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Revue internationale de didactique
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Presentation

The International Research Association for History and Social Sciences Education (IRAHSSE) was founded in 2009 by a group of experts in didactics from many countries with the aim of exploring the relations between the teaching of history and of social sciences. These school subjects indeed face deep transformations both at the level of curricula and of practices, in response to new societal expectations. The mission of IRAHSSE is to promote research in history and social sciences education through the creation of a network of scholars worldwide.

The Association launches the publication of the work of its members with this first issue of its own review. It opens with the text of the keynote speech by Alessandro Cavalli at the first international conference in Rome in September 2012 and dedicated to the theme *History and Social Sciences Education: Achievements and Perspectives*. This first conference explored the major political, epistemological and empirical issues in order to establish a theoretical basis for future research. In his article Cavalli delivers a theoretical synthesis of the comparative approach showing its crucial role in education.

The following articles are from the second international conference of the Association, held in Fribourg in September 2014 and dedicated to a subject widely debated in that "anniversary" year: *Wars and Peace: educational issues*. Some of the articles have already been published in special issues of the Swiss review *Didactica Historica* (I, 2015) and of the Italian review *Studi sulla formazione* (XVIII, 2 / 2015*)*. These articles illustrate the major research streams presented at the conference: first, the analysis of history and geography textbooks, with the articles by Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse and Caroline Leinenger-Frézal; second, the educational function of museums, with Falk Pingel's contribution that takes into account a geographical area ranging from Europe to East Asia; and finally the relation between the teaching of history and politics, with a text by Bernardino Pacciani and Marta Mercedes Poggi devoted to the Argentinian context.

This review of the IRAHSSE celebrates the beginning of an annual publication of a selection of its members' work to provide a space for exchange between different communities of researchers to share their work and their thoughts.

Luigi Cajani

Éditorial

L'Association Internationale de Recherche en Didactique de l'Histoire et des Sciences Sociales (AIRDHSS) a été fondée en 2009 par un groupe de didacticiennes et de didacticiens, en provenance de différents pays, avec le but d'explorer les connections entre les enseignements de l'histoire et de sciences sociales. Ces disciplines scolaires sont en effet confrontées à de profondes transformations au niveau des curricula et des pratiques didactiques, en écho à de nouvelles attentes sociales. L'AIRDHSS s'est donné pour mission de promouvoir la recherche en didactique de l'histoire et des sciences sociales, de mettre en réseau les didacticiennes et les didacticiens des différentes parties du monde afin de susciter la réflexion et le débat.

Après avoir pris en charge un premier dossier publié par la revue suisse *Didactica Historica* (I/2015) et un deuxième par la revue italienne *Studi sulla formazione* (XVIII, 2/2015*)*, l'Association lance la publication des travaux de ses membres avec le premier numéro de sa propre revue. Celui-ci s'ouvre avec le texte de la conférence plénière présentée par Alessandro Cavalli lors de la première Conférence internationale organisée par l'AIRDHSS à Rome en septembre 2012. Consacrée au thème *Histoire et sciences sociales enseignées: réalisations et perspectives*, cette première édition a exploré les principaux enjeux politiques, épistémologiques et empiriques actuels pour établir une base théorique des activités de recherche à venir. Dans son article, Cavalli livre une synthèse théorique de l'approche comparative tout en montrant son rôle crucial sur le plan éducatif.

Les articles suivant proviennent de la deuxième Conférence internationale de l'Association, tenue à Fribourg en septembre 2014 et dédiée à un objet largement débattu en cette année "anniversaire": *Guerres et paix: enjeux éducatifs*. On y trouvera une évocation des courants de recherche majeurs, autour des analyses de manuels d'histoire et de géographie, d'abord, avec les articles de Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse et de Caroline Leinenger-Frézal; de la fonction éducative des musées, ensuite, avec la contribution de Falk Pingel qui prend en considération une aire géographique allant de l'Europe à l'Asie orientale; du rapport entre enseignement de l'histoire et politique, enfin, avec un texte de Bernardino Pacciani et Marta Mercedes Poggi consacré au contexte argentin.

La revue de l'AIRDHSS inaugure ainsi la publication annuelle d'une sélection de travaux de ses membres présentés lors des

Conférences biennales, de manière à offrir un espace d'échanges entre différentes communautés de chercheuses et de chercheurs partageant leurs travaux et leurs réflexions.

Luigi Cajani

Alessando Cavalli

The comparative approach and its educational value[*]

Abstract

The author discusses first the defining traits of the comparative approach according to which units and properties are compared. Secondly, he proposes a typology of forms of comparison, distinguishing between synchronic and diachronic and aiming at description or explication. Comparison is used both in the framework of historical and social science knowledge and the differences depend mainly upon the kind of information sources used. Arguing about its educational value, the author argues that comparison helps scholars, but also common individuals and groups, to control better the tendencies of egocentrism and ethnocentrism connected with the formation of individual and collective identities.

Résumé

L'auteur examine d'abord les caractéristiques permettant de définir l'approche comparative, dans laquelle sont comparées des unités et des propriétés. Il propose ensuite une typologie des formes de comparaison, en distinguant synchronie et diachronie, visée descriptive et explicative. La comparaison est utilisée pour produire des connaissances tant en histoire qu'en sciences sociales. Les différences sont principalement dues à la nature des sources d'information utilisées. Arguant de sa valeur éducative, l'auteur estime que la comparaison permet aux chercheurs, mais aussi à tout un chacun, de mieux contrôler les tendances à l'égocentrisme et à l'ethnocentrisme inhérentes à la formation des identités individuelles et collectives.

1.

When I was asked to think about a theme fit for the opening session of this first conference of the new founded association, I thought that a reflection on the comparative approach would meet

the requirements to satisfy both the interests of historians and social scientists and the interests of people engaged in education. I shall divide my speech in three parts.

I will try to discuss first the very idea of comparison in the historical and social sciences. I will further develop a typology of comparative researches in order to make clear what we are talking about. In the final part I will argue that the comparative approach, whatever its merits from a scientific point of view, has in itself an intrinsic educational value.

It is appropriate to recall some methodological notions referring to comparison in general. The phrase "Sweden is a more democratic country than Ukraine," contains three elements. The first element is formed by the objects of comparison (Sweden and Ukraine), the second element by the property in respect of which the comparison is made (democracy), the third element by the states of the property (more or less democratic). In order to use an acceptable definition of democracy one needs to identify the indicators enabling to distinguish between more or less democracy, or, in other words we have to treat democracy as a variable. For ex., free elections of legislative bodies, division of powers, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, of organization, etc. Freedom House, an international private organization devoted to the comparative study of democracy, developed a set of indicators concerning accountability and public voice, civil liberties, rule of law and anticorruption and transparency.

To be compared, therefore, are not the objects, but the states relative to one or more properties[1]. This point is very important, because it excludes at the outset the possibility to compare items taken in their "totality". The comparison is always a judgment, in the first instance, about what is the same and what makes a difference. Every object is by definition unique, unrepeatable, different and therefore incomparable in its entirety, it becomes comparable only when you isolate certain properties and compare the statuses of those properties. When it comes to comparison it is therefore necessary to ask first of all what has to be compared. Evidently, the most diverse "things", that is, properties, can be compared.

In general, the properties tend to cover "structures" or "processes" depending on how – as we shall see – the dimension of time is taken into account. This is not to say anything yet about the con-

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[1] For an accurate account of the epistemological problems in comparative analysis, see Alberto Marradi, *Natura, forme e scopi della comparazione*, in *Metodo scientifico e scienza politica,* ed. Domenico Fisichella (Roma: Nuova Italia scientifica, 1985), 293-321 and "Classification, Typology, Taxonomy", *Quality and Quantity* XXIV, 2 (1990): 129-157.

tents, but only about the form that such contents can take. To take some examples from classical instances of comparative research, the contents may refer to political structures (the cleavages analyzed by Stein Rokkan), to the structures of the international division of labour (Immanuel Wallerstein), structures of class relations in revolutionary processes (Barrington Moore), to processes of change in authority relations (Bendix), etc. It is necessary to maintain analytically separated the two levels of the comparison: the object (i.e. the unit of analysis considered) and the or the "properties" on which the comparison occurs. Objects (unit of analysis) of the comparison can be individuals, groups, communities, state-societies, cultural areas, "civilizations", or entire "systems"[2].

Depending on the choice of the object of comparison, the problem of boundaries in relation to its environment assumes a different meaning. For example, a state-society can be analyzed as an isolated entity (implicitly or explicitly eliminating the influence of its environment), or as an entity within a population of state-societies and then has to be analyzed as part of a network of relationships between state-societies. The choice of the unit of analysis is a choice that must be justified in each case in relation to the purposes of the research. The choice of object for comparative analysis does not necessarily mean that we should assume its self-sufficiency (i.e., it is plausible regardless of the influence of its environment).

To give an example, we can compare two communities, A and B, at time $t0$ and at time tn, making the assumption that the state Atn and Btn does not depend only from $At0$ and $Bt0$, but also by a series of exogenous variables to A and B, or by the relationship between A and B.

The identification of the unit of analysis, i.e. the object on whose properties the comparison is carried out, is a requirement of each elementary comparative research, so elementary that often is overlooked, with the result that not homogeneous units are compared with each other.

2.

To guide the identification of the various forms or types of comparison in a systematic way, I propose to use two criteria: a) the reference to the dimension of "time", distinguishing between synchronic comparison and diachronic comparison, b) the purpose of compari-

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[2]   For a more elaborate discussion of these exemples, see Pietro Rossi, ed., *La storia comparata: Approcci e prospettive* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1990).

son, distinguishing between comparison for descriptive purposes and comparison for explanatory purposes. These are obviously not the only possible dimensions under which to construct a typology of the forms of comparison. Each type can be complexified by introducing more dimensions (variables), or other approaches. However, in order to illustrate the main forms of comparative historical and social science research, a simple typology is for my purpose sufficient.

Let me now clarify the dimensions used:

a) A synchronic comparison refers to objects/properties temporally coeval or in respect of which the time dimension is not considered to be relevant (for example, we compare the voting behaviour at a given moment between voters of Basilicata and voters of Calabria). A diachronic comparison arises in cases we compare objects/properties in different moments in time (to stay in the same example, the voting behaviour in the Basilicata region in a given time period or in two or more intervals). The synchronic and diachronic dimensions may of course be combined in the same research project. In this case it is a comparison of a higher level of complexity.

I cannot go here into the discussion of the use of the categories of historical time in history and the social sciences[3]. This discussion would lead us very far indeed. Here I would simply emphasize the fact that it is possible to distinguish between investigations that practically abolish the time dimension (in the sense that privilege the synchronic analysis and assume as objects punctual situations) and investigations that, on the contrary, thematize the time dimension (in the sense that favour the diachronic analysis and assume as objects of analysis dynamic situations, changes and processes). This distinction does not match, if not only approximately, the distinction between the approaches typical of the social sciences and the historical approaches. When history is aiming towards the reconstruction of events and situations, it may do so without making use of the categories of historical time. In other words, the localization of an object of investigation in the past is not in itself a sufficient guarantee for the temporal dimension to be appropriately thematized. Conversely, even if social scientists tend to focus on the synchronic analysis (for example, by studying the co-variation between variables), they are not for this reason doomed to neglect the temporal dimension and in fact, in many cases, do not neglect it at all (for example, when analysing the trend of time series also in a pluri-secular sequence).

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[3]   For a discussion of different conceptions of historical time in history and the social sciences, see: Jörn Rüsen, ed., *Zeit deuten: Perspektiven - Epochen – Paradigmen* (Bielefeld: Transscript, 2003).

b) The dimension description-explanation indicates rather a continuum. When descriptive purposes prevail there is a tendency to focus on the "narrative", otherwise, the investigator makes use of more or less formalized analytical conceptual tools[4].

It is wrong to equate narrative-descriptive orientation with historiography and orientation to the explanation with the social sciences. The problem is known to be very complex and cannot be discussed in detail here. I think that the old distinction between idiographic and nomothetic orientation does not provide a criterion to differentiate between historiography and social sciences. Both orientations fall under the logic of explanation. In the first case, what makes the difference is what has to be explained, that is, those characteristics that underlie the specificity of an object, in the second case, however, what has to be explained is the uniformity, recurrence, equality. In the first case, in the words of Weber, the use of generalized concepts and laws is merely a means of knowing, in the second case it is an end. If we assume, however, that we can never know or explain an object in its individual and unique "totality", we can easily realize that idiographic and nomothetic orientations only indicate different and relative levels of specificity and generality. They are not antithetical orientations, but different levels of analysis the researcher has to choose according to its object of research. If I may draw an example from a comparative study on which I was working some years ago[5], I will say that to explain the differential effects of the earthquake on communities of two regions (Belice and Friuli) I will have to resort to general laws to explain the effects of earthquakes on any human community, and/or more specific laws that do intervene in the model to explain the workings of factors related to local culture. If you want to explain why the social effects of the earthquake were so different in Gibellina and Santa Ninfa (two community only a few kilometres apart from each other), I will introduce another set of variables to an ever lower generalization's level. In conducting this research I do not ask myself if what I am doing is history or sociology, in this case the distinction is irrelevant. This does not mean that the distinction between idiographic and nomothetic orientation is irrelevant in general: it is useful in order to indicate a tendency, to distinguish between different levels of abstraction in a time and space dimension.

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[4]   A number of instances of descriptive and explanatory historical researches are analyzed in: James Mahoney, Dietrich Rueschenmayer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[5]   Alessandro Cavalli, *Memory and History: How Memory Is Reconstructed After Catasprophic Events*, in *Meaning and Representation in History*, Jörn Rüsen, ed. (New York, Oxford: Berghan Books, 2006), 169-182.

Historians will always tend to favour an idiographic approach, while social scientists will privilege a nomothetic approach. However, these are only trends that do not allow to establish at conceptual level the distinction between different disciplinary approaches. The studies on public opinion, for example, that very often are conducted on comparative cross cultural basis, have a very strong idiographic orientation aimed at seizing short-term dynamics, related to the occurrence of singular events, but should not be excluded for that reason from the practices of social research.

The intersection of the two dimensions considered above gives rise to the formation of a typology of forms of comparison:

	synchronic	diachronic
descriptive	1- how objects differ?	2-how objects change?
explanatory	3- why objects differ	4-why objects change

This simple scheme identifies four types of comparison.

1) Among the objects/properties compared this first type uniquely identifies what is the same and what is different, therefore assessing similarities and differences. It is the easiest and perhaps most widespread type of comparison, which responds to a classificatory logic and leads to the development of taxonomies. Durkheim, for example, makes use of a comparison of this type when comparing totemic cults of the Australian Aborigines and the Indian tribes of North America[6]. In this case, his analysis is not aimed, or only marginally, to the attribution of causal differences, but is limited to an investigation of the similarities.

2) In this case, comparison pursues the aim to describe the transformation of an object/property over time. We could call this procedure "biographical method". Its focus lays in the distinction between what remains constant and what changes. This type of comparison presupposes the possibility of postulating a minimum identity of the object over time, namely the existence of at least one aspect that does not change over time. In any case, however, the analysis highlights changes, processes, transitions, which are described without being explicitly formulated in order to support empirically hypotheses and theories capable to provide an explanation. The "theory" of developmental stages (from Karl Bücher[7] to

[6] Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990) (1912[1]).

[7] Karl Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1893).

Walt W. Rostow[8]) can be placed in this type since it is not formulated in order to explain the processes of transition from one stage to the next. Even in the analysis that leads Bendix to study what changes and what remains constant in the forms of authority and power in industrial organizations over time, the need for a detailed reconstruction of idiographic types prevails on the need to provide an explanation of the dynamics of the transformation processes.

3) The synchronic comparison of different objects/properties in order to explain the diversity uses, either explicitly or implicitly, a "systemic" model of explanation.

In other words, it is the different location of the object X relative to the object Y within the network of interdependencies Z that explains why X is different from Y.

An example of this "type": the under-development of the region A and the development of the region B are not explained in terms of historical causes respectively of the under-development or development, but in terms of the different position of the two regions in the system of international division of labour, and thus development and under-development are captured in their dimension of mutual interdependence: the development of B depends on the under-development of A, the under-development of A depends on the development of B. Andrè Gunder Frank's and Immanuel Wallerstein's approach and all the so-called "dependence theorists", belong to this type[9].

This approach reverses the assumption that the comparison can be conducted only between objects independent of each other, postulated in the literature and referred to as "Galton's problem", named after the anthropologist who formulated it for the first time. Wallerstein's world-economy can not, by definition, be compared with an object on its own level, and comparison (e.g. between "periphery" and "semi-periphery") may only be performed within the system of relations established as a world-economy.

Unlike studies of Wallerstein and his school, which postulate the existence of a macro-system that encompasses all societies and all countries, studies of "civic culture" conducted by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba[10] in the first half of the XX Century in five coun-

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[8]   Walt W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth. A non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

[9]   Andre Gunder Frank, *The Development of Underdevelopment* (New York (NY): Monthly Review Press, 1966); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York (NY): Academic Press, 1974)*,*

[10]   Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

tries (United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico), take as reference units national societies and adopt a model of functionalist explanation in which the temporal dimension does not play an important role. Research in comparative politics, such as Almond's studies, hardly, however, can be considered both historical and comparative. On this point we will return at the end of this section.

4) This type of comparison starts from the assumption that, in order to explain why A and B are different, we need to go back in time, reconstructing the process producing A and B as they are now. We can speak here of a form of comparison that leads to the identification of forms of historical causation. As it is known, the problem underlying the comparative study of universal religions in Max Weber is the explanation of the *Sonderentwicklung* of the West[11]. The comparative-historical research needs in this case an explanatory design that follows the rules of the logical process of causal imputation. What, asks Weber, is the factor that is present in the West and absent elsewhere, which is responsible for the development of Western rationalism, of which capitalism is the specific manifestation in the field of economic structures? Very close to the Weberian model, from the point of view of the frame of the research design, are the studies conducted and promoted by Charles Tilly on state formation in Europe and the investigations of Stein Rokkan[12] on the genesis of political cleavages in the states of modern Europe. Both proceed with a two-stage approach: in the first place there is a need to establish the common properties and variants of the processes under study, and then proceed, in a second stage, to the identification of factors that give specific historical account of the changes. Although the intent is only implicitly comparative, also the researches of Norbert Elias[13] can be assigned to this fourth type. In them, Elias adopts an evolutionary scheme in which the realization of the state monopoly of violence is assigned the role of determining factor in producing the configurations of relationships between classes and individuals, which in turn determine the processes of impulse control and of psychic economy of individuals. A different mode of formation and realization of the state monopoly thus corresponds to different outcomes in terms of social structure and personality structure.

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[11] Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920).

[12] Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Stein Rokkan, ed., *Comparative Research Across Cultures and Nations (*Paris: Mouton, 1968).

[13] Norbert Elias, T*he Civilizing Process*, Vol. I. *The History of Manner*s (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); *The Civilizing Process*, Vol. II. *State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

These types of research using the comparative approach are "pure" types in the sense that they are derived exclusively by logical and methodological categories.

At this point the question arises when a comparative study becomes an historical-comparative study. As we have seen, the various examples of historical comparative research can be placed in the space defined by the properties of this approach only in an approximate way, since they come more or less close to one or other of these types. For each one of these types it is possible to find examples of research to which assign the attribute "historical".

As mentioned above, the consideration of the time dimension is not enough to qualify a research as historical. In fact, on the one hand there are historical researches in which the diachronic dimension is not thematized and, on the other hand, there are social science research (for example, the longitudinal studies that make use of the technique of the panel) which, although using a diachronic dimension, cannot be considered historical research. The criterion of distinction must be found on another plane, and precisely on an exquisitely methodological plane, i.e., in particular, in relation to the type of source used. Consistent with the definition of the disciplines as sets of research practice, a research can be classified as belonging to the sub-set of historical-comparative research only in case it makes use of primary or secondary historical sources. In other words, the method of data construction and data processing is the most effective criterion to define the subset of historical, comparative research.

3.

What I have said so far should be sufficient to argue that the comparative approach has an educational value on the cognitive dimension. It helps to frame the problem using well defined conceptual tools, to formulate explicit hypothesis, to look for empirical indicators in order to test them. In synthesis, it favours the formation of a scientific mentality, even when the argument is cast in a narrative style. Through the exercise of comparison, students get accustomed to frame research problems in a scientific consistent way. This is the major educational achievement. Education, however, does not imply only a cognitive dimension. In our rationalistic culture we are accustomed to separate cognition and emotion. The two dimensions can be distinguished analytically, in our mind they are, often if not always, bound together. The comparative approach, whatever the specific focus of the research, makes us aware about differences and similari-

ties. Differences and similarities imply always affective overtones: we may like or dislike both differences and similarities. In the case we are implied in the units to be compared (as member of a group, class, ethnic minority or majority, religion community, nationality or anything else) it is hardly to avoid the fact that identity matters.

I firmly believe that the habit and the attitude to compare provides an opportunity to make steps out both of egocentrism and ethnocentrism[14].

Let us think at the idea of egocentrism as the exclusive preoccupation with one's own problems and the incapacity to represent the other's point of view. Developmental psychologists argue that egocentrism is more frequent in childhood and adolescence and tends to diminish with adulthood, even though there are cases where it continues all life long. In adult life egocentrism is considered as a negative personality trait, a deficiency which hinders substantially the development of balanced social relationships. Autism, f.i., is considered an extreme case of egocentrism and is considered a severe mental disease.

On the theoretical level, both in psychology and philosophy, there are lively discussions concerning the "theory of the mind". As a matter of fact, the problem is by far not new. It goes back, if not even further, to the debate on *Verstehen* (in English, understanding) opened at the turn of the XIX and XX century in German philosophy and social science by Wilhem Dilthey, Max Weber and many others[15]. More recently, theoretical and empirical developments in neural physiology pointed to the discovery of mirror neurons, which are supposed to have appeared at a crucial point in the evolution of the human species, giving a scientific, neuro-biological underpinning to what philosophers and psychologists did suppose since a long time[16]. To make a long story short, human beings can be more or less egocentrics and we can ask legitimately how to favour the process of reducing egocentrism.

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[14] Cultural anthropologists are, almost by definition, engaged in comparative research and keenly aware of the need to fight against ethnocentrism. To make just one classic example, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York (NY): Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1934).

[15] Dilthey argues that the distinction between historical and social sciences, on the one hand, and natural sciences, on the other hand, is based on the difference between *Verstehn* (understanding) and *Erklären* (explanation). See, Wilhelm Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften*, (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1883). Max Weber and Geog Simmel turned somehow away from Dilthey on this topic, as I tried to clear elsewhere. See, Alessandro Cavalli, *Max Weber und Georg Simmel: Sind die Divergenzen wirklich so groß?*, in *Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre*, G. Wagner, H. Zipprian, eds. (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1994), 224-238.

[16] See the findings reported in Giacomo Rizzolati and Laila Craighero, "The mirror-neuron system", *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 27 (1): 169–192.

Egocentrism is referred to the personal identity dimension, however similar processes are operating also at the collective identity level. Ethnocentrism and nationalism are widespread phenomena that at least in Western culture, where they were born and developed, are beginning to be judged negatively. The crucial variables are here the degrees of closeness or openness of collective identities. An open identity is characterized by not being exclusive. The question is not to erase completely collective identities (human beings probably need to develop "we feelings"), but how to make them less exclusive.

Identities can peacefully live together if they are not exclusive. As you know, Siena is divided up in several "contrade" which twice a year compete ritually in the horse race called "palio". The "contrada identity" is strong, but it does not prevent the development of a town identity, when the people of Siena face their traditional opponents, the Florentines. The town identity does not prevent regional, national and so forth identities.

I see the comparative approach as a tool to help people to work out less exclusive collective identities[17]. Comparison is a way, probably the only way, to assess differences and similarities. We acquire, f.i., a generational identity when we perceive how different we are form our parents, we acquire local, national or supra-national identities in a continuous confrontation with what is different and what is similar. At the end, we are all human beings, or, to push the argument even further, we are all living beings, since, from a biological point of view, we share with animals and plants a part of our DNA.

[17]   For a processual approach to the building of collective identities, see: Alberto Melucci, *The Process of Collective Identity*, in H. Johnston and B. Klandermans, eds., *Social Movements and Culture*, (Minneapolis (MN): University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 41- 63.

Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse

Reasoning with and/or about sources on the Cold War? The use of primary sources in English and French history textbooks for upper secondary education[*]

Abstract

It has be a common practice for several decades, to work with sources in the secondary school history classroom. The use of sources is considered important, in building historical knowledge, but especially in fostering students' historical thinking skills. Nevertheless, research concludes that the instructional practice related to the contextualization and questioning of sources, raises difficulties. Teachers often only question sources for/ in relation to their contents, and do not sufficiently include author and context information in the analysis of the source. In education, primary sources thus seem to be used particularly as illustrations or to foster substantive knowledge, rather than to foster strategic knowledge. This paper reports on an empirical study about the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in secondary school history textbooks in France and England, countries with different approaches to history education and different curricular requirements. The research reveals big differences in dealing with primary sources between English and French textbooks.

Résumé

Une pratique s'affirme depuis plusieurs décennies: celle de travailler avec des sources dans les classes d'histoire des établissements secondaires. Si l'usage des sources a toujours été considéré comme important dans la construction de la connaissance historique, c'est surtout aujourd'hui pour encourager le développement de la pensée historique chez les élèves. Pourtant, la recherche montre que la pratique pédagogique liée à la contextualisation et à l'analyse des sources n'est pas sans poser problème. Les enseignants se satisfont souvent d'un traitement de leur contenu sans inclure suffisamment dans leur démarche des informations sur l'auteur et le contexte. Les sources directes semblent donc être utilisées pédagogiquement plutôt comme illustration ou pour développer la connaissance

sur un plan factuel, que pour susciter un savoir stratégique, procédural.
Cet article présente une étude empirique sur la présence et l'usage péda-
gogiques des sources directes dans les manuels d'histoire du secondaire
en France et en Angleterre, deux pays qui adoptent différentes approches
de l'enseignement de l'histoire et préconisent différentes exigences dans
les programmes d'études en histoire. La recherche révèle de grandes dis-
parités dans l'usage de telles sources entre les manuels scolaires de ces
deux pays.

1. Introduction

It has become a common practice for several decades, to work
with sources in the secondary school history classroom. Scholars in the
field of history education stress the importance of the use of sources,
as accesses to the past, especially in order to foster students' historical
thinking skills[1]. History education, they argue, should not only provide
an understanding of the past (*knowing* history), but equally focus on
training skills to understand how representations of the past are based
on the interpretation of sources (*doing* history)[2]. History education
should not only foster students' substantive knowledge, but also devel-
op their strategic knowledge[3]. Through the critical analysis and inter-
pretation of sources, students should gain an understanding of how
the past is examined and interpreted, and history constructed. They
should be able to both reason with and about sources. Reasoning with
sources refers then to the skills to select information from sources and
to use it to support a claim about the past. Reasoning about sources
concerns students' skills to critically assess the value of the information
– whether or not in corroboration with other sources, the usefulness
and limits of the source, and to recognize the author's perspective[4]. All

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[1]   Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching history for the common good* (Mahwah,
N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004). Jannet Van Drie and Carla Van Boxtel,
"Historical reasoning: towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the
past", *Educational Psychology Review* 20, no. 2 (2008), 87-110.
[2]   Harry Havekes, Peter-Arno Coppen, Johan Luttenberg and Carla Van Boxtel,
"Knowing and doing history: a conceptual framework and pedagogy for teaching historical
contextualization", *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 11,
no. 1 (2012), 72-93; Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin and Chauncey Monte-Sano, *Reading like
a historian. Teaching literacy in Middle and High School History Classrooms* (New York-
London: Teachers College Press, 2013).
[3]   Peter Lee, "History Teaching and Philosophy of History", *History and Theory* 22,
no. 4 (1983), 19-49; Bruce VanSledright and Margarita Limón, "Learning and teaching social
studies: a review of cognitive research in history and geography", in *Handbook of educa-
tional psychology*, ed. Patricia A. Alexander and Philip H. Winne (Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum,
2006), 545-570.
[4]   Jean-François Rouet, M. Anne Britt, Robert A. Mason and Charles A. Perfetti,
"Using multiple sources of evidence to reason about history", *Journal of Educational
Psychology* 88, no. 3 (1996), 478-493.

this means that direct contact with sources is thus absolutely necessary in history education[5]. This paper addresses the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in secondary school history textbooks in France and England, countries with different approaches to history education and different curricular requirements and attainment targets.

2. Previous research on the use of sources in (upper) secondary school history education

Much research has already been done on how sources are addressed in (upper) secondary school history education. Sam Wineburg, for example, examined how students understand the bias of sources[6]. Through an expert-novice study, he investigated the differences between how professional historians and high school students read and interpreted a series of primary and secondary sources about the battle of Lexington (19 April 1775). Among the experts, Wineburg identified three heuristics they used when analyzing the sources and constructing an account: sourcing, contextualization and corroboration. Historians engage in sourcing when they take into account the author of the source, when, where, why and for whom it was made, and the text's genre in assessing and evaluating its content and potential value. Historians' contextualization is an activity in which they assess sources within their broader historical societal context. Corroboration is employed to compare multiple texts on the same event, to look for similarities and contradictions, and so to determine the reliability of texts, and to construct historical interpretations. Nokes adds that historians thus approach texts as evidence rather than as collections of historical facts[7]. The latter, however, is exactly how students consider sources. Generally speaking, students consider and read sources as pure bearers of information, and are not aware of the existence of a subtext within them. They accept information uncritically and have difficulties in dealing with different sources including contradictions. These findings are confirmed

in many other research studies[8]. While Nokes also connects students' difficulty of reading primary sources to their lack of background contextual knowledge, and the complex language used in those sources, Wineburg especially points at students' epistemological beliefs as the main explanation[9]. Before students can see subtexts in a source for example, they must first believe subtexts exist, so Wineburg states[10]. If students consider sources as authorless, and deny the authors' intentions, they simply overlook the fact that sources are interpretations of the past, that need to be interpreted.

Maggioni further elaborated on the epistemic stances of students[11]. She distinguishes three stances. The first one is called the objectivist or realist stance. Students taking this stance demonstrate a naïve realism, treat sources as authorless and thus consider them to be mirrors of the past. Students on a subjectivist stance also demonstrate naïve relativism. They show an awareness of the interpretive nature of historical knowledge, but in their opinion, every interpretation is possible. History is what historians make of the past. They consider all sources and accompanying interpretations equally valuable, and all accounts of the past possible. Students on a crierialist stance are aware that history is an evidence-based interpretation and construction, and that not all interpretations of sources are equally valuable. They acknowledge the process of corroboration of sources, and understand how a reasonable historical account can be constructed even in the case of conflicting evidence. Given the fact that historical thinking is an 'unnatural act'[12], students spontaneously adhere to a realist stance. However, through for example multiple

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[8] M. Anne Britt and Cindy Aglinskas, "Improving students' ability to identify and use source information", *Cognition and Instruction* 20, no. 4 (2002), 485–522. Cynthia R. Hynd, "Teaching students to think critically using multiple texts in history", *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 42 (1999), 428-436; Jeffery D. Nokes, Janice A. Dole and Douglas J. Hacker, "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts", *Journal of Educational Psychology* 99 (2007), 492-504; Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices". Richard J. Paxton, "A deafening silence: History textbooks and the students who read them", *Review of Educational Research* 69 no. 3 (1999), 315–337; Charles A. Perfetti, M. Anne Britt and Mara C. Georgi, *Text-based learning and reasoning: Studies in history* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1995); Steven A. Stahl, Cynthia R. Hynd, Bruce K. Britton, Mary M. McNish and Dennis Bosquet, "What happens when students read multiple source documents in history?" *Reading Research Quarterly* 31 no. 4 (1996), 430-456.
[9] Jeffery D. Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents' 'Reading Like Historians'", *The History Teacher* 44, no. 3 (2011), 379-404; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*; Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts".
[10] Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts", 510.
[11] Liliana Maggioni, "Between Facts and Opinions: An Exploration of Adolescents' Ideas about the Nature of Historical Knowledge" (paper presented at the 21st International Congress of Historical Sciences, Amsterdam, 2010); Liliana Maggioni, Bruce VanSledright and Patricia Alexander, "Walking on the borders: a measure of epistemic cognition in history", *The Journal of Experimental Education* 77, no. 3 (2009), 187-213.
[12] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

text activities and corroboration, students can be guided in developing a criterialist stance[13]. Many intervention studies indeed indicate that document use and instruction on historians' reading and reasoning strategies result in a significant growth of the ability to reason about sources, and thus in strategic knowledge[14].

The abovementioned research strongly suggests that teaching approaches from textbooks and/or history teachers play an important part in promoting students' understanding of sources, and in fostering their strategic knowledge and ability to reason about sources. The ways in which history textbooks and/or teachers actually use sources in concrete classroom practice are, however, far less examined.

Research among student teachers and beginning teachers in secondary school history education reveals that they do not engage much with postmodern perspectives and the constructed nature of history, but use primary sources especially to impart content-related substantive knowledge to students[15]. Fostering students' strategic knowledge is not considered a teaching goal while using sources. Sources (be they primary or secondary) are thus especially used to reason with, and not to reason about. Corroboration of sources as a learning strategy is not much used either.

Research among more experienced teachers concludes that, regarding the selection of sources, they use a mix of primary and secondary sources, although Grant & Gradwell found that primary source texts were heavily favored[16]. According to Magalhães, teach-

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[13] Jeffery D. Nokes, *Building students' historical literacies. Learning to Read and Reason with Historical Texts and Evidence* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

[14] Britt and Aglinskas, "Improving students' ability to identify and use source information"; Susan De La Paz, "Effects of historical reasoning instruction and writing strategy mastery in culturally and academically diverse middle school classrooms", *Journal of Educational Psychology* 97 (2005) 139-156; Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts"; Avishag Reisman, "Reading Like a Historian: A Document-Based History Curriculum Intervention in Urban High Schools", *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 1 (2012), 86-112; Carla Van Boxtel and Jannet Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans! Knowledge and Strategies Students Use to Contextualize Historical Images and Documents", *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 2 (2012), 113-145.

[15] Elizabeth McCrum, "History teachers' thinking about the nature of their subject", *Teaching and Teacher Education* 35 (2013), 73-80; Peter Seixas, "Student Teachers Thinking Historically", *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 3 (1998), 310-341; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "Challenges facing beginning history teachers: an exploratory study", *International Journal of Social Education* 19, no. 1 (2003), 8-21; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "Making Students Better People? A Case Study of a Beginning History Teacher", *International Social Studies Forum* 3, no. 1 (2003), 219-232; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "'I want to use my subject matter to …': the role of purpose in one U.S. secondary history teacher's instructional decision making", *Canadian Journal of Education* 30, no. 3 (2007), 670-690.

[16] S.G. Grant and Jill Gradwell, "The sources are many: exploring history teachers' selection of classroom texts", *Theory and research in social education* 33 no. 2 (2005), 244-265.

ers use both iconographic and written documents[17]. Kleppe, in his research on Dutch history textbooks over a 30 years period of time (1970-2000), concluded that, throughout the years, more photos were included in the textbooks[18]. Moreover, he found that, of all the photos present in Dutch history textbooks, half of them were used educationally, while the other half only served as an illustration. During the 1990s, photos serving an educational function, increased in number. Regarding the educational use of sources, in general, it can be concluded from international research that sources are mainly used as an illustration or for their content, and thus to enhance students' historical substantive knowledge[19]. The heuristics of the historian (sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization), as Nokes et al. argue, are rarely taught[20]. Historical process instruction or fostering strategic knowledge is not integrated in many classrooms[21]. This finding can certainly be connected to the research of Bertram, concluding from an analysis of formal history assessment tasks in three South-African high schools that only eleven (15%) of the total of 72 sources were contextualized to a certain extent, or provided with a reference[22]. Only in those 15%, were the learners informed about when and by whom the source was made, and the aims of the author. According to her research, illustrative or content-related use of sources went hand in hand with a minimal contextualization of sources.

International research further suggests that in educational systems where the interpretative and mediated nature of historical knowledge is not an explicit part of the history curriculum, as is for instance the case in France and Catalonia, history textbooks do not discuss the issue and deal with sources correspondingly[23].

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[17] Olga Magalhães, "Portuguese history teachers' ideas about history", in *Understanding history: international review of history education (vol. IV)*, ed. Rosalyn Ashby, Peter Gordon and Peter Lee (London/New York: Routledge, 2005), 136-147; Vincent Boutonnet, "Les ressources didactiques: typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire" (PhD, Université de Montréal, 2013).

[18] Martijn Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks: Quantity, type and educational use", in *Das Bild im Schulbuch*, ed. Carsten Heinze and Eva Matthes (Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2010) 261-272.

[19] Carol Bertram, "'Doing history?': Assessment in history classrooms at a time of curriculum reform", *Journal of Education* 45 (2008), 155-177; Grant and Gradwell, "The sources are many". Magalhães, "Portuguese history teachers' ideas about history". Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms". Paxton, "A deafening silence".

[20] Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts".

[21] Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms".

[22] Bertram, "'Doing history?'".

[23] Yannick Le Marec, "Pour un usage pragmatique des manuels d'histoire", in *Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire. Manuels, enseignants et élèves*, ed. Marc-André Ethier, David Lefrançois and Jean-François Cardin (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2011), 139-

In conclusion, from all the abovementioned research, it can be concluded that the instructional practice related to the contextualization and questioning of sources, raises difficulties[24]. Research concludes that teachers often only question sources for/in relation to their contents. Those content-related questions can address historical thinking concepts such as continuity and change, cause and effect or significance, but in other cases suggest that the past can directly and unproblematically be derived from sources, which contradicts the interpretative and constructed nature of historical knowledge. The contextualization (i.e. sourcing and contextualizing) of sources, embedded in the totality of information supplied in the lesson, constitutes a second teaching problem, for the absence of sufficient contextualization by teachers is common. One cannot interpret and question in -depth a source without essential information on the author(s), on when, where and for whom it was made, and on the social context wherein it was produced.

This research examines the practice of how primary sources are dealt with, regarding presentation and educational use, through English and French textbooks for upper secondary history education. Although textbooks of course constitute only one element of classroom practices, and research has found that most teachers do not literally adopt the lesson plan provided in textbooks, they nevertheless draw, to a greater or lesser extent, on history textbooks in preparing their history lessons. Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon and Boutonnet, discussing research on this, concluded that history textbooks certainly occupy an important place in teachers' didactical choices[25]. The most important role history teachers participating in Boutonnet's research ascribed to history textbooks, consisted of providing visual and textual sources. This was reflected in their practice, since those teachers indicated that they used the textbooks mostly for the learning text and the primary sources. Thus, Paxton argued, the importance of history textbooks both as general references and of models of disciplinary practice comes into sharp focus[26].

158; Joan Pagès, and Antoni Santisteban, "Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire en Catalogne", in *Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire. Manuels, enseignants et élèves*, ed. Marc-André Ethier, David Lefrançois and Jean-François Cardin (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2011), 359-376.

[24] Keith Barton, "Primary Sources in History: Breaking Through the Myths", *Teaching History* 86, no. 10 (2005), 745-753; Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts". Van Boxtel and Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans!"; VanSledright and Limón, "Learning and teaching social studies"; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

[25] Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "New trends in history textbook research: issues and methodologies toward a school historiography", *Journal of Educational Media, memory and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010), 154-170; Boutonnet, "Les ressources didactiques".

[26] Paxton, "A deafening silence".

The choice to study French and English history textbooks was made from the fact that both countries had/have particular and different history education traditions, curricular goals and classroom practices, as research shows. For French history education e.g., Audigier & Baillat and Audigier found that history teachers focus on factual history and less on concepts[27]. They found evidence of a 'positivistic use' of documents, meaning that they considered those documents as representation of the reality. Documents were merely used as illustrations, and not studied from the point of view of the author. Baquès added to this conclusion, for French 9th grade history textbooks, indicating that the questions related to sources are simple, instead of intellectually challenging[28]. Tutiaux-Guillon came to somewhat similar conclusions in her research with prospective teachers, that sources are mostly used in a lecturing-learning way of teaching, requiring only little intellectual efforts from students, since the answers and conclusions regarding the sources are fixed[29]. Sources are mostly only questioned for their contents, and to gather factual knowledge. It is the teacher that makes the interpretations, and the connections between sources and contexts. Research by Le Marec and Bacquès confirmed these conclusions about French history education[30].

In England, on the other hand, the study of interpretations of the past through the use of sources – to understand and explain how and why the past has been interpreted in different ways in periods subsequent to the period under study – became a key component of the history curriculum as early as 1991 with the inception of the National Curriculum for history[31]. Efforts have been made to develop teaching material that moves beyond evaluations of historical interpretations in terms of reliability and avoids simplistic accounts of the context-bound character of the interpretation process[32]. According

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[27]   François Audigier and Gilles Baillat, eds., *Analyser et gérer les situations d'enseignement-apprentissage* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1991); François Audigier, *Documents: des moyens pour quelles fins?* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1992).

[28]   Marie-Christine Baquès, "Historical narratives in French School Textbooks, and the Writers' Responsibility for the Pupils", in *International Society for History Didactics. Analyzing Textbooks: Methodological Issues*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Martin Schmitz (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 11-22.

[29]   Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "L'enseignement de l'histoire en France: les pratiques de classe", in *Geschichtsunterricht international / Worldwide Teaching of History / L'enseignement de l'histoire dans le monde*, ed. Elizabeth Erdmann, Robert Maier and Susanne Popp (Hannover (Germany): Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006), 301-322.

[30]   Baquès, "Historical narratives in French School Textbooks"; Le Marec, "Pour un usage pragmatique des manuels d'histoire".

[31]   Arthur Chapman, "Historical interpretations", in *Debates in history teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon (UK)/New York (NY): Routledge, 2011), 96-108; Christine Counsell, "Disciplinary knowledge for all. The secondary history curriculum and history teachers' achievement", *Curriculum Journal* 22, no. 2 (2011), 201-225.

[32]   E.g. Counsell, "Disciplinary knowledge for all". Christopher Edwards, "The

to Haydn, textbooks have undergone gradual yet significant changes since the 1980s[33]. Research by Husbands (et al.) indicates that the curricular goals are fully implemented in history classroom practice, including textbook practices, although there are too few existing research studies available to generalize this conclusion[34].

3. History education in France and England in upper secondary level: general approach of history and use of sources according to curricula and textbooks

The National Curriculum for history as a school subject in England in key stage 1-2-3 is much oriented towards historical thinking. It refers for instance to key historical thinking concepts such as continuity and change, cause and consequence, similarity, difference and significance, as developed by Canadian history educationalist Peter Seixas and his team[35]. The overall purpose of history as a school subject concerns both substantive knowledge – students should gain a coherent knowledge and understanding of Britain's past and that of the wider world – and strategic knowledge – students should be equipped to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement[36]. Regarding the use of historical sources, the National Curriculum clearly puts reasoning about sources first, when stipulating that students should "understand the methods of historical enquiry, including how evidence is used rigorously to make historical claims, and discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed"[37]. This

how of history: Using old and new textbooks in the classroom to develop disciplinary knowledge", *Teaching History* 130 (2008), 39-45; Rachel Foster, "Using academic history in the classroom", in *Debates in history teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon (UK)/New York (NY): Routledge, 2011), 199-211; Gary Howells, "Interpretations and history teaching: Why Ronald Hutton's *Debates in Stuart history* matters", *Teaching History* 121 (2005), 29-35.

[33] Terry Haydn, "The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks in the History Classroom", in *International Society for History Didactics. Analyzing Textbooks: Methodological Issues*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumman and Martin Schmitz (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 67-88.

[34] Chris Husbands, "What do history teachers (need to) know? A framework for understanding and developing practice", in *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 84-95; Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry, eds., *Understanding history teaching: teaching and learning about the past in secondary schools* (Maidenhead-Philadelphia: Open University Press & McGraw-Hill, 2003).

[35] Peter Seixas and Carla Peck, "Teaching Historical Thinking", in *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004), 109-117.

[36] Department for Education, *The National Curriculum in England. Framework Document* (Crown: London, 2014).

[37] Department for Education, *The National Curriculum in England*, 245.

orientation is continued in upper secondary level, where history is not an obligatory school subject anymore. In the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and the General Certificate of Education – Advanced Level (GCE A Levels), the focus remains on developing students' historical thinking, and thus on fostering both students' substantive and strategic knowledge. Students are for instance required to undertake an enquiry, in which they demonstrate "some awareness of historiography. A range of sources will be consulted and evaluated"[38].

The inception of the National Curriculum in 1991, caused an important change in teaching practice. According to Haydn, the National Curriculum, focusing on history as a discipline, brought about an enquiry model of teaching ("where the teacher provides the materials and resources to problematize an aspect of the past, which the pupils will explore in order to consider a range of possible alternatives about the topic's interpretation and significance"[39]), and an active role for students, both in terms of thinking and classroom activity engagement.

The National Curriculum also heavily influenced the English textbooks, which are mostly written by teams of education advisors and inspectors, secondary high school or college teachers and university researchers, who are sometimes also members of the examination boards. In general terms, the four textbooks analysed in this research for England (see appendix 1) implement the curricular requirements very clearly. They address history very explicitly as an interpretation and a construction. In the learning text, pre-eminently the principal part of all four textbooks, historiographical debate is mentioned a lot. The textbook *The Cold War* refers for example extensively to the orthodox, revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations of the Cold War, in discussing the question 'Who was to blame for the Cold War?'[40]. The same applies to the textbook *A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90* which stimulates debate on key issues of the Cold War such as the causes for the Cold War, the reasons for the sudden ending of it, and examines key historical controversies accompanying those issues, whilst at the same time providing opportunities to weigh up differing interpretations of historians[41]. In this respect, the textbooks provide several source-based exercises,

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[38] AQA, *GCE History For exams from June 2014 onwards* (London: AQA, 2014).
[39] Terry Haydn, "History Teaching in the United Kingdom", in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education* (vol. 2), ed. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 334.
[40] Allan Todd, *The Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[41] Steve Phillips, *A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90. Unit 3 Student Book* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009).

for instance about to what extent anti-Semitism was a key feature of Nazism, or about comparing and contrasting the different viewpoints that key protagonists and historians hold about the events in the Middle East. In doing so, the textbook authors recognize the subjective nature of historical evidence. Regarding the examination of sources, all four textbooks clearly state that "history is not only a study of the past but also the process of interpreting, recording and understanding a topic through analysing its sources to validate knowledge claims"[42]. They stress the need of sourcing, contextualizing and corroborating sources, in order to assess their value, use and limitations, which are, as they argue, no synonyms for reliability, which, furthermore, always needs to be considered in relation to a specific research question. Reasoning about sources is greatly encouraged.

History education at the upper secondary level in France, preparing for the BAC, is also geared towards the development of both substantive and strategic knowledge. Students' historical reflection as well as their understanding of how the discipline of history works, should be deepened in the 11th and 12th grades. Regarding historical sources, the BAC programme requires students to examine and corroborate information, by sourcing documents (nature, author, date, genesis), corroborating information taking into account the functions of documents, considering documents in their broader context, and critically examine documents[43]. What this critical examination exactly means, and how it should be conducted, is not mentioned.

According to Tutiaux-Guillon, the curricular expectations are not always put into practice in France. Although some teachers try to put critical and intellectual aims first, she states, the vast majority of teachers adheres to the traditional way of teacher-centred teaching, and resists pedagogical and didactical changes. Secondary school history education in France is characterized "by a '*cours magistral dialogué*' (dialogue-lecture), giving room to short interactions between students and teacher, supported by documents, and also giving room to a few short individual exercises (easy questions about historical documents)"[44]. The teacher's role is preponderant in the classroom. Documents are mainly used to support the teacher's claims, and not

[42] Martin Cannon, Richard Jones-Nerzic, David Keys, Alexis Mamaux, Michael Miller, Giles Pope, David Smith and Aiden Williams, *20th Century World History. Course Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), introduction.

[43] Ministère éducation nationale, jeunesse, vie associative, *Bulletin Officiel n° 8 du 21 février 2013. Enseignements primaire et secondaire. Cycle terminale, programme de l'enseignement d'histoire et de géographie* (Paris: Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2013).

[44] Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "French paradox : meaningful yet uncertain history didactics", in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education* (vol. 1), ed. Elizabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 275.

to foster students' strategic historical thinking. Furthermore, French education does traditionally not leave much space for debate and controversy, an approach which does not encourage reasoning about sources either.

This characterization of French history education echoes in the four French history textbooks in this research (see appendix 1), especially written by teams of secondary high school teachers, under the supervision of one to three university researchers. They show evidence of especially paying attention first and foremost to substantive knowledge. They are much more geared towards transmitting historical content knowledge and understanding than to discussing historiographical debates and differing interpretations among historians. In contrast to the English textbooks, the learning texts are limited in the French history textbooks, and are very dense; the principal parts of all four textbooks are collections of documents. In the general guidelines on how to deal with sources, the textbooks state that in interpreting sources, one must always take into account the author of the source, the audience for whom the source was meant, and the purpose of the author. In the explanation of how to study a set of documents, however, reasoning about sources is not addressed anymore. Procedures regarding corroboration of sources are for instance not provided. All the attention goes to reasoning with sources. The main, summarizing questions on the source pages are geared towards reasoning with sources as well, such as for instance: "How did the 1970s represent a turning point in the American-Soviet relations?"[45] or: "What were the sources of tension between 1975 and 1985?"[46]

4. Research questions and method

This paper reports on an empirical study focusing on the educational use of primary sources in English and French history textbooks. Primary sources are defined as sources stemming from the time period that is dealt with. Therefore, for example, if a textbook chapter is about the Cuban missile crisis during the Cold War (1962), then an extract from the book of 2008 *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* of American historian Michael Dobbs is not a primary source. In a textbook chapter on how historians in the post-Cold War period

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[45] Thierry Gasnier, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Rosny-sous-Bois: Bréal, 2008), 144.

[46] Benoit Falaize, Jean-Pierre Lauby and François Sirel, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Magnard, 2008), 153.

interpret important events from the Cold War, on the other hand, it would actually be a primary source. The kind of primary sources that were used (visual versus textual), and especially the instructional practice accompanying them, were examined. More specifically, it was investigated how primary sources were presented (regarding author, context and genesis of the source), and whether, and if so: how, they were questioned. Were primary sources for instance used as an illustration, questioned for their content, or to foster students' strategic knowledge? The extent to which primary sources were corroborated, was examined as well.

The research involved the analysis of eight history textbooks from differing textbook series for upper secondary education (grade 11 and 12). Only recent textbooks, not older than 2008, were selected. In four English and four French history textbooks, all preparing students for the central exam (resp. AS and BAC), the chapter(s) on the Cold War were examined (see appendix 1). The choice was made for the Cold War theme, because it occurred in all eight textbooks for upper secondary education, and a similar theme to examine over all textbooks was considered important, given the comparative approach. Moreover, the textbook chapters addressing the Cold War were of more or less similar length, with an average of 54 pages per textbook. For two English textbooks, it was necessary to select specific subchapters, in order to ensure a similar length. For two French textbook series, it was necessary to combine the specific textbooks of both the 11th and the 12th grade, in order to obtain the average number of pages. Finally, the theme of the Cold War provides the possibility for textbook authors to include politically, socio-economically and culturally oriented primary sources, bringing about a wide range of types of primary sources.

The selected textbook chapters were analyzed on the level of the individual primary source and the questions accompanying the source, as mentioned in the textbooks. Based on both literature and own experiences from previous research into the use of sources in written history exams and textbooks, an analytical research tool was built[47]. This tool addresses all major issues at stake when deal-

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[47] For my own previous research, see: Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Kaat Wils, Geraldine Clarebout and Lieven Verschaffel, "The present in Flemish secondary history education, through the lens of written history exams", *McGill Journal of Education* 50, no. 1 (2015): 1-19; Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Kaat Wils, Geraldine Clarebout, Greet Draye and Lieven Verschaffel, "Making the constructed nature of history visible. Flemish secondary history education through the lens of written exams", in *International review of history education. Joined-up history: New directions in history education research*, ed. Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015), 311-333. Relevant other research in this respect was, among others, that of Nokes, *Building students' historical literacies*; Van Boxtel, and Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans!";

ing with primary sources. It includes the type of sources addressed (textual or visual), as well as the kinds of contextual information provided about the source. Specifically the sourcing information (who made the source, when and where), and one aspect of contextualization: information on the genesis of the source, were recorded. Broad historical societal contextualization is not included in the instrument, for it can rightly be assumed that this kind of contextual information is provided in the learning text by definition, since (primary) sources normally always are connected to the lesson theme. In the analysis, for that matter, the learning text was always taken into account in the analysis. The tool also addresses the educational use/questioning of the sources. It records whether or not a source is questioned in the textbook, how many questions are asked, and distinguishes the specific use of the source: illustrative use, content-related use, or strategic knowledge-related questions. Whether or not the goal of the source was given or asked for, and if it was corroborated has been recorded as well. All these elements were framed as categories, and codes per category were designed (for some examples of categories of the analytical research tool, see appendix 2). The validity of the tool was tested – in an earlier yet very similar research on Flemish history textbooks and history classroom observations[48] – by two independent raters, resulting in a strong interrater reliability (categories concerning type of source (kappa): K=.95; regarding presentation (sourcing and source genesis) (kappa): K=.84; regarding use/questioning (kappa): K=.94).

The coding of all primary sources was done in MS Excel, which allows to get a descriptive quantitative view on all issues at stake, and to look for connections between different aspects. This does not mean, however, that this research followed a quantitative approach. On the contrary, it was meant to be qualitative. The categorization helped to distinguish different types of presenting and questioning primary sources, which afterwards were further analyzed in a qualitative way.

Rouet et al., "Using multiple sources of evidence" and Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

[48] The research concerned an empirical study focusing on how primary sources are differently dealt with, regarding presentation and educational use, in real classroom practice in Flanders. Besides history textbook research (7th-12th grade), 88 randomly chosen classroom observations with 51 teachers, of which 22 in 7th-8th, 40 in 9th-10th, 26 in 11th-12th grade were examined. I reported on this study during the 16th Biennial EARLI Conference for Research on Learning and Instruction (central theme: Towards a Reflective Society: Synergies between Learning, Teaching and Research), Limassol, Cyprus, on August 29, 2015, in a lecture entitled "Reasoning with and/or about sources? The use of primary sources in Flemish secondary school history education". A publication on this research, meant for an international journal on (history) educational research, is in the making.

5. Research Results

5.1. *Presence and nature of primary sources in the textbooks*

Judging from the textbook chapters examined in this research, working with documents in history classes is not merely a recommendation of the history curricula; it is a common practice. In the chapters of all eight textbooks, 646 sources occurred, of which 467 were primary sources (72%), and 179 secondary sources (28%). These numbers, however, hide big differences between England and France (see table 1). For only 22% of all sources are included in English textbooks, while the large majority (78% of all sources) is found in French textbooks, which confirms the general impression as mentioned above when describing English and French textbooks. The same applies specifically to the presence of primary sources, of which 17% occurs in English textbooks, 83% in French textbooks. The balance between primary and secondary sources as such differs a lot as well. While in the English textbook chapters, there is a balance, with 55% primary and 45% secondary sources, in French textbooks, by contrast, 77% of all sources are primary sources, and only 23% secondary sources.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF SOURCES	PRIMARY VERSUS SECONDARY
ENGLAND	143 (22%)	Primary: 78 (= 55%)
		Secondary: 65 (= 45%)
FRANCE	503 (78%)	Primary: 389 (= 77%)
		Secondary: 114 (= 23%)
TOTAL	646 (100%)	Primary: 467 (= 72%)
		Secondary: 179 (= 28%)

Table 1: overview of primary and secondary sources in English and French history textbook chapters on the Cold War.

Of all primary sources, approximately 40% are textual, 60% visual. This applies to both English and French textbooks (see table 2). The length of textual sources in English and French textbooks is quite similar. Most of all visual primary sources are photographs (resp. 35 in English, and 159 in French textbooks), followed by posters, cartoons, paintings and magazine covers (especially of *Time Magazine*). This finding confirms Kleppe's finding for Dutch his-

tory textbooks about the presence of photographs in textbooks[49]. The textual primary sources are mostly official documents, such as (excerpts from) speeches, treaties, memos and letters from politicians and government leaders.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF PRIMARY SOURCES	TEXTUAL VERSUS VISUAL
ENGLAND	78 (17%)	Textual: 32 (= 41%)
		Visual: 46 (= 59%)
FRANCE	389 (83%)	Textual: 148 (= 38%)
		Visual: 241 (= 62%)
TOTAL	467 (100%)	Textual: 180 (= 39%)
		Visual: 287 (= 61%)

Table 2: overview of the balance between textual and visual primary sources in English and French history textbook chapters on the Cold War.

5.2. *Presentation of primary sources: sourcing and genesis*

Of all 467 primary sources, only 9 of them are not contextualized at all. Most primary sources are at least provided with sourcing information about when the source was made (83%), where (76%) and/ or by whom (43%). French textbooks (44%) provide author information more than English ones (33%). Especially for textual sources, the author is mentioned. This is far less the case for visual sources, and specifically for photographs. The name of the photographer is almost never mentioned or amplified on. That way, students might get the idea that photos neatly and objectively reflect a past reality, instead of considering them as a subjective representation of an author, taking a picture from a specific perspective, with a specific goal, and to be published in a specific medium. In the general guidelines about how to use historical documents, many textbooks refer to the necessity of a careful consideration of photos though, given the fact that they are always framed and give a restricted representation of reality[50]. They do, however, not put this in practice.

The broader contextualization of all primary sources was not examined, since it was presumed that the learning texts provided information about the broader historical societal context in which the

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[49] Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks".
[50] Jérôme Grondeux, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Bordas, 2008), 17.

source was given shape. What was recorded, though, is whether or not information was supplied about the specific genesis of primary sources, for instance on the occasion of which specific event a cartoon was drawn, or in which particular circumstances a letter was written or a speech prepared. This turned out to be only very rarely the case. Only 36 out of all 467 primary sources (8%) were provided with genesis context information. English textbooks provided 15 primary sources (19%) with such information, French textbooks 21 primary sources (5%).

The abovementioned numbers, however, do not reveal anything about the quality of the sourcing information. Does it provide enough information to make an analysis and interpretation of the source possible? An example of sufficient information is found regarding the painting by Picasso, *Massacre in Korea* from 1951[51]. The textbook provides these data, and also points out that Picasso was an 'engaged artist' and a *compagnon de route* of the communist party. This makes it for instance possible to ask questions and foster an understanding about why Picasso represented both Americans and Koreans the way he did.

When overlooking the totality of all primary sources, however, it is striking that most sourcing information is rather 'sterile' or 'empty', meaning for example that only the name of the author is given without any further explanation, or only the date without sketching specific circumstances. 'Source L: NSC-68 United States Objectives and Programs for National Security NSC 68' for instance consists of an extract from a National Security Council report issued in April 1950[52]. No extra information is provided about the composition of the National Security Council or its predominant ideological and political conviction, which is however important information to interpret the source from the author's perspective.

A cartoon about the Strategic Armaments Limitation Talks (SALT) agreements of 1972 is only accompanied by the name of the author ('Ron Lurie') and a date ('1972')[53]. Where the cartoon was published is not mentioned. This turned out to be *The New York Times*. A closer examination reveals that the cartoon, however, was not published in 1972, but on May 23, 1971. The immediate cause was the announcement of an agreement on the limitation of the development of antiballistic missile systems, yet without an agreement on the limitation of the development of missiles for offensive purposes, which would only be concluded in 1972. The cartoon
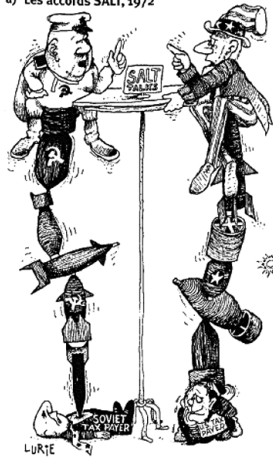
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[51] Christine Dalbert, red., *Histoire 1re* (Paris: Bordas, 2011), 139.
[52] Phillips, *A World Divided*, 40.
[53] Gasnier, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 65.

thus refers to a situation in which, until further notice, only a half-hearted, unsteady agreement was reached. This information is important in order to interpret the cartoon as it was meant by the author. Furthermore, not only the date mentioned was wrong, the author was not mentioned accurately as well. For the author was not 'Ron Lurie', but Ranan R. Lurie, an American Israeli, who first made his career in the Israeli army, where he testified his human face when refusing an order to deport Palestinian inhabitants from the conquered city of Anabta to Jordan, during the Six-Day War. From 1968 onwards, Lurie started drawing cartoons for American news media, such as the New York Times, a renowned, politically independent newspaper without connections with the republican nor democratic party. This context information is, given the highly politicized press landscape in the US, important to understand the cartoonist's point of view and interpretation of the agreement as well. It was, however, not provided either by the textbook, thus presenting the cartoon not as an interpretation but as an objective account of 'a fact'. When comparing, finally, the original cartoon with the representation in the textbook, it is to be noticed that the words 'The World' from the original have been deleted. It is not clear why this has been done. Perhaps the textbook authors did not want to give away the answer to one question accompanying the cartoon: 'Did the détente only concern the relations between Americans and Soviet Russians?'

Textbook representation.

Original version.

A source often mentioned, and sometimes partly included in the textbooks is the Truman Doctrine, disclosed in a speech to Congress by American president Truman on March 12, 1947. Both textbooks offering an excerpt from this speech, limit their source

information to the abovementioned facts[54]. The specific context in which Truman held his speech is neglected, although it is important to fully understand and accurately analyze the speech. In February 1947, the British government ceased helping Greece and Turkey, due to a financial crisis. Military and economic help, however, was considered necessary in the West, since communism gained strength in Greece, and Turkey was exposed to Soviet-Russian pressure. The American secretary of state for Foreign Affairs Dean Acheson feared that, if Greece and/or Turkey would fall to communism, more European countries would follow. The American government thus planned to take over the British role. Therefore, President Truman asked American Congress to approve a budget of 400 million dollars for military and economic aid for both countries. This context makes clear that the Truman's speech was not just a speech, but included a request, which the Congressmen had to approve. He thus had to convince them, and thereto called forth rhetoric strategies. Without this context, however, it is difficult for a teacher to question for example those strategies.

The abovementioned examples clearly show that the amount of sourcing context about the author(s), when, where and for whom the source was made, and about the social context wherein it was produced, is of great importance, since this determines the pos-sibilities of questions that can be asked about the sources at stake. The amount of source context and genesis information certainly has important repercussions on the use of the source.

5.3. *Educational use and questioning of primary sources*

Of all 467 primary sources, 320 (69%) are questioned, 147 (31%) not, meaning that they are used as an illustration. Seven sourc-es, although accompanied by questions, were nevertheless labelled as illustrative, because the questions could in fact not be answered through use of the source itself, as is the case for the questions 'What was the strategic importance of ballistic missile submarines?' and 'Was this armament fatally destined to be used?' accompanying a photograph of the first American ballistic missile submarine called the USS George Washington[55].

It is probably not a surprise that of the 147 sources used in an illustrative way, 135 are visual sources. This means that of all 287 visual primary sources, 53% (or 152) are used educationally, while

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[54] Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*; Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*.
[55] Dalbert, *Histoire 1ʳᵉ*, 135.

47% are used as an illustration. This corresponds almost exactly to the findings of Kleppe in his Dutch textbook research[56].

Questioning of the primary source	Number of sources	Balance textual – visual sources
Yes	320 (69%)	Textual: 168 (<u>93%</u>)
		Visual 152 (53%)
No	147 (31%)	Textual: 12 (<u>7%</u>)
		Visual: 135 (47%)
Total	467 (100%)	Textual: 180 (<u>100%</u>)
		Visual: 287 (100%)

Table 3: overview of primary sources being questioned or not, in general, and according to their (textual-visual) nature (sum of textual sources in percentage is underlined).

When split up per country, it is striking that in England 50% of all primary sources (39) are questioned, and 50% used as an illustration. In France 72% are questioned, and only 28% used as an illustration. In terms of percentages, both textual and visual sources are less questioned in England than they are in France.

Questioning of the primary source	Number of sources England	Balance textual – visual sources England	Number of sources France	Balance textual – visual sources France
Yes	39 (50%)	Textual: 26 (<u>81%</u>)	282 (72%)	Textual: 143 (<u>97%</u>)
		Visual: 13 (28%)		Visual 139 (58%)
No	39 (50%)	Textual: 6 (<u>19%</u>)	107 (28%)	Textual: 5 (<u>3%</u>)
		Visual: 33 (72%)		Visual: 102 (42%)
Total	78 (100%)	Textual: 32 (<u>100%</u>)	389 (100%)	Textual: 148 (<u>100%</u>)
		Visual: 46 (100%)		Visual: 241 (100%)

Table 4: overview of primary sources being questioned or not, in general, and according to their (textual-visual) nature, separately for England and for France (sum of textual sources in percentage is underlined).

The average number of questions accompanying a source being questioned is two and a half. Sources are mainly questioned on their own, and individually. Corroboration of sources does not occur frequently. Generally speaking 12% of all sources is corroborated, while 88% is not. Those percentages hide rather large differences between

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[56] Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks".

England and France. In England, one third of all primary sources is being corroborated, while in France only 9%. It seems as if the curricular requirements, which in England explicitly point to corroboration of sources, influence the textbook authors a lot in this respect.

CORROBORATION OF SOURCES	In general	English textbooks	French textbooks
Yes	37 (12%)	13 (33%)	24 (9%)
No	283 (88%)	26 (67%)	258 (91%)
Total	320 (100%)	39 (100%)	282 (100%)

Table 5: overview of primary sources being corroborated or not, in general, and specifically for England and for France.

Sources being questioned in combination occur more often. French textbooks in particular, regularly provide questions that require an analysis of a set of documents ('*analyse de l'ensemble documentaire*'), such as 'Were we on the verge of a Third World War in 1950-51?' accompanying five sources (of which a map, a painting, a poster, a radio speech of Truman and a reproduction of a conversation between Stalin and Zhou Enlai).

The question then arises to what educational purpose sources are questioned, be it individually, in combination, or in corroboration? During the analysis, three main categories of the use of sources being questioned, were distinguished: fostering substantive knowledge, fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge as well), and provoking historical empathy and moral judgment (also including substantive knowledge). Half of all sources was used to foster students' substantive knowledge. Fostering students' strategic knowledge occurred far less. Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment only occurred in English textbooks. An overview of the use of primary sources:

USE OF PRIMARY SOURCES	absolute numbers in general	percentages in general	absolute numbers England	percentages England	absolute numbers France	percentages France
Illustrative	147	31%	39	50%	108	28%
Fostering substantive knowledge	242	52%	17	22%	225	58%
Fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge as well)	74	16%	18	23%	56	14%
Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment (including substantive knowledge)	4	1%	4	5%	0	0%
TOTAL	467	100%	78	100%	389	100%

Table 6: overview of the educational use of primary sources, in general, and specifically for England and for France.

In what follows, the three main categories of the educational use of sources being questioned, will be further analyzed.

Fostering substantive knowledge

In general, somewhat half of all primary sources are questioned solely to foster students' substantive historical knowledge. When looking at each country, percentages differ a lot, with much higher ones in France, compared to England. Nevertheless, for both countries the same issues catch the eye. At first, substantive questioning of sources is geared mostly towards an understanding of the event itself. Questions do not refer much to causes, consequences or effects of a certain event. Continuity and change, or cause and consequence, as key aspects of historical thinking[57], are far less involved in the source analysis. Examples in which they do occur are for instance an excerpt from Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Russian Communist party in February 1956. The first question "What elements allow us to affirm that Khrushchev continues the politics of his predecessor?" refers to continuity, while the second one "What elements mark a rupture?" aims to identify change[58]. Causes are asked for in the analysis of two excerpts from books from economists and international relations specialists about the fall of communism in Eastern Europe[59].

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[57]   Seixas and Peck, "Teaching Historical Thinking".
[58]   Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 79.
[59]   Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 154.

While in some cases, the questioning of sources leads to a more complex understanding of events, in other cases, the questions are rather sterile, often because of a lack of source and context information, which hinders an in-depth questioning. An excerpt of the Charta 77 Manifest established in Czechoslovakia for example is accompanied by this question: "Which rights do the subscribers of the manifest want to see respected? On which international engagements do they base themselves?"[60] Those questions mainly ask students to summarize what is written in the source. They do not invite students to dig deeper. In order to do so, one would need more information on the concrete circumstances in which the Manifest was established, who wrote it, and how authorities dealt with political opposition. The same applies to a question accompanying a photograph of American senator Joseph McCarthy lecturing for a certain audience. The question is "Demonstrate that the campaign of McCarthy is part of the ideological opposition between the US and the USSR"[61]. The context information ignores the domestic motives McCarthy had for his anti-communist crusade, which makes it not possible to judge his campaign against a background of parliamentary elections and gaining political power.

The lack of broader source and context information, and/or the absence of connecting the source to the broader context in the questions brings along three risks. The first one is that students might start to consider sources to be exact mirrors of a gone past. A photograph of a crowd of Hungarians, gathering around a statue of Stalin which has been pulled to the ground by demonstrators, is accompanied by this question: "What does this photo tell you about the reasons for the Hungarian Uprising?"[62] The question seems to suggest that people's motives can unproblematically be deduced from a picture, and thus present the photo as a mirror of the past, instead of a document given shape by an author who took a certain perspective and had a goal in mind when taking the picture.

A lack of context bears within it also a second risk of an a-historical questioning of sources. A cartoon picturing a (personified) atomic bomb putting pressure on the government leaders at 'a coming peace meeting' (as indicated on the cartoon), by looking at them while saying 'A just and workable peace – OR ELSE', is accompanied by the question "What does this cartoon say about the decision-making at Potsdam in July 1945?"[63]. No further source information is provided,

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[60] Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 151-152.

[61] Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., *Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2013), 159.

[62] Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 469.

[63] Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 457.

as a consequence of which one assumes that this cartoon has indeed been drawn at the eve of or during the Potsdam Conference of 17 July – 2 August 1945). In reality, however, the cartoon dates from August 11, 1945, nine days after the end of the Potsdam conference, and as important, five and two days respectively, after an atomic bomb had been launched at Hiroshima and at Nagasaki. It was drawn by Paul Carmack, and published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, an American daily newspaper aiming at making non-hysterical journalism and offering sensible and unbiased judgments on events. On August 11, 1945, Japan was in full deliberation about whether or not to surrender (which it would do on August 15). It thus seems that the cartoon was not about the role of the atomic bomb during the decision-making at Potsdam, but rather referred to the upcoming peace negotiations ('coming peace meeting') with Japan, and wanted to give a warning – in the sense that a failure could provoke an atomic war.

A third risk of questions accompanying insufficiently contextualized sources is that they do not problematize students' beliefs, but rather reinforce them. The question "By which aspects of the United States are European intellectuals fascinated the most?", accompanying an excerpt of *La Force des choses*, written by Simone de Beauvoir in 1963, unproblematically generalizes one author's specific fascination to an alleged fascination of 'the' European intellectuals[64]. That way, students might get the impression that it is not problem to generalize one person's opinions to those a whole group. The same applies to the question "With which difficulties are Afro-Americans confronted?", accompanying a photograph of the interior of one black family's apartment in the 'Harlem ghetto' in New York[65].

Sometimes the questions do not only encourage generalization, but even dual stereotyping. In the example below, the question accompanying both sources (of which the left one is a primary source) runs as follows: "In comparing those two documents, demonstrate the opposition between the two political models in West and East Berlin."[66] The documents sketch an opposition to a violent, dictatorial communist rule, versus a peaceful, democratic rule. In reality, however, the political situation was more complex. Especially capitalist rule was not always and in all circumstances as democratic and peaceful as represented here. So students' stereotypical beliefs are rather reinforced than challenged here.

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[64] Gasnier, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 53.
[65] Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S*, 56.
[66] Adoumié and Zachary, *Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle*, 153.

Principaux partis politiques	Pourcentages des suffrages exprimés
Zentrum (centristes)	44 %
CDU (chrétiens-démocrates)	30 %
FDP (libéraux)	4,8 %
SED (communistes)	2,7 %
BHE (parti des réfugiés et des spoliés)	2,5 %

Doc. 4 **Le 17 juin 1953 à Berlin-Est (RDA), sur la Stalinallee.**
Le 16 juin 1953, les ouvriers entrent en grève contre une augmentation des normes de production dictée par l'État. Le 17 juin, la grève se transforme en révolte populaire qui culmine avec la revendication d'élections libres. La répression soviétique fait plusieurs centaines de morts et plus de 1 000 blessés.

Doc. 5 **Résultats des principaux partis politiques aux élections municipales de décembre 1954 à Berlin-Ouest.**
Source : Alfred Grosser, « Sept élections allemandes », *Revue française de sciences politiques*, 1955.

Textbook representation.

Fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge)

As mentioned above, an overall 16% of all primary sources in this research is questioned in order to foster students' strategic knowledge. Strategic knowledge is addressed more, however, in English history textbooks than in French ones (23% versus 14%). Both textual and visual primary sources are used to reason about sources, be it that in England more textual sources, while in France more visual sources are involved. Fostering strategic knowledge or reasoning about sources is done in three ways: 1) questions can draw the attention to the author, audience and/or aims of the source, 2) questions can address the effect and or significance of sources, and 3) questions can reveal how historians deal with sources. In 26% of all sources questioned in one of those ways, corroboration is at stake. This strategy is, as mentioned earlier, much more applied in English than in French textbooks. In what follows, each of those three ways will be further explored.

A first way of reasoning about sources, occurring in both English and French textbooks, is drawing the attention to the fact that sources have an author who gave shape to the source, and/or an audience for whom the source was meant, thus encouraging students to analyze and interpret the source from this perspective, instead of treating it as an objective account and a mere mirror of a past event. An example concerns the question accompanying a poster opposing the placement of American missiles in Europe. Students are asked the following: "Which visual element is emphasized in the poster? With the goal of diffusing which message? Who do you

think would have made this non-signed poster?"[67] Students' attention is drawn to the fact that this source has an author, who wanted to distribute a specific message towards a large public. The background and biases of those who developed this poster are thus addressed. In the questions accompanying an excerpt from the Stalin-Zhou Enlai conversations (20 December 1952), students' attention is drawn to the fact that sources are always biased, and need to be understood in the light of (among others) the audience for which they were meant and the goals the author wanted to achieve. The question goes: "Which representation of American power does Stalin sketch towards Zhou Enlai, and to what aim does he do so?"[68]

Sometimes, the attention is drawn to the author's perspective through questions about the language used in the source. One of the questions accompanying an excerpt of Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech goes: "Which metaphor does Churchill use to characterize the situation in Europe in 1946? In your opinion: why?"[69] This question acknowledges the rhetoric used by Churchill in his speech, and questions it. Such questions, however, are exceptional. The language and rhetoric used in a text (be it a speech or another kind of textual source) are almost never the object of questioning. In English textbooks, this never occurs, in French ones only very rarely.

A second way in which reasoning about sources is encouraged, concerns a reflection about the significance of sources, and the effects they can bring along. These issues are mostly raised for visual sources, and photos in particular. For several photos, such as of black American athletes raising their fist referring to the symbol of black power (Olympic Games Mexico 1968), or of Kim Phuc running away from her village Trang Bang which had been bombed with napalm (June 8, 1972), or of an anti-American demonstration in front of the American embassy in Teheran (1979), the question is raised concerning the effects they caused on the public opinion in the United States and abroad[70].

A third way to foster students' strategic thinking only occurs in English history textbooks, and involves the working method of historians. One English textbook, for example, asks students in a corroborative exercise to "comment on which of the sources A-D are the most reliable as evidence for the development of the Cold War after

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[67] Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 153.
[68] Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 71.
[69] Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 69.
[70] Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 74, 83, 87.

1945, and explain your answer"[71]. The sources were extracts from George Kennan's long telegram (22 February 1946), Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech (11 March 1946), an interview with Stalin in Pravda in reply to Churchill's speech (13 March 1946), and a speech from Soviet Foreign Minister Vychinsky at the UN (18 September 1947). Through these questions, students are obliged to consider sources as evidence instead of a mere collection of facts, to take into account the author's perspective, and to assess its influence on the source content. This procedure reflects the way historians approach sources, in the light of a specific research question.

In other exercises, students are asked to examine a historian's claim, through source analysis. Students have to examine for instance the claim of Marxist historian Deutscher, that the foreign policy of states is usually intended to protect the economic interests of the dominant social and economic classes. The questions accompanying two sources including views on respective Soviet and American foreign policy, were: "Study source A and B carefully. How, and to what extent, do they support Deutscher's claim that the foreign policies of states are linked to their domestic social and economic systems? Do you think this is therefore a sufficient explanation for the start of the Cold War?"[72] Those questions not only reveal the interpretative nature of historical knowledge, again they also approach sources as evidence instead of a collection of facts.

Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment

The last main category of the educational use of sources being questioned, appeared only very rarely: relating to four sources and only in two English textbooks. It concerns engaging students in historical perspective taking or to provoke moral judgment through source use. Students are for instance asked to read the Marshall Plan and the Soviet response. Afterwards, they have to choose the one they disagree with the most and then defend that position[73]. It is, however, not made clear how students should do that. Must they build their defense from a present-day or a contemporary point of view? Must they form their own opinion, or is this question meant as some kind of role play, in which students have to take up the role of either general Marshall or Soviet Foreign Minister Vychinsky?

Another example of encouraging students in historical perspective taking comes along in the question accompanying a pho-

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[71] Robert Wolfson and John Laver, *Years of change. European history 1890-1990* (London: Hodder Education, 2008³), 362.
[72] Todd, *The Cold War*, 47.
[73] Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 459.

tograph of American troops in Korea firing a cannon. Students are asked: "If you were to ask the soldiers shown in Source N why they were fighting in Korea, what do you think their answer would be?"[74] Again, this question poses many difficulties. For it is not clear which function these soldiers have: are they members of combat units, or do they fight behind the lines as artillerists? Did they just arrive in Korea, or did they fight there for a long time already? Do they have to give an honest answer, or especially have to reproduce the official army account for the American intervention in Korea? These are all factors that need to be taken into account when asking students to take a historical perspective. Those factors are, however, not further addressed nor elucidated.

Such a lack of context information also applies to another source, of which the accompanying question tries to provoke moral judgment among students. It concerns a statement of newsman Walter Cronkite on February 27, 1968, on CBS news, saying: "It seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in stalemate. This summer's almost certain standoff will either end in real give-and-take negotiations or terrible escalation; and for every means we have to escalate, the enemy can match us." Students are asked if "the statement above is appropriate for someone mandated to report the news? Why or why not?"[75] Yet students are not provided with any broader context information on the general press climate in the US during the 1960s, nor on the societal functioning of the press at the time etc. That way, the question risks that students take an a-historical, presentist point of view in judging the statement.

6. Conclusion and discussion

This research investigated the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in eight history textbooks for upper secondary level in England and France, more specifically in textbook chapters on the Cold War. Regarding the presence of primary sources, big differences occurred between English and French textbooks. The French textbooks included many more primary sources than the English ones. In both countries, the balance between visual and textual sources was somewhat 60%-40%, which is similar to Kleppe's finding for Dutch history textbooks about the

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[74] Phillips, *A World Divided*, 44.
[75] Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 481.

presence of photographs in textbooks[76]. Primary sources were almost all contextualized, however, often only to a limited, 'sterile' extent. The pitfall indicated by international research about the absence of sufficient contextualization leading to a lack of interpretation and in-depth questioning of sources, clearly occurred in the observed textbook chapters. This brought along consequences for the use of sources, in the sense that 31% of all primary sources was for instance only used as an illustration. A majority of 52% of all primary sources was used to foster students' substantive knowledge; the questioning was related to reasoning with sources. This use sometimes included higher order thinking and could certainly address historical thinking concepts, such as continuity and change, or cause and consequence. Content-related questions, aimed at reasoning with sources, are certainly legitimate questions. It is nevertheless important, as scholars in the field of history education state, to pay attention, besides, to the source itself, and what it does or not does not do – in short to also reason about sources. In order to develop a criterialist stance, students need to understand that sources are never a mirror of the past, are always biased, are not a collection of facts, and never provide a complete and objective account of a past event[77]. Fostering students' strategic knowledge, however, appeared much less in our research. It is clear that sources were much more used for fostering substantive than for strategic knowledge, for reasoning with than for reasoning about sources. Nevertheless, the latter was certainly not absent. It occurred in three ways: the examination of the author's perspective, reflection about the significance and effects of sources, and the involvement of the working method of historians. Contrary to research findings of Bertram and Nokes, 23% of all primary sources in English textbooks were used to foster students' strategic knowledge, in French textbooks 14%[78]. This leads to the interesting conclusion that while in England, far fewer primary sources occur in the textbooks, they are nevertheless much more used to foster doing history and reasoning about sources. This makes clear that it is not the quantity of primary sources what counts, but the quality. The quality relates to the selection (are sources selected which can be corroborated?), the contextualization (is sufficient context information provided which allows an in-depth questioning?) and the educational use (reasoning with and about sources).

[76]   Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks".
[77]   Maggioni, "Between Facts and Opinions"; Maggioni, VanSledright and Alexander, "Walking on the borders".
[78]   Bertram, "'Doing history?'"; Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms".

How to account then for the differences between English and French history textbooks? A first part of an explanation can be found in the composition of the teams of authors writing the textbooks. For the profile of the textbook authors differs substantially. In England, the textbooks are mostly written by teams of education advisors and inspectors, secondary high school or college teachers and university researchers, who are sometimes also members of the examination boards. This means that the curricular requirements in the textbooks as well as in the examinations, are enforced by the same people. Furthermore, the involvement of academic scholars contributes to the inclusion of recent historiographical views and historiographical debate in the textbooks. French textbooks, by contrast, are mostly written by secondary school history teachers, be it under the supervision of one to three university researchers. This might be the reason that academic historiography is far less included in the textbooks. For secondary school history teachers are generalists instead of specialists in the various issues addressed in the textbooks. Textbook authors moreover often combine the writing of a textbook with a fulltime teaching job in secondary education. As a result, little time remains for them to read up on recent academic historiography. Furthermore, since teachers write the textbooks, daily classroom practice probably influences French textbooks a lot.

This immediately leads to a second part of the explanation: the influence of teaching cultures in English and French history classrooms, and the expectations of the examination boards. As mentioned earlier, in France, a dialogue-lecturing way of teaching dominates the classroom practice. This tradition is very strong, and partly obstructs curricular reforms in the daily practice of French (upper) secondary schools[79]. In England on the other hand, history education is much more geared towards an enquiry model of teaching, including an active role for students. History textbook authors and editors need to take characteristic educational traditions into account. For history textbooks are commercial products, which need to be sold. One can assume that, when textbooks deviate too much from mainstream teachers' expectations and teaching culture, many teachers will brush them aside and replace them with another one, leaning more towards their expectations. Furthermore, history textbooks also orient their educational approach towards the examination practices. These certainly include the use of sources in France, be it that they are especially used to foster students' substantive knowledge. In England, by contrast, examinations request a strategic use of sources.

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[79] Tutiaux-Guillon, "French paradox".

The essay questions are much more geared towards an account in which sources need to be corroborated and evaluated, and thus reasoned about. History textbooks, preparing students for these examinations in England therefore also firmly include this strategic use of primary sources.

The comparison between two national cases thus leads to the conclusion that it is not sufficient to include attention for strategic knowledge in the curricula, in order to foster reasoning about sources in the daily history classroom practice. This aim needs to be clearly continued in examination requirements, and from there in history textbooks as well, in order to change prevailing teaching culture. Therefore, however, textbook authors need to be given the time and space to get acquainted with the strategic use of sources (reasoning *about* sources), and subsequently to write innovative history textbooks, which only then will truly meet the curricular requirements.

Appendix 1: *overview of the analyzed textbook chapters*

ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS	
Textbook	Selected chapter(s)
Robert Wolfson and John Laver, *Years of change. European history 1890-1990* (London: Hodder Education, 2008³).	Chapter 13: 'Europe and the Cold War 1945-62' pp. 337-362 Chapter 14: 'Europe and the Cold War 1962-91' pp. 363-392
Martin Cannon, Richard Jones-Nerzic, David Keys, Alexis Mamaux, Michael Miller, Giles Pope, David Smith and Aiden Williams, *20th Century World History. Course Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).	Chapter 9: 'The Cold War' pp. 451-504
Allan Todd, *The Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).	Chapter 3: 'Origins of the Cold War' pp. 44-63 Chapter 4: 'The First Cold War (1946-53) Unit One Developments in Europe' pp. 68-87 Chapter 7: 'The end of the Cold War (1985-91)' pp. 188-207
Steve Phillips, *A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90. Unit 3 Student Book* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009).	Chapter 2: 'How did the Cold War develop between 1944 and 1953?' pp. 15-46 Chapter 9: 'How did the Cold War come to an end in the 1980s?' pp. 157-179
FRENCH TEXTBOOKS	
Textbook	Selected chapter(s)
Thierry Gasnier, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Rosny-sous-Bois: Bréal, 2008).	Chapitre 2: 'La confrontation Est-Ouest jusqu'aux années 1970' pp. 44-73 Chapitre 5: 'La fin du monde bipolaire (1975-1991) pp. 122-145
Benoit Falaize, Jean-Pierre Lauby and François Sirel, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Magnard, 2008).	Chapitre 3: 'Les grands modèles idéologiques et la confrontation Est-Ouest jusqu'aux années 1970 pp. 50-82 Chapitre 6: 'La fin du monde bipolaire (1970-1991)' pp. 146-162
Christine Dalbert, red., *Histoire 1re* (Paris: Bordas, 2011). Jérôme Grondeux, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Bordas, 2008).	Chapitre 6: 'La guerre froide: conflit idéologique, conflit de puissances' pp. 124-142 Chapitre 2: 'Les relations internationales de 1945 à 1991' pp. 62-93
Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., *Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2013). Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., *Histoire T L/ES. Regards historiques sur le monde actuel* (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2012).	Chapitre 5: 'La guerre froide, conflit idéologique, conflit de puissances' pp. 148-167 Chapitre 6: 'Les chemins de la puissance: les États-Unis et le monde depuis 1918' pp. 198-211 + 214-215 (partie) Chapitre 7: 'Les chemins de la puissance: la Chine et le monde depuis 1919' pp. 234-247 (partie)

Appendix 2: *extracts of some categories of the analytical research tool, used during this research*

CATEGORY 1: TYPE OF SOURCE
1. Textual source
2. Visual source
3. Combination
4. Other

CATEGORY 2: CONTEXT INFORMATION ACCOMPANYING THE SOURCE
1. None
2. Context information is provided
3. Context information is included in the source itself
4. Context information is not provided, because it is asked for in the questions
5. Context information is partly provided, and partly asked for
6. Context information is partly provided, and partly included in the source itself
7. Context information is partly included in the source itself, and partly asked for
8. Context information is partly provided, partly asked for, and partly included in the source itself

CATEGORY 3: TYPE OF CONTEXT INFORMATION PROVIDED
1. Sourcing (author and/or date and/or place)
2. Genesis
3. Origin and genesis

CATEGORY 4: USE OF THE SOURCE
1. Purely illustrative
2. Content-related
3. strategic knowledge-related
4. Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment
… (combinations)

CATEGORY 5: CORROBORATION OF SOURCES
1. Yes, with another primary source
2. Yes, with a secondary source
3. No

CATEGORY 6: NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ACCOMPANYING THE SOURCE
0 = 0
1 = 1
2 = 2
…

CATEGORY 7: …

Caroline Leininger-Frézal

Enseigner les conflits en géographie: quelle place au politique?

Résumé

Les conflits sont devenus un objet d'enseignement dans les années 2000. Cela coïncide avec le développement d'une approche géopolitique dans les programmes scolaires français en rupture avec la culture et la discipline scolaire. Cet article s'attache à analyser dans quelle mesure l'introduction des conflits au sein de la géographie scolaire témoigne et participe d'un changement disciplinaire et notamment dans le rapport au politique. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que les conflits ne sont pas conçus dans le curriculum comme des questions socialement vives.

Abstract

Conflicts have become an object of teaching in the years 2000. That arrives with the development of a geopolitical approach in the French curriculum at odds with the culture and school discipline. This article attempts to analyze if the introduction of conflicts within school geography testifies and changes the way of teaching geography, particularly in relation to politics. Our hypothesis is that conflicts are not treated in the curriculum as controversial issues.

1. Introduction

L'histoire de la géographie scolaire est inextricablement liée à celle des conflits puisque cet enseignement a été institutionnalisé et généralisé[1] à la fin du XIXème siècle en réponse à la défaite franco-prussienne. Le rapport Himly Levasseur propose en 1872 de mettre en place cet enseignement pour développer chez les futurs citoyens, l'amour de leur patrie et leur apprendre les compétences cartographiques nécessaires au combat[2]. L'histoire scolaire s'est alors

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[1] L'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie existait préalablement au rapport Levasseur mais de manière limitée. Dans le cadre de l'enseignement des Humanités, la géographie servait de contexte à l'histoire ancienne.

[2] Pascal Clerc, *La culture scolaire en géographie: Le monde dans la classe* (Rennes:

construite autour d'un roman national mettant en scène une histoire jalonnée de guerres qui marquent la limite entre le Nous et les Autres, entre l'Ici et l'Ailleurs. Les conflits constituent donc des objets d'enseignement habituels dans l'enseignement de l'histoire tout comme en éducation civique.

En effet, l'analyse des conflits participe de l'éducation à la Défense mise en place en 1998[3]. Il s'agit de faire acquérir aux élèves des connaissances et des compétences en lien avec la défense ou la sécurité nationale, de développer leurs capacités d'analyse et de compréhension des conflits contemporains, et de susciter l'envie d'engagement et de volontariat[4]. Cette éducation à la Défense s'ancre dans l'éducation civique mais ne s'y limite pas : toutes les disciplines sont invitées à y prendre part.

Les conflits occupent une place différente au sein de la géographie scolaire. En effet, les conflits ne sont pas des objets d'enseignement à part entière dans le secondaire avant la fin des années 2000[5]. Ce constat peut s'expliquer par l'histoire de l'enseignement de la géographie. En effet, la géographie scolaire s'est construite sur le modèle de la géographie vidalienne dans la première moitié du XXème siècle et a conservé ce modèle au moins jusque dans les années 1970, période à laquelle Isabelle Lefort arrête son analyse[6]. Nous pouvons faire l'hypothèse que le modèle vidalien de la discipline scolaire perdure au-delà. Dans cette perspective, la géographie scolaire met alors en avant l'unité, la beauté et la singularité des régions plutôt que les conflits inhérents à l'usage de l'espace. La notion de conflit n'est néanmoins pas complètement absente. Elle est latente, incorporée dans l'étude des régions frontalières ou bien dans la géographie des casernes militaires. La frontière correspond à une limite régionale et participe à l'identité du milieu décrit. Ce n'est pas un objet d'enseignement à part entière. Le système actoriel qui sous-tend le conflit n'est pas étudié. L'absence des conflits dans l'enseignement de la géographie s'explique aussi par l'épistémologie de la discipline savante. Le conflit ne constitue pas un objet géographique à part entière avant les années 1970, décennie marquée par l'émergence d'un courant de géopolitique au sein de la géographie française[7] et par la création d'une revue dédiée *Hérodote*.

Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2002).

[3]   Bulletin officiel de l'éducation nationale (=BO) hors-série du 6 aout 1998.

[4]   BO n° 32 du 13 septembre 2007.

[5]   BO spécial n° 6 du 28 août 2008; BO spécial n° 9 du 30 septembre 2010; BO n° 42 du 14 novembre 2013.

[6]   Isabelle Lefort, "Géographie Savante - Géographie Scolaire (1870-1970), Éléments Pour Une Histoire de La Pensée Géographique", Thèse, Paris 1, 1990.

[7]   Yves Lacoste, *La géographie, ça sert, d'abord, à faire la guerre* (Paris: Maspero, 1976).

L'introduction des conflits au sein de la géographie scolaire dans les années 2000 s'inscrit en rupture avec la tradition scolaire, dans une perspective de renouvellement disciplinaire. Cela coïncide avec l'émergence d'une géographie scolaire thématique et problématisée et avec un curriculum recentré sur des logiques d'apprentissage et non des logiques d'exposition des savoirs contrairement aux précédents[8]. Les programmes ne sont plus pensés en fonction des contenus à enseigner mais des contenus à apprendre exprimés en termes de capacités et connaissances à acquérir.

Ce constat nous amène à nous demander dans quelle mesure l'introduction des conflits au sein de la géographie scolaire témoigne et participe d'un changement disciplinaire et notamment dans le rapport au politique. En effet, les recherches en didactique ont montré que les professeurs d'histoire-géographie enseignent de manière habituelle un ensemble de savoirs cristallisés, présentés comme des résultats, réalistes, consensuels et apolitiques[9], qui ne laissent pas ou peu de place aux débats sociétaux en classe. L'enseignement des conflits en géographie peut constituer une entrée vers la prise en charge de ces débats sociétaux. Autrement dit, nous pouvons nous demander si les conflits sont traités comme des questions socialement vives dans l'enseignement de la géographie[10].

Une question socialement vive est un sujet sur lequel il n'y a pas de consensus scientifique, qui soulève un débat sociétal fort dont les médias se font échos et qui impacte les acteurs scolaires (op.cit.). Ces questions mettent en jeu des valeurs et interrogent la société sur son devenir. Traiter les conflits comme des questions socialement vives signifie prendre en charge le débat politique[11] dans la classe.

Nous faisons l'hypothèse que les programmes scolaires participent d'une mise à distance des conflits par les choix épistémologiques réalisés. Pour valider cette hypothèse, nous avons analysé les programmes de collège (2008) et de lycée général (2010) ainsi que les fiches res-

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[8]   Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "Les conceptions de l'apprentissage auxquelles se réfèrent les enseignants : un facteur d'inertie disciplinaire ?" in *Journées d'Etudes de Didactiques de L'histoire, de La Géographie (Caen - 19-20 Octobre 2004) (*Caen: IUFM de Basse-Normandie, 2004, CD-ROM).

[9]   Clerc, *La culture scolaire en géographie*; André Chervel, *La culture scolaire. Une approche historique* (Paris: Belin, 1998); François Audigier, "Les représentations que les élèves ont de l'histoire et de la géographie. A la recherche des modèles disciplinaires entre leur définition par l'institution et leur appropriation par les élèves." Université de Paris VII, Thèse pour le Doctorat d'Etat, 1993.

[10]   Alain Legardez, Laurence Simmoneaux, *L'école à l'épreuve de l'actualité. Enseigner les questions vives* (ESF, 2006).

[11]   Le terme politique prend ici sont sens premier à savoir la gestion de la cité. Il ne s'agit donc pas de prendre part pour un parti politique mais de discuter des enjeux de ces questions pour la société dans laquelle vivent les élèves.

sources mises à disposition des enseignants sur le site *Eduscol* géré par le ministère de l'Éducation nationale. Ces fiches n'ont pas de caractère obligatoire mais guident les enseignants dans la mise en œuvre des programmes. L'analyse de ce corpus nous mènera dans un premier temps à mettre en évidence la place prépondérante accordée à la géopolitique et à certains types de conflits, conflits de ressources et d'aménagement, dans la géographie des conflits à l'Ecole. Ces choix laissent à penser que le politique s'inscrit désormais pleinement dans la discipline scolaire. Mais paradoxalement, ce n'est pas le cas. Nous verrons dans un second temps qu'il y a une mise à distance des questions controversées par le choix des territoires étudiés et par le contournement des conflits qui sont vifs au sein de la société française.

2. Quand la géographie scolaire fait place aux conflits

La notion de conflit est mobilisée de manière récurrente tout au long de la scolarité. Comme le montre le graphique ci-dessous, les élèves sont amenés à étudier différents types de conflits et de conflictualités de la cinquième à la terminale.
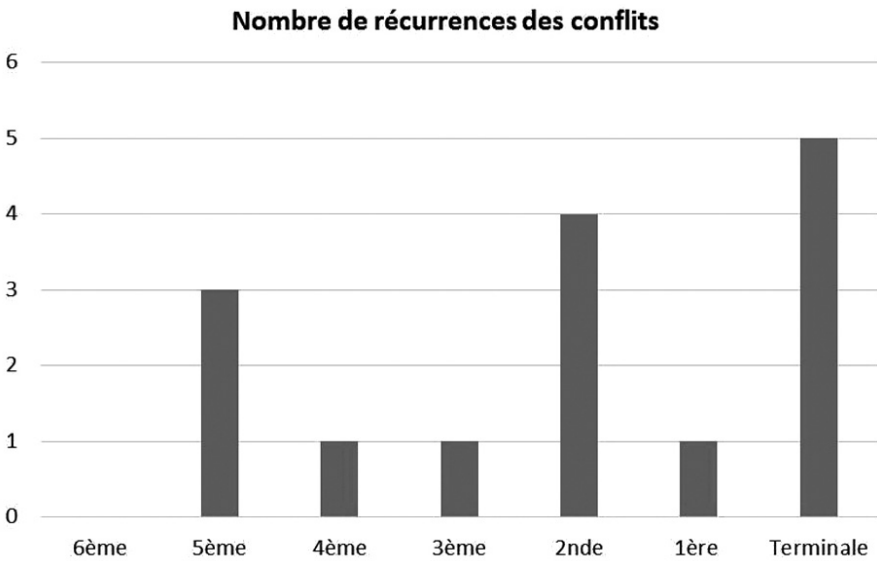

Figure 1: nombre de conflits inscrits dans les programmes de géographie en collège et en lycée générale[12].

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[12]   Le collège et le lycée général constituent l'enseignement secondaire général. Ont été exclus de cet inventaire les voies technologiques et professionnelles du lycée dont les programmes sont différents mais proches quant aux thématiques abordées.

Le graphique ci-dessus illustre la présence explicite du terme de conflit dans les programmes scolaires[13]. La notion est mobilisée sur des thèmes très différents comme le développement durable, l'aménagement, la mondialisation etc. Cela découle de l'extension de la notion qui a un caractère polymorphe. "La notion de conflit présente l'avantage de pouvoir être déclinée dans un grand nombre de situations impliquant divers acteurs et objets à toutes les échelles de l'espace géographique"[14]. Le terme n'a d'ailleurs pas d'entrée dans le *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*[15]. Il n'est pas véritablement défini dans les autres dictionnaires de référence en géographie[16]. Parler de conflit induit un rapport de force et une tension entre deux acteurs au moins, qui peuvent être individuels (personne physique) ou collectifs (organisation, institution, collectif informel). Cette tension peut être d'intensité variable allant du conflit larvé au conflit armé. Cette intensité est un "système de grandeurs pour catégoriser les conflits, généralement basé sur le niveau de violence dont les protagonistes font usage lors d'oppositions"[17]. Les géographes s'intéressent à la dimension spatiale et territoriale des conflits. Le territoire peut être l'objet du conflit, nous parlons alors de conflit ou de dispute territoriale[18]. Si les ressources ou un aménagement sont l'enjeu du conflit, le conflit est dit "de ressources" ou "d'aménagement". L'espace peut aussi être le support du conflit ou bien être impacté par celui-ci. La notion de conflit est beaucoup plus large que celle de guerre. Le concept repose sur le postulat que quelle que soit l'intensité du conflit, les caractéristiques du système spatial concerné sont proches.

Au regard de la plasticité de la notion de conflit, l'enseignement des conflits peut donner lieu à des différentes approches au sein de la géographie scolaire. Pourtant, les programmes privilégient certains types de conflits et une entrée spécifique: géopolitique.

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[13] Le terme de conflit n'apparait pas à proprement parler en quatrième mais le programme évoque un "débat à enjeu spatial fort".

[14] Yann Richard, "Conflit, *Hypergéo* (www.hypergeo.eu/spip.php?article549#, accès 15.5.2015).

[15] Jacques Lévy et Michel Lussault, *Dictionnaire de géographie et de l'espace des sociétés* (Paris: Belin, 2003).

[16] Roger Brunet, Robert Ferras et Hervé Théry, *Les mots de la géographie. Dictionnaire critique* (Paris: GIP-Reclus, La Documentation française, 1992); Yves Lacoste, *De la géopolitique aux paysages: Dictionnaire de la géographie* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2003).

[17] Maie Gerardot, *Dictionnaire des conflits* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: ATLANDE, 2012), 332.

[18] Stéphane Rosière, "Dispute Territoriale", *Hypergéo* (www.hypergeo.eu/spip.php?article393, accès 15.5. 2015).

3. Des conflits sous le prisme de la géopolitique

La géopolitique est l'"utilisation des méthodes du raisonnement géographique pour proposer l'analyse des différents types de rivalités de pouvoirs sur des territoires, en tenant compte des enjeux matériels et symboliques"[19]. En analysant plusieurs dictionnaires de géopolitique[20], Gérard Fabre[21] (2005) a identifié quatre constantes dans les définitions données de la géopolitique : c'est un savoir visant à comprendre un problème, dans un souci d'objectivité, et en prenant en compte la diversité des acteurs et de leurs objectifs sur la longue durée. La géopolitique aborde souvent les conflits à une échelle internationale. Dans une perspective géopolitique, l'espace et ses ressources constituent les enjeux des conflits contrairement à la géographie politique où les analyses portent sur l'espace en tant que cadre[22].

L'entrée par la géopolitique est explicite dans le curriculum de géographie dans la formulation du thème à étudier, dans la problématique proposée ou encore dans les références bibliographiques données à titre indicatif dans les documents d'accompagnement des programmes (Eduscol). Cette lecture géopolitique des conflits porte essentiellement sur certains thèmes en lien avec le développement durable en cinquième et en seconde comme le montre le tableau suivant.

Classe	Thème (BO spécial n° 6 du 28 août 2008 ; BO spécial n°9 du 30 septembre 2010; BO n° 42 du 14 novembre 2013)	Problématique proposée dans les fiches ressources (Eduscol)	Références bibliographiques indiquées dans la fiche ressource en lien avec la géopolitique
5ème	**La question de l'énergie** "Le contexte d'épuisement progressif nourrit des tensions géopolitiques et accélère la recherche de solutions (énergies de substitution, économies d'énergie...)."	"Dans un contexte de consommation mondiale croissante d'énergies fossiles et de raréfaction de ces dernières, comment se manifestent des tensions géopolitiques?"	Ciattoni A. et Veyret Y., Géographie et géopolitique des énergies, Hatier, 2007

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[19] Yves Lacoste, *De la géopolitique aux paysages : Dictionnaire de la géographie*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2003), 192.

[20] Yves Lacoste, *Dictionnaire de géopolitique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993); Aymeric Chauprade et François Thual, *Dictionnaire de Géopolitique* (Paris: Ellipses, 1998); Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Dictionnaire de géopolitique* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2002).

[21] Gérard Fabre, "Le rapport disciplinaire à l'innovation et ses composantes chez les professeurs d'histoire-géographie utilisant les TICE", in *Innovation et Histoire-Géographie dans l'enseignement secondaire*, ed. Jacky Fontanabona and Jean-François Thémines, (INRP: 2005), 59-78.

[22] Stéphane Rosière, *Géographie politique et géopolitique* (Paris: Ellipses, 2003).

5ème	**Gérer les océans et les ressources** "la gestion et le partage des ressources océaniques constituent un enjeu et une source de rivalités entre les États"	"il s'agit de s'interroger sur les formes d'exploitation des ressources halieutiques, sur les rivalités (entre les États, entre les «exploitants…), sur les formes de régulation mises en place et les problèmes que pose leur application"	Ortolland D., Pirat J.-P. (dir.), Atlas géopolitique des espaces maritimes. Frontières, énergie, pêche et environnement, éditions Technip, 2008
4ème	**La mondialisation et ses contestations** "Les effets économiques, sociaux, environnementaux, culturels de la mondialisation font l'objet de débats contradictoires" Il est précisé dans la démarche de choisir "un débat à enjeu spatial fort".	"La mondialisation efface-elle les frontières des **États** ?"	Foucher M., Les nouveaux (des)équilibres mondiaux, Documentation photographique N° 8072, 2009.
2nde	**Les mondes arctiques, une "nouvelle frontière" sur la planète** "Des ressources convoitées, des tensions entre les États"	"Des ressources convoitées, des tensions entre les **États :** –un potentiel de ressources (halieutiques, minérales, énergétiques, touristiques) ; –des acteurs, les États «arctiques», l'ONU, les ONG; –des arbitrages internationaux (conventions, traités) ; –des questions en suspens: partage de l'espace maritime, appropriation des ressources."	Foucher M., Les nouveaux (des)équilibres mondiaux, Documentation photographique N° 8072, 2009.
2nde	**L'enjeu énergétique** "Impacts environnementaux et tensions géopolitiques"	"Les dimensions géostratégiques et les impacts écologiques ont une importance croissante dans l'élaboration des politiques énergétiques."	

Tableau 1: Référence explicite à la géopolitique dans le curriculum prescrit.

La géopolitique est aussi une approche de la mondialisation en quatrième. C'est surtout une clé de lecture du monde en terminale: "Le programme de la classe de terminale approfondit cette thématique [la mondialisation] et l'articule avec d'autres grilles de lecture du monde; le phénomène de mondialisation est ainsi mis en regard avec des logiques plurielles d'organisation de l'espace mondial (géoéconomiques, géopolitiques, géoenvironnementales

et géoculturelles)"[23]. La géopolitique est aujourd'hui bien présente dans la géographie scolaire prescrite et conduit à privilégier certains types de conflits: les conflits de ressources et les conflits territoriaux.

4. Des conflits de ressources et de territoires avant tout

La géographie scolaire se concentre sur certains types de conflits, c'est ce que montre le graphique ci-dessous.
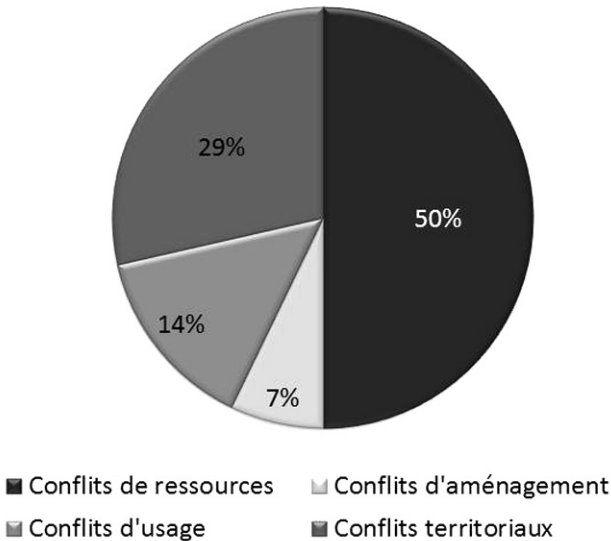
Figure 2: types de conflits enseignés à l'Ecole[24].

La moitié des conflits abordés dans l'enseignement de la géographie sont des conflits de ressources. Ces conflits de nature environnementale ont pour objet la maitrise d'une ressource naturelle comme l'eau, les hydrocarbures, les ressources halieutiques. Ces conflits peuvent être de nature territoriale: la propriété d'une ressource peut nécessiter la gestion du territoire sur lequel elle est localisée. Ce n'est pas systématique. Ce type de conflits est prin-

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[23] BO n° 42 du 14 novembre 2013.
[24] Les catégories conceptuelles utilisées ici ne s'excluent pas les unes des autres. Nous n'avons néanmoins classé les conflits étudiés qu'une fois pour les comptabiliser ; nous avons privilégié l'entrée principale indiquée dans les programmes. Par exemple, si le thème porte sur les ressources, nous avons classé le conflit parmi les conflits de ressources.

cipalement étudié en lien avec le développement durable en cinquième et seconde.

Les conflits territoriaux constituent la deuxième catégorie de conflits présente dans les programmes de géographie à hauteur de 29%. Ce sont des conflits dans lequel le territoire est l'enjeu principal. "Les conflits territoriaux regroupent des conflits pour le contrôle d'un espace entre deux états ou plus, […] ; des conflits liés à des revendications territoriales de la part de groupes communautaires […] ; mais également, des conflits d'usage où les argumentaires des acteurs en opposition relèvent des formes d'appropriation de l'espace ou de ses ressources"[25]. Ce type de conflits peut avoir une dimension identitaire forte.

Les deux autres types de conflits sont présents dans des proportions bien moindres. Les conflits d'aménagement représentent 14% des conflits traités à l'Ecole en géographie et les conflits d'usage 7%. Les premiers désignent une forme de conflictualité liée à un aménagement menacé comme certaines écoles en milieu rural, ou un aménagement convoité quand deux acteurs ou territoires se disputent son implantation, ou encore un aménagement contesté[26]. Ce dernier type de conflits peut engendrer des réactions de rejet nommées NIMBY: "not in my backyard". Les conflits d'usage ont pour objet l'affectation d'un espace ou d'une ressource ou la transgression de règles d'usage établies.

Finalement, les programmes accordent la primauté donnée aux conflits de ressources ce qui tend à focaliser l'enseignement des conflits sur l'interface entre les sociétés et leur environnement. Les conflictualités étudiées questionnent plus le rapport des sociétés avec leur environnement et notamment avec ses ressources limitées, que les rapports de pouvoirs entre les différentes communautés qui en découlent. Ce dernier point n'est pas absent mais apparait en second plan. Cela découle du choix d'analyser ces conflits dans une perspective environnementale. Par exemple, le document d'accompagnement de la séquence sur l'énergie en cinquième précise que les tensions géopolitiques

> sont observables dans l'évolution des prix des matières premières énergétiques, dans la localisation des moyens de les transporter (gazoducs, oléoducs notamment), dans le contrôle des axes de transport (grands détroits pour les pétroliers), ou encore dans la volonté de réduire la dépendance à l'égard de ces énergies fossiles, aussi bien chez les consommateurs (appel à différentes sources

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[25] Gerardot, *Dictionnaire des conflits*, 170.
[26] Philippe Subra, *Géopolitique de l'aménagement du territoire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007).

d'énergie, diversification des fournisseurs) que chez les producteurs (diversifier l'économie pour réduire le poids de l'énergie dans les ressources du pays)[27].

La focale n'est pas sur les relations de tensions entre la Russie, ses pays voisins et ceux de l'Union européenne mais sur les stratégies d'adaptation des acteurs face à des ressources qui sont limitées, ce qui participe d'une mise à distance du politique.

5. Vers une mise à distance du politique

Enseigner les conflits n'implique pas forcément de prendre en charge la dimension politique du sujet, ni de le traiter comme une question socialement vive. Une question socialement vive implique par définition, que les acteurs de l'Ecole, notamment les élèves soient impactés par le sujet. Or, la grande majorité des conflits étudiés en géographie se situe en dehors du territoire national, c'est comme s'ils s'inscrivaient dans une épistémologie de l'Autre et de l'Ailleurs.

5.1. *Une épistémologie de l'Autre et de l'Ailleurs*

La carte ci-dessous localise les cas de conflits inscrits dans les programmes scolaires de collège et de lycée général, et ceux conseillés dans les documents d'accompagnement des programmes.

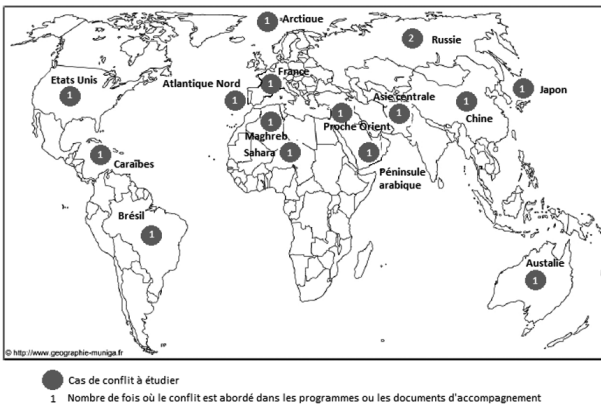**Figure 3**: cas de conflits imposés ou conseillés dans le curriculum de géographie français (collège et lycée général).

[27] Ministère de l'Education Nationale (2010), "Ressources pour faire la classe au collège. Géographie 5è, Partie 3, Thème 5 : La question de l'énergie" (http://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/college/62/3/College_Ressources_HGEC_5_Geo_13_Energie_152623.pdf, accès 15.5.2016).

Un seul conflit étudié en géographie prend place en France. Le cas se présente en troisième où il s'agit d'analyser un parc régional ou national pour montrer les conflits d'usage au sein de l'espace rural français. Paradoxalement, cette étude de cas n'est pas véritablement explicitée dans le document d'accompagnement qui insiste sur l'autre cas à étudier dans cette séquence, celui d'un aménagement urbain, et propose de présenter les débats qui l'ont entouré. Cela peut conduire à l'étude d'un conflit d'aménagement, même si ce n'est pas présenté en tant que tel dans le programme. Nous retrouvons un cas semblable en première générale, sur les territoires de proximité. Il existe par ailleurs d'autres possibilités pour les enseignants de choisir des cas de conflits en France. Le programme de cinquième invite par exemple à choisir un cas de conflit de ressources en Atlantique nord ou dans un espace tropical pour étudier les océans. Il est aussi possible d'investir la conflictualité sur des sujets qui ne le précisent pas dans le programme. Ni le programme, ni les documents d'accompagnement, ni même les manuels n'invitent les enseignants à mettre en évidence les caractéristiques récurrentes d'un territoire conflictuel. Le conflit n'est pas traité comme un concept. Dans le curriculum français, ce constat n'est pas surprenant car le curriculum ne s'articule pas autour de concepts intégrateurs comme le curriculum de Suisse romande[28] et ne propose pas non plus de progression notionnelle. Finalement, le conflit reste associé à un espace. Ces espaces se situent de manière privilégiée ailleurs, en dehors du territoire national français.

Globalement, les conflits étudiés ne sont pas pensés comme des questions socialement vives. Il y a une exception: la dernière séquence de quatrième sur la mondialisation et ses contestations qui "permet de faire entrer des questions vives dans le champ de la géographie scolaire, outil d'analyse indispensable pour comprendre le monde"[29]. Le document d'accompagnement du programme propose d'organiser cette séquence autour de trois débats au choix: "la mondialisation efface-t-elle les frontières des Etats?"; "la mondialisation détruit-elle des emplois?"; "la mondialisation entraine-t-elle une dégradation de l'environnement?". Paradoxalement, ces débats ne s'inscrivent pas véritablement dans une géographie des conflits.

[28]   Philippe Hertig, "Didactique de la géographie et formation initiale des enseignants spécialistes. Conception et première évaluation du nouveau dispositif de formation initiale des enseignants de géographie du Secondaire supérieur à la HEP Vaud" (Lausanne: Institut de géographie de l'Université, 2012).

[29]   Ministère de l'Education Nationale (2011), "Ressources pour faire la classe en collège. Géographie 4ème, Partie 3, Thème 2 : La mondialisation et ses contestations." (http://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/college/69/5/College_Ressources_HGEC_4_Geo_10_MondialContestations_187695.pdf, accès 15.5.2016).

D'une part, ces problématiques sont posées à très petite échelle. D'autre part, le conflit n'est pas étudié en tant que concept, permettant aux élèves d'analyser un système d'acteurs conflictuels.

5.2. *Le refroidissement des conflits*

Nous prendrons appui sur deux exemples pour illustrer comment la conflictualité des questions étudiées est contournée, rendant ainsi froides les questions vives. Le premier exemple est celui de l'enseignement des mobilités humaines étudiées en quatrième. Nous avons reproduit ci-dessous un extrait du programme concerné.

CONNAISSANCES	DÉMARCHES
Migrations et tourisme dans le monde Les mobilités humaines qui se développent à l'échelle régionale et mondiale n'affectent qu'une part limitée de la population mondiale. Quelle que soit leur nature (économique, politique ou touristique), elles exploitent les discontinuités entre les espaces et elles affectent de manière différenciée pays de départ et pays d'arrivée.	Une étude de cas au choix : - Un flux migratoire du Maghreb vers l'Europe; - un espace touristique au Maghreb. Ces études de cas sont replacées sur un planisphère dans le contexte des migrations et du tourisme dans le monde
CAPACITÉS Décrire : - les effets de ces déplacements de population sur les pays de départ et sur les pays d'arrivée - l'impact du tourisme sur l'espace étudié Localiser et situer: - les principales zones de départ et d'arrivée des migrants sur un planisphère - les espaces touristiques majeurs et les grands flux du tourisme mondial sur des cartes à différentes échelles	

Figure 4: extrait du programme de géographie de cinquième (BO spécial n° 6 du 28 août 2008).

Le cas proposé dans cette séquence, à savoir un flux migratoire du Maghreb vers l'Europe, est une question qui fait l'objet de nombreux débats en France, dans les sciences sociales et dans les médias. C'est autant l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration que les impacts économiques, sociétaux et spatiaux de l'immigration, qui sont discutés. Les débats se cristallisent parfois autour de certains types d'espaces comme les quartiers de grands ensembles qui sont stigmatisés. L'Ecole dont une partie des élèves est issue de l'immigration, est impactée par ces questions. Les migrations Maghreb/Europe constituent donc une question socialement vive dont la dimension conflictuelle est complètement évincée dans le programme. L'analyse de ces migrations se limite aux avantages comparatifs de l'espace

de départ au regard de l'espace d'arrivée et aux impacts spatiaux de ces flux. Ces impacts sont pris à petite échelle: il s'agit de la fuite des populations éduquées, des flux financiers Europe/Maghreb etc. Il y a donc une mise à distance du politique qui s'opère sur la question des migrations Maghreb/Europe non par l'éloignement du conflit mais par la problématique retenue par le programme scolaire.

Nous pouvons faire le même constat sur la séquence sur "Comprendre les territoires de proximité" en première. Il s'agit d'étudier "un aménagement choisi sur un espace proche du lycée"[30] selon deux axes problématiques. Le premier porte sur les acteurs de l'aménagement, leur échelle et leurs relations. Le second concerne les enjeux, les objectifs et les finalités de cet aménagement. Le document d'accompagnement de cette séquence[31] invite les enseignants à prendre en charge les débats liés à cet aménagement. L'entrée actorielle de cette séquence et le choix d'un aménagement dans l'espace proche du lycée peuvent laisser supposer que les conflits d'aménagement et d'usage inhérents à ce type de projet seront étudiés. Néanmoins, l'optique dans laquelle est abordé dans le programme et les documents d'accompagnement, l'aménagement, et la traduction qu'en font les manuels scolaires[32], s'inscrivent dans une vision mécaniste de l'aménagement qui repose sur une croyance dans "le mécanisme automatique de déqualification puis requalification territoriale comme autant de cycles d'adaptation des villes aux mutations économiques"[33]. Dans cette perspective, les conflits actoriels sont esquissés au profit d'un "grand récit" de l'aménagement qui donne la conception globale du projet et ses finalités. Ce grand récit omet les réajustements et les modifications successives apportées au projet. La conception de l'aménagement sous-tendu dans cette séquence et la mise en œuvre qu'en font les manuels scolaires, ne permettent pas vraiment d'inscrire l'étude de cet aménagement dans la géographie des conflits. Cette frilosité à mettre les élèves devant une étude sans concession des conflits d'aménagement est probablement un héritage culturel. Jusque dans les années 1980, l'Etat était l'acteur principal de l'aménagement du territoire. Son action

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[30] BO spécial n° 9 du 30 septembre 2010.
[31] Ministère de l'Education Nationale (2010), "Ressource pour le lycée général et technologique. Géographie 1ère S, Thème 1 introductif: Comprendre les territoires de proximité." (http://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/lycee/99/5/04_RESS_S_1_Geo_Th1_284995.pdf, accès 15.5.2016).
[32] Caroline Leininger-Frézal et Catherine Carré, "Les Figures de l'acteur de l'aménagement dans la mise en œuvre du programme de géographie de Première", in *Colloque international de didactique de l'histoire, de la géographie et de l'éducation à la citoyenneté*, Université de Caen-Basse Normandie, Caen, 2-4 avril 2014.
[33] Franck Scherrer et Martin Vanier (dir.), Villes, Territoires, Réversibilités, (Hermann, collection "Colloques de Cerisy", 2013), 35.

était destinée à pallier les inégalités territoriales, à les "rééquilibrer" – terme utilisé dans certains manuels. Le curriculum français de géographie a longtemps privilégié un récit des politiques d'aménagement menées par l'Etat dans la deuxième moitié du XX^è siècle, sur leur analyse spatiale, ce qui est déjà un grand récit. C'est peut-être un élément d'explication. La production d'un grand récit à l'échelle locale aujourd'hui pourrait découler de la reproduction de pratiques enseignantes antérieures.

La difficile prise en charge des conflits dans les curriculums de géographie français dépasse la question de l'aménagement. L'enseignement des migrations du Maghreb vers l'Europe, dans le premier exemple donné précédemment, montre bien que le problème est plus large. La discipline histoire-géographie a été créée à la fin du XIXème, pour susciter chez les élèves un sentiment d'appartenance à la communauté nationale, en leur transmettant une culture partagée. Originellement, le consensus prime dans le curriculum mais aussi dans les pratiques enseignantes[34]. Il est possible que l'absence de traitement des questions socialement vives en tant que telles constitue simplement un élément de la culture scolaire[35].

Il existe au sein de l'épistémologie scolaire, des biais qui permettent d'aborder les conflits sans les traiter comme des questions socialement vives. Les conflits sont étudiés principalement dans des espaces lointains. Ce sont surtout des conflits de ressources, ce qui permet d'insister sur la gestion de la rareté et non sur la concurrence entre acteurs pour la maitrise des ressources. Les sujets qui pourraient mettre en évidence des systèmes spatiaux conflictuels sont étudiés selon des problématiques ou des angles qui évincent en partie, cet aspect de la question. Nous pouvons donc valider l'hypothèse émise au début de ce travail, à savoir que les programmes scolaires participent d'une mise à distance des conflits par leurs choix épistémologiques. Cela signifie que le fait d'évincer le politiquement vif de la géographie scolaire n'est pas uniquement dû aux pratiques enseignantes[36]. C'est aussi une conséquence de la manière dont les programmes scolaires conçoivent aujourd'hui ces enseignements, en tout cas sur la question des conflits. Il y a donc une contradiction entre la volonté affichée du curriculum d'adopter une approche géopolitique et la manière dont les sujets d'étude sont choisis et dont leur enseignement est pensé dans les documents d'accompagnement.

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[34] Audigier, "Les représentations que les élèves ont de l'histoire et de la géographie".
[35] Clerc, *La culture scolaire en géographie*.
[36] Audigier, "Les représentations que les élèves ont de l'histoire et de la géographie".

Falk Pingel

Peace in war museums and war in peace museums?
A comparative view on military museums in Europe and East Asia

Abstract

Today's war museums are faced with multiple challenges. The large number of military and civil victims modern wars cause, the condemnation of aggressive wars and pedagogical approaches towards peace education call into question the glorification of war as showcased by traditional war museums. This change of attitude has particularly affected war museums of the former "Eastern bloc". The situation of war museums in East Asia is remarkably complex. On the one hand, the cold war is continuing due to the division of Korea and the lack of a reconciliation policy, while on the other hand economic and political interconnections are increasing so that even in this case war can no longer be regarded as a legitimate means of politics. Choosing a European-Asian comparative approach, this article examines how war museums respond to these challenges. In which way have architecture, design of the exhibitions and the messages they transmit changed? Examples will firstly be taken from Germany, England and France as well as some Eastern European countries and then compared with war museums in China, South Korea and Japan.

Résumé

Les musées de guerre sont aujourd'hui soumis à de multiples défis. Le grand nombre de victimes civiles et militaires des guerres modernes, la condamnation internationale des guerres d'agression et les approches pédagogiques d'éducation à la paix remettent en question la glorification de la guerre telle que mise en scène dans la conception traditionnelle des musées de guerre. En particulier, les musées militaires dans l'ancien "bloc de l'Est" sont touchés par ce changement d'attitude. La situation des musées de guerre en Asie de l'Est est particulièrement complexe. D'une part, la guerre froide s'y poursuit du fait de la division de la Corée et de l'absence de politique de réconciliation. D'autre part, les liens économiques et politiques entre la Chine, le Japon et la Corée du Sud sont trop importants pour que la guerre puisse être considérée comme un moyen politique légitime. Dans une approche comparative entre l'Europe et l'Asie, cet article

examine comment les musées de guerre font face à ces défis. Dans quelle mesure l'architecture des musées, la scénographie d'exposition et les messages véhiculés ont-ils changé? Des exemples en Allemagne, en Angleterre, en France et dans quelques pays d'Europe centrale sont mis en comparaison avec des musées de guerre en Chine, au Japon et en Corée du Sud.

1. Introduction

Why have war or military museums become trendy after the dissolution of the bi-polar world structure since the end of the 1980s – an era which was expected to open a time of world-wide rapprochement and containment of conflicts through peace-oriented international interventions?

To give just a few examples corroborating this trend:

- After reunification, Germany has built her first large national military museum since Nazi times;
- In Canada, a new war museum has been built to appropriately commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War;
- In 2002, with the *Imperial War Museum North* in Manchester, a modern counterpart has been added to the old fashioned Imperial War Museum in London;
- The *Chinese Revolution Museum* in Beijing is currently closed for a major refurbishment including its exhibition on Chinese military history;
- The Japanese government opened the *Showakan* in Tokyo in 1999 to honour the suffering of Tokyo's population during the Second World War.

Is there a growing public interest in war museums? Or what other causes triggered off this boom?

Today's war museums are faced with five major challenges:

1. The traditional heroic approach is being shattered. For, since their founding years these museums have legitimised war as an acknowledged means of politics, be it for the sake of compelled defence or wanted expansion of one's own state or nation. However, eulogising wars has become questionable even in societies which look back to a victorious, grand and uncontested past. Peace keeping has become a prime task of international organisations. Aggressive wars are ruled out anyway by international law signed by a vast majority of states. This may have stimulated the Vienna Army Museum to design an advertising poster with the slogan "Put wars into the museum!" Is this already the answer to the question above? Are

wars really a thing of the past which can only be observed in museums? As desirable as this may be, defensive wars and forceful humanitarian intervention against acts of violent aggression are still legitimate and wars are still happening all over the world.

2. Since the bi-polar confrontational political world structure is broken down, the dominant patterns of war have changed: from wars between states to internal wars and international military intervention[1]. Traditional war museums did not take into account this change in the concept of wars.

3. The claim for peace education, which has been developed into a broad educational concept since the 1980s, and the striving for international and intercultural understanding hardly fit into the traditional concepts of most war museums. Not least with the *Education for All Dakar Framework for Action* of 2000, UNESCO has stressed the negative effects of armed conflicts on education and identified particularly internal wars as one of the main factors that hinder the implementation of global aims of quality education[2]. Thus, UNESCO established a clear link between its priority agenda for education and the banning of war. Can modern concepts of war museums be consistent with this global educational as well as political approach? Museologists are confronted with the question whether they have to and whether they can convert war-related museums into peace-oriented museums.

4. War museums have mostly been national museums in a double sense: they are of national significance and they deal predominantly with wars and military actions of one's own nation. Their exhibitions have, so far, not reflected the increasing global dimension of peace- keeping and of wars that are fought beyond one's own borders or direct area of influence.

5. As a consequence of the national approach, war museums honoured one's own heroes and sacrifices but they were unable to deal with the indiscriminate killing capacity of modern wars, be it on one's own side, be it on the enemies' side or be it on the victorious or the loser's side.

This paper examines how current exhibitions in war museums respond to these challenges and takes into consideration continuity

[1]   Sven Chojnacki, "Anything New or More of the Same? Wars and Military Interventions in the International System 1946-2003", *Global Society* 20 (2006): 25-46; Herfried Münkler, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).
[2]   Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 2nd revised and updated ed. (Paris/Braunschweig: UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute, 2010), 17.

and change in architecture, exhibition design, and media context in which the objects are placed[3].

The message a museum is expected to transmit to the visitor is foremostly shaped by the kind of exhibited objects and the design of the exhibition:

Do the objects "speak for themselves" or are they placed into a certain context which explains their function and value? The context may be given by other objects or by written texts (in the past) as well as audio and video sources (in modern museums). From this interior design of an exhibition its exterior form can be differentiated meaning the architecture of the building in which the exhibition is placed. In the past, the exterior form was quasi-given as a matter of course by the fact that war museums were military institutions. The architectural environment of war museums stressed the power of aesthetics through design and magnitude of the building which accommodated exhibitions literally "set in stone". Form and content went hand in hand. They reflected a glory past and promised a victorious future. Newly built war museums break with this harmony between object and external form. Through the employment of modern building materials such as glass and aluminium architecture is now used to tangibly and visibly destroy the former harmony between form and object. Nevertheless, today the architecture that frames the exhibition is also used as an expressive indicator of the ideological and pedagogical message the museum is expected to transmit. Marcia Lord's general statement on modern museum buildings applies particularly to new war museums: "What is strikingly clear, however, is that the architect has emerged as a central figure on the museum landscape and the building has become far more than an edifice housing a collection. … Architecture thus appears as the catalyst for a process of profound change whose end results are far from certain"[4].

Examples will firstly be taken from some Western European countries (Germany, Austria, England and France) as well as Eastern European countries (Baltic States, Ukraine, Bosnia).

In Western Europe, the accelerated process of European integration has created a framework for peaceful international relations and made already possible border crossing cooperation in designing

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[3]   The mentioned challenges have mostly an impact on war museums dealing with contemporary wars, i.e. the two World Wars and most recent wars. Therefore, museums which do not treat wars of the 20th century will not be taken into account. The author has visited most of the museums dealt with here during the last six years. This paper is a first account of his own experiences as compared with official documents and scholarly literature. A first, abridged version of this paper was presented at the International Committee of Historical Sciences, XXII Congress, Jinan 2015.

[4]   Marcia Lord, "Editorial", *Museum International* 49, 4: *Museum Architecture* (1997): 3.

new war-related museums or revising the exhibition of old ones. The traditional friend-foe pattern on which all traditional war museums are based has already been overcome at least partially. This paved the way for a peace-oriented, European or even global pedagogical message, if, however, often still in a tentative, hesitant and ambiguous way as will be shown later.

The situation is more complex in Eastern and central Europe. Since the breakdown of the Soviet Union new patterns of collective commemoration are emerging but remain often highly controversial. Should Soviet styled museums remembering the Second World War be simply abolished with the disappearance of the Soviet Union? Or can they be adjusted to new interpretations and to trends towards peaceful conflict solution?

Secondly, the European theatre will be compared with examples from East Asia (Japan, South Korea, and China).

In view of the on-going division of Korea, the unsolved problem of Taiwan's sovereignty and the still hot and controversial debate about reconciliation between the East Asian countries, the Cold War is, to a certain extent, continuing in this region. On-going tensions lead to diplomatic crises or even military incidents from time to time. On the one hand, East Asia cannot and will not detach itself from current trends of peace education and international understanding, on the other hand, the lingering impact of the Second World War hinders institutional political cooperation, stresses cultural differences, and leads to incompatible interpretations of the recent past. Therefore, how war museums in East Asia reflect these contradicting politico-pedagogical orientations and whether they take up the mentioned challenges at all will be examined.

Concerning Europe the paper compares war museums which deal with war in general in a historical perspective. Almost every European country has established such a museum so that museums which only focus on a certain event within a war, for example a battle, a massacre etc. will not be included[5]. Also, the many holocaust museums will not be considered because extensive research has been conducted on this theme, although a comparison of war and holocaust museums could be of interest. The situation is different in East Asia. To understand the ways of commemoration the broader museum landscape has to be taken into account, because one would miss important aspects if neglecting places like Hiroshima or Nanjing, as will be explained later.

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[5]   Museums and memorials commemorating victims of massacres, annihilation campaigns etc. are booming as well, see the overview given by Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

2. From weapon collections to war museums or from a foremost military context to a political symbol of national power

Roughly speaking, military or army museums date back to the late 18th and the 19th century when army units and the ruling nobility opened "their" collections of weapons, uniforms and coats of arms to the public. It was the time when standing armies were replaced by people's armed forces made up by conscripts. The many military or army museums founded in European states in this era served the observance of military tradition and legitimised the use of force by the government against external threats in the name of the emerging nation state. The weapons – one's own as well as conquered ones – were in the centre of the exhibition. They represented the tools of warfare but were also taken as symbols of state power and superiority over the enemy. They were not just artefacts but also signifiers of technical achievements and political claims. Their economic context (weapon production, armament industry and expenditures) as well as their social environment (soldiers who use them, "live" with them and suffer from them) and, not least, the consequences of their real function (destruction of material and human lives) were not addressed. Although weapons are the bearers of suffering, the harm they caused was not shown in the exhibition. They stand for it without realising it. This function of "hidden" symbolism kept the weapons "clean" and allowed them to be aestheticized – to show them untouched from destruction and suffering. The growing historical value of artefacts in the course of time has contributed to seeing the weapons almost exclusively as artistic creations so that Plessen contends concerning traditional military history museums: "The true purpose of the object falls into oblivion"[6].

Memorial halls honouring the heroes of warfare were often added when the weapon collections became public museums. This strengthened the museums' character as places of admiration and national pride.

The "Great War" at the beginning of the 20th century started to partly change traditional functions of military museums. The military and politicians strove to explain the new experience of trench war to the civilian home population and constructed artificial trenches outside or inside the museums. This can be seen as a first attempt to

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[6] Marie-Louise von Plessen (ed.), *Die Nation und ihre Museen* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1992), 265.

"imitate" war experience by the means of installations – a technique which is only now more frequently applied thanks to the use of electronic media[7]. Beil has noted that three-dimensional war and trench dioramas were used in the Weimar Republic with opposite intentions: on the one hand, by peace-oriented exhibitions to shock visitors and evoke anti-war feelings, and, on the other hand, by right-wing nationalists and militarists who wanted to "explain" to the civilians how soldiers fight in order to win followers for their revisionist policy[8]. The enormous losses modern wars cause led to further important changes in the museums' design: the social context as well as the destructive forces of weapons could no longer be neglected because the civilian population was similarly affected by warfare as were the soldiers. Consequently, the real war came closer to the visitors. Army museums became "war" museums, like the *Imperial War Museum* in London which was originally established to commemorate the First World War only. With the building of the *Imperial War Museum*, the leading functions of modern war museums came to the fore[9].

- To document weapons as complicated, technical tools which prove the ingenuity of the nation's technicians and workers to produce such powerful means of fighting,
- To legitimise a concrete war the nation has recently experienced
- To honour the human sacrifices.

The museums no longer primarily inform about artefacts; they should also "speak to the heart and the imagination"[10].

3. Two western European examples of an almost unbroken tradition: the French National Army Museum and the Austrian Army Museum

The *Musée de l'Armée* in Paris and the *Heeresmuseum Wien* in Vienna belong to the oldest and largest Western European army museums. Founded in the 19th century their development strongly reflects the imprint of imperialism and nationalism. Both museums

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[7] Eva Zwach, *Deutsche und englische Militärmuseen im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Analyse des gesellschaftlichen Umgangs mit Krieg* (Münster: LIT, 1999).

[8] Christine Beil*, Der ausgestellte Krieg. Präsentationen des ersten Weltkrieges 1914-1939* (Tübingen: Tübinger Verlag für Volkskunde, 2004), 108.

[9] Although the name "Imperial War Museum" referred to a specific war, the term "war museum" has taken on a general meaning; today, the terms "military museum", "army museum" and "war museum" are often used interchangeably in spite of their different linguistic associations.

[10] Susanne Brandt, "The Memory Makers: museums and exhibitions of the First World War, "*History and Memory* 6, 1 (1994): 95-122, here 112.

will be taken as first examples to study the impact of the changing politico-pedagogical context on traditional war museums.

The French museum looks back to an almost "classical" track of development. The first collection of weapons (called "musée d'artillerie") – established already in the 17th century and accommodated in the *Palais de l'Arsenal* – served as a means of instruction for the army and was not open to the public. As a response to the defeat in the German-French war of 1870/71, French politicians and intellectuals worked on strengthening the military spirit of the young Republic. To this aim, the weapon collection was transferred to a politically more ambitious and architecturally more salient place, namely the *Hôtel national des Invalides*[11]. It no longer primarily served the army's technical interest but was meant to educate the general public. The large complex of the *Hôtel* was built on the initiative of Louis XIV and firstly meant as a home for invalid soldiers. A collection of fortification models founded in 1668 was transferred to the *Hôtel* in 1777 and opened to the public during the French Revolution in 1794. This collection honoured the work of Vauban who revolutionised the architecture of fortifications in the 17th century. On Napoleon's order also a funeral monument in honour of Vauban and a tomb for Marshal Turenne were erected in the church attached to the *Hôtel*. The whole complex turned into a true national monument when, in 1840, the church was destined to also become Napoleon's final burial place. With the integration of the former artillery museum in 1871 and of additional weapon exhibitions collected on private initiatives the *Hôtel* finally hosted one of the largest weapon exhibitions in Europe which was officially named *Musée de l'Armée* in 1905.

As a rule – like in the *Hôtel* – separate space was devoted to the presentation of objects and the honouring of persons. In the 19th century only military leaders were granted individualised memorials; the common soldiers were commemorated collectively and anonymously at the memorial for the "unknown soldier" with only a few exceptions. Yet, army museum and memorial halls are seen as one unit in terms of architecture and institutional structure. The visitors' tour leads from the exhibition of artefacts to the memorial hall or vice versa.

Apparently, its solemnity and architectural unity made the *Hôtel national des Invalides* unamenable to greater amendments and changes. Until the caesura of the 1990s the exhibition focused on the presentation of weapons, uniforms and colours glorifying French warfare. The objects represented military, technical as well as historical value.

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[11] Dominique Merle, "Das 'Musée de l'Armée' zwischen gestern und morgen", in Plessen, *Die Nation und ihre Museen*, 263-270.

The splendid late baroque structure of the building framed the shining forms of the weaponry exhibited mostly in strong geometrical order in a congenial way. The official guide calls the 60 French "classical canons" "prestigious pieces … decorated with … ornamentations" like objects of art, not of destruction. These "jewels of the artillery collection" are presented orderly in the court of honour inviting visitors "to discover … the epic of great French artillerymen". Obviously the rumbling of the guns should sound to the visitors like the triumphant peal of bells and not evoke the ringing of the death knell. The epic and aesthetics of the weapons represent the poetry of the victors. Here, parades are still held. Before the music corps' performances start, the instruments are laid down in the courtyard just opposite the lined up canons and lined up row by row, as if they too were weapons. Military order which is originally a functional principle takes on an aesthetic meaning and forms part of an artistic presentation.

Only when it comes to the First World War, design and content of the exhibition alter. Not only military objects but also photographs from the fighting zone, manifestos for military propaganda, reports from contemporaries etc. are shown. However, this part was mainly taken over from a private museum displaying the First World War and only integrated into the collection of the museum in 1970[12].

The caesura of the 1990s posed the next challenge. From 1995 to 2010 the traditional concept was broadly discussed and large parts, particularly those dealing with wars in the 20th century, were refurbished according to the so called ATHENA project. It was felt that the political and social significance of the two world wars could not be expressed through focussing on the weapons as de-contextualised objects. The modern weapons were now framed by large posters showing life and death of soldiers and civilians during wartime. Yet, this new framing has also been used to construct a national narrative of a modern post-war French society and state. Besides the history of the two world wars a *Historial Charles de Gaulle* was created in 2007. Here, the renovation of the French Republic after the Second World War has been based on a resistance narrative which allots to de Gaulle a salient place along with Napoleon amongst the French national heroes. In the *Historial* the design no longer follows the model of an army museum. It does not display objects at all but it is constructed as a large electronic multimedia show with audio and video presentations on large screens or tablets for individual viewing. Here, the military museum has been turned into a modern history museum dealing with contemporary times.

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[12]   Brandt, "The Memory Makers", 96.

Nevertheless, the museologists were still hesitant to use the 1990 caesura for a radical review of the whole collection and its concept. The army museum is divided into two sections:

- One section deals with objects of a glory past concentrating on the period of absolutism and the revolution; individual artefacts are presented as static and isolated objects in glass cabinets;
- The other part comprises the two world wars and offers an attempt to connect objects with pictures, textual sources, and audio-visual media which show the objects in action, in their "real" context, in use, in movement and destruction.

In contrast to other western war museums, the military exhibition of the *Musée de l'Armée* ends with the end of the Second World War and does not (yet) deal with the structural changes that made the French national army part of the Atlantic and European alliances.

The modernisation reduced the number of objects – and in doing so often emphasised the individuality of the remaining objects – but foremostly contextualised and modernised the 20th century exhibition[13]. Therefore, it remains questionable whether the transformation from a museum of objects into a historical museum has been really achieved as Emilie Robbe, one of the museum's curators, stated in an interview given after the modernisation. He referred to three – almost classical – functions the museum now fulfils:

- To "show" through placing emphasis on the item,
- To "explain" through providing contextual information,
- To "inspire" through "marrying the aesthetic and the transmission of information"[14].

Expressly, the museum's home page mentions as one of the leading aims of the exhibition to keep up the will to defend the nation and to observe the memory of military glory[15].

The traditional concept of presenting objects which stand out because of their artistic splendour and technical value has also shaped the design applied in the *Heeresmuseum Wien* (Vienna Army Museum) up to today. The museum is part of a vast military complex built after the 1848 revolution in order to control the city's population more effectively. The new "Arsenal" – opened in 1856 – was

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[13] Olivier Renaudeau, "The Collections of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris and the Influence of Fine Arts, History and Military Memorabilia", in *The Universal Heritage of Arms and Military History: Challenges and Choices in a Changing World, ICOCAM Conference, Vienna 2007* (Vienna: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2008), 113-118, here 117.

[14] Emilie Robbe, "The Musée de l'Armée and the ATHENA project. Interview by Irène Delage", http://www.napoleon.org/en/magazine/interviews/files/474913. asp#informations (retrieved April 14, 2015).

[15] "Contribuer au maintien de l'esprit de défense", „Garder la mémoire des gloires militaires de la nation", http://www.musee-armee.fr/lhotel-des-invalides/letablissement-public-du-musee-de-larmee/missions.html (retrieved April 14, 2015).

much more than just a storage house for the army's weapons and uniforms. It was like a military town providing all the necessary equipment for a military campaign. The neo-Renaissance architecture and the richly decorated inner design reflect the importance, splendour and glory of the Imperial army. In line with this concept, a hall of fame was integrated to hold ceremonies and pay homage to famous military leaders. The Hall of Fame and the weapon collection from the old arsenal formed one architectural unity. With the support and initiative of the Imperial court, the traditional weapon collection was expanded and reopened as the National Army Museum in 1891. The exhibition concept followed established examples like in Paris. Canons and other arms, uniforms, standards etc. were mostly exposed in chronological and thematic order, row by row, inside the halls and long corridors of the impressive building. The walls were decorated with pictures of battle scenes.

The experience of the First World War was the first major challenge to this static presentation of military objects. However, not least due to the interest of the Vienna Court to adhere to the established concept, it was decided to only moderately expand the exhibition during the war with "exceptional and original" pieces which were integrated into the exhibition from 1915 onwards[16]. Thus, up to this day, the most prominent object of the troubled summer month of 1914 that drew Europe in a devastating war is the car in which Franz Ferdinand and his wife were shot to death. Traditionally it was presented as a carefully polished luxury technical object; portraits on the wall showed the richly dressed couple during their lifetime. The car stood for something from which it was totally disassociated as a museum object: triggering of the "Great War". The narrative of glory and splendour was maintained by avoiding any pictures of destruction. The paintings showed the celebrities before the assassination and the military objects without any signs of damage. Everything was intact although the whole museum deals with vulnerability of human life and artefacts. Only the gallery of war paintings confronts the visitors partly, at least, with the horrors of war showing, besides courageous fighters, also wounded soldiers, faces of sorrow and desperation. It is art, not the "original" object that brings the context of fighting to the visitor.

Till today the museum is caught by its past, the magnificence of its architectural frame, and the admiration for the machinery of warfare. It bans the (in-) human experience people have to experience when this machinery is working. When referring to attempts at the

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[16] Manfried Rauchensteiner, "Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum in Wien", in Hans-Martin Hinz (ed.), *Der Krieg und seine Museen* (Frankfurt/M: Campus, 1997), 57-72, here 67.

modernisation of the exhibition after 1945, the former director of the museum stated with a kind of resignation: "The narrative's unity was forced upon us through the architectural preconditions"[17].

Yet, it was the recent 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War that brought about some modernisation efforts. The existing exhibition was amended by media which focus more on the consequences of modern weapons than on the weapons themselves. As the weapons were not removed but completed by videos, explanations, posters and paintings, the weapons are put in the background and the media frame comes to the fore. This alone gives the exhibition a different, less shining and sober outlook. In particular, the Sarajevo car is now framed by photos and video clips showing scenes from the assassination. The car is quasi-degenerated to a mere – and deadly – means of transportation; it is no longer this precious technical object. However, only the exhibition of the First World War has been altered in this way.

Although an article in the museum's annual report underscores that visitors should be confronted with the context dependency of artefacts, the author often refers to the "aura" of the original object which represents "individual value" ("individuellen Wert")[18]. Not even theoretically does he dare to think about a new concept for collecting and exposing objects. The current director also follows this thread of argumentation. In a welcoming address for an academic conference he confirms that the "cultural-historical setting" should bring to the fore the "aesthetic values" "so obscuring their utility values and function[19].

The museologists of the Vienna Army Museum reflect but do not adequately respond to the challenges since the World Wars and the turning point of the 1990s, although the museum was strongly challenged by external factors to rethink the traditional concept. The arsenal buildings were heavily damaged by bombing during the Second World War and many of its objects were destroyed or evacuated to save places outside of Vienna. Although the government and the city

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[17] "Die Geschlossenheit der Erzählung ist etwas, das uns durch die architektonischen Vorgaben eigentlich aufgezwungen wurde." (Rauchensteiner, "Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum", 70); see also Hannes Leidinger and Verena Moritz, "Die Last der Historie. Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum in Wien und die Darstellung der Geschichte bis 1945", in *Zeitgeschichtliche Ausstellungen in* Österreich. *Museen – Gedenkstätten – Ausstellungen,* eds. Dirk Rupnow and Heidemarie Uhl (Wien: Böhlau, 2011), 15-44.

[18] Christoph Hatschek, "Geschenkt, gekauft, ersteigert – gesichert. Die Erweiterung der Sammlungen des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums", *Viribus unitis. Jahresbericht 2006 des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums* (2007): 11-18.

[19] M. Christian Ortner, "Welcome Address of the Host and Introduction – Begrüßungsworte des Gastgebers und Einleitung", in *The Universal Heritage* (2008), 9-15, here 13.

council already started with the rebuilding of the area in 1946, the function of the complex was less shaped by military purposes. The construction of housing enjoyed preference over the reconstruction of military barracks. Thanks to a more lenient occupation policy in Austria – in contrast to Germany –, the museum was not totally closed as it could be expected according to the Potsdam agreement which forbad all symbols and manifestations of militarism. This allowed the remaining staff to organise the return of artefacts; in order not to come into conflict with the occupation power, the institutional structure was formally changed into a more civilian outlook. It was even considered to make the museum part of a new "Austrian National Museum" which the Habsburg Monarchy never established because of its multinational composition and which, to even recently, the Republic could not agree[20]. Instead, the administration of the museum was transferred from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Education, and the museum's name was altered according to the *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum* (Museum of Military History) in 1946[21]. Thus, the main purpose was now allegedly a civilian and pedagogical one such as learning from the history of wars for the time of peace to come. It became apparent that this was only taken as a pretext when, with the rearmament of Austria, the museum came again under the control of the "Office for Defence" in 1955. The museum expanded both its historical departments as well as its exhibition of contemporary objects but it did not considerably change the inherited exhibition concept.

4. Dissolving continuity: A new beginning in view of heavy legacies – examples from Germany and England

4.1 *Germany's Military History Museum in Dresden*

The story of Germany's military museum could have resembled the Austrian narrative as both states share many historical features; yet, in fact, it is quite different. By order of the Allied powers, all German military museums were closed after the capitulation in May 1945. However, with the rearmament of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the two German states reopened small army museums which were merged into a new,

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[20] Richard Hufschmied, "Die unmittelbaren Nachkriegspläne zum Wiener Arsenal und dem Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum", *Viribus Unitis. Jahresbericht 2003 des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums* (2004): 51-60.

[21] Franz Kaindl, "Das Wiener Heeresgeschichtliche Museum, ein historisches Nationalmuseum von internationaler Dimension, " in Plessen, *Die Nation und ihre Museen*, 271-280, here 278.

big military museum after reunification. The new *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum der Bundeswehr* (Military History Museum of the Federal Army) in Dresden blends military representation and tradition with modern war-critical multi-functional and multi-media design.

Although the past history of German military museums before 1990 is interesting and complex, a short overview must suffice here.

The National People's Army (*Nationale Volksarmee der DDR*=NVA) of the GDR established a German Army Museum in the Potsdam "Marble Palais" in 1961. The museum primarily showcased weapons of the Red Army as well as of the NVA and eulogised the Soviet troops' victorious campaign in the Second World War. Thus, the exhibition concentrated on the latest, contemporary history but integrated also a smaller historical dimension reaching back to the "peasants' war" in the 16th century so establishing a positive, revolutionary German military tradition from Early Modern History up the foundation of the NVA. The museum was moved to the old Dresden arsenal area in 1972. The architectural and functional history of the arsenal complex – the so-called Albert town – very much resembled the Vienna arsenal. The vast barracks complex built in an imperial neo Baroque style in the 1870s also accommodated Saxony's weapon exhibition which was upgraded to the German Military Museum during Nazi time. With the relocation from the Potsdam castle to the Dresden arsenal, the GDR exhibition was refurbished and expanded and took over parts of the old Saxonian collection; in doing so it brought together the German "historical heritage" with the mission to propagate a historical interpretation of German military history in line with historical materialism. For example, the exhibition referred to the Vietnam War as an imperialistic war from the side of the U.S.A. and a revolutionary, anticolonial fight for freedom from the side of the Vietnamese people[22].

The West German Federal Army (*Bundeswehr*; taking into account the linguistic connotations of the term *wehr* it could rather be translated as Federal Defence Forces) founded its own small military museum a bit later than the GDR. It took the collection of the Army Museum of Badenia in the Rastatt Castle as a basis for a *Wehrgeschichtliches Museum* (could be translated as History Museum of Defence, consciously avoiding the terms "war", "military" and "army") which was established in 1969. The place was chosen as it also referred back to German democratic and even revolutionary tradition and could symbolise the break with Prussian militarism. For, military units stationed in the castle had joined the democratic

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[22]   Zwach, *Deutsche und englische Militärmuseen,* 156.

revolution in 1848 which could only be besieged in Badenia with the support of Prussian troops. In this sense, the new museum should have been more than a weapon exhibition; it should have dealt with the "relation between state, the military and the society"[23]. However, the relatively small exhibition hardly lived up to this ambitious aim. Anyway, both German military museums played a minor role in the cultural landscape of their states.

After reunification and merger of the two German armies the question was posed as to what the German army should do with the inherited two museums which followed different trends of interpretation. After a long political and scholarly debate it was decided to develop a concept for a new museum but to choose as its place the Dresden arsenal because it offered vast space since it was no longer used as barracks[24].

The new exhibition was opened in October 2011. It provides a survey of – primarily German – military history from the Middle Ages up to today. It is now the "biggest German museum of military history ever" as the home-page proudly announces[25]. How can this new museum cope with the burden of German militarism in a building which served for more than a hundred years as an example of exactly this militaristic tradition?

Just like war drives a wedge between peoples, the architect Daniel Libeskind has driven a wedge made of aluminium and concrete into the building's sumptuous 19th century architecture. Also some of the halls and corridors are divided by the wedge and show an irregular geometric structure. Bare, unadorned white walls of the broad corridors and spacious halls and plain, black-edged glass cabinets deprive the architecture of its former splendour and create a "cold atmosphere"[26]. The architecture forms part of the exhibition's design. It evokes the impression of discontinuity and complexity shattering simple images of progressive developments[27].

The exhibition is divided into a chronological and a thematic tour. The chronological part starts with the display of weapons, armour and the reconstruction of a fortified castle in the Middle Ages. Battle paintings which are often painted long after the happening are only sparsely interpreted. Visitors who are not trained in his-

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[23] Thomas Thiemeyer, *Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln. Die beiden Weltkriege im Museum* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2010), 47.

[24] Gorch Pieken and Matthias Rogg (eds.), *Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2011).

[25] http://www.mhmbw.de/index.php/geschichte (retrieved April 14, 2015).

[26] Thiemeyer, *Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln.*

[27] See photographs and an architectonic explanation of the museum: http://www.das-neue-dresden.de/bundeswehrmuseum-dresden.html (retrieved April 14, 2015).

tory may take them as a representation of reality. The social history of soldiers' life or the economic context of weapon production still remain in the background as compared to the display of weapons. For example, under the topic "The military and society in the 18th century" it is said that "because of the hardship and the small pay to be a soldier was not very attractive". The exhibition offers hardly any answer to the question why then so many people became soldiers. The museum's attempt is realised only half-heartedly to take the military equipment as a starting point for explaining and questioning warfare and to offer "a cultural history of violence", as the curator Gorch Pieken stated in an interview[28]. This is all the more true as advertisements often fall back upon the praising of weapon exhibits as technical and artistic show-pieces.

According to the museum's concept the weapons are to be seen as quasi- neutral objects. It is suggested that they "do not play a part in communicating the content". However, the older weapons are exhibited under glass in a protected space signalling their value. Their function and social (or rather a-social) effects are only briefly explained separately from the place of the weapon exhibition which is the centre of the historical department whereas the context is addressed in the thematic tour. Only here, a voice is given to the witnesses of suffering by means of excerpts from war diaries, letters from the front or pieces of art such as Käthe Kollwitz's paintings of mourning. The weapons remain detached from what they cause to human beings.

As weapons they should be effective, otherwise they do not fulfil their function. Consequently the weapon exhibition also presents technical "achievements" and „performance" (Leistungsschau) as Pieken points out. It is part of the museum's conception to combat the "friendly impression" which weapons usually evoke in a museum according to Hermann Lübbe[29]. Yet, if visitors walk under gleaming polished bombs fixed on the ceiling through almost invisible fastenings, these installations are in contrast to the "cold atmosphere", and hardly evoke the wanted impression of being under a hail of bullets. If the "historical object" serves as the "primary building block" of the exhibition[30], this is in contradiction to the museum's introduc-

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[28] Stefan Locke, "Das neue Antikriegsmuseum der Bundeswehr", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 18, 2011.

[29] Avgi Stilidis, "Das Vermittlungskonzept des Militärhistorischen Museums der Bundeswehr", in Pieken and Rogg, *Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr,* 48-55, here 50-51.

[30] Gorch Pieken, "Die museale Darstellung von Krieg am Beispiel des Neukonzeption des Militärhistorischen Museums in Dresden", in *Perspektiven der Militärgeschichte. Raum, Gewalt und Repräsentation in historischer Forschung und Bildung*, eds. Jörg Echterkamp, Wolfgang Schmidt and Thomas Vogel (München:

tory video presentation and its principal slogan that "human beings are in the centre of the exhibition" and that the museum presents an "anthropology of war". Dresden makes obvious how difficult it is to close the gap between an object-oriented weapon exhibition which addresses the aesthetic perception, and a historical museum which critically comments on what it displays and stimulates thinking about the items presented.

4.2. *Why do we now have two Imperial War Museums in England?*

Quite similar to the German case, the British government sought a radical answer to the challenges. The *Imperial War Museum* in London follows, in principle, the traditional concept of an object driven weapon exhibition. However, it is less – in contrast to associations its name may recall – constrained by the way military history was presented in the 18th and 19th century. Since its foundation in 1917 it is a place for the presentation of contemporary history meaning in this case modern wars. Its foremost aim was to explain to the British public the then on-going "Great War"[31]. It was established as a memorial of a specific war which shattered the physical experience, political consciousness and morale of the generation being involved in it – be it as civilians or soldiers. Only when new wars made the first "Great War" a thing of the past, did the museum also document these wars and turned it into a general war museum. Nevertheless, well into the 1980s, the exhibition concentrated on the First World War. The focus on weapons maintained the traditional concept on one hand but provided it with a modern outlook on the other. The visitors were confronted with weapons of size and technical abilities that have fundamentally changed war experience and military strategy. With the display of tanks, lorries and aeroplanes the presentation of objects lost its static character. These objects stand for flexible movement and velocity. They needed larger exhibition space and were no longer lined up in military order but at least sometimes as in action. Planes hung in the air like flying objects. Although this concept could only be fully realised with a renovation of the museum's building in 1989, the new character of 20th century wars led to new exhibition techniques that would eventually alter the whole character of war museums. At the *Imperial War Museum*, trenches with the imitation of noises and smells as well as a bunker

Oldenbourg, 2010), 363-373, here 367.
[31] Concerning the crucial role of the First World War for the presentation of modern wars in museums see Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A social history* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994).

trembling during simulated bombing and a flight simulator were added since the 1970s. They were intended to bring war experience closer to visitors but to also offer them entertainment and activities[32].

In fact, installations of war machinery usually lead to almost the opposite effects: trivialisation or mythical transfiguration. In the first case the imitation is taken for reality; in the latter case it is embedded in a preconceived narrative of hardship and endurance leading to final victory, and not to confrontation with vulnerability and death. Mosse has called both reactions "inappropriate memories"[33]: "The reality of the war experience came to be transformed into what one might call the Myth of the War Experience…Through the myth … the war experience was sanctified. Yet, at the same time, the war was confronted and absorbed in a radically different way, by being trivialized through its association with objects of daily life, popular theater, or battlefield tourism"[34]. Modern simulators, however, can evoke feelings of fear and insecurity as Zwach contends referring to statements made in the *Imperial War Museum*'s visitors' manual[35]. Yet, as she also underscores, visitors should not be shocked; emotions evoked through the exhibition must remain bearable and controllable.

Although the expanded exhibition since 1989 particularly deals with topics such as civil life in modern wars ("A family in wartime"), the available larger space put especially the big objects even more in the visitor's focus than before. Visitors could be impressed by the sheer appearance of the object and be succumbed by technical and aesthetic fascination rather than be drawn into a critical evaluation of modern warfare. Therefore, it remained a problem to connect the exhibition of military objects with the political and social dimension of modern wars. In the 1980s, plans were discussed to give more room to thematic-oriented exhibitions in order to address topics such as globalisation, total war and civil life in wartime[36]. In addition, a primarily military concept of war seemed to be no longer in line with the broader understanding of the Second World War which research and the media developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Only then the museologists became aware that the holocaust was not dealt with in the exhibition. Up to 1999 the exhibition referred to the holocaust only indirectly through posters that show pictures of the liberation of the Bergen Belsen camp – as the very first moment

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[32]   Peter Simkins, "Das Imperial War Museum in London und seine Darstellung des Krieges, 1917-1995, " in Hans-Martin Hinz (ed.), *Der Krieg und seine Museen* (Frankfurt/M: Campus, 1997), 27-55, here 47.

[33]   George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 144.

[34]   *Ibidem*, 7.

[35]   Zwach, *Deutsche und englische Militärmuseen,* 275.

[36]   Simkins, "Das Imperial War Museum", 50.

the British army as well as the public felt deeply confronted with the mass murder of the Jews. Consequently, attached to a large hall of big military objects, a new room was dedicated to the holocaust in the year 2000. Entering the holocaust exhibition, visitors are exposed to a totally different atmosphere. Instead of light, bright halls stuffed with military objects, they go through a dark room where textual and visual media explain what happened to the Jews under Nazi domination. The weapon-oriented concept is given up as the weapon of the annihilation of the Jews was the gas chamber. No original piece of this was at hand and reconstruction not wanted. War experience and aura of the object were no longer feasible means of presentation. The London *Imperial War Museum* was one of the first in Europe which chose dark, sparsely equipped rooms with poorly lit objects as a means to create places of silence, self-reflection and mourning.

The museum was and still is one of the most popular museums of London with around one million and more visitors during the 1990s. In the course of time, it became packed with bigger objects. In view of the increasing number of visitors and objects and driven by an almost constant reshuffling of parts of the exhibition, it became obvious that the museum, as it was, left hardly any further space for major changes. Therefore, it was decided to build a further branch in addition to the already existing specialised departments (such as at Duxford airfield and at the war cruiser HMS Belfast on the Thames) instead of a radical refurbishment of the existing exhibition. The decision to build a second museum which should present a fundamentally new concept breaking with the tradition of weapon collection was eased through combining the plans for a new building with development projects meant to strengthen the cultural weight of northern England. Thus, the new building at Manchester harbour front which no longer served its original purpose was not anchored in or constrained by military tradition in terms of place, architecture and origin of its artefacts as it has been the case with all the other important European war museums. The *Imperial War Museum North* in Manchester was the first one in Europe to be planned and built from scratch. It opened in 2002 and was designed by star architect Daniel Libeskind. His blueprint broke with the impressive, prestigious imperial style which marked war museums of the past. Daniel Libeskind was the protagonist of architectonics consisting of irregular, interlocking forms. Instead of long lines of sight which support a series, geometrical presentation of objects he designs rooms and corridors full of nooks and irregularities with change of light. Instead of stone which evokes the impression of durability and steadiness and produces regular, rectangular forms, Libeskind prefers – besides concrete – glass and aluminium in order to create crooked and lop-

sided instead of straight walls. The architectural structure does not evoke associations of unity or uniformity; instead visitors are confronted with ever new perspectives on the objects. According to the home-page the museum offers "a visionary symbol of the effects of war. The design is based on the concept of a world shattered by conflict, a fragmented globe reassembled in three interlocking shards. These shards represent conflict on land, water and in the air"[37]. Photographs of a large format, short explanations and questions frame the objects and create room for critical thinking rather than spontaneous admiration. War experience, the causes and impact of war and less of the machinery and strategy of war are showcased. Weapons still remain an important object of the exhibition; yet, they do not form their centre, they are the peg on which to hang the story; they no longer represent the story – or at least, it is intended that visitors are not gripped by aesthetic or technical fascination. However, this is still a tightrope to walk, and even the text of the home-page can be read in two ways. It oscillates between admiration for the object and explanation of its impact when it advertises weapons as the museum's attraction: "come face to face with objects like the T34 Tank that reveal the true scale of modern warfare"[38]. Modern warfare moulds the warring society. The impact of war on work, social organisation of life etc. is underscored in many parts of the new museum. However, in contrast to the intention, bringing the life of human beings during war time to the fore; the actual deadly function of weaponry is pushed again into the background: "War shapes lives" is a motto in the museum's home-page – but what about death, Dungen critically asks[39].

The Manchester museum may have set the stage for the design of current war museums. Undoubtedly, others follow almost the same trend. The *Canadian War Museum* founded in 1880 in the tradition of military museums of that time had to find answers to almost the same challenges the European museums are confronted with since the 1990s. In the context of deliberations how to adequately celebrate the 50th anniversary of D-Day and V-E-Day, the museum's outdated exhibition and the restricted place for objects – not to speak of the installation of new media – was publicly discussed. In view of Canadian multiculturalism and initiatives in the field of edu-

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[37] "About IWM North",http://www.iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-north/about (retrieved April 15, 2015).
[38] http://www.iwm.org.uk/exhibitions/main-exhibition-space (retrieved April 15, 2015).
[39] Peter van den Dungen, "Frieden im Museen – oder was stellen Friedensmuseen aus?", in *Der Friede ist keine leere Idee. Bilder und Vorstellungen vom Frieden am Beispiel der politischen Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kater (Essen: Klartext, 2006), 233-254, here 238.

cation to give the Holocaust a firm place in school curricula, it was deemed unacceptable that this topic was not part of the museum's exhibition. Finally, the debate about the expansion and renovation led to asking for a new building; this claim was accepted by the government in 2000[40]. The architecture designed by renowned Canadian architects shows similarities to Libeskind's buildings. Modern war experience inspired the architects to design the contours of the building: "Its external lines would evoke the angular contours of lost trenches and earthworks"; in contrast, a steep rising line should evoke the message of reconstruction that followed destruction. The internal space is characterised by raw forms and ruptures: "The walls are made primarily of concrete, with rough joints clearly visible. Walls emerge sharply from floors at unusual angles. Slight slopes in some of the floors create a sense of instability"[41]. Variations of light conditions from dark and shimmering to clear and bright expose the visitor to different visual experiences according to contrasting topics such as destruction, reconstruction, war and peace. It goes without saying that personal stories, documents, and art representing war experience are supported by interactive presentations. However, this concept did not remain unchallenged. Due to the strong political influence of Canadian veteran organisations traditional elements of a weapon exhibition were not entirely abandoned. For example, a large gallery made of glass and aluminium employs the big objects such as tanks and planes that appear to be floating in the air.

A memorial hall has also been built. It is interesting to note how the architects used architectural framing to evoke or suppress certain feelings. Forms with nooks and crannies lead to the hall to avoid feelings of glorification and grandeur. However, inside, the smooth and calm lines of the clearly structured rooms of the Memorial Hall and the Hall of Honour are in noticeable contrast to the interactive, the joy of viewing and learning stimulating, but partly also irritating structure of the exhibition halls; visitors are being prepared for an attitude of modesty in order to give way to feelings of sorrow and respect for the fallen soldiers[42].

Before closing the section on the western museums, it should be mentioned that new forms of international cooperation have been implemented in the refurbishment of some museums which are

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[40] See the report of the museum's director Jack L. Granatstein, "At Play in the Fields of the Museologists: Two Years at the Canadian War Museum", *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 6, 3 (2004).

[41] "The Dream Comes True", *Legion Magazine*, May/June 2005: *The New Canadian War Museum*, 2-16, here 3.

[42] Raymond Moriyama, *In Search of a Soul: Designing and Realizing the Canadian War Museum* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006); Moriyama is one of the architects.

located at battle places or at locations of other important events of the two world wars. The conversion of the Verdun bunker museum into the *World Centre for Peace, Freedom and Human Rights* and the transformation of the Red Army's capitulation museum into the *German-Russian Museum Berlin-Karlshorst* testify to joint remembrance activities of former adversaries[43]. Such cooperation refutes the friend-foe opposition which was fundamental for all war museums till now; peace-oriented remembrance of war here takes on a new meaning. The exhibition itself now incorporates what is elsewhere a mere message of the exhibition.

5. From an ideology of the future back to past realities: War museums in former Socialist countries

The museums located in the former Soviet realm of influence had and often still have to face even more complex challenges than their western European counterparts, even if their origins can be traced back to similar foundations in the 19th century. Under Soviet domination, the various national histories from the First World War to perestroika had been incorporated into one overall Marxist interpretation shaped by the victory of the Socialist International. Therefore, after 1990, the museums firstly had to reconstruct a post-socialist national narrative which often referred back to the post-World War I period when most of the Eastern and central European states were (re-) founded. Secondly, they had to reinterpret the impact of the Nazi occupation and the subsequent integration into the Soviet bloc.

The military museums of today's Russia hardly offer significant examples of how to hammer out a post-socialist design and interpretation. Up to the present day, no accepted alternative has been developed to heroic realism and monumentalism that shaped war monuments and museums in the Soviet Union. As altering the communist interpretation of the "Great Patriotic War" is still highly contested not only in the public but also in academia, leading museums such as the *Central Armed Forces Museum* in Moscow remain largely unchanged as far as the time from the Revolution to the end of the Great Patriotic War is concerned. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union the museum devoted new exhibition space to the changes in

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[43]   Thiemeyer, *Fortsetzung des Krieges,* 51, 105; Peter Jahn, "Konfrontation und Kooperation: Vom Kapitulationsmuseum der sowjetischen Streitkräfte zum Deutsch-Russischen Museum Berlin-Karlshorst", in *Der Zweite Weltkrieg im Museum: Kontinuität und Wandel*, ed. Olga Kurilo (Berlin: Avinus-Verlag, 2008²), 47-62.

the army of the new Russian Federation. In parallel to the development in Western Europe, more emphasis was placed on the time after 1945 and on international peace missions. However, the explanatory text also counts the suppression of the Czechoslovakian revolt in 1956 and the fighting in Ossetia in 2008 under these interventionist peace missions which, in fact, only served the maintenance of communist rule.

Yet, concerning the time before the communist revolution, the museum dates back to the traditional concept of European military museums which had also been implemented in military museums of the Tsarist Empire. Since the year 2000, the museum offers an overview of weapons and warfare development prior to the Russian Revolution. This is in striking contrast to the Soviet concept. To exhibit military history prior to the revolution was controversially debated after the First World War but finally rejected at the beginning of the 1920s. Without changing the exhibition about Soviet times, the expansion of exhibition space allotted to times beyond the Soviet period (before and after it) and the introduction of new media particularly for the time period after 1990 decreased in principle the importance and former centrality of the Red Army exhibition, which has been scaled down to just one section of the museum.

The *Polish Army Museum* provides a further example of the astonishing invariability of design in some eastern European military museums. It was established after the re-foundation of the Polish state as an institution of the Polish army in 1920. Although founded after the First World War, it followed the 19th century conception of army and weapon exhibitions. In its endeavour to display almost a thousand years of Polish military actions and equipment, it was more backward-oriented rather than reflecting the most recent experience of modern warfare. The Germans seized the museum's building for their own use during the Second World War. The exhibition was partly plundered, partly stowed in some rooms and partly evacuated and dispersed at places which offered protection against bombing. Like a self-affirmation of Polish military glory the building and the exhibition were renovated and re-established after the war as if to undo the German destructive intervention. Although the role of the Red Army had to be praised after 1945, the artistic concept of the exhibition and the historical collection were not principally changed. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Marxist-Leninist interpretation could easily be eradicated without altering the museum's overall layout. On the contrary, the short lived interventions from outside seemed to corroborate the strength of Polish military power and the "identity of the Polish state" (podmiotowość Państwa Polskiego) as the official website formulates

it[44]. The aesthetic answer of the Polish society to external interruptions is firmness in continuity.

Military museums in the Baltic States had to respond to the challenge of political change in a more radical manner. The Soviet interpretation that these states had voluntarily merged with revolutionary Russia has been reversed. The USSR became the oppressor and perpetrator. This change in interpretation led, as a rule, to the abolishment of museums or at least parts of exhibitions that dealt with the two world wars. New museums with new exhibitions, objects and interpretations were established but also traditions revived from the period of the first political sovereignty after the First World War. Resistance and self-assertion, not adaptation and collaboration are the pillars of the new national narratives[45].

The varied developmental stages of the now *Latvian War Museum* reflect challenges of and responses to changing political conditions. The museum had been opened as a small exhibition during the First World War in 1916 and was meant to strengthen the awareness of and the fighting spirit for national sovereignty. In its beginning, it was devoted to the activities of the *Latvian Riflemen*, a military unit within the Tsarist army. After the war the museum was located in a tower forming part of Riga's old fortification and administered by the War Ministry; it slowly developed into a full war museum reaching from the Middle Ages up to the Latvian struggle for independence. A new building was added attached to the fortification tower in 1937. The museum was closed after the Soviet occupation. Yet, after the war the Soviets made use of the Latvian fighters' links to the Russian revolution. In 1956 the museum was reopened and renamed the *Revolution Museum of the Latvian Soviet Republic* now eulogising the increasing contribution of the *Latvian Riflemen* to the communist revolution in the last phase of the German-Russian fighting and historically legitimising the final incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union.

However, as the Latvian population still associated the Soviet inspired *Revolution Museum* with the former War Museum of the first Latvian Republic, the Soviets felt uneasy with this former symbol of Latvian fight against foreign intrusion. They established a second stream of commemoration and built a new museum from scratch at the Town Hall Square, the central place of Riga. This museum was exclusively devoted to those units of the Riflemen which had openly supported the Bolsheviks, fought on their side against counter-rev-

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[44] www.muzeumwp.pl (retrieved April 16, 2015).
[45] Volkhard Knigge and Ulrich Mählert (eds.), *Der Kommunismus im Museum. Formen der Auseinandersetzung in Deutschland und Ostmitteleuropa* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005).

olutionary troops since 1917 in Russia and helped to establish the short-lived Latvian Soviet Republic. These units were called the *Red Latvian Riflemen*. The museum of the *Red Latvian Riflemen* opened in 1970 and was meant to give a powerful interpretation of Latvia's revolutionary tradition on the side of the Soviets. A monumental statue of two Riflemen placed in front of the museum underscored this aim. The new ensemble should distract the historical interest from the former war museum which still displayed objects more linked to Latvian self-awareness than to the young and contested Soviet alliance. To symbolise the break with Latvia's past, the new museum was built in a modern style made of concrete and a large aluminium front without windows[46].

It did not come as a surprise that both museums were shut down with the retreat of the Soviets in 1990. The traditional war museum was reopened already in the same year as the *Latvian War Museum* taking up its concept from the 1920s in respect to both, the design of the exhibition as well as their scope and interpretation. The display of military objects should now make visible and understandable the long and complicated Latvian fight for political independence from the Middle Ages up to the present day. As the museum has always been a traditional weapon museum completed by other military objects like uniforms, battle paintings etc., the museum's artistic structure never did change considerably. It was the interpretation through written explanations, the labelling of exhibition rooms etc. that transmitted the political message and defined the criteria for the selection of weapons and other military objects.

Many inhabitants of Riga also wished to abolish the modern, massive new building of the former *Revolution Museum* which did not fit into the 19th century architecture of the Town Hall Square with its reconstructed historical facades. However, a private initiative wanted to make use of this prominent place to turn the epoch of suppressed Latvian identity into a narrative of Latvian self-assertion and national pride. The initiative chose the place of Soviet power to create a memorial place of Soviet suppression. It established the *Latvian Museum of Occupation* in the modern Soviet-made building in 1993. Although the occupation museum also deals with the German occupation during the Second World War and follows the concept of totalitarianism, the Soviet dictatorship is dealt with in a much more detailed and emotional way[47]. The exhibition focusses on the deportation of

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[46] Katharina Ritter et al., *Soviet Modernism 1955-1991. Unknown History* (Zurich: Park Books, 2012).
[47] Rebekka Blume, *Das lettische Okkupationsmuseum. Das Geschichtsbild des Museums im Kontext der Diskussionen* über *die Okkupationszeit in der letti-*

Latvians to the Siberian camps and the enormity of camp life there. It tells a story of suppression, resistance and endurance on which modern Latvia is built. It is no longer a war museum; it presents individual life stories to show the impact of the occupation on Latvians' lives. With its focus on contemporary history, on anti-Soviet attitudes and Latvian nationalism (taking also a critical stand on multinational Europeanism) it remains contested in the Latvian public and is not really appreciated. A visitor survey revealed that only 15% of visitors in the years from 1999 to 2003 were Latvians; the majority constituted foreign tourists. Among the Latvians, school classes and persons aged 60 and more stood out. The adult generation who grew up in the new Latvian Republic felt less interest in confronting themselves with the museum's message. In spite of its national ambitions, the museum is not seen as a place that creates an understanding of modern, future oriented life and the image of Latvia as an open, European society. It rather strengthens existing divisions between the Latvian and the Russian speaking population. The overall majority of the Russian speaking Latvians reject the museum's concept and regard it as a provocation which leads to negative provocative reactions of school classes from Russian speaking schools[48].

The *Lithuanian War Museum* in Kaunas also preserves a backward-oriented conception. Opened in 1921, it praised the military as the necessary tool to achieve and defend national unity and statehood. In 1936, it was named after the almost legendary political leader and successful military fighter, Count Vytautas. Although it was a war museum, it claimed to tell the story of Lithuania as a political subject and to offer a commemoration space that is expected to form a "canonic national narrative"[49]. This aim was fulfilled in 1936 with the inauguration of a monumental modern huge building complex after a long political public debate. Its architectural forms showed parallels to the Warsaw army museum with its strong rectangular geometry and long vertical window fronts above the entrance. The new building also housed the *Museum of Lithuanian Cultural* (or people's) *History*. Uniting the politico-military exhibition with an exhibition of the Lithuanian people's daily life should prove that the Lithuanians have grown into an ethnic community[50]. The museum was operating

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schen Öffentlichkeit (Arbeitspapiere und Materialien – Forschungsstelle Osteuropa: Bremen, 2007), Nr. 83, 38; Gundela Michel and Valters Nollendorfs, "Das Lettische Okkupationsmuseum Riga", in Knigge and Mählert, *Der Kommunismus im Museum*, 117-129.

[48] Blume, *Das lettische Okkupationsmuseum,* p. 56.

[49] Dangiras Mačiulis, "Nacionalinio muziejaus idėja ir kolektyvinė atmintis Nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje 1918–1940", *Istorija. Mokslo darbai* 89 (2013): 58-67

[50] Dangiras Mačiulis, Alvydas Nikžentaitis and Vasilijus Safronovas, "L'appropriation symbolique d'une ville multiculturelle: les cas de Kaunas, Klaipėda et Vilnius", *Revue ger-*

apparently also under the German occupation without great changes. The Soviets closed it in 1946 to reopen it in 1964 due to the then political strategy to emphasise cultural characteristics of the Soviet republics. Apparently, the bulk of exhibits was made up by the stock of objects from the former war museum. Consequently the Lithuanian government could build on these objects and the concept of the 1920s and 1930s after 1990 and reconfirm the traditional narrative of fighting for the sake of the nation and its political subject, the state. In this new-old glorious narration the time of the German and the Soviet occupation is only dealt with in passing. The nation-centred narrative is slightly amended by exhibits which deal with international peace intervention as in other war museums of today.

As with the Latvian case, the Soviets had also opened a totally new *Revolution Museum of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic* in a modern building in Vilnius in 1980[51]. As this museum concentrated on Lithuania's socialist history only, it was closed down in 1990 and temporarily used for art exhibitions. In the second half of the 1990s it housed a spacious exhibition dealing with the German and Soviet occupation but with a clear focus on the latter one. Because of construction defects, the exhibition hall was closed in 1999 and finally, with the support of European funds, has been converted into a department of the *Lithuanian National Art Gallery*. The time of the occupation period is now extensively treated in the *Museum of Genocide Victims* accommodated in the former KGB headquarters since 1997[52]. Following a totalitarianism approach, the term "genocide" is used for the holocaust as well as the deportation of Lithuanians to Soviet camps[53].

The *Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945* in Kiev offers an elegant, intelligent, discrete but also disturbing solution of navigating between a break with the Soviet past and the construction of a harmonious Ukrainian national narrative. The building reflects socialist monumental style, made of concrete, surrounded by sculptures and ornamented with friezes of heroic fighters. The exhibition employs weapons, large-sized photographs of life and fighting in

manique internationale 11 (2010): 41-60.

[51] Ritter et al., *Soviet Modernism*.

[52] Katarina Frankovic et al., " 'Von Rittern und Goldenen Zeiten' – Inszenierung der nationalen Geschichte", in *Vilnius: Geschichte und Gedächtnis einer Stadt zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. Martin Schulze Wessel, Ekaterina Makhotina and Irene Götz (Frankfurt/M: Campus, 2010), 39-49; Mačiulis, Nikžentaitis and Safronovas, "L'appropriation symbolique d'une ville multiculturelle".

[53] Eugenijus Peikstenis, "Das Museum für die Opfer des Genozids, Vilnius", in Knigge and Mählert, *Der Kommunismus im Museum*, 131-138; "Kommunismus zum Anfassen? Museen zur Geschichte der kommunistischen Diktaturen in Ostmitteleuropa. Ein studentischer Erfahrungsbericht", in Knigge and Mählert, *Der Kommunismus im Museum,* 194-223.

the Ukraine, a large colourful diorama of the conquest of Berlin and, at the end of the tour, a commemoration hall for the fallen soldiers. The "patriotic" war is fought – no doubt – for the Soviet father- or rather motherland as the larger-than-life "Motherland" statue indicates which has been erected on a hill overlooking the museum. Given the split between the Russian and Ukrainian oriented population on one hand and a wide-spread conviction particularly amongst the older generation on the other that the Ukrainians fought a just war as part of the Red Army, distancing from the Red Army through a total revision or even closing down of the museum might have caused public protest and turmoil. After Ukraine had gained sovereignty, historians proposed to rename and rearrange the museum either into a museum of the German-Soviet war or – with a different emphasis – of the Ukrainian-German war, in both ways distancing themselves from the bond with the Soviet Union. These proposals were not accepted by leading politicians. Therefore, the exhibition remained largely unchanged. Nevertheless, a historical truth about the outbreak of this war could no longer be concealed from the public: the Hitler-Stalin-Pact which was neglected by the Soviet governments. Before visitors enter the by and large unchanged exhibition, they are confronted with a large copy of the famous map which marks the borderline between the territorial interests of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union as they were defined by the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement. Although the map is presented without any commentary, visitors may ponder about the imperialistic war aims of Stalin's Soviet Union and read the war exhibition proper in a different way.

This view of Ukraine's relationship to the USSR remained not unchallenged. Like in Riga a private organisation, the Russia based NGO Memorial, founded a small *Museum of Soviet Occupation* in Kiev in 2007 commemorating and documenting persecution and suppression and particularly dealing with the Gulag system. This led to pro-communist protests casting doubt on the very need and existence of such a museum in Ukraine[54]. This small museum can hardly compete with the Revolution Museum which is the largest in Ukraine with hundreds of thousands of visitors a year. It is rather an attempt to diversify the museum landscape in Ukraine and to offer an alternative narrative which has, however, not been very much acknowledged till now.

Summarising the situation in the former countries under Soviet domination, one could say that a revised post-communist national

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[54] See: Human Rights in Ukraine. Information website of the Karkhiv Human Rights Protection Group: Dispute over the Museum of the Soviet Occupation in Ukraine, 14.6.2007, http://www.khpg.org/en/index.php?id=1181771933 (retrieved April 16, 2015).

narrative could best be constructed and accepted by the people through a cautious reconstruction, renovation and modernisation of the traditional military museums. These museums had showcased a mostly uncontested story of self-determination. In spite of difficult political conditions and suppression, political sovereignty could be achieved due to the strength, self-confidence and endurance of the people. The price that had to be paid for the renewal of this canonical national narrative was that the period of the Nazi and Soviet dictatorship is either treated in passing or in a one-sided way so that the manifold reactions of the people from adaptation and collaboration to resistance are mostly excluded. Instead, the museums dealing with military history also beyond the former Soviet time offer a harmonious picture which promises a continuity over centuries easily bridging the breaks caused by foreign interventions.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina (BaH) such a harmonious post-socialist view could not be reached in view of contested political solutions and an ongoing "cultural war". With the foundation of the *Museum of National Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina* at the end of 1945, socialist Yugoslavia wanted to demonstrate both: firstly, that Bosnia is an integrated and accepted part of socialist Yugoslavia and had achieved this status through its own military efforts, and secondly that it is an acknowledged political entity within the South-Slav peoples since the Middle Ages. The museum told a military and a politico-cultural story. The first one concentrated on the Second World War and the socialist period showing weapons stemming from partisans' fighting; the second one was primarily expressed through the use of documents, photos etc. The museum came under fire and was partly damaged during the war of 1992 -1995. The war destroyed not only the building; also both narratives lost their previous recognition. In view of the limited space still available for exhibition and heavy financial restraints, the historical exhibition was sized down. A new exhibition *Surrounded Sarajevo* was opened telling the story of the besieged city during the last war in which the South-Slav community broke apart. This is a dividing rather than a uniting story. It is unacceptable for most of the Serbs living in BaH; for, it is a story of defence against an aggressor who was part of the former community. As it starts and ends with the war, it does not open up a common perspective and only a few Sarajevans have visited the exhibition. People who have suffered from war normally do not want to visit a war theatre in immediate post-war times. A change of the museum's name into "Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina" remained a symbolic measure. It was taken into effect during the war and should again signal BaH's political autonomy. It could not open the path to a new concept and greater acceptance of the museum

because the historical exhibition is still sketchy and most of the documents are stored in the archives.

In stark contrast to the Sarajevo museum, the Belgrade *Military Museum* has no problem in constructing a continuity of self-defence illustrating the "destiny of the Serbian people being ruined and plundered in wars and rebuilt over again" (according to the museum's information leaflet) from the Middle Ages to the present. The museum adheres to its 19th century tradition founded by the ruling dynasty in 1878 primarily as a weapon collection and has been located in the mighty Belgrade fortress since then. The presentation of World War II focusses on the partisans' fighting and the terror of the Ustasha against Serbs (Jews and Roma are mentioned as victims too). There are no indications that the exhibition underwent major changes in the last decades. It has been amended with the progress of time and events. Since the fortress hardly offers opportunities for expanding the exhibition space, the time after 1945 and particularly since 1990 could only be presented very briefly in small corridors leading to the exit. Peace missions of the Yugoslav army are displayed as well as captured NATO offensive weapons and photographs showing victims of NATO bombing with only very brief context information – maybe due to the lack of space or problems to integrate this last phase of Serbian history into the current European context.

6. Monuments of national awareness and the will to defend oneself: War museums and memorials in East Asia

With just one exception, today's war museums in East Asia do not look back to a long tradition. Only the *Yushukan* in Tokyo relates to 19th century imperialistic times and shows some developmental streams in parallel with European museums. In South Korea and China, war museums and larger memorials are closely linked to the Second World War and centre on the relationship between the East Asian states in the second half of the 20th century[55]. Given this short history and a focus on Japan as the exemplary (and almost only) aggressor Chinese and South Korean war museums have a clear anti-Japanese reproachful bias. As clear as the role of the external aggressor is, so fixed is the role and ethos of the internal self: to defend one's own people. In contrast, the *Yushukan* celebrates

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[55]   Guy Podoler, *Monuments, Memory, and Identity. Constructing the Colonial Past in South Korea* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011).

imperialistic and expansive heroism. As a rule, the exhibitions' structure is based on a clearly defined and historically shaped friend-foe scheme with notable exceptions from the rule particularly in some streams of private or communal Japanese museums.

6.1 *War is going on: the monumental War Museum in Seoul*

The continuity of an external threat is most visible in South Korea where the Cold War is not yet over and even culminates in "hot" clashes from time to time. Accordingly, visitors of the monumental Seoul *War Memorial Museum* are confronted with large-sized photographs immediately in the entrance hall showing one of the recent North Korean aggressive acts such as a torpedo attack on a South Korean war-ship in March 2010. Thus, it is shown at the very beginning of the visit that the museum is not only made to commemorate past heroes but also "to face a future national crisis"[56].

The foundation of the museum is also triggered by a concrete conflict. The fierce debate in the 1980s on Japanese history textbooks which neglected Japan's aggressive warfare convinced the South Korean government to realise already existing plans to build a Korean War museum that should strengthen people's alertness and inform visitors from abroad about South Korea's still precarious geo-political position between Japan and China. The museum was opened in 1994[57].

The building's plain, unadorned façade shows modern contours. Yet, it is structured into large, rectangular blocks stretching over some floors. This external structure, the spacious central entrance hall, high broad corridors and galleries evoke the impression of a monumental and representative building.

After the above mentioned encounter with current tensions the tour leads to the historical department which is centred on the replica of the famous Korean fortified "turtle" war-ship whose ingenious technical construction was instrumental in beating off an attack of the Japanese fleet at the end of the 16th century. The spacious hall with the ship in the basement is surrounded by a collection of weapons and the reconstruction of fortifications from past centuries in smaller halls and corridors. The upper level and next stage of the tour deal with the Korean War of the 1950s. Here the suffering of the

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[56] Hong Kal, "The aesthetic construction of ethnic nationalism: war memorial museums in Korea and Japan", in *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia. The Korean Experience*, eds. Gi-Wook Shin, Soon-Won Park and Daqing Yang (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 133-153, here 134, quoting the English Guide.

[57] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, "Monumental Histories: Manliness, the military, and the war memorial", *Public Culture* 14, 2 (2002): 387-409.

South Korean people is in the centre. Consequently the exhibition is less based on weapons but on photographs and dioramas which give insight into the destruction of houses, show fleeing people and the poor living conditions of survivors.

The last level is devoted to South Korea's participation in international peace missions. Also this new stage of South Korea's military activities can be integrated into the narrative of defence. When the U.S.A. entered the war against North Korea with the support of the UN, they saved the South from being conquered by the communist North. Therefore, when South Korean forces joined the U.S. troops in Vietnam, this is seen as a continuation of the fight against the communist threat which endangered South Korea's very existence. The Korean troops helped to build a "gigantic front against the communist aggression" in Vietnam as explained in the introductory text for this part of the exhibition. The hall devoted to international interventions after the Second World War bears the heading "Expeditionary Experience". This caption indicates that the Seoul museum builds only partly on the exhibition of objects; it wants to draw the visitor into the particular military experience. Therefore, the concept is more built on imagination, imitation, installations, video shows and dioramas which reconstruct the whole environment of battle places. Visiting the exhibition of the Vietnam War is really an "expeditionary experience" because one enters the room through bamboo wood as high as a man and one has to be aware of hidden Vietcong fighters. In the diorama and video rooms one feels surrounded and captured by the noises of fighting or the crying of civilian people who are deprived of their homes and loved ones. Reviving the war experience is the underlying aim of the exhibition, bringing the reality closer to home.

Military objects play a more prominent role in the historical collection. Here, their technical and artistic value is emphasised; some of them belong to the "national treasure". This also evokes feeling of pride and appreciation, not distance.

The continuity of war as a means of politics seems to be unbroken well into the future. At the end of the tour a "Future Battlefield" is presented that visualises a Star Wars scenario fought by the use of electronic weapons without any critical undertone. The question is not posed whether such a war seems to be an unavoidable consequence of history or whether it could be prevented. One does not have the feeling that the museum is a deterrent to war, it rather presents war as a historical necessity which will last into our very future – and we should be prepared. The lingering cold war situation in Korea so far did not pose any political challenge for rethinking the design and ethical message of the *Seoul War Museum*.

The middle wing of the entrance level consists of a long and broad passage decorated with busts of heroic fighters from the Korean War back to the time of the Three Kingdoms in the Early Middle Ages. The corridor opens into the ceremonial memorial hall. Its central place in the building's architecture makes it obvious that the museum is not only a place for information and admiration but also for commemoration and national worship[58]. Jager contends: The museum links the "novelty of the modern nation … to the 'recovery' of ancient military values"[59].

It is striking that World War II is not commemorated in the war museum. It was not a war the Korean army could fight because Korea was occupied and integrated into the Japanese Empire. Suffering and resistance against Japanese rule is shown in the "Independence Hall" located on the outskirts of Seoul. Even more than the war museum it uses three-dimensional images such as models, scenic representations and dioramas to visualise Japanese cruelties, Korean suffering and bravery in courageous resistance activities. Yet, the basic narrative does not offer any alternative approach as compared to the war museum[60].

6.2 *Between victimisation and revolutionary power: China's war-related museums in change*

The presentation of Chinese military history in museums is overshadowed by the impact of the communist revolution which comprises a civil war and the fight against the Japanese invader as parts of the Second World War. The *Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution* in Beijing has devoted just two halls out of ten to the approximately 4000 years of Chinese military history ranging from the first dynasties to the Republic of China. These historical parts were added to the modern ones only step by step after the official opening of the museum in 1960. The other halls centred around the internal revolutionary movements since the 1920s, the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Civil War or War of China's Liberation, and the Korean War ("Resisting U.S. Aggression and Helping Korea" as this hall was called). Accommodated in a modern, sober building of the late 1950s, the museum was organised according to the traditional concept of a weapon-oriented exhibition. The sumptuous, high main hall displayed the most salient show pieces lined up in rows such as missiles, jet

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[58] Kal, "The aesthetic construction of ethnic nationalism", 136.
[59] Jaeger, "Monumental Histories", here 389.
[60] Kyung-seok Park, "Rembering Wars: War Memorial Halls and Historial Disputes in Northeast Asia", in *History Education and Reconciliation. Comparative Perspectives on East Asia,* eds. Un-suk Han et al. (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2012), 177-195, here 189.

fighters and tanks with only short, mostly technical explanations. The clean, polished objects in the white hall and partly also in the historical exhibition leave a sterile impression on the visitors which was only broken up by red flags and other revolutionary accessories. The museum's website still praises this appearance as a "wonderful picture of a splendid and brilliant military culture" so recalling the topos of the weapons' aesthetic and technical fascination[61].

However, the exhibition has been closed since 2012, and the whole museum is to be expanded and modernised. It is open as to whether this refurbishment will mainly refer to raising its architectural quality and space or whether structure and content of the exhibition will be changed as well. So far, it is only announced that more electronic media and multi-media shows will be installed in order to give visitors more opportunities for own activities. The museum claims to emulate the standards and design of other military museums in the world.

The Beijing Military Museum has sent out a message of military and national pride and achievements in warfare. In contrast, the Nanjing *Memorial Hall for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* reflects the Chinese nation's 20th century trauma. Nanjing has become a symbol of Japan's brutal and merciless fighting strategies like Auschwitz stands for the Nazis' will to exterminate. Nanjing is the place of suffering and sorrow. In contrast to the Beijing museum of pride it has already undergone a process of technical and ideological innovation and may even offer an insight into a current, global trend of designing war related-museums[62].

Like the Seoul war museum, the establishment of the Nanjing museum and memorial place results from the East Asian debate on Japan's revisionist politics of memory and the Japanese history textbooks that this policy produced. When the debate peaked in the 1980s with the Ienaga trials, the Chinese government decided to establish a commemoration place at one of the old city gates where Japanese troops slaughtered inhabitants of Nanjing. Sculptures and plaques remember the 300.000 victims – a number officially announced and set in stone at the monument but still not authenticated by serious research[63]. A photo gallery gives proof of the

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[61] www.jb.mil.cn/ (retrieved April 16, 2015).

[62] This overall significance of Nanjing for commemorating the Second World War in China is the reason for including it in this analysis. Furthermore, because of the current closure of the Beijing war museum, it is the only major memorial of international importance.

[63] Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the 'Rape of Nanking'. History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Joshua A. Fogel (ed.) *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

cruel Japanese warfare and occupation policy. In the 1980s and 1990s, the memorial was a relatively calm place, of interest mainly for Chinese visitors and school classes because a visit to Nanjing was seen as a stepping stone in the campaign for an anti-Japanese "patriotic education"[64]. The memorial was a symbol of a fixed bi-national friend-foe and victim-perpetrator relationship[65]. It was not even meant as a place that should attract foreign visitors' attention. In preparation for the 70th anniversary of the massacre the memorial place was temporarily closed, significantly expanded and new buildings with new exhibitions added without destroying the old monuments. However, the architectural forms and the internal arrangements were no longer dominated by the monumental contours of socialist realism. The new memorial took up the international debate on genocide as a significant phenomenon of the 20th century and set the Nanjing massacre in the context of genocide and state committed crimes. Soon, the place also became a magnet for international visitors. The language of accusation and the assignment of guilt have been amended by signs of introspection and reconciliation. Plaques set by Japanese visitors recognise the crime and express the desire to live in peace with the Chinese people.

A new hall made of black granite is particularly remarkable in terms of architecture and internal installation. Crossing a small artificial stream that surrounds the building like a moat, visitors enter a darkened memorial hall. Next to it is the large "meditation hall" illuminated only by a number of small dimmed lamps. At the front wall alternating portraits of victims are projected which are accompanied by short biographical information individualising the crime and illustrating the sheer unbelievable number of victims. In the adjoining hall, visitors pass along and above open graves with skeletons of victims of the massacre which were found at the place where the memorial has been built. With this open cemetery, the memorial hall bears witness to what happened. There is also a new high hall, the walls of which remind one of shelves in a huge library where names of the victims are recorded.

The Nanjing memorial now combines the function of a place of commemoration, a cemetery and a documentary and exudes the aura of an "authentic place" where what happened is remembered[66]. Due

[64] Park, "Rembering Wars",185.
[65] Xiaohua Ma, "Constructing a National Memory of War: War Museums in China, Japan, and the United States", in *The Unpredictability of the Past. Memories of the Asia-Pacific War in U.S.-East Asian Relations*, ed. Marc Gallicchio (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 155-200, here 159.
[66] Patrizia Violi, "Educating for Nationhood. A Semiotic Reading of the Memorial Hall for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders", *Journal of Educational*

to the multiplicity of its functions as well as the modernity and the international significance of its design the Nanjing memorial can be put on par with other important memorials commemorating victims of the Second World War. For example, the black, sober meditation hall with its twinkling lights reminds one of the children's memorial hall in *Yad Vashem*. As Nanjing is not a war museum proper but a victims' memorial, its partly resemblance in design with *Yad Vashem* may be taken as an indicator for the emergence of a universal architectural form expressing mourning and empathy with the victims of warfare.

Like the Nanjing memorial complex, the building of the other Chinese museum dealing with the Second Sino-Japanese or "anti-Japanese war"[67] was also triggered by the textbook conflict in the 1980s. An already existing small hall located close to the Marco Polo Bridge in Beijing was devoted to the history of the bridge and mentioned the military incident only very briefly which happened there in 1937 and led to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war[68]. The hall was replaced by a large exhibition building in 1987. The new *Memorial Museum of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War* was based on a large collection of photographs showing the aggressive and cruel Japanese warfare and the long fighting against the invader. The exhibition was shaped by the notion of a "national" and "anti-Fascist" war and emphasised cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists over internal dissent. In spite of modernisation efforts mostly employing electronic media and simulation installations taken into effect in 2005, the museum kept its anti-Japanese layout more clearly than the Nanjing memorial because it stressed the fighting aspects over the suffering issue.

6.3 *A divided museum landscape in Japan*

Japanese society has developed different, competing, contrasting, even contradicting streams of commemorating war and, in particular, the defeat in the Second World War.

- The first stream is represented by the *Yushukan* and the *Showakan* museums in Tokyo which are in line with the official policy and are financially and ideologically supported by the government.

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[67] As the Sino-Japanese war started with the so called "incident" on the Marco Polo Bridge in Beijing in 1937, the war is mostly seen in China as a separate and particular war theatre not identical with, although later on forming part of the Second World War.
[68] Park, "Remembering Wars".

- The second stream is represented by the two large memorial parks which commemorate the dropping of the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although dealing with the Second World War they claim not to be military museums but peace museums condemning war through displaying its devastating effects on human life[69]. Their victim-oriented approach is appreciated by the majority of the population. They are – like other peace-oriented regional museums related to the Second World War – mostly run by communities but also supported by state and/or private funds.

- The third stream is made up by a large number of often small, mostly private museums which expressly distance themselves from Japanese imperialism and warfare and strive to inform the public not only about Japanese suffering but also about the damage and terror the occupied population had to endure. The bolder museums underscore the need for peace and question the militaristic policy of the Imperial Japanese government, the more they lose official support and become subject of controversial public debate.

Of all the Japanese war-related museums, the *Yushukan* mostly resembles the traditional European war museums. It was founded as a weapon museum by Emperor Meji in 1882. It was meant to link traditional Japanese warfare and war ethics with the modern Japanese army and militarism, Emperor Meji was about to form in order to compete with the military power of western industrialised states. The museum was built next to the most holy and central shrine of the modern Japanese nation, the Yasukuni shrine which was also erected by Emperor Meji. Museum and shrine are situated close to the Imperial garden. The shrine is the "home" of the souls of all soldiers and civilian persons who died in military service for the Emperor since the Meji time to the end of the Second World War (these are ca. 2.5 mill. souls) [70]. For the first time in Japanese history, the shrine nationalised the worship of the fallen soldiers which was politically organised only on a regional or federal level under the Shogunate or on family level when the souls were worshipped at family altars[71]. One may

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[69] For an overview of peace-related museums see Peter van den Dungen, "Peace Museums", in *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Ervin Laszlo and Jong Youl Yoo, vol. 2 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1986), 234-243; with a focus on East in Asia see Terence Duffy, "The Peace Museums of Japan", *Museum International* 49, 4 (1997): 49-54.

[70] According to Kazuyo Yamane, *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan: Unknown efforts for peace and reconciliation* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009), 4); see also Akiko Takenaka, "Enshrinement Politics: War Dead and War Criminals at Yasukuni Shrine", *Japan Focus,* posted on June 7, 2007 http://apjjf.org/-Akiko-TAKENA-KA/2443/article.html (retrieved May 14, 2016).

[71] John Nelson, "Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits

say that through the forming of an all-Japanese army and a central national place of commemoration for those who gave their life in military service, the Meji Emperor built one of the main pillars of modern Japanese nationalism and militarism. The link to the shrine sanctified the weapons exhibited in the museum. This is why it is still today so difficult and artificial to attempt to separate the museum from the shrine although they are two different, independent institutions[72].

After the museum had been rebuilt and expanded following its destruction in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923, it became one of the world's most modern war museums offering, amongst others, a diorama which showed an image of future wars fought by tanks and planes. It used simulations to particularly attract children's attention who could sit "in a cockpit of a bomber" and even experience a gas attack that brought them to tears[73]. Actually, these simulations should soon reflect the reality of Japan's warfare on the East Asian continent.

After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, the occupying powers forced the government to separate the shrine as a purely religious institution from state administration and to close the museum which was seen as a symbol of Japanese militarism. However, the Allies' policies of secularising and demilitarising Japanese national awareness were acknowledged only partly in Japanese society and lost their impact when the occupation ended. When, after the Korean War, the souls of generals convicted of war crimes at the Tokyo Trials were brought "home" to the *Yasukuni* shrine worshiping the souls of the soldiers by politicians became a political and controversial issue. Officially worshipping at *Yasukuni* now could be interpreted as negating that war crimes have been committed or at least legitimising them as necessary "defensive" reactions[74].

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of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine, "*Journal of Asian Studies* 62, 2 (2003): 445-467; Shimada Shingo*, "*Formen der Erinnerungsarbeit: Gedenken der Toten und Geschichtsdiskurs in Japan", in *Geschichtsdiskurs*, vol. 5: *Globale Konflikte, Erinnerungsarbeit und Neuorientierungen seit 1945*, eds. Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen and Ernst Schulin (Frankfurt/ M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999), 30–45.

[72] Yuki Miyamoto, "The Ethics of Commemoration: Religion and Politics in Nanjing, Hiroshima, and Yasukuni", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, 1 (2011): 34-63.

[73] Takashi Yoshida*, "Revising the Past, Complicating the Future: The Yushukan War Museum in Modern Japanese History", *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, December 2 (2007) http://apjjf.org/-Takashi-YOSHIDA/2594/article.html (retrieved May 14, 2016).

[74] John Breen, *Yasukuni, the War Dead and the Struggle for Japan's Past* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2008); William Daniel Sturgeon, *Japan's Yasukuni Shrine: Place of Peace or Place of Conflict? Regional Politics of History and Memory in East Asia* (Boca Raton, Fl: Dissertation. Com., 2006); Sven Saaler, "Ein Ersatz für den Yasukuni-Schrein? Die Diskussion um eine neue Gedenkstätte für Japans Kriegsopfer", *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 1975/1976 (2004): 59–92.

The political conflict was sharpened when the *Yushukan* was reopened in 1986. Like in the case of its forerunner, the weapons – many of them displayed in the huge entrance hall – are still in the exhibition's centre. However, in view of the ongoing debate about Japan's war aims and warfare in the Second World War, rooms are added with a more historical focus describing and legitimising important Japanese campaigns during the war through employing official documents, photographs, maps etc.[75]. It is expressly stated that the war on the East Asian continent was a necessary reaction to the enemies' warfare and the aggressive politics of the western imperialistic powers, particularly the U.S.A., because they wished to cut off Japan's needed raw material and a trading area for her industrial products. The object-oriented exhibition turns here into the presentation of an argument-based narrative to which the objects figure only as a background, not even as a proof for what is narrated. Although the shrine and the museum are separate institutions, some parts of the exhibition underscore their continuing, strong interrelationship. Since the modernisation and expansion of the exhibition in 2002, the presentation of Japanese weaponry after 1945 has been extended and created a picture of an unbroken military tradition from the time of Meji up to today[76]. Even more relevant in this respect are the many documents and eyewitness accounts from the war theatre including uncritical accounts of the training of suicide bombers and their devotion to sacrifice their lives to the Emperor and the nation[77]. A smaller shimmering hall mostly designed in white and black evokes a ceremonial atmosphere; here it is explained through texts and three-dimensional installations how the souls of the fallen soldiers are collected and honoured. The unity of individual sacrifice, weapon and shrine becomes visible.

Interestingly, many relatives of the fallen soldiers have obviously become critical to the traditional focus on personal documents of officers and heroic individual fighters. They want to also see the "normal" soldier being remembered and individualised. Therefore some rooms have been equipped with galleries of photographs of these soldiers. The light rooms adorned with the many small-seized photos, which occupy the walls, evoke a more technical, sober impression and are in stark atmospheric contrast to the "holy" hall where the worshipping of the souls is presented.

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[75] Saaler, "Ein Ersatz für den Yasukuni-Schrein?", 69.
[76] Shaun O'Dwyer, "The Yasukuni Shrine and the Competing Patriotic Past of East Asia", *History and Memory* 22, 2 (2010): 147-177.
[77] See, for example "Kamikaze Images",
   http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/kamikaze/museums/yushukan/index.htm (retrieved April 16, 2015).

Critique has also been expressed that *Yasukuni* shrine and *Yushukan* are only devoted to those who died in military service. The conventional bombing of Japanese cities – not to speak of the victims of the A bombs – have caused hardship and hundreds of thousands of casualties (the number of victims of the bombardment of Tokyo alone are estimated at about 100.000). These civilian victims of bombing had not found an appropriate place in official commemoration as compared to victims of the military and the two A bombs. The state never paid compensation for their suffering and material losses. A long and controversial debate took place about the planning of a museum which should give insight into the impact the war had on civilian lives. As there is no place here for narratives of heroic fighting on the military front, one faction spoke out for a peace-oriented exhibition that should realistically reflect the "home front experience"[78]. Finally, the more nationalistic oriented pressure groups, not least associations of civilian victims, were most influential and the new *Showa* ("Time of the Second World War") museum abstained from dealing in any detail with topics originally proposed such as peace making and the prevention of war[79].

The *Showakan* was opened in Tokyo in 1999. Although a governmental institution, the government commissioned the Japanese War Bereaved Families Association with its administration. The museum leads the visitor through various habitats of the Japanese population during the war, at home, at workplaces, at school etc. The constraints on daily life, sheltering during air raids, supply problems, consumers' needs, the loss of houses etc. are documented with photos, eyewitness accounts, official documents and spacious installations of classrooms, apartments etc. to give a realistic impression of life in wartime. Aged volunteers from the Association are ready to talk about their war experience and explain employed objects. All this is nevertheless presented in a pristine atmosphere. The places of restricted life in war are somewhat untouched from the fighting itself; there are no pictures of destruction, devastated cities and the myriads

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[78] Laura Hein and Akiko Takenaka, "Exhibiting World War II in Japan and the United States since 1995", *Pacific Historical Review* 76, 1 (2007): 61-94, here 77, http://apjjf.org/-Laura-Hein/2477/article.html (retrieved May 15, 2016); Takeo Sato, "Die Aufarbeitung des Kriegsthemas in den japanischen Museen und anderen Kultureinrichtungen", in Hinz, *Der Krieg und seine Museen*, 146-153.

[79] Yamane, *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan,* 17; Saaler, "Ein Ersatz für den Yasukuni-Schrein?", 76. According to Terence Duffy, "The Making of a Peace Museum Tradition: Case-Studies from Japan and Cambodia", *Hiroshima Peace Science* 21 (1998): 303-335, the President of the *Japanese War Bereaved Families Association*, former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, and other representatives of the Association are affiliated with national circles denying Japan's aggressive role in the Second World War.

of dead ones. The exhibition presents a victims' narrative of the survivors. It does not take refuge in ideologically loaded texts; it shows daily life history and seems to be politically neutral; yet, through design and omissions it creates a political bias. Neither does it offer any reference to Japan's political war aims or military campaigns, nor does it mention the suffering of the population in the occupied areas. The tour ends, somewhat unexpectedly, with an outlook towards reconstruction and a future life in peace. The English audio-guide comments in the concluding part of the exhibition "Departing from the ruins": "With the return of workers and the establishment of a new constitution, signs of recovery from the war began to be seen. This constitution which remains even to this day, upholds three main principles: the fundamental human rights, sovereignty of the people and permanent peace"[80].

The *Showakan* could not meet the expectations of peace-oriented historians and civic initiatives. Consequently a further, small museum has been established with private funds aiming at "Striving for Peace in the Future by Communicating the Horrors of War": "The Center of the Tokyo Raids and War Damage". Documents such as statistics which are mostly missing in the museums representing the official remembrance policy, and photographs give an account of destruction and death. Whereas the *Showakan* aims at stimulating empathy with the people experiencing war, the Center's exhibition conveys in the first place a negative message arousing anti-war attitudes. The positive aspects of supporting peace building are addressed in a small lecture hall.

Yet, none of the three Tokyo examples presented here can compete with the two most famous war memorials which have by far the highest numbers of visitors and are authentic places of destruction: the A-bomb memorials in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Both –municipal – memorials follow a similar concept. They are constructed as "Peace Parks" close to the former centre of the bombing. Where almost everything has been destroyed and razed to the ground, nothing is to be reconstructed or can be "experienced" through simulations. At the periphery of each park the ruins of just one building can be seen and remind visitors of the cities' buildings which once stood here. The two parks are places of remembrance, reflection, sorrow and learning. Spare objects serve the only purpose to explain their destructive forces. The way they are presented precludes temptations to abstract from their real function and see them as technical miracles.

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[80] http://www.showakan.go.jp/pdf/showakan_en.pdf (retrieved April 16, 2015).

Nature, art and explanation are the main tools of addressing the visitors. The Hiroshima memorial particularly conveys a quasi- timeless peace message without a political or nationalistic slant. Nevertheless, the concrete memorials are devoted to the Japanese who were victims of suffering and dying. In spite of some extensions of the exhibition which also deal with the impact of aggression and occupation on the people of other countries, one can hardly avoid the impression that – particularly amongst Japanese visitors – the memorials are built on the underlying assumption of a national "we" which the exhibition is targeting, because these are the places where Japanese died. A universal lesson is intended but not shown. What can be seen and studied is the place of a national disaster which takes on a universal meaning. The event itself is not placed in the wider context of Japanese history or an overview of the Second World War.

Modern, sober buildings accommodate the documentation about the bomb raids and their consequences for the two cities. In the considerably larger Hiroshima exhibition photographs, videos, audio and printed reports give evidence of destruction and long lasting after effects. In one building pictures of the city are shown before its destruction. Informative textual and pictorial media, be it in printed or electronic form, outweigh "original" objects. In the park, art monuments such as sculptures, fountains and the grouping of stones and trees which bear meaning in the Asian tradition prevail over the few ruins which can be seen[81]. If the parks convey a political message, it is the call for nuclear disarmament world-wide or world peace[82]. Duffy summarises: The museum "neither provocatively confronts the politics of Japan's past nor indeed challenges the visitor with rhetoric against nuclear weapons. Rather, by careful programming, it seeks to model the dignified desire of this city for global peace"[83].

More expressly than the Hiroshima Peace Park the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum addresses Japanese political issues such as the preparation for war and warfare. The Museum replaced the former International Cultural Hall which only displayed objects and impressive photographs from the bombings' damage. The new museum opened in 1996 and chose a wider approach. It makes ample

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[81] For a detailed overview see http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/visit_e/vist_fr_e.html (retrieved April 16, 2015).

[82] Referring to the peace parks' message Kopf and Miyamoto use the expression "ethics of memory" in contrast to "politics of commemoration", see Gereon Kopf and Yuki Miyamoto, "Ethics of Memory and Politics of Commemoration: The Case of the Nanjing Massacre", *Religious Studies News*, March 1 (2010) http://rsnonline.org/index252b.html?option=com_content&view=article&id=62&Itemid=96 (retrieved May 15, 2016).

[83] Duffy, "The Peace Museums of Japan", 49.

use of electronic media visualising the effects of the A-bomb but also referring in one part of the exhibition to the peace movement in Japan after the war[84].

The Peace Parks of Hiroshima and Nagasaki can be regarded as explicative and reflective commemoration and learning places. In this regard they sharply differ from any of the East Asian war museums or memorials related to battle places. Already in their planning phase in the early 1950s their main function was defined as places that should give the opportunity to pray, commemorate and mourn.[85] Such emotional human activities do not change much over time. Therefore, the external structure of the exhibitions did not change much over the years, although the exhibitions were expanded and modernised in the 1990s and new monuments have been installed in the parks. Art, nature and media-driven exhibition shape the terrain. Although the museums' exhibitions integrated more historical background, a clear political assessment concerning the U.S. or Japanese warfare has been avoided even if political history makes up an important part of the new Nagasaki museum[86]. Despite first criticism of the Nagasaki museum, Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace Parks are widely accepted by the Japanese public in contrast to the alternative peace museums which convey a clear political message but also trigger fierce political debates. How fast this can happen became obvious when the Nagasaki exhibition started to refer expressly to the current controversial debate in some of the exhibited documents, for example mentioning the comfort women (or sex slaves) issue. This aroused public protest and was not seen in harmony with the "a-political", Japan centred image of victimisation[87].

This political challenge is openly taken up by small, mostly private peace museums which sprang up in the context of the political and textbook debate since the 1980s. Their foundation was often based on cooperation between civil human rights movements, anti-nuclear campaigns and municipal institutions which strove to gain more room for political activities in the field of culture and education in order to meet the needs of their particular

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[84] Duffy, *The Making of a Peace Museum Tradition,* 9.

[85] Jun Yamana, "Behält Hiroshima den Zweiten Weltkrieg im Gedächtnis? Zur Raumanalyse des Friedensparks in Hiroshima," *Jahrbuch für Bildungsforschung* 7 (2001): 306-327, here 314.

[86] *Ibidem*, 321.

[87] Umeno Masanobu, "Historical Exhibitions in Japanese Museums (paper presented at the conference "History Education in Museums and Memorial Halls: Comparison of Europe and East Asia", National Museum Seoul, August 11-12, 2011). The peace parks in Hiroshima and Nagasaki made some references to aggressive Japanese warfare in complementary exhibitions since the second half of the 1990s (Sato, "Die Aufarbeitung des Kriegsthemas in den japanischen Museen", 50).

region[88]. This trend was enabled by the Allies' policies of decentralisation in post-war years[89].

The *Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum* was one of the first institutions of this kind. It rigorously describes Japanese imperialist war aims and war crimes in the final battle on the island against the U.S. troops. Regional administration and civil engagement went hand in hand in establishing the museum. It uses eyewitness accounts of survivors and recent research to defeat the official legend that the Okinawa population had voluntarily sacrificed themselves without being set under pressure by the Japanese army[90]. The Okinawa regional administration had to take a stand against interventions from the central government to change the exhibition; in the end, it was forced to cancel some of the explanatory texts[91].

One of the largest peace museums with a relatively high number of visitors is the *Ritsumeikan University's Kyoto Museum for World Peace* which sets the aggressive Japanese warfare in the context of a critical overview of wars in the 20th century reaching out also to most recent violent conflicts. Like other museums of this kind, explanatory texts and pictures clearly address acts of Japanese aggression and cruelties. The museum which opened in 1992 is founded by the Ritsumeikan University. This university generally emphasises activities in teaching and research which foster a pacifist orientation, and deal with topics such as war crimes, warfare and war prevention in general. The museum uses and produces video-presentations and also displays art objects, cartoons etc.[92]. It is not uncommon for Japanese scientific institutions to commit themselves to certain ideological guidelines. Critical and reconciliatory research has increased considerably since the late 1980s but it is mostly carried out by institutions which are labelled left wing. It is this ideological orientation which makes it easy to mark a critical approach to Japanese war politics as a radical political minority position which restricts its political outreach to all strata of the Japanese society.

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[88] Sven Saaler, Hirano Tatsushi and Stefan Säbel, "Recent Developments in the Representation of National Memory and Local Identities: The Politics of Memory in Tsushima, Matsuyama, and Maizuru", *Japanstudien* 20: *Regionalentwicklung und regionale Disparitäten* (2008): 247-277.

[89] Ikuro Anzai, "Museums for Peace in Japan and Other Asian Countries", in *Exhibiting Peace, The Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Peace Museums* (Kyoto: Museum for World Peace, 1999), 37-44.

[90] See http://www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/english/index.html (retrieved April 19, 2015).

[91] Laura Hein and Mark Selden (eds.), *Islands of Discontent: Okinawa responses to Japanese and American Power* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

[92] See http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/guidance.html (retrieved April 19, 2015).

In this regard, the *Osaka International Peace Centre* stands out. It devotes one of its three halls to the topic "search for peace". "Peace Osaka" was founded by the Prefecture (regional administration) and the municipality of Osaka in 1991 after a broad public debate[93]. The exhibition has been contested almost throughout its short history. Osaka city centre was heavily bombed in the Second World War. First plans for building a museum related to survivors' initiatives. In contrast to the official line of remembrance, the museum makes clear from the very beginning of the tour that not only the Japanese people but also the population in the occupied territories suffered from the war. Explanatory texts refer to the internal controversy about "how Japan has struggled with itself over memories of the war"[94]. The exhibition refers also to the textbook debate and displays Chinese textbooks in order to confront the visitors with the other's point of view. Such a comparative approach is still rare and seen as provocative[95]. The last of the three exhibition halls is devoted to the topic "the search for peace".

The peace-oriented museums do not only "show peace", they also offer peace-related activities like seminars, encounters for reconciliation with participants from former enemy countries etc.[96]. Also in this regard, the difference to the official remembrance policy as expressed in the *Showakan* becomes obvious. Whereas the *Showakan* favours a passive perspective and shows how the population suffered and had to adjust to conditions imposed on them through the war, the Kyoto exhibition, for example, puts the stress on the deliberate imperialistic policy of the Japanese military and political leading circles. Preparing for an expansive policy, the Japanese government in the 1920s already restricted democratic rights such as the freedom of speech. Whereas *Showakan* and the A-bomb memorials draw a general moral lesson from the devastation and losses the Second World War has caused, the peace museums emphasise that active political engagement is needed to influence peace-oriented politics. Nevertheless, many, in particular the smaller peace museums do not extensively deal with the processes of peace making and peace building but content themselves with a moral appeal for (world) peace[97].

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[93] Yamane, *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan,* 144.
[94] Ma, "Constructing a National Memory of War", 170.
[95] *Ibidem*, 171; Yamane, *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan,* 149, 153.
[96] The "Grassroots House" in Kochi City follows a similar approach. In 1991 it organized an exhibition "From the Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945) to the Gulf War: What is Invasion?" and offered "peace trips" to China (Yamane, *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan,* 251.
[97] Dungen, "Frieden im Museen – oder was stellen Friedensmuseen aus?".

7. Summarising Conclusion

War museums were founded as part of the military of a certain state. They served the military for the instruction about weapons used by one's own or the enemy's troops in the past and present. With the emergence of national armies made up of conscripts, military exhibitions served also as places where individual national military heroes and the "unknown" fallen soldiers were honoured. They became "national memorials" and fulfilled the ideological function to legitimise and eulogise the sacrifice for the defence of the nation.

The more the civilian population became affected by modern warfare, the more the war itself and the impact it had on the warring societies, were also dealt with, and the weapons were thus contextualised.

Western European museums founded in the 20th century such as the *Imperial War Museum* in London showed this trend more clearly than museums which were shaped by the 19th century alliance of nationalism and military glory as exemplified by the French and the Austrian army museums.

Latest museums such as the *Imperial War Museum North* or the new *Canadian War Museum* have left the military space; they resemble more the civilian history museums in terms of exhibited objects, function and administrative structure. Their visit is no longer conceived as an exercise in military education but rather as a stimulus for thinking about war and peace as fundamental elements of international relations in the past and present.

Modern war museums have developed a multi-facetted structure of architectural space and objects and media presentations to allow a multi-functional use of the museum. Nevertheless, they have not – or only partly – given up their traditional functions of instructing about weapons as the tools of warfare and honouring the victims, be they soldiers or civilians.

War museums in former socialist countries re-established a national narrative of self-defence which, as a rule, related to the rebirth or foundation of their nation states as a consequence of the First World War. If contemporary or most recent, often not definitely settled conflicts are in the centre of their exhibitions, they can neither convey a clear peace message nor overcome existing divides in their respective societies. The exhibition design is mostly oriented towards a traditional weapon–oriented approach as far as military history is concerned, and a narrative structure of suppression and resistance when dealing with contemporary times.

With the exception of the *Yushukan*, the East Asian war museums do not go back to 19th century nationalism and militarism but have been established with reference to contemporary conflicts, like

the communist revolution in China, or the continuing impact of the Second World War as in South Korea and Japan. The *Yushukan* in Tokyo still deploys structures of design and message that are similar to the European traditional approach. Surprisingly, a great number of Japanese war-related museums have distanced themselves from war as a clear means of politics. These communal or private museums no longer concentrate on weapons but on the consequences they inflict on human life. They have turned into peace-oriented museums taking the places of destruction in the Second World War as starting points to promote the idea of global peace. Yet, they show stark differences in the way they emphasise the universal dimension. Firstly, they are all museums remembering the suffering of Japanese people. Secondly, they also give insight into the aggressive Japanese policy and the fate of the people in the occupied territories. Thirdly, with notable differences in depth and breadth, they deal with the prevention of war and offer practical activities to this aim. Also in this regard, peace-oriented museums differ from war museums which focus on international "military" intervention when addressing the maintenance of peace in our days.

In China, a process of modernisation is obviously under way as it can be observed in the modernised and expanded Nanjing memorial. Due to the temporary closure of the *Beijing Revolution Museum* it cannot yet be stated whether the internationalisation and partly even universalisation of the exhibition's form and message as applied in the victim-oriented Nanjing memorial will also be employed in the Beijing museum which has been dedicated to a victorious narrative of resistance against the external aggressor opening the path into a revolutionary future.

Thus, although recent or modernised, war and military museums, in many ways resemble parts of their exhibition (civilian) history museums, they still differ from peace museums in their efforts to, at least, also focus on weapons as technical tools of fighting whereas the peace-oriented museums concentrate on victims and images of destruction. This difference can be clearly observed when, for example, comparing the modern Dresden and Manchester military museums with *Hiroshima Peace Park* and *Osaka Peace Park*.

Concerning the kind of exhibited objects and the design of the exhibition, the First World War triggered initial changes in some museums. More written documents and photographs were deployed to contextualise the weapons; also first attempts were made to simulate warfare and to bring the "war experience" closer to the visitors. Nevertheless, although exhibitions were expanded and amended, the museums' layout did not change in principle. In the 1980s, many Western European museums developed plans to renew their exhibitions more fundamentally; these intentions for modernisation were

mostly realised only since the 1990s after the dissolution of the bi-polar world structure which went hand in hand with the globalisation of concepts of peace and war. New concepts of presenting war and the striving for peace were primarily implemented in a number of new museums such as in Canada, Germany and England.

The impact of a Soviet dominated past connected with the emergence of a re-established nationalism led to the revival of traditional exhibition concepts in Eastern and central European military museums. In contrast to new war museums in Western Europe which introduced signifiers for discontinuity and questioning Eastern and central European museums have stressed continuity and affirmation.

This applies also to the Seoul war museum and other war-related museums in South Korea.

The situation is apparently open in China due to the temporary closure of the leading *Beijing Revolution Museum*. Layout and message of Nanjing and the Marco Polo museum are going in different directions; the first represents a partly modern orientation in architecture, design of objects and content of statements whereas the second adheres to traditional heroic language and revolutionary pathos in the exhibition's design. Although the Chinese museums are relatively young, they have been considerably expanded and modernised, and in the case of Nanjing the architectural structure and the exhibition's layout have altered their character with the advent of the 21st century. Here, the impact of internationalisation or even globalisation has become visible mostly as compared to all other East Asian war museums.

The Japanese war-related museum landscape is unique with its three streams which differ in layout and message. Modernisation efforts, in particular the inclusion of electronic media, have neither changed the layout nor the message of exhibitions within these streams. With the foundation of "Peace Parks" and peace-related museums already since the 1980s, Japanese civil society and municipal initiatives responded to the conservative official remembrance policy and so have found an answer to the challenges of the 1990s before they were formulated.

Although the end of the bi-polar world structure has led to notable changes in the layout of exhibitions, museums often only expanded and underwent a technical modernisation without a revision of the concept. National political conditions to a great extent influence the breadth and depth of alterations in design and message. New military museums particularly built in the Western world have responded to the challenges more substantially than museums with a long military tradition.

Bernardino Pacciani, Marta Mercedes Poggi

La guerre à l'intérieur des frontières. Les campagnes militaires contre les Indigènes dans les manuels scolaires argentins de 1880 à nos jours

Résumé

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser le traitement que les manuels scolaires ont fait de la guerre lancée par l'Argentine, nouvel État-nation, contre les populations qui vivaient dans les territoires qui n'étaient pas encore sous sa domination. Les manuels scolaires constituent une source primordiale pour le traitement de thèmes relatifs à l'enseignement de l'histoire, car leur utilisation permet de suivre l'évolution de l'éducation scolaire. En effet, les textes scolaires ont été modifiés au cours du temps, tant dans leurs contenus, leur mise en page, leur vocabulaire et leur organisation, que dans les formes didactiques de leur utilisation en classe. De ce fait, l'étude du traitement des processus historiques que l'on y trouve permet d'appréhender les usages du passé, ainsi que le rapport des utilisateurs à la question identitaire.

Les questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre concernant le traitement de la guerre – menée contre les populations autochtones – dans les manuels scolaires sont les suivantes: comment les manuels scolaires caractérisent-ils les terres peuplées par les autochtones ? Quel est le regard porté sur l'"Autre"? Quelles sont les causes et les conséquences de la guerre ? L'étude se centre sur les dernières décennies, à un moment où le débat autour de la question identitaire a dépassé le cadre scolaire pour occuper les pages des journaux et, dans certains cas, pour devenir un objet même du discours politique.

Abstract

The aim of this article is to present an analysis on how schoolbooks approach the war that the incipient Argentinean Nation State waged on the various indigenous groups who inhabited the territories not yet under its control. Textbooks are a primary source for studying how such themes are taught in schools and for enabling one to follow how they develop over time.

Indeed, in the course of time changes occur in school books in terms of their content, the organization of their pages and choice of vocabulary,

as well as how they are used in the classroom. Studying how school books deal with these historical issues is useful for learning about the use of the past and its relationship with identity formation. The questions we try to answer concern how school books treat the war waged against the indigenous peoples: how do textbooks characterize the lands inhabited by indigenous peoples? What is their view on the "Other"? What are the causes and consequences of the war? The study focuses on the last few decades, a time when the debate on identity has expanded beyond the school context to the pages of newspapers and in some cases has even become a subject of political discourse.

1. Introduction

La conquête du continent américain entreprise par la Couronne de Castille à la fin du XVᵉ siècle se fit sur une partie de l'actuel territoire argentin. Ce fut un long processus qui traversa plusieurs siècles. Toutefois, son expansion n'atteignit pas les grandes étendues de terres qui étaient alors peuplées par différentes ethnies aborigènes. Après la dissolution de la monarchie espagnole en Amérique et la Révolution de Mai en 1810 à Buenos Aires, les régions de la Patagonie, de la Pampa et du Chaco n'étaient peuplées que par les populations indigènes. La ligne de frontière restait instable et à définir. Nous appellerons donc "guerre intérieure" ce processus de définition de frontières et, à ce sujet, nous précisons que des moments de négociation, de cohabitation et de guerre alternèrent, selon les gouvernements.

Dans le processus de formation de l'État-nation – qui commença avec la déclaration de l'indépendance en 1816 et se consolida à partir de la décennie 1860 – tous les gouvernements se retrouvèrent interpellés par la problématique de l'occupation indigène des terres. Au fil du temps, différentes stratégies furent mises en place, de façon alternée et discontinue afin d'intégrer ces terres à l'État argentin naissant. De cette manière, les différents gouvernements provinciaux et nationaux qui se succédèrent eurent recours tantôt à des expéditions militaires, tantôt à des négociations avec les différents peuples autochtones. Lors de différentes expéditions, ils eurent l'intention de faire avancer la ligne de frontière afin d'annexer de nouvelles terres pour l'élevage du bétail; avec les négociations, ils firent en sorte d'éviter les *malones* (attaques violentes, brusques et inopinées des Indigènes) contre les *estancias* (sorte d'établissements ruraux), des attaques qui se faisaient à cheval et dont le but était de s'emparer du bétail, de faire des captifs et de s'assurer d'un important butin.

À partir de 1861 le projet d'organisation de l'État national se consolida et les gouvernants sentirent ainsi le besoin d'exercer leur

pouvoir sur tout un territoire qu'ils pensaient leur appartenir. Du point de vue économique et en concomitance avec ce processus, la classe dirigeante crut que l'occupation de nouvelles terres était un enjeu majeur pour l'augmentation de la production agricole. Entre 1875 et 1878, la stratégie mise en œuvre consista à s'emparer des terres occupées par les natifs en mettant en place un système de fortifications afin de faire avancer la frontière et ainsi mettre graduellement les populations autochtones sous le contrôle du gouvernement national. Le ministre de la Guerre et de la Marine Adolfo Alsina avait pour objectif de s'emparer de ces terres à l'aide d'avancées successives et d'en garder le contrôle par un système de fortifications. Pour ce faire, il créa "la tranchée d'Alsina", une sorte de muraille, un tertre muni d'un grand et large fossé garni lui-même d'un parapet dont le but était de décourager les Indigènes à *maloner*, c'est-à-dire à réagir en attaquant. L'ingénieur civil français Alfred Ebelot participa à sa construction et le colonel Conrado E. Villegas fut le responsable des travaux réalisés par des soldats et des civils. La tranchée qui devait servir de rempart à la frontière fortifiée resta inachevée. La stratégie fut ainsi un échec[1].

Plus tard, entre 1879 et 1893, les politiques d'intégration furent remplacées par une ferme offensive militaire déroulée sur différents fronts. L'État s'engagea dans ces campagnes politiquement, militairement, économiquement et symboliquement. Les régiments progressèrent contre les populations indigènes en attaquant leurs *tolderias* (villages indigènes) et en les empêchant de se rassembler. Cette nouvelle tactique (nommée "*contremalon*" ou "*malon blanc*") fut un succès puisqu'elle permit à l'État national d'annexer des milliers d'hectares servant à la production et favorisa l'exercice de la souveraineté sur une région d'une grande importance stratégique par rapport à la question de la délimitation des frontières avec l'État du Chili dans le sud-ouest. La "conquête du désert" devint ainsi l'événement fondateur de l'État moderne argentin et, son responsable, le Général Julio Argentino Roca, promu au rang de héros national. Ses interventions lui garantirent l'accès presque immédiat à la fonction de chef de l'État. À partir de 1880, l'histoire politique argentine fut ainsi durablement marquée par l'influence de Roca et de son entourage, ainsi que par la domination des grands propriétaires terriens[2].

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[1]   Juan Carlos Walther, *La conquista del desierto. Síntesis histórica de los principales sucesos ocurridos y operaciones militares realizadas en La Pampa y Patagonia, contra los indios (años 1527-1885)* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1973); Miguel Ángel De Marco, *La Guerra de la Frontera. Luchas entre indios y blancos, 1536-1917* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 2010).

[2]   Mónica Quijada, "Indígenas: violencia, tierras y ciudadanía", en *Homogeneidad y Nación con un estudio de caso: Argentina, siglos XIX y XX*, editado por Mónica

Le choix d´étudier le traitement de la guerre – menée contre la population autochtone à la fin du XIXème siècle – dans les manuels scolaires, s'appuie sur le fait que de phénomène permet de mettre en évidence la manière dont les divers usages du passé ont évolué tout au long de la période étudiée. La "conquête du désert", comme on la nommait, a fait partie d'une explication qui touche à la constitution de l'État-Nation et à la question de l'identité.

En Argentine, la manière dont on se servit de ces manuels scolaires évolua. Les changements s'expliquent par l'adhésion à dif-férents modèles pédagogiques, ce qui fit que, à certaines époques, ces manuels occupèrent un rôle central dans le processus d'ensei-gnement-apprentissage alors que, dans d'autres périodes, ils ne remplirent qu'un simple rôle d'auxiliaire dont on pouvait très bien se passer[3]. Il faut ajouter également qu'aujourd'hui ils n'occupent qu'une place très secondaire par rapport à l'information disponible sur Internet.

Les politiques de l'État National eurent aussi un impact consi-dérable[4]. Les périodes où le contrôle sur les contenus et sur les auteurs devenait plus rigoureux, et celles où il l'était moins, alter-naient. C'est pour cela que nous considérons que les manuels sco-laires constituent une source primordiale pour le traitement des thèmes relatifs à l'enseignement de l'histoire car leur utilisation varie tout au long de l'évolution de l'éducation scolaire. En effet, les textes scolaires ont été modifiés à travers le temps, aussi bien dans leurs contenus, leur mise en page, leur vocabulaire et leur organisation, que dans leur utilisation didactique en classe. De ce fait, l'étude du traitement qui est accordé à certains évènements historiques permet de réfléchir sur les usages du passé, mais aussi à leur importance par rapport à la question identitaire[5].

Dans cette étude, nous nous proposons d'explorer les textes scolaires employés dans l'éducation primaire et secondaire de la

Quijada, Carmen Bernard y Arnd Schneider (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), 57-92; Marta Bonaudo dir., *Liberalismo, Estado y orden burgués (1852-1880)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2007).

[3] Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Educación y Sociedad en la Argentina 1880-1945* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Solar, 1986); Martha Rodríguez y Palmira Dobaño Fernández, *Los libros de texto como objeto de estudio. Una apreciación desde la historia* (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Colmena, 2001); Luis Alberto Romero (coord.). *La Argentina en la escuela. La idea de nación en los textos escolares* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina, 2004).

[4] Lilia Ana Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas. La construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); Alejandro Cattaruzza y Alejandro Eujanian, *Políticas de la historia. Argentina 1860-1960* (Buenos Aires: Alianza Editorial, 2003).

[5] Pierre Nora (dir.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992); Pablo Rossi, *El pasado, la memoria, el olvido. Ocho ensayos de historia de las ideas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 2003); Fernando Devoto, y Nora Pagano, *Historia de la historiografía argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009).

République Argentine entre 1880 et aujourd'hui afin d'analyser les manières dont la guerre contre les populations autochtones a été présentée. Pour ce faire, nous allons nous centrer sur la caractérisation des terres peuplées par les autochtones, sur le regard porté sur "l'Autre", sur les causes de la guerre et sur ses conséquences. En ce qui concerne la première section, nous allons travailler sur la base de textes en usage entre 1880 et 1983; pour la deuxième, sur la base de ceux qui ont été mis en vigueur à partir du retour de la démocratie en 1983. L'étude se focalisera sur les dernières décennies, à un moment où le débat à propos de ce processus dépasse le cadre scolaire pour envahir les pages des journaux.

2. Depuis 1880, durant presque un siècle

Dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, les territoires habités par les peuples ancestraux américains ont été désignés, à la fin du XIXᵉ siècle, sous le nom de "désert". Depuis 1880 et pendant quasiment un siècle, ce mot fut utilisé sans être remis en question par les auteurs des manuels scolaires. Il s'agissait d'un désert habité mais privé de civilisation selon l'idéologie régnant dans les classes dominantes tout au long de la formation de l'État-Nation.

Dans les collections des dernières décennies du XIXᵉ siècle et du début du XXᵉ siècle, contemporaines des faits, l'emploi du mot "désert" se faisait dans le contexte d'une opposition civilisation-barbarie. Ainsi, Mariano Pelliza présente la conquête du désert comme l'aboutissement d'un combat sans merci de trois cents ans, destiné "à venger la civilisation d'un si long outrage"[6]. En conformité avec la caractérisation territoriale de "désert" et celle de ses habitants de "barbares", les textes analysés les plus anciens justifient de telles appellations sous l'effet d'une occupation de ces immenses territoires par des sauvages pratiquant l'assassinat, l'incendie et la dilapidation de richesses[7]. On signale aussi que les luttes civiles dans lesquelles était entraîné le pays empêchaient les différents gouvernements de mettre un terme aux attaques des Indigènes, obstacle au progrès[8]. Les auteurs qui considèrent que c'est la barbarie qui justifie la conquête armée observent que ce sont les campagnes qui ont créé des conditions avantageuses pour le progrès de la République.

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[6] Mariano Pelliza, *El argentino. Texto de lectura* (Buenos Aires: Igon Hermanos, editores y Cía. Editores 1885), 109.

[7] Mariano Pelliza, *Historia Argentina al alcance de los niños* (Buenos Aires: Félix Lajouane Editor, 1896), 113-114.

[8] José María Aubin, *Curso de historia nacional. Para 5º grado* (Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada y Cía. Editores, 1915), 364.

Notamment par le fait de favoriser l'avancement de la population argentine jusque dans Les Andes et par l'intégration de la région du Chaco où "le *toba* sanguinaire défaillit en guettant avec sa flèche impuissante le colon et le soldat" dans la zone périphérique ouverte par le Gouvernement national à la civilisation argentine[9]. On signale aussi que les hostilités fréquentes des sauvages de la Pampa, cherchant à commettre des déprédations et des meurtres, ont poussé le gouvernement à entreprendre des opérations de guerre pour faire face à ce danger constant et pour rendre cultivables les immenses plaines occupées par les Indigènes[10].

Les images servent à attirer l'attention notamment des jeunes lecteurs (enfants et adolescents). Il est important de signaler qu'elles viennent à l'appui de l'écrit, au moins dans la plupart des cas analysés. Dans les textes abordés qui datent de la fin du XIXe siècle et des débuts du XXe, la seule illustration que nous pouvons trouver est celle du portrait du Général Julio A. Roca, commandant en chef de la campagne. Cela correspond à un usage propre à cette période et qui consiste à reproduire les visages des personnes considérées par les auteurs comme de grands hommes ou, au moins, des personnalités jouant un certain rôle dans l'histoire du pays. La plupart de ces ouvrages n'incluent aucune carte.

Ce qui attire surtout l'attention c'est la permanence de tels représentations, en dépit des changements imposés aux politiques éducatives par les différents gouvernements, en réponse aux orientations idéologiques nouvelles. Au milieu du siècle, l'avènement du péronisme produit incontestablement une rupture significative dans l'histoire politique argentine. Dans les manuels, cela se manifeste par une densité textuelle plus importante. Un chapitre entier est consacré à ce sujet, sans modifier la caractérisation du désert[11]. En 1950, Carmelo Pellegrini inclut dans son *Historia argentina* un chapitre intitulé "La conquête du désert". Dans ce chapitre, sous des intitulés tels que "La sécurité individuelle dans la campagne", "L'Indigène", "Les *Araucanos*" ou "Le commerce au Chili", sont regroupées les explications que l'auteur considère comme causes de telles campagnes militaires. Le commerce du bétail provenant des pillages entrepris par les *Araucanos* sur les fermes d'élevage apporte une nouvelle explication[12]. Cet argument renforce une vision nationaliste qui se sert du

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[9] Pelliza, *El Argentino,* 115.

[10] Vicente Gambón (S.J.), *Lecciones de Historia Argentina. II. Período de la Independencia* (Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada y Cía. Editores, 1907?), 418.

[11] Carmelo Pellegrini, *Historia Argentina II*. Desarrollo del programa vigente en el 5° año de los Colegios Nacionales, Liceos y Escuelas Normales (Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada y Cía. Eds., 1950), 367.

[12] *Ibidem,* 367-370.

passé pour mieux asseoir une fonction identitaire. Certaines conclusions d'une telle histoire enseignée renforcent l'identité péroniste. L'un des auteurs affirme que "Les résultats généraux de ces campagne furent l'occupation totale de cinq mille lieues de territoire et la disparition de trois mille indigènes qui y trainaient en maîtres des passages de la Cordillère"[13]. Dans une telle affirmation, on peut vérifier deux choses: (1) le succès de la campagne militaire non seulement grâce à l'incorporation de terres mais aussi par l'élimination de la population indigène; (2) la stigmatisation des Indigènes considérés comme des rôdeurs et, par conséquent, des délinquants. La question nationaliste apparaît aussi dans la citation suivante: "Un autre résultat non moins important de cette campagne fut que notre pays prit possession effective de la Patagonie en mettant un terme aux prétentions territoriales du Chili qui, à cette époque, voulait étendre sa souveraineté à ces régions-là"[14]. Ainsi, dans la première étape du péronisme (1946-1955), les thèmes présentés dans les textes peuvent se résumer à la consolidation des frontières, à l'élimination d'une partie de la population indigène et à l'incorporation des terres là où le Général Roca fit "ondoyer le drapeau national"[15].

À partir de 1955, l'histoire argentine fut caractérisée par une discontinuité institutionnelle. L'instabilité politique fut marquée par la fragilité du système démocratique des partis et par le pouvoir de l'armée nationale. En 1966, le nouveau gouvernement militaire imposa une politique de censure et de répression dans différents secteurs du milieu éducatif. À la fin des années 60 et au début des années 70, les événements mondiaux, avec pour protagoniste une jeunesse remettant en cause les valeurs des régimes constitués, contribuèrent à propager des idées de contestation visant de facto l'autoritarisme du gouvernement. L'esprit de l'époque fit que dans les salles de classe on commença peu à peu à remettre en question le caractère épique et héroïque de la guerre contre les Indigènes. Cependant, cette tendance ne se manifesta pas dans les pages des manuels scolaires, lesquels, dans de nombreux cas, restaient des rééditions.

En 1976, la dernière dictature militaire fit son apparition et encouragea dans le milieu éducatif la revendication de la guerre dans le contexte de son centenaire, en 1979. L'enthousiasme suscité par cet événement était perceptible notamment dans les directives que recevaient les établissements scolaires pour la réalisation des

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[13] *Ibidem,* 381.

[14] Guillermo Borda, *Historia Argentina II, (Desde la Revolución a nuestros días).* Texto ajustado a los programas en vigencia para los Colegios Nacionales, Normales y Comerciales (Buenos Aires: Mario Tato, 1951), 257.

[15] Pellegrini, *Historia Argentina II*, 380.

actes commémoratifs. La plupart des manuels scolaires restaient des réimpressions d'anciennes productions. C'est ainsi que, sous la dernière dictature, les analyses des campagnes que l'on retrouvait dans les manuels scolaires de l'époque se centrèrent toujours sur la question frontalière concernant le Chili et sur l'expansion des territoires agricoles. En outre, elles s'appuyaient toujours sur une ancienne conception selon laquelle l'indigène était considéré comme "sauvage" et les terres qu'ils "occupaient" comme "un désert". À titre d'exemple nous pouvons citer l'un des textes le plus connu et le plus diffusé de cette période, témoignant que les campagnes militaires furent une "solution terrible mais, peut-être, la plus adaptée aux circonstances et aux besoins les plus immédiats du pays"; que la population autochtone ne faisait pas partie de la nation argentine, une population qui, aveuglée et désespérée, voulait résister «pour défendre ce qu'elle croyait lui appartenir : ses terres et ses droits"[16].

3. Du retour de la démocratie à nos jours

Le retour de la démocratie favorisa, à nouveau, dans les salles de classe, une approche critique de la question de la part de quelques professeurs d'histoire. En outre, on commença à publier des travaux de certains anthropologues et de certains écrivains ayant une vision différente des choses. L'œuvrage *Indios, ejército y frontera* de l'écrivain argentin David Viñas, publiée en 1982 pendant son exil, commença à se diffuser[17].

Dans les dernières décennies, les manuels scolaires s'actualisèrent au fur et à mesure que l'historiographie progressa et, par conséquent, leur interprétation se centra sur les processus historiques, ce qui fit que les causes des campagnes militaires devinrent partie constitutive de l'explication de la formation de l'État-Nation. De cette manière, les auteurs considérèrent que l'unité territoriale, en tant qu'élément constitutif de l'État, était l'un des buts à atteindre par les gouvernements de la période 1862-1880. L'exercice de la souveraineté sur le territoire, la délimitation par rapport aux autres États souverains et l'incorporation de terres pour la production en fonction d'une intégration au marché mondial furent les aspects les plus importants abordés en fonction d'une telle perspective[18].

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[16]   María Miretzky, Susana Royo y Elvira Saluzzi, *Historia 3: la organización y desarrollo de la Nación Argentina y el mundo contemporáneo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Kapeluz, 1980), 158.

[17]   David Viñas. *Indios, ejército y frontera*. (Buenos Aires: Santiago Arcos Editor, 2003; première édition México, Siglo XXI, 1982).

[18]   E. Cristina Rins y María F. Winter, *La Argentina. Una historia para pensar 1776-*

C'est dans la décennie 1990 que l'on perçoit avec netteté un changement important dans la caractérisation du territoire et des campagnes militaires elles-mêmes. Plus concrètement, l'utilisation du concept de désert mentionnée précédemment commence à être remise en question, de différentes manières, soit par l'emploi des guillemets dans le titre, soit par une analyse de l'évolution de la caractérisation du désert et de son fondement idéologique. Dans son *Historia argentina contemporánea 1810-2002*, Teresa Eggers-Brass affirme catégoriquement qu'un "plan systématique d'extermination fut connu sous le nom de conquête du désert". En analysant les conséquences du phénomène, l'auteure reprend les propos de l'anthropologue Adolfo Colombres qui "considère que la dénomination "conquête du désert" sous laquelle est connu ce plan d'extermination est erronée puisqu'un désert n'est pas conquis mais occupé. Et encore, si dans ce territoire il y a des êtres humains (contre qui se fit la guerre), il ne s'agit donc pas d'un désert. Cette dénomination n'a fait en réalité que nier l'humanité de ces populations qui l'habitaient"[19]. Dans un autre manuel scolaire, dont le directeur fut l'historien Raúl Fradkin, les auteurs expliquent que "de cette manière, les indigènes du territoire argentin perdirent leur autonomie et devinrent des minorités ethniques soumises à une société majoritaire". La légende d'une photo intitulée "Logement *tehuelche*" précise: "entre 1878 et 1884, suite aux affrontements, 10.513 combattants indigènes et 46 caciques furent capturés, et 2.724 aborigènes décédèrent"[20]. En ce qui concerne le placement des Indigènes, les auteurs du manuel expliquent que:

> ce système entraîna la séparation des familles prisonnières; les personnes âgées, les femmes et les enfants furent placés dans les familles les plus aisées qui habitaient dans les villes pour les faire travailler comme domestiques. Les hommes furent utilisés comme main-d'œuvre dans les établissements ruraux, soit à Buenos Aires, soit dans la province d'Entre Rios ou de Tucuman, ou destinés au service des armes. Les plantations de canne à sucre du nord furent largement favorisées par cette politique puisqu'elles trouvèrent dans ces prisonniers une solution à leur problème de recrutement étant donné qu'elles les faisaient travailler sous des conditions extrêmement précaires[21].

1996 (Buenos Aires: Kapelusz Editora, 1998), 229-236; Maria Ernestina Alonso, Roberto Mario Elisalde y Enrique Carlos Vázquez, *Historia argentina y del mundo contemporáneo* (Buenos Aires: Aique, 1994), 64-67.

[19] Teresa Eggers-Brass, *Historia argentina contemporánea 1810-2002* (Ituzaingó: Maipue, 2002), 80-81.

[20] Raúl Fradkin (coord.), *Historia de la Argentina. Siglos XVIII, XIX y XX* (Buenos Aires: Estrada, 2000), 98.

[21] *Ibidem*, 99.

Cette approche critique s'accentue et se consolide au XXIe siècle. Dans un texte récent, nous trouvons l'affirmation que

> Les gens du XIXe siècle connaissaient ces terres sous la dénomination de "désert". Même si celui-ci était peuplé par des milliers de personnes, il se présentait aux yeux des hommes et des femmes blancs comme un espace vide, une région inhospitalière et hostile que la civilisation n'avait pas conquise[22].

Dans son livre publié récemment, Felipe Pigna, bénéficiant d'une importante diffusion dans les médias, signale que

> Pour se faire une idée de l'ampleur atteinte par l'ethnocide de la Campagne du Désert, commandée par le général Roca et justifiée par les politiques des années 1880 prônant la modernisation, il faut se rappeler que l'Argentine, à ce moment-là, avait 2.000.000 d'habitants, dont 20.000 personnes avait été éliminées ou avait été presque réduites en esclavage[23].

Une légende accompagnant une photo de Roca et de son armée indique que la "conquête du désert" et les suivantes qui furent entreprises dans les provinces de Chaco et Formosa, constituèrent un véritable génocide de la population indigène et entraînèrent l'appropriation de leurs terres, pour être attribuées à un petit groupe de familles liées au pouvoir. Dans ce texte, les termes *génocide* et *ethnocide* ne sont cependant pas définis.

Si c'est bien à l'Etat-Nation naissant que revint un rôle fondamental dans l'émergence de l'Argentine sur le marché mondial de l'agro-alimentaire, notamment, les auteurs des dernières années rendent compte du rôle crucial de la guerre contre l'Indigène qui permit d'incorporer à l'économie de cette nouvelle nation industrielle de grandes étendues de terres pour la production agricole et l'élevage du bétail. C'est bien dans ce sens que les auteurs récents traitent de la distribution des terres en relevant l'incidence du phénomène sur la formation de la classe dominante. À ce sujet, dans certains ouvrages scolaires, l'analyse renvoie explicitement aux contributions des historiens argentins contemporains. Dans un texte de la maison d'édition Aique de 1995, les travaux de Sergio Bagú et Jacinto Oddone[24] sont cités pour expliquer la manière dont la dis-

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[22] Andrea N. Andújar et al. *Historia Argentina en el contexto Latinoamericano y Mundial (1850 hasta nuestros días)* (Buenos Aires: Santillana, 2012), 100.

[23] Felipe Pigna (coord.), *Historia. La Argentina Contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: A-Z editora, 2010), 68.

[24] Sergio Bagú, *Argentina, 1875-1975: población, economía, sociedad: estudio temático y bibliográfico* (Buenos Aires: Solar, 1983; Jacinto Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Libera, 1975).

tribution des terres et la spéculation dont elles firent l'objet, favori-
sèrent la consolidation, tant sur le plan économique que politique,
d'une puissante bourgeoisie propriétaire de terres[25]. Cette nouvelle
perspective d'analyse historiographique a impliqué une remise en
question des thèses qui, jusque-là, prédominaient dans le récit des
manuels.

Dans la décennie 1990, dans le contexte d'une réforme édu-
cative touchant, entre autres choses, aux programmes d'études,
l'apparition de nouvelles collections de manuels scolaires, comme
nous l'avons indiqué, met à la portée des élèves une histoire plus
proche de celle sur laquelle on travaillait dans le milieu académique.
Les maisons d'édition convoquent des professeurs d'histoire des uni-
versités pour les faire participer à leurs projets en tant qu'auteurs,
collaborateurs, éditeurs ou assesseurs. Dans un contexte marqué
par l'application de mesures économiques néolibérales, le discours
politique reformule le projet libéral de la fin du XIXᵉ siècle et, par
conséquent, évalue positivement la "conquête du désert". Comme
exemple de la revalorisation symbolique de la campagne militaire
contre les Indigènes nous pouvons citer l'émission de papier-mon-
naie de la plus grosse coupure portant au recto le portrait du général
Julio A. Roca – identifié comme l'exécutant de la campagne militaire
du désert – et, au verso, la reproduction d'un tableau faisant allusion
à "La conquête du désert".

Paradoxalement dans les manuels scolaires ce fut le contraire
qui advint. Ici furent inclus des concepts tels que génocide et eth-
nocide, avec des débats remettant en question l'idée de désert, de
la guerre elle-même, du destin ultérieur des terres et de l'avenir
des survivants. On peut ainsi constater une revalorisation frap-
pante d'une période historique, avec cette ouverture de la société
à la problématique des peuples indigènes. Cependant, il y à peine
quelques années, dans un article publié dans le journal *La Nación*,
"la conquête du désert" est à nouveau revendiquée par Mariano
Grondona qui lance un débat sur les usages du passé. Il signale que

> les historiens amateurs, avec leurs techniques, au lieu d'examiner
> rigoureusement le passé tel qu'il fut vécu par les protagonistes, en
> font une description un tant soit peu superficielle en projetant leurs
> propres conceptions idéologiques. Roca, par exemple, n'a-t-il pas
> conquis le désert? Ne nous a-t-il pas donné la Patagonie? Les historiens
> amateurs en s'y opposant répliquent que Roca commit un génocide
> comme ceux des années 70. Après tout, n'était-il pas un militaire?
> Voilà comment ils déforment la mémoire collective lorsque les faits

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[25]   Alonso, Elisalde y Vázquez, *Historia Argentina y del mundo contemporáneo*, 67.

historiques sont envisagés en fonction des revendications actuelles au lieu de le faire à la lumière des problématiques du passé[26].

La réponse ne tarde pas à venir. Dans un autre journal, *Pagina 12,* Osvaldo Bayer se met à réfuter ses arguments remettant à nouveau en question le fait tel qu'il est envisagé par Grondona:

> Est-ce fausser la réalité que de tenir à rappeler que, par un décret immoral, Roca reçut en récompense de "ses exploits" 50.000 hectares des terres les plus productives alors qu'il touchait son salaire en tant que général? Est-ce fausser la réalité que de tenir à faire connaître les discours de Roca dans lesquels les populations autochtones étaient invariablement qualifiées de "sauvages" et de "barbares" alors que, 50 ans auparavant, San Martin les appelait respectueusement "nos paysans"? Est-ce fausser l'histoire que de citer les articles des journaux de Buenos Aires qui, à la suite de la campagne de Roca et sous le titre "Répartition d'indigènes" signalaient que "Les mercredis et les vendredis, la Société de Bienfaisance [assurait] l'attribution d'indigènes aux familles de cette ville?"[27].

Deux ans plus tard, tous deux recommencent le débat concernant la valorisation de la guerre contre l'Indigène, dans les mêmes journaux.

La carte de l'avancement de la ligne de frontière jusqu'à la campagne de Roca est présente dans la plupart des livres publiés à partir de la décennie 1960[28]. Dans les manuels les plus récents, la quantité d'images est en augmentation. Celles-ci varient selon les diverses publications et élargissent le champ des représentations grâce à l'introduction de photographies d'époque dont les plus nombreuses sont celles sur lesquelles apparaissent Roca et son État Majeur au moment d'entreprendre la "conquête du désert". Toujours présents mais en moindre quantité et proportion, les portraits de Roca – entre autres portraits présidentiels – ou des photographies de caciques, parfois en tenue militaire ou habillés selon la coutume citadine, dont les plus significatives sont celles sur lesquelles apparaît Juan Calfucura, l'un des caciques les plus rusés, célèbre et redouté de la population autochtone. Ces photographies comportaient parfois le sceau personnel du cacique.

"Calfucura" est un nom qui signifie "Pierre bleue" et ce fut sous ce nom que ce cacique était connu. Par ailleurs, tout au long de

[26]   Mariano Grondona, "Falsificación de la memoria colectiva", *La Nación*, Septiembre 25, 2005.

[27]   Osvaldo Bayer, "La historia oficial", *Página 12*, Octubre 8, 2005.

[28]   Alonso, Elisalde, Vázquez, *Historia Argentina y del mundo contemporáneo*, 67; Andújar et al. *Historia Argentina en el contexto Latinoamericano y Mundial,* 101.

sa vie, il échangea des lettres aussi bien officielles que privées avec d'importants fonctionnaires, lettres qu'il scellait de son sceau personnel. Dans certains cas, la justification n'est pas tout à fait évidente en ce qui concerne l'inclusion de telle ou telle image lorsque l'on met en marche une activité scolaire dans laquelle on demande à l'élève de dire ce qu'elles représentent[29]. Des dessins de Fortuny sur la tranchée d'Alsina partagent le même espace de la mise en page avec les images de Roca et les chefs militaires de son entourage[30].

Les illustrations sont présentes dans tous les aspects abordés par cette étude et montrent de manière patente les changements qui se sont produits dans la perspective historiographique de la période 1880-2012. Présentes ou absentes, de telles images viennent à l'appui de la désignation négative des premiers habitants, contribuent à la valorisation des campagnes militaires et font référence directement ou indirectement aux résultats, hormis les progrès technologiques, qui ont modifié leur image.

4. Conclusions

Les manuels scolaires analysés lors de notre recherche nous ont permis, jusqu'à présent, de dégager quelques conclusions à propos de la manière dont l'histoire enseignée a abordé un évènement dont les deux enjeux, liés, sont les suivants : la constitution d'une identité et la formation de l'État-nation.

La stigmatisation des Indigènes traités de sauvages jusqu'aux dernières décennies du XXe siècle a fonctionné comme justification de l'extermination de la population et a favorisé la construction d'une identité nationale homogène, s'efforçant de faire prédominer une cosmovision particulière de l'identité argentine. Dans cette construction, le concept de creuset des races a été utilisé pour invoquer la présence prétendument positive et majoritaire de l'Européen dans la composition ethnique et culturelle. L'approche nationaliste a introduit, en plus, une vision bucolique du métissage incarnée dans la figure du *gaucho*. On peut trouver les traces de la remise en cause de cette manière de voir dans les manuels scolaires des dernières décennies où l'on note une tentative de mise en valeur de la culture des peuples originaires ainsi qu'une étude critique des campagnes militaires.

L'importance de la mal nommée "conquête du désert" par rapport au processus de formation de l'État-nation est signalée dans tous

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[29] Rins y Winter, *La Argentina. Una historia para pensar 1776-1996*, 230-235.
[30] Andújar et al. *Historia Argentina en el contexto Latinoamericano y Mundial*, 100-101, 119.

les manuels scolaires utilisés pour l'enseignement de l'histoire entre 1880 et 2014. La question de l'usage du passé en tant qu'élément qui contribue à la question identitaire ne se limite pas aux manuels scolaires. Nous pouvons également affirmer que les changements manifestés dans les dernières années dans les programmes scolaires et dans les manuels, par rapport à la prise en compte du passé et du présent des peuples originaires, n'ont pas entraîné une amélioration de la situation sociale et économique, de la représentativité politique et des conditions de vie de leurs descendants, même si ces changements ont signifié un progrès sur le plan symbolique. Les groupes qui ont récupéré une partie de leurs terres ancestrales et qui ont réussi à faire reconnaître leur identité sont encore peu nombreux puisque dans la société argentine les discours et les pratiques discriminatoires sont encore d'actualité. Or il existe quand même quelques tentatives visant à changer le regard porté sur les populations autochtones mais elles restent limitées à quelques expériences scolaires dans un petit nombre de villes. Malheureusement il n'est pas encore envisageable pour notre société que nos peuples originaires produisent leurs propres textes et introduisent leurs propres perspectives dans les ouvrages de diffusion nationale.

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