in the Department of Educational Policy and Administration of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, and Research Associate in the Comparative Education Policy Research Unit of the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong. His publications cover education reforms, comparative education, privatisation in education, and globalisation.

Anatoli Rapoport is Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction, Purdue University College of Education. Before he received Ph. D. in Social Studies Education, he had worked as classroom teacher and school administrator. He is the section editor of the *Journal of International Social Studies* and past Chair of Citizenship and Democratic Education Special Interest Group (CANDE SIG). His research interests include: comparative aspects of education, global and international perspectives in citizenship education, and constructivist theory. He is the author of two books: *Fields Unknown* and *Civic Education in Contemporary Global Society* (with A. Borshevsky).

Ria Shibata is a Ph.D. candidate at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Her research focuses on dealing with historical memory, chosen traumas and competitive victimhood in Sino-Japanese relations. She is currently involved in co-facilitating interactive problem-solving workshops between political and academic influentials from China, Japan and Korea.

Wiel Veugelers is a Professor of Education, University for Humanistics in Utrecht (the Netherlands) and Associate Professor of Curriculum Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His research and teaching is in the areas of citizenship education, moral development, teachers' pedagogical professionalism, educational change, identity development, youth studies and youth subcultures. He has received research grants of the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO); The Ministries of Education, Youth and Family, and Law; the National Pedagogical Centres; and the National Curriculum Development Institute.

John A. Whitehouse lectures in History/Humanities in the Melbourne Graduate School of Education at University of Melbourne. An experienced teacher, he is committed to strong partnerships between tertiary education and schools. He is editor-in-chief of the research section of *Agora*, the journal of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria. John also directs the Classics in Schools Project of the Classical Association of Victoria. He holds master's degrees in education and history. The recipient of an Australian Postgraduate Award, he is completing a Ph.D. on historical imagination. His research interests include history education, historiography and co-operative learning.

Anna Zadora is a Researcher at University of Strasbourg and University of Geneva. She is Member of the network Social psychological dynamics of the narrative transmission of history, COST/Institute Georg Eckert European Consortium for Political Research Standing group 'Identity', International Research Association for History and Social Science Education, and Association of Historical Research in Education. Her research focused on identity, nationalism; memorial, social and political transformation of the post-Soviet block, historical consciousness, educational systems, history and identity teaching. Her recent publication includes History Textbook Writing in a Post-Totalitarian and Authoritarian Context: The Case of Belarus, *Education and Society*, *31*(3), 2013, 5–22.

Joseph Zajda (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne) is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specializes in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education, and values education. He has written and edited 28 books and over 100 book chapters and articles in the areas of globalisation and education policy, higher education, and curriculum reforms. He is also the editor of the 24-volume book series *Globalisation and Comparative Education* (Springer, 2009&2016). His recent publications include: Zajda, J. (2014). The Russian Revolution. In G. Ritzer & J. M. Ryan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization Online*; Zajda, J. (2014). Values Education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. He edits *World Studies in Education, Curriculum and Teaching,* and *Education and Society* for James Nicholas Publishers. His works are found in 309 publications in 4 languages and 7,887 university library holdings globally. He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant ($315,000) *Globalising studies of the politics of history education: a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia* (with A. Taylor, Monash University, 2011–2013). Elected as Fellow of the Australian College of Educators (June 2013).

Chapter 1
Globalisation and the Politics of Education Reforms: History Education

Joseph Zajda

1.1 Globalisation and History Education

This chapter examines the nexus between globalisation and education reforms in history education around the world. Recent research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation and dominant ideologies have affected the nature and the content of historical narratives and the social and political value of school textbooks (Han, 2007; Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 2000; Pingel, 2006; Roord, 2009; Smith, 1998; Zajda, 2014a). The term 'globalisation' is a complex modern construct and a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-systems' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of 'time-space distantiation', highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal from the immediacies of local contexts, to a view of globalisation as a neoliberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Ritzer, 2005; Zajda, 2013). I would like to define 'globalisation', from a social and cultural transformation perspective, as a *new dominant ideology of cultural convergence, which is accompanied by a rapid and corresponding economic, political, social, technological and educational transformation.* Addressing globalisation in history education means for many countries 'finding security in the yearning for a safe national past' (Roord, 2009, p. 75).

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_1

1.1.1 Methodology

In this volume, we are using a historical-comparative research (HCR), as an overarching framework, grounded in globalisation discourses. We focus on the nexus between forces of globalisation (which is associated with the ongoing unequal distribution of power and other socially valued commodities), social change and hegemonies. We also examine how they affected the construction of historical narratives in school history textbooks nature and major debates surrounding the content of historical narratives.

The intersection between historical-comparative research and globalisation offers a new approach for addressing big questions: How did major societal change take place? What caused major conflicts in our societies? Why societies are evolving in a particular way (Neuman, 2006, pp. 419–420)?

Historical-comparative research can 'strengthen conceptualization and theory building'. By examining critically historical events, within diverse cultural contexts, a researcher can generate 'new concepts' and new understandings. However, as Neuman (2006) notes, a difficulty in reading HCR studies is 'that one needs knowledge of the past or other cultures to fully understand them':

> Readers limited to knowing about their own cultures or contemporary times alone may find it difficult to understand the H-C studies or classical theorists. For example, it is difficult to understand Karl Marx's 'The Communist Manifesto' without a knowledge of the conditions of feudal Europe and the world in which Marx was writing. (Neuman, 2006, p. 420)

Generally, historical-comparative research can be organised along the following three dimensions:

1. The researcher may focus on what occurs in one nation or many nations.
2. The researcher may employ time or history, focusing on a single time period in the past or examining events across many years.
3. The researcher may rely on quantitative/qualitative data (adapted from Neuman, 2006, p. 421).

We are also using critical literacy, critical theory and discourse analysis perspectives to add more depth to our analysis. From a critical literacy perspective, teaching and explaining dominant historical narratives in classroom pedagogy means addressing both positive and negative aspects of historical events in a given culture. From a critical theory perspective, analysing the selection of historical narratives, which depict key events in school history textbooks, means at least three things:

1. Accepting that a dominant ideology or hegemony is the 'adoption of the views that naturalize and legitimize the existence of social classes in capitalism. human liberation' (Geuss, 1981), which results in alienation and false consciousness (people's inability to understand that dimensions of inequality are due to processes caused by societal dominant ways in organising life and work).

2. Understanding that there exists a certain ‘ambivalence concerning the ultimate source or foundation of social domination’ (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002), based on unequal distribution of socially valued commodities such as power, wealth and income.
3. Changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional approaches to historical knowledge oriented only to understanding or explaining it.

From discourse analysis perspectives, one needs to critique and challenge the accepted hierarchical structuring of power and authority, concerning knowledge, and question the neutrality of knowledge and ideology. It asks questions about the historical and cultural conditions in which discourses emerged. Foucault’s genealogy and the uses of discourse, such as his analysis of how ‘knowledge’ is created in our societies and with what purpose or effect, illustrates a dialectical relationship between power, social actors and cultural reproduction (Foucault, 1977, 1980). Genealogical analysis seeks to analyse ‘the discredited, the neglected and a whole range of phenomena which have been denied a history’ (Sarup, 1993). Critical discourse analysis is likely to offer an in-depth critical analysis of how history teachers’ historical knowledge and epistemological beliefs inform their views about student learning in this discipline.

The chapter concludes that a methodology, based on historical-comparative research (HCR), as an overarching framework, which is grounded in globalisation discourses, and a blend of critical theory and discourse analysis, focusing on evidence, and sources, the role of power, and the state, *unbiased* interpretation of historical narratives, and the multiperspectivity, is very useful in critiquing the overall reforms in history curricula and the content of school history textbooks.

1.2 Ideology

The term *ideology* refers to a system of ideas and beliefs that is dominant within a group or society and which affects most if not every sphere of social interaction and organisation within it—political, economic, scientific, educational and cultural (Zajda, 2014a).

Due to the pace of economic, political and social change, when society is in flux, some individuals experience a sense of identity crisis, and they look for people or symbols that offer security, safety and a sense of belonging. In such cases, the ideology can offer such individuals a new sense of identity and belonging, as for former citizens of the USSR, when it collapsed in December 1991. In the Russian Federation (RF) under Putin, ideology as political, economic and cultural beliefs offers a universal set of core values that help to create a sense of consensus in the nation-building process and a sense of shared identity and of preferred way for the people—professing to be true and the only way. Such a perception of the function of ideology may well be applicable to Putin and his role in the Russian history textbooks debate between 2007 and 2014 (see Zajda, 2014b).

In the global society, the first and defensive function of ideology, as the process of legitimation, and 'meaning in the service of power' and the 'ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination', is to legitimate, justify and consolidate the power of a dominant social group or class (Thompson, 1990, p. 5). Hence, ideology, as an 'articulated sets of ideals, ends, and purposes, which help the members of the system to interpret the past, explain the present, and offer a vision for the future' (Easton, 1965, p. 290), may offer individuals a sense of identity and belonging. This particular use of ideology is very useful in the analysis of historical narratives in history textbooks.

1.3 The Effects of Globalisation on Education and Society

Globalisation results in the intensification of worldwide social, economic and cultural relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring in other parts of the world. Today, economic rationalism and neo-conservativism have become dominant ideologies, or hegemonies, in which education is seen as a producer of goods and services that foster economic growth (Apple, 2004). Governments around the world, including the Russian Federation, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that a major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. It has been argued that the politics of education reforms surrounding national curricula, standards, excellence and quality as well as outcome-based curriculum reforms have 'largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies'.

Recent research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks in Russia and elsewhere (Baques, 2006; Crawford & Foster, 2006; Han, 2007; Pingel, 2006; Zajda, 2013). Since 2006, teaching 'national history' featured high on the agenda in many European countries. In Britain, after the events of 7 July 2005 (refers to the 7 July 2005 London bombings, as a series of coordinated suicide attacks in central London, which targeted civilians using the public transport system during the morning rush hour), 'teaching *Britishness* through school history' gained even more importance than it already had (Roord, 2009, p. 75). Gordon Brown (2006) in his speech 'The future of Britishness' referred to the importance of the national identity and the values of liberty and tolerance and the principle of fairness to all:

> But today national identity has become far more important: it is not 46 % but 65 %—two thirds—who now identify Britishness as important, and recent surveys show that British people feel more patriotic about their country than almost other European country . . .
>
> But when people are also asked what they admire about Britain, more usually says it is our values: – British tolerance, the British belief in liberty and the British sense of fair play. Even before America said in its constitution it was the land of liberty and erected the Statue of Liberty, I think Britain can lay claim to the idea of liberty . . .

> Out of the necessity of finding a way to live together in a multinational state came the practice of tolerance, then the pursuit of liberty and the principle of fairness to all.
>
> Indeed Britain is a country that not only prides itself in its fairness, tolerance and what George Orwell called decency but—as we have seen in recent debates like that over the Big Brother show—wants to be defined by it, defined by being a tolerant, fair and decent country. (Brown, 2006)

Globalisation and education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills and standards, have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes globally. Thus, the politics of education reforms in the RF reflect a new global emerging paradigm of standard-driven policy change (Zajda, 2012). Academic standards, performance and quality of schooling continue to dominate the reform agenda globally, especially the performance league tables. At the same time, there are also politically determined curricular reforms affecting the nature and the content of history school textbooks in the RF.

1.4 Globalisation and Reforms of School History Textbooks

Recent research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation, standards and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks in the Russian Federation and elsewhere. Research findings concerning the revised content on new history textbooks demonstrate that the historiographies in the Russian Federation, engaging in nation-building process, continue to be essentially monolithic and intolerant to alternative views as those of their communist predecessors, merely "exchanging a communist ideological colouring for a national one" (Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Zajda, 2012).

Since 1994, Zajda's research dealing with education reforms and history textbooks in the RF has demonstrated that the Russian Ministry of Education and Science controls the process of commissioning and evaluation of all approved Russian history textbooks and other core textbooks in all school subjects. The new Russian history textbooks, which have the Ministry of Education seal of approval, have returned to traditional symbols of nation-building and patriotism (Zajda, 1994, 2000, 2014a, 2014b).

The political dimension of history textbooks was noted by Fuchs (2011) in his review of history textbook research globally and their historical narratives. He stressed 'The highly explosive political nature of textbook and research pertaining to them', resulting in 'history wars' both locally and globally (Fuchs, p. 19). He identifies 'the formation of a national identity' and the 'construction of national identity' as one of the key themes in history textbook research and national identity construction (p. 20). (see also Zajda and Whitehouse, 2009; Zajda and Zajda, 2012; Zajda and Smith, 2013).

Recent and continuing public and political debates in the USA, China, Japan, Korea, Russia and elsewhere, dealing with understandings of a nation-building and national identity, point out to parallels between the political significance of school history and the history debates globally (Nicholls, 2006; Smith, 1998, 2001;

Zajda, 2013, 2014a, 2014b). Due to these ongoing debates, history education has become both politically and pedagogically a high-profile topic of national and global significance. Consequently, the article's focus on school history textbooks, as medium for nation-building in Russia, is of geostrategic significance, for it helps to create a powerful form of global accountability of nations.

International research on school history has been done by the UN, the Council of Europe (Nicholls, 2006, p. 8). The Council of Europe has played a major role in funding projects to improve teaching history and history textbooks in Europe and especially in the Russian Federation between 1999 and 2003. One of the special goals of this 3-year project was to produce teaching resources for secondary schools which would encourage both teachers and students to approach historical events of the twentieth century from a critical and analytical perspective, using the same skills and assessment criteria as historians. Both reports emphasise that no single version of history should be considered as final or correct and encourage critical thinking and diverse approaches to learning and teaching history (Zajda, 2007, p. 292). The reports also stressed:

- The role of historical interpretation and memory in forming identity
- History dominated by prejudice and myth

1.4.1 The Council of Europe History Textbooks Projects

International research on textbook research has been done by the UN, the UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe has played a major role in funding projects to improve teaching history and history textbooks in Europe, particularly in the Russian Federation between 1999 and 2003. Its latest publication is *History Education in Europe: Ten Years of Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe* (2006). The Council of Europe's major 3-year project (1999–2001) *Learning and Teaching about History of Europe in the 20th Century* (2001) culminated in the final report. Among its recommendations on the teaching history in the twenty-first-century Europe, we find the following principles:

- The need for stronger mutual understanding and confidence between peoples, particularly through a history
- Teaching syllabus intended to eliminate prejudice and emphasising positive mutual influence between different countries, religions and ideas in the historical development of Europe
- Reaffirming 'the educational and cultural dimensions of the major challenges in the Europe of tomorrow'
- Stressing that 'ideological falsification and manipulation of history are incompatible with the fundamental principles of the Council of Europe as defined in its Statute' (Council of Europe, 2001)

It warned against the ‘misuse of history’, declaring that history teaching should not be ‘an instrument of ideological manipulation, of propaganda or used for the promotion of intolerant and ultra-nationalistic, xenophobic, racist or anti-Semitic ideas’. The Council of Europe had offered specific recommendation for history textbooks’ content, to ensure that they reflected the spirit of pluralist democracy, human rights and promoting the values of freedom, peace and tolerance. Hence, the history syllabus content had to reflect the following goals:

- Awareness raising about the European dimension, taken into account when syllabuses are drawn up, so as to instil in pupils a ‘European awareness’ open to the rest of the world
- Development of students’ critical faculties, ability to think for themselves, objectivity and resistance to being manipulated
- The events and moments that have left their mark on the history of Europe as such, studied at local, national, European and global levels, approached through particularly significant periods and facts
- The study of every dimension of European history, not just political but also economic, social and cultural
- Development of curiosity and the spirit of enquiry, in particular through the use of discovery methods in the study of the heritage, an area which brings out intercultural influences
- The elimination of prejudice and stereotypes, through the highlighting in history syllabuses of positive mutual influences between different countries, religions and schools of thought over the period of Europe’s historical development
- Critical study of misuses of history, whether these stem from denials of historical facts, falsification, omission, ignorance or reappropriation to ideological ends
- Study of controversial issues through the taking into account of the different facts, opinions and viewpoints as well as through a search for the truth

As a result, there has been a degree of ‘Europeanisation’ of history textbooks in EU member states, since the 1990s (Han, 2007, p. 392). The new generation of Russian, French, German and the Ukrainian history textbooks contains a manifest European dimension, as well as increased emphasis on ‘wider European ideals’, such as democracy, human rights and social justice (Han, p. 393). A vivid example of this ‘Europeanisation’ is the case of Ukraine. From 1996 onwards, the Council of Europe, together with the Ministry of Education, held a series of seminars that aimed to reform the teaching of history, urging textbook writers to write textbooks that reflect the EU ideals of cultural diversity, social justice and inclusive pedagogy. The multiple perspective approach to historical narratives, advocated by the Council of Europe, resulted in the introduction of the new standard in teaching History of Ukraine in the restructured 12-year school system (Janmaat, 2007, p. 320). It mentions the cultivation of tolerance and respect for other nations and the importance of critical thinking. However, as Janmaat notes, there are signs that the rhetoric of the reform policy is not ‘filtering down’ in the textbooks. The 2005 new history curriculum for Year 5, as before, presents a strictly linear and chronological grand narrative of Ukrainian history, continuing mythmaking of past

historical events, which is at odds with critical thinking and pluralist discourses. A new textbook for Grade 10 on Ukrainian history, produced in cooperation with EUROCLIO and international organisation of history teachers, reflects Western models of innovative pedagogies grounded in pluralist discourses, multiculturalism and social justice.

EUROCLIO, founded in 1993, promotes and supports the development of an 'innovative and inclusive approach to History and citizenship education' (Roord, 2009, p. 80). It focuses on improving the quality of history education, where concepts such as 'mutual inclusiveness, interpretation, evidence, multiperspectivity, complexity, objectivity, controversy, and civic responsibility' are basic elements for good history education (Roord, p. 80). Teaching about the past means addressing both positive and negative aspects of historical narratives:

> Teaching about the past means addressing positive issues like democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights, solidarity, courage . . . However, it also means dealing with, and reflecting upon, negative concepts such as stereotyping, prejudice, xenophobia, racism, violence and hate. (Roord, p. 80)

More importantly, EUROCLIO supports addressing a balanced variety of political, cultural, economic and social dimensions, offering school history at both local and global levels (glocal).

1.5 The Politics Surrounding Historical Narratives

Continuing public and political debates globally about the role of historical explanation and the development of historical consciousness in schools when dealing with popular understandings of a nation's growth has given history a significant role in repositioning competing and ideologically driven discourses of historical narratives and processes (Janmaat, 2007; Nicholls, 2006; Zajda, 2013). In Russia, for instance, as in other countries undergoing a similar process of nation-building, the three most significant issues defining the repositioning of the politically correct historical narratives are preferred images of the past (reminiscent of Anderson's 'imagined community'), patriotism and national identity (Anderson, 1996; Smith, 1991).

Current debates, around the main issues in historiography and the role of historical narratives in nation-building process, echo similar controversies in the UK in the 1980s and in 2007 (Phillips, 1998; Brown, 2007) and in the USA during the 1990s (Nash et al., 2000), as well as recent polemics in history education globally. In the USA, for example, on January 18, 1995, the 'History Wars' erupted on the floors of the US Congress. In a debate on national history standards, Senator Slade Gordon asked the question 'George Washington or Bart Simpson—which figure represented a more important part of our Nation's history for our children to study?' He attempted to define the national character of history teaching for future generations (Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000, p. 1). School history texts, as instruments of ideological transformation and nation-building, are currently closely

monitored by the state, in counties like Japan, China, Taiwan, South Korea and the Russian Federation, to name a few. In other countries, these processes are still present but in less formal and more ad hoc ways. In the Russian Federation, for example, it represents an ideologically driven nation-building process, and social and political transformation of society, which is overseen by the state.

Historical perspectives on school history textbooks include a rich diversity of ideological orientations, ranging from ultraconservative to neo-Marxist perspectives. The growth of recent nationalist and neo-nationalist, as well as socialist movements, especially in Europe and some parts of Latin America, influences, to a certain degree, the content and the role of history textbooks in schools. Debates over the content and the role of history textbooks, as Nicholls (2006) observes, have become 'increasingly contentious' (Nicholls, p. 43). Some scholars and educationalists suggest that school history textbooks play a significant role in political socialisation, promoting patriotism and the nation-building process (Baques, 2006; Han, 2007; Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Pingel, 2006; and Zajda, 2013).

Some even argue that history textbooks are central to the 'transmission of national values . . . in that they present an official story highlighting narratives that shape contemporary patriotism' (Hein & Selden, 2000, pp. 3–4). If this is the case, history textbooks may well have acquired a new degree of political and moral dimensions in the twenty-first century. This in turn suggests the ideological dimension in education, embracing the curriculum, classroom pedagogy, assessment and educational outcomes. As Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995, p. 8) argue, teacher education involves 'socialization for the political roles that teachers play'. Thus, teachers become agents of political socialisation, via disciplines they teach. Political socialisation deals with explanations of political events and refers to the 'behaviour, knowledge, values, and beliefs' of the citizens. Also, it is important to clarify that the political dimension is not limited to the discourses surrounding 'the state, governments, parties, constitutions and voting' (Ginsburg & Lindsay, p. 4). It extends to all aspects of society, and individuals, ranging from global trade policies to interpersonal dynamics and intercultural communication (Foucault, 1980; Zajda 2005, 2007).

In some countries, history textbooks have become a source of ongoing heated debates and controversies, due to their depiction or 'airbrushing' of specific historical events. Foster and Nicholls believe that Japanese history textbooks appear to be more controversial than those of other countries. This is largely due to the fact that the Japanese government directly monitors, supervises and censors textbook content (Nicholls, 2006, p. 44). Similar degree of the government's control over the content of history textbooks can be observed in Japan, China and elsewhere. In Japan, for instance, some ultraconservative historians felt that history textbooks overemphasised Japanese imperialism and wartime atrocities (see Ogawa & Field, 2006, p. 52). They published their own textbooks—*History not Taught in Textbooks* and *The History of the Nation's People*, justifying Japan's role in World War II, as one of liberating Asia from Western imperialism. The books became best-selling books in Japan. The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform circulated its draft of the proposed history textbook for junior high schools.

Widespread protests had erupted in Japan, China and South Korea over the presentation of Japan's foundation myth as historical fact and its interpretation of Japan's role in wars to 'liberate Asia from the Western powers' (Masalski, 2001, p. 2) and not 'wars from expansionist motives' (Nicholls, 2006, p. 53). The Ministry of Education, following the publicity and controversy over the ultraconservative historical perspectives, its biases and omissions, criticised such textbooks for containing unbalanced accounts of certain historical narratives and requested that revised textbooks should reflect a more balanced content, a more sensitive use of language (e.g. 'military comfort women', etc.) and a more balanced and objective use of critical analysis and evaluation. However, the swing towards patriotism, nationalism and traditions, promoted by ultra-right-wing historians and policymakers, has gained momentum since 2001. A moral education reader *A Record of my Inner Development* designed to cultivate a 'love for the nation' and patriotism was published in April 2002 and distributed by the government to 12 million junior and senior high school students. In their school report cards, students are graded on a three-point scale as to their 'patriotic attitude' and 'awareness as Japanese' (Nicholls, p. 55).

1.6 Global Historical Perspectives on School History Textbooks

1.6.1 The Political Economy of History Textbook Publishing

History teachers in England, Australia, Canada, the USA, the Russian Federation, and elsewhere have long enjoyed freedom and independence in textbook selection. State-regulated or 'approved' textbooks 'never existed in England' (Crawford & Foster, 2006, p. 93). Forces of globalisation, marketisation and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks. Standard-driven education policy and curriculum reforms in Europe and elsewhere have impacted on publishers and publishing. A state-mandated National Curriculum in the UK (1988), the Core Curriculum in the Russian Federation (2014), National Curricula in France, and Japan, to name a few, supported by a rigid regime of examinations, accountability, standards quality and value-added schooling, have meant that education publishers were responding to the demands of state-controlled and examination-driven accountability-defined education system.

The emergence of national history curriculum, State/Federal Standards in History and increased emphasis on examinations in schools and higher education institutions has meant that education textbook publishers 'are now acutely aware of the demands of the examination boards' and produce prescribed textbooks for the state-defined and state-controlled curricula (Crawford & Foster, 2006, p. 94). Debates in the USA, England, France, Germany, Japan, the Russian Federation and China were particularly intense during the 1990s and after 2000, concerning how and what

history, particularly history narrative and ideological perspective, should be included in schools. In England, for instance, the debates surrounding the New English National Curriculum and the proposed school history curriculum in the late 1980s and early 1990s were 'particularly acrimonious':

> Textbooks today are more than ever packaged and produced to respond to the demands of an increasingly state-controlled education system and an increasingly profit-driven textbook industry . . . the stakes were particularly high at this time because champions of both sides of the political divide understood that controlling access to the past had undoubted implications for how pupils perceived the present. (Crawford & Foster, 2006, p. 94)

Similarly, in France, due to its highly centralised education system, school history textbooks are published, according to prescribed history curricula and national examinations. In this sense, history in French schools has the status of a 'compulsory discipline', being placed 'behind French and mathematics' in the hierarchy of school disciplines (Baques, 2006, p. 105).

The Russian Federation is a vivid and unique example of ideological repositioning of historical narratives, blending certain Soviet and Russian historiography. According to President Vladimir Putin (2014), Russian history textbooks should reflect the 'national ideology' and the curriculum should focus on the formation of 'common civic values, to consolidate the Russian nation', and avoid, in his opinion, 'biased interpretations' of history:

> We have to develop common approaches and views . . . especially in Russian history, and the history of the people of the Russian Federation . . . there should be no distortion of facts, and biased interpretations of the history of our country. (http://www.edu.ru/index.php?page_id=5&topic_id=3&date=&sid=20188&ntype=nuke).

Furthermore, the notion of teaching patriotism is accentuated in the national history curriculum document, *Primernye programmy po uchebnym predemtam. Istoriia. 5–9 klassy* (2010). In the introduction, in the section *The goals and tasks for learning history in schools*, it is stated that one of the main goals of learning history is to cultivate in the students 'patriotism, and respect to our Fatherland' (*Primernye programmy po uchebnym predmetam. Istoriya. 5–9 klassy*, p. 5).

The Russian Federation introduced the National Curriculum in 1993 and standards. The latest generation of standards in history education and revised National curriculum were approved in January 2014. Since history deals with politically and socially controversial past events, history education has played, and continues to play, a contentious role in formulating overall curriculum policy and in creating national identity in each federation. On 2 June, President Putin directed his cabinet and the Ministry of Education to work together with the Russian Historical Society on revising and updating (by 15 August 2014) the national framework for new standardised textbooks of Russian history. Earlier, on January 2014, Putin, at the meeting with authors of a new framework for a school textbook on Russian history, said that there was a need to celebrate key events in Russian history, including the October 1917 Revolution and the Great Patriotic War (World War II), because they were of 'great national significance':

> This year (2014) will mark 100 years since the beginning of World War I. Ahead of us are the 70th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War, 100 years of the February and October Revolutions [of 1917]. These dates are of great national significance, all of them, regardless of how we assess them. This is a fact, and we should consider together what events, and on what scale should be organised on a national level. I would like to hear your suggestions. (www.prlib.ru/en-us/News/pages/item.aspx?itemid=8063)

1.7 Conclusion

The above discussion demonstrates an existence of the nexus between ideology, the state and nation-building as depicted in historical narratives of the more recent school textbooks. New ideological biases and omissions have been detected in textbooks in Japan, the Russian Federation, Greece and elsewhere. The ‘Europeanisation’ of history textbooks in the EU is an example of Western-dominated grand narrative of pluralist democracy, multiculturalism and human rights, according to the canon of a particularly European dimension. Both the ‘Europeanisation’ of history textbooks and politically motivated reforms in history curricula and textbooks, as depicted above, demonstrate a new dimension of political socialisation and the nation-building process currently taking place in the global culture.

Recent and continuing public and political debates in countries around the world, dealing with understandings of a nation-building and national identity, point out to parallels between the political significance of school history and the history debates globally (Han, 2007; Janmaat, 2007; Nicholls, 2006; Pingel, 2006; and Zajda, 2014b). Due to these ongoing debates concerning the role of history teaching in schools, its content and delivery, history education has become a *high-profile* topic of national and global significance.

This chapter demonstrates that the issue of national identity and balanced representations of the past continues to dominate the debate surrounding the content of history textbooks. The existence of competing and contested discourses in historiography, together with diversity in interpretations of events, will make it problematic to reach consensus on the content of history textbooks. A trend towards a more analytical, pluralistic and critical approach to both the process and content of historical narratives in school textbooks offers new pedagogical challenges to both students and teachers alike, who have been exposed to traditional, linear, descriptive and authoritarian views of the politically correct historical narrative. These competing discourses in historiography and diverse ideologies will continue to define and shape the nature and significance of historical knowledge, dominant ideologies and the direction of values education in history textbooks.

References

Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (2002). *Dialectic of enlightenment* (E. Jephcott, Trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Anderson, B. (1996). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso/New Left Books.

Apple, M. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge Falmer.

Baques, M.-C. (2006). History textbooks in France: Between national institutions, publishers and teaching practice. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 105–118). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Brown, G. (2006). *The future of Britishness*. Speech by Gordon Brown to the Fabian Society, January 14. Fabian Society Press Release. Retrieved from: www.parliament.uk/.../LLN-2008-015

Brown, G. (2007). Gordon Brown's speech at a seminar on Britishness, the Commonwealth club, London. *The Guardian*, February 28. Retrieved from: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2007/feb/27/immigrationpolicy.race

Council of Europe. (2001). *Recommendation on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe.* www.hisdialresearch.org/CoE/Rec(2001)15_English.doc

Council of Europe. (2006). *History education in Europe: Ten years of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe.* http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/historyteaching/Source/Cooperation/RussianFederation/TenYears_en.pdf

Crawford, K., & Foster, S. (2006). The political economy of history textbook publishing in England. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 93–104). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Easton, D. (1965). *A systems analysis of political life*. New York: Wiley.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings* (pp. 1972–1977). New York: Pantheon Books.

Fuchs, E. (2011). Current trends in history and social studies textbook research. *Journal of International Cooperation and Education, 14*(2), 17–34.

Geuss, R. (1981). *The idea of a critical theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway world: How globalization is reshaping our lives*. New York: Routledge.

Ginsburg, M. B., & Lindsay, B. (Eds.). (1995). *The political dimension in teacher education*. London: The Falmer Press.

Han, C. (2007). History education and 'Asian' values for an 'Asian' democracy: The case of Singapore. *Compare, 37*(3), 383–398.

Hein, L., & Selden, M. (2000). *Censoring history: Citizenship and memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Janmaat, J. (2007). The ethnic 'other' in Ukrainian history textbooks: The case of Russia and the Russians. *Compare, 37*(3), 307–324.

Janmaat, J., & Vickers, E. (2007). Education and identity formation in post-Cold War Eastern Europe and Asia. *Compare, 37*(3), 267–275.

Masalski, K. (2001, November). Examining the Japanese history textbook controversies. *Japan Digest.*

McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2005). *Teaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Nash, G., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. (2000). *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*. New York: Vintage.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (6th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Nicholls, J. (2006). *School history textbooks across cultures*. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Ogawa, M., & Field, S. (2006). Causation, controversy and contrition: Recent developments in the Japanese history textbook content and selection process. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 43–60). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Phillips, R. (1998). *History teaching, nationhood and the state: A study in educational politics*. London: Cassell.

Pingel, F. (2006). Reform or conform: German reunification and its consequences for history textbooks and curricula. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 61–82). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Primernye programmy po uchebnym predmetam. Istoriya. 5–9 klassy (Sample of programs in school subjects. History 5–9 Grades.). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Putin, V. (2014). President of Russia: Vladimir Putin met with authors of a new concept for a school textbook on Russian history. Retrieved from: www.prlib.ru/en-us/News/pages/item.aspx?itemid=8063

Ritzer, G. (2005). *The globalization of nothing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Roord, J. (2009). Moving forwards, stepping backwards: Supranational organizations and history teaching in post-communist Europe. *Political Crossroads, 16*(1), 75–93.

Sarup, M. (1993). *Guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism* (2nd ed.). Athens, Greece: University of Georgia Press.

Smith, A. (1991). *National identity*. London: Penguin.

Smith, A. (1998). *Nationalism and modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Smith, A. (2001). *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.

Stearns, P., Seixas, P., & Wineburg, S. (2000). *Knowing, teaching and learning history*. New York: NYUP.

Thompson, J. (1990). *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The capitalist world-economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1998). The rise and future demise of world-systems analysis. *Review, 21*, 103–112.

Zajda, J. (1994). Curriculum reforms in post-communist Russia: 1991–1994. *Curriculum and Teaching, 9*(2), 73–88.

Zajda, J. (2000). The politics of the Re-writing of history in Russia: School textbooks and curriculum material. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Curriculum, culture and teaching*. Melbourne, Australia: James Nicholas Publishers.

Zajda, J. (2007). The new history school textbooks in the Russian Federation: 1992–2004. *Compare, 37*(3), 291–306.

Zajda, J. (2012). Representing the October 1917 Russian Revolution in Russian school history textbooks. *Political Crossroads, 19*(1), 49–63.

Zajda, J. (2013). Russian history textbooks: An analysis of historical narratives depicting key events. *Curriculum and Teaching, 28*(2), 73–100.

Zajda, J. (2014a). Ideology. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of educational theory and philosophy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zajda, J. (2014b). The politics of Russian history education in the Russian media. *Educational Practice and Theory, 36*(2), 53–77.

Zajda, J., & Smith, K. (2013). Globalisation, ideology and history school textbooks: Secondary school history teachers Reponses in the Russian Federation. *Educational Practice & Theory, 35*(2), 27–61.

Zajda, J., & Whitehouse, J. A. (2009). Teaching history. In L. Saha & A. Dworkin (Eds.), *The new international handbook of research on teachers and teaching(pp* (pp. 953–965). New York: Springer.

Zajda, J., & Zajda, R. (2012). Globalisation, ideology and the politics of history school textbooks: Russia. *Education and Society, 30*(3), 67–78.

Chapter 2
Historical Thinking and Narrative in a Global Culture

John A. Whitehouse

2.1 Globalisation, Historical Narrative and the Construction of National Identity

Discussions of the relationship between globalisation and education policy have tended to neglect the curriculum, yet the transnational flow of capital, people and ideas has exerted a profound impact on this aspect of education policy: on the one hand, the curriculum must equip students with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for success in the global economy, yet it is also an instrument for the construction of national identity in increasingly multi-ethnic contexts (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The tensions that arise from these conflicting imperatives are evident in the curriculum. Nowhere is this more clearly apparent than in history. Although the history curriculum is pivotal to nation-building (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Chia, 2012; Zajda & Smith, 2013; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009), it must offer students more than a grand narrative if they are to be equipped for life in the twenty-first century. What is the most productive direction for history curriculum in a global culture? In the absence of a grand narrative approach, what is the role of narrative in the practice of history teachers?

J.A. Whitehouse (✉)
Melbourne Graduate School of Education, The University of Melbourne,
234 Queensberry Street, Parkville, VIC 3010, Australia
e-mail: j.whitehouse@unimelb.edu.au

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_2

2.2 Historical Narrative and School History

Researchers distinguish between different types of history in schools. Peter Seixas (2000) identifies three forms of the subject. The first type – 'enhancing collective memory' – presents history as heritage. Following Hegel, the proper subject of this form of history is the state: the nation constitutes the means by which progress is achieved. The grand narrative charts the progress of the state. David Lowenthal (1998) argues that this approach is 'heritage' rather than 'history' as it does not foster historical inquiry but instead favours transmission of knowledge in a way that ignores disciplinary processes. Pierre Nora (1996) calls this 'memory history' due to its epistemological naïveté and conservative function. In the absence of disciplinary structures, this form of history is adrift in a perpetual present, unconscious of the processes through which historical knowledge is established. It lacks the ability to critically evaluate the uses to which it is put. Stéphane Lévesque (2008) employs the term in his critique of the limitations of such history: 'memory history, as an unscientific study of history, subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, supplies no formal evaluating principle or adequate answer to the challenges of the new global (dis)order and the conflicting memories and collective claims about the past that it has engendered' (pp. 6–7). In an increasingly complex, multifaceted and integrated world, memory history offers a simplistic, narrow and one-dimensional perspective.

'Disciplinary history' is the second type of history identified by Seixas (2000). It also represents the second form of the subject in the dichotomies postulated by Nora (1996) and Lowenthal (1998). In *The Process of Education* (1960), Jerome Bruner holds that the disciplines can be taught to school students in an authentic manner. This insight has had a profound effect on the practice of many history teachers, but its full implications are yet to be realised. Building on the work of Bruner, Paul Hirst and Philip Phenix developed the 'disciplines thesis' – the notion that there are distinctive forms of knowledge and that they may be used to define the curriculum. For Hirst (1974), seven forms of knowledge shape a liberal education: 'mathematics, physical sciences, human sciences, history, religion, literature and the fine arts, philosophy' (p. 46). Each of these forms is distinguished by the method(s) it uses to test a proposition. Forms differ in their key concepts, structure and modes of inquiry. Phenix (1964) concurs that disciplines should shape the curriculum, but his definition of disciplines encompasses notions of activity. Kenneth Ruthven (1978) argues that the definitions of disciplines offered by Hirst and Phenix are not sufficient: practice and common sense are important. Practice is shaped by purpose. Howard Gardner and Veronica Boix-Mansilla (1994) observe that the disciplines thus represent the most effective ways to respond to foundational questions about the world in which we live.

Disciplinary history uses the meaning-making processes of history to foster learning. The student is invited to engage in historical inquiry. This means that students analyse source material for use as evidence in the construction of historical interpretations. Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby (2000) observe that this involves the

use of substantive concepts related to the period under study such as democracy, revolution and immigration, as well as procedural concepts such as significance, causation, continuity and change. Brunerian in character, disciplinary history draws students into the practices of the discipline for the purpose of pedagogy (Husbands, 1996). Although this form differs from heritage history, learning and teaching in disciplinary history also occur in a sociopolitical context. It links the individual and society through examination of shared stories. Its magisterial effect in public debate makes it a site of contest. Furthermore, the historical arguments formulated by students as a result of disciplined inquiry may have implications for the present. In terms of globalisation, the procedural concepts that underpin disciplinary history offer a way to discuss learning and teaching that is not confined to issues of substantive content (subject matter).

In addition to memory history and disciplinary history, Seixas (2000) offers a third form: 'postmodern history'. Informed by the postmodern critique of knowledge, this form of the subject regards historical interpretation as an imposition on the past. Postmodernism regards meaning as unstable, inherently subjective and inextricably bound up with language. Here, the question of narrative is central. Alun Munslow (1997) observes that in postmodernist thought, it is the historian who creates the past as text. This approach has gained little traction in schools; curriculum as policy favours the first two forms. Moreover, the prevailing discussion in research on learning and teaching history adopts a focus on the second form, subject as discipline. The restrictive parameters of history as heritage, the first form, close down more opportunities for learning than they open up. To support the practice of teachers, the present research favours the second form. Before discussing the relationship between disciplinary history and narrative in schools, it is important to consider the nature of historical narrative.

2.3 Understanding Historical Narrative

Munslow (2000) offers the following definition of the place of narrative in history:

> Narrative is central to historical explanation as the vehicle for the creation and representation of historical knowledge and historical explanation. What is narrative? For the historian it is the telling of an event or connected flow of events, by a narrator (the writer/historian) to a narratee (the actual/imagined reader) and rarely is it so obtuse (akin to a scientific narrative) that it is cast in other than a relatively jargon-free language. (p. 169)

The dominant mode of historical explanation is narrative. This is the case in the discipline and the classroom. Anne Curthoys and John Docker (2006) observe that a fundamental tension has existed in history as a form of critical inquiry since its inception in classical antiquity: history as rigorous inquiry into the past and history as literary endeavour. Historical narrative is defined by this duality. One of the ways in which historians use primary sources is to discern causal relationships between events. The resultant chains of cause and consequence are the building blocks of

narrative. This means that historical narrative is an explanation of the past; it is not the past. For W. B. Gallie (1964), historical understanding *is* the ability to follow such a narrative. His position overstates the case, but teachers must consider the place of historical narrative in the classroom carefully.

In his reflection on history as discourse, Michael Stanford (1994) suggests that narrative consists of twelve elements: *beginning*, *subject*, *events*, *characters*, *setting*, *sequence*, *plot*, *perspective*, *verisimilitude*, *internal time*, *ending* and *truth*. Lévesque (2007) adapts the work of Stanford to make it manageable in the classroom. Lévesque's model consists of six parts: *subject matter*, *characters*, *sequence of events*, *evidence*, *moral* and *perspective. Subject matter* refers to the content of the narrative. Historical narrative takes as its focus human action in the past. *Characters* (historical actors) are necessary to set the narrative in motion. Historical actors encompass groups of people or institutional structures (such as nation-states). *Sequence* pertains to the organisation of events in time. In historical narrative, events are held together by causal chains. This necessitates the inclusion and exclusion of events, defence of that selection and the imperative of understanding the events in question. These first three elements of this narrative framework, as well as the fifth and sixth, may also apply to fiction. The fourth component, *evidence*, grounds the framework in history as a discipline. Sources must be selected, interpreted and evaluated for use as evidence. The fifth part of the framework is the *moral*. Implicit or explicit morals are at work in every story. The value structure of the historian informs the selection of events, the depiction of historical actors and authorial comment. The final component of the framework is *perspective*. Historical actors and narrators are anchored in time. Values at work in the past are not necessarily those of the historian. Nevertheless, ideological frameworks define the way in which people, ideas and events are perceived during the period in question and across time. Historical narrative must negotiate these complexities. It provides a structure for historical understanding.

2.4 Models of Historical Thinking/Reasoning

One of the most productive lines of research on learning and teaching in history is the exploration of historical thinking. The key imperative of this research is to identify second-order concepts in history to enable them to be explicitly taught. Directed by Peter Seixas, The Historical Thinking Project (2014) offers a valuable six-part model of historical thinking: *establish historical significance*, *use primary source evidence*, *identify continuity and change*, *analyse cause and consequence*, *take historical perspectives* and *understand ethical dimensions of history*. One of the key strengths of this research is that it invests agency in the learner. Students explore why certain aspects of the past have historical importance. They come to understand the value of primary sources through their use. Students discern patterns of continuity and change. Causal relationships are analysed. Students engage with the paradox of history: the historian wants to understand the past, but is anchored

in the present. Moreover, people in the past often understood their world in ways very different to our own. Such perspectives require consideration if we are to know the past. Addressing the ethical dimension of historical interpretation is a further complication for the student of the past. Lévesque (2008) presents an insightful explication of this model.

In contrast, Kathryn and Luther Spoehr (1994) hold that historical thinking consists of five abilities. First, historical thinking involves the use of imagination. We cannot experience the past directly. It is a paradox of historical inquiry that it seeks to understand the perspectives of people in this past, yet it is impossible to stand in their shoes. Such inquiry demands the use of imagination constrained by primary source material. Second, disciplinary thought in history involves the development of hypotheses about causation. Here, the researchers adopt the position held by E. H. Carr (1961): 'The study of history is a study of causes' (p. 81). Not all causes are of the same type or importance. For example, ever since Thucydides, historians have distinguished between immediate and underlying causes. Third, hypotheses must be tested against historical facts. The interest that Spoehr and Spoehr demonstrate in the interplay between historian and fact also reflects the influence of Carr:

> The historian starts with a provisional selection of facts and a provisional interpretation in light of which that selection has been made – by others as well as by himself. As he works, both the interpretation and the selection and ordering of facts undergo subtle and perhaps partly unconscious changes through the reciprocal action of one or the other. And this reciprocal action also involves reciprocity between present and past, since the historian is part of the present, and the facts belong to the past. (p. 24)

The task of the historian is to construct a hypothesis that matches the facts. Historical thinking is concerned with the construction of an argument about the past. This should include engagement with counterarguments. The fourth element of the model is engagement with abstract concepts, the meaning of which has changed over time. Historical inquiry frequently embraces ideas such as freedom, democracy, industrialisation and immigration. Arguments about the past may depend on such themes, but their meaning is not constant. For example, the concept of freedom for the political elite in Republican Rome was synonymous with the liberty of the Senate; this differs from contemporary understandings of the idea. Historical thinking accounts for these differences. Fifth, the researchers note that historical thinking includes awareness of one's own values. The object of historical inquiry is to understanding the past, not to impose the mindset of the present on it.

The components of historical thought identified by Spoehr and Spoehr inform the model of historical reasoning formulated by Carla Van Drie and Jannet Van Boxtel (2008). *Asking historical questions* is the first component of this model. It presents the classroom as a learning environment based on inquiry. If the capacity to pose questions about the past is foundational to learning, then history teachers need to provide students with activities designed to ask, refine and evaluate such questions. Teachers must foster students' propensity to ask questions. Van Drie and Van Boxtel discuss four types of questions that may be used to drive historical inquiry: *descriptive*, *causal*, *comparative* and *evaluative*. These questions can be

asked about sources and the past. First, descriptive questions pertain to the realm of historical fact. What kind of source is it? What was the Industrial Revolution? Such questions support basic understanding. Second, causal questions examine relationships between events. What motivated the author of a document to write it? Why did the Industrial Revolution take place? Third, comparative questions invite students to consider similarities and differences. Are statements about the past made in one document supported by other sources? What was the nature of social life before and after the onset of the Industrial Revolution? The fourth category is the evaluative question. How useful is the source to the investigation? To what extent is the concept of an Industrial Revolution a useful way to describe developments in Britain between the mid-eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries? Research suggests that evaluative questions such as these promote historical understanding more effectively than other types (Van Drie, Van Boxtel, & Van der Linden, 2006). Research by Sam Wineburg (1998) supports the view that questions are central to learning about the past and that understanding results from the interaction between the historian, questions and source.

The second component of the model of historical reasoning advocated by Van Drie and Van Boxtel is the use of sources. Engagement with primary sources is the foundation of historical reasoning. Bruce Van Sledright (2004) underscores the centrality of primary sources to historical thought. Furthermore, Wineburg (1991) presents three heuristics for interpreting sources: sourcing, contextualisation and corroboration. Sourcing involves consideration of the provenance of a document. Contextualisation entails approaching the source with the knowledge that it is the product of a specific author, time and place. Corroboration involves consideration of the similarities and differences between one source and another. Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008) draw upon this research by linking it to the first component of their model. For them, students read sources as part of a process of historical inquiry. Sources must be evaluated in order to be used as evidence in support of a point of view about the past.

The presuppositions that students bring to the history classroom shape their learning. This is clearly the case in regard to the third component of the model: contextualisation. If sources present information in a direct and unproblematic way, then there is no apparent need to place them in context. Denis Shemilt (1987) observes that this is precisely the view that many students bring to the history classroom: perspective does not matter. Such a belief is at odds with disciplinary understanding. Before a source can be used as evidence, it is vital to consider the time and place in which it was produced. Subsequent work by Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2012) examines this aspect of historical reasoning at length. The researchers conclude that contextualisation requires the development of an effective network of key concepts and temporal landmarks. Evaluation of sources necessitates contextualisation. This means that instruction must promote understanding of key turning points, the central ideas connecting aspects of the past and the ways in which historians organise time itself.

The fourth component of the model is argumentation. The capacity to construct an argument in response to inquiry questions is foundational to historical reasoning.

Students produce such arguments by drawing on the final two components of the model: substantive concepts and meta-concepts. Substantive concepts arise from the specific period under study such as revolution, immigration and industrialisation. This knowledge is propositional in character. It would be unwise to assume that substantive concepts are unchanging. For example, democracy in classical Athens was participatory (and confined to a small part of the population); democratic government in the contemporary world is representational in nature. Such changes in substantive concepts offer valuable opportunities for comparative study. Indeed, thematic history would not exist without them.

Using meta-concepts is the sixth component of the model developed by Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008). Meta-concepts constitute the building blocks of knowledge in history as a discipline. The researchers draw on the work of Margarita Limón (2002) in noting the following meta-concepts: 'evidence, cause, explanation, empathy, time, space, change, source, fact, description and narration' (p. 101). The *Using primary source evidence* component of the Van Drie and Van Boxtel model combines *source* and *evidence* from Limón. It is also useful to examine the connections between these meta-concepts and the model developed by Seixas in his work with the Historical Thinking Project (2014). Seixas and Limón share an emphasis on causation and change. Furthermore, Limón refers to *empathy*, whilst Seixas invites students to *take historical perspectives*. Limón includes *explanation*, *time*, *space*, *fact*, *description* and *narration*, whereas Seixas invites students to *establish historical significance* and to *understand ethical dimensions of history*. Emphasis on the use of disciplinary concepts by students underpins the above-mentioned models. Van Sledright (2009) refers to historical thinking concepts as 'knowledge-in-use structures' (p. 453). This emphasis on process resonates with the work of philosophers such as Alfred North Whitehead. History teachers need to employ pedagogies that foster the use of procedural concepts by students. A systematic understanding of the uses of narrative in disciplinary history can help teachers to meet this challenge.

2.5 History, Narrative and Pedagogy

Narrative is central to the way in which students understand time: story offers a means of making sense of the past (Levstik, 1992). In a way, the past is gone. It is pursued through imagination. This makes the study of the past an adventure of the mind. Bruner (1986) distinguishes between two ways in which the mind constructs reality: narrative and paradigmatic thought. Each mode creates meaning in different ways; one cannot be reduced to the other. Narrative thought enables the construction of meaning through story. Its object is verisimilitude. In contrast, paradigmatic thought verifies truth claims through proofs and experimentation. Narrative grapples with subjective human experience; the paradigmatic mode engages with abstract forms and the universal. Narrative thinking underpins the humanities; paradigmatic thought is foundational to the sciences. If the distinction that Bruner draws is correct,

then history offers disciplinary processes to the narrative mode of the mind. It may be a simplification to confine the discipline of history to narrative; Husbands (1996) holds that history draws on narrative and paradigmatic thought. Nevertheless, the research of Bruner underscores the centrality of narrative to learning. Having said this, the work of the history teacher involves more than interaction with an individual mind: teachers engage with groups of students. In this light, what is the place of narrative in the history classroom?

The present research presents a five-part model to inform the work of teachers of disciplinary history. The first component of the model is *involvement and engagement*. Richard Prawat (1998) observes that dealing with motivation and learning separately is not helpful; expert teachers do not doubt the importance of capturing the imagination of students as instruction moves these learners from the known to the unknown. Fine historical writing reflects this understanding. Consider, for example, the way in which Christian Meier (2000) opens his history of Athens:

> In the late summer of 480 BC, most likely towards the end of September, a dramatic, heartrending scene played out on the coast of Attica. Athens' entire population, including men, women, children and slaves, was fleeing from the approaching Persian army. Only a few people remained, mostly the old, the infirm, and a few priests. The Athenians left behind the graves of their ancestors, their shrines, homes, fields, and plantations, entrusting them to the protection of their goddess, Athena. Horses, donkeys, and dogs may have accompanied the convoy as far as the harbour, but there they, too, presumably had to be left behind. There was hardly enough room on the ships for the 100,000 or more human beings, much less their animals. The Athenians did take along the statues of some gods, at least the wooden figure of Athena, for safekeeping and probably also to invoke the goddess's assistance. (p. 3)

This is evocative historical writing. The reader experiences a sense of being transported to Athens. Every detail that the historian includes is replete with pathos. We encounter the fear of the Athenians as they flee the Persian host. We feel something of the loss of the men, women and children as they abandon their home. The few people who remain face death at the hands of the invading army; the atmosphere is foreboding. Hoping for the protection of their patron goddess, they carry the statue of Athena from the old Parthenon. In a way, she has been cast out with them. As they board the ships, they step into an uncertain future. They may never return home. The world has been shattered and it is unclear how, or if, it will be restored. In the hands of a teacher, such a narrative can be used to foster the predisposition to learn and to engage students in historical thinking.

The second way in which the teacher employs narrative in the history classroom is as a *mode of explanation*. The historian uses narrative to explain the past, so too do teachers and students. To discuss the explanations offered by teachers, it is useful to return to the four types of historical questions considered by Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008): *descriptive*, *causal*, *comparative* and *evaluative*. These are not the only kinds of questions that might be asked in a history classroom, but they form a useful guide. We will begin with the first three types in the context of the previous example. What were the Greco-Persian wars? What caused the conflict? What were the similarities and differences between the Greco-Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War? The explanations offered in response to such

questions afford teachers the opportunity to model historical thinking for students. The first question invites the teacher to present a basic account of the past. This provides a springboard for further learning. The second question draws attention to the causal relationships that enable the narrative offered by the teacher to retain coherence. Identification of further causes may call aspects of the initial account into question. Comparative questions may lead teachers to present accounts of the past that students can read against each other. This affords rich opportunities for historical thought. Evaluative questions invite judgments of worth. For example, how much emphasis should we give war as a catalyst of historical change? Such questions offer many opportunities for teachers to model and guide. Furthermore, the explanations of the past that students bring to the classroom are the starting point for learning. As a result of instruction, the narrative explanations of the past that students offer should reflect historical thinking. Teachers need to design learning activities that enable students to use, and to explain their use, of historical thinking concepts. Historical understanding must also be captured in the assessment tasks that students complete.

Third, teachers use narrative to provide a *context for historical inquiry*. An investigation of the causes of World War II, for example, could open with an account of Neville Chamberlain and the events of 30 September 1938. It was on this day that the British Prime Minister returned home from Germany. In his meeting with Hitler, Chamberlain signed the Munich Agreement that permitted Germany to annex the border regions of Czechoslovakia. Speaking at Heston Aerodrome, Chamberlain announced the fruits of the policy of appeasement: the pact was ‘only the prelude to a larger settlement in which all Europe may find peace’. In triumph, he held aloft the declaration as evidence of a peaceful future before reading it to the crowd. Later, outside 10 Downing Street, he proclaimed that the note with his signature and that of the German Führer heralded ‘Peace for our time’. In less than a year, Great Britain and her allies would be at war with Germany. It is hard to overstate the tragedy of these events.

What was the historical significance of the policy of appeasement? What caused the British government to pursue this policy? How were the events of 1938 understood by people at the time? How does our own position in time shape the way in which we perceive the same events? These are rich questions for historical inquiry. Although the key primary source for this inquiry could be the Anglo-German Agreement, the film footage of Chamberlain disembarking from his airplane and delivering his speech is far more engaging. Moreover, the cheers of the crowd demonstrate the perils of regarding appeasement as the sole responsibility of Neville Chamberlain. Time has generated many interpretations of the events by historians, some more sympathetic to the British Prime Minister than others. Historical inquiry would need to reach back to the Great War and its aftermath, as well as forward into World War II. Narrative thus enables teachers to construct a framework for inquiry. It is through such inquiry that students can use the procedural concepts presented in the various historical thinking models.

Robert Mayer (1998) observes that students need both to attend to the narrative offered by the teacher and to consider the way in which it has been constructed. Historical narrative rests on source material. The distinction that Frederick Drake and Sarah Drake Brown (2003) draw between first-, second- and third-order sources may be applied here. The first-order source is foundational to the inquiry. Second-order sources confirm aspects of the initial source or call it into question. Third-order sources are discovered by students through their own inquiry. The narrative that the teacher constructs to contextualise the first-order source shapes learning. The creative tension between the first- and second-order sources generates further opportunities for teachers to explain and contextualise. The treatment of the first- and second-order sources provides a springboard for students to engage in historical inquiry using third-order sources.

Fourth, narrative is a *form of source*. The selection and specific use of primary sources by the teacher enable students to engage in historical thinking. Indeed, Van Sledright (2004) holds that historical understanding depends on the application of disciplinary heuristics that enable historians to interpret and synthesise sources. He presents a useful, four-step approach to source analysis. The first step of this approach, *identification*, is foundational. It is necessary to recognise a narrative to produce a meaningful interpretation of it. The features of narrative identified by Lévesque (2007) are useful to the identification of narrative and the analysis of its features. The second step of this approach is *attribution*. Who constructed the narrative? The answer to this question anchors the source in place and time. The third step is *judging perspective.* How does the speaking position of the author influence the meaning of the narrative? This asks students to abandon a naïve perception of a source as unproblematic and free of bias. The final step of this approach is *reliability assessment*. This invites students to evaluate the sources. What aspects of the past does the account present? What are the gaps and silences? The *corroboration* heuristic identified by Wineburg (1991) underpins this component of the model: a source must be read against others to determine its reliability. In discussing narrative texts, Linda Levstik (1996) observes that critical analysis of such material by students rests on mediation by the teacher. It is helpful to apply this insight to the use of textbooks. Teachers and students frequently make extensive use of narratives in a textbook, but historical inquiry necessitates analysis of this as a source (and engagement with further sources).

The fifth component of the model is narrative as the *outcome of historical inquiry*. Narrative is the preferred form of writing for many students, but the argumentative essay tends to promote greater understanding (Voss & Wiley, 2000). Nevertheless, narrative is central to the practice of history. Should it not follow that a Brunerian treatment of the subject invites students to write about the past in the form of a narrative? There are opportunities and dangers here. It is necessary for teachers to formulate activities that position narrative as the *outcome* of an investigation. This approach means that students are not required simply to impose a fictive overlay on material from a textbook or repeat an account in their own words. Instead, the narrative is the response to a question. The narrative must explain the past. Narrative connects events through causal chains. The arrangement of causes constitutes an

interpretation, an argument. Such insights must be manifested in the writing. The student's narrative must be supported by evidence. In short, it must reflect historical thinking. Disciplinary rigour matters.

2.6 Conclusion

One might object to the focus on procedural knowledge and narrative in this article by arguing that it fails to engage with the selection of substantive content. In the context of his own research, Rom Harré (2009) rejects this kind of objection as the enchantment of substantivalism. Excessive focus on substantive content often works its spell on the development of history courses. History as heritage falls victim to this imbalance; the result is an epistemologically naïve rendering of the subject. Substantive knowledge does not offer all of the answers for learning and teaching. This is not to suggest that substantive content has no place in planning the curriculum, but it is not the only game in town. The mutual interdependence of substantive and procedural knowledge means that teachers must address both aspects of the discipline to foster historical understanding. Attention to the procedural domain enhances the scope and depth of curriculum development and makes greater reform possible. Narrative is central to such matters; it is part of the syntax of history. Its explanatory function combines substantive and procedural knowledge. The history teacher can use narrative to foster *involvement and engagement*. It is also a *mode of explanation*, a *context for inquiry* and a *form of source*. Teachers can also employ narrative as the *outcome of inquiry*. Deeper understanding of its multifaceted role through the model offered in this paper can enhance the work of teachers in fostering historical thinking.

References

Barton, K., & Levstik, L. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bruner, J. (1960). *The process of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carr, E. H. (1961). *What is history?* London: Macmillan.

Chia, Y. (2012). History education for nation building and state formation: The case of Singapore. *International Journal of Citizenship Teaching and Learning, 7*(2), 191–207.

Curthoys, A., & Docker, J. (2006). *Is history fiction?* Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press.

Drake, F. D., & Brown, S. D. (2003). A systematic approach to improve students' historical thinking. *The History Teacher, 36*(4), 465–489.

Gallie, W. B. (1964). *Philosophy and the historical understanding*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Gardner, H., & Boix-Mansilla, V. (1994). Teaching for understanding in the disciples – And beyond. *Teachers College Record, 96*(2), 198–218.

Harré, R. (2009). The siren song of substantivalism. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 39*(4), 466–473.

Hirst, P. H. (1974). *Knowledge and the curriculum: A collection of philosophical papers*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Historical Thinking Project. (2014). *Historical thinking concepts*. Retrieved from http://historicalthinking.ca/

Husbands, C. (1996). *What is history teaching? Language, ideas and meaning in learning about the past*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Lee, P., & Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in historical understanding among students ages 7–14. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 199–222). New York: New York University Press.

Lévesque, S. (2007). Rethinking the 'Bush Doctrine': Historical thinking and post-September 11 Terrorism. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 7. Retrieved from http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/historyresource/journal13/Levesque,%2008.pdf

Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking historically: Educating students for the twenty-first century*. Toronto, ON, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Levstik, L. S. (1992). *Narrative and students' historical understanding*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Levstik, L. S. (1996). *Any history is always someone's history: Listening to multiple stories in history.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Limón, M. (2002). Conceptual change in history. In M. Limón & L. Masons (Eds.), *Reconsidering conceptual change: Issues in theory and practice* (pp. 259–289). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mayer, R. H. (1998). Connecting narrative and historical thinking: A research-based approach to teaching history. *Social Education, 62*(2), 97–100.

Meier, C. (2000). *Athens: A portrait of the city in its Golden Age* (R. Kimber & R. Kimber, Trans.). London: Pimlico. (Original work published 2003)

Munslow, A. (1997). *Deconstructing history*. London: Routledge.

Munslow, A. (2000). *The Routledge companion to historical studies*. London: Routledge.

Nora, P. (1996). General introduction: Between memory and history. In L. Kritzman (Ed.), *Realms of memory: The construction of the French past* (pp. 1–20). New York: Columbia University Press.

Phenix, P. H. (1964). *Realms of meaning: A philosophy of the curriculum for general education*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Prawat, R. S. (1998). Current self-regulation views of learning and motivation viewed through a Deweyan lens: The problems with dualism. *American Educational Research Journal, 35*(2), 199–224.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Ruthven, K. (1978). The disciplines thesis and the curriculum: A case study. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 26*(2), 163–176.

Seixas, P. (2000). Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern history have a place in schools? In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 19–37). New York: New York University Press.

Shemilt, D. (1987). Adolescent ideas about evidence and methodology in history. In C. Portal (Ed.), *The history curriculum for teachers* (pp. 39–61). London: Falmer Press.

Spoehr, K. T., & Spoehr, L. W. (1994). Learning to think historically. *Educational Psychologist, 29*(2), 71–77.

Stanford, M. (1994). *A companion to the study of history*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell.

Van Boxtel, C., & Van Drie, J. (2012). "That's in the time of the Romans!" Knowledge and strategies students use to contextualize historical images and documents. *Cognition and Instruction, 30*(2), 1–33.

Van Drie, J., & van Boxtel, C. (2008). Historical reasoning: Towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past. *Educational Psychology Review, 20*(2), 87–110.

Van Drie, J., Van Boxtel, C., & Van der Linden, J. L. (2006). Historical reasoning in a computer-supported collaborative learning environment. In A. M. O'Donnell, C. E. Hmelo-Silver, & G. Erkens (Eds.), *Collaborative learning, reasoning and technology* (pp. 265–296). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Van Sledright, B. (2004). What does it mean to think historically … and how do you teach it? *Social Education, 68*(3), 230–233.

Van Sledright, B. (2009). Thinking historically. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 41*(3), 433–438.

Voss, J., & Wiley, J. (2000). A case study of developing historical understanding via instruction: The importance of integrating text components and constructing arguments. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 375–389). New York: New York University Press.

Wineburg, S. (1991). Historical problem solving: A study of the cognitive processes used in the evaluation of documentary and pictorial evidence. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 83*(1), 73–87.

Wineburg, S. (1998). Reading Abraham Lincoln: An expert/expert study in the interpretation of historical texts. *Cognitive Science, 22*(3), 319–346.

Zajda, J., & Smith, K. (2013). Globalisation, ideology and history school textbooks: Secondary school history teachers responses in the Russian Federation. *Educational Practice & Theory, 35*(2), 27–61.

Zajda, J., & Whitehouse, J. A. (2009). Teaching history. In L. Saha & A. Dworkin (Eds.), *International handbook of research on teachers and teaching* (pp. 953–965). New York: Springer.

Chapter 3
Globalisation, Ideology and History School Textbooks: The Russian Federation

Joseph Zajda

3.1 Introduction

Recently, history education and history textbook research has shifted the focus of history teaching to examining history teachers' perceptions of historical knowledge and significant events, as described in prescribed history school textbooks. In this chapter I discuss the findings of the recent survey of secondary history teachers in the Russian Federation (RF). It represents the first international survey of Russian history teachers conducted across the RF.[1] The survey focused on collecting teachers' responses to representations of historical narratives covering 1762–2011. Questions (6 items) referred to balance in the content, as well as whether textbooks are important in teaching, whether they are accurate, whether current textbook narratives are creating new representations in Russian history and whether these new narratives generally emphasise nationalist 'bright spots' in Russian achievements. The questionnaire was structured around the four core research questions below:

- Given a global educational environment in which bitter, high-profile debates over the nature of history education have frequently beset educators and governments,

This chapter is fully based on the funded research findings for the Australian Research Council Discovery Grant DP110101320 (2011–2013). The project was collaboration between Monash University and the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). The content is the responsibility of the authors and the views expressed do not represent the views of the universities or ARC.

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_3

how has the process of devising and implementing a national curriculum in teaching and learning history in schools been negotiated in the Russian Federation?
- As part of these processes of curriculum development, what has been the nature and influence of any relationship that might exist between politics and ideology on the one hand and the politics of creating national identity through history education on the other?
- What has been the influence of the agendas of varying individuals, organizations and groups on the recent construction of history education in the Russian Federation?
- What has been the discernible and *actual* effect of curriculum change in history education at school level, compared with *intended* effect?

Using mixed methodologies research methods, a survey (using a questionnaire) and discourse analysis, the article analyses and discusses the findings of the survey.[2] The questionnaire focused on collecting teachers' responses to representations of historical narratives covering 1762–2011, dealing with analysis of the success and failures of the Tsarist regime, the Bolshevik regime and Russian leaders. The respondents were also asked to list up to 5 significant events in Russian history of the past 100 years that the history textbooks either ignore or underemphasise. Consequently, the main aim of this article is to offer an analysis of the questionnaire, with reference to the nexus between ideology, the state and nation building—as depicted in current history school textbooks in the Russian Federation and supported by history teachers' responses.

3.2 Background

A number of significant education reforms, relevant to history education and prescribed history school textbooks, are taking place in the Russian Federation. In May 2012, the Russian Federation approved a new generation of Federal state standards for primary and secondary education [*Federalnye gosudarstvennye obrazovatelnye standarty osnovnogo i srednego (polnogo) obshchego obrzovaniia*]. They included new school curricula for history education—both the structure and content. Furthermore, history curricula guides, reflecting national standards in education, were developed by the Russian Academy of Education and approved by the Ministry of Education and Science. Unlike the previous history curricula standards, which contained the core of defined knowledge and skills in history curriculum, the latest new generation standards replaced the core with samples and models of curricula programs. In addition, President Putin expressed his concern regarding the content and the sheer multitude of prescribed history textbooks, which he first raised in 2007, when he publicly attacked some prescribed history textbooks, which he labelled as 'hair-raising' history textbooks. For the 2013–2014 school year, the Ministry of Education and Science list has **83** recommended history textbooks for Grades 5–9. For instance, in Grade 9, there are 16 textbooks

for schools to choose from. In 2012 there were **103** recommended school history textbooks. In addition, there are also 21 core textbooks for Grades 10–11 (the final two years of secondary schooling in the RF). Chairperson of the Federation Council of the Russian Federation, at the meeting with history teachers and history textbook authors expressed her doubts as to whether all history textbooks on the Ministry of Education and Science were of a high standard. She suggested 10–15 core history textbooks in secondary schools for Grades 5–11, and teachers agreed (*Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, April 20, 2012). http://www.edu.ru/index.php?page_id=5&topic_id=3&date=&sid=22110&ntype=nuke).

3.3 Globalisation and the Politics of Education Reforms

The term 'globalisation' is a complex modern construct and a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-systems' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of 'time-space distantiation', highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal from the immediacies of local contexts, to a view of globalisation as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (see Adorno, 1994; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Ritzer, 2005; Zajda, 2010; Zajda, 2014). I would like to define 'globalisation', from a social and cultural transformation perspective, as a *new dominant ideology of cultural convergence, which is accompanied by rapid and corresponding economic, political, social, technological and educational transformations.*

Globalisation results in the intensification of worldwide social, economic and cultural relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring in other parts of the world (Appadurai, 1990, 1996). Today, economic rationalism and neoconservativism have become dominant ideologies in which education is seen as a producer of goods and services that foster economic growth (Apple, 2004). Governments around the world, including the Russian Federation, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that a major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects.

3.3.1 Effects of Globalisation on Education and Society Globally

- Globalisation of schooling and higher-education curricula
- Global standards of excellence
- Globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA)

- Global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank)
- Global academic elitism and league tables: positioning of distinction and privilege
- Global marketing of education

It has been argued that the politics of education reforms surrounding national curricula, standards, excellence and quality, as well as outcome-based curriculum reforms, have 'largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies' (Watson, 2000; Zajda, 2005).

Research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks in Russia and elsewhere (Baques, 2006; Crawford & Foster, 2006; Han, 2007; Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Pingel, 2006; Zajda, 2005, 2009b).

Globalisation and education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills and standards, have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes globally. Thus, the politics of education reforms in the RF reflect a new global emerging paradigm of standard-driven policy change (Zajda, 2009b). Academic standards, performance and quality of schooling continue to dominate the reform agenda globally, especially the performance leagues' tables. At the same time, there are also politically determined curricular reforms affecting the nature and the content of history school textbooks in the RF.

3.3.2 Globalisation and Reforms of School History Textbooks

Recent research on globalisation and education policy has indicated that forces of globalisation, standards and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks in the Russian Federation and elsewhere (Baques, 2006; Crawford & Foster, 2006; Han, 2007; Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Pingel, 2006; Zajda, 2005, 2009a, 2009b).

Research findings concerning the revised content on new history textbooks demonstrate that the historiographies in the Russian Federation, engaging in nation-building process, continue to be essentially monolithic and intolerant to alternative views as those of their communist predecessors, 'merely exchanging a communist ideological colouring for a national one' (Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Zajda, 2012). Since 2003, my research has demonstrated that the Russian Ministry of Education now controls the process of evaluation of all approved history textbooks and other core textbooks in all other school subjects. Since then, the new history textbooks, which have the Ministry of Education seal of approval, have returned to traditional symbols of nation building and patriotism (Zajda, 2003, 2012).

Current debates in Russia, around the main issues in historiography and the role of historical narratives in the nation-building process, echo similar controversies in the UK in the 1980s (Phillips, 1998) and in the USA during the 1990s (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 2000), as well as recent debates in Japan, Canada, Germany,

France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Ukraine, Korea, China and elsewhere. In the USA, for example, on January 18, 1995, the 'History Wars' erupted on the floors of the United States Congress. Research on Russian history textbooks has demonstrated that school history textbooks are in political socialisation, by promoting patriotism, national identity and the nation-building process.

3.4 New Historical Consciousness in the RF

Nation builders rarely make new myths. Rather, they mine the past for suitable heroes and symbols. Just as Lenin (and later Stalin during 1941) resorted to borrowing religious symbols and myths from the Russian Orthodox Church and giving them a socialist interpretation to attract peasants and Stalin reopened the churches during the darkest days of World War II in order to boost morale, so too did Russia's immediate post-communist leaders and intellectuals turn to Russia's cultural past in an effort to redefine national identity.

Some scholars have examined structural forces and processes exerted by the state and other major stakeholders in defining new directions for history education (Roord, 2009; Fuchs, 2011; Zajda, 2015). They illuminate further the complex and ideologically and culturally saturated landscape of Russian school textbooks, which is grounded in a new approach to comparative historiography and context-specific processes. Vera Kaplan (1999) in her study of Russian school textbooks notes that they pay little attention to the Soviet repressions and mass deportations of ethnic groups. Furthermore, many Russians do not like to know of the Red Army's wartime atrocities and about complete indifference to human life by the Soviet high command.

Recent and continuing public and political debates in the USA, China, Japan, Russia and elsewhere, dealing with understandings of a nation-building and national identity, point out to parallels between the political significance of school history and the history debates globally (Nicholls, 2006; Smith, 1998, 2001; Zajda, 2012). Due to these ongoing debates, history education has become a high-profile topic of national and global significance. Consequently, the article's focus on school history textbooks, as medium for nation building in Russia, is of geostrategic significance, for it helps to create a powerful form of global accountability of nations.

International research on school history has been done by the UN, the Council of Europe (Nicholls, 2006, p. 8). The Council of Europe has played a major role in funding projects to improve teaching history and history textbooks in Europe and especially in the Russian Federation between 1999 and 2003. One of the special goals of this 3-year project was to produce teaching resources for secondary schools which would encourage both teachers and students to approach historical events of the twentieth century from a critical and analytical perspective, using the same skills and assessment criteria as historians. Both reports emphasise that no single version

of history should be considered as final or correct and encourage critical thinking and diverse approaches to learning and teaching history. The reports also stressed:

- The role of historical interpretation and memory in forming identity
- History dominated by prejudice and myth

These reports and surrounding discourses continue to define and shape the nature of historical knowledge, dominant ideologies and values. The roles of historical explanation and the development of historical consciousness in the new generation of school history textbooks in the RF, with respect to the state, as explained by Aleksashkina (Email communication, 8 July 2013), Shubin (Interview, 15 July 2013) and Koval (Interview, 16 July 2013) are formation of the national identity (as defined in history standards curriculum document) and patriotism and the 'formation in the young generation directions for civic, ethno-national, social and cultural identity in the modern world' (history standards curriculum document). In the RF, as in other countries undergoing a similar process of nation building, the three most significant issues defining the repositioning of the politically correct historical narratives are national identity, preferred images of the past (reminiscent of Anderson's 'imagined community') and Putin's version of patriotism.

Some scholars argue that school history textbooks represent a clear manifestation of ideological discourses in historiography and historical understandings (Zajda, 2012; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). The ideological function of textbooks has been analysed by Apple (1979, 2004), Anyon (1979), Geertz (1964), Sutherland (1985), Macintyre and Clark (2003), Pratte (1977), Zajda (2009a) and others, mainly through the framework of structuralist and post-structuralist discourses in curriculum and pedagogy. Research in more recent times has shifted the focus of history teaching to examining history teachers' perceptions of historical knowledge and significant events, as described in prescribed history school textbooks. To some extent, this survey is testing the hypothesis that one of the main goals of teaching history in schools in the Russian Federation is to inculcate desirable values of patriotism and nation building.

3.5 A Brief History of Education Reforms in the Russian Federation: The Context

The Russian Federation occupies a land mass of 17 million square kilometres: it is the nation with the largest surface area in the world. The Russian Federation consists of 89 regions and republics, divided into the following four classes: 21 republics (including Chechnya); 52 *oblast*, or regions; ten autonomous *okrugs*, or districts; and 6 *krais*, or territories. The republics are titular homelands of non-Russian minorities, such as *oblast* and *krais*. Russia has 11 time zones and more than 100 languages are spoken by various nationalities. In 2004, Russia's population was

143.8 million, yet the country is sparsely populated, with only around nine people per square kilometre. By 2013 it declined to 142.5 million (July estimate). The bulk of the population resides in urban areas. The geography of Russia has always hindered the implementation of government education reforms aimed at improving literacy, standards, curricula and teaching programmes. Apart from the geographic isolation of some schools, for example, in the Far East and Far North, problems have also stemmed from the size and variety of population, their nationalities and languages spoken. Some 130 languages were spoken in the USSR, with newspapers published in 65 different languages. Pluralism in education had been guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, with Article 45 stressing the pupils' rights 'to attend a school where teaching is in the native language'.

3.5.1 National Curriculum, Standards and State Examinations in History Education

As a result of radical reforms in education, curriculum and pedagogy, history education in Russian secondary schools changed significantly. The first national history standards for Russian schools were approved by the Ministry of Science and Education and introduced in 1993. Since then *four* new models of history standards were approved by the Ministry of Science and Education of the Russian Federation: the 1998, 2003–2004, 2009–2010 and 2012 national standards.

The Russian Federation is a vivid and unique example of ideological repositioning of historical narratives, blending certain Soviet and Russian historiography. The new development is emerging as to the number of approved core school history textbooks for secondary schools. President Putin favours to have only one 'unified' history textbook for secondary schools. Consequently, a special commission on school history textbooks, headed by Alexander Chubaryan (the Director of the Institute of Universal History of the Russian Academy of Sciences), was set up in June 2013 to work out the main principles of this new core textbook.

> The single concept of teaching history to Russian students is currently debated across the RF.
>
> The work should be completed by 1 November . . . We have received many replies on the new standards in history education. We have already formed an editorial team, who will evaluate various opinions . . . We aim to complete our evaluation in September, so that by October we are able to develop totally the new standard . . . According to the directive of the RF government, the work must be completed by 1 November. (РИА Новости http://ria.ru/society/20130808/955076860.html#ixzz2bcnWijRW).

According to Chubaryan (2013), the 'chronological carcass'—list of facts, identities, events and understandings, which will define the conceptual basis of every textbook—has been prepared. Also, the list of controversial topics, including approaches towards the depiction of twentieth-century events, was to be discussed in September during three major meetings.

The team of invited experts has to prepare this new core textbook for the 2014–2015 school year (Barabanov, Email communication, 16 July 2013):

> New situation is emerging after President Putin decision to have only one "unified" history text-book for secondary school. Special commission headed by academician Chubarjan was set up in June 2013 to work out the main principals of this text-book. The collective of authors is supposed to prepare this text-book by 2014–2015 school year. (Barabanov, 2013)

The idea of a single history textbook was also confirmed earlier by Dmitry Livanov (2013), the Education and Science Minister, in his television interview (17 March):

> A good history textbook, just one, will always give room for analysis, for assessing various theories of what actually happened, and for different historical concepts. The new history textbook must encourage students and teachers to think, instead of imposing any one view on them, and develop their analytical skills. (http://rbth.ru/news/2013/03/17/russian_schools_could_switch_to_single_history_textbook_in_a_year_-_educ_23950.html)

3.6 The Role of the State in Accrediting History Textbooks

School history textbooks, as instruments in the Russian process of ideological transformation and nation building, are currently closely monitored by the state. In other countries, these processes are still present but in less formal and more ad hoc ways. In the Russian Federation, it represents an ideologically driven and state-controlled nation-building process, overseen by the Putin government. Putin was particularly concerned about the negative portrayal of the Soviet past, and he complained that negative assessment of the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945) was diminishing the important contribution of the Soviet Union in defeating the Nazi Germany.

To ensure that history teachers were informed on this policy change, a new history textbook for teachers was commissioned by the government. The textbook for history teachers by Filippov (2007), *Noveishaia Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2006* (Modern History of Russia: A Manual for Teachers), was a teacher's manual designed to generate more positive images of the Soviet past and the war effort. The manual's circulation was 150,000 copies. Subsequently, a revised edition, *Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2008* (History of Russia), was published in 2008. Among some of the themes and issues, this teacher's manual (some writers in the West confuse it with a school textbook, which it is not) reassesses the role of Stalin in the Great Patriotic War in a more positive way. Stalin in June 1945 invited 2,500 generals and marshals for celebratory dinner at the Kremlin. His toast was 'For the health of the Russian people', not for the victors (Filippov, Chapter 1, p. 27). In the same textbook, Putin stated that the collapse of the USSR was the greatest tragedy:

> It is my deepest conviction that the collapse of the USSR was the greatest geopolitical tragedy. I believe that the average citizens of the former Soviet Union... did not win anything from this process... The pluses are that Russia ceased to be a milking cow for everyone. (Filippov, Chapter 4, p. 34)

The Ministry of Education decreed that, in view of new state standards in education, all history textbooks had to be examined and evaluated by panel of experts, including the Federal Experts Council on History, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Education. Approved textbooks would be selected by the Ministry of Education on competitive basis. The Ministry has been publishing on its official website all approved school textbooks for subjects for Grades 1–12. This includes a detailed list of recommended core history school textbooks.

The most recent history textbooks examined have a seal of approval from the Ministry of Education. There are two levels of approval: 'recomendovano' (recommended) and 'dopushcheno' (approved). The highest rating is 'recomendovano', as it results in teachers and schools adopting such textbooks across the Russian Federation (Zajda, 2012). As every textbook contains the print run, it is easy to see which are the popular ones. For instance, the current year 9 prescribed history textbook by Danilov, Kosulina, and Brandt (2011), *Istoriia Rossii: XX-nachalo XXI veka* (The History of Russia: 20th/beginning 21st century), has a print run of 80,000 copies.

3.7 Putin's Role in Rewriting History Textbooks in the Russian Federation

In what was essentially a return to centralist control of textbooks—a Soviet practice in the past—Putin's government directed the Ministry of Education to develop approved and more 'patriotic' textbooks in history. Furthermore, Putin (2007) at the conference for teachers at his presidential dacha in June 2007 commented on Stalin's 1937 Great Purge, in which 700, 000 were executed and 1.5 million imprisoned. He described them as terrible and added 'but in other countries even worse things happened'. In his reassessment of the Soviet history of repressions, he concluded 'We had no other black pages, such as Nazism . . . ' (http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/article2163481.ece). More recently, Putin, in February 2012, stated there was a need to standardise school textbooks, with reference to content and quality.

3.7.1 Putin's Idea of the Single History Textbook in the RF

The idea of launching a unified series of textbooks on Russian history came from Putin himself, who ordered their creation back in February 2012. According to Putin, history textbooks should be devoid of 'inner contradictions and confusing interpretations' and 'instill respect for all periods of our history'. Putin's concern over perceptions of Russia's history dates back to at least 2007, when he

first attacked unspecified ‘hair-raising’ history textbooks, though he did not ban them at the time. According to Putin, some history textbook content is such that makes ‘one’s hairs stand on end’ (chto napisano v nekotorykh uchebnikakh istorii, volosy dybom vstaiut) (http://www.edu.ru/index.php?page_id=5&topic_id=3&date=&sid=20190&ntype=nuke).

Ideally, President Putin and his team would like to see only one desirable and politically correct history core textbook for each year level. In February 2013, at the meeting of the Council for International Relations, Putin said that it was necessary to develop a core textbook for each level of schooling (Grades 6–11). He also said that such textbooks should be devoid of inner contradictions and ‘double’ interpretations (favouring a single interpretation) (Putin’s speech, February 19, 2013, http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/5017).

Putin’s idea for a single history textbook for each grade level seems to have received some public support: ‘Nearly three-quarters of Russian citizens, or 71 %, support the idea of imposing a common history textbook for schools throughout Russia’ (*The Moscow Times*, June 7, 2013, www.themoscowtimes.com/support-imposing-a-single-nationwide-history).

In July 2013, according to RIA *Novosti*, Putin expects the single history textbook to be used as a model for history lessons. Putin was very critical of the huge number of history textbooks currently used in Russian schools, which was ‘absolutely inadmissible’ and created ‘difficulties for both students and teachers’: Putin said a council of experts, in charge of preparing the textbook, was continuing its work, and the book would appear ‘in the near future’.

> Undoubtedly, there should be a canonic version of a [history] textbook. Of course, it doesn’t mean that different opinions on [historical] events are impossible. But a canonic version should exist, and a teacher should have an opportunity to inform a student of various opinions about this or that fact. (http://en.rian.ru/russia/20130712/182209711/Putin-Expects-Unified-History-Textbook-to-Be-Ready-Soon.html)

In the new single history textbook, Stalin is explicitly denounced for the mass repressions of 1937–1938. Its authors stressed that history teachers should be encouraged to offer students more than one interpretation of historical events—where sanctioned by the state-approved study program. According to Dmitry Livanov, the Minister for Education and Science, the public debate on the single history textbook draft will continue until October.

The most serious issue with the idea of the single history textbook in schools arises, when it becomes the preferred textbook and recommended classroom pedagogy of history teaching, which is imposed on all students. It becomes a hegemonic tool for political and cultural reproduction. Such a totalising ideology lens in the single history textbook contradicts the notion of pluralist democracy, human rights and social justice. If there is no one ‘right way’, as Carnoy writes, ‘to organize an education system’ (Carnoy, 1999, p. 84), it follows that there is no ‘right’ single history textbook, as advocated by Putin and his followers.

3.8 Research Design

The purpose of this design was to understand and analyse secondary history teachers' attitudes towards the content of prescribed history textbooks. A survey (using a questionnaire) was employed to test secondary history teachers' responses to core history textbooks. The questionnaire included two parts. Part 1, professional background, included 4 questions covering history teachers' teaching experience (length in years, 1–9 years, 10–15 years, 16–25 years and 25 and above), academic and teaching qualifications, classroom teaching levels (14–16-year-olds and 17–18-year-olds) and the core history textbooks used in teaching. Part 2, history teaching and textbooks, testing responses concerning history textbooks, contained 13 multiple-choice items on a five-point Likert scale from 'I disagree strongly' to 'I agree strongly'. Questions referred to balance in the content, whether current textbook narratives are now creating new representations in Russian history, whether these new narratives generally emphasise nationalist 'bright spots' in Russian achievements and whether textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of different periods and events between 1700 and 2011 in Russia. There was also one question (Question 18) dealing with 5 significant events in Russian history over the past 100 years that the prescribed textbooks by the Ministry of Education either ignore or underemphasise.

3.8.1 Participants

This is the first international survey across the Russian Federation (RF) of history teachers and their responses to history textbooks they use in secondary classrooms. The random sample of the survey was distributed in Moscow (c. 110), and at least 30 secondary school history teachers were randomly selected from the following regions in the Russian Federation: Arkhangelsk, Ekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk) and Khabarovsk. In all, by April 2013, some 200 questionnaires were completed by secondary history teachers in the Russian Federation. Since a stratified random sampling plan was implemented by the survey researchers, the samples can be assumed to accurately reflect both the geographical distribution of history teachers in the Russian Federation and the important aspect of history teachers' responses to school history textbooks.

3.8.2 Demographics

Part 1 of the questionnaire covered demographics and professional background of history teachers in secondary schools in the RF. The first question in professional background included 4 questions covering history teachers' teaching

experience (length in years, 1–9 years, 10–15 years, 16–25 years and 25 and above), location of the school (city/town/village), academic and teaching qualifications, classroom teaching levels (14–16-year-olds and 17–18-year-olds) and the core history textbooks used in teaching. Part 2 of the questionnaire, testing responses concerning classroom history teaching and history textbooks, contained 13 multiple-choice items on a five-point Likert scale from ‘I disagree strongly’ to ‘I agree strongly’, with corresponding open-ended comments and one question dealing with 5 significant events in Russian history over the past 100 years that the prescribed textbooks by the Ministry of Education either ignore or underemphasise.

Of the 200 participants, 190 have specialist degree in history, 9 have training in history pedagogy and one has a doctorate. Table 3.1 depicts the breakdown according to the demographics obtained from the questionnaire: group, locality, gender, years teaching and classroom teaching level.

The target population four areas of the present study were defined as secondary history teachers in the Russian Federation. Random samples were drawn from this target population systematic sampling within strata. The four groups were then defined as being ‘city’ or regional groups of the explicit or implicit history teachers’ strata-covered ‘city’ and ‘region’. Then, at least 30 secondary school history teachers were randomly selected from the following regions in the Russian Federation: Arkhangelsk (A) and region (in the north of the Russian Federation and 993 km from Moscow), Sverdlovsk (S) (Ekaterinburg) and region (Ekaterinburg is the fourth largest city in Russia and the administrative centre of Sverdlovsk Oblast, located in the middle of the Russian Federation and 1,419 km from Moscow),

Table 3.1 Participants’ demographics

Demographics	Female ($n = 164$)	($n = 36$)	Male ($n = 200$)	Total
Group				
Arkhangelsk (A)	28		3	31
Khabarovsk (K)	26		6	32
Moscow (M)	86		21	107
Sverdlovsk (S)	24		6	30
Locality				
City	87		19	106
Region	77		17	94
Years teaching				
1–9 years	22		3	25
10–15 years	54		14	68
16–25 years	48		10	58
More than 25 years	40		9	49
Classroom teaching level				
14–16 years of age	90		21	111
17–18 years of age	74		15	89

Khabarovsk (K) and region (located in the far eastern Siberia, 30 km from the Chinese border and 8,523 km from Moscow) and random sample of 100 from Moscow (M) and region. Since a stratified random sampling plan was implemented by survey researchers, the samples can be assumed to accurately reflect both the geographical distribution of history teachers in the Russian Federation and the important aspect of history teachers' responses to school history textbooks and representations of significant events and the role of leadership in economic, cultural and political change. In all, some 200 questionnaires were completed by history teachers.

3.9 Data Analysis

3.9.1 Quantitative Analysis

We analysed the quantitative questionnaire data using descriptive statistics and performed cross tabulations. In order to assess whether two categorical (nominal) variables are related, a series of chi-square test of contingencies were utilised. That is, assessment was undertaken to determine the extent of relationship between the 13 questions and the five demographic variables (group, locality, gender, years teaching and classroom teaching level).

3.10 Results

In the present study, the major independent variables are group, locality, gender, years teaching and classroom teaching level, while the dependent variables are the 13 questions. The research questions were essentially asking whether each of the 13 questions is contingent on participants' demographic variables obtained from the questionnaire. Responses were collapsed in order to facilitate analysis of the data. That is, responses 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' were combined and 'Disagree' and 'Strongly Disagree' were combined. 'Neutral' responses were not analysed.

3.10.1 Group Association

As depicted in Table 3.2, of the 13 questions, six questions (Q5, 7, 11, 13, 16 and 17) were identified as having significant association to group membership (A, K, M and S). According to Cohen (1988), the effects' sizes (Cohen's w) ranged from small ($w = 0.231$) to medium ($w = 0.423$) (Fig. 3.1).

Table 3.2 Significant group by questions chi-square test of contingencies

Question	$\chi^2_{(3)}$	Effect size (w)
Q5. Textbooks are very important in a history classroom	12.10**	.248
Q7. The textbooks I use are historically accurate	13.16**	.281
Q11. Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Tsarist regime 1762–1918	12.68**	.282
Q13. Current textbook narratives provide balanced views of controversial incidents in modern Soviet Russian history	8.31*	.231
Q16. The textbooks I use give a balanced view of the achievements and failures of Russian leaders 1762–2011	20.71***	.365
Q17. In the modern Russia Federation, high school history teachers do not feel pressured to present a particular point of view regarding events in Russian history	34.03***	.423

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

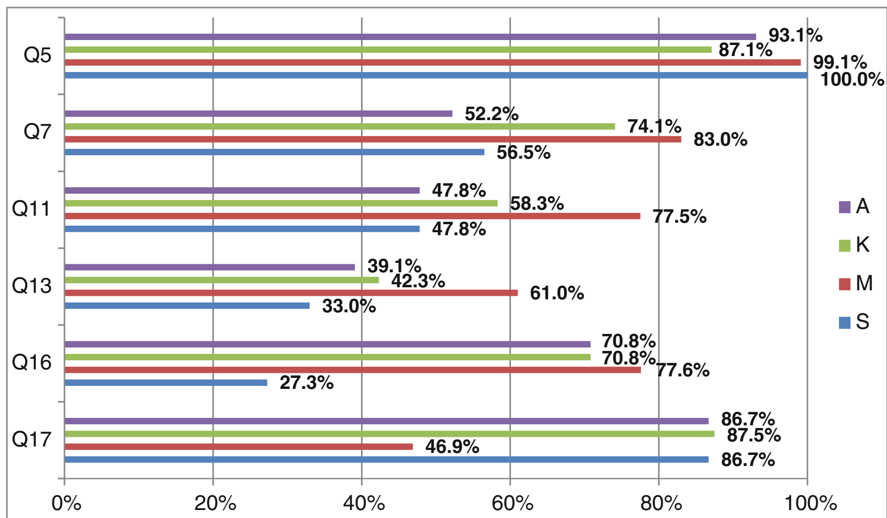

Fig. 3.1 Significant group by questions—agree percentages

3.10.2 Locality Association

Groups were re-categorised as being regional or city and results of significant association of this demographic with a particular question can be found in Table 3.3. As can be seen in Table 16, three questions were identified as having significant associations with this particular demographic, namely, Q7, 11 and 16. According to Cohen (1988), the effects' sizes (Cohen's w) ranged from small ($w = 0.209$) to medium ($w = 0.350$) (Fig. 3.2).

Table 3.3 Significant locality by questions chi-square test of contingencies

Question	$\chi^2_{(1)}$	Effect size (w)
Q7. The textbooks I use are historically accurate	10.467**	.252
Q11. Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failure of the Tsarist regime 1762–1918	6.977**	.209
Q16. The textbooks I use give a balanced view of the achievements and failures of Russian leaders 1762–2011	18.949***	.350

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

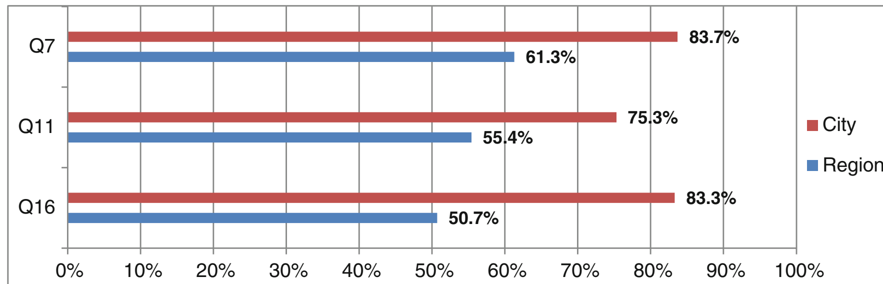

Fig. 3.2 Significant locality by questions—agree percentages

Table 3.4 Significant gender by questions chi-square test of contingencies

Question	$\chi^2_{(1)}$	Effect size (w)
Q12. Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Bolshevik regime 1917–1928	6.364*	.206

* $p < .05$

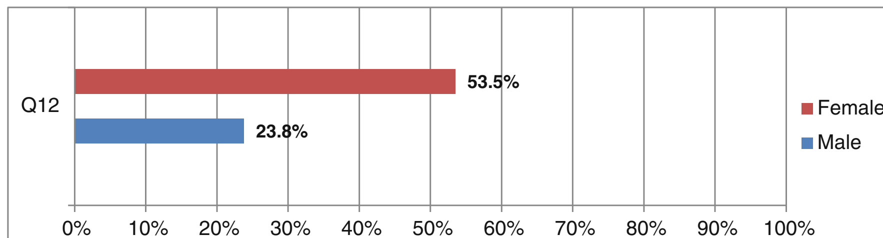

Fig. 3.3 Significant gender by questions—agree percentages

3.10.3 Gender Association

Analyses of gender associations were undertaken with the 13 questions. Only one question, as shown in Table 3.4, was found to have significant association with gender, Q12, a small effect ($w = 0.206$) according to Cohen (1988) (Fig. 3.3).

Table 3.5 Significant years of teaching by questions chi-square test of contingencies

Question	$\chi^2_{(1)}$	Effect size (w)
Q11. Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Tsarist regime 1762–1918	9.392*	.243

* $p < .05$

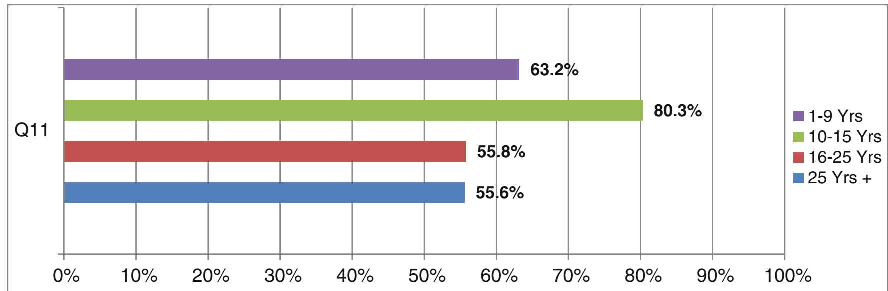

Fig. 3.4 Significant years of teaching by questions—agree percentages

3.10.4 Years Teaching Association

Analyses of years teaching associations were undertaken with the 13 questions. As depicted in Table 3.5, only one question was found to have significant association with years teaching, Q11, a small effect of .243 according to Cohen (1988) (Fig. 3.4).

3.10.5 Classroom Teaching Level Association

Analyses of classroom teaching level taught associations were undertaken with the 13 questions. There were no statistical significant association between this demographic and the 13 questions.

3.11 Discussion: Russian Teachers' Responses on History Textbooks

The questionnaire, Part 2, history teaching and textbooks, contained 13 multiple-choice items, testing teachers' responses regarding prescribed history textbooks used in classroom teaching. Questions referred to currency of textbooks used, accuracy of data, important changes in how textbook narratives have been constructed,

whether textbooks emphasise nationalist 'bright spots' in Russian achievements, and the six questions testing the balance in the content of historical narratives. Since the other three demographic variables (gender, years teaching and classroom teaching level) yielded, in general, similar responses as in group and location demographic variables, they were not included in the discussion. What follows is the analysis of the responses, by both group and location (city/region) membership.

3.11.1 Group

Six questions (Q5, 7, 11, 13, 16 and 17) were identified as having significant association to group membership. The majority of history teachers surveyed agreed (95 %) that 'Textbooks are very important in a history classroom' (Question 5), with 100 % response in Ekaterinburg. Overall 66.5 % of teachers agreed that 'The textbooks I use are historically accurate' (Question 7). The greatest agreement was recorded among teachers in Moscow (83 %) and Khabarovsk (74 %). The sample was divided that 'Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Tsarist regime 1762–1918' (Question 11). Arkhangelsk and region, Ekaterinburg and region, Khabarovsk and region and Moscow and region data indicated statistically significant responses. In Moscow and region, 77.5 % agreed, followed by Khabarovsk (58.3 %), Arkhangelsk and region (47.8 %) and Ekaterinburg (47.5 %).

History teachers in the sample were also divided as to whether 'Current textbook narratives provide balanced views of controversial incidents in modern Soviet Russian history' (Question 13), with 61 % agreeing in Moscow, followed by Khabarovsk (42.3 %), Arkhangelsk (39.1 %) and Ekaterinburg (33 %). The greatest disagreement was in the three cities outside Moscow, particularly in Ekaterinburg (67 %). In Ekaterinburg, the respondents wanted to know more about the Civil War and the execution of Nicholas II and his family. The sample felt that these events were minimised in history textbooks. Since they are still in the living memory, one can understand teachers' views.

On the Question 16, 'The textbooks I use give a balanced view of the achievements and failures of Russian leaders 1762–2011', the data indicated statistically significant responses across cities and regions. In Moscow and region, 77.6 % agreed, followed by Arkhangelsk and Khabarovsk (70.8 % respectively) and Ekaterinburg (27.3 %). The greatest disagreement was in Ekaterinburg (72.7 %). Overall, some 77 % of teachers in the sample agreed that in the modern Russia Federation, they do not feel pressured to present a particular point of view regarding events in Russian history (Question 17). The greatest agreement was in Khabarovsk (87.5 %). In Moscow, by contrast, less than half of the teachers surveyed agreed (47 %).

The greatest disagreement, especially to Questions 7, 11 and 13, with significant variance, was recorded in Group A, Arkhangelsk (53.7 %), and in Group S, Ekaterinburg (54.3 %), making the last group the most critical in their responses

to those particular questions. For Moscow, by comparison, disagreement for those *three* questions with significant variance was 26 %. The majority of teachers agreed (99 %) that 'Most of the textbooks I use have been published within the past 5 years' (Question 6). The majority of teachers also agreed (90 %) that 'Over the past 10 years (2001–2011) I have seen important changes in how textbook narratives of Russian history have been written' (Question 8), where the greatest agreement was recorded in Ekaterinburg group (100 %).

Almost two-thirds of teachers agreed (61 %) that 'In my opinion current textbook narratives are now creating new representations in Russian history' (Question 9). The greatest agreement was in Arkhangelsk group and Moscow, by contract only half agreed (53.2 %). Over two-thirds (67.1 %) of the sample agreed that 'These new narratives generally emphasise nationalist *bright spots* in Russian achievements' (Question 10). Again, the greatest agreement was in Khabarovsk (76 %).

The sample was divided (49 % agreed) on the question 'Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Bolshevik regime 1917–28' (Question 12). This time, the Moscow group recorded the greatest disagreement (58 %). The sample was almost divided (57 % agreeing) that 'Current textbook narratives provide a balanced view of controversial incidents regarding Soviet Russian involvement in the Cold War' (Question 14). The greatest disagreements were in Ekaterinburg and Khabarovsk groups (76 % and 56.5 % respectively). Less than half (42 %) of the sample agreed that 'The textbooks I use give a balanced narrative regarding the role of ethnic and racial minorities in Russian history 1700–2011' (Question 15). The greatest disagreement was in Ekaterinburg and Khabarovsk (76 % and 56.5 % respectively).

3.11.2 Location (City/Region)

Here, only two questions (Q7 and Q11) were identified as having significant association to group membership. The majority (96 %) of teachers agreed that 'Textbooks are very important in a history classroom' (Question 5), and 99 % agreed on Question 6. The city samples were agreeing more on Question 7 (83.7 %), compared with regions (61.3 %). This question recorded a significant association with group/location membership. About two-thirds of the city/region groups agreed on Questions 9, 10, 11, 16 and 17.

On Question 11, 'Current textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of the successes and failures of the Tsarist regime 1762–1918', which also recorded a significant association with group/location membership; region recorded only 55.4 % agreement, compared with 75 % for the city. About half of the sample agreed on Questions 12 and 13. Again, the city sample was agreeing more (54.4 % and 56.6 % respectively) than regions (43.75 and 43.1 % respectively). On Question 14 that 'Current textbook narratives provide a balanced view of controversial incidents regarding Soviet Russian involvement in the Cold War', as before, 57 % agreed. The city sample was agreeing more (63.9 %) versus 49.3 % for the regions.

On Question 15, 'The textbooks I use give a balanced narrative regarding the role of ethnic and racial minorities in Russian history 1700–2011', the city sample was agreeing more (46.3 %), against 37.7 % for the regions. This demonstrates a greater relevance for history teachers to have a greater knowledge and understanding of different minorities in regional Russia.

Finally, the respondents were asked to list up to 5 significant events in Russian history of the past 100 years that the history textbooks either ignore or underemphasise (Question 18). Of the 1,000 possible responses by 200 respondents to 5 events, the collapse of the USSR, the Civil War, the October Revolution, the Great Patriotic War, political repressions and exiles of various minority groups topped the list.

3.12 Evaluation

This is the first international survey of history teachers across the Russian Federation, which measured secondary Russian history teachers' responses to history textbooks, especially the balance in the content. It shows that secondary school history teachers are divided as to whether textbook narratives provide a balanced description and analysis of certain periods and events. More than half of the teachers surveyed disagreed that textbooks offered a balanced narrative regarding various events, especially on the role of ethnic and racial minorities in Russian history 1700–2011, with the greatest disagreement in Ekaterinburg.

Location and distance from Moscow, the politico-administrative centre of the decision-making process in the Russian Federation, may be relevant as to how teachers responded in the History Teachers' Survey. The further away they were from Moscow, the more critical they appear to be. There were regional differences in teachers' responses. In Ekaterinburg, by comparison, almost two-thirds of history teachers disagreed on the questions addressing the balance of historical narratives.

The above survey also demonstrated that new narratives in prescribed history textbooks generally emphasise nationalist 'bright spots' in Russian achievements. However, two-thirds of the sample agreed that school history teachers do not feel pressured to present a particular point of view regarding events in Russian history. Of significance is the fact that the vast bulk of respondents to the last question, which asked to list up to 5 significant events in Russian history of the past 100 years that the history textbooks either ignore or underemphasise, were from the three cities and regions *outside* Moscow, namely, Arkhangelsk, Ekaterinburg and Khabarovsk.

The survey data demonstrates an existence of the nexus between ideology, the state and nation building, as depicted in historical narratives of current history school textbooks. It also demonstrates that the issue of national identity and balanced representations of the past continues to dominate the debate surrounding the content of history textbooks.

3.13 Conclusion

Teachers' responses demonstrate that there has been a definite ideological shift in the interpretation of historical narratives and significant events, both in the content of prescribed textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and teachers' attitudes and values towards the core textbooks they use in teaching. Both teachers responses and current government policy on the history national curriculum, where the key aim is to infuse patriotism and national identity during history lessons, and Putin's recent push for a single-core Russian history textbooks signal a pronounced exercise in forging a new identity, patriotism, nation building and a positive reaffirmation of the greatness of the present Russian state.

Notes

1. The author wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to Professor Nikolai Nikandrov, President, the Russian Academy of Education (whom he has known since 1991), for his help with facilitating the survey.

   The authors wish to thank Professor Irena Robert, of RAE, for conducting the survey. Conducting such a survey of history teachers across the Russian Federation, in four different locations, would not have been possible without their generous support.
2. This chapter is a part of funded research findings by the Australian Research Council Discovery Grant DP110101320 (2011–2013). The project was a collaboration between Monash University and the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). The content is the responsibility of the authors and the views expressed do not represent the views of the universities or ARC.

References

Adorno, T. (1994). *Hegel: Three studies*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Anyon, J. (1979). Ideology and United States history textbooks. *Harvard Educational Review, 49*, 361–386.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory Culture and Society, 7*, 295–310.

Appadurai, A. (Ed.). (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Apple, M. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Baques, M.-C. (2006). History textbooks in France: Between national institutions, publishers and teaching practice. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 105–118). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Carnoy, M. (1999). *Globalization and educational reform: What planners need to know*. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Education Planning.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioural sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Crawford, K., & Foster, S. (2006). The political economy of history textbook publishing in England. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 93–104). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Danilov, A., Kosulina, L. & Brandt, M. (2011). *Istoriia Rossii: XX-nachalo XXI veka* (The history of Russia: 20th/beginning 21st century. Grade 9 textbook). Moscow, Russia: Prosveshchenie.

Filippov, A. (2007). *Noveishaia Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2006* (Modern history of Russia: A manual for teachers). Moscow, Russia: Prosveshchenie.

Fuchs, E. (2011). Current trends in history and social studies textbook research. *Journal of International Cooperation and Education, 14*(2), 17–34.

Geertz, C. (1964). Ideology as a cultural system. In D. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and discontent* (pp. 47–76). New York: Free Press.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway world: How globalization is reshaping our lives*. New York: Routledge.

Han, C. (2007). History education and 'Asian' values for an 'Asian' democracy: The case of Singapore. *Compare, 37*(3), 383–398.

Janmaat, J., & Vickers, E. (2007). Education and identity formation in post-cold war eastern Europe and Asia. *Compare, 37*(3), 267–275.

Kaplan, V. (1999). The reform of education in Russia and the problem of history teaching. *Education in Russia, the Independent States and Eastern Europe,* 17(1), 3–19.

Livanov, L. (2013). *Interview on history standards and textbooks*. Retrieved from РИА Новости http://ria.ru/society/20130712/949335328.html#ixzz2bcqP9Ssa

Macintyre, S., & Clark, A. (2003). *The history wars*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2005). *Teaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Nash, G., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. (2000). *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*. New York: Vintage.

Nicholls, J. (2006). *School history textbooks across cultures*. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Phillips, R. (1998). *History teaching, nationhood and the state: A study in educational politics*. London: Cassell.

Pingel, F. (2006). Reform or conform: German reunification and its consequences for history textbooks and curricula. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures* (pp. 61–82). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Pratte, R. (1977). *Ideology and education*. New York: David McKay.

Putin, V. (2007). Putin's interview on radio *Ekho*. Retrieved from http://echo.msk.ru/news/own

Ritzer, G. (2005). *The globalization of nothing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Roord, J. (2009). Moving forwards, stepping backwards: Supranational organizations and history teaching in post-communist Europe. *Political Crossroads, 16*(1), 75–93.

Smith, A. (1998). *Nationalism and modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Smith, A. (2001). *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.

Sutherland, R. (1985). Hidden persuaders: Political ideologies in literature for children. *Children's Literature in Education, 16*, 143–157.

Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The capitalist world-economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1998). The rise and future demise of world-systems analysis. *Review, 21*, 103–112.

Watson, K. (2000). Dependency v. partnership: The paradoxes of educational Aid and development in an Age of globalisation. *World Studies in Education, 1*(2), 123–143.

Zajda, J. (2003). The politics of rewriting history. *International Review of Education, 49*(3–4), 363–382.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2005). *The international handbook of globalisation and education policy research*. Dordrecht: Springer.
Zajda, J. (2009a). Teachers and the politics of history textbooks. In L. Saha & A. Dworkin (Eds.), *The new international handbook of research on teachers and teaching* (pp. 373–387). New York: Springer
Zajda, J. (2009b). Nation-building, identity and citizenship education. In J. Zajda, H. Daun & L. Saha (Eds.), *Nation-building, identity and citizenship education: Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 1–11). Dordrecht: Springer.
Zajda, J. (2010). The politics of the new history textbooks. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Globalisation, ideology and education policy reforms* (pp. 3–17). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
Zajda, J. (2012). Transforming images of nation-building, ideology and nationalism in history school textbooks in Putin's Russia: 2001–2010. In R. Guyver & T. Taylor (Eds.), *History wars in the classroom-global perspectives* (pp. 125–142). New York: Information Age.
Zajda, J. (2014). Globalisation and neo-liberalism as educational policy in Australia. In H. Yolcu & D. Turner (Eds.), *Neoliberal education reforms: A global analysis* (pp. 164–183). New York: Taylor & Francis/Routledge.
Zajda, J. (2015). Globalisation and its impact on education and policy. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Second international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research* (pp. 105–126). Dordrecht: Springer.
Zajda, J., & Whitehouse, J. A. (2009). Teaching history. In L. Saha & A. Dworkin (Eds.), *The new international handbook of research on teachers and teaching* (pp. 953–965). New York: Springer.

Chapter 4
Globalization and History Education: The United States and Canada

Lisa Y. Faden

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how the use of historical narratives positions the nation in an imagined global order, focusing on the cases of the United States and Canada. These findings have ramifications for our understanding of how national and global citizenship are normalized.

Globalization has profound implications for history education. The state-controlled school curriculum has long been an important means by which modern nation-states create a loyal citizenry compliant with the goals of the state (Gellner, 1983). Historical narratives play an important role in the creation of the nation as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991). Yet processes commonly referred to as "globalization" have destabilized the taken-for-granted notions of the nation as sovereign, autonomous, and culturally cohesive. In the contemporary moment, when the very nature of nationhood is in question, the history classroom serves as one site for constituting and/or contesting the nation as imagined community.

By lifting barriers to the movement of people, capital, and information, global transformations have posed new challenges to the authority of nation-states. On the other hand, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) assert that these same transformations have reinvigorated many states because "national policy authority is indispensable in coordinating and controlling global mobility, interactions and institutions" (p. 29). Similarly, Kennedy (2010) suggests:

> Not only is it necessary to accept that nation-states are the inevitable brokers of citizenship in the twenty-first century, but there is now evidence they are growing even stronger. It could well be argued that we are now witnessing a neo-statism, even in liberal democracies, where only the state can respond to the problems of our times. (Kennedy, 2010, p. 225)

L.Y. Faden (✉)
Centre for Education Research and Innovation (CERI), Western University, London, ON, Canada
e-mail: lfaden2@uwo.ca

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_4

While history education in the modern nation-state has long been concerned with fostering the loyalty of its citizenry to the state, the globalized nation-state must now incur loyal citizenship within a *global* imaginary. I refer to Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) globalized approach to education policy, which uses the concept of the "social imaginary" to describe how "policies direct or steer practice towards a particular normative state of affairs" (p. 8). Given that "a social imaginary is... carried in images, myths, parables, stories, legends, and other narratives" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 34), mandatory history classes are a venue in which social imaginaries are shaped. I seek to explore how the narratives in history classrooms place the nation – in this case the United States or Canada – in a global order. What are the normative messages for what constitutes ethical action within the community of nations, and what are the implications for the agency of the individual citizen?

The United States and Canada both benefit from tremendous wealth and privilege within the global order. The United States has been the dominant economic and military power in the world for more than half a century. Canada is a middle power that has played a key role in the development of internationalist institutions, such as the United Nations Human Rights Tribunal and the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces. These two nation-states retain a high degree of autonomy at a time when the growth of supranational organizations such as the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development challenges the sovereignty of many nation-states. In other words, these two nation-states have considerably more agency than most in the creation and maintenance of the institutions that oversee globalization policies. Yet, in spite of their relatively secure positions, fears and insecurity are omnipresent in the policy debates of these nations (Larsen, 2008).

Threats posed by terrorist organizations, economic crisis, and looming environmental challenges are daily reminders that their wealth and privilege are far from secure. Hence, the task of this chapter is to parse out how these nations represent themselves in a global order that is undergoing profound transformations. First I present an overview of the discourses of national identity in the United States and Canada, in order to introduce the established tensions with regard to nationhood in each location. I summarize the ways in which previous research has addressed the role of secondary history education in the process of imagining the nation. Then I discuss how narrative theory in the form of Wertsch's (2002) approach to historical narrative templates provides a useful lens for deconstructing state-sponsored history curricula. Finally, I present findings from my own research on history education in the United States and Canada and discuss the implications for how these nations are positioned in the global order.

4.2 Context: Discourses of National Identity in the United States and Canada

In comparing the civic cultures of the United States and Canada, it is easy to draw broad contrasts that imply a false dichotomy, and so it is important to remember that it is the combination of similarities and differences that present the two countries as

a natural choice for comparative study. These two nations are neighbors sharing the longest international border in the world. They are both participatory democracies with culturally diverse populations and a history of British colonial rule. In spite of their many commonalities, each has civil cultures and discourses of national identity that are uniquely their own. I will provide an introduction to the foundational myths for each nation, keeping in mind that these are *myths* – not truths – that stand at the center of a *contested* discourse of nationhood. As such, they are the touchstones by which we make sense of each nation's history.

The three pillars of US national identity are American exceptionalism, individual freedom, and equality. As expressed in John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" (1630), American exceptionalism rests on the belief that the United States was formed to serve as a model of virtue for the world: "For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us." In the centuries since, claims to exceptionalism have focused on the American institutions devoted to individual rights and civil liberties, most notably the US Constitution and Bill of Rights and the tradition of case law interpreting those documents. In addition, many would identify as "American" cultural traditions – such as literature, music, and visual arts – that reflect the pursuit of free expression, individualism, and innovation. However, this dominant discourse of US nationhood is deeply contested. Many critics point out that enduring structural inequality belies the promises of freedom and equality for all. The recognition of civil liberties for new constituencies has been notable for the strong resistance that it has met from powerful elites from the earliest days of the nation's history. On the topic of the liberal democratic tradition with its heavy emphasis on individual rights, political theorists such as Barber (1984) and Glendon (1991) argue that American political rhetoric and social norms have embraced individualism at great expense to the responsibility of the individual to the collective. In the realm of international relations, exceptionalist rhetoric has been used in recent years to justify the United States' troubling unilateral military actions and questionable interpretations of international standards for human rights.

Highly politicized public debates over history education have focused on which sets of narratives are certified as "true" in state history curriculum standards,[1] history textbooks, and history classrooms. Different national narratives are used to promote different versions of national identity. Historical narratives have political implications, as they are used in the classroom to develop students' understanding of the nation and its history. On the one hand, the traditional approach to telling the story of the nation in the United States is the story of powerful men with an emphasis on political nation building, economic growth, and military conquest (VanSledright, 2008). This version of history is a story of continual progress, leaving little room for critique of the nation. Traditional history is well represented in textbooks and

[1] Although curriculum standards are controlled at the state level in the United States and at the provincial level in Canada, both countries are home to vigorous national debates over how schoolchildren should learn history. Those familiar with so-called "history wars" in other nations will likely find familiar themes in these debates.

in state curriculum frameworks. On the other hand, alternative (sometimes called "revisionist") approaches to American history focus on "ordinary people," telling stories of middle and working classes, nonwhites, and women. Alternative versions of the nation's history include critiques of powerful figures and institutions. The past several decades have seen the growth of histories that question the monolithic narrative of the nation, and while these histories are marginalized in high school textbooks, they are widely available in popular books (e.g., Loewen, 1995; Zinn, 1980). In other words, in the historiography of the United States, there are a multitude of texts available to support teachers in differing approaches to teaching the history of the nation.

Existing empirical research suggests that the focus of history education in the United States is to transmit the traditional narrative of national development and progress but that students and teachers alike demonstrate discomfort with this narrative. When asked to tell the story of their nation, American college students tend to offer a story of ever-expanding freedoms, which Wertsch and O'Connor (1994) identify as the "quest for freedom" narrative. Wertsch and O'Connor document the different rhetorical strategies that students used to resolve contradictions imposed by the presence of indigenous peoples and enslaved peoples. Epstein (2009) documents the counternarratives of injustice and discrimination in US history that are prevalent within the African-American community. She argues that African-American students subscribe to an alternate metanarrative of US history, one that is not promoted within the public schools in her study. Cornbleth (1998) and Hahn (2002) have documented ambivalence towards the triumphal national narrative on the part of history teachers. Cornbleth found that there were multiple, fragmented depictions of the United States in the classrooms that she observed, but the most frequent was America as the "imperfect but best" country characterized with a "mix of acceptance and dissent" (p. 641). Hahn (2002) noted:

> There seems to be a mixed amount of criticism or skepticism with respect to national leaders. On the one hand, students are told that leaders are not infallible or above criticism; on the other, there seems to be little critical assessment of contemporary leaders and issues. (p. 79)

Canada's discourse of national identity revolves around the themes of multiculturalism, peacekeeping, and communitarianism (Hardwick, Marcus, & Isaak, 2010; Lipset, 1990, 1996). This discourse provides a sharp contrast to that of the United States – or for that matter to any nation that claims to have a culturally unified history. Canada's claims to nationhood rest upon a fragile union among the former British colonies, collectively known as English Canada, with the former French colony Québec and a number of Aboriginal nations. Britain consolidated its claim to Canadian territory with military victory over New France in 1759; but it maintained control through a series of compromises that conceded substantial political and cultural independence to French and Native communities (Kaufman, 2009).

As Canada increasingly asserted its independence from Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, accommodating diversity was a precondition for holding the French-English confederation together. In recent decades, Canada's

relatively open immigration policy has resulted in a population that is among the most ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse in the world. In its legal and political institutions, Canada has a long tradition of accommodating and protecting its "deep diversity," and the discourse of Canadian national identity celebrates multiculturalism as a central value (Joshee & Winton, 2007; Sears, 2010). However, as with many contemporary societies, Canada's structural inequalities suggest that the manifestation of multiculturalism has been "iconic rather than a deep pluralism" (Peck, Thompson, Chareka, Joshee, & Sears, 2010, p. 67).

In addition to multiculturalism, another legacy of Canada's history of accommodation and compromise is that Canadians tend to see themselves as peacekeepers and "good citizens of the world." Kymlicka (2003) both describes this phenomenon and debunks it, writing, "... This is seen as a national character trait, part of the national identity, and as an obligation of national citizenship .... In Canada, to be indifferent to our obligations as citizens of the world is seen as 'unCanadian.'" (p. 358); yet Kymlicka points out that Canadian contributions to international aid efforts are low in comparison to Western European nations, and Canada has not taken a leadership role in international efforts to promote sustainable environmental policies. Thus, Canada's discourse of national identity revolves around myths that promote a desired vision of Canada rather than a material reality.

Debates within Canada over history education play upon fears that the very concept of Canadian nationhood as contested and multicultural is too fragile to foster social cohesion. Supported by the work of the Dominion Institute, a conservative think tank, and the publication of Granatstein's (1998) *Who Killed Canadian History?*, traditionalists argue that movements to emphasize themes of multiculturalism and social justice in Canadian history have obscured the important role of British culture in the development of Canadian institutions. Of particular concern for these traditionalists is the declining prominence of Canadian military history. In fact, one outcome of the Canadian national history debates was the funding of a new Canadian War Museum, which opened in Ottawa in 2005 (Sarty, 2007). In contrast, progressive history educators have argued for history curricula that are more inclusive of Canada's diverse communities and present historical narratives as cultural artifacts that are open to critique (Seixas, 2010).

Empirical research of history and social studies education in Canada supports the view of Canadian national identity as fragmented. In a comparative case study of citizenship education in British Columbia and Québec, Lévesque (2003) found that secondary students in each location described their attitudes towards citizenship in similar ways, emphasizing political and social rights, multiculturalism, and patriotism. The one difference that Lévesque documented was that the French Canadian students saw themselves as citizens of the nation of *Québec* first and foremost, whereas the English Canadian students, including those who were immigrants, identified as *Canadian*. Létourneau and Moison's (2004) study of young people's knowledge of Québec history is frequently cited to demonstrate the sharp divide between Francophone and Anglophone versions of national identity. Using similar methods to Wertsch and O'Connor (1994), Létourneau and Moison found that 403 Québec secondary, college, and university students asked to write a short essay on

the history of Québec produced a narrative marked by "a melancholy, nostalgic awareness centering on the idea, the concept, of a conquered, reclusive people, abused by others and always fearful of reclaiming their destiny" (p. 117). Peck (2010) investigated how culturally diverse secondary students in British Columbia used a picture selection task to tell the story of Canada. Peck theorized that students used public history and their own cultural identities dialogically to develop stories that fit into one of three narrative templates: the Founding of the Nation, Diverse and Harmonious Canada, and Diverse but Conflicted Canada.

To sum up this section, nations are "imagined communities," which rely upon social processes for their invention and maintenance, and the way that they are imagined is deeply contested, as is evidenced by the passions aroused in debates over history education. These "history wars" in the United States and Canada have focused on which narratives should dominate the story of the nation as it is represented in history classrooms. The ways in which teachers engage with these master narratives create and maintain the notion of nationhood for the next generation of citizens, yet studies of how and which historical narratives are presented in the classroom are rare (Hawkey, 2007; Levstik, 2008). In the next section, I will discuss how Wertsch's (2002) synthesis of narrative theories can help us to "read" the stories of the nation as they are presented in the history classroom.

4.3 Understanding Narrative

The organization of information into narratives is a fundamental characteristic of human thought (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1988). Working with a sociocultural perspective on cognition, Wertsch (2002, 2008) describes narratives as "cultural tools," meaning that they belong to the culture at large and that as individuals we draw upon them to make sense of the world. Wertsch (2002) argues that narratives provide a way of "grasping together" information by combining actors and events into a plot, or a series of events that are linked together (p. 57). Because the act of selecting people and events to make a narrative involves selecting some pieces of information and leaving others out, narratives invest history with value judgments. In his research on Russian collective memory, Wertsch is particularly concerned with the question of who are the protagonists, agents, and heroes of the narratives used in the classroom. The placement of particular figures, institutions, or movements in the central role of a heroic narrative is one way in which narratives are inscribed with value judgments. White (1981) asserts, "Story forms not only permit us to judge the moral significance of human projects, they also provide the means by which to judge them, even while we pretend to be merely describing them" (p. 253, quoted in Wertsch, 2002, p. 124).

Central to Wertsch's (2002) understanding of narratives as cultural tools is the dialogical nature of narratives. He cites Bakhtin's (1981) contention that any speech act is the product of three "voices" coming together: (1) the actual speaker's intentions, (2) the language and stories that the speaker uses, and (3) the intended

audience's expectations. Wertsch uses his research on historical narratives used in Soviet era history classes and in post-Soviet Russia to demonstrate areas of change and continuity that reflected both the ideological and political changes from one era to another and the cultural continuity. Key to Wertsch's narrative dialogicality is the idea that narratives do not exist in isolation from each other. Within a given culture or a textual community, narratives speak to each other and exert force on one another:

> As such, the key to understanding the meaning and form of one narrative is how it provides a dialogic response to previous narratives or anticipates subsequent ones. And the nature of the response can range from hostile retort to friendly elaboration, from a studied attempt to ignore another narrative to its celebration (60).

Narrative dialogicality is relevant to understanding the ways that narratives speak to each other in the history classroom. For example, how does the use of certain narratives, such as one teacher's assertion

> U.S. military intelligence estimated that an invasion of Japan in 1945 would have resulted in over one million Allied casualties.

pave the way for other narratives, such as the claim *the use of atomic weapons on Japan saved American lives*, and discourage the use of other narratives, such as stories that call into question Allied decisions to bomb civilian population centers in Japan and Germany? Clearly the use of these narratives has important implications for the depiction of the nation and its citizens.

Arguably, Wertsch's (2002, 2008) most significant contribution to the field of collective remembering is the development of the concept of the *schematic narrative template*, which is a basic story that is repeated frequently within a narrative tradition. Key characteristics of schematic narrative templates are that they belong to a specific cultural tradition and they are so commonly held that they are invisible to those who use them. Wertsch documents the uses of the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template in Russia to tell the story of Russia during the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II. He describes the basic plot of this template in four steps:

1. An "initial situation" (Propp 1968) in which the Russian people are living in a peaceful setting where they are no threat to others is disrupted by
2. The initiation of trouble or aggression by an alien force, or agent, which leads to
3. A time of crisis and great suffering, which is
4. Overcome by the triumph over the alien force by the Russian people, acting heroically and alone (p. 93)

Wertsch uses textbooks from different eras in Soviet and post-Soviet history to document how the officially sanctioned history of the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II changed from the 1940s to the 1990s. Throughout this period, however, Wertsch demonstrates that the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template continued to shape the telling of Russian history, even as the dominant ideology changed. Wertsch's work provides a framework for uncovering the templates that exert hidden control upon the stories of the nation.

4.4 Historical Narratives of the United States and Canada in Wartime

The study of World War II has particular salience for the project of understanding how history education positions the nation in the global order because World War II is often portrayed as a just war, and as such it is a common point of reference for those looking to celebrate military action (Zajda, 2012). My research documented how teachers in one school district in Maryland, USA, and one school board in Ontario, Canada, taught about the national experience of World War II in their required secondary history courses. Utilizing a comparative case study design, (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2005), I observed three US and two Canadian teachers.[2] Participants were recommended by their principals, department chairs, or district social studies curriculum coordinators as examples of "wise practice" (Davis, 1997; Grant, 2005). I observed the teachers for 2–3 weeks while they taught the World War II unit of their required national history course (10th grade Canadian history since World War I or 9th grade United States history from 1876 to the present). Observation sites were selected to include schools serving culturally and socioeconomically diverse populations. In order to have as complete a record as possible, I sought to collect all of the materials that the students received during their study of World War II, including textbooks, supplemental texts, homework and other assignments, and tests and quizzes.

Following Wertsch's (2002) model for looking at how narratives are used to construct the nation, the identification of the protagonists and agents in the story of the nation takes on particular importance. Thus, in analyzing the field data, I sought to identify the types of narratives that were used in each setting. I categorized narratives as representing political, military, or social history. Of course, there are stories that straddle categories, so at times I had to either assign a narrative to more than one category or make fine distinctions using subtle cues as related to the narrative's emphasis.

The way that class time is apportioned among the different types of narratives implies attention to different types of agency. While the percentages varied from teacher to teacher, for all of the US teachers observed, the largest amount of class time was devoted to political narratives, followed by military narratives, with the smallest portion of time devoted to social history narratives. For the two Canadian teachers observed, the largest portion of class time was devoted to military narratives while the smaller portions of time were devoted to political narratives and social history narratives. While the chart below might suggest that military narratives were featured with similar frequency in the US and Canadian classes, this suggestion is misleading. In fact, many of the Canadian classes were devoted exclusively to military narratives, whereas many of the US classes presented military narratives in

[2] For details about research methods, findings, and extended discussion of data, see Faden (2014).

Table 4.1 Percentage of classes observed featuring different types of historical narratives

	US classes (%)	Canadian classes (%)
Political narratives	73	38
Military narratives	59	63
Social history narratives	14	38

Because each class can include multiple types of narratives, the percentages total more than 100

Table 4.2 Unit test item analysis by teacher

	US teachers 1 and 2[a] (%)	US teacher 3 (%)	CDN teacher 1 (%)	CDN teacher 2 (%)
Political	48	40	19	27
Military	35	42	62	50
Social	12	11	19	14
Economic	4	7		9

[a]These teachers taught at the same school and used the same unit test

order to contextualize or explain changes in US policy or to illustrate the pressures on US political leaders (Table 4.1).

Because the constraints of collecting data at multiple sites prevented me from observing every class that the five teachers dedicated to World War II, I did a similar analysis of each teacher's World War II unit exam. The results were generally consistent with my observations that class time was devoted primarily to political narratives in the US classes and military narratives in the Canadian classes (Table 4.2).

This quantitative data is merely a blunt instrument for measuring the emphasis on different types of narratives in history classrooms. However, the data reveals consistent differences between the types of narratives that dominate in the US and Canadian history classrooms, and these differences have significance for the construction of national identity and citizenship.

4.4.1 Narratives of the United States in World War II

As is evident in the figures above, political narratives dominated in the US history classrooms. Protagonists in these narratives were usually identified as national leaders, most often President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the nations involved in the war. Military narratives were also referenced in a majority of the classes observed. However, military narratives tended to play a *supporting* role for the political narratives. The emphasis in these narratives was on the big picture – war strategy and the sequences of territory won or lost – and how it affected political events. Throughout the narratives, one prominent theme was the evolving justifications for US involvement in the war. Significant class time was devoted to US policies

in the period before the United States entered the war (e.g., Neutrality Acts, the Atlantic Charter) and to the events surrounding the end of the war, specifically the development of the atomic bomb and the decision to use atomic weapons against Japan. In short, the World War II narratives, taken as a whole, worked to justify US military involvement in the war. To this point I would add that the justification of the use of atomic weapons against Japan is very important to the metanarrative, as it was the United States' nuclear advantage that ensured it considerable leverage in the postwar era. Thus, one of the dialogical functions of these narratives (Wertsch, 2002) is to establish the United States as the benevolent superpower of the Cold War era.

The story of the World War II as a fundamentally political narrative suggests an underlying narrative in which politics, rather than military or economic actions, are the driving force in history. Using Wertsch's (2002) concept of the schematic narrative template, I have named the US template "The Reluctant Hegemon" (Faden, 2014). Many of the narratives serve to show that the United States had no choice but to enter into World War II, either to combat fascist Germany or to defend itself following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The template presupposes that the United States had no imperialist designs in going to war, and thus the economic and political advantages that followed were simply the natural consequences of taking on a leadership role in international affairs. The dialogical function of the template also makes it difficult to include the role of dissenters who criticized the war effort. One of the distinctive features of World War II was the large-scale use of civilian targets by all parties, and this troubling aspect of the war received little attention in the observed classes.

In the case of US historical narratives, dominant World War II narratives position the United States as the exceptional nation and a promoter of freedom and equality. At least in theory, in a democracy citizens are responsible for the actions of the nation and its government. In framing US military action as justified by its enemies' aggression, these narratives avoid discussion of the ethical limits of military action in the context of a just war. The implications of civilian casualties and the use of new technology in warfare are issues that are as relevant to twenty-first century war as to World War II. Furthermore, the construction of the United States as "Reluctant Hegemon" is a simple resolution to the conflict between the United States' commitment to democratic freedom – the quality which is supposed to set it apart as an "exceptional" nation – and the fact that the nation owes its privileged position in the global order to its military power. It is not a stretch, either, to point out how comforting it is to imagine that US military power has been and continues to be fully responsive to democratic process, when in recent times the nation's executive has been quick to go to war and slow to find its way out.

4.4.2 Narratives of Canada in World War II

Canadian narratives paint an entirely different view of the war. Not only do military narratives dominate the narrative landscape, but the narratives attend in detail to

the material experiences of ordinary soldiers. A majority of the Canadian history classes observed devoted much or all of the class to military narratives, with more emphasis on battles, tactics, and the use of military technologies. Protagonists in the historical narratives in the Canadian classes included the nations involved in the war, leaders of foreign nations, and citizens who contributed to the war effort in both military and nonmilitary capacities. There were strikingly few references to Canadian leaders, including Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, his cabinet, and generals or other high-ranking military figures. Detailed narratives about the war effort described the valuable efforts that Canadians made collectively. The overall impression is that Canadians participated in the war heroically, but they were not responsible for the conduct of the war. Because political leaders, generals, and policymakers are not presented as agents in this narrative landscape, no one is responsible for the troubling aspects of the war, such as unequal treatment of women and ethnic minorities, military failures, or the civilian casualties that resulted from allied airstrikes.

The focus on the personal experience of war is consonant with the important role that the two world wars play in Canada's grand nation-building narrative. The wars are most often represented as the test by which Canada proved itself as an independent nation rather than a junior partner in the British Commonwealth. The assertion that Canada "came of age" at the Battle of Vimy Ridge in World War I can be found in virtually every contemporary Canadian history textbook. In his treatise on the construction of Canada's national myths, Francis (1997) wrote:

> The master narrative presents both world wars as heroic struggles to preserve a way of life from enemies who would overwhelm it. According to the master narrative, the sacrifice of all those young lives was valorous and meaningful. War is horrible, but its horror is redeemed by noble sacrifice. (p. 126)

This approach reflects a schematic narrative template in Canadian historiography that I call "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage" (Faden, 2014). It reveals a pattern in which historical narratives from all eras of Canadian history are shaped to demonstrate that Canada deserves recognition as a member of the international community. This template reflects the central concern in the Canadian discourse with the fragility of Canada's claim to nationhood. These narratives work together to claim Canadian nationhood as a *collective* achievement for the Canadian people; and in doing so they direct attention away from questions about who bears the cost of war, who enjoys the benefits, and what are the ethical responsibilities of the nation and the citizen in wartime.

The celebration of Canadian participation in international wars as evidence of nation building evades questions about how Canada's efforts have contributed to British or US imperialism. The lack of attention to political developments in the history of World War II, for example, prevents us from asking who was responsible for the tragedies of the war. When the war is celebrated as a collective achievement, it is difficult to interrogate the power dynamics behind the war. Did Canada go to war as an independent and democratic nation, or did it participate reluctantly as an obedient junior member of the British Commonwealth? Without exploring the

political history, it is impossible to answer these questions, just as it is impossible to critically assess the workings of Canadian democracy. I suspect, however, that the most taboo question of all is about the extent to which Canada is complicit in US imperialism, both in its active diplomatic and military partnerships with the United States and in the ways in which it passively benefits from the wealth and relative economic stability of its largest trading partner.

4.5 Conclusion

Because we are constantly drawing upon narratives to make sense of our world, their role in shaping our social imaginary goes largely unnoticed. McLaren (1995) argues:

> Contained in all cultural narratives is a preferred way of reading them. We don't only live particular narratives but we inhabit them (as they inhabit us). The degree to which we resist certain narratives depends upon how we are able to read them and rewrite them. (p. 98)

It is only through the systematic observation of the uses of historical narratives that we can understand and challenge them. I propose that inquiry into the use of history education in the project of contemporary nation building must work to document the narratives that are used to produce the nation as imagined community (Zajda, 2012; Zajda, Daun, & Saha, 2009). Wertsch's (2002) narrative dialogicality is a way of theorizing this process and naming the silences that are produced. In particular, I am concerned about the way these narratives provide a means for evading questions about the ethical responsibilities of the nation and, by extension, the citizen. What is at stake is the possibility of understanding how historical narratives normalize each nation's place in the world order and its relations with the community of nations (Zajda, 2010). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) write, "We use the notion of 'social imaginary' to suggest that policies are not only located within discourses, but also in imaginaries that shape "thinking about how things might be 'otherwise' – different from the way they are now" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 8). My argument is that the stories of the nation discussed in this chapter primarily function to close off the possibility of "thinking about how things might be 'otherwise'".

The schematic narrative templates identified with each nation – "The Reluctant Hegemon" and "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage" – at their heart are about that nation's place in the global order. One striking feature of these templates is the way that they construct the nation as passive in the face of larger forces of history. The Reluctant Hegemon goes to war and assumes the role of hegemon due to circumstances putatively beyond its control. It is ironic to the point of perversity to write the story of the mightiest economic and military power in modern history as one of unwitting inheritor; but this writing conveniently makes it possible for the citizen of the hegemon to avoid claiming responsibility for the global inequality, poverty, and injustices that result from its policies. As for the Canada Proves Itself

on the World Stage, this story may at first appear to be an innocent coming-of-age story, but in truth it draws attention away from questions of Canada's complicity in British and American hegemony. In this narrative, Canada becomes a nation through its contribution to British and American campaigns, and thus its citizens appear not to have the standing to critique the global order that they participate in creating. The failure to attend to political narratives renders questions about democratic process irrelevant and therefore invests the citizen with no agency with which to work for social justice.

The stories of nationhood discussed in this chapter rest on the presumption that the United States and Canada have earned their wealth and privileged place in the community of nations through the exercise of leadership and selfless contributions. When one reads the narratives closely, though, we can see that they address the insecurities that each nation has about its place in the global order. In this way, mandatory secondary history classes contribute to a social imaginary in which global asymmetries of power are not subject to critique.

References

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities* (Rev. ed.). London: Verso.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Barber, B. (1984). *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cornbeth, C. (1998). An American curriculum?". *Teachers College Record, 99*(4), 622–646.

Davis, O. L. (1997). Beyond 'best practices' toward wise practices [editorial]. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, 13*(1), 92–113.

Epstein, T. (2009). *Interpreting national history: Race, identity, and pedagogy in classrooms and communities*. New York: Routledge.

Faden, L. Y. (2014). History teachers imagining the nation: World War II narratives in the United States and Canada. In J. H. Williams (Ed.), *(Re)Constructing memory: School textbooks and the imagination of the nation* (pp. 191–218). Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sense.

Francis, D. (1997). *National dreams: Myth, memory, and Canadian history*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Glendon, M. A. (1991). *Rights talk: The impoverishment of political discourse*. New York: The Free Press.

Granatstein, J. (1998). *Who killed Canadian history?* Toronto, ON, Canada: Harper-Collins.

Grant, S. G. (2005). More journey than end: A case study of ambitious teaching. In E. A. Yeager & O. L. Davis (Eds.), *Wise social studies teaching in an age of high-stakes testing* (pp. 117–130). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Hahn, C. L. (2002). Education for democratic citizenship: One nation's story. In W. C. Parker (Ed.), *Education for democracy: Contexts, curricula, assessments* (pp. 63–92). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Hardwick, S. W., Marcus, R., & Isaak, M. (2010). Education and national identity in a comparative context". *National Identities, 12*(3), 253–268.

Hawkey, K. (2007). 'Could you just tell us the story?' Pedagogical approaches to introducing narrative in history classes". *Curriculum Inquiry, 37*(3), 263–277.

Joshee, R., & Winton, S. (2007). Past crossings: U.S. influences on the development of Canadian multicultural education policy. In R. Joshee & L. Johnson (Eds.), *Multicultural education policies in Canada and the United States* (pp. 17–27). Vancouver, BC, Canada: UBC Press.

Kaufman, J. (2009). *The origins of Canadian and American political differences*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kennedy, K. (2010). Neo-statism and post-globalization. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen* (pp. 223–229). New York: Routledge.

Kymlicka, W. (2003). Being Canadian. *Government and Opposition, 38*(3), 357–385.

Larsen, M. A. (2008). North American insecurities, fears and anxieties: Educational implications. *Comparative Education, 44*(3), 265–278.

Létourneau, J., & Moisan, S. (2004). Young people's assimilation of a collective historical memory: A case study of Quebeckers of French-Canadian heritage. In P. Seixas (Ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness* (pp. 109–128). Toronto, ON, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Lévesque, S. (2003). Becoming citizens: High school students and citizenship in British Columbia and Quebec". *Encounters on Education, 4*, 107–126.

Levstik, L. S. (2008). What happens in social studies classrooms? In L. S. Levstik & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social studies education* (pp. 50–62). New York: Routledge.

Lipset, S. M. (1990). *Continental divide: The values and institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York: Routledge.

Lipset, S. M. (1996). *American exceptionalism*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Loewen, J. W. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical pedagogy and predatory culture: Oppositional politics in a postmodern era*. London: Routledge.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Peck, C. L. (2010). 'It's not like I'm Chinese and Canadian. I am in between': Ethnicity and students' conceptions of historical significance. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 38*(4), 574–617.

Peck, C. L., Thompson, L. A., Chareka, O., Joshee, R., & Sears, A. (2010). From getting along to democratic engagement: Moving toward deep diversity in citizenship education". *Citizenship Teaching and Learning, 6*(1), 61–75.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Propp, V. (1968). *Morphology of the folktale*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Sarty, R. (2007). The nationalization of military history: Scholarship, politics, and the Canadian War Museum. In N. Hillmer & A. Chapnick (Eds.), *Canadas of the mind* (pp. 110–133). Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Sears, A. (2010). Possibilities and problems: Citizenship education in a multinational state: The case of Canada. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen* (pp. 191–205). New York: Routledge.

Seixas, P. (2010). A modest proposal for change in Canadian history. In I. Nakou & I. Barca (Eds.), *Contemporary public debates over history education* (pp. 11–26). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 443–466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

VanSledright, B. A. (2008). Narratives of nation-state, historical knowledge, and school history education. *Review of Research in Education, 32*, 109–146.

Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of collective remembering*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (2008). Collective memory and narrative templates. *Social Research, 75*(1),133–156.

Wertsch, J. V., & O'Connor, K. (1994). Multivoicedness in historical representation: American college students' accounts of the origins of the United States. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 4*(4), 295–309.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Globalization, education and social justice*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zajda, J. (2012). Transforming images of nation-building, ideology and nationalism in history school textbooks in Putin's Russia: 2001–2010. In R. Guyver & T. Taylor (Eds.), *History wars in the classroom-global perspectives*. New York: Information Age Publishing.

Zajda, J., Daun, H., & Saha, L. (Eds.). (2009). *Nation-building, identity and citizenship education: Cross-cultural perspectives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zinn, H. (1980). *A people's history of the United States*. New York: Harper and Row.

Chapter 5
Globalization, Politics of Historical Memory, and Enmification in Sino-Japanese Relations

Ria Shibata

5.1 Introduction

State control of history education is vital to ensuring a national narrative capable of legitimating the modern nation-state. Teaching socially shared perceptions of the past is an important element in the formation of national, ethnic, or religious identities (Smith, 1999). Political elites try to control history education in order to institutionalize a particular memory that will reinforce the group's collective identity. This is a common phenomenon in newly independent states undergoing nation-building processes. These narratives and historical memory can become a major source of tension and enmification between different groups. Issues surrounding historical memory have played a pivotal role in the rise of identity-driven religious, ethnic, and interstate conflicts around the world. Smith asserts that ethnic, national, or religious identities are built on historical myths that define processes of moral and political inclusion and exclusion (Smith, 1999). Myths are created by political elites and institutionalized through various social channels such as textbooks, media, and commemorative ceremonies. These become engrained in the group's collective memory and shape its collective identity. Globally, the issue of historical memory in exacerbating conflict has been studied in the context of Northern Ireland, Cyprus, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and East Asia. These cases demonstrate how intractable conflicts are deeply rooted in historical memory and identity needs.

The recent escalation of conflict between China and Japan, triggered by the Japanese government's move to purchase the rights to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands,

R. Shibata (✉)
The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago,
P.O. Box 56, 518 Castle Street, Dunedin 9054, New Zealand
e-mail: ria.shibata@postgrad.otago.ac.nz; shibata.ria@gmail.com

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_5

is the most recent manifestation of a deeper incompatibility between the two countries that predates and flows from World War II. Japan's "historical amnesia" represented by its denial of the Nanjing Massacre, sanitization of its history textbooks, avoiding legal responsibility for the comfort women, and the controversial visits of its head of state to the Yasukuni Shrine has generated considerable Chinese hostility toward Japan. Similarly, memories of the "Bamboo Curtain," negative features of Maoism, Chinese human rights abuses, and, most of all, endless demands for apology for Japan's wartime past generate Japanese antagonism toward China. This chapter will explore the underlying dynamics of the Sino-Japanese "history problem" and how historical memory and conflicting interpretations of past trauma have become major impediments to reconciliation between the two countries.

In contrast to the solid development of official exchanges and economic cooperation, distrust and animosity seem to be increasing between the governments and peoples of both countries. On the one hand, economic ties between China and Japan have seen unprecedented growth. China is now Japan's largest trading partner, as imports from China surpassed those from the United States. According to a report released in 2014 by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO),[1] Japan's exports to China amounted to US$129 billion, and Japan's imports from China was US$189 billion. In 1972, less than 10,000 people traveled between the two countries; that number increased to over two million in 2002 and a record high of 4.35 million in 2004.

On the other hand, while the bilateral economic and trade ties remain strong, large-scale anti-Japanese demonstrations have been on the rise. Immediately after the outbreak of the Senkaku/Diaoyu territorial dispute, Kyodo News Agency reported that more than 80,000 Chinese citizens staged anti-Japan rallies in over 50 cities to protest the purchase of the islands. These became the largest anti-Japan demonstrations in China in terms of participants and cities since the two countries normalized diplomatic relations in 1972.[2] These recent Sino-Japan tensions raise a question mark over the solidity of negative peace in Northeast Asia and challenge neoliberal assumptions that economic interdependence will always restrain conflicts and ensure durable peace. The recent escalation of tension between China and Japan has more to do with the activation of deeper sociocultural dynamics in defense of national values and identity than with the maintenance of functional economic and political relationships.

While many scholars have focused on Japanese and Chinese history and nationalism as major sources of conflict, they often do not explain the dynamics and underpinnings of the current enmification processes in both countries. This study will examine the political dynamics of historical memory in Sino-Japanese relations drawing on social identity theory. It will analyze the role historical memory plays

[1] Japan External Trade Organization's survey analysis of China-Japan trade released in 2014. https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/news/releases/20140228009-news

[2] "Over 80,000 Chinese in over 50 cites join anti-Japan protests," *Kyodo News*, September 16, 2012. http://english.kyodonews.jp/news/2012/09/182631.html

in shaping national identity and in the process of negative stereotyping of the "other." This article assumes that identity is constructed rather than given and that political leaders will choose to highlight different dimensions of cultural and political identity to secure government and regime interests. Because China and Japan share a lot of conflictual as well as cooperative history, neither is totally free to project national identity without this provoking interpretative questions from the other side. Both China and Japan share common war experiences—one as victim and one as aggressor—this gives rise to very specific kinds of historical memories which play into the present. It is vitally important to understand the role of this memory in shaping domestic and foreign policy decisions in both countries. Popular nationalism deeply rooted in historical memories can exacerbate mutual threat perception, shape foreign policy decisions, and become a catalyst for future Sino-Japanese conflict.

5.2 Deteriorating Popular Perceptions in Sino-Japanese Relations

Recent public opinion polling demonstrates that these dynamics are widespread and pervasive across a broad cross section of Chinese and Japanese public opinion. Various scholars have argued that the recent rise of anti-Japanese public sentiment in China should not be simply viewed as an outcome of politically orchestrated nationalist tactics employed by the Chinese Communist Party to legitimize its rule (Gries, 2005, p. 105). He stresses that the historiographic divergence caused by conflicting war narratives has stimulated mutually popular negative emotions and ambivalence. Public opinion polls seem to suggest that ambivalence if not hostility in the Chinese perception of Japan is widespread among the general Chinese public.

A public opinion poll conducted in 2014 by Genron NPO,[3] a Japanese think tank, and the China Daily showed that the percentage of Japanese public who harbored unfavorable/negative view of China climbed to its highest ever level of 93 %, surpassing the previous record of 90 % appearing in the 2013 survey. As reasons for their negative views of China, 53 % of the Japanese cited the territorial dispute and confrontation between Japan and China over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, and 52.2 % claimed that they were annoyed by "China's criticism of Japan over historical issues." The ratio of Chinese who had negative opinions of Japan was 86.8 %. As for the source of their negative impressions of Japan, 64 % of the Chinese respondents cited the bilateral territorial dispute, and 59.6 % said it was because of "Japan's lack of proper apology and remorse over the history of invasion of China."

[3]Genron NPO is an independent nonpartisan think tank that monitors Japanese government's policy making. The organization conducts an annual survey on Chinese and Japanese people's attitudes toward each other. See http://www.genron-npo.net/en/pp/archives/5153.html

These findings seem to be consistent with the polls conducted ten years ago, suggesting that national war narratives continue to feed into mistrust and threat perception toward one another. In seeking the source of distrust between the two countries, a joint public opinion poll by *Asahi Shimbun* and the Chinese Academy of Social Science in 2002 revealed that whereas 40 % of Japanese cited a "lack of mutual understanding" and "differences in political systems" as two problematic areas in Sino-Japanese relations, 80 % of Chinese cited the problem of "historical awareness" such as the Japanese prime ministers visits to the Yasukuni Shrine and the controversy over revisions to Japanese history textbooks. In the same survey, the number one public image of the Japanese reported by the Chinese respondents was "Japanese aggressor," and 60.4 % expressed concerns over "Japan's militarization." These poll results demonstrate that the Chinese public's negative sentiment arising from conflicting historical memories and narratives is the primary factor causing Chinese mistrust of the Japanese.[4] These sentiments have some distinct historical and narrative sources which will be explored in the following sections.

5.3 Theoretical Framework

Henri Tajfel and John Turner's social identity theory is useful in understanding the dynamics of national identity formation in China and Japan specifically because these two countries have generated much of their contemporary identities on the basis of the negative stereotyping of the other. Social identity theory assumes that people are motivated to achieve a positive 'social identity,' or membership in a social group, with all of the attached values and emotional significance to it (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255).

Consistent with this theory, Michael Hogg and Dominic Abrams further proposed a self-esteem hypothesis which posits that there is a direct relationship between self-image and prejudiced views of the out-group—that successful out-group discrimination elevates self-esteem and threatened self-esteem promotes intergroup discrimination (Abrams & Hogg, 1988, p. 317). The simplest way of generating strong in-group identity is therefore by devaluing the out-group, creating an us versus them dichotomy (Volkan, 2009).

Much more work needs to be done on the ways in which historical memory, identity formation, and the need for self-esteem influence and affect Sino-Japanese relations. In particular, it is important to focus specific attention on the formation of negative stereotypes and enmification of the other in Sino-Japanese relations. Hogg and Abrams highlight the centrality of negative evaluation of the other for enhancing self-esteem. Terrell Northrup explains how enmification is closely linked to identity and can be described as a four-stage process of threat, distortion, rigidification, and collusion (Northrup, 1989). People have a fundamental human need for identity,

[4] "Polls: China-Japan Relations Worsening," *Asahi Shimbun*, September 28, 2002

recognition, and belonging. Events that are perceived to invalidate one's core sense of identity create a sense of threat, which is the first stage. Distortion is the second stage of enmification and is an individual's way of reducing the level of threat to one's identity by denying or altering the meaning of an event. Distortion therefore allows for a rationalization of deep-seated hostility and can lead to dehumanization of the other. The third phase, rigidification, is when individuals become so rigid in their positions that their hostile imagination of the "other" and their prejudices and stereotypes are viewed as truth, despite exposure to other types of information from the social environment. Rigidification acts as a protective wall to defend against attacks and criticisms to the created collective sense of identity. The reactions that constitute the process of rigidification are incorporated into the formation of history and collective identities of the involved parties. At this stage, the conflict satisfies the identity needs of the parties, and hating of the other becomes mutually rewarding. Ultimately, colluding in maintaining the conflict becomes a unifying group aim, around which patriotism coagulates (Tidwell, 1998, pp. 135–136).

Unresolved trauma, historical memory, and identity anxieties generate deep contextual elements for the negative dynamics of enmification. Both China and Japan have been constituting and reconstituting their popular and national identities ever since the end of World War II. In doing so, opinion leaders, intellectuals, and political leaders have drawn on a variety of historical narratives in the process of constructing an ideal national identity. Enmification framework helps us understand better how China and Japan have sustained their mutual animosity over the years.

5.4 China's History of Victimhood and the Patriotic Education Campaign

To understand the process of enmification in China, it is vital to examine the psychological links between massive large-group traumatic experience and the development of nationalist ideology. Volkan refers to this concept as "chosen trauma" as groups "choose" to mythologize the shared mental representation of the massive trauma experienced by its ancestors at the hands of an enemy group. The group carries the mental representation of the traumatic event, together with associated shared feelings of hurt and shames, which becomes deeply incorporated into its identity and transmitted as historical enmity from one generation to another (Volkan, 1997, p. 48).

The formation of modern China's national identity can be characterized by the "victimhood" narrative in which Japan plays an integral role as the negative "other," the aggressor who inflicted traumatic sufferings on the people of China (Wang, 2008).

Reconstruction of historical narratives is seen to occur at a time of a group's identity crisis. Following the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government faced the so-called three belief crises: crisis of faith in socialism, crisis of

belief in Marxism, and crisis of trust in the party (Zhao, 1998, p. 288). The outbreak of the Tiananmen prodemocracy movement weakened the legitimacy of Chinese leadership and the Communist regime. With the declining credibility in communism, the government resorted to a new ideological framework—nationalism. The patriotic education campaign was launched in 1991 as a history education campaign to teach Chinese young people about China's humiliating experience in the face of Western and Japanese incursion, as well as explaining how the Chinese Communist Party-led revolution changed China's fate and won national independence (Wang, 2008, p. 789).

In 1994, "Outline for the Implementation of Patriotic Education" was published providing official guidelines for the campaign:

> The objective of conducting a patriotic education campaign is to boost the nation's spirit, enhance cohesion, foster national self esteem and pride, consolidate and develop patriotic united front to the broadest extent possible, and direct and rally the masses' patriotic passions to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. (Cited from Wang, 2008, p. 790)

According to some scholars, the patriotic education campaign was an attempt by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at large-scale ideological reeducation. In 1992, the official People's Education Press published new history textbooks in which the previous "class struggle narrative" was replaced by the "patriotic narrative." The new textbooks no longer focused on ideological and political conflict between the Communist Party and capitalist Kuomintang (He, 2007a, p. 7). Gries argues that "during the 1990s . . . the Maoist "victor narrative" was joined by a new and popular "victimization narrative" that blamed 'the West,' including Japan, for China's suffering" (Gries, 2005, p. 109). Beijing's nationalist propaganda campaign can be viewed as China's attempt to discriminate and devalue the "other" to establish higher levels of self-esteem and in-group solidarity. It represented the "othering" of the Western out-group, including Japan, in order to glorify the Chinese in-group. As He notes, "A country that had invaded and humiliated China in the past, and whose historical amnesia was notorious, Japan became an easy target of China's assertive nationalism . . . Those who now replaced the KMT as the worst villain in the history of the war were the 'vicious Japanese imperialist aggressors'" (He, 2007b, p. 57).

The campaign was launched in the early 1990s as an education program targeting young people and school students. Over time, it has gradually become a nationwide mobilization. All the employees of state agencies, school teachers and administrators, military officers, and soldiers have been required to take regular political classes on patriotic education. The CCP set the entire propaganda machine in motion for this campaign (Wang, 2008, p. 798). "Textbooks provided comprehensive coverage of Japanese war crimes, with figures of fatalities, gruesome pictures, and even names of villages and individuals that had fallen victim to the aggression" (He, 2007b, p. 58).

Bar-Tal stresses that the transmission of victim narratives begins already in schools, with textbooks that communicate narratives about the in-group's past suffering (Bar-Tal, 1998). The portrayal of the in-group's suffering in these text-

books make historical victimization personally salient after the immediate threat has subsided decades or even centuries later.

Museums and public monuments have also played critical roles in the reconstruction of Chinese historical memory and contributed to the negative stereotyping of the Japanese in different parts of the country. The CCP issued an order to local governments at all levels to establish national memory sites for conducting patriotic education. The museum in Beijing held a summer school which incorporated simulated military corps drills and battles with “Japanese devils” (*riben guize*) (Mitter, 2000, p. 293). War movies were produced and promoted to depict Japanese atrocities including the Nanjing Massacre and the biological warfare of Unit 731. The Nanjing Massacre Memorial was opened in 1985 to showcase photographs, documents, and testimonies to propagate China’s national identity based on Chinese victimhood and demonization of the Japanese. On the front wall of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial, one finds the inscription “Never forget national humiliation.”

The narratives enmifying the Other, propagated by Chinese political elites, have aroused a powerful public response. Some scholars view the top-down patriotic education campaign as the root cause of the upsurge of popular nationalism in China in the 1990s and 2000s. However, other scholars (Gries, 2005; Suzuki, 2007) argue that the elite-driven “national humiliation” would not have been effective without a large and sympathetic audience. Suzuki stresses that the narratives of trauma and humiliation are not merely “official history” in textbooks but real stories that they hear from their parents and grandparents. Suzuki argues that these negative memories of Japanese imperialism are fresh in their minds and the scars of war are deeply entrenched in the Chinese psyche (Suzuki, 2007, p. 26). Although the institutionalized narratives aroused visceral anti-Japan sentiments, the official history still differentiates Japanese militarists from the ordinary Japanese. However, the public discourse on Japan in popular media and on the Internet commonly packages and stereotypes the entire Japanese nation as evil.

When viewed through the lens of social identity and enmification theories, the reaction of the Chinese public to the Japanese government’s nationalization of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands can be perceived as an important defense of Chinese national identity. The territorial dispute played into memories of humiliation, reminding the Chinese people of their traumatic past and augmenting the image of Japan as the “victimizing other.” As Wang describes it, “in crisis situation of confrontation and conflict, especially when confrontation is perceived by the Chinese as an assault on fundamental identity, face, and authority, then history and memory very often serve as major motivating factors... .an isolated event is perceived by Chinese leaders as a new form of humiliation” (Wang, 2008, p. 802).

These examples demonstrate some of the ways in which the Chinese leadership’s propagation campaign to construct official history has been able to tap into mass-based historical experiences of trauma. It has successfully generated a strong sense of in-group solidarity against historic perpetrators of violence. Some of these examples are based on historical “facts,” others might have been symbolically contrived, but both produce rigid stereotypes of the Japanese as past aggressors and potential aggressors in the future. All of these dynamics generate a certain degree

of Chinese demonization of Japan and the Japanese people even if there is little postwar experience to justify such enmification in the twenty-first century.

The following article in the Financial Times demonstrates the impact of elite-driven education campaign contributing to the rise of popular nationalism:

> After 21-year-old Cai Yang was arrested in September for beating a Toyota-driving Chinese compatriot with a bicycle lock during an anti-Japanese protest, his mother tried to explain his action. "The education at school always instills the idea that Japanese are evil people and if you turn on the television most of the programmes are about the anti-Japanese war," Yang Shuilan said. "How can we possibly not resent the Japanese?"[5]

5.5 Japan's Politics of Historical Memory

The analysis of the Japanese rise of militarism, war propaganda, formation of national identity through the State Shinto ideology, and the use of education to mobilize the masses to glorify the cause and prosecute the wars of aggression during World War II is a subject that has been extensively researched by scholars over the years. This section will focus on the more recent development in the 1990s of neonationalist narratives surrounding the textbook revisionism and the Yasukuni Shrine controversies which led to heated debates about Japan's historical memory and seriously strained its diplomatic ties with China and Korea.

At a time of crisis, when there is a threat to a group's identity, memory is used to valorize the group and restore its collective esteem. As identity is challenged, undermined, or possibly shattered, memories are drawn on and reshaped to defend unity and coherence, to shore up a sense of self and community (Bell, 2006, p. 6). The rise of neonationalist discourse in the 1990s can be viewed through the lens of Japan's identity crisis, a reaction of a nation struggling amidst feelings of insecurity and frustration. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the "bubble economy" created a mood of insecurity and desire for renewal in Japan. The economic downturn in the 1990s reminded Japan that it was no longer the developmental model for the world. Such national crises as the Hanshin earthquake and Aum Shinrikyo's sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway further revealed the weakness and unreliability of the "Japanese system" leading to a serious crisis of Japanese national identity (Yoda & Harootunian, 2006, p. 16). There emerged a view that these political and economic problems were all in the end rooted in a failure to clarify the question of national identity. The 1990s saw a vigorous campaign to reorganize the state and economy and regain a coherent, national self-hood and purpose.

The 1990s was also a time of huge political shifts. In 1993, the long rule of conservative Liberal Democratic Party was replaced by the Japan New Party, and the new Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa made clear-cut public statements on

[5] Jamil Anderlini. "Patriotic Education distorts China world view." *Financial Times*, Dec. 23, 2012

the Asia-Pacific War: "I personally recognize it as a war of aggression, a mistaken war." In 1995, Hosokawa's successor, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, issued a statement to China and other Asian nations, containing formal expressions of apology and regret (Rose, 2005, p. 19). This spurred Japanese right-wing political movements and various revisionist groups to go on the offensive to counter the trend. These conservative actions spanned a wide range, from academic efforts to revise the history textbooks to popular nationalist *mangas* that portrayed Japan's imperialist past in a positive light and presented highly contentious positions on issues such as the Nanjing Massacre and the comfort women. In 1993, the Committee on History and Screening (*Rekishi kento iinkai*) was formed with more than a hundred senior members of the Liberal Democratic Party. Their objective was to publish a new textbook which claimed that the Greater East War was one of self-defense and liberation, that the Nanjing Massacre and accounts of the comfort women were fabrications, and that a new textbook battle was necessary in light of the emphasis on damage and invasion in recent textbooks (Rose, 2005, p. 67). The conservative political elites of Japan were not prepared to embrace Japanese war crimes into the national narrative and collective memory. And in constructing this "bright" narrative, it was essential for them to exclude the "dark" chapters of Japan's wartime history and to reinterpret the war in a positive way (Saaler, 2006, p. 25).

History books are key components in the construction and reconstruction of national narratives. Michael Apple argues that school curricula are not neutral knowledge. Selection and organization of knowledge for schools is an ideological process that serves the interests of particular classes and social groups (Apple, 1992, p. 8). Textbooks are often used as powerful tools to promote a certain belief system and legitimize the political regime. Ever since the rise of the nation-state, history textbooks have been used by states as instruments for glorifying the nation, consolidating its national identity, and justifying particular forms of social and political systems (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 10). The teaching of history has always been a controversial issue in modern Japan. Since the Meiji era, the state has been closely involved in the substance and administration of education in Japan. From 1965 to 1997, the manner of official involvement in their development of history textbook content became a subject of heated debate when a series of court cases were filed against the Ministry of Education (MOE) by Ienaga Saburo, history professor and author of text books, over the MOE's demand to revise the term "aggression/invasion" into "advancement" when describing Japanese military action in China in the 1930s (Ienaga, 2001, p. 104). In 1982, when major Japanese newspapers revealed the MOE's demands to the textbook authors to water down descriptions pertaining to Japanese military aggression, China and South Korea immediately responded with official protests to the Japanese government about the factual inaccuracy and demanded that the newly authorized textbooks be revised. International pressure from the Asian neighbors resulted in the Japanese MOE's concession to add criteria for textbook authorization called the "Neighboring Countries Clause," which stipulated that consideration should be given to neighboring countries' perspectives when it came to critical texts referring to the Nanjing Massacre (Rose, 2005, p. 56). These concessions later led

to further counter offensives from neonationalist politicians and groups unhappy with textbook references to "comfort women." In 1997, 107 Diet members born in the postwar period formed the Group of Young Diet Members Concerned with Japan's Future and History Education (*Nihon no zento to rekishi kyoiku o kangaeru wakate giin no kai*) with Abe Shinzo (current prime minister) as its secretary general, to study the issue of comfort women and history education (Nozaki & Selden, 2009).

In the 1990s, the key group at the center of the textbook debate was the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (*Tsukuru-kai*) headed by Professor Fujioka Nobukatsu. He launched a campaign to challenge the "masochistic" view of Japanese history and build a "proud and confident Japan." Fujioka's view is that Japanese history is steeped in self-negation, written "to reflect the combined perspectives of the Asian nations' hatred of Japan, and the national interests of the Western Allies" (Fujioka, 1996, p. 2). In terms of specific issues, it was the mention of "comfort women" in junior high-school textbooks that provoked the group to campaign for a rewriting of Japan's history. The group argues that there was no such thing as comfort women. These women were not forcibly recruited by the army but were prostitutes, and prostitution was not illegal in prewar Japan. The rightist camp argues that the mentioning of "comfort women" in school texts will lead to "the spiritual degeneration of the Japanese state" (Tawara, 1997, p. 2). The group also questions the veracity of the Nanjing Massacre, doubting the accuracy of the estimates of the statistics of the victims. Because there has been inconsistency of these figures, the group claims that perhaps the massacre itself did not happen at all (Fujioka, 1996, p. 22). It must be noted, however, that the authors of this group tried to whitewash the country's colonial actions to such a degree that the conservative textbook examiners at the Ministry of Education were compelled to demand more consideration for neighboring countries (Schneider, 2008, p. 111). The *Tsukuru-kai*'s *New History Textbook* was finally approved in 2001 after a high number of officially demanded revisions. Saaler states, however, that the group has come to a dead end, and its *New History Textbook* will remain a marginal presence in the textbook market (Saaler, 2006). Marginal or not, Japanese textbook revisionism still remains an object of deep contention to China and Korea as the group's rhetoric about purifying the historical record, and restoring Japanese people's pride in their "unsullied and sublime self-hood" continues to resonate with the younger generation in Japan.

The Japanese political and social elites' efforts to reinvigorate nationalism seem to have resonated with a young audience seeking for a stronger collective identity. Kobayashi Yoshinori's *mangas*[6] gained popularity especially among university students and school children. Jin Qiu observes that as many Japanese are eager to

[6]Kobayashi Yoshinori is one of the founding members of *Tsukuru-kai*. His *mangas* have become best sellers in Japan. *On War*, published in 1998, sold over a million. Kobayashi's objective is to "cure" the Japanese youth of their passivity. For Kobayashi, Japan's wars in the 1930s and 1940s were "conventional imperialist wars, not acts of aggression". They were acts of self-defense with the ultimate aim of liberating Asian nations from the imperialist yoke. A war conducted with such

find something tangible that they are able to cling to in order to regain confidence in their country, glorification of the country's imperial tradition may work as a psychological remedy to the public (Qiu, 2006, p. 43). An article in the New York Times demonstrates how some young Japanese today feel about their country's past and restoration of their positive esteem:

> Hironobu Kaneko, a 21-year-old college student, remembers the powerful emotions stirred in him three years ago when he read a best-selling book of cartoons that extolled, rather than denigrated, the history of Japan's former Imperial Army. The thick cartoon book, or *manga*, is called "On War" and celebrates the old army as a noble Asian liberation force rather than a brutal colonizer. It lauds Japan's civilization as the oldest and most refined. And it dismisses as fictions well-documented atrocities, from the 1937 Nanjing massacre to the sexual enslavement of 200,000 so-called comfort women in World War II.
>
> "This cartoon was saying exactly what we were all feeling back then," said Mr. Kaneko... "The manga was addressing matters that many Japanese people have simply been avoiding, like we've been putting a lid over something smelly. I just felt it said things that needed to be said.... That we should not be so masochistic about our history."[7] (Cited in Qiu, 2006, pp. 43–44)

The motivation of the revisionists to deny Japan's war atrocities in China and South Korea and defend the nation's pride and positive identity is represented in the recent exchanges between Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and a nationalist novelist Naoki Hyakuta:

> What is the purpose of teaching the pure and innocent children fabricated lies (by China and South Korea) about "300,000 massacred in Nanjing" or "Forced sexual slavery of the comfort women"?... it only serves to make the children disillusioned by their country, hate their ancestors and become ashamed of their evil conducts. That will lead to an even more horrifying outcome. It will rob them of a sense of pride to live as worthy individuals. (Abe & Hyakuta, 2013)

The complexity of what can be called the social psyche of Japan puzzles and irks its Asian neighbors. Kato Norihiro argues that the Japanese psyche is suffering from schizophrenia induced by the defeat of the war and the occupation. This split personality of Japanese political identity is reflected in how the nation is torn between its reformist "self" that supports Japan's postwar constitution and its universalist values and calls for an apology to Asia and the conservative "self" that wants an "autonomous" constitution and recognizes Japan's war dead as heroes (Kato, 1997). He refers to these conflicting forces in postwar Japan as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde:

> For example, Prime Minister Hosokawa's 1993 apology was followed by a statement by the director of the Defense Agency to the effect that the 1946 "peace Constitution" should be reconsidered, and then in August 1994 Prime Minister Hata Tsutomu's minister of justice expressed his view that the so-called Nanjing massacre was nothing but a "frame-up." (Kato, 1999, p. 73)

---

noble aims as the liberation of Asia could not sustain accusations of war crimes and atrocities (Kobayashi, 1998, p. 37).

[7]Howard W. French, "Japan's Resurgent Far Right Thinkers in History," *New York Times*, March 25, 2001.

Japan's condition of schizophrenia is chronic and can also be observed in the public's reaction to Prime Minister Koizumi's repeated visits to the Yasukuni Shrine which for many years has been at the center of international controversy and the source of dire tension with Japan's Asian neighbors. The heart of the problem is the fact that those honored and worshipped there include 14 convicted Class-A war criminals including Prime Minister Tojo Hideki. Every year, public and private debates surrounding the Yasukuni Shrine intensify in the lead up to August 15. The repeated visits of Japan's prime ministers to the shrine, especially those in recent years by Koizumi Jun'ichiro, have strained Japan's diplomatic ties with China and Korea. Although Koizumi never clarified his motives, he repeatedly claimed that the visits were "a matter of the heart" (*kokoro no mondai*) and a domestic affair that foreign countries should not meddle in.

There are two dimensions to the Yasukuni controversy. First is the constitutional issue of the shrine and its ambiguous relationship to the state. Much of the domestic political debate about the Yasukuni controversy is about the legal status of the shrine (Deans, 2007, p. 272). The domestic debate on Yasukuni is defined by the unresolved paradox of the shrine's ambiguous role as a religious shrine and a state memorial for the war dead in a country where the division of religion and state must be respected.

Many Japanese see the Yasukuni Shrine primarily as a domestic issue, and from this perspective, criticisms from outside Japan—especially the virulent protests and pressure from China and Korea—are seen as undesired meddling in Japan's internal affairs. This attitude was expressed most starkly in Koizumi's repeated arguments that his visits stemmed from his desire to pray for peace so that Japan would never go to war again and that "every country wants to mourn their war dead, and other countries should not interfere in the way of mourning" (Kajimoto, 2005).

China and Korea do not see the Japanese heads of state's visits to the shrine in the same light. For them, the issue is not so much about whether or not these visits contradict the constitutional separation of the state and religion as the revisionist message these visits send. For them it is an issue about Japan's lack of remorse and outright denial of its responsibility for the war of aggression. These visits are seen as a resurgence of the traumatic war history and provocative stirring of the embers of Japanese imperialism and Asian victimhood.

The revisionist narrative of war history is expressed in the Yushukan War Museum on the ground of Yasukuni Shrine. The following statement inside the museum summarizes Yasukuni's historical memory of the war: "The Yasukuni Shrine does not regard the conduct of Japan during World War II as an act of aggression but rather a matter of self defense and a heroic effort to repel European Imperialism." The narrative told in the museum praises militarism and whitewashes the war atrocities committed by the Japanese army. By paying obeisance and patronizing the Yasukuni Shrine, the Japanese prime ministers appear in Chinese people's eyes as officially sanctioning the shrine's public position that Japan was not at fault.

The interpretation of Japan's military past reflected in the Yushukan Museum is not supported by the majority of Japanese. It is met with criticism not only from

abroad but also in Japan itself (Saaler, 2006, p. 100). Seaton further highlights that the opinions of the Japan public inevitably incorporate a balance of the rational and emotional. But consistency is elusive; the emotional (identification as Japanese, family bonds, national pride) sits uncomfortably with the rational (20 million killed across Asia is not something to celebrate) (Breen, 2008, p. 175). The newspaper polls reveal that most Japanese believe that whatever the rights and wrongs of the cause, the state has a duty to remember those who sacrificed their lives for the country. One of the challenges facing any country that has precipitated a war is how to remember and mourn for its dead without glorifying or justifying its aggression. Japan has been struggling with this issue over the past 20 years but has not succeeded in getting the balance right between mourning and glorification.

The cause of China's distrust and threat perception toward Japan arises from Japan's division in its interpretation of the past. Japan's current insecurity and its desire to bolster its national identity and esteem feed into the resurrection of its past glorious memory and, together with its historical amnesia, lead to actions that fuel Chinese popular anxieties and animosity. Yasukuni stands as a symbol of Japan's undigested history—of how Japan chooses to remember or forget the war. The debate is likely to remain unresolved until Japan clarifies its official stance on its collective memory of the past.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways Japanese and Chinese historical memories have been major drivers of conflict and enmification processes in both countries. Based on a sociopsychological framework of the social identity theory, the chapter analyzed the role of historical memory and national identity in the process of negative stereotyping of the "other." It described the dynamics of political elites using history strategically to construct a national identity aimed at guaranteeing internal solidarity and protecting regime interests. Because China and Japan share a lot of conflictual as well as cooperative history, neither is totally free to project its own concept of national identity without provoking interpretative or skeptical questions from the other side. Both China and Japan share common war experiences—one as victim and one as aggressor—this gives rise to very specific kinds of historical memories which play into the present. Confronting these war narratives has led to simmering distrust and stereotyping of the other in both countries. Painful memory stemming from the traumatic experiences of Japanese invasion is deeply engraved in the Chinese psyche and continues to manifest itself in virulent public protests against Japan. The formation of modern China's national identity is deeply underpinned in the "war victimhood" narrative in which Japan plays an integral role as the negative "other." While the Chinese people continue to feel bitter about their suffering and the lack of genuine Japanese atonement for its war guilt, the majority of Japanese people, suffering from historical amnesia, feel frustrated with endless Chinese demands for apology and reparations. The endless reminder of the nation's shameful

past poses a threat to Japanese collective identity and motivates nationalists like Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to revamp the "masochistic" historical memory and build a "proud and confident Japan."

Popular animosity with deep roots in past trauma is not epiphenomenal and cannot be easily disposed of by functional economic and political relationships. Incompatibility based on different perceptions of history, national stereotypes, and rigid worldviews is as capable of triggering transnational conflict as clashes over values, interests, or sovereignty. Indeed these emotional factors can rapidly polarize negotiable disputes. When these factors become embodied in educational curricula, they become deeply entrenched in popular consciousness. The recent territorial dispute surrounding the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, for example, demonstrates how easy it is for popular sentiment to override prudent diplomacy. Decisions made by political leaders in both China and Japan were reflective of strong nationalist public sentiments in both countries and the enduring power of traumatic historical memory and stereotyped reactions to each other.

References

Abe, S., & Hyakuta, N. (2013). *Nihon yo sekai no mannaka de sakihokore* (Japan! Be proud of yourself in the "center of the world"). Tokyo: Wac K.K.

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1988). Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*(4), 317–334.

Apple, M. W. (1992). The text and cultural politics. *Educational Researcher, 21*(7), 4.

Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K. (1991). *The politics of the textbook*. New York: Routledge.

Bar-Tal, D. (1998). The rocky road toward peace: Beliefs on conflict in Israeli textbooks. *Journal of Peace Research, 35*(6), 723–742.

Bell, D. (2006). *Memory, trauma and world politics: Reflections on the relationship between past and present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Breen, J. (2008). *Yasukuni, the war dead and the struggle for Japan's past*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deans, P. (2007). Diminishing returns? Prime Minister Koizumi's visits to the Yasukuni shrine in the context of East Asian nationalisms. *East Asia, 24*(3), 269–294.

Fujioka, N. (1996). *Kingendaishi kyoiku no kaikaku: zendama, akudama shikan o koete* (Reforming modern history education: Beyond the good guy, bad guy history). Tokyo: Meiji Tosho.

Gries, P. H. (2005). Nationalism, indignation and China's Japan policy. *The SAIS Review of International Affairs, 25*(2), 105.

He, Y. (2007a). History, Chinese nationalism and the emerging Sino–Japanese conflict. *Journal of Contemporary China, 16*(50), 1–24.

He, Y. (2007b). Remembering and forgetting the WAR: Elite mythmaking, mass reaction, and Sino-Japanese relations, 1950–2006. *History & Memory, 19*(2), 43–74.

Ienaga, S. (2001). *Japan's past, Japan's future: One historian's odyssey*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Kajimoto, T. (2005). Koizumi wants Asia to stop interfering over Yasukuni. *The Japan Times, May, 17*.

Kato, N. (1997). *Haisengoron* (After the defeat). Tokyo: Kodansha.

Kato, N. (1999). *Haisengoron wo meguru Q&A*. Ronza. 73–81.

Kobayashi, Y. (1998). *Sensoron* (On war). Tokyo: Gentosha.

Mitter, R. (2000). Behind the scenes at the museum: Nationalism, history and memory in the Beijing War of Resistance museum, 1987–1997. *The China Quarterly, 161*(161), 279–293.

Northrup, T. A. (1989). The dynamic of identity of personal and social conflict. In L. Kriesberg, T. A. Northrup, & S. J. Thorson (Eds.), *Intractable conflicts and their transformation*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Nozaki, Y., & Selden, M. (2009). Historical memory, international conflict, and Japanese textbook controversies in three epochs. *Journal of Education Media, Memory, and Society, 1*(1), 117–144.

Qiu, J. (2006). The politics of history and historical memory in China-Japan relations. *Journal of Chinese Political Science, 11*(1), 25–53.

Rose, C. (2005). *Sino-Japanese relations: Facing the past, looking to the future?* (Vol. 8). New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Saaler, S. (2006). *Politics, memory and public opinion: The history textbook controversy and Japanese society* (Vol. 39). München, Germany: Iudicium.

Schneider, C. (2008). The Japanese history textbook controversy in East Asian perspective. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 617*(1), 107–122.

Smith, A. D. (1999). *Myth and memories of the nation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Suzuki, S. (2007). The importance of 'Othering' in China's national identity: Sino-Japanese relations as a stage of identity conflicts. *The Pacific Review, 20*(1), 23–47.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Tawara, Y. (1997). *Kyokasho kogeki no shinso* (The depths of the attack on text books). Tokyo: Gakushu no Tomo.

Tidwell, A. (1998). *Conflict resolved?: A critical assessment of conflict resolution*. London: Pinter.

Volkan, V. D. (1997). *Bloodlines: From ethnic pride to ethnic terrorism*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Volkan, V. D. (2009). Large-group identity: 'Us and them' polarizations in the international arena. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 14*(1), 4–15.

Wang, Z. (2008). National humiliation, history education, and the politics of historical memory: Patriotic education campaign in China. *International Studies Quarterly, 52*(4), 783–806.

Yoda, T., & Harootunian, H. D. (2006). *Japan after Japan: Social and cultural life from the recessionary 1990s to the present*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zhao, S. (1998). A state-led nationalism: The patriot education campaign in post-Tiananmen China. *Communist and Post - Communist Studies, 31*(3), 287.

Chapter 6
Political, Educational and Historiographical Theoretical Perspectives in the History Curriculum

Robert M. Guyver

6.1 Globalisation and History Education Debate

Curriculum reform in history corresponds with an increasing globalisation of knowledge and an unprecedented movement of peoples which have forced a re-examination of traditional notions of nation and nationhood. The chapter reviews curriculum debates globally, with reference to the negotiation between political, historiographical and pedagogical principles and perspectives. One difficulty is the reconciling of 'big picture' history with 'alternative' views (gender-based, indigenous history from below). Another is the problem of diffusing overtly exceptionalist or nationalist history, one solution being to set national history in a wider regional and global framework. To some extent, views of 'civic society' have become the new exceptionalism, but thinking about hybrid and multiple identities corresponds with efforts to fuse the alternative and big picture (or 'great') traditions. Prejudices against content (Bruner, though his thought has developed) need to be challenged by examining what the nature of academic history is and how this can be appropriated by schools. Content as context and the deployment of 'overview and depth study' or 'overview and focus' methods can compensate for unease over a sense of the possible hegemony of content. Theories associated with conversation, dialogue and discourse (Oakeshott, Bakhtin, Vygotsky) show that historiography and pedagogy share some of the same territory. Devices which allow students to get inside an event (Collingwood) especially using discussion based on sources followed by presentations or role-plays offer active routes for students of all ages to mirror the processes undertaken by historians. An autonomous model of the teacher of history working in partnership with a world of historians and history teacher

R.M. Guyver (✉)
University of St Mark and St John Plymouth, Plymouth, UK
e-mail: rguyver@marjon.ac.uk

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_6

educators is preferable to the model of a teacher faithfully ‘delivering’ a national curriculum for political reasons. The use of the Internet for this purpose provides rich opportunities for dialogue between teachers and historians.

6.2 Interrelationships in Struggles over School History

School history is an arena or ‘site’ where a significant interrelationship between politics, historiography and pedagogy is taking place. This involves addressing questions like ‘what makes a good citizen?’; ‘how can this be built into education programmes?’; ‘do students, whatever their ethnic, cultural or national background, all learn the history of the place of residence as a priority or do they learn a range of histories, perhaps related to their cultures and origins?’; ‘is it possible to have both approaches?’; ‘how far should historians be involved with governments and schools in the overall framing, developing and resourcing of history programmes?’; ‘are there criteria to determine the quality or sophistication of the substantive knowledge bases in interpretations of history or narrative versions of the past taught in schools or expected by governments?’; ‘how much independence or degree of choice should schools and teachers have in planning what history is taught and implementing how they teach it?’; ‘how should teachers be trained to teach history?’; ‘is history mainly a process or set of thinking skills that can be taught and learnt independently of the content?’; and ‘can there be a balance of process and content?’ There is a recognition of the role that power relations might play here and a suggestion of the possibility on the one hand of dominance or hegemony and on the other of empowerment.

At the centre of these debates is the problem of the quality of the substantive knowledge which is to be taught in schools especially in the context of the various kinds of pressure that can be brought to bear on it, including political, pedagogical, sociological, cultural and philosophical. The defence of the historical territory may also be seen in many ways as the defence of the middle ground, the *via media*, a check and a balance against political and other ideological extremes.

6.3 Exceptionalism: Old and New Style

One powerful theory which some historiographers see as bad history or as the discredited ‘Whig’ interpretation of history is exceptionalism. It is a strange mix of presentism and distinctiveness, often applied to how a nation sees itself. For example, nation states at the height of their power and influence can see the road to their present state as unique and special. It might be arguable that political maturity (e.g. the events around the Glorious Revolution of 1688/1689) and industrial inventiveness (the Industrial Revolution) *were* achieved either as a first or in a unique way in England or that the European Enlightenment first appeared in Edinburgh and that therefore there might be even be a case for an exceptionalist interpretation. Some English historians like Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859),

G. M. Trevelyan (1876–1962) and Winston Churchill (1874–1965) wrote very openly in this triumphalist tradition. Theirs can be defined as examples of the old Whig exceptionalism. However, more recently exceptionalism has been revised or deconstructed in different ways and for different purposes. For example, English historians Quentin Skinner (1978, 1998), Jonathan (J.C.D.) Clark (2003) and Simon Schama (2013) have sought to identify and track influential political trends. Skinner in his two-volume seminal work searches for the origins of modern political thought, liberalism and constitutionalism. Skinner traces the 'ideal of liberty' and the modern concept of the state to the city states of Northern Italy from the middle of the twelfth century. Clark demonstrates how English exceptionalism was passed like a relay runner's baton to the 13 American colonies whose colonial revolt was the continuation of a political revolution started in England in the seventeenth century and concerned the relationship between parliament, monarch and religion. Schama in an address to a group of teachers stated that at the heart of the story, Britain's 'glory' consisted of 'argument, dissent – the freedom to dispute ... division ... the celebration of division ... beginning with Magna Carta'.

Three recent works (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Fukuyama, 2011, 2014) approach exceptionalism in a different way, introducing the concepts of political and economic stability as bellwether criteria for national success. Each of these three works stresses the links between institutions and stability. Fukuyama examines the interrelationships between economic growth, social mobilisation, democracy and/or accountability, the rule of law and state building. He also looks at the role of ideas and ideology in providing legitimacy for related developments. Acemoglu and Robinson similarly identify the importance of inclusive rather than extractive institutions and social mobilisation (the freedom and ability of different groups to be socially and economically mobile) in determining whether nations succeed or fail. Both Fukuyama and Acemoglu and Robinson ironically stress the events in England in 1688/1689 as a significant turning point in terms of the rule of law, making the monarchy accountable and creating institutions that would promote economic growth.

The genre of recognising different kinds of exceptionalisms as explanatory frameworks has been pursued by historians associated with New Zealand, John (J.G.A.) Pocock (1999, 2005), Miles Fairburn (in Ballantyne & Moloughney, 2006) and James Belich (2009). Miles Fairburn seeks to define aspects of New Zealand's exceptionalism as a mix of factors that challenge old notions of British allegiance and stress the influence of America. Pocock (2005) moves across the world applying New World Indigenous concepts to Old World politics. He applies the Maori term *tangata whenua*, 'the people of the land' as original first nation settlers, to the Indigenous population of Ireland as an explanation of conflict. He also uses the work of Gibbon to exemplify an exceptional narrative of civil society that illustrates a political, social, literary, philosophical and economic shift associated with what has come to be known as the Enlightenment:

> There also appeared at this stage an implicit debate over the relative importance of the forces making for modernity about 1500 – navigation, printing, gunpowder and the revival of letters – and those operating about 1700: standing army and public credit, commerce

> and the new philosophy. It was the latter set of forces that constituted 'Enlightenment', and there the *telos* of the "Enlightened narrative", though whether that narrative reached them as its endpoint was another matter.
>
> The narrative culminated in civil government, in the establishment of states capable of controlling religion and conducting their own affairs; and in civil society, meaning the formation of a culture of enlightened manners based upon commerce, in which Europeans could live without regard to theological dispute and ecclesiastical division, if not to religion itself. There was consequently a historiography of state in which the older and newer forms of historical narrative interacted most vitally; a historiography of manners and sociability, merging into Scottish jurisprudence and conjectural history at one of its extremes; and, least visible of the three but never entirely eliminable, a historiography of religion and philosophy, designed to promote the reconciliation of religion with sociability. In the interactions between these three, we may also trace the interactions between narrative, erudition and philosophical history. All patterns led towards a condition of Enlightened modernity and constituted 'the Enlightened narrative' as a modern history. (Pocock, 1999, p. 370)

There are echoes here of Linda Colley (1992, 2005) who equates the (exceptional) global rise of Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a mix of successful war waging (initially mainly against the French), commerce and trade. She also sees elements of British Protestantism and politics as providing (also exceptional) templates for the foundation of new societies that proved to be more effective than the Catholic absolutism of *Ancien Régime* France. This is a theme that is developed by Jonathan Clark, who is critical of Linda Colley (Clark, 2003, pp. 69–74). Clark uses the word 'popery' to describe 'a heady cocktail of power, luxury, uniformity, universal monarchy and pride' which he applies to a kind of power, and this does not relate exclusively to the French. He claims that Colley's interpretation of Britishness in its identity context as 'false consciousness' is not borne out within the chronological timeframe she proposes.

The third of the New Zealand historians (bearing in mind that Pocock was not born in New Zealand but lived there before moving to the USA) is James Belich who has recently produced a significant work of 'big picture' history in which there is a synthesis of American and British colonial history to find common ground in the experience of the West as frontier. He sees Canada, New Zealand and Australia as British 'Wests' but also as part of a 'Settler Revolution' alongside 'a resonant interaction between the American, French and Industrial Revolutions' (p. 9). This is a somewhat different interpretation to Jonathan Clark's (1994) belief in the continuation of the British political struggle in America following the events of the seventeenth century and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688/9, and Colley's noting of the sharp difference between the English and continental systems, especially in the development of a political class that could operate with flexibility outside the control of a restrictive monarchy. It could be argued that the societies that emerged became remarkable and indeed exceptional and ties in with Pocock's notion of sociability as a feature of the enlightened narrative of civic society that opposition parties could thrive as critical political forces. This would be a feature that would distinguish 'open' from 'closed' societies and must be regarded as in many ways either distinctive or exceptional especially in contrast to societies over the last 200 years where these conditions and the press freedoms that run alongside them have

not been able to thrive. Of course there are shades of grey here, where different degrees of freedom are applied to political oppositions.

There are several reasons for regarding the history of the country of residence as exceptional, and one of the most persuasive of these is that this situated history will have influenced the way that country sees citizenship, whether it is the particularly British, Australian, American, Chinese, Russian or even Iranian version of this. There will be emotional aspects to the memories that this kind of history will evoke, often around the experience or memory of war sometimes or indeed usually involving relationships with other nations or groups.

There are however increasing numbers of calls for a non-national, extra-national or even global concept of citizenship to suffuse or underpin the school curriculum. In England, New Zealand, Canada and the United States (as well as many other places), history in schools is taught either alongside citizenship or integrated with it in a social studies programme. There can be an assumption, which is problematic, that there is a linear narrative leading from a distant point in the past direct to today's society with its values. In 2006 both Gordon Brown (then Chancellor of the Exchequer in the UK) and John Howard (then Prime Minister of Australia) made statements linking current aspects of citizenship of civic society to historical developments, especially in the light of military or 'terrorist' threats to that civic society from without or within. Seeing this from a very different viewpoint and drawing on the work of Kymlicka (in Ivison, Paton, & Sanders, 2000), Makere Stewart-Harawira (2005, p. 245) makes a case for a recognition of a federated plurality of minority nationalisms and multicultural cosmopolitanism within and beyond state boundaries as a challenge to the view that 'the US model of liberal democracy is the single acceptable political and economic model for the world'. This Stewart-Harawira model could be applied to Spain where seventeen autonomous communities coexist within a larger internal national unit and also within a transnational external polity, the European Union, but are currently subject to considerable pressures for political and economic change.

In the Fabian Society 'Britishness Conference' in January 2006, there was a tension noted between peoples, places and histories especially in the field of identity. For example, was it possible to be of Pakistani origin and Islamic but also to be British and adhere to British values?

> Take also the unity of the United Kingdom and its component parts. While we have always been a country of different nations and thus of plural identities a Welshman can be Welsh and British, just as a Cornishman or woman is Cornish, English and British – and may be Muslim, Pakistani or Afro-Caribbean, Cornish, English and British – there is always a risk that, when people are insecure, they retreat into more exclusive identities rooted in 19th century conceptions of blood, race and territory – when instead, we the British people should be able to gain great strength from celebrating a British identity which is bigger than the sum of its parts and a union that is strong because of the values we share and because of the way these values are expressed through our history and our institutions. (Brown, 2006)

Indeed, the notion of hybrid or multiple identities was much discussed. The role of history teaching or the history curriculum in resolving some of these tensions was a key part of the conference. Slavery, the slave trade, immigration, the British

Empire and Commonwealth were all discussed. Paul Gilroy (1993) provided an Afro-Caribbean perspective on the African *diaspora* as an Atlantic phenomenon and the Empire as something that came to Britain in all its ethnic multiplicity after the Second World War. Gilroy's work in the context of identity was much admired by the late Raphael Samuel (see Samuel, 1990/2003). Indeed Gilroy gives a somewhat different view of modernity and the Enlightenment to Pocock's, but does not give up on the possibility of a mix of postmodern and Enlightenment ideas providing some solutions to the aftermath of European hegemony (1993, pp. 46–58). In his chapter on Du Bois, Gilroy refers to the exceptionalisms of African-American perspectives. The titles and subtitles here are significant: chapter 4 of *The Black Atlantic* is 'Cheer the Weary Traveller': W.E.B. Du Bois, Germany, and the 'Politics of (Dis)placement' (111–145). Gilroy refers to the ground-breaking work of Du Bois in his (Gilroy's) *The Souls of Black Folk* (1989):

> *The Souls* was the first place where a diasporic, global perspective on the politics of racism and its overcoming interrupted the smooth flow of African-American exceptionalisms .... Instead of this one-way traffic, a systematic account of the interconnections between Africa, Europe, and the Americas emerged slowly to complicate the exceptionalist narrative of black suffering and self-emancipation in the United States. (pp. 120–121)

This is an example of alternative history within the big picture.

6.4 Guilt, Truth and Reconciliation Beyond Neoconservative and Neo-declinist Discourses

Nevertheless, despite all of the controversies associated with colonisation and empire, at the Fabian Society conference and in the press before and after, there was a general consensus that a study of the origins and development of the British Empire and its transformation into the Commonwealth should be part of the curriculum. This was seen as desirable in itself and not associated with a particular political interpretation.

In Australia John Howard (Liberal-National Prime Minister 1996–2007) invoked the Enlightenment and the work of Keith Windschuttle in attempts to link a sense of Australian identity with movements in European history. Windschuttle's work is discussed in detail by Macintyre (in Macintyre & Clark 2004) and found to be wanting in a sense of empathy with the suffering of Australia's Indigenous peoples. But Windschuttle clearly wished to write in the genre of a certain kind of interpretation of Australia's past that echoed Howard's repudiation of what came to be known as 'black armband' history. In a sense this backfired on John Howard when his plans to have a very detailed programme of Australian history made compulsory for Year 9 and Year 10 in all Australian schools were abandoned by the Kevin Rudd's Labour Government after Howard lost both overall power and his parliamentary seat in 2006.

The 'black armband' tag was given by neoconservatives to historians who emphasised responsibility for the poor treatment of Indigenous peoples in Australia

over the years. This was seen to be unfortunate against what the Howard Government saw as the success of their form of civic society, although if civic society embraces the notion of aspects of democratic inclusion and human rights relating to Indigenous peoples, then Australian civic society like many others around the world is still experiencing a learning curve around the process of renegotiation. In 2009 a fresh set of history curriculum proposals, in which university historians (and significantly Professor Stuart Macintyre) took a strong lead, placed history from the kindergarten to the senior school in a much wider global framework, including other histories alongside that of Australia. Despite all criticisms of him, John Howard raised the profile of school history and started and sustained a national debate. He also facilitated a pan-Australian report on the state of play in history teaching in each state, a document that was carried forward by his successors. Associate Professor Tony Taylor from Monash University, Melbourne (with Dr Anna Clark), produced in 2006 an *Overview of the Teaching and Learning of Australian History in Schools* which is a referenced comparative study of what had been taught in every part of Australia and a feasibility study of how these different approaches could be synthesised. Dr Anna Clark as joint overall author had also written a chapter on history in schools *The History Wars* (2004), written with Stuart Macintyre.

Guilt over treatment of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people corresponds with readjustments around the world to past wrongs, including the repositioning over post-imperial angst in Britain. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa (set up in 1995, reporting in 1998) was followed by changes in the South African history curriculum (2002 for grades R–9, where history is within a Social Sciences setting; 2008 for grades 10–12, where history is seen as a separate subject).

Two parallel sets of events were happening at the time of the history or culture war debates in the USA. In the early to mid-1990s, a set of National Standards for history teaching was being written by a team of academics based at the University of California, Los Angeles. These standards were never going to be federal because of the way school curricula worked in the USA, with each state adopting its own curriculum. The proposed standards were being debated and met with opposition from mainly neoconservative groups, led by Lynne Cheney the wife of the future vice president, Dick Cheney. Some of the main protagonists of the National Standard movement summarised their experiences (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). It is significant however that now several states have adopted the National Standards (developing structures from their UCLA website). The history element of the Michigan Social Studies programme is a well-developed example of this.

This mirrors experiences earlier in England between Mrs Thatcher's government and the Department of Education and Science (DES) National Curriculum History Working Group (HWG) (this curriculum was written between 1989 and 1990) and echoes many aspects of the later experience in Australia under John Howard. Robert Phillips' (1998) evaluation of this experience is an award winning analysis of the issues at stake and the compromises reached. Mrs Thatcher's own autobiography (1993) records her views of the work of HWG and how she

saw history. Similarly her Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, wrote about his involvement (1993). Also the civil servant appointed (temporarily) to deal with the curriculum as it developed, Duncan Graham, wrote about the experience from the inside (Graham & Tytler, 1993). There were broadly three aspects to the problem: the place of national history in the curriculum (and the balance of this with other kinds of history), the nature of the national history (was it supportive of or detrimental to a view of the greatness of the nation?) and the way history was taught and learnt in schools. In many ways the debates were about the nature of the knowledge bases brought to the curriculum but underpinned by contested visions of the nature of citizenship. The Thatcher dimension is related to how she saw a nation in decline with a loss of national self-esteem.

This was not merely a conservative obsession. In his 'Britishness' address in 2004, Gordon Brown, then the New Labour [sic] Chancellor of the Exchequer, cited several authors who had described national decline, including Neil Acherson, Tom Nairn, Ferdinand Mount and Simon Heffer. Politicians like the neoconservatives in Australia and the USA saw part of their mission as restoring national self-confidence, though the circumstances were difficult especially after September 11, 2001, and the military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, operations which have been heavily criticised, though it is too early to judge whether the attempts to introduce a particularly Western form of civil society, which worked in many (and mostly Anglophone) Commonwealth countries after independence, will have worked in Iraq and Afghanistan. In a sense what is happening in the Middle East is part of the narrative that schools are tapping into and seeking to understand, including how, why and in what way certain forms of society have developed, as well how and why conflicts arise and at the higher stages what part ideologies play in these interrelationships.

6.5 Civic and Ethnic Ideologies: Inclusion, Attachment and Bridging Narratives in Conflict Situations

The role of civic and ethnic dimensions in conflict has been examined by Michael Ignatieff (1993), who identifies two different kinds of nationalism, ethnic and civic. According to Ignatieff, where the ethnic form is prevalent, there is usually conflict, although Fukuyama (2014), giving examples from African conflicts, demonstrates how some political leaders have deliberately manipulated ethnic difference to enhance their own power bases. Ignatieff stresses that recent history has been (partly anyway) about the inclusion of previously excluded groups like women and ethnic minorities in civic projects that give them equal rights. This would certainly be true in Australia and New Zealand as well as many other countries engaged in debates about the history curriculum. One of the most intractable problems in the world today is the relationship between Israel and its Palestinian neighbours, a situation to which the history teachers of both 'communities' have recently been bringing the light of dialogue by exchanging insights into each other's histories.

Reporting on a dialogic project with the potential to contribute to reconciliation, Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On outline and exemplify efforts to write and appreciate parallel narratives of the same years, seen from Palestinian and Israeli perspectives. The difficulties of sustaining this project during times of conflict were considerable, but the procedural rules and rules about content (Adwan & Bar-On in Cajani & Ross, 2005, pp. 151–152, see below) have strong potential currency for other fraught situations. Interestingly, a bridging narrative although considered was delayed as the time was not thought to be ripe for this. The Palestinian narrative included a critical awareness of the role played by colonial powers, especially Britain and France, whereas the Israeli narrative saw the intervention of colonial powers and the Balfour Declaration of 1917 much more positively in the context of a strong link between anti-Semitism and the birth of Zionism.

These were the rules agreed by the contributing groups

Procedural Rules

1. Do not interrupt anyone from talking for as long as she/he wishes.
2. Do not criticise or deny a narrative from the other side.
3. Do not ask or put pressure to people to change the other's narrative.
4. Avoid using insensitive terms or difficult body language.
5. Questions should ask for explanations of dates, events or people.
6. Everyone must attend the full meetings punctually.

Rules About the Content

1. Information should be at a level suitable for the pupils.
2. The language used in the narrative should be suitable for the pupils.
3. Each narrative should be no more than twenty pages, including maps and illustrations.
4. Each narrative should include a glossary that defines terms, places and individuals.
5. Narratives should be followed by questions or dilemmas, so that pupils are asked to think and to develop opinions.
6. All information that is quoted should be documented and referenced.
   (See also a review of this work in Guyver, 2008.)

These rules touch on Oakeshottian principles of conversation where 'different universes of discourse meet, acknowledge each other and enjoy an oblique relationship which neither requires nor forecasts their being assimilated to one another' (Oakeshott, 1991, p. 490; this is discussed further below). However, the difficulties of maintaining dialogue in a political atmosphere of distrust where the open, liberal, self-critical period of post-Zionism was followed by an uncompromising neo-Zionism after the beginning of the Second Intifada in September 2000 and reinforced by the events of September 11, 2001, are analysed fully by Ilan Pappe (2014).

Thus, it seems that in many places a history curriculum reflects a more inclusive view of what citizenship is, and the shapes of many history curricula mark a

change from a monocultural nationalistic view of history to a broader understanding not only of the 'home' nation but of a set of histories set in a much wider and criss-crossing international contextual field where there are identifiable historical patterns of exchange. In this there is an almost organic growth corresponding to aspects of a new kind of attachment theory. In some places bridging narratives between neighbour states are being attempted as in the example above. Within new structures, for example, in nations that formed part of the old Soviet Union, a *diaspora* of the (old nation) Russian populations has taken place with cultural adjustments and appropriations, especially among young people. These have been analysed with insight by Hilary Pilkington (1998). Older generations of Russians who have found themselves as Russian-speaking minorities in the reconstituted former Soviet satellite states have however had their citizenship rights undermined by their inability to speak the newly dominant language. This perception of a sidelined rather than included culture, although complicated by other political factors, has contributed to the recent conflict in Ukraine.

It would probably be too much to expect all governments to agree with Leonie Sandercock to have the nation seen as 'a space of travelling cultures and peoples with varying degrees and geographies of attachment', though most would concur with her that there has been a rise in the political aspirations of Indigenous peoples. Sandercock's work has much in common with that of Stewart-Harawira in this search for a hybrid political solution to problems of diversity in citizenship:

> The crucial implication of this discussion is that in order to enable all citizens, regardless of "race" or ethnicity or any other cultural criteria, to become equal members of the nation and contribute to an evolving national identity, "the ethnic moorings of national belonging need to be exposed and replaced by criteria that have nothing to do with whiteness" (Amin, 2002, p. 22). Or as Gilroy (2000, p. 328) puts it, "the racial ontology of sovereign territory" needs to be recognized and contested. This requires an imagination that conceives the nation as a space of travelling cultures and peoples with varying degrees and geographies of attachment. Such a move must insist that race and ethnicity are taken out of the definition of national identity and national belonging "and replaced by ideals of citizenship, democracy and political community". (Amin, 2002, p. 23; Sandercock, 2003, p. 100)

6.6 The Need for Defining the Boundaries of Knowledge Base Theory and the Theory's Use as Providing a Neutral Academic Space

A useful set of perspectives which can be used as a foundation for metapolitical discussions about content, skills, concepts and teaching methods can broadly be described as 'knowledge base theory'. The work of English philosopher Gilbert Ryle on 'knowing how' and 'knowing that' was developed in education by Joseph Schwab who gave these two forms the titles of 'syntactic' and 'substantive' knowledge. In the 1980s the educationalist Lee Shulman (1986) invented the catch-all term 'pedagogical content knowledge' which included both substantive and syntactic knowledge and (teachers') beliefs about the subject as well as knowledge

about many aspects of teaching. Rosie Turner-Bisset was to develop Shulman's list to include two different kinds of knowledge about learners (cognitive and empirical, broadly how children learn and how children and their learning can be managed).

There still seems to be a great deal of confusion in defining the boundaries between syntactic and substantive knowledge, especially around the parameters of concepts. A rule of thumb which is useful is to accept substantive knowledge as a set of examples of actual history that happened and has been recorded and syntactic knowledge as a set of organising principles or organising concepts like 'causes and consequences' or 'change and continuity' or 'evidentiality'. The causes and consequences of an actual event like the Spanish Armada of 1588 are examples of substantive knowledge, but the general principle of applying questions related to causes and consequences is an example of syntactic knowledge.

Devisers of history curricula around the world have either actively or unwittingly used these structures in the way curricula have been presented in official documents, because history programmes are usually divided into two sections: the principles or procedures (syntactic knowledge) and the content units (defined in terms of start and end dates or in named topics or themes). For example, the proposed history curriculum in Australia (May 2009) had these as a set of principles: historical significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, historical empathy and moral judgement, contestation and contestability, and problem-solving. There are also narrative structures which again must fall into the area of syntactic knowledge but may in a sense, and confusingly, be examples of substantive concepts. Denis Shemilt's (2000 in Stearns et al.) analysis of narratives is also helpful in the context of contested histories by moving students from single to multiple and then interconnected narratives. He recommends that curriculum structures move through four phases: a chronologically ordered past, coherent historical narratives, multidimensional narratives and polythetic narrative frameworks (showing shared characteristics). Other simple structures have been brought to bear on curricula, such as the idea of overview and depth study where a broad chronological overview is followed by a choice of focus where a topic within the overview is studied (taught, learnt) in depth. This was a structure promoted by the Schools History Project in England in the 1970s.

What has been difficult in educational debate has been the engagement with a mindset that prefers and promotes syntactic knowledge as intellectually, morally and pedagogically superior to substantive knowledge, mainly because syntactic knowledge can be seen as a set of learning principles that can be applied to the discovery by a student of any new knowledge. Ready-made substantive knowledge seems to be always someone else's and a 'product'. Famously, and apparently without controversy, Jerome Bruner wrote '... any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development' (Bruner, 1960, p. 13). But subsequently the implications of this theory were developed:

> Finally, a theory of instruction seeks to take account of the fact that a curriculum reflects not only the nature of knowledge itself but also the nature of the knower and of the knowledge-getting process. It is the enterprise *par excellence* where the line between subject matter and method grows necessarily indistinct. A body of knowledge, enshrined in a university faculty

> and embodied in a series of authoritative volumes, is the result of much prior intellectual activity. To instruct someone in these disciplines is not a matter of getting him to commit results to mind. Rather, it is to teach him to participate in the process that makes possible the establishment of knowledge. We teach a subject not to produce little living libraries on that subject, but rather to get a student to think mathematically for himself, to consider matters as an historian does, to take part in the process of knowledge-getting. Knowing is a process, not a product. (Bruner, 1966, p. 72)

The spiral curriculum theory was also identified by David Ausubel in 1968, as having a strong connection with a discovery-based orientation in teaching and learning. Bruner's fear seems to be that knowledge without personal engagement is absolutist, holding out no opportunity for ownership, and that the transmission of knowledge in a more formal manner smacks of authoritarianism and indoctrination. In the second edition of *The Process of Education* in 1977, Bruner himself rehearses some reasons why certain groups, including an African society, had been uneasy about his theory. Bruner's thinking in 1996 comes closer to a pluralistic view of substantive knowledge where historians (in the case of history, though Bruner is not writing specifically about history) interact in an ongoing debate: 'Knowledge is what is shared within discourse, within a "textual" community (Stock, 1983)' (Bruner, 1996, p. 57). Nevertheless, and with some justification, the syntactic knowledge template is seen as a check and balance restraining over-authoritarianism in teaching through the mere transmission of hegemonic knowledge.

Bruner also omits to state explicitly any recognition of what Michael Oakeshott (1965) recognised as a key factor in teaching and learning: the development of powers of judgement or the critical faculty (see also DES, 1990, as one of the purposes of history teaching and learning). Bruner does however almost imply that criticality and judgement are important because his use of the mocking sobriquet, 'little living libraries', encapsulates the notion of memorisation and regurgitation without intellectual engagement. However, if Bruner indeed meant that children should examine *only* their own processes and products, then they would be denied access to the thoughts and narratives of others. Ausubel included this factor in his critique of aspects of learning by discovery:

> Within each generation, therefore, we can only expect a given individual to internalise meaningfully a reasonable fragment of the total fabric of the culture that is expounded to him by the various educational agencies. If we are at all concerned with the breadth of his knowledge, we cannot possibly expect him to discover everything he is expected to know. The obligation of going beyond one's cultural heritage and contributing something new is an obligation that applies to an entire generation, not to each of its individual members. (Ausubel, 1968, p. 146)

There are two missing elements then in Bruner's original statement about knowing. One is the accessibility of a generation to its past culture (for cultural and educational reasons), and the other is the sense that syntactic understanding itself might depend on substantive frameworks (stories, narratives, descriptions or even 'facts'). The metaphorical teeth of pupils' critical faculties need something more than their own processes and products on which to bite. With a dual approach to the

development of children's substantive and syntactic knowledge may be enhanced and enriched in tandem.

Of course Bruner's very use of the word 'product' in the 1966 work has a feel of the caricature and straw man about it. As a description of the kind of academic historical content or material that can be used in schools, it is incomplete. Bruner reflected John Dewey's reluctance to present school pupils with a finished product without any sense of how it was assembled. Nevertheless, the tool kits of both historians and history teachers must consist of a number of products. Sources, whether documentary, artefactual, pictorial (including photographs and film) or environmental (building or ruins, landscapes), *are* products. The accumulated and living 'body' of work of historians is a product or series of products. A teacher, or in the case of a university, a tutor, will provide opportunities to enable interaction with products using the growing syntactic knowledge of the child, pupil or student.

The framework within which that understanding will develop is a contextual frame. Skills and concepts cannot be developed in a vacuum. Historical contexts require a certain amount of explanation and may need the support of chronological devices like timelines or simple sequential sets of dates to help. The teacher can thus provide some scaffolding. It has been the practice of some authors to interchange the word 'substantive' with 'propositional'. Peter Rogers, in a work that has in its time been regarded as seminal (1979), uses the phrase 'propositional' knowledge and stresses the importance of the teacher's role as a provider of a contextual frame of reference. This semi-philosophical word implies cautionary warnings about the provisional and tentative nature of historical evidence and of claims to historical certainty and shows how the substantive and syntactic knowledge bases are closely and dynamically interrelated. Verification can be through scholarly engagement where the body of supportive scholarly work can give credence to certain interpretations which become dominant in their lifetimes, maybe until further evidence is found.

Thus, in order to deconstruct substantive knowledge, we have three key words: propositional, contextual and scholarly. Indeed, according to Moynihan, history is 'an ongoing conversation that yields not final truths but an endless succession of discoveries that change our understanding not only of the past but of ourselves and of the times in which we live' (Moynihan (1995, p. 311) cited in Nash et al., (1997, p. 277)).

6.7 Horizontal and Vertical Discourses

Therefore, the word product (where this discussion began) has about it the sense of something 'fixed' which both historiography and educational theory can challenge. The use of discourse (and some aspects of discourse theory) offers a way to fuse the horizons of the two perspectives in the Gadamerian sense. Basil Bernstein wrote about vertical and horizontal discourses, but this template can be borrowed and

applied to the way historiography can relate to educational theory in the relationship between academic and school history. This was used as part of the theoretical framework of Carol Bertram's doctoral study (2008). She sees the curriculum consisting of a number of fields where initially the discourse is 'produced' by academic historians and then undergoes a series of successive recontextualisations: by the state in partnership with the local authority, by teacher educators and by teachers.

The vertical discourse can be defined as both an aspirational and a practical or real structure. It can be imagined, more as an archetype than as an accessible route, as a kind of a spiral staircase within any historical topic, with sources and published work of increasing difficulty or sophistication corresponding with increasingly high stages reached in the ascending of the staircase. Conversations happen in rooms at horizontal levels at various stages off the staircase. The horizontal discourse is between teachers as peers recontextualising or transforming the new knowledge or the new ideas for teaching.

There are many flaws in my interpretation of this model, the main one being that it implies that pedagogy has no verticality in its discourse, which it does, naturally. Horizontality can well describe the discourse necessary among teachers and between teachers and their classes, to address the needs of pupils at particular stages and the corresponding need to cater for their perceptions through the use of particular language modes, triggers or metaphors. Bringing higher expectations to teaching involves the interaction of horizontal and vertical discourses because the teacher is the catalyst at the intersection of these two discourses. Undergraduates can also be described in terms of horizontality and their needs too have to be addressed by university tutors who have access to the vertical staircase and the rooms or dialogic spaces 'higher up' in the metaphorical building. There are in effect (or can be) two parallel spiral staircases joined horizontally at points of dialogue between those who 'do' pure history and those who teach it (or specialise in how it can be taught) to students at all levels.

The very act and indeed art of conversation, so ably and imaginatively described and analysed in Michael Oakeshott's classic, *The voice of poetry in the conversation of mankind* (1959), provides an insight and in many ways a solution to two key problems in the relationship between curriculum history and university or academic history. School history will have some difficulty in thriving where there are two polarised views of a country's history such as that described by Professor Stuart Macintyre and Dr Anna Clark in *The History Wars* (2004). The 'black armband' and the 'whitewash' versions of Australian history seem diametrically opposed. However, if there is a bridging narrative where the rules – or better, art – of conversation apply, there is or might be some hope. When Bruner was railing against history or historical knowledge as a product, what he probably meant was this process described by Oakeshott (1991, p. 492): '. . . the voice appears as a body of conclusions reached (dogmata), and thus, becoming eristic, loses its conversability'. Eristic implies that the main purpose of the debater is to win rather than reach the truth (*Gk*: *erizein* 'to wrangle', from *eris* 'strife'). What then happens

in a conversation that can provide a clue? It is necessary to turn again to Michael Oakeshott (1991, p. 490):

> And voices which speak in conversation do not compose a hierarchy. Conversation is not an enterprise designed to yield an extrinsic profit, a contest where a winner gets a prize, nor is it an activity of exegesis; it is an unrehearsed intellectual adventure. It is with conversation as with gambling, its significance lies neither in winning nor in losing, but in wagering. Properly speaking, it is impossible in the absence of a diversity of voices: in it different universes of discourse meet, acknowledge each other and enjoy an oblique relationship which neither requires nor forecasts their being assimilated to one another. (Oakeshott, 1991, p. 490)

Oakeshott (1991) continues to develop the theme of mutual respect and touches on the true meaning of exceptionalism which he exemplifies as *superbia* in conversation in this passage:

> For each voice is prone to *superbia*, that is, an exclusive concern with its own utterance, which may result in its identifying the conversation with itself and its speaking as if it were speaking only to itself. And when this happens, barbarism may be observed to have supervened. (Oakeshott, 1991, p. 492)

The act of listening and recognising the voices of others involves getting inside events and seeing them from the inside.

6.8 The 'Great' (or 'Big Picture') and 'Alternative' Traditions

Husbands, Kitson and Pendry (2003) helpfully describe two traditions of content construction and to some extent curriculum design in history teaching. These are the 'great' and 'alternative' traditions. The 'great' tradition corresponds with a nationalistic and possibly Whig tradition where great events and great lives are celebrated. This would seem to indicate a right-of-centre political approach, though 'great' could be replaced by 'big' as in 'big picture' where significant developments are studied. The depoliticised concept of 'significance' is being used increasingly across the world in curriculum documentation, recent examples of which are [England's] new National Curriculum (Department for Education, 2013), the New Zealand social science curriculum and the proposed Australian history curriculum. 'Civic' society, which promises equality before the law of all citizens, whatever ethnicity, is associated with discussions about the meaning of a great society.

The 'alternative' tradition corresponds, partly anyway, with the concerns of what has become known as the New History (see Rogers, 1979) and implies increased focus on social history and on lower status socio-economic groups as well as the less visible, for example, women at certain times in history. It would seem patronising to include Indigenous groups in the category of 'alternative', but their invisibility within some 'great' tradition histories would justify the pressure brought to bear for increasing inclusion of their histories, difficult though they may be to access with

sometimes protected oral histories, different concepts of historical time and in many cases different ontologies. Makere Stewart-Harawira (2005) writes with insight on Indigenous perceptions of history. In Chap. 1, entitled 'Of Order and Being: Towards an Indigenous Global Ontology', she writes on a theme of spiralling, recommending a development of the philosophies of Schleiermacher and Gadamer, going from their 'circle' of understanding to a 'double-helix' model of a spiral of understanding within a template of critical hermeneutics. She writes:

> It is in this ability to bring together all aspects of experience and understanding and to interpret them within a comprehension of the whole and the placement of the self within rather than without, that the transformative potential of critical hermeneutics is most potent. (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 49)

The work of two Russian writers, Lev Vygotsky and Mikhail Bakhtin, has been influential in the English educational system. They have both undoubtedly unwittingly (Vygotsky died in 1934 and Bakhtin in 1975) contributed to what has become an increased interest in 'dialogic learning', a cause taken up by one of England's leading educationalists, Robin Alexander. Vygotsky's 'social constructivism' combined with Bakhtin's doctrines of unfinalisability (of the self or of people or of interpretations of events) and polyphony, which recognises the distinctiveness of a plurality of voices, can help in seeking to construct ways of teaching history that allow dialogue and interpretation to take place. Bakhtin's (1929, 1941) (Bakhtin in Holquist, 1981) work on voices draws on the writings of Dostoyevsky and Rabelais and develops the notion of carnival. This is relevant to history and history teaching because it dwells both on individual voices and developing a critique around how they react with each other. Related to this is his interest in the relationship between text and context, an example of how individual or alternative voices in texts can be seen in the bigger or 'greater' picture (in the Husbands, Kitson and Pendry sense of 'alternative' and 'great' traditions). Vygotsky's key theory was the zone of proximal development in which children can have learning thresholds raised in discussions which push the boundaries of individual abilities through interaction with significant others, a peer or a teacher or another adult. Various ways of developing the Vygotskian aspects of discussion (including role-play) were later interpreted by Hedegaard, 1988 (in Lave and Wenger, 1991) as ways for children to convert previously stagnant knowledge into active and empowering understanding, to internalise it and to take ownership of it.

The work of Collingwood (1946) on 'getting inside the event' and on 'getting inside the minds of historical characters' is particularly useful when organising work around understanding the role of different characters in an historical situation, like Boudicca's Rebellion (60/61 CE). Using the work of Tacitus (c.100), Dio Cassius (c150–200) and some later writers like Michael Wood (1981/2005) and Peter and Dan Snow (2004), the story can be subdivided into four parts so that four groups can research their own part of the story, discuss it and work out a presentation. Each 'voice' can be explored, particularly from inside the Roman or Iceni camps. It helps if the teacher knows the story and can put the whole event into an overview before each of the four groups studies their own part of it in depth (see Guyver, 2006).

The development of programmes for the US National Standards for History through the UCLA website is an interesting and promising model. Websites could be created for teachers to which historians can contribute, supplying information about recent work, so that teachers have access to up-to-date scholarship and research. This would enable teachers to be part of the scholarly debates and to maintain a degree of autonomy that would act as a counterbalance to the politicisation of the history curriculum by excesses of exceptionalism or nationalism.

6.9 Evaluation

Curriculum reform in history corresponds with an increasing globalisation of knowledge and an unprecedented movement of peoples which have forced a re-examination of traditional notions of nation and nationhood. Views of citizenship that are based on exceptionalist historical interpretations are being challenged, partly because of differing degrees of attachment to the nation. However, historians see exceptionalism as having more than one meaning; indeed, it can be seen as a useful tool for historical analysis (Clark, 2003; Fairburn, 2006; Gilroy, 1993; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). The very act of unregulated inclusion (of all peoples and all histories) is seen as problematic because it might diminish the distinctiveness of a nation's trajectory (Windschuttle, 1996), although the truth is that the story of inclusion, certainly within a geographical area broadly seen as a nation, is part of the nation's or certainly of that area's history (Macintyre & Clark, 2004).

The interrelationship of historiography and pedagogy corresponds with features of what might be described as vertical and horizontal discourse (Bernstein, 1999; Bertram, 2008). If the act of learning history can be seen as discourse or dialogue (see Bakhtin, 1981; Oakeshott, 1965; Vygotsky, 1986) which mirrors a synergy between substantive and syntactic knowledge and understanding (Rogers, 1979; Ryle, 1949; Schwab, 1964; Turner-Bisset, 2001), then teachers of history and indeed their students will be taking part in the enterprise of history, taking ownership of new knowledge procedures and resources by engaging in something that empowers by making the knowledge 'live' (as an adjective) and active.

In doing this the act of getting inside history can be facilitated through discussion based on sources followed by role-play or visits. The Internet is potentially a powerful tool for teachers of history to sustain a dialogue with historians. It is characterised by ease of accessibility, though its accuracy is not always guaranteed. The increasing involvement of national institutions (e.g. The National Archives and the British Library in England and the Australian Dictionary of Biography Online) in dissemination of Web-based information can be supported by historians posting commentaries about recent work and interpretations online (e.g. within the websites of various historical associations around the world).

6.10 Conclusion

As above demonstrates, it is important to resist politicisation of the history curriculum in the sense of resisting the destabilising effect of having curriculum change with every change of government. Politicians need to be as aware of this as they are of having cross-party agreement on national security matters (though this can also be controversial). The greater the strength of the relationship between teachers of history, history teacher educators and historians, the greater will be the sense of autonomy that teachers can bring to their engagement with history as it is interpreted and recontextualised in the classroom.

References

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty*. London: Profile Books.

Adwan, S., & Bar-On, D. (2005). Leading forward: The experiences of Palestinians and Israelis in the learning each other's historical narratives project. In L. Cajani & A. Ross (Eds.), *History teaching, identities and citizenship* (European Issues in Children's Identity and Citizenship 7). Stoke on Trent, UK: Trentham Books.

Amin, A. (2002). *Ethnicity and the multicultural city. Living with diversity* (Report for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions). Durham, England: University of Durham.

Ausubel, D. (1968). *The psychology of meaningful verbal learning*. New York/London: Grune & Stratton.

Baker, K. (1993). *The turbulent years*. London: Faber.

Bakhtin, M. (1929). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Bakhtin, M. (1941). *Rabelais and his world*. Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). Discourse in the Novel. In M. Holquist (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination* (pp. 259–422). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Belich, J. (2009). *Replenishing the earth – The settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bernstein, B. (1999). Vertical and horizontal discourse: An essay. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 20*(2), 157–173.

Bertram, C. A. (2008). *Curriculum recontextualization: A case study of the South African high school history curriculum.* Unpublished Ph.D., Faculty of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Brown, G. (2004, July 7). *Britishness*. British Council Annual Lecture.

Brown, G. (2006, January 14). *The future of Britishness: Who do we want to be?* The Fabian New Year Conference 2006, Imperial College, London.

Bruner, J. S. (1960). *The process of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1966). *Toward a theory of instruction*. London: Oxford University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1977). *The process of education* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cajani, L., & Ross, A. (2005). *History teaching, identities and citizenship* (European Issues in Children's Identity and Citizenship 7). Stoke on Trent, UK/Sterling, VA: Trentham Books.

Clark, J.C.D. (1994). *The Language of Liberty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, J. C. D. (2003). *Our shadowed present: Modernism, postmodernism and history*. London: Atlantic Books.

Colley, L. (1992). *Britons: Forging the nation 1707–1837*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Colley, L. (2005). The idea that citizenship isn't really British, that we don't do documents, is bad history. Interview with Linda Colley by H. Jameson, S. Katwala and L. Robinson. *Fabian Review*, *117*(4).

Collingwood, R. G. (1946). *The idea of history*. Oxford, UK: The Clarendon Press.

Department of Education and Science (DES). (1990). *The final report of the history working group*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education (DfE). (2013). *National curriculum in England: History programmes of study*. London: DfE.

Dio Cassius. (c150–200). *Roman history* (Various Editions).

Fairburn, M. (2006). Is there a case for New Zealand exceptionalism? In T. Ballantyne & B. Moloughney (Eds.), *Disputed histories: Imagining New Zealand's pasts* (pp. 143–167). Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, Dunedin.

Fukuyama, F. (2011). *The origins of political order – From Prehuman times to the French revolution*. London: Profile Books.

Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political order and political decay – From the industrial revolution to the globalisation of democracy*. London: Profile Books.

Gilroy, P. (1989). *The souls of Black folk*. New York: Bantam.

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic – Modernity and double consciousness*. London: Verso.

Gilroy, P. (2000). *Between camps*. London: Penguin.

Graham, D., & Tytler, D. (1993). *A lesson for us all*. London: Routledge.

Guyver, R. (2006). Getting to grips with Boudicca: Preparing to teach *the Roman England* study unit of the English National Curriculum for History. *Primary History, 44*, 15–18.

Guyver, R. (2008). Review of Cajani, L. & A. Ross, (2005) *History teaching, identities and citizenship* (European Issues in Children's Identity and Citizenship 7). Stoke on Trent, UK/Sterling, VA: Trentham Books. http://escalate.ac.uk/4903

Hedegaard, M. (1988). *The zone of proximal development as a basis for instruction*. Aarhus, Denmark: Institute of Psychology.

Husbands, C., Kitson, A., & Pendry, A. (Eds.). (2003). *Understanding history teaching. Teaching and learning about the past in secondary schools*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press.

Ignatieff, M. (1993). *Blood and belonging – Journeys into the new nationalism*. London: Vintage.

Ivison, D., Paton, P., & Sanders, W. (Eds.). (2000). *Political theory and the rights of indigenous peoples*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kymlicka, W. (2000). American multiculturalism and the 'nations within'. In D. Ivison, P. Paton, & W. Sanders (Eds.), *Political theory and the rights of indigenous peoples*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Macintyre, S., & Clark, A. (2004). *The history wars*. Melbourne, VIC: Melbourne University Press.

Moynihan, K. (1995). Can the scholar's history be the public's history? *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 105*(2), 301–313.

Nash, G., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. (1997). *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*. New York: Knopf.

Oakeshott, M. (1959). *The voice of poetry in the conversation of mankind*. London: Bowes and Bowes. Available on pages 488–541 in Oakeshott (1962/1991).

Oakeshott, M. (1962/1991). *Rationalism in politics and other essays, new and expanded edition with Foreword by Timothy Fuller*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund.

Oakeshott, M. (1965). Learning and teaching. In T. Fuller (Ed.), (1989), *The voice of liberal learning – Michael Oakeshott on education*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press

Pappe, I. (2014). *The idea of Israel*. London: Verso.

Phillips, R. (1998). *History teaching, nationhood and the state – A study in educational politics*. London: Cassell.

Pilkington, H. (1998). *Migration, displacement and identity in Post-Soviet Russia*. London/New York: Routledge.
Pocock, J. G. A. (1999). *Barbarism and religion. Volume two, narratives of Civil Government*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Pocock, J. G. A. (2005). *The discovery of Islands*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Rogers, P. J. (1979). *The new history: Theory into practice*. London: The Historical Association.
Ryle, G. (1949). *The concept of mind*. London: Hutchinson.
Samuel, R. (1990/2003). A case for national history. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, 3*(1). Available online http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/historyresource/journal5/Samuel.pdf. (This article was originally written by Samuel in 1990 and was republished in IJHLTR in 2003.)
Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities in the 21st century*. London: Continuum.
Schama, S. (2013, May 30). Simon Schama and teachers: Our children, our history. *The Telegraph,* Hay Festival (transcript: http://historyworks.tv/news/2013/06/04/history_curriculum_debate_updates_new_bbc_r3_night/; podcast: http://www.hayfestival.com/p-6108-simon-schama-and-teachers.aspx)
Schwab, J. (1964). The structure of the disciplines: Meanings and significance. In G. Ford & L. Purgo (Eds.), *The structure of knowledge and the curriculum*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
Shemilt, D. (2000). The Caliph's Coin – The currency of narrative frameworks in history teaching. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing teaching & learning history* (pp. 83–101). New York/London: New York University Press.
Shulman, L. (1986). Those who understand: Knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher, 15*(2), 4–14.
Skinner, Q. (1978). *The foundations of modern political thought. Volume 2, The age of reformation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Skinner, Q. (1998). *The foundations of modern political thought. Volume 1, The Renaissance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Snow, P., & Snow, D. (2004). *Battlefield Britain*. London: BBC Books.
Stewart-Harawira, M. (2005). *The new imperial order – Indigenous responses to globalization*. Karori, Wellington: Huai Publishers.
Stock, B. (1983). *The implications of literacy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Tacitus, C. (c100). *Annals of imperial Rome* (Various Editions).
Taylor, T., & Clark, A. (2006). *Overview of the teaching and learning of Australian history in schools*. Australian Government: Department of Education, Science and Training. http://www.htansw.asn.au/home/nationalcurriculum/HistorySummit_Tony%20Taylor.pdf
Thatcher, M. (1993). *The downing street years*. London: HarperCollins.
Turner-Bisset, R. (2001). *Expert teaching*. London: David Fulton Publishers.
Vygotsky, L. (1934/1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Windschuttle, K. (1996). *The killing of history – How literary critics and social theorists are murdering our past*. San Francisco: Encounter Books.
Wood, M. (1981/2005). *In search of the Dark Ages*. London: BBC Books

Chapter 7
Citizenship Education and Active Student Participation: The Netherlands

Wiel Veugelers

7.1 A Reassessment of the Social Aspect in Education

The readdressing of the social element in education on the political level is mirrored on the level of learning theories. Social constructivism, in all its variants, is currently the dominant theory amongst Dutch educational psychology and pedagogy researchers. In this vision, the construction of meaning takes place in dialogue, and students are no longer held accountable only for the self-regulation of their learning process but also for their interaction with their surroundings, with other students, with the subject matter and with the teacher. A reassessment of the social element is also to be found within the tradition of moral education. The Just Community Schools of Kohlberg are showing signs of renewed momentum (Althof, 2003), and the most highly regarded and best evaluated moral education programme in the United States – the Child Development Project – places considerable emphasis on active student participation (Solomon, Watson, & Battistich, 2001). In their integrated approach, there is attention for the subject matter, the role of the teacher and for the school culture. They see school as a community.

The pedagogical task of education is expressed in the subject matter, in the teacher as a role model and in the school culture. School culture means the way in which students and teachers get on with each other, students with other students and teachers with other teachers (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989). School culture encompasses both formal and informal elements. The formal elements are to be found in rules and practices, and the informal elements in manners and in the

W. Veugelers (✉)
University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

University for Humanistics in Utrecht, Utrecht, The Netherlands
e-mail: w.m.m.h.veugelers@uva.nl

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_7

way the students participate in school. School culture has considerable influence on the socialisation of students, an argument strongly supported by pedagogy and educational sociology. In particular, Dewey (1923), Durkheim (1961), Giroux (1989) and Power et al. (1989) have all pointed out the dual nature of socialisation through school culture. School culture can be oriented towards making students adapt to the existing social order or towards supporting students to develop an active attitude and active participation and to develop a critical and caring commitment to the group and the community.

Educational theory in the Netherlands was in the 1990s dominated by the concept of 'self-regulation' (Simons, Van der Linden, & Duffy, 2000; Veugelers, 2004). With concepts such as independent learning, learning to learn and taking one's own responsibility, students were very much addressed as individuals. The tendency towards individualization evident at that time in society was reproduced in education, and the aim of education was to prepare students to take on their own responsibility in society. Due to social and cultural problems like violence, lost of social cohesion and lack of social and political trust, there have been moves in the Netherlands in favour of reassessing the social aspect of education (Veugelers, 2007). Education must, regarding educational policy in the Netherlands now more than before, contribute towards preparing young people for their role in society. In these views, participation in society necessitates social skills, such as being able to work together, and social attitudes. The desired social cohesion in society requires commitment on the part of citizens to society and to each other. Education should therefore contribute towards developing an attitude focused on social commitment and involvement. In recent political debates on citizenship education, the important role of education has been stressed.

Also in educational practice itself in the Netherlands, the social element combined with active student participation is becoming more apparent. Cooperative learning is being implemented more often, mentoring is becoming more of a group activity and student mentors and student tutors supervise younger students. Other opportunities to let students participate more actively in school and in the class are being sought. Schools support students more in their value development and in their learning to handle norms. Participants, also students, contribute actively towards developing norms of a group. From the point of view of citizenship education, it is important to give students in education the opportunity to work on the identification and development of norms.

In this chapter, we examine in greater detail the opportunities for active student participation in citizenship education. We first take a closer look at the concepts of active participation, citizenship and citizenship education. We then develop an analytical framework to further explore the practice of active participation and citizenship education. We then present data on what school leaders, teachers and students in secondary education tell about current practice and new opportunities they envisage. We conclude with suggestions to enhance and improve active student participation in citizenship education.

7.2 Citizenship Education and Active Participation

Participation in society, usually referred to as citizenship, involves political, social and cultural domains (Banks, 2004; Islin & Turner, 2002; Parker, 2004). Citizenship is not only a matter of functioning in society on the macro-level but also in the daily and very personal interaction between people. Citizenship can be interpreted as an adjustment to existing relationships and established values and norms. Citizenship can also have a much more active interpretation whereby each individual makes an active contribution to society, in many domains and on many different levels. This active form of citizenship development can be conceptualised as an active, dialogical and participative way of learning as advocated in theories about meaningful social cultural learning in educational psychology (Haste, 2004; Wenger, 1998). Learning in this view is a process whereby someone, in dialogue with others and engaged in active participation, develops meaning and gets a grip on its own learning. It is learning in which the student is actively involved in the learning process and develops new personal knowledge, acquires learning skills and develops an own identity. Learning in this view takes on an active and social construction that goes beyond self-regulation; it is a form of active dialogical identity development focused on knowledge acquisition, the development of skills and the development of attitudes. These are the attitudes in particular – which express values, a will, a certain orientation – that are important for finding one's place in the world, for citizenship education.

Citizenship theories advocate an active learning approach to citizenship (Islin & Turner, 2002; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). In the public debate in the Netherlands on citizenship, there are many arguments in favour of active citizenship and citizenship development. One of the arguments is that modern society is no longer able to organise its complexity through politics, and the gap between citizen and politics must be reduced from both poles; modern society no longer asks for an authoritarian citizenship but an involved kind of citizen, and citizenship is not restricted to the political domain but includes daily life.

7.3 Active Citizenship and Active Citizenship Education

In earlier research, we established three types of citizen: the adapting citizen, the individualistic citizen and the critical-democratic citizen (Leenders & Veugelers, 2006; Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008a, 2008b; Veugelers & De Kat, 2003). These three types of citizen manifest different relationships between adjustment, autonomy and social involvement. The individualistic citizen and the critical-democratic citizen are two variants of active citizenship in the sense that, from a strong position of autonomy, they want the citizen toparticipate actively in society.

The individualistic citizen does this from a calculating perspective, and the critical-democratic citizen more from a social involvement perspective. The various types of citizenship are linked to certain methods and therefore certain forms of student participation. The dominant didactic method in adapting citizenship is the transfer of values and knowledge, and these values and knowledge are not reflected upon. In the individualistic citizen, the didactic approach focuses more on clarifying values and critical thinking, and the alternatives are considered and compared in a neutral manner. In the critical-democratic type of citizenship, there is a tendency towards a dialogic learning process whereby values such as justice and care or social commitment are involved. There is a relationship between the type of citizenship and the learning process in citizenship education. The critical-democratic type of citizenship we advocate requires an active, dynamic, dialogical and reflective vision of education. It requires active student participation in all the different facets of learning, in school and in extra-curricular learning experiences outside school.

7.4 Different Ways of Participating in Society

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) show in their research into the organisation and effects of service learning that active participation can be done in a wide range of different ways. Service learning has a long tradition in the United States, where many adults are involved in some kind of voluntary work. Voluntary work is an important feature of ‘civil society’ in America (Putnam, 2000). During their education, students become familiar with providing service to others in service learning. In the Netherlands, there have recently been a number of experiments with service-learning projects. The ministry of education is very much in favour of these projects, which they see as making an important contribution towards citizenship education (Ministerie van Onderwijs, 2005). The research by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) shows that such projects can focus on different goals: on the execution of tasks, on organising activities or on changing an activity based on analysis and a social justice approach towards the underlying problem. Service learning and social orientation can therefore be interpreted in various different ways. The kinds of knowledge, skills and attitudes students develop depend very much on the focus of the activity. The different ways of participating result in different types of citizenship. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) call them the personal responsible citizen, the participatory citizen and the social justice-oriented citizen (Westheimer, 2008).

7.5 Research Design

Our research concentrates on secondary education because that is where many complaints about the poor commitment of students to the school are being made, it is also the period students start to participate more in society, and it is the age

at which their own self-image of autonomy, citizenship and efficacy is undergoing significant development (Mortimer & Larson, 2002). In this research, we conducted case studies at six secondary schools (Veugelers, Derrikd, & De Kat, 2005). In each case study, documents were analysed, interviews were held with school leaders, and panel discussions with teachers and students were conducted. On the basis of the overall analysis of the case studies and of the literature, proposals for improving active student participation in the school are formulated.

7.5.1 Differences in Participation

In order to arrive at an analysis model, we identified a number of different elements in active participation. We started with the categories from a table developed by one of the national pedagogical centres (KPC, 2003). We then included the objective of the activity. Following Westheimer and Kahne (2004), we place the emphasis on the objective of the activity: on execution, on organisation or on social change. Furthermore, we took participation outside school to be based not only on the vague concept of 'outside school' but also made a distinction between various different communities. The classification is: community (local) → the Netherlands → Europe → the world. We set out these classifications in an analysis framework and give some examples. Many examples have been taken from the KPC (2003) overview. However, the table is arranged according to the distinction mentioned earlier: execute, organise and social change. This analysis table was used as the basis for interviews with school leaders, teachers and students. An attempt was made in these interviews to cover all the different items (Table 7.1).

7.6 Research Activities

The research focuses on the current state of active student participation in the school. How are the students more involved with each other, their own community and society at large? What are the features of active participation in schools? What are good practices?

Case studies (Babbie, 2004) were conducted in six secondary schools that are working on a number of interesting initiatives for active student participation. The six schools are located throughout the Netherlands. Nine panel discussions were held, six of which with school leaders and teachers closely involved with active participation at their school and three panel discussions with each five students. The panel discussions lasted about 90 min.

Following the model 'classification of active participation in citizenship education', we developed a guideline for the panel discussions. The opportunities the school offers students to participate actively in their own learning process, in the class, in the school and outside school in society were discussed. Other items

Table 7.1 Classification of active participation in citizenship education

(a) Learning to execute: little student influence
(b) Learning to organise and assess: initiative within existing frameworks
(c) Learning to analyse and social change: co-decision making and action oriented
1. Active participation in learning
(a) Independent working (execute tasks decided on by others)
(b) Co-decision making in the development of learning objectives (to choose content and working method within framework)
(c) Co-decision-making learning objectives (changing subjects and working method)
2. Citizenship activities within the class/group
(a) Execution tasks:
(a1) Help other students
Subject matter oriented (homework)
Caring (contact with student who is ill)
(a2) Maintain class (sweeping)
(b) Organise activities (class party)
(c) Co-decision-making policy (class committee, representative)
3. Citizenship activities within the school
(a) Execution tasks:
(a1) Help students from other classes
Subject matter (homework, tutor)
Caring (mentor)
(a2) School upkeep (help in canteen)
(a3) Helping in school activities (open day)
(b) Organise activities (school party, sports day)
(c) Co-decision-making policy (student council, newsletter)
4. Citizenship activities outside the school
(a) Execution of tasks (assist with charity walk/collecting money)
(b) Organise activities (article for newspaper, adopt a monument, cookery course, sport, publicity, cultural activities)
(c) Co-decision-making policy:
(c1) Local (neighbourhood campaign, politics)
(c2) Beyond the neighbourhood (widening horizons, appraise divers interests)
(c3) World (appraise diversity globally)

covered included the school's vision on active student participation, the social cultural setting of the activities and the learning experiences and possible learning effects for the students.

7.6.1 Pedagogical Vision on Active Student Participation

All the schools we studied considered involving students in the school to be very important. This is the direction people want to go in: involve students

more in their education, the school and society. Teachers want to make learning more attractive and more challenging. This can be achieved by giving students more independence and responsibility – both for their own learning and for the school setting itself. The initial aim is not education for the students (over the heads of the students) but with the students. What is important is to give students trust and schools do this by giving students responsibility. Teachers must also show students that the responsibility they are given is not without obligation and that the school actually listens to what they have to tell.

School leaders and teachers are aware of the fact that they must change education, if they still want to make education meaningful to students. To this end schools attempt to have a positive influence on the motivation of the students for education by changing teaching and learning activities. But teachers are not only interested in learning and in making the school as attractive as possible. Schools also change because of the social responsibility students feel to have. Giving students independence and responsibility prepares them for society. Teachers present real-life situations or simulate them in their learning arrangements. School leaders and teachers also think that independence and responsibility prepare students better for higher education and society. One school leader stated:

> We want students to make a contribution to their own education, that students actually also determine what happens, for them to take decisions independently. If you give a student responsibility, then he or she also learns to take responsibility. And a student takes all these ideas with him into society. Being a good citizen involves commitment and responsibility.

7.7 The School as a Homogenous or Heterogeneous Community

The emphasis in the Dutch political discussion on citizenship education and social integration is on getting students from different kinds of ethnic groups meeting with each other. This is quite remarkable bearing in mind the growth in the Netherlands of denominational schools and the fact that ever more groups of heterogeneous students are being split up. There is a general tendency for students to be placed in homogeneous groups and homogeneous kinds of schools. Parents tend to favour this trend towards homogeneity. Social and ethnical segregation between schools and in schools is growing. The political argument for more contact between students from different kinds of social and ethnic groups doesn't result in political arguments in favour of comprehensive schools, let alone heterogeneous classrooms. The discussion focuses on more contact between different students groups particularly in the creative, recreational and sports spheres in out-of-school activities, not in learning processes in schools. In the recently formed Learning and Resource Centre at one of the six schools, students of different levels all sit together. This has indeed been done with a pedagogical view of improving contact between students. The team leader:

> In the past there was no contact between students from academic schools and students from vocational school tracks. Now in one single wing we have an area for more academic students and an area for vocational students. The students see each other in the same wing and hang around together during the break.

In addition to educational reform, the school also offers activities for an extended school day for which students (especially those in the lower tracks) can enrol. These activities fulfil an important role in the perspective of the school as a community. 'Some activities are done together. And that fosters a feeling of togetherness'. The students learn the same skills as they learn at school, but in a different setting: independence, how to work together, responsibility and understanding for each other and for others.

However, the schools are not specifically working on getting different groups of students in contact with each other within the framework of citizenship education: in order to learn with each other and from each other. The learning of social skills and a social attitude is considered to be important and is also given considerable attention, yet there is relatively little attention for the particular context in which these social qualities are developed. Active participation in heterogeneous settings should, in our opinion, be given much more attention in citizenship education.

7.8 Aspects of Citizenship

7.8.1 Active Student Participation in Their Own Learning

Schools gave examples of how they intend to encourage active student participation in their own education. From the examples given, it would seem that schools tend to interpret this in their own way and their interpretation is closely linked to the educational vision of the school. Schools create many different spaces where students may choose to work and choose what kind of activity: they can receive instruction, work quietly and concentrate or be involved in group work. Students are presented with larger tasks that involve a number of different options and opportunities to make their own plans. Students are given verbal reports for their planning, diligence and concentration. Education in the Netherlands has seen an increase in inquiry and cooperative learning, more meaningful practically oriented tasks and more presentations of projects and student research for each other and for outsiders. It emerged from the discussions with students in our research that they think active student participation is extremely important. It directly involves their own learning and their own functioning in school.

However, we find in the interviews and the observations that opportunities for active student participation in their own learning are still usually limited and incidental. Education is still mainly teacher driven (see Simons et al., 2000; Veugelers, 2004). Moreover, there is insufficient awareness of the development of independent learning as part of citizenship education. The emphasis in independent learning is on regulating behaviour and not on identity development. If independent learning

is analysed from citizenship development perspective, then attention for active participation in the students' own learning process becomes necessary. Otherwise, citizenship development remains learning that goes on outside the student, it doesn't challenge the own learning process.

When addressing active participation of students in their own learning opportunities for more meaningful learning, learning to participate and actively working together on developing joint norms and on the democratisation of education must be applied more often in the actual educational learning process. Learning should therefore be seen as a sociocultural practice where students, in dialogue with other students and teachers, develop their identity and where, in a reflective manner, they can orchestrate their own learning process (Veugelers, 2008; Wenger, 1998). The examples from educational practice show that the schools in their vision development and their practice are making some headway, but it is also clear that active student participation in their own education still has a long way to go.

7.8.2 Citizenship Activities Within the Class or Group

In the narratives of school leaders and teachers, citizenship activities within the class mainly involve the way in which people get on with each other: the group process. The class is seen as a community, and the emphasis is on the atmosphere and sometimes on co-decision making about the way things are going. It's more on communication without addressing power issues (Castells, 2009). There is also little, if any, structural approach with various tasks for students. Worthy of note is that we did not come across any examples where various tasks had been specified for the class and where students take on responsibility for each other.

In Catalonia, we did a case study in a school where there was a strong group approach towards active participation. The students in each class divided themselves up into three groups (of eight or nine students). Supervised by the mentor, the students had to make the groups themselves. Each group was responsible for a number of tasks that were considered necessary for education and for the school. This school embraced the following more apparent forms of student participation in the classroom and in the school. Each group had a contact student for each subject. On behalf of the group, this person had contact with the subject teacher, collected homework, handed out assignments, discussed with the teacher matters of content and working methods and sometimes helped with checking work. Each student was responsible for a subject.

All kinds of management tasks rotated within the group. For example, one person was responsible for keeping attendance and absence figures up to date and contacted absent students and, if necessary, the mentor. Each group was expected to contribute towards the running of the school, for example, by assisting in the canteen or the print room and in keeping classrooms clean and tidy. This was all part of being jointly responsible for the school.

According to the teachers of this school, achieving a culture of active participation was fostered by the following factors. Because the class was divided into smaller groups, it was easier for students to organise the tasks than in a large class. As opposed to an amorphous class, the class now consisted of three active groups. There was a culture of consultation in the school in which the groups played a crucial role. The groups formed, as it were, an intermediary level between more formal consultative bodies and separate individuals. In this way, the school had built up a certain working tradition and actively promoted this vision so that students who opted to attend this school also knew what was expected of them.

This kind of approach had been attempted at one of the schools in our research, but this more group-oriented approach is, seemingly, not easy to implement against a background of a more traditional class setup. As the students expressed it, the community in the class comprised a total of individuals who negotiate with the teacher as individuals and as a group. For a more participative form of community, it is necessary that an attempt is made, in many different ways, to develop more interactive structures in the class: both in learning through learning together and through more participative class management.

7.8.3 Active Participation and Citizenship Education in the School

We now go on to the level of participation in the school. Schools nowadays develop many opportunities for students to have their say and sometimes even to contribute towards policy decisions. To a certain extent, this is an intensification of existing activities such as student councils, advisory bodies and school newspapers. More recent are in the Netherlands the supervisory committees for educational reform, which sometimes consist only of students, sometimes a combination of teachers and students and, in a few cases, also parents. Most participants are very enthusiastic about this way of participating; it gives them a voice in many aspects of learning and school organisation. As a result of their success, these organisational forms often become well established. One advantage of these groups that focus on one school year or a part of the school is that more students become actively involved in activities that focus on participation and change. Furthermore, these groups focus strongly on education itself, on what concerns students themselves.

In spite of the many activities oriented towards active participation in schools, participation does tend to remain, nonetheless, reserved for a select group of students who personally opt to get involved or who are selected. This means that these students acquire many citizenship skills. And it also means that differences between students may intensify. In principle, opportunities for active participation are on offer to all students, but in practice only a limited number of students take part. This is something that has come in for criticism at the schools in the research, but schools can do very little about it since participation is voluntary. Schools can take into account the range, the variety of what is on offer. According to one school principal:

> As a school you're obliged to offer a number of different choices, but you can't force them on anybody. What we're dealing with is the talent young people have, so the range of choices has to be as wide as possible. As a school, you must have an eye for a wide spectrum, as wide a spectrum as possible that incorporates educational, cultural, political and sports aspects.

A democratic founded school policy for citizenship development should look for opportunities in which all students participate. Paradoxical, any obligation to fulfil such representative citizenship functions is at odds with stimulating students' own initiatives to be actively involved in school.

One recent reform in Dutch education that can be seen in an increasing number of schools is that students function as a mentor or tutor for younger students. By becoming a mentor or tutor, students are taking on the subtasks of the teachers and actually end up in a pedagogical and caring relationship with other students. This changes also the absolute division between teachers and students into a more dynamic multifaceted pedagogical environment. Students who take on the tasks of mentor and tutor are in a position to develop a pedagogical and caring attitude and important social competencies.

7.8.4 Participation Outside School

We were analysing in our research active student participation, also outside school. Sometimes as part of school work, students are involved in voluntary work outside school, such as reading to others, helping elderly, being involved in the regional youth parliament, cultural exchanges with schools in other countries, charity work, assisting with local community activities and in caring for the school environment.

The schools we researched develop project activities outside the school that they themselves do not categorise as active participation as part of citizenship education. To a certain extent this seems to be true, because students can have only little influence on the programme of these extramural activities. However, by not putting these activities into the category of active citizenship education, schools are not sufficiently challenged to make a critical examination of pedagogical objectives and learning activities and link learning in school with learning outside school.

Worthy of note is that it is usually the local, community-related activities that are classified as citizenship education, and activities in other countries are in the first place referred to in cultural terms and not seen as citizenship education. And attention for social problems is usually translated into collecting money, not into social analysis and action. We described earlier the types of citizenship that students, according to Westheimer and Kahne (2004), could develop in social projects. The activities can either be oriented towards execution, organisation or social justice. Many extramural activities the schools presented us are too one-sidedly focused on execution, with few organisational elements and with very little orientation towards social justice and social change. What is conspicuous is that everything is just so adaptive. Where is the social

action and transformative orientation of education? Why don't we encourage students to organise at least one social event or action campaign in their school career?

7.9 Conclusion

All Dutch schools are now obliged to work on citizenship education. The Ministry of Education speaks of 'active citizenship and social integration'. In our research, we did case studies in six secondary schools and spoke with school leaders, teachers and students about what form active student participation takes at their school and how this participation contributes towards citizenship education. We examined the broad field of the relationship of education and society: the lessons of the students, their school, their own community and society at large. Schools in the Netherlands are paying now more attention to activities that contribute towards the citizenship development of their students. Examples include coaching younger students, organising sociocultural activities and sports events and participating in formal and informal discussions.

The activities focus in particular on the school outside the classroom and at the local community. What is particularly remarkable is that students' participation in one's own lessons and in society outside one's own community is often not even considered by the teachers. But it is precisely these forms of participation that affect the own personal life of students and enhance the world view of students beyond their own local community. Both the personal identity development of the students and participation in the wider diverse society are still given insufficient attention in Dutch citizenship education.

We also examined the goals of citizenship activities. What emerges is that activities that focus on analysis and social change at school and in social projects are few. Many citizenship activities focus on the execution of tasks given to students, without appealing to personal initiative, reflection and action. Schools in the Netherlands develop initiatives in the area of active participation and citizenship education, but there is still a long way to go, in particular, if goals of citizenship education have to go beyond adaptation and try to stimulate the development of a critical-democratic citizenship. Furthermore, there is a perceptible tension between the voluntary nature of active participation and the fostering of active participation by getting all students involved. Voluntary activities such as the student council and social events and campaigns often involve only a small, extremely active, group of students who really enjoy these activities. Paradoxical, any obligation to fulfil such representative citizenship functions is at odds with stimulating students' own initiatives to be actively involved in school. Making citizenship education relevant to all students can be done by focusing more on activities closely related to the curriculum. Paying more attention to the participation of students in the wider society is desirable for the point of view of democracy and for preparing students for getting involved in society.

References

Althof, W. (2003). Implementing 'Just and Caring Communities' in elementary schools: A Deweyan perspective. In W. Veugelers & F. K. Oser (Eds.), *Teaching in moral and democratic education in secondary schools* (pp. 153–172). Bern, Switzerland/New York: Peter Lang.

Babbie, E. (2004). *The practice of social research*. Wadsworth, OH: Thomson.

Banks, J. A. (Ed.). (2004). *Diversity and citizenship education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication power*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dewey, J. (1923). *Democracy and education*. New York: Macmillan.

Durkheim, E. (1961). *Moral education*. New York: Free Press.

Giroux, H. A. (1989). *Schooling for democracy*. London: Routledge.

Haste, H. (2004). Constructing the citizen. *Political Psychology, 25*(3), 413–440.

Islin, E. F., & Turner, B. S. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: Sage.

KPC. (2003). *Actieve participatie* (Active participation). Den Bosch: KPC.

Leenders, H., & Veugelers, W. (2006). Different perspectives on values and citizenship education. *Curriculum and Teaching, 21*(2), 5–20.

Leenders, H., Veugelers, W., & De Kat, E. (2008a). Teachers' views on citizenship education in secondary education in the Netherlands. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 38*(2), 155–170.

Leenders, H., Veugelers, W., & De Kat, E. (2008b). Moral education and citizenship education at pre-university schools. In F. K. Oser & W. Veugelers (Eds.), *Getting involved. Global citizenship development and sources of moral values* (pp. 57–74). Rotterdam, Netherlands/Taipeh, Taiwan: Sense Publishers.

Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap. (2005). *Wetsvoorstel 29959 'Bevordering actief en burgerschap en sociale integratie'* (Law Proposal 29959 'Stimulating Active Citizenship and Integration'). Den Haag: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap.

Mortimer, J. T., & Larson, R. W. (2002). *The changing adolescence experience. Societal trends and the transition to adulthood*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Oser, F., & Veugelers, W. (Eds.). (2008). *Getting involved. Global citizenship development and sources of moral values*. Rotterdam, Netherlands/Taipeh, Taiwan: Sense Publishers.

Parker, W. (2004). *Teaching democracy*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Power, F. C., Higgins, A., & Kohlberg, L. (1989). *Lawrence Kohlberg's approach to moral education*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Simons, R. J., van der Linden, J., & Duffy, T. (Eds.). (2000). *New learning*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Solomon, D., Watson, M., & Battistich, V. (2001). Teaching and schooling effects on moral/prosocial development. In V. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (pp. 566–603). Washington, DC: AERA.

Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., & Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age 14*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Veugelers, W. (2004). Between control and autonomy. Restructuring secondary education in the Netherlands. *Journal of Educational Change, 5*(2), 141–160.

Veugelers, W. (2007). Creating critical democratic citizenship education. *Compare, 37*(1), 105–119.

Veugelers, W. (2008). Youngsters in transformative and reproductive processes of moral and citizenship education. In K. Tirri (Ed.), *Educating moral sensibilities in urban schools* (pp. 79–92). Rotterdam, Netherlands/Taipeh, Taiwan: Sense Publishers.

Veugelers, W., & De Kat, E. (2003). Moral and democratic education in secondary schools. In W. Veugelers & F. K. Oser (Eds.), *Teaching in moral and democratic education in secondary schools* (pp. 193–214). Bern, Switzerland/New York: Peter Long.

Veugelers, W., Derrikd, M., & De Kat, E. (2005). *Active participation of students and citizenship education* (De Pedagogische Dimensie, 42). Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Westheimer, J. (2008). On the relationship between political and moral engagement. In F. Oser & W. Veugelers (Eds.), *Getting involved. Global citizenship development and sources of moral values* (pp. 17–30). Rotterdam, Netherlands/Taipeh, Taiwan: Sense Publishers.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of education of democracy. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*(2), 237–269.

Chapter 8
The Politics of History Textbooks in Belarus: Between Globalization and Authoritarian Confinement

Anna Zadora

8.1 History Textbooks as an Effective Instrument of Identity Shaping

Education has historically been a cornerstone in the construction of a sense of belonging to any community. Several authors have highlighted the importance of the education system in building, transmitting, and accepting notions of identity (Gellner, 1989) by providing reproduction of the community through the socialization and transmission of fundamental community values and practices to young citizens. Identity shaping is operated through the education system, and the construction of a sense of belonging among the inhabitants of a territory to form a national community requires extensive and continuous education effort. The socializing mission of the education system is in competition with other social actors, yet the school system is the central agent of socialization, both because school attendance is compulsory and because of the effectiveness of the school system as a resource (Schissler, 2005) to build and legitimate an identity project. Political authorities tend to implement policies to create and promote a common identity, as identity is an important tool in drawing the boundaries of a community, in defining "the other," forging social links, and producing a sense of community and loyalty. Identity politics are important because of their role in legitimizing the unity of a community. This aspect is particularly important in the context of political transformation. Identity politics affect first of all the education system, history teaching, and the politics of history textbooks.

A. Zadora (✉)
University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France
e-mail: anna_zadora@hotmail.com

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_8

History holds a specific place among all school subjects, because the identity of a group is taught through the history of the group. Identification with a group necessarily implies adhesion to the past, present, and future of the group, which allows us to affirm the importance of history, memory, and the historical narrative through which this adhesion is affected. D. Miller defines national identity as a "materialization" of historical continuity (Miller, 2000, p. 27). Identity can be considered in terms of awareness of the past of a group (De Certeau, 1975). Constant reference to the past can develop powerful sentiments of belonging inside a community which, according to Weber, are the very foundations of any group. According to the author, belief in a common destiny is conditioned by memories "of a common political destiny" (Weber, 1995). Henry Rousso underlines "the importance of history in the construction of individual and collective identity" (Rousso, 1992, p. 75).

Identity can be seen as a narrative construction where the narrative configuration is built around telling the story of the past. Where strategies for building identity are concerned, individuals make choices which are borrowed from various history banks: ideas, myths, historical narratives, beliefs, etc. Identity can be considered as the consciousness of continuity through change, rooted in a process of historical identity building. Underpinning the existence of any nation is always a work of manipulation of the past, according to E. Renan: "The essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things" (Renan, 1992).

Among all school subjects, history takes a special place. The establishment of identification links is a historical process built on shared history.

Children go through the socializing action of the family and school, which incorporate social dispositions from class and other social systems. This leads to an internalization of the ways of being and ways of understanding the history of the groups they belong to – family, village, town, country, etc. Thus individuals begin to take on their group membership to the point where it guides their behavior, practices, and ideas without them realizing that this is the case.

History textbook policy is often considered as a means of achieving political goals. History teaching, used as a tool for building national identity, is still considered as essential for the formation of the citizen. Given the social effectiveness of history teaching in the construction of identity, there is a strong danger of history writing being exploited by political authority to legitimize itself. School history can be reduced to a stack of texts and interpretations aiming at achieving a particular goal: the legitimization and glorification of a political regime. The education system responds to social needs, and for the purposes of identity creation, it is of crucial importance for politicians to try to keep control over it.

The use of school history education as an instrument for identity construction can be explained in several ways. The content of textbooks has intelligible and direct references to national identity (Basin & Kelly, 2012). History textbooks teach schoolchildren to be and to think nationally through the events of national history and provide information on the distinction between "us" and "the other." The politics of the past is expressed through history textbooks, which transmit a

systematic, relatively complete, and consistent message on the history of a nation. School history teaching plays an important role as an instrument of policy in building a nation. The assimilation by several generations of the same narratives, photographs, and historical images transmitted by textbooks plays an important role in legitimizing and causing the acceptance of the historical narrative transmitted by the school system. The use of historical narrative to legitimize a political system is not a purely Belarusian phenomenon.

In the Belarusian context, the strengthening of the role of the education system and school structures at the expense of the family in the process of education and the construction of identity can be observed. This state intervention in history teaching and identity is twofold. The education system tends to overcome the shortcomings of the family in the education of children in the context of a dramatic decline in the general level of education and the family losing its traditional educational functions. In this context, the school system now plays an almost exclusive role in the training of young citizens and in the transmission of identity messages. School textbooks remain important and often essential instruments in transmitting and legitimizing the interpretations of history and national identity which the political regime aspires to convey.

8.2 The Context of Belarusian History and Historiography

In Belarus, a former republic of the USSR, the construction of a national identity runs parallel to historiographical construction. The early history of the Belarusian lands dates back to the late nineteenth century when centrifugal tendencies begin to undermine the Russian Empire, sparking the beginnings of interest in this particular province. The first book on the history of the Belarusian land, *An Overview of the History of Belarus*, by Vaclau Lastouski, was published in 1910. The first Belarusian national states, the People's Republic of Belarus and the SSRB (Soviet Socialist Republic of Belarus), were created in 1918 and 1919, respectively. In Soviet times, the history of Belarus did not exist, either as an autonomous academic discipline or as a school subject. The first and only school textbook on the history of the SSRB was published in 1960 in Russian and went through 11 editions, remaining the only educational support on the subject until perestroika. The number of books edited was 9,000 copies (for a country with 9,000,000 citizens), which is an indication of the minor place accorded to the history of Belarus as a school discipline during the Soviet period.

Government policy on history textbooks in the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic prescribed the denial of an independent Belarus and an independent Belarusian history. The history of Belarus was merged into Soviet history. Identity politics transmitted through history textbooks aimed at the construction of a Soviet identity above all other identities. The following sentences quoted from the only history textbook on Belarus published during the Soviet period are an illustration of the extent to which Belarusian history was viewed as no more than a constituent

part of Soviet history, inasmuch as a fundamental tenet of Soviet historiography was its articulation of the Second World War as the central event in the history of the USSR: "From the first days of the occupation, workers in Soviet Belarus began the People's War. Brigades of partisans were created everywhere. Their number increased daily. The organizer and leader of the partisan movement was the Communist Party" (Abetsadarski, 1968). The semantic and stylistic construction of the text is revealing. Short sentences and a dogmatic tone meet the objectives of Soviet propaganda: to point out that the information provided by the textbooks is an ultimate and indisputable truth, despite the fact that objective criticisms of these postulates were made by nationalist historians at the time.

Textbooks on the history of Belarus became a propaganda tool underlining the superiority of the Soviet communist model as against the Western capitalist model. History as an academic discipline was itself used as an important tool in the construction and legitimization of the Soviet totalitarian state, claiming a specific place for it in world politics. The victory in the Second World War was presented as a proof of the superiority of Soviet society over Western society.

8.3 Perestroika and the First Textbooks on Belarusian History

In the post-Soviet bloc, the period known as "perestroika" was a crucial moment for the building of states and their national identities. New political parties appeared to challenge the political monopoly of the communist party of the USSR, claiming the right of the Soviet republics to an independent history and an independent future. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, the majority of post-Soviet countries have tended to articulate historical consciousness in opposition to Soviet and Russian interpretations of the past, seeking for European roots in their histories.

Soviet history writing changed completely during perestroika, where history was requisitioned as a legitimizing authority for profound social change, the creation of an independent state in 1990, the establishment of a new sociopolitical system, and the shaping of a new national identity matrix. Under perestroika, numerous publications appeared in the media relating to the link between education, history teaching, and this national renaissance: "Education – the Only Way to a National Renaissance," "Give History Back to the People," and "History Education as a Source of a National Identity." The first school programs on the history of Belarus were inspired by the National Front program, as was the new Constitution of the independent Belarus, which claimed that "the Belarusian people has a long history which can be traced back many centuries." The coat of arms and "nationalist" flag dating back to the era of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, regarded by Belarusian nationalists as the "Golden Age" of the Belarusian nation, were introduced after the proclamation of independence in 1991.

The communist period is thus frequently described in terms of invasion, occupation, and colonization. For the histories of the post-Soviet countries, Russia plays the role of "the other," the "convenient" enemy to which it is possible to attribute all errors and all failures. During perestroika in all the post-Soviet countries, contact with Russia and Russians began to be described in terms of disaster. Russians were classified as invaders, and all territorial divisions, whether unions or annexation, are described in very negative terms. The positive elements provided by annexation to the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union (administrative modernization, access to the infrastructure of the economy of a great empire) were ignored.

The gradual gaining of autonomy and the institutionalization of the history of Belarus as an academic discipline and school subject is also linked to perestroika. A decision of the Ministry of Education of the 15th of September 1986 stated that "during the 1986–1987 school year, the history curriculum must be changed, although the creation of new textbooks is not intended for this year." Changes in the history curriculum were reduced to a greater attention to the peculiarities of Belarus within the framework of the history of the USSR. The history of Belarus was incorporated into the curriculum of the history of the USSR, and only 27 h per year were devoted to it. Only at the beginning of the 1990s, when the independence of Belarus was proclaimed, did significant qualitative changes take place in the field of writing and history teaching.

The curriculum of the history of Belarus of 1991 emphasizes the fundamental changes in the teaching of history affecting content, methodology, structure, and teaching. For the first time, issues of national consciousness were discussed in the school history curriculum, and new teaching principles such as historical humanism, democracy, and the rejection of dogmatism and stereotypes were introduced. In December 1992, the Minister of Education held a meeting with the most famous historians in the country – Mikhas' Bitch, Uladzimir Sidartsou, Vital' Famine, and Pavel Loïka – asking them to write school textbooks to be sent to schools in September 1993.

Manuscripts were submitted for printing in March 1993, while the decision to publish textbooks was taken in December 1992. All the authors wrote books more or less acceptable for the school system within 3 or 4 months. The lack of a methodological and didactic base for writing history textbooks in Belarus greatly complicated the work of the authors. The historians invited to write the textbooks were academics and researchers rather than secondary school teachers, and they experienced significant difficulties in adapting their styles to the needs of young readers and the requirements of the education system. The historian H. Sahanovitch described the restructuring of Belarusian historiography as "a methodological and pedagogical vacuum" (Sahanovitch, 2001).

The Scientific and Methodological Center at the Ministry of Education was the only body responsible for monitoring the manuscripts in 1993. According to the official procedure, the manual had first to be approved by the university professors, which would ensure the academic quality of the works. School teachers would then try out and present the results of the use of the new books in the classroom.

At the same time as the review process conducted by professors and teachers, a series of meetings, round tables, lectures, and discussions were organized by the National Center for Textbooks, where different views were exchanged, discussed, and confronted.

The perestroika textbooks were the first attempt to move away from the dogmatism of the Soviet period. They encouraged reflection on historical events and personalities and did not contain indisputable dogmas. The authors of the first textbooks put a particular accent on the civic function of the textbooks. The books were supposed to educate patriots and awaken critical thinking skills, which was a novelty pedagogically speaking compared with Soviet-era thinking.

Pluralism as one of the most important requirements of a democratic society was an important element of perestroika politics of history textbooks. Textbook authors and experts stressed the need to present multiple perspectives on historical events in the textbooks:

> The author must give at least two divergent opinions on the facts presented. There are many debatable issues in the science of history, however, the author presents some events as ultimate truths. (Sidartsou & Famine, 1993, p. 2)

Pluralistic tendencies are strongly reflected in the books of this period. The introduction that opens Uladzimir Sidartsou and Vital' Famine's textbook, published in 1993, clearly states the authors' pedagogical point of view (Sidartsou & Famine, 1993, p. 3). Through their manual the authors aspire "to explain the contradictory process of the development of our society, help students to become aware of the history of Belarus as our history and as part of our everyday lives today." The authors invite young readers to study "the role of historical figures, to reflect on their actions" and "to put themselves in the place of historic characters to understand their motivations." The authors draw attention to the diversity of opinion on the historical facts analyzed in the book: "Different points of view are represented in the textbook. You can accept them or defend your own opinion; however you should keep a respectful attitude towards those who have a different opinion from yours." "We recommend that students take an active part in debates on controversial issues in order to learn how to defend their points of view." The authors encourage reflection on historical events and personalities, and their book does not contain indisputable dogmas.

The experts who gathered at the beginning of the 1990s at the National Center for Textbooks debated on the modalities of revision of the totalitarian Soviet period, which was a major step toward democratization. The condemnation of the Soviet heritage and the search for European roots in Belarusian history was a very important trend in the writing of history textbooks.

During perestroika, the Second World War was subject to thorough historical reinterpretation. The myth of the crucial role played by the communist party in the victory was debunked, as was the myth of the struggle of the whole people against the Nazis: the whole people did not fight on the side of the Red Army and the partisans. Historians revealed instances of collaborationism and crimes committed by partisans. Soviet-era glorification of the Second World War was significantly

toned down. Stories of victims and of whole communities forgotten by Soviet and Belarusian historiography, such as the Jewish community, were told for the first time in the 1990s.

The Holocaust became a subject of public discussion for the first time after decades of Soviet silence on the issue. Belarus, which had a large Jewish community before the Second World War, discovered that more than 600,000 Belarusian Jews were murdered by the Nazis. The Trostenets camp near Minsk was one of the biggest concentration camps in Europe. Belarus discovered institutionalized commemoration of the Holocaust in Europe only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and this helped in recognizing the Holocaust in Belarus. Perestroika was used to claim "Europeanness." Like other post-Soviet countries, Belarus opted for the European model of the history of the Holocaust.

Some textbook authors warned their colleagues against ideological excesses in the new textbooks:

> I tried to write my manual from a democratic point of view to convey the value of democratic principles to future citizens, because we need to educate conscious and responsible patriots, corresponding to the objectives of the national revival of Belarus. (documents of National Center for Textbooks)

It should be noted that the rejection of Soviet totalitarianism and the national revival took extreme forms during this period: "History today still labors under the burden of dogma inherited from previous decades," remarked one expert, although some scholars recognized that the rewriting of history and the rejection of Soviet dogma created a new nationalist dogma and that it was essential to consider the transitional state of historical consciousness in dealing with difficult issues (documents of National Center for Textbooks). The school textbooks edited in 1993 contained the headings "Historical Fact" and "Historical Document" (Loïka, 1993), which prove the intention of the authors to support their narrative with historical documents in order to make them objective.

The particular attention paid to the Great Duchy of Lithuania, to which the Belarusian lands belonged between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, was the result of a search for a valid historical alternative to the idea of the Belarusian nation as a constituent part of the Soviet totalitarian state advanced by Soviet-era historiography. To find an authentic alternative to this version of Belarusian history is not a simple matter.

In Soviet historiography, the history of Belarus begins only in 1917. Belarus was able to start and consolidate its existence as a nation state only within the framework afforded by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR), a part of the USSR. Thus Belarusian government is a Soviet creation, and the Belarusian people are fundamentally a Soviet people. The history of Belarus is accordingly the history of the BSSR. Even if alternatives do exist in Belarusian historiography, it is not easy to challenge the claim that the Soviet period was fundamental to the formation of a Belarusian nation state and Belarusian identity. In textbooks published in 1993, particular emphasis was placed on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and on the wars between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Muscovy as a historic proof of resistance

to Russian domination. Even the titles of the chapters underlined the link between Belarusian and European and world history: “Belarusian Culture in the Context of World Civilization” and “The Great Patriotic War in the Context of the Second World War.”

8.4 Re-Sovietization of History Textbook Politics

The year 1994 witnessed a major shift in the liberalization of Belarusian society. The political forces which came to power in 1994 forged their victory by promising a people in disarray that they would restore the Soviet legacy, the fraternal ties with Russia, and the welfare state. The new government began to use methods inherited from Soviet leaders and differing from democratic methods. A referendum in May 1995 focused on changing state symbols, union with Russia, and the status of the Russian language as the state language. After the 1995 referendum, these nationalist symbols were again replaced by those of the Soviet era. The majority of the electorate voted for union with Russia and two state languages in Belarus: Russian and Belarusian. The referendum institutionalized a return to the Soviet era. This legalized Sovietization also affected history writing and teaching and official policy on Belarusian national identity. An edict of the President of Belarus Alexandre Loukachenko of 16 August 1995 stated: “given the results of the referendum, it is necessary to replace the books published between 1992 and 1995 with new textbooks” (Lukashenko, 1995). Concerned to defend the Soviet legacy, history textbooks seen by the president as having a nationalistic content were condemned to be replaced by books that better met the aspirations of the new political authorities, who took the Soviet heritage as the basis of their political legitimacy.

The intervention of the political authorities in textbook writing provoked heated debates in society. Discussions in the press reflected the negative attitude of teachers and the intelligentsia toward the hardening of control on and manipulation of school history teaching. The round table on history textbooks organized by the Belarusian historical review was a response to the decision to remove all textbooks published between 1992 and 1995. Authors and teachers strongly criticized state intervention in textbook rewriting. The author Mikhas’ Bitch criticized the authoritarian ban on books edited in 1993: “The history curriculum was openly debated and discussed in 1991 and 1992. Where were the people who are now raising their voices to criticize our textbooks in 1992?” (documents of National Center for Textbooks).

8.5 Politics of History Textbooks Under Political Censorship

In the mid-1990s, the creation of the State Commission for the Control of School Literature in the Field of the Humanities and Social Sciences, called into being by a presidential order of 24 August 1995 and answering directly to the Presidential Administration, marked a new stage in Belarusian politics of history textbooks

(Lukashenko, 1995). This structure responded to the aspiration of the Belarusian political authorities to bring the writing of school history under their control. Countless mechanisms introduced in the procedure of textbook publishing stifled any attempt to go against the official government conception of history. The purpose of the Commission is to monitor and directly control textbook writing. Thus, the Commission remains the ultimate judge of textbook manuscripts. Before being monitored by the Commission, however, a manuscript must pass many stages of correction and review.

At first, a manuscript is read by two experts at the Institute of Education of the Ministry of Education. The experts appointed by the Institute check the didactical and ideological quality of the work. If the manuscript corresponds to the pedagogical requirements of a textbook and is not openly opposed to official ideology, it obtains approval in the first instance. A manuscript can be subjected to a number of criticisms, and the author is obliged to make corrections in response to the experts' objections. The secretariat of the Ministry can send the manuscript for "improvement" many times until it is accepted by the Commission. The next step is expert analysis and deliberation within the Section of History Textbooks of the Ministry of Education. The Section verifies whether the work corresponds to the official curriculum, the didactical characteristics of the manuscript, and the ideology expounded by the author in his/her book. The manuscript is submitted to new experts, and if there are points to rework, it is returned to the authors for corrections. The officials of the Ministry of Education know which points to "polish" so that the manuscript can be analyzed first by the Presidium of the Academic Council of the Ministry of Education, and then by the Commission. Points relating to political history, the Soviet period, and the Second World War are considered to be difficult. After the approval of the Section of the Ministry, the manuscript is submitted to the examination of the Presidium of the Academic Council of the Ministry of Education. Its members are appointed by the Ministry of Education, and it is chaired by the Minister of Education. Before deliberation in the Council, the manuscript is submitted to the experts of the Commission, and although it does not form part of official procedure, their opinion carries much weight during deliberations. It is the Academic Council which gives the greatest number of negative verdicts to manuscripts. This makes sense, because the next step is the Commission, which takes a final decision on manuscripts, so they must correspond to the official ideology by the time they reach this stage. The Commission controls politically important school subjects such as world history, geography, and the literature and history of Belarus. These are the most controversial and politicized academic disciplines, so the political authorities control how they are taught with particular vigilance. The file concerning each manuscript considered by the Commission includes nearly ten expert conclusions, the authors' responses to the corrections made on the basis of objections, and the reports of all the meetings of all the bodies that have analyzed the manuscript. The Commission issues the final verdict. If the script gets the approval of the Commission, the Ministry sends the manuscript to the publisher specifying the number of copies to be edited.

8.6 Social Consequences of Politics of History Textbooks in Belarus

The preeminence of Soviet historiography over other discourses in Belarus is an exception in the post-Soviet bloc. According to numerous research projects devoted to historical discourse and history textbooks in the post-Soviet countries, Belarus is the only country not to describe relations with Russia and the Soviet period in negative terms. Belarus is the only former Republic of the USSR which experienced a turning point in its historiography in the mid-1990s. If the historical narrative of Belarus at the time of perestroika was formed in opposition to Soviet and Russian imperial discourse, the mid-1990s marked a return to a Soviet interpretation of history.

Political control of the writing of school textbooks is reflected in mistakes, contradictions, and omissions affecting the quality of the books. The rewriting of the school textbooks resulted in a contradictory amalgam between nationalist, Russian-oriented, and Soviet-style references. Nationalist references have no open place in public discourse and are pushed to the margins of the system of political discourse and school education without, however, being completely eradicated. Indeed, the Soviet and nationalist conceptions of the historical development of the Belarusian people are inherently incompatible with one another.

The Soviet heritage is imposed by the political authorities as a dominant discourse. In textbooks on the Soviet period, the very term *totalitarian* is deleted and replaced by the euphemism “the Soviet administrative system” as a result of a direct Belarusian presidential prohibition expressed during a meeting with textbook authors (Lukashenko, 2000). Some authors even completely rehabilitate the Soviet period. For them, “the magnitude of J. Stalin” is indisputable, V. Lenin was a “political genius,” and Soviet reprisals were necessary because they “allowed the U.S.S.R. to achieve staggering results” (Trechtchenok, 2005). Another textbook author asserts that “the huge and fantastic figures of the number of victims of political reprisals published during the last decade by nationalists is nothing but a myth, whose purpose is to discredit the socialist system” (Novik, 2000). Other authors partially bow to political pressure. Thus, analyzing the 1917 revolution in the 1993 edition of their textbook, the authors O. Sidartsou and V. Famine use the term “the events of 1917,” while in subsequent editions, we find the “October Revolution” formulation, which is a sort of compromise between the Soviet tradition, where this event was known as “the great October Socialist Revolution,” and the nationalist tradition, for which they are “the events of October 1917” Sidartsou and Famine (1997).

The re-Sovietization of policy on history teaching can also be seen in a return to the sacralization of the Second World War as the fundamental event of Belarusian history. In 2004, when Belarus celebrated the 60th anniversary of victory in the Second World War, a special course on this event was introduced for students in the final year of high school and the first year of university. A new textbook

was published as a didactical support for these courses. The title of the book is revealing, *The Great Patriotic War of the Belarusian people in the context of the Second World War*, which is an attempt to link Belarusian and world history. The content does not reflect the posted affiliation. The textbook presents a Soviet version of the war and barely evokes the crimes of Soviet leaders and the complex issue of collaborationism and reduces the role of the allies in the victory to a minimum. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its secret protocol are mentioned, but without explanation: “On August 23, 1939, a German-Soviet agreement of non-aggression was signed (the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact). At the same time a secret protocol was signed” (Kovalenia, 2004). In the same textbook, a preface written by the Belarusian president (who has a degree in history) reads:

> Some pseudo-academics try to rewrite the history of the Great Patriotic War, diminishing the role of our grandfathers and rehabilitating traitors, collaborators, and slaves of the Nazis. Young people are the main target of these lies. I have confidence in your clear minds and the honesty that allow you to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The living memory of the past will help us to build the future. To know the history of our homeland is a sacred duty of every citizen. Patriotism is the foundation of the courage and heroism with which the Belarusian people has survived all its wars and defended its independence. (Kovalenia, 2004, p. 2)

This quotation proves that the interpretation of the Second World War as a glorious and victorious event is a source of pride for the people of Belarus. No alternative vision is tolerated. The Holocaust issue is not totally absent from the textbooks, but its explanation is minimalized. The term Holocaust is used in the single textbook for the special course on the Great Patriotic War *The Great Patriotic War of the Belarusian people in the context of the Second World War* in one short sentence: “The Holocaust is the extermination of the Jewish population of Europe by the Nazis during the Second World War” (Kovalenia, 2004, p. 99). Even on the maps showing the sites of ghettos, extermination camps, and killing sites in Belarus and in the Soviet Union, no spatial link is established with Europe or the Soviet Union. In the textbook for the special course on the War, in spite of the maps of Europe showing the sites of camps, the text does not explain the geopolitical dimensions of the Holocaust but rather presents the event only insofar as it affected Belarus.

Moreover, while the textbooks edited under perestroika aimed to promote civic education, a pluralistic presentation of historical interpretation, and critical thinking skills, current textbooks follow the educational traditions of Soviet totalitarianism. Students are not encouraged to think. The number of assignments and questions accompanying chapters is extremely small compared to the books of 1993. Homework is often reduced to a mechanical committing to memory of “dogmatic truths.” In a textbook edited in 2002 at the end of the chapter on the USSR in the 1930s, we find the following question: “Why political reprisals became possible in the U.S.S.R.?” (Novik, 2000, p. 153). In order to be able to answer this question properly, students are in fact forced to make apologies for Soviet reprisals, as the author does in his text. The authoritarian turn that Belarus has taken since the mid-1990s explains the similarities between Soviet and current textbooks. Political logic

that orchestrates the production of school literature has the same objective as during the Soviet period: to legitimize a political regime, where textbooks become tools of propaganda aimed at legitimizing an authoritarian regime claiming historical links with Russia and rejecting openness to global tendencies.

Belarus's *Democracy Index* rating continuously ranks as the lowest in Europe. The country is labeled as "Not Free" by the Freedom House and "Repressed" in the Index of Economic Freedom and is rated as by far the worst country for press freedom in Europe in the 2013–2014 Press Freedom Index published by Reporters Without Borders, where Belarus is ranked 157th out of an overall total of 180 nations. For these reasons, the country is referred to as the "Last Dictatorship in Europe." The education system plays a fundamental role in legitimizing the Belarusian regime.

It is interesting to recall the results of research into the assessment of the system of education that the sociology laboratory "Novak" conducted in March 2010. Positive assessment of the education system by 44.4 % of the people interviewed was widely discussed by experts in the article "The Belarusian school makes robots" published on "Naviny.by," a Belarusian website. A. Vardamatski, Director of the Laboratory of Sociology "Novak"; Y. Ramantchuk, president of the analytical center "Strategy"; and A. Kazuline, former Minister of Education, were deeply impressed by the difference between expert opinion and public opinion on the Belarusian education system. According to experts, the education system has achieved its goal, which according to A. Kazuline is "to produce people who need nothing and are not interested in the socio-political processes in the country." In the opinion of Y. Ramantchuk, "Belarusians do not need education in society; there is no link between the level of education and the quality of life of a person." A. Vardamatski believes that "the current government does not require citizens capable of thinking." This survey proves the idea of an imposed low level of education which corresponds to the identity and project power promoted by political authority and realized through its politics of history textbooks.

8.7 Conclusion

The current Belarusian political authorities aspire to disseminate a Soviet, Russian-oriented version of Belarusian national identity in the interests of justifying their own legitimacy, and they need an interpretation which can be accepted without discussion by the population. In this specific context, any interpretation of national identity must be as simplistic and dogmatic as possible. The results of mixing Soviet and nationalist references in history textbooks are weak and contradictory books, unfit to be consistent, and stable referents for the construction of national identity, for fostering a sense of belonging to a national community, and for justifying the place of a nation in the global system.

References

Abetsadarski, L. (1968). *The history of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Belarus*. Minsk, Belarus: Popular Instruction.

Basin, M., & Kelly, C. (Eds.). (2012). *Soviet and post-Soviet identities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

De Certeau, M. (1975). *The writing of history*. Paris: Gallimard.

Elena, S. (Article). *The Belarusian school makes robots*. Retrieved from http://naviny.by/rubrics/society/2010/03/31/ic_articles_116_167285/

Gellner, E. (1989). *Nation and nationalism*. Paris: Payot.

Kovalenia, A. (2004). *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people (in the context of the Second World War),* school textbook. Minsk: State University.

Loïka, P. (1993). *History textbook Belarus for the 7th year*. Minsk, Belarus: Popular Instruction.

Lukashenko, A. (1995). It's Time to Eliminate the Nationalist Spirit, *Soviet Belarus*, № 185.

Lukashenko, A. (2000).The problems of textbooks. *Teachers' Journal*, № 55, April.

Miller, D. (2000). *Citizenship and national identity*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Novik, Y. (2000). *History manual for the 11th year Belarus*. Minsk, Belarus: Popular Education.

Renan, E. (1992). *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? et autres essais politiques*. Paris: Plon.

Rousso, H. (1992). *Vichy. L'événement, la mémoire, l'histoire*. Paris: Gallimard.

Sahanovitch, H. (2001). Ten years of Belarusian historiography (1991–2000). *Critical Review of Belarusian History*, *8*, p. 22–48.

Schissler, H. (2005). *The nation, Europe and the world: Textbooks and curricula in transition*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Sidartsou, V., & Famine, V. (1993). *History textbook Belarus for the 9th year*. Minsk, Belarus: Popular Instruction.

Sidartsou, V., & Famine, V. (1997). *History textbook Belarus for the 9th year*. Minsk, Belarus: Popular Instruction.

Trechtchenok, Y. (2005). *The history of Belarus*. Mogilev, Belarus: University of Mogilev Press.

Weber, M. (1995). *Economie et société*. Paris: Plon.

Chapter 9
Globalisation and History Education in Singapore

Michael H. Lee

9.1 Introduction

Singapore is the largest Chinese-dominated society not only in Southeast Asia but also out of Greater China, which comprises China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. With a population of 5.4 million in 2013, 3.8 million were Singapore citizens and permanent residents, whereas the remaining 1.5 million were foreign workers and students who temporarily resided in the island state (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2014). Being a multi-ethnic and multicultural society, the Singapore population is comprised of not only Chinese with three quarters of the population but also Malays and Indians whose proportions are standing at around 15 and 10 %, respectively. What is important for Singapore as a fledging nation since its independence in 1965, when it marked the end of the merger with Malaysia for less than 2 years, is to achieve and maintain economic growth, social progress, political stability and racial harmony in line with the politics of survival (Chan, 1971).

Under the rule of the People's Action Party (PAP), the maintenance of racial and social harmony is always the top priority of public policymaking. The government aims to sort out viable means to make people, regardless of race, language or religion, becoming Singaporeans who are inculcated with a sense of national belonging and national identity towards Singapore as a new nation. The importance of education has been strongly emphasised not only for the interests of industrialization and human capital development but also for the sake of nation-building which ensures a unity of peoples as Singaporeans for becoming patriotic to the nascent nation and safeguarding the national interests (Gopinathan, 1997). The launch of

M.H. Lee (✉)
Department of History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Hong Kong
e-mail: michaellee.cuhk@gmail.com

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_9

the National Education (NE) programme in 1997 is a showcase of the PAP regime to make use of the history of nation-building in Singapore to achieve the policy aims of preserving racial and social harmony, consolidating younger Singaporeans' national identity and also strengthening the ruling party's political legitimacy by recognising its achievements made in the nation-building process (Chua, 1997).

From the time of independence in 1965, the Singapore government has put forward a series of education policies to construct Singaporeans' national identity, including the unification of school curriculum, the stipulation of English as the common language for schooling and public administration with the gradual conversion of vernacular schools into English-medium schools and the institutionalisation of the schools' daily flag-raising ceremony with students singing national anthem and reciting national pledge (Gopinathan, 1997; J. Tan, 2008). Moreover, the social studies subject is compulsory for both the senior primary and senior secondary levels, whereas the history subject, which covers Singapore and world history, is also made compulsory for the junior secondary level (Leow & Tan, 2010). In the recent years, more emphasis has been placed on history education with an aim to let the younger generation to grasp a better understanding about the ruling party's achievements and thus consolidate the PAP's legitimacy. Therefore, the political nature of history education in Singapore cannot be neglected (Goh & Gopinathan, 2005).

Reviewing the development of history education since the 1950s and the evolution of Singapore history textbooks for junior secondary schools from the 1980s, this chapter discusses the relationship between history education and Singaporeans' national identity. Moreover, it also argues that whilst history education is a vital political tool for maintaining social stability and strengthening political legitimacy, whether it is effective to cultivate a strong sense of national belonging and political loyalty among younger Singaporeans depends not only on political rhetoric about various nation-building achievements but also more on whether their expectations for a more open and embracing sociopolitical system can be met by the government in the face of challenges arising from globalisation. There are four sections in this chapter. The first section probes into the relationship between history education and Singapore's political development. It is followed by the second section which reviews the evolution of the history curriculum in Singapore since the 1950s. The penultimate section analyses the importance of history education for the political development in Singapore. The final section summarises the discussion.

9.2 History Education in Singapore

9.2.1 Education and History Education

Education is always conceived as an influential tool to disseminate social values in the society. It is common for the state to impose control over the contents of the school curriculum in order to make sure the schooling system can serve the national

interests (Hirano, 2009). The situation for the state to influence the education system remains more or less the same regardless of the profound influence of globalisation which was once considered a symbol to mark "the end of the nation-state" (Ohmae, 1998). Despite the impact of globalisation on the global political, social, economic and cultural developments, the state remains a prominent player in education for upgrading human resources and enhancing the nation's competitive advantages on the one hand and promoting social harmony and constructing a national identity among citizens on the other hand (Green, 1997). The state remains strong in Singapore for it dominates both education and mass media as the two important channels to disseminating ideologies which are closely affiliated with the ruling party.

Therefore, the state's interference into education, which is revealed from its control over language, curriculum and teachers' training, is justified by the PAP-led government's top priority to achieve social stability and racial harmony in Singapore as a multiracial society so that mass support can be secured to strengthen the regime's political legitimacy (Wong, 2002). Industrialization since the 1960s provided a strong rationale for the state to expand the education and training system which in turn led to the unification of the medium of instruction, school curriculum and assessment systems in Singapore for meeting economic needs. These changes in the education system were aimed to cure the problem of racial segregation resulting from the existence of vernacular schools which did not favour interracial integration as desired by the government (Hill & Lian, 1995). The abolition of vernacular schools, which were eventually absorbed into the mainstream schooling system with the use of English as the teaching and learning language, marked the very beginning of the PAP-led government to build up Singaporeans' national identity by breaking down ethnic isolation in education.

History education, which is a subject widely, but rather mistakenly, considered with the least market values and no direct relationships with human capital development, remains a core component of school curriculum and national education. National history is considered a sort of political ideology for the public to construct national identity through collective memories (Gluck, 1993). In this sense, history education has a political function to consolidate the regime's power. In fact, it is widely considered a political tool to meet the needs of political development and social stability. The case of Singapore shows that the state pays very much attention to the contents of history curriculum and the writing of history textbooks which can serve the political interests in the name of nation-building. In addition, the evolution of history education in Singapore is deeply affected by the political development of the island state over the past five decades.

9.2.2 De-Sinicisation and Malayanisation in Post-war Singapore

For most of the time under the British colonial rule, public resources were made exclusive to English-medium schools run by the colonial government. Other vernacular schools like Chinese-medium ones were not subsidised by the colonial

government, but in fact they were the majority in the schooling system before Singapore became independent in 1965 (Gopinathan, 1974). The laissez-faire approach towards education by the British colonial administration gradually ended with the growing communist threat facing Singapore after the Second World War as the Malayan Communist Party determined to spread out its influence in the island through penetration into various workers' trade unions and Chinese-medium school students' organisations (Liu & Wong, 2004; Yeo, 1973). The Chinese-medium schools were easily infiltrated by communists' thoughts and turned out to be the hotbed of left-wing political forces partly because of the adoption of curriculum and textbooks originated from the Chinese mainland even after the communist regime was set up in 1949. Those Chinese-medium schools were therefore considered a major source of communists' threats against the British colonial rule in Singapore.

A series of education policies were implemented with a hope to cure these political problems closely related to the widespread of communism in Singapore, Malaya and Southeast Asia during the high time of the Cold War. Stricter rules and regulations were imposed on the production and selection of textbooks which should comply with the policy of "de-Sinicisation" and "malayanisation" or localization of the school curriculum with special attention paid to such humanities subjects as history and geography (Gopinathan, 1974). Moreover, local textbook publishers were provided incentives to produce school textbooks as a substitute to others imported from overseas, including China, for the fear of causing negative political influence on Chinese-medium school students (Wong, 2002).

After Malaya declared independence in 1957, Singapore was moving towards the formation of self-government in 1959 when the PAP won the general election and formed the government with Lee Kuan Yew, who was the PAP's secretary-general, as prime minister. At that time, the PAP government sought to merge with Malaya in order to serve both economic and security needs of Singapore. It was only when communist or left-wing radicals were suppressed that the merger between Singapore and Malaya would be put in force (Lau, 2002; T. Y. Tan, 2008). As a consequence, the Chinese-medium schools and the only private Chinese-medium university, Nanyang University, which was founded in 1955, were identified by the PAP-led government as the hotbed of left-wing radicals' political activities which should be purged before the merger into Malaysia came into effect in September 1963 (Gopinathan, 1974; Lee, 2000).

Whilst the school curriculum and public examinations were unified and English was adopted as the teaching and learning language in schools, the state imposed stricter control over the administration of the Chinese-medium schools and Nanyang University for eradicating radicals affiliated with these education institutions and thus securing political stability and social order. Nevertheless, the merger between Singapore and Malaysia lasted for a short period of time. On 9 August 1965, about a month short of the merger's second anniversary, Singapore gained independence without much preparation after being expelled from Malaysia due to significant disagreements in the political, economic and racial fronts between Singapore and Malaysia (Fletcher, 1969; Lau, 2002; Turnbull, 2009).

9.2.3 Pragmatic Curriculum for Survival Since 1965

By the time of independence in 1965, although there were life education in primary schools and civic education in secondary schools, these two subjects had limited effectiveness in deepening students' sense of belonging with Singapore (Han, Chew, & Tan, 2001). In retrospect, Singapore's education policies at the early stage of independence had two characteristics. On the one hand, strong emphasis was placed on the teaching of practical knowledge and technical skills for the needs of export-led industrialization, which was largely engineered by the multinational corporations (Huff, 1994; Trocki, 2006). On the other hand, education was considered a channel to build up the Singaporeans' national identity through rituals like the flag-raising ceremony at schools and the national day parades since 1966 to commemorate Singapore's independence (Gopinathan, 1997; Kong & Yeoh, 1997). History education was not fully emphasised for the government intended to avoid covering sensitive events like racial riots that happened in Singapore in the 1950s and 1960s which might arouse unpleasant collective memories among different ethnic groups, especially Chinese and Malays, and bring negative impacts on the maintenance of racial harmony (Goh & Gopinathan, 2005).

Between the mid-1960s and the 1970s, the PAP-led government accomplished several achievements in the socio-economic aspects like full employment, nationwide public housing and universal education. In addition, the Singapore government determined to build up a clean, incorruptible and effective administration in order to win support from the populace. These provided a solid foundation of the PAP's regime which has been built on its magnificent performance in materialising continuous socio-economic growth and development. By the late 1970s, the government carried out education reforms to cure the problem of resource wastage incurred from high dropout rates from schools. As a result, students were divided into different streams according to their English and mother tongue proficiencies from the senior primary level (Goh, 1978).

Besides the streaming policy, the government also put emphasis on the importance of civic and moral education in the face of more challenges arising from westernisation as reflected in the widespread of western ideas and values like individualism and materialism which seemed contradictory to what the Singapore government advocated that citizens should be obliged to take responsibility to safeguard the interests and security of the nascent nation. Schools were stipulated to offer religious studies in order to nurture students with moral values (Ong, 1979). Moreover, some religious schools could offer Bible studies and Islamic studies as examinable subjects (Gopinathan, 1980).

9.2.4 From Religious Education to Asian Values

Stepping into the 1980s, moral and religious education came to the forefront to strengthen younger Singaporeans' national identity, whereas history education had

yet been treated as a core instrument for boosting a sense of national belonging among Singaporeans. In 1982, religious knowledge was introduced as a compulsory subject at Secondary 3 and 4. Students could choose among Bible studies, Islamic knowledge, Buddhist studies, Confucian ethics, Hindu studies and Sikh studies. Nevertheless, in 1989, the government suddenly announced that religious knowledge would no longer be required for all students. Instead, it became an elective course for students to take at non-formal teaching hours. The religious knowledge was eventually taken over by civic and moral education for secondary schools in 1992 (J. Tan, 1997). The high time of religious studies in the Singapore's schooling system was closely related to then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's appreciation of Confucianism as the principles of governance which were comprised of core values such as elitism, meritocracy, filial piety and, the most important of all, political loyalty. This was from a cultural perspective that the political legitimacy of the PAP government could be strengthened by treating Confucian ethics as a religious knowledge to be studied by Chinese in schools.

Despite the government's advocacy of Confucianism, Confucian ethics was proved to be less popular than Bible studies and Buddhist studies for the Chinese ethnic group (J. Tan, 1997). Moreover, the making of religious knowledge as a compulsory subject was alleged to strengthen some religions like Catholicism in the late 1980s when it witnessed the crackdown of Catholic-related leftists who were accused of attempting to topple the government in Singapore (Teo, 2010). This in turn might hamper the efforts on sustaining social and racial harmony (Quah, 1990; Tamney, 1996; C. Tan, 2008a; J. Tan, 1997). The unexpected negative impacts on promoting religious studies for arousing younger Singaporeans' national identity drove the government to change its track to rely on moral and citizenship education in the 1990s.

In the early 1990s, the urge for paying more attention on students' moral values came with the policy of formulating Singapore's national shared values which could reflect on the importance of Singaporeans' national identity on the basis of shared cultures, religions and values among different ethnic groups. The five shared values were (Ministry of Information and the Arts, 1990):

1. Nation before community and society above self
2. Family as the basic unit of society
3. Regard and community support for the individual
4. Consensus instead of contention
5. Racial and religious harmony

The shared values coincide with communitarian ideas upheld by the Singapore government which put national collective interests above personal interests (Chua, 1995, 2004, 2009). These shared values were penned in line with then Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's advocacy of Asian values which refer to the importance of family values and national interests and the importance of a "strong and effective state" in sustaining social stability (Han, 2007). Asian values were strongly defended by Lee Kuan Yew in favour of the long-term political dominance enjoyed by the PAP in Singapore (Lee, 2000; Zakaria, 1994). It was based on the Asian

values framework that the civic and moral education curriculum was modified and run in primary and secondary schools but, unlike the religious knowledge subject, it is not examinable in school or public examinations (C. Tan, 2008b; T. Tan, 1994; Tan & Chew, 2004). Students were required to learn basic knowledge of various religions in order to convey a message that they should pay respect to others' religions (C. Tan, 2008b). Moreover, younger Singaporeans are also expected to grasp a better understanding about the close relationship between social and racial harmony and economic growth and prosperity (Tan & Chew, 2004).

9.2.5 Singapore History for National Education

In 1997, slightly after Singapore had become independent for 30 years, there were concerns about students' lack of knowledge about Singapore's nation-building history, which is largely concerned about positive contributions made by the first generation of political leaders under the PAP, including Lee Kuan Yew. From the government's perspective, this was the main reason for young Singaporeans not showing enough respect and support to the regime but concerning about their own interests. The NE programme aims to enable students to study the Singapore history from the British colonial era to the early post-independence period and teach them both the core values of nation-building and the core principles of governance (Lee, 1997). Instead of being a separate subject in the school curriculum, the NE programme is integrated into a range of subjects in primary and secondary schools as well as junior colleges. History, geography and civic and moral education are three core subjects included in the NE programme (Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004).

Junior secondary students should spend one year for the study of Singapore history, whereas the Singapore history curriculum at the senior secondary level covers not only the developments leading to the merger between Singapore and Malaysia but also the withdrawal of the British troops from Singapore in 1971 in order to pinpoint the historical lessons of the racial riots in 1964 and also the importance of self-reliance on national defence concomitant with the policy of conscription. The extension of the coverage of the Singapore history in the school curriculum is believed to enable students to appreciate the socio-economic achievements made by the ruling party's and political leaders. Apart from studying Singapore history, senior secondary students have to read the social studies subject which focuses on the political, social and economic developments in the nation-building of Singapore (J. Tan, 2008).

From these, history education in Singapore, during the independent period from 1965, had not been strongly emphasised until the launch of the NE programme in 1997. The development of history education is closely tied to the political development in Singapore. As what is shown in the textbooks, which will be analysed in the following section, the history of Singapore's nation-building has been constructed by the ruling party that contents favourable to the regime are selected (Hong & Huang, 2008). Meanwhile, some contents which are considered

causing potential threats to the regime would be omitted like the racial conflicts and riots between the 1950s and 1960s for they would hamper the interethnic relationships in the early independent period. This disallows any alternative versions of the Singapore history other than the one approved by the state to be taught and learnt in the schooling system.

History education, similar to moral education and religious education, has been manipulated by the government to strengthen the regime's legitimacy by demonstrating its ability to solve political, social and economic problems and thus to inculcate in younger Singaporeans a strong sense of national belonging and identity by reaffirming the regime's achievements in improving people's livelihoods and bringing about social stability, racial harmony and economic prosperity. The following section examines the evolution of Singapore history curriculum and textbooks from the 1950s in order to prove that history education has served the political interests in Singapore under the one-party's dominance by the PAP.

9.3 Evolution of Singapore History Curriculum and Textbooks

In the early 1950s, the school curriculum was not unified with the limited role of the colonial government in education policy. A majority of Chinese vernacular schools, which were privately run by Chinese business and voluntary organisations, adopted history textbooks originated from China with much coverage of Chinese history rather than world history. Therefore, the Chinese vernacular schools were suspected to be deeply influenced by overseas political forces especially those from communist China that might frighten the British colonial administration which was busy with tackling the widespread influence of the Malayan Communist Party in the Malay Peninsula. The post-war period witnessed the colonial government's heightened interference into the making of education policy, including the formulation of the school curriculum and the production of school textbooks, with no exception for history education.

When the self-government was set up with the victory of the PAP in the general election in 1959, the PAP-led government imposed more detailed regulations on the history curriculum for both primary and secondary schools. The history subject was introduced from Primary 3 to 6 with a coverage of world history in addition to historical figures in Malaya and Singapore. Meanwhile, the history subject at the secondary level covered modern Europe, the United States of America, Russia, China, Japan and Southeast Asia, including Malaya and Singapore. These changes point to "de-Sinicisation" in the history curriculum and textbooks, which were widely adopted in the Chinese vernacular schools, in order to dilute the influence of communist China in shaping the schooling system in Singapore.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, in the early stage of independence, the importance of such humanities subjects like history was subordinate to other

subjects like English, mathematics and science which were more relevant to the needs of economic development and labour market. Moreover, the government tried to play down the importance of the history of racial riots in the 1950s and 1960s for these historical events might arouse discontent among different ethnic groups and affect racial harmony and social stability (Goh & Gopinathan, 2005). As a result, the history subject at the primary level was abolished in 1972 and replaced by the subject of "education for living", in which elements of the Singapore history were included, until 1979 when it was discontinued (Chia, 2012). Singapore history was subsequently made an elective subject for upper secondary schools as a part of the history of Malaya (Lau, 2002).

9.3.1 Social and Economic History of Singapore (1984 Edition)

It was not until the mid-1980s when it witnessed a revival of history education in the face of growing challenges arising from westernisation and the widespread of individualism and materialism, both of which were perceived to have negative impacts on younger Singaporeans' allegiance to the PAP. Apart from promoting Confucianism among the majority of the Chinese population in Singapore, another means to retain the populace's support to the regime was to remind them the difficult pathways taken by older generations in making Singapore an independent nation and achieving magnificent socio-economic developments since 1965. It is believed that the re-emphasis on history education in the early 1980s was a result of the PAP's loss of a parliamentary seat to an opposition party leader in 1981 for it ended the ruling party's monopoly in the parliament for 13 years since 1968 (Mauzy & Milne, 2002). From the PAP and Lee Kuan Yew's perspectives, the populace should be reminded of the process of merger and independence through history education in order to enhance the political legitimacy of the current regime (Chia, 2012).

Besides the introduction of religious knowledge as a new subject for senior secondary students, the teaching and learning of the Singapore history were made compulsory at the junior secondary level in 1984, when two-volume Singapore history textbooks, *Social and Economic History of Singapore*, were published. There was a Lower Secondary History Project Team (LSHPT) under the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore in the Ministry of Education. The team was responsible for designing and writing the Singapore history curriculum and textbooks. The curriculum was aimed to enable students to study the historical development of Singapore from the arrival of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who represented the British East India Company to found a free trading port in the Malay Peninsula, to 1965 when Singapore gained independence. It was aimed at cultivating a sense of national belonging and developing a sense of Singapore identity among students. Students were taught the social and economic history of Singapore from 1819 to 1900 and 1900 to 1965, respectively, in secondary 1 and 2 (Chia, 2012).

As stated in the two-volume textbook's preface, it is of vital importance for young Singaporean citizens to:

> ...acquire a sound, basic knowledge of our national history. A knowledge of the past can help them to understand the present, as past events and developments have, in no small measure, shaped the present. A knowledge of our country's history can also help to develop in our pupils a sense of identity with, and loyalty to, our Republic. There are also useful lessons to be learned from the past, such as the desirable social; values and personal attributes exemplified in the lives of certain historical personalities, the factors contributing to their success or failure, and the need for the people of Singapore to be ever alert and adaptable to changes on the regional and international scene that impinge on Singapore. (Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore, 1984a, p. iii)

It is noteworthy that the two-volume textbooks contained a total of 44 chapters, with a comprehensive coverage of topics related to the social and economic history of Singapore during the British colonial period and the how Singapore gained independence in 1965. Those topics included different peoples and their settlements in Singapore, economic prosperity, social issues and problems in the nineteenth century, the relationship between Singapore and the Malay states, the impacts of the two world wars on Singapore, the road leading to independence and post-war socio-economic problems being tackled by the PAP government. However, the sensitive issues like racial riots in 1964 were only briefly covered with a mere two short paragraphs (Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore, 1984b, pp. 226–227), but the suppression against political opposition in the Operation Coldstore in February 1963, in which prominent opposition leaders such as Lim Chin Siong were arrested, was omitted. However, the textbook did mention Lim as one of the Chinese-educated leaders in the PAP and "provided links between the PAP and the Malayan Communist Party and pro-communist groups" (Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore, 1984b, p. 205).

9.3.2 History of Modern Singapore (1994 Edition)

In 1994, the LSHPT simplified and combined the two-volume Singapore history textbooks into one-volume *History of Modern Singapore*, which was taught only at Secondary 1. There were 19 chapters in the textbook (Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore, 1994):

1. History and Us
2. Early Singapore and Its Founding by Raffles
3. The Coming of the Immigrants
4. They Helped Singapore to Grow
5. Growth of the Settlement
6. Growing Crops for Cash
7. Trade and the Growth of the Port
8. How Singapore was Ruled
9. Law and Order

10. Education and Medical Services
11. How Events in Other Countries Influenced Singapore
12. World War I and Singapore
13. The Drift to Another War
14. Flames of War
15. Fall of the Fortress
16. The End of the War
17. The Road to Self-Government
18. From Self-Government to Independence
19. Building a Nation

The first chapter is concerned about historiography and the importance of historical skills and concepts such as chronology, change and continuity, and cause and effect in the historical studies. A historical source-based study was also introduced as a means to teach students how to study history (Chia, 2012; Ministry of Education, 1992). Moreover, it is obvious that, as revealed from the textbook, the focus of the Singapore history subject was not very much on the process of nation-building but on topics like economic development, immigrant population growth and governance under the British colonial administration before the Japanese occupation in 1942. Whilst there were five chapters (Chapters 12–16) addressing the impacts of world wars on the historical development of Singapore, there were only three chapters (Chapters 17–19) covering the transformation of Singapore from a British colony to an independent nation through a short-lived merger with Malaysia (1963–1965) between the 1950s and 1960s.

Some sensitive issues like racial riots were not emphasised for they might arouse the feeling of uneasiness and hatred among different ethnic groups. Instead, it shows a clear tendency for the government to let students know about how British rule in Singapore was fallen into Japan as a rising power in Asia and also the historical significance of the Japanese occupation between February 1942 and August 1945 on how it changed the historical fate of Singapore to embark on decolonisation. Apart from studying the Singapore history at the junior secondary level, the history of other parts of the world like Europe, Britain, the USA, Japan, China and Southeast Asia, with special references on the history of Malaysia, was made available for senior secondary students (Champion & Moreira, 1995).

9.3.3 Understanding Our Past: Singapore from Colony to Nation (1999 Edition)

With the launch of the NE programme in 1997, the focus of the teaching and learning of the Singapore history at the junior secondary level was placed on the transformation of Singapore from the Japanese occupation to independence and nation-building. In 1998, as a part of the NE programme, National Heritage Board published *Singapore: Journey into Nationhood* to lay out the historical

developments of post-war Singapore through the process of decolonisation to the declaration of independence in 1965. Although this book was not a textbook used in schools, it served as a propagandist publication to arouse the public's consciousness about the historical developments since the 1945. Whilst the British colonial period was narrated briefly as the historical background, the book provided more details about social and racial riots that happened in Singapore in the 1950s and 1960s as well as the relationship between the PAP and the leftists in the discourse of merger and independence (National Heritage Board, 1998).

The book's predecessor, *Road to Nationhood: Singapore 1819–1980*, which was published by the Singapore government's Archive and Oral History Department in 1984, reviewed the history of Singapore's political development. The first two chapters looked into the political system under the British colonial rule, and the third chapter referred to the Japanese invasion as a watershed of Singapore's political history for its role in leading the process of decolonisation. The final two chapters covered how Singapore became a self-government and independent, but it did not provide details about racial riots and how the communist-related leftists penetrated into the Singapore society (Archive & Oral History Department, 1984). In this sense, it was clear that those sensitive historical events like the leftists' penetration into the PAP and racial riots were no longer taboos as considered by the Singapore government.

In line with this change of the government's attitudes towards the teaching of the Singapore history, the new textbook of the Singapore history was concerned less about British colonial history but more on what lessons could be learnt by young Singaporeans from historical events. For instance, young Singaporeans were expected to learn from the history of the Japanese invasion that it is important for them to be self-reliant on upholding the defence and security of the nation. This justifies the conscription policy which requires male adults to receive military training and serve in national service for certain periods since 1967 in Singapore. Moreover, the teaching of racial riots is to remind all ethnic groups to keep in mind the importance of keeping racial harmony in Singapore (Lee, 2008).

In order to cater for the needs of NE programme, the Curriculum Planning and Development Division under the Ministry of Education reformed the history curriculum for the junior secondary level in the late 1990s. Instead of beginning with the Singapore history, Secondary 1 students had to study civilizations of China, India and Southeast Asia, the rise and fall of empires and their politico-socio-economic systems and also the methods of historical studies and research (Kelly & Goh, 1999). Then, Secondary 2 students turned to study the Singapore history. A new textbook on Singapore history, *Understanding Our Past (Singapore: from Colony to Nation)*, was published in 1999 in line with the NE programme to cover the history of Singapore from 1819 to 1971. There were 14 chapters in that textbook (Curriculum Planning & Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore, 1999):

1. The Founding of Modern Singapore
2. The Immigrants: They Came, They Settled, They Contributed

3. The British as Rulers
4. External Events That Affected Singapore
5. World War II and the Fall of Singapore
6. The Syonan Years: Surviving the Horrors of War
7. End of War and Post-war Problems
8. Waves of Unrest: Strikes and Riots After the War
9. Road to Self-Government
10. Joining Malaysia
11. On Our Own: Separation from Malaysia
12. Journey in Nation-Building
13. Housing the People
14. Building Up Our Defence Force

The textbook, as what its contents reveal, put much less emphasis on the British colonial rule in Singapore with only four chapters' coverage. Moreover, more emphasis had been placed on the historical development in the twentieth century rather than the nineteenth century for its focus would be placed on the history of nation-building in line with the NE programme. The history of the Japanese occupation was covered by three chapters in the textbook. They described the historical significance of World War II on changes facing Singapore in the post-war period, which was characterised by the eclipse of the British colonial supremacy and decolonisation. Besides history textbook, young Singaporeans have been reminded with the historical legacy of the Japanese occupation in the Singapore history through museum exhibitions and publications (Lee, 2005).

Besides the British colonial rule and the Japanese occupation, more than half of the textbook's coverage was concerned about the development of nation-building in Singapore during the post-war period. Social unrest, racial riots, Singapore-Malaysia relationships, the reasons for merger and separation and the linkage between the PAP and leftists were examined in more detail. In addition, the textbook also turned to assess major achievements made by the PAP after Singapore's independence in 1965. Two core policies were addressed in the textbook, namely, public housing and conscription. These two policies do not only demonstrate the PAP's ability to bring about social progress and stability but also enhance the political legitimacy of the ruling party.

For public housing, on the one hand, the "home ownership scheme" since the 1960s gradually increased the island state's home ownership rate to over 90 % which in turn contributed to the growing sense of national belonging through the entitlement of Singaporeans home ownership. This could be conceived as the state's determination to entitle every Singaporean a stake of the nation. For conscription, on the other hand, this was to reinforce the belief that Singaporeans regardless of race, language or religion should be prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of national interests (Curriculum Planning & Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore, 1999).

9.3.4 *Singapore: From Settlement to Nation, Pre-1819 to 1971 (2007 Edition)*

In 2007, the fourth edition of the Singapore history textbook, which was entitled *Singapore: From Settlement to Nation, Pre-1819 to 1971*, was published and has been used by schools until the time of writing. Unlike its predecessors, the starting point of the Singapore history was no longer confined to 1819 but back to as early as the fourteenth century for written records and archaeological findings about Singapore at that period had been discovered over the past few decades (Kwa, Heng, & Tan, 2009). Similar to the previous Singapore history textbook published in 1999, the textbook put a strong emphasis on Singapore in the twentieth century with special reference to historical changes before and after World War II. There were 10 chapters in the textbook (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore, 2007):

1. Was There Singapore Before 1819?
2. Who Was the Founder of Singapore?
3. What Part Did the Different Immigrant Communities Play in Singapore's Development?
4. How Did the British Govern Singapore Before World War II?
5. How Did External Events Before World War II Affect Singapore?
6. How Did World War II Affect Singapore?
7. How Did the Local People Respond to British Rule After World War II?
8. How Did Singapore Progress to Internal Self-Government?
9. How Did Singapore Achieve Independence?
10. How Did Singapore Tackle Its Challenges in Its Early Years of Independence?

As shown in the table of contents of the textbook, more than half of its coverage was concerned about the historical development of Singapore over the three decades between 1942 and 1971. This demonstrates a clear intention for the government, which was responsible for curriculum design and textbook writing, to articulate major achievements in social progress and economic development accomplished under the current regime during the early years of independence. This is not only to enhance the regime's political legitimacy but also to cure the problem of young Singaporeans lacking knowledge about the first-generation political leaders and their contributions made to the nation-building of Singapore. Therefore, the biographical notes of the first-generation political leaders like Lee Kuan Yew and other founders of the PAP, including Goh Keng Swee, Toh Chin Chye and S. Rajaratnam, were included in the textbook (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore, 2007).

Apart from this, public exhibitions on the early years of Singapore's independence were organised by the government to enable young Singaporeans to recognise the PAP's contributions on economic development, social stability, racial harmony and the improvement of people's living quality (National Archives of Singapore, 2008; National Library Board and National Archives of Singapore, 2007). These

measures were aimed at shedding away any negative images posed on the ruling party for its unpopular and controversial policies confronting with political opposition and constraining the freedom of the press, assembly and public expression.

In summary, the Singapore government has put more emphasis on the teaching of the Singapore history at the junior secondary level concomitant with the implementation of the NE programme in the 1990s. There has been a shift from the orientation towards the British colonial history to the historical development of Singapore in the twentieth century with a strong emphasis on the lessons learnt from the Japanese occupation in 1942–1945 and how the nation-building of Singapore went on under the PAP's regime. With the government as the only writer of the Singapore history textbook for the junior secondary level, the intention was to make use of history education to cultivate a sense of national belonging and identity. The textbook also cultivated the sense of being Singaporeans who are willing to sacrifice individual interests for the sake of protecting communitarian and national interests. Being a core component of the NE programme, the Singapore history curriculum and textbooks are expected to serve a core purpose of legitimising the ruling party's governance in spite of the ever growing challenges facing the PAP for it is unlikely for young Singaporeans to accept unconditionally the political mandate and paternal rule by the ruling party. Post-65ers, referring to Singaporeans who were born after Singapore's independence in 1965, in fact, are more likely to question whether their rights of political participation and voices commenting government's policies could be respected and responded.

9.3.5 Singapore: The Making of a Nation-State, 1300–1975 (2014–2015 Edition)

Following the previous edition of the lower secondary textbook, together with the archaeological findings on Singapore before 1819, the latest textbook entitled *Singapore: The Making of a Nation-State, 1300–1975*, whose the first volume of the two was published in early 2014, traced the origins of "old Singapore" before the arrival of the British colonial power back to the fourteenth century. As stated by Ho Peng, Director-General of Education, in the textbook's preface as a "message to students",

> You will begin your exploration by Tracing Singapore's Origins. This journey begins with the question – How old is Singapore? – and focuses on tracing Singapore's origin as a port-of-call along the Asian maritime trade route from the 14th to 19th century. You will discover how Singapore was connected to the region and the world. (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore, 2014, p. i)

The first volume of the textbook covers two main periods, one is between fourteenth and nineteenth century and the other is between 1819 when Stamford Raffles arrived in Singapore and 1942 when Singapore was occupied by the Japanese in World War II. Rather than simply providing historical facts for students to study

the Singapore history, more emphasis has been placed on encouraging students to examine historical sources and evidence like artefacts, documents and oral historical accounts to come up with their own analysis. In other words, the new history syllabus has been designed to encourage students to interpret primary sources and therefore to stimulate their reasoning and analysis rather than relying on old-style rote learning method (Peterson, 2014). Meanwhile, the second volume, which would be published in early 2015, focuses on the period starting from the Japanese occupation, decolonisation for self-government and independence and also the first decade of independent Singapore between 1965 and 1975.

9.4 History Education and Political Development in Singapore

In the early days of Singapore independence, the PAP's governance was maintained on the basis of a crisis mentality for the nascent Chinese-dominated multiracial country had no hinterland's support but needed to be self-reliant to survive in between two major Islamic countries in Southeast Asia, namely, Indonesia and Malaysia. The ideal type of society in Singapore as desired by the PAP regime is the society with a strong belief on solidarity, and peoples regardless of race, language or religion are disciplined without hesitation to make sacrifices for protecting the national interests as far as possible. Public policies like public housing, compulsory retirement scheme and conscription reflect a fundamental belief upheld by the PAP-led government that Singaporeans should be united and should recognise their national identity which should not be bounded by their own ethnic origins. The unity of Singaporeans should come with mass support and loyalty to the ruling party, which politicised the issue of Singapore's survival successfully, that is an important message conveyed by various editions of Singapore history textbooks as discussed earlier.

9.4.1 Politicisation of History Education

For education, a series of policy initiatives, including the adoption of daily rituals of raising the national flag and singing the national anthem at schools, the unification of schools' medium of instruction in English, the elimination of vernacular schools and the standardisation of school curriculum and textbooks, were aimed at terminating the phenomenon of interracial segregation which was considered harmful for maintaining social and racial harmony (J. Tan, 2006). Students have been taught to respect and also have better understanding about the custom and culture of other ethnic groups for maintaining racial harmony, based on which political and social stability can be sustained in Singapore. Therefore, for the PAP-led government,

education is not only for upgrading human resources but also for keeping the ruling party in power for perpetuity as what the PAP leaders have been consistently thinking about (Chong, 2010).

Nevertheless, in fact, challenges arising from the easy access of information from the network society and also the profound influence of western cultures and values like individualism and materialism make it more difficult for the ruling party to come up with citizens whose values and beliefs have become more heterogeneous when the influence of state's propaganda and ideology on individuals' daily life has been diminishing. It is therefore not surprising that young Singaporeans need to be reminded constantly about how the nascent nation was created and how they should contribute to the ongoing nation-building of Singapore.

Since 1965, the PAP regime in Singapore has been achievement based provided that the strong mandate of its rule and governance in Singapore is largely due to its magnificent economic and social progress achieved over the past few decades. However, whether the ruling party can make use of its achievements in the remarkable economic growth and social progress to win popular support in long term is increasingly questionable. In fact, the ways that Singapore is governed are not entirely welcomed by its people, and some policies proposed by the PAP and its leaders like Lee Kuan Yew had aroused controversies and suspicions among Singaporeans. For instance, the advocacy of eugenic beliefs and the controversial graduate mothers' scheme to encourage educated women to have more children were seen as discriminative against those who tended to be less educated but to have more children. This was believed to target Malays in Singapore (Mauzy & Milne, 2002; Rahim, 1998). The consistent suppression of political opposition and the imposition and tight control over the mainstream mass media have long been considered stifling alternative nongovernment voices to be heard in Singapore society.

For Singaporean youths who are more eager to engage themselves in social media and pursue individual needs and material aspirations, they are simultaneously more demanding for a higher degree of freedom, human rights and democracy. The top-down governance style prevailed under the premiership of Lee Kuan Yew was challenged by the urge for more open-minded government which should be able to listen to and embrace different voices from the ground for facilitating the policy-making and implementation. When Lee Kuan Yew stepped down as the nation's first prime minister in 1990, Singapore has witnessed a new political chapter marked by the growing number of post-65ers who were born after Singapore's independence, but they did not show empathy with the first generation of political leaders, including Lee Kuan Yew. Worse still, young Singaporeans seemed to lack knowledge about the contributions made by Lee and his colleagues in the PAP. The introduction of the NE programme, therefore, should be considered a medium of political education to reinforce the political status of Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP as the founders of the Singapore nation which should be well respected by the younger generation.

In Singapore, history education in schools is under tight control by the state for the sake of national and political interests. There are no alternative interpretations of the Singapore history, except the one made by the state, being presented before the

students in schools. The state's version of historical account provides only a positive narration of the nation-building history with an attempt to justify what the PAP-led government did under its political hegemony even though some policies might arouse resistance and controversies among the populace. As a consequence, students are discouraged to be more critical about the historical role of the ruling party in the nation-building and the costs for developing the economy and maintaining social order and racial harmony under the PAP's rule.

Whilst history education is politicised, it was expected to educate young Singaporeans to be depoliticised that they blindly accept how they have been governed. Social constraints and problems such as lack of social mobility, educational inequality among racial groups and widened income gap, arising from the nation-building developments, were omitted or concealed in the school curriculum. In the long run, however, the ignorance of these social problems in the Singapore's nation-building history would result in the further deterioration of social and racial dilemmas for these problems have not been treated seriously (Rahim, 1998; J. Tan, 2008). In short, the politicisation of history education in Singapore intends to result in the depoliticisation of the younger generation. Nevertheless, it is argued that the effectiveness of history education in ensuring Singaporeans' unquestioning political loyalty towards the PAP's regime is indeed problematic.

9.4.2 History Education for Patriotism or Political Loyalty?

There is a question about the purpose of history education to make the younger generation to be patriotic to Singapore or to be politically loyal to the PAP's regime. One of the aims of the NE programme, with an emphasis on the teaching of the twentieth-century Singapore history, is to make young Singaporeans appreciating and recognising the PAP's contributions in the nation-building process and thus reinforce the feeling of satisfaction about the material gains and the improved living quality resulted from various policies like public housing and universal pension scheme. Nevertheless, when a sense of national identity and belonging has been inculcated among young Singaporeans through history education and the NE programme, it does not mean they would have a high degree of political loyalty to the ruling party or the regime. In other words, the younger generation is patriotic but not necessarily loyal to the PAP.

As what is revealed from the 2011 general election, which is also labelled as a watershed election, the PAP won the lowest percentage of votes, whilst the opposition Workers' Party won the highest number of elected parliamentary seats (even though only 6 out of 87, increased to 7 after its victory at a by-election in January 2013) ever since independence in 1965 (Da Cunha, 2012; Singh, 2012). Although this reflects the PAP still enjoys political hegemony, it is more difficult for the regime to garner solid support from young Singaporeans, most of whom are patriotic and have a strong sense of national identity, for they have much easier access of information on contentious perspectives of the ruling party from other

channels not entirely controlled by the state like the Internet (George, 2006, 2011) that can arouse a feeling of discontent among young voters aged between 21 and 35, who are interested in issues like civil liberties and living quality and thus tend to be more vocal and also more likely to ask for more alternative voices to be heard in the policymaking process (E. Tan, 2012; J. Tan, 2010; Vogel, 1991).

Whilst it is without doubt that history education can promote a patriotic feeling among young Singaporeans, it is far from true that it can serve as a political propaganda to solicit strong support among the younger generation to the ruling party especially at a time when more social problems as mentioned earlier have emerged and affected people's livelihoods. As a survey on the wellbeing of Singaporeans conducted with 1,500 citizens in 2011 by Tambyah and Tan (2013) shows 77.1 % of the respondents would identify themselves as Singaporeans and over 90.8 % felt proud to be a Singaporean. However, only about half of the respondents (50.7 %) agreed to have patriotic education to breed patriotism. In this sense, the linkage between patriotic or national education and the cultivation of national identity is not as clear as what the government used to assume. The Singapore society is no longer depoliticised but re-politicised for the growing interests of the younger generation in political issues. It is unrealistic to expect young Singaporeans will accept whatever the ruling party delivers, but they can be more critical towards the governance of the PAP-led government. The trend of having a more open-minded and embracive government cannot be reversed (Chong, 2012).

Meanwhile, history education should not be monopolised by the state machine that alternative views and interpretations are completely banned in schools for it should not be a mere tool of political propaganda, which is aimed to provide uncritically positive view on the history of nation-building. There should be a more balanced coverage of historical accounts from both positive and negative sides being presented in the history textbooks which should not be dominated by the state. Meanwhile, instead of simply avoiding sensitive historical events and political issues which are widely considered as taboos, teachers should be given more rooms to encourage more balanced discussion on the historical development of Singapore's nation-building. By doing so, students can develop constructive criticisms on the PAP's regime and thus think more independently about how the nation is going to be further developed in the long run when the older generations who led the independence of Singapore passed away.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the development of history education, with special reference to the teaching of the Singapore history at the junior secondary level and its relationship with the political development in Singapore since the 1950s. As a developmental state, both the national and economic developments provide a solid foundation for the PAP-led government to construct its political legitimacy and mandate in Singapore over the past half a century (Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004).

The state plays a prominent role in maintaining social and racial harmony for the sake of economic development (Gopinathan, 2007). Education remains pivotal in developing the economy of the developmental state like Singapore (Green, 1997). Regardless of the profound influence of market forces, the Singapore government keeps holding a tight grip over education affairs, including curriculum planning and development. History education not only reminds young Singaporeans the historical significance of the PAP's leaders in building up Singapore as a modernised and united nation but also constructs an image about the ruling party which can remain in power in perpetuity.

The growing importance of history education is also closely related to the changing political landscape in Singapore, where there has been calls for more open-minded and embracive government that may induce some challenges to the absolute political hegemony enjoyed by the PAP's regime. History education has been incorporated into the NE programme to make sure that young Singaporeans have knowledge about who the founders of Singapore nation are and what the first generation of political leaders of the PAP did for the interests of the nation. Certain historical events are manipulated to have an important political message propagated in the society. For instance, the Japanese occupation serves an important lesson for Singaporeans to be prepared to make sacrifices for the interests of national security in line with the self-reliance principle. Racial riots in the 1960s denote the importance of keeping a harmonious relationship between ethnic groups for public order and social stability.

The political nature of history education in Singapore can be vividly observed. History education has been manipulated by the PAP-led government to consolidate its political mandate. Nevertheless, the one-sided historical narration dominated by the state ignores problems or negative aspects related to the PAP's rule over the past few decades. With the younger generation well educated, paternalistic rule and top-down approach of governance have been seen a major obstacle for them to take a more active role in Singapore politics. History education, together with the NE programme, as a political propaganda is not effective in making more young Singaporeans to support the ruling party, but they are more patriotic and proud of being Singaporeans without necessarily being affiliated with the PAP. Therefore, more challenges are facing the PAP's regime for most of young Singaporeans are educated and more critical about the shortcomings and setbacks committed by the government, whose policymaking and governance are under much greater pressure to be more accountable and transparent as expected by ordinary Singaporeans who vote the PAP with its mandate to rule in Singapore.

References

Archive and Oral History Department. (1984). *Road to nationhood Singapore 1819–1980*. Singapore, Singapore: Singapore News and Publications Limited.

Champion, M., & Moreira, J. (1995). *History of Malaya and Southeast Asia*. Singapore, Singapore: EPB Publishers.

Chan, H. (1971). *Singapore: The politics of survival, 1965–1971*. Singapore, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Chia, Y. (2012). History education for nation building and state formation: The case of Singapore. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning, 7*(2), 191–207.

Chong, T. (2010). Fluid nation: The perpetual "renovation" of nation and national identities. In T. Chong (Ed.), *Management of success: Singapore revisited* (pp. 504–520). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Chong, T. (2012). *"A return to normal politics: Singapore general elections 2011". Southeast Asian affairs 2012* (pp. 283–298). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Chua, B. (1995). *Communitarian ideology and democracy in Singapore*. London: Routledge.

Chua, B. (1997). *Political legitimacy and housing: Stakeholding in Singapore*. London: Routledge.

Chua, B. (2004). Communitarianism without competitive politics in Singapore. In B. Chua (Ed.), *Communitarian politics in Asia* (pp. 78–101). London: Routledge Curzon.

Chua, B. (2009). The influence of communitarian politics. In M. Beeson (Ed.), *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2nd ed., pp. 311–324). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore. (1984a). *Social and economic history of modern Singapore 1*. Singapore, Singapore: Longman.

Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore. (1984b). *Social and economic history of modern Singapore 2*. Singapore, Singapore: Longman.

Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore. (1994). *History of modern Singapore*. Singapore, Singapore: Longman.

Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore. (1999). *Understanding our past (Singapore: from colony to nation)*. Singapore, Singapore: Federal Publications.

Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore. (2007). *Singapore: From settlement to nation, pre-1819 to 1971*. Singapore, Singapore: EPB Pan Pacific.

Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore. (2014). *Singapore: The making of a nation-state, 1300–1975 (secondary one)*. Singapore, Singapore: Star Publishing Pte Ltd.

Da Cunha, D. (2012). *Breakthrough: Roadmap for Singapore's political future*. Singapore, Singapore: Straits Times Press.

Department of Statistics, Singapore. (2014). *Monthly digest of statistics Singapore, May 2014*. Singapore, Singapore: Department of Statistics.

Fletcher, M. (1969). *The separation of Singapore from Malaysia*. New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University.

George, C. (2006). *Contentious journalism and the internet: Towards democratic discourse in Malaysia and Singapore*. Singapore, Singapore: NUS Press.

George, C. (2011). Internet politics: Shouting down the PAP. In K. Tan & T. Lee (Eds.), *Voting in change: Politics of Singapore's 2011 general election*. Singapore, Singapore: Ethos Books.

Gluck, C. (1993). The past in the present. In A. Gordon (Ed.), *Postwar Japan as history* (pp. 64–95). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goh, K. (1978). *Report on the Ministry of Education 1978*. Singapore, Singapore: Ministry of Education.

Goh, C., & Gopinathan, S. (2005). History education and the construction of national identity in Singapore, 1945–2000. In E. Vickers & A. Jones (Eds.), *History education and national identity in East Asia* (pp. 203–226). New York: Routledge.

Gopinathan, S. (1974). *Towards a national system of education in Singapore, 1945–73*. Singapore, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Gopinathan, S. (1980). Moral education in a plural society: A Singapore case study. *International Review of Education, 26*(2), 171–185.

Gopinathan, S. (1997). Education and development in Singapore. In J. Tan, S. Gopinathan, & W. Ho (Eds.), *Education in Singapore: A book of readings* (pp. 33–54). Singapore, Singapore: Prentice Hall.

Gopinathan, S. (2007). Globalisation, the Singapore developmental state and education policy: A thesis revisited. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 5*(1), 53–70.

Gopinathan, S., & Sharpe, L. (2004). New bearings for citizenship education in Singapore. In W. Lee, D. Grossman, K. Kennedy, & G. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 119–133). Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalisation and the nation state*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.

Han, C. (2007). History education and 'Asian' values for an 'Asian' democracy: The case of Singapore. *Compare, 37*(3), 383–398.

Han, C., Chew, J., & Tan, J. (2001). Singapore: Values education for a knowledge-based economy. In W. Cummings, M. Teresa, & J. Hawkins (Eds.), *Values education for dynamic societies: Individualism or collectivism* (pp. 267–282). Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Hill, M., & Lian, K. (1995). *The politics of nation building and citizenship in Singapore*. London: Routledge.

Hirano, M. (2009). *History education and international relations: A case study of diplomatic disputes over Japanese textbooks*. Kent, UK: Global Oriental.

Hong, L., & Huang, J. (2008). *The scripting of a national history: Singapore and its pasts*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Huff, W. (1994). *The economic growth of Singapore: Trade and development in the twentieth century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kelly, N., & Goh, P. (1999). *Discovery history*. Singapore, Singapore: Longman.

Kong, L., & Yeoh, B. (1997). "The construction of national identity through the production of ritual and spectacle: An analysis of National Day parade in Singapore. *Political Geography, 16*(3), 213–239.

Kwa, C., Heng, D., & Tan, T. (2009). *Singapore: A 700-year history – from early emporium to world city*. Singapore, Singapore: National Archives of Singapore.

Lau, A. (2002). The national past and the writing of the history of Singapore. In K. Ban, A. Pakir, & C. Tong (Eds.), *Imagining Singapore* (2nd ed., pp. 34–53). Singapore, Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

Lee, H. (1997). *National education*. Speech by BG Lee Hsien Loong, Deputy Prime Minister at the Launch of National Education, 17 May. Singapore: Ministry of Education.

Lee, K. (2000). *From third world to first – The Singapore story, 1965–2000*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Lee, G. (2005). *The Syonan years: Singapore under Japanese rule 1942–1945*. Singapore, Singapore: National Archives of Singapore.

Lee, E. (2008). *Singapore: The unexpected nation*. Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Leow, S., & Tan, A. (2010, February 17). More schools merge history and geography. *The Straits Times* (Singapore).

Liu, H., & Wong, S. (2004). *Singapore Chinese society in transition: Business, politics and socioeconomic change, 1945–1965*. New York: Peter Lang.

Mauzy, D., & Milne, R. (2002). *Singapore politics under the People's Action Party*. London: Routledge.

Ministry of Education. (1992). *History syllabus, secondary 1 to 2 (special/express course)*. Singapore, Singapore: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Information and the Arts. (1990). *Our shared values*. Singapore, Singapore: Ministry of Information and the Arts.

National Archives of Singapore. (2008). *10 years that shaped a nation*. Singapore, Singapore: National Archives of Singapore.

National Heritage Board. (1998). *Singapore: Journey into nationhood*. Singapore, Singapore: Landmark Books.

National Library Board and National Archives of Singapore. (2007). *Singapore: The first ten years of independence*. Singapore, Singapore: National Library Board and National Archives of Singapore.

Ohmae, K. (1998). *The end of the nation state*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Ong, T. (1979). *Report on moral education 1979*. Singapore, Singapore: Ministry of Education.

Peterson, J. (2014, May 11). In new textbook, the story of Singapore begins 500 years earlier. *New York Times*.

Quah, J. (1990). Government policies and nation-building. In J. Quah (Ed.), *In search of Singapore's national values* (pp. 45–65). Singapore, Singapore: The Institute of Policy Studies, Times Academic Press.

Rahim, L. (1998). *The Singapore dilemma: The political and educational marginality of the Malay community*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.

Singh, B. (2012). *Politics and governance in Singapore: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Singapore, Singapore: McGraw Hill Education (Asia).

Tambyah, S., & Tan, S. (2013). *Happiness and wellbeing: The Singaporean experience*. London: Routledge.

Tamney, J. (1996). *The struggle over Singapore's soul: Western modernization and Asian culture*. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

Tan, C. (2008a). The teaching of religious knowledge in a plural society: The case for Singapore. *International Review of Education, 54*(2), 175–191.

Tan, C. (2008b). From moral values to citizenship education: The teaching of religion in Singapore schools. In A. Lai (Ed.), *Religious diversity in Singapore* (pp. 321–341). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Tan, E. (2012). Transitioning to a 'new normal' in a post-Lee Kuan Yew era. In *Southeast Asian affairs 2012* (pp. 265–282). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Tan, J. (1997). The rise and fall of religious knowledge in Singapore secondary schools. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 29*(5), 603–624.

Tan, J. (2006). Key educational policy initiatives and trends in Singapore. In C. Tan, B. Wong, J. Chua, & T. Kang (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on education: An introduction* (pp. 192–211). Singapore, Singapore: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Tan, J. (2008). *Values education amid globalization and change: The case of Singapore's education system*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Educational Research, Faculty of Education, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Tan, J. (2010). Education in Singapore: Sorting them out?". In T. Chong (Ed.), *Management of success: Singapore revisited* (pp. 288–308). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Tan, T. (1994). Moral education in Singapore: A critical appraisal. *Journal of Moral Education, 23*(1), 61–82.

Tan, T. Y. (2008). *Creating 'Greater Malaysia': Decolonization and the politics of merger*. Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Tan, T., & Chew, L. (2004). Moral and citizenship education as statecraft in Singapore: A curriculum critique. *Journal of Moral Education, 33*(4), 597–606.

Teo, S. (2010). *Beyond the Blue Gate: Recollections of a political prisoner*. Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.

Trocki, C. (2006). *Singapore: Wealth, power and the culture of control*. London: Routledge.

Turnbull, C. (2009). *A history of modern Singapore 1819–2005*. Singapore, Singapore: NUS Press.

Vogel, E. (1991). *The four little dragons: The spread of industrialization in East Asia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wong, T. (2002). *Hegemonies compared: State formation and Chinese school politics in postwar Singapore and Hong Kong*. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Yeo, K. (1973). *Political development in Singapore 1945–1955*. Singapore, Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Zakaria, F. (1994). Culture is destiny: A conversation with Lee Kuan Yew. *Foreign Affairs, 73*(2), 109–126.

Chapter 10
Facing the Challenge: Obstacles to Global and Global Citizenship Education in US Schools

Anatoli Rapoport

10.1 Globalization, Global Citizenship, and Global Citizenship Education: Introduction

- In fact it was an intentional decision made back in 2000 when we were not allowed to use the word *global*.
- Were not allowed? – I thought I misheard Charles.
- Correct. We were not allowed, – Charles was one of education specialists, whom I interviewed for my research on how educators conceptualize globalization and global citizenship. After 10 years, as a social studies teacher, he now worked as Social Studies Coordinator in the State Department of Education and as such was familiar with revision and adoption of State Academic Standards in Social Studies – Educational round table said, "No that's too divisive a word." Charles went on. Connotations of one order of black helicopters, Black Hawk down, Somalia 1993 . . . we don't want to get involved in that they said, so we use the word international.

The attitude toward globalization, global citizenship, and global citizenship education in the United States is complicated. Besides the general reasons that will be discussed further in this chapter, such as terminological vagueness, or lack of curricular support, advance of global education, and global citizenship education in the United States, have faced very specific challenges that are largely the result of political history and long-lasting debates about the place and role of the United States in the world. The ever contested and debated concepts of globalization, citizenship, and education on American soil, fertilized by isolationism, exceptionalism, decentralism, and individualism, acquired new nuances and meanings. We now all know that the world is going to be "far more equal, far more active and energetic" (Zakaria, 2005, p. 92). We also know that the

A. Rapoport (✉)
Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, USA
e-mail: rapoport@purdue.edu

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_10

forthcoming and imminent equality, activism, and energy are going to challenge our traditional perceptions of the world. Global processes in economy, science, and technology have provided a tremendous impulse to changes in values, customs, and more. Regardless of how positively or negatively globalization is seen throughout the world, it has already started to change the world, and these changes are irreversible. Economically, scientifically, and technologically, the United States has more or less, and I would argue more than less, succeeded in meeting the challenges of globalization. But is the nation prepared to face the inevitable moral, ideological, and political changes that go hand in hand with the changes in global economies? Even more importantly, are US schools preparing students morally, politically, and ideologically to become citizens of a future world that is going to be more equal, active, and dynamic than this one? The future world is not only a world of common markets of goods, capital, or labor. It is also a world of common values, a world of tolerance, a world of multiple identities and loyalties, and a world of shared responsibilities. Speaking of the effect of globalization on education, Carnoy (1999) noted that "globalization has a profound effect on education at many different levels, and will have even greater effect in the future, as nations, regions, and localities fully comprehend the fundamental role educational institutions have, not only in transmitting skills needed in the global economy, but in reintegrating individuals into new communities built around information and knowledge" (p. 14). The first decade of the twenty-first century that was full of hopes, as well as disappointments, demonstrated that citizenship education, particularly in regard to its global dimension, faces multiple contextual, methodological, curricular, and even semantic challenges. This chapter discusses the major obstacles to global and global citizenship education in US schools and how curricular documents, namely, state social studies academic standards, address such concepts as globalization and global citizenship.

Schools play a key role in citizenship education and, therefore, are one of the critical providers of global citizenship education. Due to the schools' potential to be aligned with transnational efforts in promoting global civility (Reimers, 2006), the role of curricula, teachers, or school administrators can hardly be overstated. Nonetheless, as research demonstrates, teachers are mostly oblivious to the purposes, methods, and content of global citizenship education (Gallavan, 2008; Gaudelli, 2009; Myers, 2006; Rapoport, 2010; Robbins, Francis, & Elliot, 2003; Yamashita, 2006). Overall passive and, in many cases, skeptical attitudes to global citizenship and related concepts eventually have resulted in neglect of global citizenship education in many US schools. The growing amount of research, particularly comparative research, demonstrated that "the traditional notion of developing democratic understanding needs to be expanded to encompass attention to decision making, controversial issues, and civic action set in multicultural and global contexts" (Hahn, 2001, p. 21). Furthermore, because the US education system has not yet overcome the stigma of globalization as being anti-American, "the reality of the U.S. education system at best approximates the goal of developing national citizens with some relativistic understanding and awareness of the rest of the world" (Myers, 2006, p. 389).

Since the 1990s, much of the world – particularly developing countries – has viewed globalization as a new hegemonic endeavor and as a new attempt of "encroaching imperialism" of the West, particularly the United States, to recolonize the world. In our metaphorically determined world, globalization for many in developing countries has become a symbol of poverty, injustice, and cultural degradation and so has the United States that epitomizes this global phenomenon (Lal, 2004; Stromquist, 2009). Gradually, globalization has become synonymous to Americanization. Like all paradigmatic changes of such scale, globalization is a very controversial and ambiguous process that has both advantages and disadvantages. Questionable international policy of the United States, immediately linked by some shrewd politicians to the outcomes of globalization, also contributed to the negative image of both the United States and globalization. Ironically, in the United States, where the traditions of isolationism are still strong, globalization is perceived by many, mostly in conservative circles, as a conspiracy launched by some mythical world government, usually personified by the United Nations, against core American values. Myers (2006) noted that the paradox of globalization in the United States is that we fear the same threat that the rest of the world blames us for: that globalization "is causing us to lose our national identity and the 'American way of life,' and that regional free-trade pacts are eliminating local jobs" (p. 371). As a result, the complex, ambiguous, controversial, and provocative concepts of globalization and global citizenship are either ignored in many US schools or presented solely through the economic interdependence framework.

Many obstacles to global citizenship and global citizenship education, such as its anti-Western stigma or an alleged threat of international organizations like the United Nations, are the result of general ideological and cultural realities and tensions in the society. Together with pro-global forces, these extra-systemic contextual elements are a part of a macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) that directly influences education. However, a number of intro-systemic factors within education potentially hold back the development of global and global citizenship education in schools. The intra-educational factors that will be described further, along with those mentioned before, are detrimental to global education and global citizenship education. The consequences of those factors are the lack of global- and global citizenship-related courses or topics in preservice teacher preparation, insufficient curricular and methodological guidance, lack of interest in and sometimes intentional ignoring of global education among legislators, and absence of citizenship-related topics at global-themed teacher professional development seminars.

In the following sections, I will address some intra-systemic factors that negatively impact the development of global and global citizenship education in the United States. In particular, I will describe to what extent the lack of curricular guidance contributes to the neglect of those concepts in the social studies classroom.

10.2 Conceptual Vagueness and Ambiguity

Globalization and global citizenship in particular have become a subject of intense theoretical debates only fairly recently (Armstrong, 2006, Banks, 2004; Heater, 1999; Noddings, 2005; Wood, 2008). Although in very general terms global citizenship means belonging to a global community, every next step in the deconstruction of this term raises questions. What is globalization? What is citizenship? Does a global community really exist? How inclusive should global citizenship be? Is global citizenship regulated? Who or what determines its boundaries? How devastating will the impact of global citizenship be on national or local citizenship if we accept it? These and many other questions challenge our routine understanding of citizenship, a construct that since the very inception of nations several centuries ago has been regarded mostly as a nation-state-related concept (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005; Delanty, 2002). As such, citizenship has been presented, taught, and negotiated among groups and individuals. The difficulty of conceptualizing global citizenship becomes even more apparent if we consider that the key components of this construct, global and citizenship, are both contestant concepts that spark vigorous debates.

As an increasingly contested construct, citizenship is placed at the center of political, ideological, and cultural debates because citizenship is seen as a virtue that can be actively practiced by society members to resist increasing political apathy and indifference among voters. Citizenship is a multifaceted multifunctional construct that is difficult to define in a traditional manner. Marshall's (1950) theory of historical progression of citizenship has been challenged by a rising number of competing models (Carter, 2006). Citizenship is increasingly seen as a measure that helps exercise individual rights against markets or government and as a means of minority struggle to achieve desirable equality and status. Political scientists and theorists usually conceptualize and interpret citizenship through various discourses when the model of citizenship is determined by both context and involved agents (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Until recently, at least one aspect of citizenship was almost universally accepted: citizenship has been interpreted through an individual relationship with a nation-state when loyalty to the state and building a common identity were at the core of citizenship education (Lawson & Scott, 2002). To be a citizen implied that a person, at a minimum, had a number of responsibilities to the state and to other members of the community and, at the same time, enjoyed rights that the state awarded him or her as compensation for fulfilling their responsibilities. However, the areas of rights, responsibilities, duties, or privileges are expanding and multiplying under the pressure of globalization and unification, so that an individual's expectation of loyalty, commitment, and belonging is no longer limited to a living place or nation but also comes from a sense of belonging to a more expanded community, to the world (McIntosh, 2005). This expanded model of citizenship has come to be seen as an umbrella model for several submodels: global citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship, supranational citizenship, or transnational citizenship.

The rapid changes in theorizing about citizenship and globalization, significant conceptual shifts in citizenship, and global paradigms along with cyclical alterations in educational policies and expectations resulted in the situation when classroom teachers do not know much about noneconomic aspects of globalization and global citizenship (Gallavan, 2008; Robbins et al., 2003) or simply ignore these constructs as white noise (Rapoport, 2010). Neither teacher education programs nor professional development courses are of much help due to the increasing pressure of accountability, testing, or marginalization of social sciences in the curriculum. As a consequence, such concepts as globalization, global ethics, or global citizenship remain vague and ambiguous for many education practitioners who try to avoid using terms they do not fully comprehend.

10.3 Traditionalistic Approach to Citizenship and Focus on National History Education in Public Schools

The major goal of public education is creating citizens. Thus, citizenship education is in the core of public schooling. Since the time when nationalism played a critical role in unifying new nations, nationality and citizenship have been virtually synonymous terms (Davies et al., 2005; Heater, 1999). As a result, the socially constructed symbiosis of citizenship and national identity has influenced state-supported citizenship education in the most profound way. School curricula, particularly in public schools, reflect, produce, and reinforce the dominant version of citizenship in a given society. Needless to say, the dominant version of citizenship is national citizenship, which determines membership in the nation and the relationship between the government and the individual. The history of citizenship in the United States has been closely intertwined with the history of education and the development of public schooling. From the beginning, schools were expected to prepare future loyal citizens who would identify themselves with the nation (Graham, 2005; Reimers, 2006; Reuben, 2005). The new nation, as all new nations, needed legitimation that could be easily achieved, at least for its own citizens, through indoctrination in nationalism and patriotism. The public school system was a perfect means for achieving this goal.

For centuries, the development of national citizenship and national identity has been the essence of school curricula in the United States, particularly in such areas as history, social studies, or literacy. Historians of education and curricular reform demonstrated that public schools were a robust component of nationalization. Nationalism and allegiance to the nation-state were a product of mandatory public schooling and its corresponding core curriculum (Bohan, 2005; Cremin, 1988; Tyack, 1974). As a result, the never-ending process of nation building has been cited as justification for concentrating on national citizenship at the expense of developing within the students a broader and more comprehensive picture of the world.

Although global contexts have always been present to a varying degrees in public school curricula and even considering growing interest in such subjects as world history or world geography (Cavanagh, 2007), the traditionalistic, nation-centered citizenship approach dominates curricula (Myers, 2006; Reimers, 2006). It is also true that numerous attempts have been made to introduce international and global themes to students for the last several decades, and many of those attempts have been successful. However, the general direction of citizenship education, the conceptualization of citizenship in its legalistic form as a strictly nation-state-related construct, has not significantly changed. There is not much evidence that teacher education programs are successful in challenging preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship despite a growing number of college courses in global and multicultural education (Gallavan, 2008; Robbins, et al., 2003). New teachers normally return to classrooms with an unchallenged legalistic concept of citizenship securely tied to their previously constructed ideas of state and nation. And the circle starts all over again. No wonder that, for teachers, citizenship is by definition a state-related concept (Parker, Ninimiya, & Cogan, 1999).

The notoriously familiar fear of globalization as a threat to national US American identity is translated by some historians and social studies educators into an appeal to concentrate efforts on national history education. Johann Neem (2011) stated that "by emphasizing the teaching of national history, Americans hope to sustain, or, in the case of immigrants, create, a common identity that connects past events that took place in a particular geography with the present generation (p. 48). However, ignoring moral or cultural aspects of globalization and focusing on its economic side, Neem accuses globalization and global identities of destroying citizens' shared inheritance in order to liberate individuals from national responsibilities. Standish (2012) expresses skepticism about teaching world history in part because "the motivation for teaching world history and world geography has more to do with instilling a relativistic, nonjudgmental disposition which discourages children from the critical engagement with both subject content and morality" (p. 85).

Although the idea of global identity development is gaining popularity among educators, it would be unrealistic to expect public schools to shift focus from a tradition of developing national identity. Some will even argue that it is detrimental for our identities to be globalized (Burack, 2003; Neem, 2011). Ironically, the opponents of global education, who express concern about the predominance of world history or world geography in school curricula at the expense of national history, know very well that national history narratives often "undergo a few distortions in the service of national identity" (Dillon, 2011, n/p).

10.4 Lack of Disciplinary Heritage

Very few people question whether citizenship education should be a part of the public school curriculum. Even the contemporary "social studies wars" are more about the place of history education and methods of teaching citizenship than

debates about the importance of citizenship education itself (Evans, 2004; Leming, Ellington, & Porter-Magee, 2003). As part of a broad socialization process, citizenship education is a multicomponent system that involves a number of agencies – the government, community, media, parents, peers, and school – which all play a role in socializing a child and in turning a child into a responsible and informed citizen. Public schools, unlike other agencies, were created specifically for the purpose of educating citizens. Therefore, it follows that the public school system is best equipped to provide the conditions, space, and guidance for developing the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to educate globally minded citizens. Public education can play the leading role in this process, as school is designed to reflect on and to react to emerging challenges, particularly cultural, social, or ideological. School remains the core element of the citizenship education network. But the school curriculum, which is a set of ideas, texts, practices, and pedagogies, usually focuses on the disciplines. Global citizenship education, as an inherently multi- and interdisciplinary area, lacks what Gaudelli (2009) called "disciplinary heritage" (p. 78). A global citizenship paradigm, as well as a nonlegalistic concept of citizenship, has not secured its place in school curricula in the United States because it does not fit into any specific class.

Such an "unfixed" status of citizenship education (Reid, Gill, & Sears, 2010) presents a serious challenge. When educators discuss programmatic challenges related to the introduction of ideas of global citizenship in the curriculum, they usually focus on two approaches. One approach is to design stand-alone courses, such as *international relations*, *world/global/international studies*, or *international perspectives*. Undoubtedly, these courses provide frameworks for teaching globalization and global citizenship. However, such courses are vulnerable; they depend on teachers' mobility, students' interests, ideological and cultural environments, and most often on funding opportunities. Furthermore, budget cuts and excessive focus on testing make such elective courses almost nonexistent in low-income communities (Thornton, 2005).

Another approach to teaching global citizenship is to incorporate elements of global citizenship models into existing courses, social studies courses in particular (Collins, 2008; Noddings, 2005; Smith & Fairman, 2005; Thornton, 2005). This approach has both positive and negative consequences. The positive effect of curriculum integration is related to the fact that teachers have an opportunity to discuss elements of global citizenship in various disciplinary contexts, thus using the content and framework of every course to raise issues related to global citizenship. The possible negative effect of curriculum integration, on the other hand, is that the discipline-based approach narrows a school's capacities to present any model of citizenship in its entirety. Ostensibly, global citizenship education is usually conceptualized within the frameworks of international education, global education (Davies et al., 2005), multicultural education (Banks, 2004; Dunn, 2002), peace education (Smith & Fairman, 2005), human rights education (Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004; Osler & Starkey, 2010), or economics education. None of these approaches, with the possible exception of economics education, has yet secured a position in school curricula. Thus, global citizenship education, if taught as one of the topics within these

frameworks, would become even more secondary. Curricular documents are usually vague about topics of globalization- and global citizenship-related issues. The lack of epistemic and disciplinary heritage (Gaudelli, 2009) is an additional obstacle to curriculum integration and negatively affects global citizenship education.

10.5 Patriotism as a Framework of Citizenship Education

Another controversy that haunts global education and global citizenship education is the fear that they undermine patriotism toward the state. This is particularly true in the United States where, on the one hand, schooling disproportionately favors national identity over learning about the world and, on the other hand, teachers were occasionally accused of being unpatriotic when they promoted critical discussion of government policy (Loewen, 1995; Myers, 2006; White & Openshaw, 2002). Patriotism has long been one of the major components of citizenship education. Samuel Chester Parker, Dean of the University of Chicago at the beginning of the twentieth century, reported that, prior to the 1880s, patriotism was the purpose of teaching history in schools (Bohan, 2005). Moreover, patriotism is sometimes viewed by many, including many educators, as the centerpiece of citizenship and, thus, the main purpose of citizenship education (Finn, 2007; Fonte, 1996; Ravitch, 2006). Patriotism is usually described as a special affinity one has toward their country, a "sense of positive identification with and feelings of affective attachment to one's country" (Schatz, Staub, & Levine, 1999, p. 53), "the civic devotion toward the state as a political entity . . . while expressing commitment toward it" (Kashti, 1997, p. 152), or "a kind of psychological disposition underlying the specific feelings, attitudes, and forms of behavior focused on one's country" (Reykowski, 1997, p. 108).

Social constructs such as patriotism are vulnerable because they only exist in human consciousness and not in the physical world; therefore, if one is to feel patriotic, one must be regularly reminded of it. As Johnson (1997) put it, "Patriots are manufactured by the system of which they are members" (p. 79). If nationalism was formed and supported through the development and propagation of national myths, metaphoric symbols, rituals, and ceremonies, then patriotism that Kashti (1997) called "state nationalism" (p. 155) is the purposeful exploitation of individuals' "primordial link to territory and society" (Janowitz, 1983). Because this process involves the initiation, development, interpretation, negotiation, and reevaluation of the "collective system of meanings" (Reykowski, 1997, p. 109), control over the means of socialization, of which education is the most significant component, is crucial. This explains why in many countries, particularly in those where governments experience minimal or no civic control, those in power are so careful and particular about the systemic approach to promoting patriotism or, in other words, centrally controlled patriotic education.

In most cases, patriotism is conceptualized in its traditional meaning. However, the traditional meaning of patriotism has been challenged more and more often

(Apple, 2002; Branson, 2002; Merry, 2009; Nussbaum, 1994), and the idea of patriotism as a more inclusive construct, particularly in regard to multicultural and intercultural discourses, is becoming more acceptable. "A useful definition of patriotism," noted Ahmad and Szpara (2005), "should not hinge on the legal status in a polity but embrace citizens' allegiance to universal human values, democratic ideals, and the human rights and dignity of all people in the world" (p. 10).

10.6 Lack of Curricular Pressure

Administrative or curricular pressure as an incentive to introduce globalization or global citizenship in schools seems controversial and potentially discouraging. One of the most comprehensive studies of teachers' perceptions of and roles in global citizenship education, the report *Global Citizenship Education: The Needs of Teachers and Learners* (Davies, Harber, & Yamashita, 2005), clearly demonstrates that the national curriculum was seen by teachers in England as an obstacle to the creativity and flexibility that are necessary to teach global citizenship. "The pressure of educational system, such as curriculum expectations, standards and requirements like tests and exams" (p. 29) are mentioned among the factors that inhibit Canadian teachers' abilities to educate for global citizenship (Evans, Ingram, MacDonald, & Weber, 2009). Rigid formal curricula stifle teachers' ability to teach global citizenship. There is other empirical evidence that citizenship education in general suffers from overreaching standardization and accountability policies (McEachorn, 2010; VanFossen & McGrew, 2008). Obviously, in practitioners' opinions, the already rigid curriculum prevents teachers from including global citizenship topics into their instruction. However, if we look at what exactly teachers specifically complain about, we will notice some nuances. Teachers interviewed for the *Global Citizenship Education* report (Davies et al., 2005) saw the national curriculum as a potential barrier to a global citizenship program because it was too Eurocentric, because the bulk of the resources went to core areas, and because testing further shifted the focus to core activities. Teachers here demonstrated a legitimate expectation from a curriculum to guide what content to teach. For example, Ontario teachers who were determined to make global education a priority, as reported by Schweisfurth (2006), found curriculum guidelines very helpful; they were able to creatively adjust curriculum requirements to justify their approaches to global education. Considering the problems that global citizenship education encounters in schools mentioned earlier (conceptual vagueness, dominant role of national citizenship, pressure of uncritically interpreted patriotism, and curricular insecurity), it is not surprising that many teachers who want to teach and believe they know how to teach global citizenship need some sort of institutionalization and formal programmatic justification of their interest and intent. Particularly because the concept of global citizenship is still ideologically and politically contested and not uniformly accepted, teachers need a curricular incentive

to teach global citizenship-related ideas. Research (Bottery, 2006; Engler & Hunt, 2004; Reimers, 2006) clearly indicates that education practitioners, even those who are genuinely committed to teaching from a global perspective, need clear and straightforward curricular guidance to justify their initial interest in teaching about global citizenship. The absence of such unambiguous guidance only sends mixed messages and undermines teachers' motivation to engage students in this most useful and necessary endeavor.

One of the most powerful tools in curriculum development and curricular guidance is state standards. Since the mid-1990s, voluntary national and, later, state standards in various areas of education, including social studies, have defined what students should be taught and what they should know (Finn & Kanstoroom, 2001). Academic standards, both national and state, have played a controversial but important role in educational reforms in the United States. The standardization movement in education has resulted in the development of national and state content and performance standards that describe what a student should know and be able to do at a certain grade level. Standards are an instrument of public control of education. As such, they have supporters and opponents. The twofold purpose of standards, as the major curricular guidance tool and as a basis of assessment, is the source of constant criticism. Although standards only set specific goals and are not prescriptive regarding how to achieve those goals, school administrators and classroom teachers complain that standards stifle creativity, do not allow to expand curricula beyond an approved set of topics, and make teachers teach to the test. On the positive side, voluntary national standards and state academic standards are tools for curricular guidance. Despite their relative rigidity due to the complex revision process, state standards can serve as a reliable indicator of curriculum content changes in various states. Thus, it has become possible to determine the general direction of content development in various areas of education by analyzing the state standards. The most recent initiative in the academic standards reform movement in the United States was an attempt to develop rigorous content academic standards common for all states. The *Common Core Initiative* was launched in 2009, and new standards in language arts and mathematics were released in the summer of 2010. In 2014, 44 of the 50 states and the District of Columbia adopted the common core standards. However, social studies is not a part of common core initiative yet. It should be noted that common core standards are in the center of fierce political debates and, in the opinion of some researchers, proved unable to address the problems of rigidity, inflexibility, and prescriptiveness of their individual state standards (Ravitch, 2014).

Research shows that such concepts as globalization and global or world citizenship are still rarely mentioned in states' content standards. The conceptual content analysis of social studies academic or content standards of all 50 states (Luciano Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013; Rapoport, 2009) demonstrated that the term globalization was mentioned in the standards of 15 states: Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia. The term global citizen was used in the standards of only two states: Maryland and Mississippi. The terms

and concepts that are semantically related to globalization are present almost in all state standards for social studies. They are (in parentheses are abbreviations of states): *global interdependence of economies*, *global connections*, *global interactions*, *interconnected world* (CO and GA), *global interdependence of places* (DE), *global community*, *international interdependence* (IN), *tightly interrelated world* (IL), *human interdependence* (MD), *interdependence within global communities* (MI), *connected and interdependent world* (MN), *global understanding* (NE), *interdependent increasingly connected world* (NH), *interrelationship* (NM), *interdependence of global economy* (OR), *effects of economic*, *geographic*, *and political interactions* (SC), *worldwide economic interdependence* (SC), *constantly changing*, *increasingly complex world* (SD), *global trade interdependence* (UT), *global cooperation among groups and governments* (VT), *networks of economic interdependence* (VA and VT), and *increasingly culturally diverse and interconnected world* (WV). The terms semantically related to global citizenship that were used in the social studies standards of other states are: *informed*, *responsible*, *and participating citizens at the ... international level* (AL, MS, and MO), *responsible citizens and active participants in ... global society* (AL), *global stewardship* (AK), *members of the world community* (AZ, NH, and OH), *citizen in an interdependent world* (KS), *citizens and participants in an increasingly connected world economy* (KY), *citizen of the world* (MD and WV), *Americans as citizens of a global community* (MS), *economic citizen in a global economy* (MT), *capable citizens in a culturally diverse and interdependent world* (NE), and *productive*, *informed citizens in a global society* (NV).

The development and implementation of state content standards possess their own dynamics that explain, in part, why standards lag behind real life. This is particularly the case in social studies education where, in comparison with other areas of education, the rapidly changing world dictates its own pace. This can be one of the possible explanations of the fact that social studies standards of only 15 states contain the term globalization. However, even in the 15 cases where globalization is presented, it is predominantly used as an economic concept (e.g., *globalization of economy*, *business globalization*, *globalization of trade*) ignoring or leaving its omnipotent and ubiquitous influence on all sides of human activity unnoticed and therefore untaught (Bottery, 2006; Waters, 1995).

The case of global citizenship is even more complex. This concept is only mentioned in the standards of two states. Although the terms related to global citizenship (e.g., *citizen of the world*, *world citizen*, *cosmopolitan*) existed long before the term globalization, the reasons that were presented earlier in this chapter have all prevented this concept from appearing in state standards. Standard developers and state boards of education faced a dilemma. On the one hand, life persistently required that the concept that would embrace new approaches to values education, human rights education, the role of international NGOs, or global government be presented in curricular documents, while on the other hand, traditionalism and political relativism cautioned social studies educators not to move too fast. The tragedy of September 11, which could have helped social studies educators demonstrate the deficiency of narrowly understood allegiances,

was sometimes used as a pretext for unleashing ultrapatriotic hysteria with hardly predictable outcomes. It can be assumed that under these circumstances in the first years after the tragic attack, the developers of social studies standards experienced tremendous political and ideological pressures to nicely avoid the suspicious ideas of global citizenship and thus concentrate on more "patriotic" themes.

As a result, the term (and concept) global citizenship is only mentioned in the standards of two states although attempts to conceptualize civic commitments that transcend national boundaries are made in the social studies standards (civics and government standards in particular) of many other states. The use of such surrogates as "informed, responsible, and participating citizens at the . . . international level," "responsible citizens and active participants in . . . global society," "productive, informed citizens in a global society," or "capable citizens in a culturally diverse and interdependent world," although ambiguous and sometimes shift the focus, can be interpreted as an invitation to teachers to use the term *citizen* at their discretion. Considering the tenacity of the existing traditions and ideological dogmas, there should be little doubt about how the majority of practitioners will construe such terms. Mixed messages like these in a prescriptive curricular document eventually turn into neglect of a very important concept in the classroom.

Conversely, it should be noted that, despite their vagueness and ambiguity, the terms mentioned provide classroom teachers with at least some guidelines regarding global citizenship education, unlike the social studies standards of those states where this concept is not introduced at all in any form. This does not necessarily mean, however, that teachers ignore global or global citizenship education in those states. But it does mean that teachers lack curricular justification and support if they decide to include elements of global or global citizenship education in their curricula. It also means that, under the pressure of omnipresent and omnipotent accountability, which as many practitioners know, usually implies that what is not tested is not taught, topics related to global citizenship are buried under more "necessary" materials.

10.7 Conclusion

The changing nature of citizenship and the postmodernist approach to contextualize citizenship through discursive practices together with obscurity of globalization and its ambiguous impact on society could serve as an exceptional material for deliberations, discussions, debates, or any other active techniques in the classroom. However, in the time of marginalized social science education (VanFossen & McGrew, 2008) and pressing accountability, very few schools or teachers can afford these topics in their curricula. Absence of some type of curricular pressure either from programmatic documents or from the community discourages teachers from taking additional proactive steps to teach about globalization or global citizenship.

Carnoy (1999) noted: "How the meaning of citizenship is interpreted by a state is critical for educators, particularly in public education. Globalization redefines citizenship because it expands and stretches the boundaries of space and time and

redefines individual's relationship to them" (p. 76). The lack of the terms that define the rapidly developing phenomenon of globalization and global citizenship in state curricular documents can negatively impact an important area of civic education. Despite the existing criticism, content standards have become an inseparable part of the educational process. They are critical in curriculum development, and they also provide in-service and preservice teachers with curricular and content guidance. The nature and logic of content standards require that they should work for the future. Taking into account the dynamics of standards revision, it is crucial that their developers, in cooperation with teachers and scholars, consider and discuss changes regarding the introduction of emerging social phenomena related to rapidly globalized world.

References

Abowitz, K. K., & Harnish, J. (2006). Contemporary discourses of citizenship. *Review of Educational Research, 76*(4), 653–690.

Ahmad, I., & Szpara, M. Y. (2005). Education for democratic citizenship and peace: Proposal for a cosmopolitan model. *Educational Studies, 38*(1), 8–23.

Apple, M. (2002). Patriotism, pedagogy, and freedom: On the educational meaning of September 11th. *Teachers College Records, 104*(8), 1760–1772.

Armstrong, C. (2006). Global civil society and the question of global citizenship. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 17*(4), 349–357.

Banks, J. (2004). Teaching for social justice, diversity, and citizenship in a global world. *The Educational Forum, 68*(4), 296–305.

Bohan, C. (2005). Digging trenches: Nationalism and the first national report on the elementary history curriculum. *Theory and Practice in Social Education, 33*(2), 266–291.

Bottery, M. (2006). Education and globalization: Redefining the role of the educational professional. *Educational Review, 58*(1), 95–113.

Branson, M. (2002). *Patriotism and civic literacy* (ERIC Document Reproductive Service No. ED477598). Paper presented at the We the People State and District Coordinators Conference, Washington, DC, June 30.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burack, J. (2003). The student, the world, and the global education ideology. In J. Leming, L. Ellington, & K. Porter-Magee (Eds.), *Where did social studies go wrong* (pp. 40–69). Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.

Carnoy, M. (1999). *Globalization and educational reform: What planners need to know*. Paris: UNESCO.

Carter, A. (2006). *The political theory of global citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Cavanagh, S. (2007). World history and geography gain traction in class. *Education Week, 26*(28), 10.

Collins, M. (2008). *Global citizenship for young children*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Cremin, L. (1988). *American education: The metropolitan experience, 1876–1980*. New York: HarperCollins.

Davies, I., Evans, M., & Reid, A. (2005). Globalizing citizenship education? A critique of "global education" and "citizenship education. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 53*(1), 66–89.

Delanty, G. (2002). *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Dillon, P. (2011). *Should we teach national history*. Retrieved from http://moreintelligentlife.com/content/ideas/national-treasures?page=full
Dunn, R. E. (2002). Growing good citizens with a world-centered curriculum. *Educational Leadership, 60*(2), 10–13.
Engler, J. M., & Hunt, J. B., Jr. (2004). Preparing our students for work and citizenship in the Global Age. *Phi Delta Kappan, 86*(3), 197–199.
Evans, R. (2004). *The social studies wars: What should we teach the children?* New York: Teachers College Press.
Evans, M., Ingram, L., MacDonald, A., & Weber, N. (2009). Mapping the "global dimension" of citizenship education in Canada: The complex interplay of theory, practice, and context. *Citizenship, Teaching and Learning, 5*(2), 16–34.
Finn, C. E. (2007). Teaching patriotism – With conviction. In J. Westheimer & H. Zinn (Eds.), *Pledging allegiance: The politics of patriotism in America's schools* (pp. 95–98). New York: Teachers College Press.
Finn, C. E., Jr., & Kanstoroom, M. (2001). State academic standards. In D. Ravitch (Ed.), *Brookings papers on education policy* (pp. 131–179). Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
Fonte, J. (1997, October 27). Post-West syndrome: When patriotism is threatened, so are the roots of democracy. *National Review*.
Gallavan, N. (2008). Examining teacher candidates' views on teaching world citizenship. *The Social Studies, 99*(6), 249–254.
Gaudelli, W. (2009). Heuristics of global citizenship discourses towards curriculum enhancement. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 25*(1), 68–85.
Gaudelli, W., & Fernekes, W. (2004). Teaching about global human rights for global citizenship. *The Social Studies, 95*(1), 16–26.
Graham, P. (2005). *Schooling America: How the public schools meet the nation's changing needs*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Hahn, C. L. (2001). Democratic understanding: Cross-national perspective. *Theory Into Practice, 40*(1), 14–22.
Heater, D. (1999). *What is citizenship?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Janowitz, M. (1983). *The reconstruction of patriotism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Johnson, G. (1997). The evolutionary roots of patriotism. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 45–90). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
Kashti, Y. (1997). Patriotism as identity and action. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 151–164). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
Lal, D. (2004). *In praise of empires: Globalization and order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Lawson, H., & Scott, D. (2002). Introduction. In D. Scott & H. Lawson (Eds.), *Citizenship education and the curriculum* (pp. 2–6). Westport, CT: Ablex Publishing.
Leming, J., Ellington, L., & Porter-Magee, K. (2003). *Where did social studies go wrong?* Washington, DC: The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.
Loewen, J. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American History textbook got wrong*. New York: Touchstone.
Luciano Beltramo, J., & Duncheon, J. C. (2013). Globalization standards: A comparison of U.S. and non-U.S. social studies curricula. *Journal of Social Studies Research, 37*(2), 97–109.
Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
McEachorn, G. (2010). Study of allocated social studies time in elementary classrooms in Virginia: 1987–2009. *Journal of Social Studies Research, 34*(2), 208–228.
McIntosh, P. (2005). Gender perspectives on educating for global citizenship. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating citizens for global awareness* (pp. 22–39). New York: Teachers College Press.
Merry, M. (2009). Patriotism, history, and the legitimate aim of American education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 41*(4), 378–398.

Myers, J. (2006). Rethinking the social studies curriculum in the context of globalization: Education for global citizenship in the U.S. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 34*(3), 370–394.

Neem, J. (2011). American history in a global age. *History and Theory, 50*, 41–70

Noddings, N. (2005). Global citizenship: Promises and problems. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating citizens for global awareness* (pp. 1–21). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Nussbaum, M. (1994). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. *The Boston Review, 19*(5), 3–16.

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2010). *Teachers and human rights education*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.

Parker, W. C., Ninimiya, A., & Cogan, J. (1999). Educating world citizens: Toward multinational curriculum development. *American Educational Research Journal, 36*, 117–145.

Ravitch, D. (2006). Should we teach patriotism. *Phi Delta Kappan, 87*(8), 579–581.

Ravitch, D. (2014, January 18). Everything you need to know about Common Core. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from www.washingtonpost.com/ravitch-everything-you-need-to-know-about-common-core

Rapoport, A. (2009). A forgotten concept: Global citizenship education and state social studies standards. *Journal of Social Studies Research, 33*(1), 75–93.

Rapoport, A. (2010). We cannot teach what we don't know: Indiana teachers talk about global citizenship education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 5*(3), 1–11.

Reid, A., Gill, J., & Sears, A. (2010). The forming of citizens in a globalizing world. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen: Dilemmas and directions for civics and citizenship education* (pp. 3–16). New York: Routledge.

Reimers, F. (2006). Citizenship, identity and education: Examining the public purposes of schools in an age of globalization. *Prospects, 36*(3), 275–294.

Reuben, J. (2005). Patriotic purposes: Public schools and the education of citizens. In S. Fuhrman & M. Lazerson (Eds.), *The public schools* (pp. 1–24). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Reykowski, J. (1997). Patriotism and the collective system of meaning. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 108–128). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Robbins, M., Francis, L. J., & Elliott, E. (2003). Attitudes toward education for global citizenship among trainee teachers. *Research in Education, 69*(1), 93–98.

Schatz, R. T., Staub, E., & Lavine, H. (1999). On the varieties of national attachments: Blind versus constructive patriotism. *Political Psychology, 20*(1), 151–174.

Schweisfurth, M. (2006). Education for global citizenship: Teacher agency and curricular structure in Ontario schools. *Educational Review, 58*(1), 41–50.

Smith, S. N., & Fairman, D. (2005). The integration of conflict resolution into the high school curriculum: The example of workable peace. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating citizens for global awareness* (pp. 40–56). New York: Teachers College Press.

Standish, A. (2012). *The false promise of global learning: Why education needs boundaries*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Stromquist, N. P. (2009). Theorizing global citizenship: Discourses, challenges, and implications for education. *Interamerican Journal of Education for Democracy, 2*(1), 6–29.

Thornton, S. J. (2005). Incorporating internationalism into the social studies curriculum. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating citizens for global awareness* (pp. 81–92). New York: Teachers College Press.

Tyack, D. (1974). *The one best system: A history of American urban education*. Harvard, IL: Harvard University Press.

VanFossen, P. J., & McGrew, C. (2008). Is the sky really falling?: An update on the status of social studies in the K-5 curriculum in Indiana. *The International Journal of Social Education, 23*(1), 139–179.

Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. London: Routledge.

White, C., & Openshaw, R. (2002). Translating the national to the global in citizenship education. In D. Scott & H. Lawson (Eds.), *Citizenship education and the curriculum* (pp. 151–166). Westport, CT: Alex.

Wood, P. (2008). The impossibility of global citizenship. *Brock Education, 17*, 22–37.

Yamashita, H. (2006). Global citizenship education and war: The needs of teachers and learners. *Educational Review, 58*(1), 27–39.

Zakaria, F. (2005). Education for global citizenship. *Independent School, 64*(3), 86–92.

Chapter 11
National History Curriculum and Standards for Secondary Schools in the Russian Federation

Liudmila Aleksashkina and Joseph Zajda

11.1 Russian History Curriculum and Educational Standards

11.1.1 Background

Recent research on globalization and education reforms has indicated that forces of globalization, standards, and accountability have affected the nature and the value of school textbooks in the Russian Federation (RF) and elsewhere. The RF is a vivid and unique example of the nation-building process, ideological repositioning of historical narratives, and blending certain Soviet and Russian historiography. According to President Vladimir Putin (2012), the curriculum should focus on the formation of "common civic values to consolidate the Russian nation" and avoiding, in his opinion, "biased interpretations" of history:

> We have to develop common approaches and views . . . especially in Russian history, and the history of the people of the Russian Federation . . . there should be no distortion of facts, and biased interpretations of the history of our country. (http://www.edu.ru/index.php?page_id=5&topic_id=3&date=&sid=20188&ntype=nuke)

The main goal of history education in schools in the RF is to develop and cultivate student's identity and to instill the ability for the self to determine values and

L. Aleksashkina (✉)
Department of History Education, Institute of Contents and Methods of Education, Russian Academy of Education, Moscow, Russia
e-mail: lunalex@inbox.ru

J. Zajda
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_11

priorities – based on the historical understanding of one's country and the world. The *History curriculum program for secondary schools: Grades 5–9* (2010), defines second-generation standards in history education for all schools in the RF. The core objectives of teaching history in secondary school include:

- Development of the younger generation of civil, ethnic, and national, social, and cultural identity
- Mastery of the historical knowledge about the main stages of development of human society from ancient times to the present day in the social, economic, political, spiritual, and moral spheres, with particular attention to the place and role of Russia in the world-historical process
- Educating the students in the spirit of patriotism and respect for the Fatherland – the multinational Russian state – in accordance with the ideas of understanding, tolerance, and peace among people and nations, in the spirit of democratic values of modern society
- Developing the ability of students to analyze various sources of historical information about events and phenomena of the past and the present and the principle of historicism
- Formation in the students – the ability to apply historical knowledge, to understand the nature of modern social phenomena, and to communicate with other people in a modern, multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious society (History curriculum program for secondary schools: Grades 5–9, 2010, pp. 5–6)

The National Education Standards in history (2010) define the following six essential skills in history education:

1. Development of the foundations of civic, ethno-national, social, and cultural self-identity of the student . . . mastery of national treasures of the Russian society
2. Mastery of historical knowledge from the ancient times to present . . . [the use] of cultural approach in the analysis of social events and global processes
3. Developing skills in the use of historical knowledge for thinking about contemporary events
4. Developing significant cultural and historical perspectives for understanding civic . . . identity and understanding the historical legacy of Russia and the world
5. Developing skills for searching, analyzing, comparing, and evaluating various historical sources concerning the past and present events and define and argue a personal stand toward them
6. The cultivation of respect toward the historical heritage of Russia and understanding of traditions in historical dialogue (*National Education Standards*, 2010)

History curriculum for Grades 10–11(12) has the following major five pedagogical aims:

- Development of civic and national identity . . . on the basis of historical knowledge of cultural, religious, and ethno-national traditions, moral values and social

structures, ideological doctrines, and the expansion of social experience of students, using their analysis of the forms of human interaction in history
- Development of capacities to understand historical limitations of events and processes, critically analyze received historical knowledge, establish a personal position toward surrounding reality, and historically create world-view systems
- Mastery of systematic knowledge of the history of humanity and elements of philosophical, historical, and methodological knowledge of the historical process
- Mastery of skills and approaches toward a complex approach to work with a variety of historical sources, researching and systemizing of historical information, as the basis for research activities
- Developing historical thinking – the ability to perceive events and phenomena from a perspective of historical context, the ability to find historical context of various versions and evaluations of the events in the past and contemporary events, and the ability to define and argue one's own position toward contested historical problems

As a result of radical reforms in education, curriculum and pedagogy, history education in Russian secondary schools changed significantly. The structure and content of history curriculum were radically changed from the "traditional linear one – starting from objectives and ending with assessment/evaluation (in Grades 5–11) – to a cyclic one, where curriculum is a continuous cycle, responding to the changes within education, where any new information or practice will bring desirable pedagogical changes" (Aleksashkina, 2011, p. 63).

11.2 History Educational Standards: 1993–2014

Between 1993 and 2014, there were a number of education and policy reforms, culminating in four major curricula policy documents: the 1993 Provisional Curriculum of the General Secondary Schools (revised in 1995), followed by revised and rewritten curricula in 1998, and 2004 (Zajda, 2008, p. 95). A new second generation of curricula documents appeared in 2010. The latest new standards in history education, discussed in 2013, were to be incorporated in history textbooks in 2014. Both the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) and the Russian Academy of Education are responsible for all education policy and curricula documents, defining the content, standards in an academic achievement, and essential skills.

The main history curriculum documents adopted recently in the Russian Federation (RF) include the new generation history curriculum (2010) *Primernye programmy po uchebnym predmetam: Istoriia 5–9 klassy* (Models of Syllabuses for School Subjects: History Grades 5–9) and the national standards in history education for the 2014/2015 school year (Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart osnovnogo obshchevo obrazovaniia, 2010; Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart srednevo (polnogo) obshchevo obrazovaniia, 2012; Ministry of Education and Science, 2013).

Aleksashkina's (2011), who was the author of the 2010 history curriculum, in her article "National Standards and Development of Historical Education: Experience of Secondary Schools in the Russian Federation," analyzes the above document and national standards in history education. In addition, Aleksashkina's (2010) curriculum policy report, *Resultaty izucheniia istorii v osnovnoi shkole i ikh izmerenie* (Results of the assessment of school history in secondary schools), evaluates current assessments strategies in school history.

The curriculum document, *Primernye programmy po uchebnym predemtam. Istoriia. 5–9 klassy* (2010), which describes the second-generation standards in history, lists themes, key events, and historical understanding, knowledge, and skills. More importantly, the introduction, in the section *The goals and tasks for learning history in schools* states that one of the main goals of learning history is to cultivate in the students' "patriotism, and respect to our Fatherland" (p. 5).

During the last 20 years, five versions of history curriculum documents and standards for secondary schools in the Russian Federation were prepared and approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and published in 1993–1995, 1998–1999, 2003–2004, 2010–2012, and 2014.[1] The following characteristic features define history education reforms during this period. The history curriculum documents appeared at the beginning of the 1990s within the context of significant changes both in the society and in the educational system. The main changes in the education were the following:

1. The structure of history courses transformed from the linear one (5–11 grades, 11–17-year-old pupils) to the cyclic version, including cycles for low secondary schools (5–9 grades, pupils of 11–15 years of age) and upper secondary schools (10–11 grades, students of 16–17 years of age).
2. A differentiation in upper stage courses was foreseen (basic and in-depth courses in history).
3. The content of history courses was revised radically, to reflect general conceptions of the national and the world history and analysis and evaluations of specific historical events and historical personalities.

11.2.1 National Standards in History for 2014 and Teaching Patriotism

On 17 June 2013, the Ministry of Education and Science, as reported in *Vedomosti* (News), was discussing new standards in history education, which would be incorporated in secondary history textbooks in 2014. In the proposed new standards in history, the October Revolution is referred to as the "coup," Lenin is the leader of the coup, and more space is allocated to Stalin, as the "modernizer" during the 1920s and 1930s, the period of forced industrialization and modernization (http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/13145761/modernizator_stalin).

The authors of the history standard suggest that students should be taught in the spirit of patriotism (*vospityvat v dukhe patriotizma*), citizenship education, and

interethnic tolerance. Furthermore, it is suggested that patriotism should be the outcome of history classes, celebrating significant military victories, emphasizing the "heroism of the masses" (*massovyi geroism*) during 1812 and 1941–1945 periods.

History teachers are already taking notice of the recently published National Standards in history, which are available on the Ministry of Education and Science portal under the heading *The Conceptual Framework of Historico-cultural Standard* (Kontseptualnye osnovy istoriko-kulturnogo standarta). One such history teacher is Igor Karachevtsev (2013), who is also a principal of Gimnazija (Grammar School) Nu 166, in St. Petersburg. His views were reported in the *Teachers' Gazette* (September 2013) in his article "Za chto nesiot otvetsvennost uchitel istorii" (What is the history teacher responsible for?). He completely agrees with the new history standards, particularly the "historico-cultural" approach (http://www.ug.ru/insight/383). He also comments on problematic events or what he calls "controversial topics" (*ostrye ugly*), such as "the tragic decades of the 1920s and 1930s," and events such as "Kornilov uprising, the *Kronstadt rebellion* (Kronshtadtskoye vosstaniye), Tambov uprising, the *GKChP* coup (August 1991), and tragic events of October 1993." He cites the following entry, describing repressions during the 1930s, in the standard "The period of massive repressions commenced, the goal was to liquidate the potential 'fifth columnists,' during the era of growing military danger." Karachevtsev makes the following observation: "Thus, a multimillion part of our society was 'the fifth column'" (http://www.ug.ru/insight/383). He believes that both teachers and students will draw their own conclusions.

The differences between different versions of history education standards referred to specific education tasks and desirable standards in academic achievements and skills. An international experience was taken into consideration, while developing and elaborating educational standards in history education for Russian secondary schools. Approaches to school standards were among the main topics in the program of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe in the 1996–2006.[2] Experts and history teachers from Russia, Norway, the UK, and North Ireland discussed at seminars (Irkutsk, 1999) and elsewhere relevant issues, such as: What and in what ways is history education regulated by an educational standard? What should be a correlation between national (federal), regional, and local (school level) components in a standard? How could the principle idea of standards be realized in school textbooks? This agenda corresponded to priorities of pedagogical conferences in Europe in the 1990s.[3]

The evolution of history standards and curricula between 1993 and 2014 consisted first of all in the conceptual framework of *renovating and restructuring educational aims*. Usually, pedagogical aims include a combination of categories such as "knowledge," "activities (skills)," "values," and "competences." In concrete cases the order of aims demonstrates some priorities. For instance, in the History Standard 1998–1999 "knowledge about the main patterns of the mankind's history, of human beings and activities in the Past" was on the prime position in the list of aims. Evidently, it could be qualified as a reflection upon the "knowledge aimed"

("science aimed") ground of history courses for the Russian schools. In the Standard 2003–2004, "the patriotic feelings, respect to the national traditions, to the human rights and freedoms, to democratic principles of a social life" were of primary significance. In the Standard 2010–2012, the primary aim in studying history was declared in a wide context of socialization: "to acquire orientations for civic, ethnic and national, social and cultural self-identification in the contemporary world."

There was a tendency in education policy and curricula documents to *broaden educational aims*. This was evident in the Standard 2003–2004 and particularly in the Standard 2010–2012, where the principles of "assessing pupil's academic achievement" and "planning achievement" were proposed. The imperatives for pupils' achievements were formulated in the conception of Standard 2003–2004 in the four categories: "to know," "to understand," "to master skills," and "to apply knowledge and skills in practice." In this case, some nostalgia about Bloom's taxonomy of the 1950–1960s [4] was evident and the list of history curricular policy statements. At the same time, the Standard 2003–2004 contained a constructive approach in the differentiation of academic achievement, which consisted of two levels: basic and advanced. The basic level of academic achievement in history referred to specific skills that the student had to master. The advanced level referred to complex skills the student had to master, according to ability.

The 2010–2012 educational standards focused on the following three groups of achievements:

1. Personal achievement
2. General studies (or meta-subject) achievement
3. Subject achievement (dealing with a specific school subject)

Personal achievements refer to students' attitudes, views, consciousness, and values. General studies achievement criteria include universal skills: working with primary and secondary sources of information; ability to organize studying activities, including creative projects; and competence for cooperative learning in groups, social activities, and so on. The subject achievement deals with basic procedures in learning history: analyzing and classifying facts, explaining reasons and consequences of events, evaluating events and people's activities, and so on. It's necessary to emphasize that the notion "achievement" proved to be important both for designing and implementing the tasks and for an examination of pupils' results. Therefore, the elaboration of pedagogical control of the discipline content and the verification of the material and resources available were advanced significantly at the beginning of 2010s.[5]

11.3 The Contents of History Curricula

11.3.1 Standards and Curricula

The national history curriculum documents and standards exist in schools across the RF. There are two types of officially prescribed documents: standards

and curriculum programs. Standards are employed to control and regulate general educational aims and ideas, teaching priorities, and a list of school subjects. Curriculum programs cover specific school disciplines and include at least three components: (a) aims, (b) content, and (c) suggested pupils' activities.

Different patterns and correlations in the chain "standards–curricula" existed in the 1990s–2000s. The first national and federal standard was embraced, in addition to general educational aims, which defined the subject content (known as the "obligatory minimum" or the core content) and pupils' learning activities. The last version of a history curriculum, as an official document, was published in 1992.

During the 2010–2012 period, the situation substantively changed: the standard accumulated mainly a common pedagogical conception, while subject curricula ("exemplary programs") had to be developed and elaborated in special documents.[6]

11.3.2 History Curriculum: The Content

Traditional approaches to history curricula for secondary schools in Russia could be described as "research oriented." This referred to the concept of "great narratives" and a vast and detailed description of historical content, topic by topic, together with recommended number of hours for each topic. The Standard 2010–2012 was characterized by the new tendencies in the use of different models of historiography and classroom pedagogy. These were:

– The use of general models (structures) of historical knowledge and learning activities
– Reduction and integration of historical content
– Expending modules and sections, dealing with pupils' activities and skills

The Standard 2010–2012 defined the main content framework for history courses in secondary schools across the RF. The history content framework consisted of:

1. Historical time, chronology
2. Historical space, historical maps
3. Movement, evolution in history:

   • "Homo historicus" (interests, ideas, activities)
   • Development of labor, techniques, and the economy
   • Social groups and strata (ethnic, religious, political, and others) and relations between groups
   • The evolution of nations and types of states in history and their political systems; relations between power, society, and individuals in the historical civilizations
   • Development of human knowledge and science, including ethics, religions, political ideas, arts, and spiritual culture
   • Relations between people, nations, wars, and peace in history

The model (structure) of pupils' learning activities embraces the next group of knowledge and skills:

1. Chronological knowledge and skills
2. Knowledge of historical facts and skills to work with facts
3. Working with historical sources (analysis and evaluation)
4. Description (reconstruction) of the past
5. Analysis and explanation of historical events and phenomena
6. Working with different historical narratives and versions of events and critical evaluation
7. Application of historical knowledge and skills in communication and social surroundings[7]

The balance between the content and expected pupils' activities in lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools is presented, in some extracts, from the curriculum. In this case, it's important to emphasize that the age and learning abilities of students should be taken into consideration.

1. Course: *History of the Middle Ages*. Topic: The formation of centralized national states in Europe

Content	Learning activities
Lower secondary schools (grade 6, 12–13-year-old pupils)	
Strengthening of kings' power in West European states. An estate-representative monarchy. Formation of centralized states in England, France, and Spain	Define and explain terms: a parliament, a charter, reconquista
	Summarize data on formation of centralized states in Europe
	Explain orally the kings, who succeeded in uniting large territories under central power
	Explain who and why supported a strong king power and who was against it
Upper secondary schools (grade 10, 16–17-year-old students)	
From disunity to centralized monarchies. Kings and estates. Constitution of the estates system in European countries. A power of political rulers and a power of the church. First steps to formation of national states	Characterize, using historical sources, a life of people belonged to main medieval estates (by choice – in essay or presentation)
	Compare the ways of establishing centralized estates in European countries (England, France, Spain), finding out common features and differences
	Explain the role of the church in establishing estates and centralized monarchies
	Present "historical portraits" of rulers, whose activities promoted centralization processes in the most significant measure

2. *The Russian history of the nineteenth century*. Topic: The Patriotic war 1812

Content	Learning activities
Lower secondary schools (grade 8, 14–15-year-old pupils)	
The Patriotic war 1812: the main participants, periods, and key events. Heroes of the war. Reasons for Russia's victory over Napoleon's armies. Historical significance of the Patriotic war. Peoples' memory about this war	Explain orally the key events of the war, using historical maps
	Prepare information (presentation) about participants of the war (including inhabitants of the native region, city, and so on)
	Explain what was the resonance of the war in the Russian society
Upper secondary schools (grade 10, 16–17-year-old students)	
The Patriotic war 1812: reasons, a balance of forces, key events. The character of the war. Heroes of the war. Reflection upon the war in literature and memories of contemporaries. The European campaign of the Russian army (1813–1814)	Summarize and classify information on key events: the Patriotic war and the European campaign of the Russian army (composing chronological tables, schedules, and theses). Expose the place of this or that event in the course of the war
	Compose and present "historical portraits" of participants of the war events and estimate activities of historical personalities
	Present a review on foreign policy of Russia in the period of the Napoleonic wars

The above cited examples make it possible to determine the flow in history education from a lower to an upper secondary school. The content, covering historical narratives, is rather extended and integrated. At the same time, activities develop remarkably as to their variety and complexity.

11.3.3 Levels of History: Federal and Regional Components in Curricula

History courses in schools, across the RF, as rule may be called "multilevel," as a few scales of historical narrative are realized in them – history of civilizations and states, history of an individual and of different social strata, and so on. Courses covering the national history in Russian schools include the general history of the state, regional history, and local history. In the Standard 1998 this multilevel (national, regional, and local) was articulated in the core content, addressing specific geographic location ("My region in . . . "). In addition, a proportion of classroom hours (near 15 %) were intended for regional, ethnic, and local history. As a result, courses of local history were being elaborated in many places. A number of regional history textbooks and interesting workbooks had been published.[8] By means of these textbooks and handbooks, pupils could learn about familiar historical events, which occurred nearby, and they would learn to appreciate such events as an important part of the national history. Later on, the inclusion of regional components in history standards was without a specified proportion of classroom

hours. According to the notion of pupils' project activities (in the Standard 2010–2012), these activities covered both the national and a regional (local) history in the classroom.

11.4 History Curriculum and Textbooks

The named correlation seems to be one of key issues in the educational sphere. It's reasonable to start with teachers' opinions. At the end of the 1990s, a group of teachers (40 participants) in Moscow answered a short questionnaire, concerning standards and other pedagogical materials. Along with other questions, they were asked, what kind of documents or materials did they need above all in their everyday work? The list of priorities proved to be the following:

27 – a history textbook, addressing the standard's framework and performance criteria
21 – a history manual for teachers (reflecting the history standard)
20 – a sample of the history curriculum
15 – performance criteria of pupils' academic achievements (for the main topics on the final year history examination)
4 – the history standard's document itself

At the same time more than a half of respondents believed that current prescribed history textbooks did not address the history standard in an appropriate manner. The teachers' interview demonstrated:

(a) A high need for history standards-oriented textbooks
(b) A lack of a correlation between standards and textbooks

As contents were not fixed strictly in the 2000 standards, history textbook authors were able to design and develop their own history curricula (the so-called author's curricula). School textbooks proved to diverse in their treatment of historical narratives and historiography. Sometimes historical contents in textbooks for upper secondary schools didn't differ from those of lower secondary schools. These diversity and curricular variety and inconsistency were addressed by the documents of the national examination (emerged in 2001). It proved to be a defining and regulating document for classroom teachers, and it had influenced the new generation of history textbooks.

11.5 The Role of the State in Accrediting History Textbooks

School history textbooks, as instruments in the Russian process of ideological transformation and nation-building, are currently closely monitored by the state. In other countries, these processes are still present but in less formal and more ad hoc ways. In the Russian Federation, it represents an ideologically driven and state-controlled

nation-building process, overseen by the Putin government. Putin was particularly concerned about the negative portrayal of the Soviet past, and he complained that negative assessment of the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945) was diminishing the important contribution of the Soviet Union in defeating the Nazi Germany.

To ensure that history teachers were informed on this policy change, a new history textbook for teachers was commissioned by the government. The textbook for history teachers by Filippov (2007) *Noveishaia Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2006* (Modern history of Russia: A manual for teachers) was a teachers' manual designed to generate more positive images of the Soviet past and the war effort. The history teachers' manual's circulation was 150,000 copies. Subsequently, a revised edition *Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2008* (History of Russia) was published in 2008 (Filippov, 2008). Among some of the themes and issues, this teachers' manual (some writers in the West confuse it with a school textbook, which it is not) reassesses the role of Stalin in the Great Patriotic War in a more positive way. Stalin in June 1945 invited 2,500 generals and marshals for celebratory dinner at the Kremlin. His toast was "For the health of the Russian people," not for the victors (Filippov, 2007, Chapter 1, p. 27). In the same textbook, Putin stated that the collapse of the USSR was the greatest tragedy:

> It is my deepest conviction that the collapse of the USSR was the greatest geopolitical tragedy. I believe that the average citizens of the former Soviet Union... did not win anything from this process... The pluses are that Russia ceased to be a milking cow for everyone (Filippov, 2007, Chapter 4, p. 34).

The Ministry of Education decreed that, in view of new state standards in education, all history textbooks had to be examined and evaluated by panel of experts, including the Federal Experts Council on History, the Academy of Sciences, and the Academy of Education. Approved textbooks would be selected by the Ministry of Education on competitive basis. The Ministry has been publishing on its official website which approved all school textbooks for subjects for Grades 1–12. This includes a detailed list of recommended core history school textbooks.

The most recent history textbooks examined have a seal of approval from the Ministry of Education. There are two levels of approval: "recomendovano" (recommended) and "dopushcheno' (approved). The highest rating is "recomendovano," as it results in teachers and schools adopting such textbooks across the Russian Federation (Zajda, 2013). As every textbook contains the print run, it is easy to see which are the popular ones. For instance, the current year 9 prescribed history textbook by Danilov, Kosulina, and Brandt (2011), *Istoriia Rossii: XX-nachalo XXI veka* (The History of Russia: beginning twentieth to twenty-first century), has a print run of 80,000 copies.

11.6 Conclusion

Globalization and education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills, and standards, have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes globally. Thus, the politics of education reforms in the RF,

especially in Russian history textbooks, reflect a new global emerging paradigm of standards-driven policy change (Zajda, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). Academic standards, performance, and quality of schooling continue to dominate the reform agenda globally, especially the performance league tables. At the same time, there are also politically determined curricular reforms affecting the nature and the content of history school textbooks in the RF. Furthermore, it is clear that ideology plays a significant role in defining new curricular and standards policy documents in Russian history in secondary schools. The 2014 history standard suggests that students should be taught in the spirit of patriotism, and that patriotism should be the outcome of history classes, celebrating significant military victories. This is a vivid example of the dominant role played by ideology in history education in the RF.

Notes

1. Федеральный компонент государственного стандарта общего образования. Ч. I–II. – М., 2004. Федеральный государственный образовательный стандарт основного общего образования (17.12.2010 г.); Федеральный государственный образовательный стандарт среднего (полного) общего образования (17.05.2012 г.). Federalny component gosudarstvennogo standarta obscego obrazovaniya. M, 2004. Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart osnovnogo obscego obrazovaniya (17.12.2010 г.). Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart srednego (polnogo) obscego obrazovaniya (17.05.2012 г.).
2. *History education in Europe: Ten years of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe*. Council of Europe, October 2006.
3. Slater J. (1995). *Teaching History in the New Europe*. Council of Europe. Cassel.
4. Bloom B.S. (1960). *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (different editions).
5. Алексашкина Л.Н., Ворожейкина Н.И. Планируемые результаты изучения истории в основной школе. М.: Просвещение, 2014. (Aleksashkina L. & Vorojeykina N. (2014). *Results of History studying in lower secondary schools*. Moscow: Prosveschenie).
6. Примерные программы по учебным предметам. История. 5–9 классы. М.: Просвещение, 2010. (Sample programs on school subjects. History.5–9 Grades. Moscow, Prosveschenie, 2010). Primernye programmy po uchebnym predmetam. Istoriya. 5–9 klassy. Moscow, Prosveschenie, 2010.
7. Aleksashkina L. (2011). National standards and development of historical education: Experience of secondary schools in the Russian Federation. *Curriculum and Teaching*, *26*(2), 77–92.
8. Сеченникова Л.Ф., Коложвари И.А. Великий Новгород и я. Рабочая тетрадь. 5–9 кл. М.: Просвещение, 1998 (Sechennikova L.F. & Kolojvary I.A. (1998). *Velikyi Novgorod i ya. Rabochaya tetrad* (Workbook). 5–9 Grades. Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1998.)

References

Aleksashkina, L. (2011). National standards and development of historical education: Experience of Secondary Schools in the Russian Federation. *Curriculum and Teaching, 26*(2), 77–92.

Danilov, A., Kosulina, L., & Brandt, M. (2011). *Istoriia Rossii: XX-nachalo XXI veka* (The History of Russia: 20th/beginning 21st century. Grade 9 textbook). Moscow: Prosveshchenie.

Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart osnovnogo obshchevo obrazovaniia. (2010). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Federalny gosudarstvenny obrazovatelny standart srednevo (polnogo) obshchevo obrazovaniia. (2012). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Filippov, A. (2007). *Noveishaia Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2006* (Modern history of Russia: A manual for teachers). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Filippov, A. (2008). *Istoriia Rossii: 1945–2008* (History of Russia). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

History curriculum program for secondary schools: Grades 5–9 (2010). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Karachevtsev, I. (2013). Za chto nesiot otvetsvennost uchitel istorii' (What is the history teacher responsible for?). *Teachers' Gazette.* Retrieved from http://www.ug.ru/insight/383

Ministry of Education and Science. (2013). Discussing standards. *Vedomosti*. Retrieved from http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/13145761/modernizator_stalin

National Education Standards. (2010). Moscow: Prosveschenie.

Putin, V. (2012). *Putin demands to regulate the list of approved textbooks*. RIA Novosti. Retrieved from http://www.edu.ru/index.php?page_id=5&topic_id=3&date=&sid=20188&ntype=nuke

Zajda, J. (2008). *Schooling the new Russians: Transforming soviet students to capitalist entrepreneurs*. Melbourne, VIC: James Nicholas Publishers.

Zajda, J. (2013). Russian history textbooks: An analysis of historical narratives depicting key events. *Curriculum and Teaching, 28*(2), 73–100.

Zajda, J. (2015a). Global trends in education and academic achievement. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *The new international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zajda, J. (2015b). Globalisation and its impact on education and policy. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *The new international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Chapter 12
Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture

Joseph Zajda

Globalisation, Nation-Building and History Education

History textbook research globally has been characterised by the 'highly explosive political nature' of history education, history curricula and research (Fuchs, 2011, p. 19). National and global debates on history textbooks and the construction of the national identity in the nation-building process are also defined and controlled by the ambivalent nexus between ideology and political expectations (that history textbooks contribute to national identity and patriotism), curricular assumptions (that quality history textbooks impact on pedagogical outcomes) and academic rigour and objectivity.

History education and history curricular reforms globally demonstrate that history textbooks and their new Master Narratives, depicting significant events in the nation-building process, have been used by different nations to instil the values of patriotism, national identity and cultural heritage (see also Foster, 2011). As mentioned in Zajda (see Chap. 1, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, Springer, 2015), EUROCLIO-European Association of History Educators, The Hague, Netherlands promotes and supports the development of an 'innovative and inclusive approach to History and citizenship education' (Roord, 2009, p. 80). It focuses on improving the quality of history education, where concepts such as 'mutual inclusiveness, interpretation, evidence, multiperspectivity, complexity, objectivity, controversy, and civic responsibility' are basic elements for good history education (Roord, 2009, p. 80).

By focusing on evidence, interpretation and multiperspectivity, this particular approach to historiography, and historical knowledge and understanding, is

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0_12

very useful in critiquing the overall reforms in history curricula and the content of school history textbooks (see Zajda, 2012, 2014). Many nations are still addressing these criteria in their policies defining national identity formation and the nation-building process. From a critical literacy perspective (see also Foucault, 1977, 1980; Geuss, 1981, Adorno and Horkheimer, 2002), teaching historical narratives means addressing both positive and negative aspects of historical events:

> Teaching about the past means addressing positive issues like democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights, solidarity, courage . . . However, it also means dealing with, and reflecting upon, negative concepts such as stereotyping, prejudice, xenophobia, racism, violence and hate. (Roord, 2009, p. 80)

A number of countries have tried to address both positive and negative issues in teaching history in school. This will be always a most challenging task. For some countries, like the RF, China, Japan, Germany, the USA and Australia, reaching a desirable *consensus* on a balanced representation of the past will be problematic (Janmaat & Vickers, 2007; Masalski, 2001; Nicholls, 2006; Zajda, 2013). Even though organisations like the Council of Europe, UNESCO and EUROCLIO support addressing a balanced variety of political, cultural, economic and social dimensions, it will be difficult to reach both local and global consensus on this framework.

In the RF, for instance, the content of history textbooks Russian history has emerged as a hotly debated topic. Russian history textbooks have been affected by both a dominant ideology of neoconservatism, which as a national ideology aims to promote nationalism and patriotism, and an increasing control of the content of prescribed Russian history textbooks (Zajda and Smith 2013). The key issues in history education debate are the new generation of the history curriculum, prescribed Russian history textbooks, the national standards in history education and the single Russian history school textbook. The most hotly debated topic in history education in the RF in 2013 was the idea of the single Russian history textbook for secondary schools. On the one hand, the national history curriculum and the national history exams for the final year of secondary schools define specific knowledge and skills relevant to historical understanding. On the other hand, the government's push for a single history textbook would work against the existing history education policy documents.

The *politicising* of Russian *history* textbooks demonstrates that Kremlin-proposed single textbook in Russian history and imperatives of the history standards to promote patriotism and rejection of Western models of history education signal a new ideological transformation in Russian history education in the RF (Zajda, 2014). It is characterised by the historiography of nation-building, patriotism and the celebration of historically significant key events.

Globalisation, Historical Narrative and the Construction of National Identity

Whitehouse (see Chap. 2, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015) argues that excessive focus on substantive content often works its spell on the development of history courses. The author argues that the mutual interdependence of substantive and procedural knowledge means that teachers must address both aspects of the discipline to foster historical understanding. The author concludes that historical narrative is central to such matters; it is part of the syntax of history. Its explanatory function combines substantive and procedural knowledge. Discussions of the relationship between globalisation and history education policy, according to Whitehouse, have tended to neglect curriculum, as an instrument for the construction of 'national identity':

> yet the transnational flow of capital, people and ideas has exerted a profound impact on this aspect of education policy: on the one hand the curriculum must equip students with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for success in the global economy, yet it is also an instrument for the construction of national identity in increasingly multi-ethnic contexts. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010)

Although the history curriculum is essential to nation-building and the construction of national identity, it must offer students, as Whitehouse concludes, 'more than a grand narrative if they are to be equipped for life in the twenty-first century'.

Guyver (see Chap. 6, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, Springer), on the other hand, evaluates history curriculum debates both nationally and globally. His model synthesises political, historiographical and pedagogical principles and perspectives. Guyver advocates the use of an autonomous model of the teacher of history working in partnership with a world of historians and history teacher-educators, which is preferable to the curricular model of a teacher faithfully 'delivering' a national curriculum for political reasons. He observes that one of the challenges is the reconciling of 'big picture' history with 'alternative' views (gender-based, indigenous, history from below). The other challenge is to 'diffuse' overtly 'exceptionalist or nationalist history':

> Another is the problem of diffusing overtly exceptionalist or nationalist history, one solution being to set national history in a wider regional and global framework. To some extent views of "civic society" have become the new exceptionalism, but thinking about hybrid and multiple identities corresponds with efforts to fuse the alternative and big picture (or "great") traditions. Prejudices against content (Bruner, though his thought has developed) need to be challenged by examining what the nature of academic history is, and how this can be appropriated by schools. (Guyver, 2015)

Perspectives on Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture

Current history textbook research includes many methodological approaches, ranging from critical theory, cultural studies and historical-comparative research to discourse analysis. In discourse analysis, employed by some history education researchers, the focus is on deconstructing normative assumptions that historical narratives represent a multitude of sub-discourses, at times conflicting and ideologically contradictory, inscribed within the meta-discourse in a given history textbook. These diverse discourses within a given historical narrative, depicting a significant event, are examined critically, using discourse analysis.

In Zajda's (2013) first international survey of Russian history teachers across the Russian Federation, which measured secondary Russian history teachers' responses to history textbooks, especially the *balance* in the content, it was demonstrated that secondary school history teachers were divided as to whether textbook narratives provide a *balanced* description and analysis of certain periods and events (see Chap. 2, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015). More than half of the teachers surveyed disagreed that textbooks offered a balanced narrative regarding various events, especially on the role of ethnic and racial minorities in Russian history 1700–2011, with the greatest disagreement in Ekaterinburg. Location and distance from Moscow, the politico-administrative centre of the decision-making process in the Russian Federation, may be relevant as to how teachers responded in the history teachers' survey. The further away they were from Moscow, the more critical they appear to be. There were regional differences in teachers' responses. In Ekaterinburg, by comparison, almost two-thirds of history teachers disagreed on the questions addressing the balance of historical narratives.

The survey also demonstrated that new narratives in prescribed history textbooks generally emphasise nationalist 'bright spots' in Russian achievements. However, two-thirds of the sample agreed that school history teachers do not feel pressured to present a particular point of view regarding events in Russian history. The survey data demonstrated an existence of the nexus between ideology, the state and nation-building, as depicted in historical narratives of current history school textbooks. It also showed that the issue of national identity and balanced representations of the past continued to dominate the debate surrounding the content of history textbooks.

The role of history education in imagining the nations is explored by Faden (see Chap. 4, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015) in her study of the USA and Canada, with reference to national identity formation in a global culture. She analyses the discourses of national identity and relevant research on history education in each nation. Observing three US and two Canadian secondary history classes engaged in the study of World War II, she was able to identify the schematic narrative templates that render the USA as a 'reluctant hegemon' and Canada as uncertain of its claim to nationhood. Faden observes

(as other researchers of World War II in the Russian Federation and China) that politics and military narratives dominate historiography and historical narratives, where 'global asymmetries of power' are analysed critically:

> The US story of the World War II, as a fundamentally political narrative, where politics, rather than military or economic actions, are the driving force in history. Canadian narratives, on the other hand, portray different images of the war. Not only do military narratives dominate the narrative landscape, but the narratives attend in detail to the material experiences of ordinary soldiers. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the need to critically read and rewrite the national narrative . . . When one reads the narratives closely, though, we can see that they address the insecurities that each nation has about its place in the global order. In this way, mandatory secondary history classes contribute to a social imaginary in which global asymmetries of power are not subject to critique.

Historical narratives and historical memory, as Shibata (see Chap. 5, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015) notes, can become a major source of tension between different nations. She argues that when there is a threat to national identity, at a 'time of crisis', the state uses historical memory and historical narratives to restore and consolidate national identity:

> At a time of crisis, when there is a threat to a group's identity, historical memory is used to valorize the group and restore its collective esteem. The rise of neo-nationalist discourse in the 1990s in Japan can be viewed through the lens of the nation's identity crisis, a reaction of a nation struggling amidst feelings of insecurity and frustration.

The role of the state in defining history curriculum and the total control of school textbook design and dissemination (a recent tendency in a number of countries globally, as noted by Zajda, 2014) is picked up by Anna Zadora (see Chap. 8, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, Springer, 2015). Zadora, in examining the politics of history textbooks in Belarus and the antinomies between globalisation and authoritarian rule, argues that school history writing is subjected to a strict control by the state. Currently, the history textbook writing aims the legitimating of the links with Russia and a very special sociopolitical system, rather different from European democratic model. As a result, politics of history textbooks in Belarus are constantly changing and balancing between openness to global tendencies, European heritage, democracy and isolation, identity tension, links with Russia and totalitarian tendencies.

The role of the state in the nation-building process is also addressed by Michael H. Lee (see Chap. 9, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015). He states that recent education reforms have been implemented to 'strengthen the sense of national belonging and national identity among younger Singaporeans'. History education reforms in Singapore were designed to cultivate a sense of national belonging and strengthening the national identity of Singaporeans amidst challenges arising from globalisation:

> History education is treated by the government as a vital policy tool for propelling socio-political development in Singapore for there is a belief that the history of nation-building provides a common ground, regardless of age, race, language or religion, for cultivating Singaporeans a sense of national belonging, loyalty and political consciousness, and encouraging constructive criticisms towards the incumbent governance structures in order to enable self-improvement.

Anatoli Rapoport (see Chap. 10, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015) discusses some of the challenges confronting the US schools in providing a balanced programme of global and global citizenship education, which include 'isolationism and non-critical patriotism':

> Among those challenges are lasting traditions of isolationism and non-critical patriotism in the society, terminological vagueness and ambiguity, curricular instability of global and global citizenship education, and lack of administrative support.

He argues that the use of the postmodernist and discursive paradigms to contextualise citizenship could serve as an exceptional material for 'deliberations, discussions, debates or any other active techniques in the classroom' (see also Sarup, 1993). However, pressing accountability, standards and educational outcomes favour more pragmatic and state-dictated approaches. Very few schools or teachers can afford to employ the postmodernist and discursive paradigms, not to mention critical literacy, in their curricula.

The role of the state in the nation-building process in the RF is discussed by Liudmila Aleksashkina and Joseph Zajda (see Chap. 11, *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, 2015). In their analysis of national history curriculum and standards for secondary schools in the Russian Federation, they note that a dominant 'national ideology' plays a significant role in defining new curricular and standards policy documents in Russian history in secondary schools. The 2014 history standard suggests that students should be taught in the spirit of patriotism and that patriotism should be the outcome of history classes, celebrating significant military victories. This is a vivid example of the dominant role played by ideology in history education in the RF. The national history curriculum documents and standards exist in schools across the RF. Standards are employed to control and regulate general educational aims and ideas, teaching priorities and a list of school subjects.

Globalisation and education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills and standards, have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes globally. Thus, the politics of education reforms in the RF, especially in Russian history textbooks, reflect a new global emerging paradigm of standards-driven policy change (see Zajda, 2015a, 2015b).

Conclusion

In our global overview of current research in history education reforms and school history textbooks, we note that history textbook research has been characterised by a high-profile debate, both locally and globally. National and global debates in relation to history textbooks and the construction on national identity in the nation-building process are also defined and controlled by the ambivalent nexus between ideology and political expectations (that history textbooks contribute to national identity and patriotism), curricular assumptions (that quality history textbooks impact on pedagogical outcomes) and academic rigour and objectivity. History education and history curricular reforms globally demonstrate that history textbooks

and their new Master Narratives, depicting significant events in the nation-building process, have been used by different nations to instil the values of patriotism, national identity and cultural heritage (Zajda, 2015c). The chapter concludes that a methodology, based on historical-comparative research (HCR), as an overarching framework, and grounded in globalisation discourses, together with a blend of critical theory and discourse analysis, focusing on evidence and sources, the role of power and the state, *unbiased* interpretation of historical narratives and the multiperspectivity, is very useful in critiquing the overall reforms in history curricula and the content of school history textbooks.

References

Adorno, T. W. & Horkheimer, M. (2002). *Dialectic of enlightenment* (Edmund Jephcott, Trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings* (pp. 1972–1977). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foster, S. (2011). Dominant traditions in international textbook research and revision. *Education Inquiry, 2*(1), 5–20.

Fuchs, E. (2011). Current trends in history and social studies textbook research. *Journal of International Cooperation and Education, 14*(2), 17–34.

Geuss, R. (1981). *The idea of a critical theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Janmaat, J., & Vickers, E. (2007). Education and identity formation in Post-Cold War Eastern Europe and Asia. *Compare, 37*(3), 267–275.

Masalski, K. (2001). Examining the Japanese history textbook controversies. *Japan Digest*, November.

Nicholls, J. (2006). *School history textbooks across cultures*. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Roord, J. (2009). Moving forwards, stepping backwards: Supranational organizations and History teaching in post-communist Europe. *Political Crossroads, 16*(1), 75–93.

Sarup, M. (1993). *Guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism* (2nd ed.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Zajda, J. (2012). Globalisation and values education in the history/Social studies classroom. *Educational Practice and Theory, 34*(1), 25–39.

Zajda, J. (2013). Russian history textbooks: An analysis of historical narratives depicting key events. *Curriculum and Teaching, 28*(2), 73–100.

Zajda, J. (2014). The politics of Russian history education in the Russian media. *Educational Practice and Theory, 36*(2), 53–77.

Zajda, J. (2015a). Global trends in education and academic achievement. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *New international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zajda, J. (2015b). Globalisation and its impact on education and policy. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *New international handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zajda, J. (Ed.). (2015c). *Nation-building and history education in a global culture*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Zajda, J., & Smith, K. (2013). Globalisation, ideology and history school textbooks: Secondary school history teachers responses in the Russian Federation. *Educational Practice and Theory, 35*(2), 27–61.

Index

A
Abowitz, K., 158
Academic achievement, 5, 32, 173, 175, 176, 180, 181, 190
Academic standards, 5, 32, 155, 156, 164, 182
Accommodation, 54, 55
Accountability, ix, 4–6, 10, 31–33, 85, 103, 150, 159, 163, 166, 171, 190
Active citizens, 105–106, 112–114
Adorno, T., 3, 31, 186
Air-brushing, 9
Aleksashkina, L., 34, 171–182, 190
Althof, W., 103
Anderson, B., 8, 34, 51
Appadurai, A., 31
Apple, M., 4, 31, 34, 75, 163
Arkhangelsk, 39, 40, 45–47
Asian values, 135–137
Australian identity, 88

B
Bakhtin, M., 56, 83, 98, 99
Banks, J., 105, 158, 161
Baques, M.-C., 4, 9, 11, 32
Barabanov, V., 36
Belarusian history textbooks, 117–128
Bell, D., 74
Bertram, C., 96, 99
Breen, J., 79
Bright spots in history, 29, 39, 44–47, 188
The British colonial rule, 53, 133, 134, 142, 143
Brown, G., ix, 4, 5, 8, 87, 90
Bruner, J., 16, 17, 21–22, 56, 83, 93–96, 187

C
Canadian secondary history classes, 188
Carnoy, M., 38, 156, 166
Castells, M., 111
Chia, Y., 15, 139, 141
Chinese historical narratives, 68, 73, 79, 138
Chua, B., 132, 136
Citizenship, 8, 51, 52, 55, 59, 87, 90–92, 99, 103–114, 136, 155–167, 190
Citizenship education, 8, 55, 103–114, 136, 155–167, 174–175, 185, 190
Civic culture, 34, 52, 172
Civic nationalism, 90
Civic society, 83, 86, 87, 89, 97, 187
Classroom pedagogy, 2, 9, 38, 177
Collective memory, 16, 56, 67, 75, 79, 133, 135
Colley, L., 86
Common civic values, 11, 171
Communitarianism, 54
Community values, 117
Conflict, 2, 15, 16, 22, 56, 60, 67–73, 77, 79, 80, 85, 90–92, 137–138, 188
Cooperative learning, 104, 110, 176
Core curriculum, 10, 159
Core textbooks, 5, 31, 32, 35–40, 48, 181
Council of Europe, 6–8, 33, 175, 186
Critical theory, 2, 3, 188, 191
Cultural heritage, 94, 185, 191

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2015

J. Zajda (eds.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*,
Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 13,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-9729-0

Cultural identity, 34, 172
Cultural tools, 56
Curriculum, 3–5, 7, 9–12, 15, 16, 17, 25, 29–32, 34–36, 48, 51–55, 58, 75, 80, 83–100, 106, 114, 121, 124, 125, 132–146, 148, 150, 155–157, 159–167, 171–182, 185–187, 189–191
  integration, 161, 162
  reforms, 4, 5, 32, 83, 99, 159, 173, 182, 185, 190–191

D
Danilov, A., 37, 181
Deans, P., 78
Decolonization, 141–143, 146
Democracy Index, 128
Dewey, J., 95, 104
Disciplinary-history, 16–17, 19, 21–22
Discourse analysis, 2, 3, 30, 188, 191
Discursive paradigms, 190
Durkheim, E., 104
Dutch citizenship education, 103, 109, 113, 114

E
Educational outcomes, 5, 9, 32, 181, 190
Education policy, 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 32, 52, 104, 132, 134, 135, 138, 159, 173, 176, 186, 187
Education reforms, x, 1–12, 30–36, 110, 112, 135, 159, 164, 171, 173, 174, 181–182, 189, 190
Education standards, 35–37, 164–167, 171–182, 190
Ekaterinburg, 39, 40, 45–47, 188
Enmification, 67–80
Ethnic groups, 33, 109, 135, 136, 139, 141, 142, 146, 150
Ethnic nationalism, 90
EUROCLIO, 8, 185, 186
Exceptionalism, 53, 83–88, 97, 99, 155

F
Faden, L., 51–63, 188–189
Fairburn, M., 85, 99
Famine, V., 121, 122, 126
Filippov, A., 36, 181
Foucault, M., 3, 9, 186
Foundation myth, 10, 53
Fuchs, E., 5, 33, 185
Fukuyama, F., 85, 90

G
Gaudelli, W., 156, 161, 162
Gellner, E., 51, 117
Genealogy, 3
Geuss, R., 2, 186
Giddens, A., 1, 31
Giroux, H., 104
Global citizenship education, 155–167, 190
Global education, 29, 155, 157, 160–163
Global inequality, 62
Globalisation, ix, x, 1–12, 15, 17, 29–48, 51–63, 67–80, 83–84, 117–128, 131–150, 155–160, 162–167, 171, 181
  discourses, 2, 3, 52–56, 191
  knowledge, 3, 9, 15, 29, 34, 47, 55, 75, 83, 99, 135–137, 147
Glocal, 8
Goh, C., 132, 135, 139
Gopinathan, S., 131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 139, 149, 150
Governance, 136, 137, 141, 145–147, 149, 150, 189
Grand narrative, ix, 7–8, 15, 16, 187
Great Patriotic War, 12, 36, 124, 127, 181
The Great Patriotic War (1941–1945), 36, 181
Gries, P., 69, 72, 73
Guyver, R., 83–100, 187

H
Han, C., ix, 1, 4, 7, 9, 12
Harré, R., 25
Hedegaard, M., 98
Hegemon, 60, 62, 188
Hegemony, 1, 2, 31, 63, 83, 84, 88, 148, 150
He, Y., 72
Hill, M., 133
Hirano, M., 133
Historical-comparative research (HCR), 2, 3, 188, 191
Historical consciousness, 8, 33–34, 120, 123
Historical contexts, 95, 173
Historical enmity, 71
Historical great traditions, 83, 97, 98, 187
Historical knowledge, 3, 12, 16, 17, 29, 34, 96, 172, 173, 177, 178, 185
Historical memory, 67–80, 189
Historical myths, 67
Historical narrative procedural knowledge, 25, 187
Historical narratives, 1–3, 5, 7–12, 15–18, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 56–62, 71, 86, 93, 118, 119, 126, 171, 178–180, 187–191

Historical reasoning, 19, 20
Historical thinking, 15–25, 173
Historical Thinking Project, 18, 21
Historiography, 8, 11, 12, 32–35, 54, 61, 83, 84, 86, 95, 96, 99, 119–120, 123, 126, 141, 171, 177, 180, 185, 186, 189
History classes, 52, 57, 63, 175, 182, 188–190
History classroom pedagogy, 2, 9, 20, 22, 42, 45, 46, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 177
History curricula standards, 32
History curriculum, 7, 10, 11, 15, 53, 87, 89–91, 93, 97, 99, 121, 124, 132, 133, 137–146, 171–182, 186, 187, 189, 190
  documents, 11, 34, 97, 173, 174, 176, 190
  standards, 35–36, 53
History education, 1–12, 29, 30, 35–36, 51–63, 67, 72, 83–84, 131–150, 159–160, 172–176, 185–191
History education reforms, 174, 189, 190
History pedagogy, 40
History textbooks, 2, 29, 53, 70, 117, 132, 173, 183
History wars, 5, 8, 33, 53, 56, 89, 96
Hogg, M., 70
Hong, L., 137
Horizontal discourse, 95–97, 99
Horkheimer, M., 3, 186
Huang, J., 137
Human rights abuses, 68

I
Identity, ix, 3–6, 8, 11–12, 15–19, 23, 24, 30, 33, 41, 42, 45–48, 52–56, 58, 59, 62, 67–76, 79, 80, 83, 85, 87, 90, 92, 97, 104, 105, 107, 110, 111, 114, 117–120, 123, 126, 128, 131–136, 138–140, 145, 146, 148, 149, 156–162, 171, 172, 176, 185, 187–190
Identity politics, 117
Ideology, ix, 1–9, 11, 12, 18, 29–48, 57, 71, 72, 74, 75, 84, 85, 90–92, 123, 125, 133, 147, 156–158, 161, 163, 166, 171, 173, 180, 182, 185, 186, 188, 190
  re-education, 72
  repositioning, 11, 35, 162
  transformation, 8, 186
Imagined community, 8, 34, 51, 56, 62
Indoctrination, 94, 159
Islin, E., 105

J
Janmaat, J., 5, 7–9, 12, 32, 186
Japanese historical narratives, 9, 70, 76

K
Kaplan, V., 33
Key events, 2, 11, 174, 186
Khabarovsk, 39–41, 45–47
Kovalenia, A., 127
Koval, T., 34
Kwa, C., 144

L
Leagues tables, 32
Lee, M., 131–150, 189
Leenders, H., 105
Lévesque, S., 16, 18, 19, 24, 55
Levstik, L., 15, 21, 24, 56
Lingard, B., 15, 51, 52, 62, 187
Loukachenko, A., 124

M
Master narratives, 56, 61, 185, 191
McLaren, P., 1, 31, 62
Meaning-making processes, 16
Merry, M., 163
Meta-concepts, 21
Miller, D., 118
The Ministry of Education, 5, 7, 10, 11, 30–32, 37, 39, 40, 48, 75, 76, 106, 121, 125, 139, 142–145, 173–175, 181
Moscow, 38–41, 45–47, 180, 188
Multiculturalism, ix, 8, 12, 55, 87, 131, 156, 160, 161, 163, 172
Multiple identities, 83, 87, 156, 187
Museums, 55, 73, 78, 143
Myers, J., 156, 157, 160, 162

N
Narrative dialogicality, 56, 57, 60, 62
Narrative thought, 21, 22, 94
National curriculum, 4, 10, 11, 30, 35–36, 48, 89, 97, 163, 187
National education programme, 72, 160
The National Education Standards in history, 172
National history curriculum, ix, 4, 8, 10, 11, 55, 58, 83, 90, 133, 140, 159–160, 171–182, 186, 190
National identity, ix, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 15, 30, 33, 34, 47, 48, 52–56, 59, 68–71, 73–75, 79, 92, 118–120, 124, 128, 131–133, 135–136, 146, 148, 149, 157, 159, 160, 162, 172, 185–191

Nationalism, 10, 69, 72–74, 76, 87, 90, 99, 159, 162, 186
The Nation-building process, ix, x, 3, 5, 6, 8–9, 12, 30, 32–34, 36, 47, 53, 61, 62, 67, 131–133, 137, 141, 143–145, 147–149, 159, 171, 180–181, 185–191
Nation-states, 18, 51, 52, 67, 84, 123, 133, 145–146, 158–160
Neo-conservativism, 4
The Netherlands, 103–114, 185
New state standards, 37, 181
Nicholls, J., ix, 5, 6, 8–10, 12, 33, 186
Noddings, N., 158, 161
Novik, Y., 126, 127
Nozaki, Y., 76

O
Oakeshott, M., 83, 91, 94, 96, 97, 99
October revolution, 11–12, 47, 126, 174
Official history, 73
Ohmae, K., 133
Oser, F., 105

P
Patriotic education, 71–74, 149, 162
Patriotic narrative, 72
Patriotism, x, 5, 8–11, 32–34, 48, 71, 127, 148–149, 159, 162–163, 172, 174–176, 182, 185, 186, 190, 191
Perestroika, 119–124, 126, 127
Pingel, F., ix, 1, 4, 9, 12, 32
Political narratives, 58–60, 63, 189
Political propaganda, 149, 150
Political reprisals, 126, 127
Political socialisation, ix, 1, 9, 12, 31, 33, 85, 105, 133, 135, 138
Postmodern history, 17, 88
Power, 2–4, 6, 10, 33, 52–54, 60–63, 73, 75, 77, 80, 84, 86, 88, 90, 91, 94, 98, 99, 111, 118, 124, 128, 133, 141, 145, 147, 150, 162, 164, 177, 189, 191
Prescribed history textbooks, 29, 30, 34, 37, 39, 44, 47, 181, 188
Procedural knowledge, 25, 187
Putin, V., 3, 11, 30, 34–38, 48, 171, 181

Q
Qiu, J., 76, 77

R
Racial riots, 135, 137–143, 150
Rapoport, A., 155–167, 189–190
Ravitch, D., 162, 164
Reid, A., 158, 161
Reimers, F., 156, 159, 160, 164
Religious values, 135–137
Reuben, J., 159
Revisionist narrative, 53–54, 74, 78
Ritzer, G., 1, 31
Rizvi, F., 15, 51, 52, 62, 187
Roord, J., ix, 1, 4, 8, 33, 185, 186
Rose, C., 75
The Russian Federation (RF), ix, 3–6, 9–12, 29–48, 171–182, 186, 188–190
Russian history, 11, 30, 35, 39, 40, 45–47, 57, 171–173, 179, 182, 186, 188, 190
  national curriculum, 11, 29–30, 35
  standards, 34, 35, 182, 186, 190
  teachers, 29, 47, 188
  textbooks, 5, 11, 33, 37, 46, 48, 181–182, 186, 190
Russian national curriculum, 11, 35–36, 48

S
Saaler, S., 75, 76, 79
Sahanovitch, H., 121
Sarup, M., 3, 190
Schama, S., 85
Schissler, H., 117
Schneider, C., 76
School culture, 103–104
School history, ix, 2–12, 16–17, 31–36, 39, 41, 47, 84, 89, 96, 118, 119, 121, 125, 174, 180, 186, 188, 189, 191
School history textbooks, 2–9, 32–36, 39, 41, 180, 185–186, 191
School textbooks, 1, 5, 10–12, 29–48, 76, 119, 121, 123, 126, 134, 138, 171, 175, 180–182, 186, 188
Schweisfurth, M., 163
Seixas, P., 8, 16–18, 21, 55
Self-regulation, 103–105
Shibata, R., 67–80, 189
Shubin, A., 34
Shulman, L., 92, 93
Sidartsou, V., 121, 122, 126
Significant events, 29, 30, 34, 39–41, 47, 48, 185, 186, 188, 190–191
Singaporean history textbooks, 132, 138–146
The Singapore history curriculum, 137–146

Singh, B., 148
Single history textbook, 36–38, 186
Skills, 5, 6, 15, 30, 32, 33, 36, 84, 92, 95, 104–106, 110, 112, 122, 127, 135, 141, 156, 161, 172–178, 181, 186, 187, 190
Smith, A., 1, 5–6, 8, 33, 67
Social constructivism, 98, 103, 105, 133
Social imaginary, 52, 62, 63
Socialization, 117, 118, 161, 162, 176
Social justice, xi, 7, 8, 38, 55, 63, 106, 113
Solomon, D., 103
Soviet historiography, 37, 57, 119–120, 123, 126
Soviet totalitarianism, 120, 122, 123, 127
Spiral curriculum, 94
Standardised textbooks, 11
Standards, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 30–32, 34–37, 53, 89, 99, 146, 156, 163–167, 171–182, 186, 190
Standards-driven policy, 5, 10, 32, 182
Stanford, M., 18
Stromquist, N., 157
Substantive concepts, 16–17, 21, 93
Substantive knowledge, 25, 84, 92–95, 99, 187
Suzuki, S., 73
Syntactic knowledge, 92–95, 99
Syntactic understanding, 94, 99

T
Tambyah, S., 149
Tan, S., 149
Teachers' attitudes, 39, 48
Textbook research, 5, 6, 29, 33, 185, 188
Thompson, J., 4
Thornton, S., 161
Torney-Purta, J., 105
Totalitarianism, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 189
Trechtchenok, Y., 126
Trocki, C., 135
Truth, 7, 18, 21, 53, 62–63, 71, 88–90, 95, 96, 99, 120, 122, 127
Turnbull, C., 134

U
United Nations (UN), 6, 33, 52, 150, 157
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 6, 186
United States (US) secondary history classes, 58, 63
US social studies, 55, 58, 157, 159, 160

V
Values, ix, 1–5, 7, 9–12, 15, 18, 19, 32, 34, 48, 55, 56, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 87, 104–106, 117, 123, 132, 133, 135–137, 140, 147, 156, 157, 163, 165, 171–173, 175, 176, 185, 187, 191
Van Boxtel, J., 19
Van Drie, C., 19
VanFossen, P., 163, 166
Van Sledright, B., 20, 21
Vertical discourse, 95–97, 99
Veugelers, W., 103–114
Volkan, V., 70, 71
Vygotsky, L., 83, 98, 99

W
Wallerstein, I., 1, 31
Wang, Z., 71–73
War history, 78
Waters, M., 165
Wertsch, J., 52, 54–58, 60, 62
Westheimer, J., 106, 107, 113
West, P., 36, 86, 157, 178, 181
Whitehouse, J., 5, 15–25, 34, 187
Windschuttle, K., 88, 99
Wineburg, S., 8, 20, 24
Wong, T., 133, 134
World War II, 9, 11–12, 23, 33, 57–62, 68, 71, 74, 77, 78, 88, 120, 122–123, 125–127, 143–145, 188, 189
World War II in history textbooks, 45

Y
Yamashita, H., 156, 163
Yoda, T., 74

Z
Zadora, A., 117–128, 189
Zajda, J., 1–12, 15, 29–48, 58, 62, 171–182, 185–191
Zakaria, F., 136, 155–156
Zhao, S., 72