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Introduction

The significance of the influence exerted by the historical phenomenon of colonialism, of which violence and rule by external powers were fundamental components, on the history of the twentieth century and on our present times is beyond question. We are living in a postcolonial world. Most of the 193 UN member states[1] have imperial or colonial pasts which, however history has come to judge them, stand as focal points in the landscapes of their self-image. Further, the process of decolonization, which reached near-completion in the twentieth century's second half as numerous sovereign nation states came into being, both ushered in a restructuring of the world order which had been in place hitherto and progressed beyond this to posit a paradigmatic shift in the norms framing that world order: Decolonization meant, alongside the end of colonial empires and of peoples' subjection to rule from without, the 'discrediting of foreign rule' *per se*. It was in this spirit that the United Nations proclaimed, in the 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' issued in 1960:

> 1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. 2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. [...].[2]

UN Resolution 1514 thus gave rise to a fundamentally new set of values upon which the political world order was to rest going forward.[3]

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1 Cf. Jansen, Jan C., and Jürgen Osterhammel. 2017. *Decolonization: A Short History*, Princeton: 10–13.

2 Adopted by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. Cf. www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml (19.10.2017).

3 Cf. Jansen, Jan C., and Jürgen Osterhammel. 2017. *Decolonization: A Short History*, Princeton: 12–13.

The global relevance of the era of colonial power and subsequently of decolonization, and the implications for the present arising from both, provide ample justification for consideration of whether, and how, present-day history teaching in schools, and specifically in curricula and educational media, represents and communicates the set of issues surrounding these periods. The primary impetus for the creation of this volume has been the upsurge in public interest and relevance to our contemporary world experienced by academic and public engagement with colonial pasts and the postcolonial order over approximately the last twenty years.[4] This upsurge is reflected in the increasing frequency of public debates around the issue in Europe, to name one example. It finds further expression in the degree of passion with which those involved wrestle with appropriate ways of remembering the colonial violence originating from this continent, including slavery, and the responsibility issuing therefrom in both historical/political and moral/ethical terms, from which in turn emerge, *inter alia*, questions around potential compensation.

One exemplary case in this regard might be the debates that took place in the British public arena in 2007, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which abolished the transatlantic slave trade in the British Empire.[5] Controversy in the public sphere was also a feature of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 2013 of the abolition of slavery in the Netherlands, which in 1863 had been the last European colonial power to free its slaves by emancipating those in Surinam and the Antilles. On this occasion, the government of the Netherlands, while expressing its 'deep regret' about the country's involvement in the slave trade, refrained, primarily for fear of demands for reparations, from making an official admission of historic culpability.[6] In 2004, Germany marked the beginning of the colonial war against the

4 Cf. Speitkamp, Winfried. 2005. *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*. Ditzingen: 9–12.

5 Cf. Walvin, James. 2009. 'The Slave Trade, Abolition and Public Memory'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19: 139–149. Eckert, Andreas. 2008. Der Kolonialismus im europäischen Gedächtnis. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 1–2: 31–38.

6 Cf. Cain, Artwell. 2015. 'Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?' *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 3 (4): 227–242.

Herero and Nama which had taken place between 1904 and 1908 in what was then German South West Africa, and remembered in particular the massacres of 1904. The commemorations occasioned renewed debate around the genocidal character of this war and calls for a formal recognition of historic guilt. Twelve years later, in July of 2016, the German *Bundestag* issued an official document which for the first time referred to the massacres committed against the Herero and Nama during the course of this war as genocide.[7]

It is impossible to overlook the fact that engagement with the history of colonialism and with its significance to the present frequently arises out of discourses around historical memory which are located in their turn in wider contexts. The following discussion will attempt to shed light on three selected aspects of the issue which simultaneously hold considerable relevance for the depiction of the history of colonialism[8] in the history classroom.

One of these factors, of which a key determining element is the accelerating advance of 'globalization', is the heightened perception of a rapidly widening global development gap. Of the 31 states classed by the World Bank in December 2016 as 'Low-Income Countries' (LIC), 27 are in Africa.[9] Although some of these 31 LICs have no history of colonization, the global asymmetry in economic development manifest in this figure points to, among other factors, the direct and indirect aftereffects of the colonial era. Without historical knowledge of this period and its enduring impacts, including neocolonial structures, we have little chance of properly comprehending our present.[10]

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7 Cf. the text of the resolution: Bundesdrucksache18/5385. 1 July 2016. http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/053/1805385.pdf (18.10.2017).

8 'Colonialism' in relation to history textbooks encompasses 'decolonization' and the impact of colonialism to the present day.

9 Cf. World Bank list of economies (December 2016); see the current classification by income in XLS format in https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519 (31.12.2017). 'As of 1 July 2016, low-income economies are defined as those with GNI per capita, calculated using the World Bank Atlas method, of $1,025 or less in 2015 ...' https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/new-country-classifications-2016 (13.10.2017).

10 Cf., for example, the questions about colonialism in Africa on Quora; www.quora.com/How-would-Africa-be-today-if-colonialism-never-happened (11.10.2017). See also the topic of the history of colonialism and 'global education' in Jones,

A further factor of substantial significance is the complex and far-reaching movements of migration which we are currently experiencing worldwide. In Europe in particular, one of their effects is to increasingly erase the spatial distance that had hitherto separated the arenas of experience and memory of former metropolitan centers and their erstwhile colonial territories and had long enabled a dominant view of colonialism and its consequences as events located outside the Western world without profound impact on the attitudes of European societies with Occidental habitus.

Migration movements to Europe have direct consequences for history teaching due to their effects on the composition of student bodies in European classrooms, which therefore frequently feature social, cultural and experiential backgrounds far beyond the frames of reference determining the typical national narratives proponed in history teaching. This factor exerts a fundamental influence on the entanglements of European history with the history of the world beyond Europe and specifically on the history of colonialism with all it brought in its wake. In addition to this, not insignificant numbers of students with non-European or non-Western backgrounds find themselves confronted with diverse racial stereotypes[11], many of which are reminiscent of colonialist patterns of thinking. In the face of this situation, history teaching finds itself urgently called upon to critically reflect on the Western, or European, narratives that dominate its exercise in the classroom. It is beyond question that the teaching of history represents a significant societal locus of discussion and negotiation around social identities and modes of inclusion or exclusion. Central elements of the discourse that emerges here include the traditional image, or, more correctly, self-image of Occidental-European history as the epitome of 'modernity', 'progress' and 'humanity' and the role assigned to colonialism within this notional framework. A further issue here is the critical consideration of whether, and in which form, colonial mentalities remain

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John Y., and Arnfinn Nygaard. 2013. Whose Reality Counts? On Southern Perspectives in Global Education in Europe. In Forghani-Arani, Neda, et al. (eds.). 2013. *Global Education in Europe: Policy, Practice and Theoretical Challenges*. Münster: 159–170.

11 Cf. European Network Against Racism (ENAR): www.enar-eu.org/ (11.10.2017).

implicitly present in the national 'master narratives' of history as it is currently being taught in Europe's classrooms.[12]

In this context, those engaging in scrutiny of the depiction of colonialism and its aftereffects, and of its status, in history teaching have on occasion received innovative inspiration from civil society stakeholders. In some European states, people from former colonies are today speaking out more confidently and emphatically than has previously been seen, and pointing via projects with high public impact to the presence of 'forgotten' manifestations of the colonial past, both material in nature and evident in ideas, in the everyday European world[13]. The carriers of such traces

12 On history textbooks, see, for example, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research: 'Colonialism' (www.gei.de/en/departments/europe-narratives-images-spaces/trans-europe-external-borders/colonialism; 17.10.2017). See also the issue 'Postcolonial Memory Politics in Educational Media' of the Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society, vol. 5 (2013). Cf. Grindel, Susanne. 2015. 'Educating the Nation. German History Textbooks since 1900: Representations of Colonialism', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 127–2, http://mefrim.revues.org/2250 (11.10.2017). Grindel, Susanne. 2013. 'The End of Empire. Colonial Heritage and the Politics of Memory in Britain'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5 (1): 33–49. www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/jemms/jemms-overview.xml (13.10.2017). See also the case studies produced in the EU project CoDec ('Colonisation and Decolonisation in National History Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspectives', 2013–2015) in Fenske, Uta, et al. (eds.). 2015. *Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in Europe. Modules for History Lessons*. Frankfurt/Main et al.

13 Some German examples include the organizations Berlin post-kolonial e.V. (www.berlin-post-kolonial.de/) and freiburg-post-kolonial.de (http://www.freiburg-post-kolonial.de/). Cf. recommendations for history teaching in Berlin: www.globaleslernen.de/sites/default/files/files/education-material/Tracing%20marks%20of%20German%20colonialism.pdf (17.10.2017). Cf. Heyden, Ulrich van der, and Joachim Zeller (eds.). 2008. *Kolonialismus hierzulande [colonialism in this country]: Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland*. Erfurt. – Examples relating to the Netherlands can be found in Oostindie, Gert. 2010. *Post-colonial Netherlands. Sixty-five years of forgetting, commemorating, silencing*. Amsterdam. https://oapen.org/download?type=document&docid=391771 (22.10.2017). Further, see, for instance, Post-colonial Europe Network (PEN) www.post-colonialeurope.eu/ (04.10.2017) or Post-colonial Networks, http://post-colonialnetworks.com/ (04.10.2017). Cf. also

include street names, monuments and indeed textbooks. Those identifying and raising awareness of them thus shine light on the fact that the cultural heritage of colonialism is in evidence in the former metropolitan centers and that, as such, colonialism is a part of European history in Europe itself. These activities amount to a call by civil society actors for a Western/European culture of memory which no longer cordons off, represses or minimizes the significance of colonialism and slavery to the continent's history. Indeed, they go beyond this ambition and seek to induce a shift in awareness around colonialism's frequently unrecognized cultural legacy. This would imply a critique of numerous Western/European terms, categories and notions which currently 'go without saying', in an attempt to identify whether, and if so, the extent to which, they carry implicit connections and connotations with colonial and neo-racist stereotypes and other thought patterns.[14]

We would finally make reference in this context to two relatively recently emerged academic disciplines which have provided those with a critical interest in the depiction of colonial pasts in the present-day history classroom with key ideas and impetus: global history and postcolonial studies. The first of these[15], one of whose *raisons d'être* is to engage closely and intensely with the role of imperialism and colonialism in the history of globalization[16], regards European colonialism[17] as an integral,

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the overview of 'postcolonial initiatives' in Germany: www.kolonialismus.uni-hamburg.de/post-koloniale-initiativen-in-deutschland-2/ (04.10.2017).

14 Cf., for instance, Balibar, Etienne, and Immanuel Wallerstein. 2011. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. 2nd rev. edition. London.

15 Examples are Conrad, Sebastian. 2016. *What Is Global History?* Princeton. Sachsenmaier, Dominic. 2011. *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World*, Cambridge.

16 Cf., for instance, Cooper, Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, Berkeley et al. Rosenberg, Emily S. (ed.). 2012. *A World Connecting. 1870–1945*, Harvard. Dirks, Nicholas B. 2004. Colonial and Postcolonial Histories: Comparative Reflections on the Legacies of Empire. No HDOCPA-2004-03, Human Development Occasional Papers (1992–2007), Human Development Report Office (HDRO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2004_nicholas_dirks.pdf (11.12.2017).

17 Cf. Conrad, Sebastian. 2012. 'Kolonialismus und Postkolonialismus: S chlüsselbegriffe der aktuellen Debatte'. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*

that is, non-incidental, component of 'European modernity' and European 'nation-building'[18]. From this perspective, the typical depiction and contextualization of colonial pasts into national historical narratives appear in a more than dubious light. Put simply, these typical European national narratives – including their reproduction in the history classroom – tend to present the colonial past principally as a completely finished epoch in the age of imperialism, which, while it forms a part of national or European history, does not represent a constitutive component of national of European identity in the sense of a 'negative heritage'. Additionally, these narratives barely perceive or take account of the changes in the society to which they pertain which were wrought by the colonial mentality, nor of the retroaction of colonial practice on European societies.[19] The issue of colonialism thus fails to occasion critical reflection on whether the dominant European self-image, with its claim to the humanity and therefore superiority and the universal validity of European values and Western modernity, may be in need of a fundamental reassessment in the light of colonial practices and the ideologies which framed them.

Postcolonial theories[20] likewise proceed from the assumption that colonialism and colonial mentalities possess constitutive, and not merely supplementary, significance to our understanding of European history

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(APUZ) 44–45: 2–13. www.bpb.de/apuz/146971/kolonialismus-und-postkolonialismus?p=all (09.10.2017).

18 Maier, Charles S. 2012. 'Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood'. In Rosenberg, Emily S. (ed.). *A World Connecting. 1870–1945*. Harvard: 29–283.

19 On metropolitan-colonial relationships and the assertion that Europe was made by its imperial projects, cf. Cooper, Frederick, and Laura Ann Stoler (eds.). 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley et al.

20 Cf., for instance, Castro Varela, María do Mar, and Nikita Dhawan. 2015. *Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung*. 2nd, completely revised edition. Bielefeld. Young, Robert. 2001. *Post-colonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford. Frederick Cooper. 2005. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley et al. (German translation: Kolonialismus denken. Konzepte und Theorien in kritischer Perspektive, Frankfurt/Main 2012). Childs, Peter, and Patrick Williams. 2013. *Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*. New York. – Further, comparative genocide research has in recent years helped raise awareness among the academic community of the history of violence underpinning colonial rule. Refer here to the International Network of Genocide Scholars (INoGS), founded in 2005; https://inogs.com/ (11.10.2017).

and to European identity in general.[21] While the study of history didactics has not yet completely mapped or harnessed the potential of these approaches for the field[22], we can perceive some of the challenges they present to history teaching. Put very generally, theoretical approaches rooted in postcolonialism[23] call for a retrospective 'decolonization' of a historical mode of thought whose orientation has remained unchangingly Eurocentric to this day. The principal focus of this critique is the currently predominant European/Occidental self-image which, in the postcolonial view of the matter, emerged in close interrelation to and has received the profound stamp of the long-enduring practices of colonialism. Colonialist notions[24], mentalities and imaginings outlived formal colonial power and continue, largely unrecognized and unreflected upon, to perpetuate their influence in the shape of today's Western/European sense of superiority and mission over and toward non-European states and societies. Postcolonial theories perceive this claim to a historical role as the leaders of civilization to be based on the conviction that the Occidental ideas of 'humanity', 'human rights', 'reason', 'progress', and 'modernization' can assert universal validity and form the 'essence' of European-Occidental

21 See also the concept of 'coloniality' delineated, for example, in Mignolo, Walter D. 2011. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Duke.

22 Cf., for instance, Grewe, Bernd-Stefan. 2016. 'Geschichtsdidaktik postkolonial – Eine Herausforderung'. *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik* 15: 5–30.

23 The approaches represented by the sub-discipline of 'new imperial history' point in a similar direction; they differ from older forms of imperial history in that they seek to shed increased light on the reciprocal interactions and relationships of profound mutual influence between colonial centers and overseas peripheries and the effects of empire resp. colonies on metropolitan centers. This approach to the issue attempts to shift the perspective away from the simplistic juxtaposition of 'us' and the 'Other' by including processes of cultural transfer and adaptation in the vista and to explore reciprocal perceptions and constructions of the 'foreign' or the 'Other', taking into account the categories of race and gender. See, for instance, Howe, Stephen (ed.). 2010. *The New Imperial Histories Reader*. London et al.

24 'Concepts' here encompasses the Western idea of scientific or academic knowledge and, with reference to the pedagogics of history, key terms of academic history and the study of its teaching.

history and identity, and are not tarnished to any degree by the colonial practices of the past.

The attitude thus described manifests itself in still-widespread tendencies to unabatedly adhere to the notion that colonial rule exerted 'positive effects' on colonized societies in their 'backwardness' and to racist colonial ideas.[25] By contrast, postcolonial positions emphasize the fact that even where a depiction of colonial rule is critical, it will frequently feature typical imbalances. One example might be the tendency for European/Western depictions of colonialism to frame the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized in the one-sided terms of an opposition between the active, dominant 'us' and the passive, dominated 'them', with the result that colonized people find themselves reduced to the unacceptable status of objects of Western/European action, as they had been in the era of active colonial practice. It goes without saying that this critique does not call into question European responsibility for the abuses committed in the course of the colonial project or the imbalance of power on which the practice of colonialism was predicated. Its aim is the uncovering of a Eurocentric attitude and self-image which, largely unconsciously, is far from comprehending colonial practices as an integral contextual framework encompassing both colonizers and colonized and placing both parties, despite all differences in their positions and experiences, effectively on a level. This limitation in the view of colonialism acts as a block to insight into the quite literal repercussions of colonial rule, which has historically exerted a substantially defining influence not only on the colonial territories themselves, but also on the histories of the former colonial powers. Further, it crowds out any awareness that the self-image held dear by 'Europe' or the 'West' depended, and continues to depend, at a fundamental level on the 'colonized' peoples, due to the inescapable fact that the construction of a self as 'superior in civilization', 'progressive', 'humane', and 'universally valid' requires, indeed is predicated upon, the existence of an 'Other' constructed as 'backward', 'inferior', 'barbaric', and 'particular'. This attitude in its turn stands in fundamental contradiction to those historically 'singular' values and principles, such as the natural liberty,

25 Cf. also the French 'Mekachera law' of February 23, 2005, which we will discuss further below.

equality and solidarity of all people, which the European sense of mission likes to summon as witnesses to its self-image.

Postcolonial approaches thus emphasize the fact that colonialism is not identical to its pragmatic political dimension. The end of colonialism as a historical epoch by no means heralds the disappearance of the colonialist mentalities and imaginings so deeply rooted in the 'modern' 'West'; they live on, some in altered form, and in spite of the far-reaching denial, ignorance or 'invisibling' to which they are subject. All this challenges the teaching of history in our schools to engage more closely and intensely with the history of colonialism and its aftereffects than it has done hitherto. If changes acknowledged as necessary are to be effected, however, it is equally important in this context for history educators and educationalists to critically examine their own presumptions, notions and terminologies for implied elements of 'Eurocentrism' and of the 'coloniality of power'[26] that have thus far remained overlooked.

For the reasons outlined above, the history and aftereffects of colonialism and postcolonial approaches to history have been attracting increased attention in the academic discipline of history didactics. Various instances of research, such as history textbook analyses which progress beyond exploration of the significance and depiction of the issues of colonialism and decolonization by critically interrogating these publications to uncover the traces of implicit colonial ways of thinking, bear witness to this upsurge in interest in the topic.[27] The findings of such studies, a number of which proceed in a comparative manner, demonstrate unambiguously that history educationalists need to take the issue of the 'decolonization of historical thinking' seriously as an important task facing their profession.

This said, we find ourselves obliged at this point to train a spotlight on comprehensive and worrying omissions in the research. One of these relates to the absence from the extant body of work of studies which give an international overview of the status afforded to the issues of colonialism

26 The reference here is to the concept of 'coloniality' as the enduring legacy of colonialism, as employed, for instance, in Quijano, Anibal. 2000. 'Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America'. *Nepantla: Views From the South* 1(3): 533–580.

27 Cf. footnote 12.

and decolonization, and their depiction, in current curricula revolving around national histories[28] and history textbooks.[29] Further, we have no overall knowledge of whether history educationalists or representatives of related disciplines internationally are engaging with these issues, which questions are guiding their research, where it is taking place, and how they are responding to the impetus delivered by the sub-field of postcolonial studies.[30]

This inadequacy in general awareness of research activities in the field forces us to rely for the time being on hypotheses and assumptions which will need to be tested in further research. One of these assumptions is that colonialism as a topic area, conceived of in a broad sense to encompass decolonization and the aftermath of the colonial era, has an at least marginal place in most national history curricula worldwide. Driving this supposition is our awareness that the issue is one with global impact, having influenced the history of a very large number of states and macro-regions, and with close links to a range of other canonical themes of history, such as imperialism, the two world wars, and the Cold War. However, this assumption alone leaves us barely any further on than we were; we remain uncertain, in the absence of detailed analyses, of the position and function of this issue in national narratives, of the manner of its presentation, and of whether postcolonial approaches make a consistent and influential appearance – which last is admittedly improbable at this moment in time.

We additionally proceed from the further assumption that curricula for the teaching of national histories primarily present the issue of colonialism, again in its broader sense, from a specifically national point of view rather than conceiving of it from the transnational global history

28 Curricula for world history, as a distinct object of research, are not discussed here.

29 The compilation of such an overview, which would generally make primary reference to curricula and textbooks for the teaching of national history, proves difficult in settings which operate without centralized and/or compulsory curricula and textbooks designed to fulfill them.

30 A conference convened by the International Society of History Didactics (ISHD) on 'Colonialism, Decolonization and Post-Colonial Historical Perspectives' in 2013 and held in Tutzing, Germany, provided an initial impetus in this regard. https://www.apb-tutzing.de/Tagungsprogramme/2013/38-1-13-programm.pdf (07.10.2017).

perspective as a substantial component part of European or Western 'modernity'. Taking a transnational view of these issues enables us to identify extremely close links between the history of (later) colonialism and the fundamental convictions upon which the 'modern age', itself a central pillar of the Western/European self-image, rests. The unlimited faith in 'progress' ubiquitous across all sectors and strata of Occidental society was indivisibly connected to the firm belief in the fundamental superiority and destined global leading role of Western or European culture and, to an extent, the European 'race'.[31] These connections manifest themselves in such phenomena as the widespread hailing of the expansion of colonial rule in the Western/European sphere as a 'progressive' project on, for instance, economic, civilizatory, racial or scientific grounds. This was an attitude by no means limited to Western/European states with colonies; it was shared by many which did not pursue active colonial policies, yet – which possibly explains their assent to these ideas – often participated indirectly in colonial imperialism through activities including unofficial relationships of trade, missionary work and academic research. The difference between specifically national approaches to the history of colonialism[32] and those supported by a transnational concept does not consist in a denial or erasure of the key ideological precepts and colonial, partially racist, constructs at the center of the colonial project; indeed, both types of approaches generally include discussions of these matters. Instead, the most significant difference appears in the complete isolation and separation, in histories with national emphasis, of the ideological attitudes and tropes intimately connected with colonialism from the typical narrative

31 See, for instance, Cooper*Colonialism in Question*. Eckert, Andreas, and Albert Wirz. 2002. 'Wir nicht, die Anderen auch. Deutschland und der Kolonialismus'. In Conrad, Sebastian, and Shalini Randeria (eds.). *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften.* Frankfurt/Main: 372–392.

32 A frequently observed characteristic of narratives – and indeed history curricula – set up to convey national histories is their depiction of transnational issues and phenomena primarily in their specific national forms and the concomitant neglect of the transnational dimension of the events in question. The two world wars are exemplary cases of this phenomenon. Many history textbooks fail to adequately point out to students the global dimension of these conflicts, which also encompassed colonial issues.

so frequently headed in textbooks and curricula on national history with a formula such as 'The Path to the Modern Age', referring, of course, to the nation state in question and the European Occident. Such approaches distinguish themselves principally by their failure to depict and discuss the interrelationships among these elements of the discourse.

A further assumption underlying our exploration of the issue is that the curricula and textbooks of Western-influenced European states tend to allocate only a marginal role to the history of European colonialism in their narrative construction of the historically-founded national identity they seek to present and transmit. It appears to be a general principle governing the narratives of national histories that events and processes which took place within the boundaries of the core nation's territory and directly affected its population are of greater significance for the construction of national history than are other historical events which unfolded outside the nation or at the imperial periphery, or are perceived in the collective memory to have done so. This means that 'memories' of national or European colonialism cannot compete in the national history narratives conveyed in schools with other, more 'direct', national memories of events and upheavals such as political change, wars and civil wars, the imposition of foreign rule, national resistance, victory, liberation, or the attainment or reattainment of national sovereignty. We thus assume that the colonial past has a peripheral status in the history taught in the classrooms of Western/European states.

Finally, on the rather slight basis of extant textbook analyses on this subject, and despite the gaps that are more than apparent in this body of work, we can identify indicators of some typical characteristics of the configurations of 'colonialism' as a topic in curricula and textbooks from Western/European states whose principal purpose is the teaching of national histories. These include the factor of whether the country had its own colonies, the role of academic history in the country or countries in question, competition among divergent 'memories' in national spaces of memory, and the way in which the nation handles its 'negative' historical legacies. These tendencies, as we will go on to explicate, may be present in a variety of permutations.

Commencing with European states, we open this overview with two case studies on the significance of the issue of 'colonialism' in contemporary

Estonia and Poland[33] whose findings, we hypothesize, can stand for further comparable instances. These two exemplary cases share a lack of historical colonial possessions and the experience of the deprivation of national sovereignty from the eighteenth century at the latest[34] to the end of the Second World War. Like many other states in Central and Eastern Europe, they were occupied during the war and subject during the Cold War to Russian domination. The history textbooks of both states, while they do include discussion of the early and later phases of European colonialism, are clear in their categorization of this history as a history of 'others', that is, of other European states which were colonial powers and maintained colonial possessions. The message thus transmitted is that the history of European colonialism is of no import to the construction of these states' own national identity due to the lack of a connection between colonialism and the course of Estonian or Polish history. The narratives in these countries' textbooks are accordingly far from raising the question of whether, a lack of actual colonial possessions notwithstanding, Estonian or Polish society may have been indirectly involved in colonialism, through such activities as Christian mission, trade and colonial societies.[35] They are likewise silent

33 Cf. the analyses of the topics of 'colonialism' und 'decolonization' in current Estonian and Polish textbooks identified in the course of the EU-LL project 'Colonisation and Decolonisation in National History Cultures and Memory Politics in European Perspective' (2013–2015): www.uni-siegen.de/codec-eu/index.html.en?lang=en (07.10.2017). Fenske, Uta, and Bärbel P. Kuhn. 2015. 'Introduction'. In Fenske, Uta, et al. (eds.). *Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in Europe. Modules for History Lessons*, Frankfurt/Main et al.: 9–20. – On Polish textbooks, see also Popow, Monika. 2014. 'The Analysis of Discursive constructions of national identity in Polish literature textbooks'. *IARTEM e-Journal* 6 (2): 1–9. biriwa.com/iartem/ejournal/volume6.2/papers/Paper1_Popow_Analysis_of_discursive_constructions_national_identity_Polish_literature_IARTEM_ejournal_6.2.pdf (03.10.2017).

34 Estonians frequently refer to '700 years of slavery' concluding in 1918; cf. Zägel, Jörg, and Rainer Steinweg. 2008. *Vergangenheitsdiskurse in der Ostseeregion* [Discourses on the Past in the Baltic Sea Regions]. Vol. 2: *Die Sicht auf Krieg, Diktatur, Völkermord, Besatzung und Vertreibung in Russland, Polen und den baltischen Staaten.* Münster: 169–172.

35 Cf., for instance, on the work of the Estonian missionary Leonhard Blumer (1878–1938) in Arusha (in today's Tanzania) from 1907 onward, Groop, Kim. 2006. *With the Gospel to Maasailand: Lutheran Mission Work among*

on whether, and if so, to what extent colonial ways of thinking or racist colonial stereotypes were endemic in parts of Estonian or Polish society, as the expression, for instance, of belief in the general 'civilizatory' superiority of Europe or in the spirit of agreement with the notion of a white man's 'mission' to bring European 'progress' to the 'backward' outer reaches of the world. In this attitude, Polish and Estonian textbooks are completely in line with public historical discourse and the emphases of national historiography in these nations. While both states identify today with 'Western Europe' or 'Western modernity', a self-positioning pointedly intended to set them apart from Russia, they evidently do not consider this identification to incorporate the challenge of integrating the 'negative heritage' of European colonialism into their national ideas of themselves. This said, 'postcolonial' theories are anything but irrelevant to this setting; historical and cultural studies in Poland and the Baltic region use them as springboards for the interpretation of (Soviet) Russian dominance in the region as 'intra-European colonial rule'.[36] It is an approach reflected at least partially in the narratives found in textbooks, although its manifestation leaves intact the distanced position taken by national histories in these cases toward 'traditional' European colonialism as an integral component of European 'modernity'. It would seem, going by this evidence, that there is no connection between the 'victims' of Russian 'colonialism' in Europe

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the Arusha and Maasai in Northern Tanzania. 1904–1973. Åbo [Turku]. – An example of work on the Polish colonial societies and Poland's colonial aspirations between 1920 and 1939 is Hunczak, Taras. 1967. 'Polish Colonial Ambitions in the Inter-War Period'. *Slavic Review* 26 (4): 648–656.

36 Cf., for instance, on Estonia: Kelertas, Violeta (ed.). 2006. *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam. Annus, Epp, et al. 2013. 'Colonial Regimes in the Baltic States'. *Interliteraria* 18 (2): 545–554. On Poland, see, for instance, Korek, Janusz. 2007. 'Central and Eastern Europe from a post-colonial perspective'. In Korek, Janusz (ed.). *From Sovietology to Post-coloniality: Poland and Ukraine in the Post-colonial Perspective*. Stockholm: 5–22. On colonialist patterns of thinking in Germany's relationship with Poland, see Guse, Klaus-Michael, et al. (2015): 'Making Sense of Post-colonial Theories and Applying them to the Relationship between Eastern and Western Europe'. In Fenske, Uta et al. (eds.). *Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in Europe. Modules for History Lessons*, Frankfurt/Main et al.: 101–109; www.uni-siegen.de/codec-eu/daten/266599_guse.pdf (07.10.2017).

and those of European colonialism in Africa and Asia, save via a theoretical concept.

This representation of European colonial history as exclusively a history of 'others' in the textbooks of European states which had no colonies of their own is a widespread pattern. Yet it is not without its exceptions. Switzerland offers a counter-example of engagement with the colonial past by states without histories of being colonizers. Its interaction with the issue points to a potential way of approaching a nation's relationship with European colonialism which impacted its history despite the lack of an active colonial policy. Further, this example bears witness to the great significance of national academic histories and historiographies to the development of textbooks and curricula, in light of the fact that the history taught in a nation's classrooms rarely touches upon themes not discussed in national historiography. For some years now, a number of Swiss historians have been undertaking research on 'Swiss colonialism without colonies' which has generated considerable attention[37]. Alongside the exploration of the colonial mentalities and racist colonial stereotypes which circulated to profound effect in Swiss everyday life, this research seeks to illuminate the various ways in which Switzerland participated indirectly in European colonialism and in so doing has uncovered the link between a national history 'without colonies' and transnational European colonialism. Its findings have inspired, *inter alia*, the creation of teaching and learning materials[38] whose purpose is to familiarize Swiss history teachers with this

37 Cf., for example, Purtschert, Patricia, et al. (eds.). 2013. *Postkoloniale Schweiz. Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien.* 2nd edition. Bielefeld. Purtschert, Patricia, et al. (eds.). 2015. *Colonial Switzerland. Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins.* Basingstoke et al. – A contribution in that volume which is of particular relevance here is Germann, Pascal. (2015). 'Race in the Making. Colonial Encounters, the Practice of Anthropometric Measurements and the Global Entanglements of Swiss Racial Science. 1900–1950'. In Purtschert, Patricia, et al. (eds.). *Colonial Switzerland. Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins*, Basingstoke: 50–72.

38 Cf., for instance, Marti, Philipp, and Bernhard C. Schär. 2015. 'Koloniale Interpretationsmuster in Schweizer Comics'. In Fenske, Uta et al. (eds.). *Colonialism and Decolonization in National Historical Cultures and Memory Politics in Europe. Modules for History Lessons.* Frankfurt/Main et al.: 255–264. https://www.uni-siegen.de/codec-eu/daten/266601_marti.pdf (16.10.2017)

postcolonial view of the traces of Europe's colonial history in their nation and offer them options for their day-to-day practice. The issue of indirect Swiss involvement in colonialism has begun to appear in newly created textbooks.[39] These developments open up a potential opportunity for the issue to exert an impact in teacher training and new curricular guidelines and textbooks for the subject of history.

Turning now to the representation of colonial history in history textbooks from European states which did hold colonies, we observe that the matter of colonial possessions may play a significant role in nations 'historiographical minimization of their part in European colonialism. In Italy, Belgium, and Germany, for instance, we can perceive tendencies to emphasize the – compared to the British or French colonial empires – small size of the area over which these nations' colonial activities extended and the relatively brief duration of their colonial activities. In this way, such states pull off the feat of simultaneously raising the issue of their colonial history and asserting that European colonialism was actually in essence perpetrated by 'others'.

We further note that the interaction of the factors we discuss above, particularly states' desires to avoid potential political conflicts and controversies, can lead to the relative marginalization of national histories of colonialism in the historical narratives presented in the classroom. A recent textbook study from Belgium supplies a highly illustrative and indicative example of this phenomenon. It found that Belgian colonialism remains a little-discussed issue the teaching of the country's history in its schools to this day and as yet is far from incorporation into the construction of national identity as a 'negative heritage'. In line with the public culture of memory which predominates in contemporary Belgian society, history textbooks currently in use continue to depict King Leopold II (1865–1909), the second monarch of the Kingdom of Belgium established in 1831, as a figure for national identification connotated with exclusively positive qualities. The dominant narrative credits him with having brought riches and renown to the young Belgian state, transformed Brussels into a metropolis and combated the African slave trade. By contrast, historical

39 Cf. the new textbook series: *Gesellschaften im Wandel. Geschichte und Politik. Themenbuch*, 2 vol. Zürich 2017.

studies, such as that by Adam Hochschild (1998)[40], which have uncovered a shocking level of uninhibited violence and exploitation in the early stages of Belgium's colonial activities, effectively fall upon deaf ears, indeed presumably finding more frequent entry into the textbooks of other European states which seek in their turn to provide lurid examples of the cruelty that accompanied the colonial rule exercised by 'others'.

In interpreting its findings, the study primarily cites the profound tensions within Belgian society that issued from the conflict between the Flemish and Walloon populations. The Belgian government has long avoided giving prominence and emphasis in history teaching, and thereby in public cultures of memory, to matters which run the risk of additionally increasing the potential for conflict in this already deeply divided society. Belgian colonial rule in Central Africa is undoubtedly such an issue due to its association with matters of historical responsibility and reparation in the present. Further complications arise from the fact that both the Flemish and the Walloon population are showing an increasing tendency to regard Belgium's colonial past not as a matter that concerns them, but rather as an affair of the 'Belgian state', with which, as a rule, neither group primarily identifies. In this way, the collective memory of the Belgian colonial past is successively losing the population which might jointly maintain it. The study indicates that no particularly emphatic calls or initiatives for change to the current status quo have emerged from civil society, a silence in which one of the determining factors is likely to be the small numerical size of postcolonial migrant-background communities in Belgium.[41]

The example of Germany differs from that of Belgium in the fact that the 'negative heritage' of Germany's colonial past is not compelled to confront a version of national history built around patriotic pride. The role of Germany in the First World War, the National Socialist dictatorship, the Second World War and the Holocaust stand irrevocably in the way of the

40 Cf. Hochschild, Adam. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa.* London et al.

41 Van Nieuwenhuyse, Karel. 2014. 'From Triumphalism to Amnesia. Belgian-Congolese (Post-)Colonial History in Belgian Secondary History Education Curricula and Textbooks (1945–1989)'. *yearbook – jahrbuch – annales. International Society for History Didactics* 35: 79–100.

reiteration of familiar patriotic self-lionizations in history teaching, and certainly did so in West Germany after 1945. We can observe here what we might call a marked competition between various forms of 'negative heritage', which has tended to push Germany's colonial history into a background role in classroom historical narratives.

The unprecedented outrages against humanity perpetrated by the National Socialists have brought four key factors, which remain in effect today, to bear on perceptions of Germany's colonial past in history teaching. First, the colonial rule exercised by Germany tends to be considered as relatively brief and insignificant. Second, German classroom narratives assert that the levels of violence and numbers of victims of the colonial era place it far behind the crimes of the Nazi period. Third, its chronological distance from the present mitigates against its significance, enabling its definition or dismissal as the antecedent past to the Nazi era, as colonialism was formally at an end by the close of the First World War. The fourth, and decisive, aspect in this regard is the fact that to this day, familiar perceptions of the 'Third Reich' categorize it as a political system with no structural connection whatsoever to German colonial rule, despite the shared foundations of both upon racist ideologies. History textbooks in West Germany began in the 1970s to include critical discussion of Germany's colonial period, making explicit mention of acts of colonial violence such as the massacres of the Herero and Nama. This notwithstanding, Germany's colonial history remained isolated from the Holocaust-centered German master narrative. Putting it very simplistically, we might observe that a historical self-image persists in Germany which gives such weight to the 'negative heritage' of the Holocaust that German colonialism, and the crimes committed in its name, barely registers on the scales.[42]

42 Grindel, Susanne. 2014. 'Kolonialismus im Schulbuch als Übersetzungsproblem. Deutsche, französische und englische Geschichtslehrwerke im Vergleich'. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 38 (2): 272–303. Grindel, Susanne. 2008. 'Deutscher Sonderweg oder europäischer Erinnerungsort? Die Darstellung des modernen Kolonialismus in neueren deutschen Schulbüchern'. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 30 (3): 695–716. Müller, Lars. 2013. 'We Need to Get away from a Culture of Denial? The

The example of Germany further bears witness to the key role of academic history for the teaching of the subject in schools. Some German historians began relatively recently to call for the location of National Socialism within a context of European 'coloniality' whose roots lie well back in the nineteenth century, thus suggesting a framework which would uncover a connection between the 'Third Reich' and Germany's colonial record and increase the significance of colonialism's 'negative heritage' for Germany today. These debates are currently ongoing; while they proceed, new history teaching and learning materials, inspired by postcolonial approaches, are appearing on the market, illuminating the entanglements of colonialism and National Socialism via a spotlight on various forms of racism and linking these issues to matters of great currency via their contextual regard for present-day Germany as a society influenced by immigration.[43]

We will complete these cursory references to significant tendencies in the teaching of students' home nations' histories in European states with a look at Britain and France. One might assume that in these cases, the teaching of national history cannot possibly have recourse to minimization of the nation's role in the European 'colonial project', nor can it ignore the resultant 'negative heritage' weighing upon that nation's self-image. Such an assumption, however, would be erroneous. The factors we have discussed above, with their influence upon the depiction of the colonial past in other European states with and without erstwhile colonies alike, are equally in effect in these two cases and, at least in part, give rise to similar results. At the same time, however, the history curricula currently in force in Britain and France evince marked differences from each other, differences with a multiplicity of causal origins, such as idiosyncrasies of

German Herero War in Politics and Textbooks'. *Journal for Educational Media, Memory and Society* 5 (1): 50–71.

43 Cf., for example, the development of teaching materials by the German research project 'Rassismen in Kolonialismus und Nationalsozialismus. Formen – Funktionen – Folgen' (2016–2018; Jürgen Zimmerer, Oliver von Wrochem, Susanne Popp): https://www.geschichte.uni-hamburg.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte/jz-evz.html (16.10.2017).

historical self-image, specificities of national history policy, and the political orientation of decision-makers in the education sector.

As of 1922, a fifth of the world's population was under British rule. An enquiry, in light of this fact, into the status of colonialism in Britain's history classrooms might instructively begin by examining the National Curriculum currently in force for England, issued in 2013, and might be surprised to find that it stipulates compulsory teaching of 'history' only up to and including Key Stage 3, which covers 11- to 14-year-old students and concludes with year nine of compulsory schooling.[44] While, in contrast to France, Britain does not endow the content of its national history curriculum with binding force as regards what is actually taught in the classroom, its provisions speak eloquently of the status ascribed to colonial history by the British Department of Education. It is unlikely to be a matter of coincidence that the program of study for Key Stage 3 does not feature the term 'colonialism' at all and uses 'colony' only once, in a 'non-statutory' suggestion for a teaching topic titled 'The first colony in America and first contact with India'. 'Empire', by contrast, figures in a heading to one of four compulsory groups of topics: 'ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain, 1745–1901'. The only two further topic suggestions related to colonialism are 'Britain's transatlantic slave trade: its effects and its eventual abolition' and 'Indian independence and [the] end of Empire'. The impression delivered by this program of study is that it obscures Britain's colonial past, allowing it to be eclipsed by the concept of empire; the process of colonization appears in this curriculum, distinctly euphemistically, as 'the development of the British Empire', which itself takes a role subordinate to that of the British national historical narrative. It is apparently in this spirit that the National Curriculum's first-listed required learning objective for history, valid across all Key Stages, is that 'all pupils know and understand the history of these islands as a coherent, chronological narrative, from the earliest times to the present day: how people's

44 Cf. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/239075/SECONDARY_national_curriculum_-_History.pdf (13.11.2017). Grindel, Susanne, and Lars Müller. 2013. 'Schule und Empire. Das neue englische Geschichtscurriculum'. *Eckert. Das Bulletin* 11: 26–29.

lives have shaped this nation and how Britain has influenced and been influenced by the wider world.'[45] We should, in fairness, mention here that the centrality of British historical events and the secondary nature of focus on relationships between Britain and 'the wider world' extends beyond the issue of colonialism, with three of the four compulsory topic groups in Key Stage 3 referring solely to 'Britain' as their subject and 'Europe and the wider world' only receiving a look-in in the fourth and final area, covering 1901 to the present.[46] In January of 2016, the British daily newspaper *The Independent*[47] posed critical questions on the status and significance of the topics of the British Empire and colonialism in the National Curriculum for history. Its enquiry was inspired by the findings of an online survey conducted by the market research company YouGov on respondents' assessment of Britain's colonial past: 'YouGov found 44 per cent were proud of Britain's history of colonialism while only 21 per cent regretted that it happened. 23 per cent held neither view.'[48] A further illuminating piece of evidence in this context is a comment piece in the daily newspaper *The Guardian*[49] with reference to an exhibition in Berlin's German Historical Museum on 'German Colonialism. Fragments Past and Present'[50] (October 2016 to May 2017). The piece offers a comparative reflection on the attitudes of German and British society to their colonial history. The following passage taken from the article might provide a context to the brief stipulations of the National Curriculum as well as touching upon some of the issues we have encountered in our analysis thus far:

> It is worth reflecting on why an official exhibition in London about British colonialism, similar to the kind that is now running in Berlin about the German equivalent, is so inconceivable. It's because it is too difficult and painful. Such an event

45 Cf. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study (23.11.2017).

46 For a detailed discussion of these issues, see the chapter by Terry Haydn in this volume.

47 Cf. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/british-people-are-proud-of-colonialism-and-the-british-empire-poll-finds-a6821206.html (27.11.2017).

48 More detailed information on this survey could not be located.

49 Cf. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/26/the-guardian-view-on-the-colonial-past-a-german-lesson-for-britain (27.11.2017).

50 Cf. https://www.dhm.de/en/ausstellungen/german-colonialism.html (28.11.2017).

> would not be an act of collective national reflection, because that seems beyond us. The passions of supporters and opponents alike would make any kind of consensus approach difficult. [...] This predictability is a reminder of three things. The first is that, whether we acknowledge it or not, the colonial past is still with us in Britain today. The second is that Britain has a lazy tradition of taking a rosy view of its own history, in which national crimes play little or no part and from which there is no lesson except British greatness. The third is that modern Britain lacks not just a shared view of history, but a common culture generally, as the clumsy arguments about British values always expose.

As in the case of Britain, the historical assessment of colonialism and its heritage in France is highly controversial in the political and social arenas. A frequently-cited example of the passions that arise in the debate is article four, rescinded in 2006, of the so-called 'Mekachera law' of February 23, 2005, which placed the school curriculum and textbooks under an obligation to show French colonization in 'the positive light [...] which is its right'[51]. We should specify here that the objections to this law were not solely aimed at its interpretation of the French colonial past, but additionally sought to resist its subjection of dissenting academic positions held by historians to legal process. Pierre Nora, whose voice was among those raised most vehemently against the law in 2005, has more recently expressed his decided rejection of the curricular content for history introduced in 2016 as part of the '*grande réforme*' for the *collège* school type and with the declared aim of better fitting the topics covered by the curriculum to the exigencies and needs of a multicultural society. Pierre Nora accuses the new curricula of one-sidedly viewing the entire history of the West in general and France in particular in the light of colonialism

51 The law's full title is 'Loi portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français repatriés'. The rescinded Article 4.2 read as follows: 'Les programmes scolaires reconnaissent en particulier le rôle positif de la présence française outre-mer, notamment en Afrique du Nord et accordent à l'histoire et aux sacrifices des combattants de l'armée française issus de ces territoires la place éminente à laquelle ils ont droit'. https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000444898&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id (23.11.2017). – Grindel, Susanne. 2012. 'Kolonialvergangenheit und europäische Selbstbeschreibung. Erinnerungsdebatten, Bildungspolitik und Schulbücher in Frankreich im Vergleich'. In Bösch, Frank, et al. (eds.). *Europabilder im 20. Jahrhundert. Entstehung an der Peripherie.* Göttingen: 96–116.

and its attendant crimes and seeking to create feelings of guilt toward the extra-European world[52] while simultaneously reducing humanism and the Enlightenment, key aspects of French and European history, to the status of optional curricular extras. In contrast to the attitude apparent in the British curriculum, the reformed French *collège* has given colonialism and decolonization a place in its history curricula which draws substantially on the contemporary setting of a postcolonial society marked by migration and takes some of the premises of 'global history' and postcolonial approaches into account.[53] This said, the critique of the curriculum exercised by Pierre Nora, as an intellectual whose thought is characterized by liberal-conservative positions, casts light on the fact that neither French politics and society nor its academy have reached consensus on the ideal function of the 'negative heritage' arising from colonialism and slavery within France's patriotic idea of itself.

Moving on to the depiction of colonialism and decolonization in the history classroom in those countries subject to colonial rule in their past, we find ourselves required still more than we have been thus far to rely on a handful of provisional assumptions and isolated indications apparent in a small number of exemplary case studies. We may assume, in relation to textbooks for the teaching of national history in postcolonial states, that there may well be substantial variations in the depiction of colonialism as a historical phenomenon in general and the national colonial past in particular. Such variations are likely to be evident in the issue of whether, and if so, how, textbooks discuss, depict, and evaluate colonial rule from without. Evident proof of the diversity and divergence in interpretations

52 See the interview conducted with Pierre Nora on 4.5.2015: http://www.lejdd.fr/Societe/Education/L-historien-Pierre-Nora-sur-les-nouveaux-programmes-d-histoire-L-image-d-une-France-fatiguee-730638 (23.11.2017). Nora: 'Ces programmes portent à l'évidence la marque de l'époque: une forme de culpabilité nationale qui fait la part belle à l'islam, aux traites négrières, à l'esclavage et qui tend à réinterpréter l'ensemble du développement de l'Occident et de la France à travers le prisme du colonialisme et de ses crimes. Faire de l'humanisme et des Lumières un thème facultatif, alors qu'il est central, est à cet égard très significatif.'

53 For the topics set out for history teaching, under the keyword '*histoire*', see: http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid81/les-programmes.html (23.11.2017).

of a state's colonial 'prehistory' from nation to nation emerges in a study on the depiction in the textbooks of South Korea and Taiwan of Japanese colonial rule, which was structurally highly similar in each of these countries. In the Taiwanese case, Japanese colonial rule is credited with positive attributes that in South Korea are subject to rigorous censure. This appears to us to reflect the fact that the 'modernization' undertaken by the Japanese colonial power in both these colonies has received very different assessments in each.[54]

It is additionally to be assumed that depictions of the colonial past in decolonized, or postcolonial, societies differ in the nature of the connection they create between the colonial experience and the 'birth of a nation' unfolding in the process of decolonization. A study on the depiction of colonialism in Tanzanian history textbooks made the exemplary finding[55] of their intense emphasis on the history of resistance to the colonial power. In this view, the acts of heroism and sacrifice that took place in the struggle against illegitimate foreign rule encompassing the Maji Maji Rebellion (1905–1907) and other conflicts appear as events of national history *avant la lettre* due to their renown in the historical narrative as having prepared the way for national unity and the birth of the independent state.

In a context where a past of colonizing activity finds itself incorporated into a narrative of national history, we can barely expect national historical narratives in the history textbooks of postcolonial states to automatically present their pasts of colonization in the spirit of critique of colonialism as it frequently manifests itself in Europe and the U.S. Even where a narrative is strongly critical of a colonial past and its consequences, it may still be that the objectives of typical national historical narratives continue to call the tune, focused as they generally are on the central notions of 'national unity', 'national identity' and 'patriotic pride'. We should therefore barely be surprised when in the construction of a colonial past we perceive the

54 Cumings, Bruce. 2004. 'Colonial formations and deformations: Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam'. In Duara, Prasenjit (ed.). 2004. *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then*. London: 278–298.

55 Gorbahn, Katja. 2015. 'From Carl Peters to the Maji Maji War – Colonialism in Current Tanzanian and German Textbooks'. *yearbook – jahrbuch – annales. International Society for History Didactics* 35: 57–78.

impact of factors similar to those we have described in relation to European states. We might usefully illustrate this assertion by pointing toward the avoidance of societal conflict and discord which, as we have seen, appears to be an important aim of European history textbooks' depictions of the colonial past, with their frequent strategies of foregrounding the paradigm of 'patriotic pride' and repressing any 'negative heritage'. In relation to postcolonial states and societies, we should be aware that the colonial powers to whom these states were subject drove deep wedges through society by ruthlessly playing off different social groups against one another. In the course of the subsequent processes of decolonization and of the foundation and establishment of new states, which, as Osterhammel has demonstrated[56], followed divergent and frequently heavily conflict-laden trajectories, there often emerged profound intra-societal tensions which persisted over long periods of time and in some instances linger to this day. In light of this phenomenon, we would be justified in the assumption that it is likely to be the view of the colonial past held by those in political power which determines the narratives contained in textbooks and that a tendency will exist toward avoiding discussion of those aspects of colonial history which seemingly threaten to undermine the idea of 'national unity', in the particular definition with which each society endows it.[57]

As we come to the end of this brief overview of the depiction of colonialism in current curricula and textbooks for national history, we find ourselves compelled to reach the conclusion that the international research landscape, where we are able to find a vantage point over it at all, as yet features more craters than landmarks. This is a highly concerning situation, not least because the sparse data available indicate that the master narratives currently predominating in history teaching, in Europe in particular, tend to take an extremely circumscribed perspective, founded on national history, which stands in the way of their recognizing the global significance of colonialism and its history. Additionally, these narratives

56 Cf. Jansen, Jan C., and Jürgen Osterhammel. 2017. *Decolonization: A Short History*. Princeton, 188 f..

57 For an overview on how societies make sense of the past through different ways of representing it see: Carretero, Mario, et al. (eds.). 2017. *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*. London.

largely interpret the history of colonialism as a phenomenon located entirely in the past, which might well carry the implication that it is over and done with and certainly suggests that the colonial period has no connection to the national history thus taught, nor to its course over time, and no relevance to the present. While there is a need for research in this field to thoroughly examine these tendencies, it does appear that we would be justified in assuming that the depictions of colonialism, constructed in the light of national historical narratives, which dominate the scene – certainly in textbooks from European countries – have little genuine capacity to enable students to gain appropriate insight into the challenges of the postcolonial world they inhabit. Without such insight, however, students will barely attain the ability to navigate the historical and political complexities of today's globalized world. History teaching, if it is to contribute to the improvement of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, will need not only to conduct systematic comparative analysis of extant depictions of colonialism in its media, but also to incorporate the ideas emerging from research directions such as global history, new imperial history and postcolonial theory – a process which will inevitably mean calling widespread national historical master narratives, and their role in history education, into question.

This volume is the result of a long-standing internationally conducted discussion among its contributors, initiated at a conference held by the International Society for History Didactics in 2013.[58] The contributors' shared aim is to take an initial step in the direction of inspiring international debate and research in history education on the presentation of colonialism in classrooms across the globe, the significance of the history of the colonial era for history teaching in a globalized contemporary world, and ways of meeting, in the theory and practice of history teaching, the challenges posed by research in global history, new imperial history, and postcolonial studies.

The first part of the volume, entitled *Essays*, comprises two chapters which engage with fundamental considerations on the issue. The chapter by JÖRG FISCH centers on a highly concise overview of the history of

58 See footnote 30.

colonialism and decolonization, commencing with the historical lead-up to European colonialism and extending to the present day, and seeking to provide precise definitions of key terminology. Fisch focuses on the history of the principle of national self-determination and the process which resulted in the condemnation of colonialism issued by the General Assembly of the United Nations. As this opening chapter highlights, while the abolition of colonialism and colonial rule saw the end of a major source of injustice in the international order, it was far from ushering in a just and equal order in the postcolonial world.

JACOB EMMANUEL MABE discusses both African and German discourses on colonialism. He investigates the significance of colonialism in African debates since the inception of the Pan-African idea and distinguishes different categories of intellectuals in accordance with their positions in this regard. The second part of his chapter turns a spotlight on discussions around colonialism in Germany and on the ongoing rediscovery of the country's colonial legacy within the framework of postcolonial theory, new colonial history and memory studies. Mabe, in pointing to the diversity of both African and German positions, emphasizes that a true discipline of remembrance can only be the product of egalitarian cooperation between African and European researchers.

The discussion of topics and issues in the history classroom always unfolds within the context of the narratives predominant in the contemporary academic history and political historical culture of the country in which that classroom is located. Exploration, as in this volume, of the topic of colonialism in the context of history teaching calls of necessity for analysis of these historiographical narratives as they might and do translate into classroom practice. It is this focal emphasis that links the three chapters forming Part Two of the volume, *Narratives*.

FLORIAN WAGNER analyses European colonial historiography from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1960s and beyond. He demonstrates that promoters of colonialism evoked and utilized internationalism in a range of contexts and forms and that nationalism and internationalism often proved to be interdependent. As a history of colonialism materialized in the 1960s and new voices emerged, colonialist patterns of thinking remained nonetheless pervasive. Wagner, in calling for a critical approach to colonial history, argues that the teaching of colonialism should always

include the experience and suffering of the colonized, which gives it the potential to teach a global history that enables reflection on the relationship between globality and inequality.

ELIZE VAN EEDEN discusses African and South African historiography from the colonial era onward and points to the gaps it manifests, particularly in relation to African perspectives and approaches to both history and historiography. The chapter provides insights into the teaching of colonialism at South African schools and universities, demonstrating that issues of colonial history may still prove controversial. Van Eeden argues that historiography and history teaching are called to contribute to a better and deeper understanding of South Africa's national heritage. She recommends a focal emphasis on local and regional history in its global connectedness as one way of tackling shortcomings and simplified narratives and thus of fostering an understanding of the past in South Africa's present.

The third and final chapter in this part of the volume is a discussion by SHEN CHENCHEN, MENG ZHONGJIE, and YUAN XIAOQING of possible ways of overcoming the one-sidedness of depictions of colonialism the authors consider 'nation-state-centric' via the example topic of the Boxer Movement of 1898–1900, a key event used to teach colonialism in Chinese history education. The authors explore the potential of perspectives from global history to break up the simplistic dichotomies frequently typical of national master narratives, such as that between colonizer and colonized. They make reference in their discussion to the concepts of multiperspectivity and synchronicity and middle-range theory, which they consider possess the potential to cast light on the nuanced nature of colonialism's history within China and its wider transnational complexity.

The political and societal significance of the past in the present has given rise to controversy around the content and objectives of teaching about colonialism and decolonization in schools in many regions of the world, controversy fueled further by the challenge postcolonial approaches are now posing to traditional narratives. Debates around this issue are by no means limited to countries directly affected, as colonizers or colonized, by processes of colonization. Part Three of the volume, *Debates*, contains documentations and examinations of the issues and dilemmas facing the

theory of history didactics and practice of history education in the highly diverse cases of the Middle East, South Korea, Switzerland, Hungary, and the UK.

The comparative study presented here by RIAD NASSER revolves around concepts of cosmopolitanism, national identity and the role of myths of origin in history textbooks currently in use in Jordan, Palestine and Israel. Nasser's study is closely related to postcolonial theories' critique of typical processes of 'collective-national identity formation' which transform the dialectical relationship between sameness and difference into a hierarchical structure in which 'we' – the national collective – is primarily defined against an external and lower ranking 'other'. The author perceives this structure to contain inherent and powerful neocolonial potential, to which he responds by calling emphatically for the promotion of a 'cosmopolitan identity' intrinsically linked to universal values of inclusion, which might provide a much-needed answer to the challenges of globalization in our postcolonial present.

KANG SUN JOO's contribution to the volume, centering on the historical topic of the transition to the modern age, explores the question, passionately discussed in academic history and history education in South Korea, of how the discipline might transcend the traditional perspective equating 'modernity' with 'Europe', which South Korea has recognized and critiqued as Eurocentric. The author points to a number of ways forward for the foregrounding of postcolonial approaches in the teaching of world history. They include comparing various different routes to nation-state building, teaching the concept of 'modernity' as an outcome of cross-cultural interactions, drawing comparisons of mutual perceptions across cultures, transnational approaches, long-term perspectives and, importantly, a change in the perspectives of the colonized on 'modernization'.

As discussed above, colonialism had a profound impact even on European countries that did not possess colonies. Switzerland is one state to which this applies; current research has referred to its 'colonial complicity'. The undeniable fact that Switzerland and its nationals were part of and did profit from the colonial system has not prevented the establishment and persistence of a widespread view in Swiss society that the country had nothing to do with colonialism. The analysis by MARKUS FURRER of Swiss history textbooks from the 1950s onward directs a spotlight at

this erroneous belief. While Furrer demonstrates that the 1980s saw the advent of a more differentiated picture of colonialism, he also shows that, this development notwithstanding, Swiss textbooks to this day mostly fail to discuss the country's involvement in colonial structures and the impact exerted by colonialism's long shadow on present-day perceptions and power structures.

MARIANN NAGY discusses a different kind of discourse of colonization, a narrative that depicts Hungary as an exploited colony within the Habsburg monarchy. This argument, which serves the purpose of explaining Hungary's economically backward state, first emerged in the eighteenth century, to be eagerly embraced by Hungarian national-romantic historiography. Later, it became integrated into a Marxist framework in accordance with the political exigencies of the time. Though a modified picture gained ground in historiography in the second half of the twentieth century, the traditional interpretation persists in school textbooks to the present day. While the term 'colony' with respect to Hungary has vanished from textbooks since the 1960s, the simplified narrative patterns remain. Nagy demonstrates how current political discourses operationalize this pattern in order to discredit the European Union as a foreign colonizing power.

TERRY HAYDN's discussion of debates around the role of the British Empire's history in British schools demonstrates that Britain's imperial and colonial past is contested. Haydn analyzes the different manifestations of the National Curriculum alongside textbooks, history education websites, popular history magazines, and the findings of an exploratory survey giving insights into teaching practice. As Haydn points out, the evidence does not support the right-wing claim that the British Empire is not sufficiently covered in British history teaching and presented in an one-sidedly negative manner. However, the findings of the survey referenced indicate that problems do exist. Haydn argues that history teaching should encompass learning about different empires, which might counterbalance Eurocentric bias as well as expanding students' conceptual knowledge and understanding of the present.

The volume's final section, *Approaches*, encompasses three chapters which seek to harness inspirations from postcolonial theory and global history for the classroom. The chapter by PHILIPP BERNHARD

describes his approach to teaching (post-)colonial history at German secondary school level. Examples from his practice include teaching units on Spanish colonial history in the Americas, German colonial history, and the Israel-Palestine conflict. In his theoretical considerations, Bernhard combines Howard Zinn's concept of a People's History with ideas of post-colonial approaches. He demonstrates how concepts such as hybridity and transculturation can enrich teaching practice using methodological approaches which have the potential to contribute to a decolonization of knowledge.

DENNIS RÖDER's starting point is located in teaching practice and the difficulties he experienced as a history teacher using current textbook material on colonialism in Africa with his class. In his analysis of German history textbooks, he investigates the use of visual materials, pointing to considerable shortcomings in the visual presentation of colonial Africa and Africans under colonial rule. Many textbooks do not provide students with the information they would require in order to critically deconstruct visual sources such as photographs stemming from a colonial context. Though recent developments indicate increasing awareness of these issues, the use of visual material in textbooks still tends to strengthen traditional narratives and stereotypes on Africa. Concluding, Dennis Röder suggests ways in which teachers and textbook authors might contribute to supporting students in the development of their historical competencies and decolonizing history textbooks.

Basing his discussion on the exemplary case of Vietnam, KARL BENZIGER argues that the role-play method can be a useful approach to teaching contested history. In his analysis of debates on Vietnam, he shows that the connection between decolonization, civil rights and American Cold War foreign policy became evident in the U.S. as early as 1946; however, U.S. history teaching systematically neglects this narrative. In a role play Benziger staged with college and high school students, the participants were soon able to access the relevance of the connection between race and foreign policy and thus an understanding of how the present-day evaluation of this period came into being.

This volume treads new ground in bringing together for the first time the spectrum of differing national approaches to and contents of colonial history and its teaching. It explores history education on modern

European colonialism across different regions of the world and addresses the representations, understandings and uses of colonial heritage from a global and diachronic perspective. Many of the contributions demonstrate how colonial patterns persist in history education, and in so doing open up new questions on the significance of colonial pasts for contemporary societies and on the relevance of postcolonial theories to history education at schools. In this spirit, *History Education and (Post-)Colonialism. International Case Studies* seeks to bridge the gap between the academic and educational dimensions of colonial and postcolonial history. Engaging with the representation of colonial history and postcolonial theory, the contributions draw to a considerable extent, although not exclusively, on textbooks and curricula as tools of teaching and cultural translation. The potential of textbooks as reflectors (and mediators) of master narratives and the longevity of these narrative patterns as they appear within the structure and design of textbooks are at the core of this book. Readers interested in the current state of research into ongoing debates on the place of colonialism in national narratives, textbooks, and curricula as well as in the challenges of postcolonial theory to history education will find that the contributions offer wide-ranging perspectives on these topics.

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