



History in the Service of Mankind

International Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927–2002

Thomas Nygren



Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies
Umeå University, Sweden, 2011

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Abstract

In this study the guidelines of the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe are investigated in relation to Swedish national curricula, teachers' perceptions of and students' work in history, from 1927 to 2002.

Inspired by John I Goodlad's notions of curricula and implementation, the formulation of history is studied. The ideological curricula are analyzed via the international guidelines directed to Swedish history teaching. The formal curricula are examined in national guidelines and also how history is formulated in final examinations and inspectors' reports. The perceived curricula are studied in teachers' debates and interviews with experienced teachers. The experiential curricula are examined through looking at students' choices of topics in final exams, 1,680 titles of students' individual projects in history and an in-depth analysis of 145 individual projects written between 1969 and 2002.

The study shows that the means and goals of history education have been formulated in both different and similar ways within and between curricular levels. On all the curricular levels studied the history subject has become more internationally oriented. After World War II national history landed in the background and the world history, favored by UNESCO, became dominant in Sweden from the 1950s onwards. Despite the fact that the Council of Europe's Euro-centrism became more prominent in the 1994 syllabus in history, students still preferred world history over European history. International and national guidelines also stressed the value of paying heed to marginalized groups, local cultural heritage and contemporary history. These orientations were also represented in the teachers' views of history teaching and in the students' work in history.

The results of the study suggest that the implementation of the international guidelines were more than a top-down process. During the entire period studied, guidelines have been formulated and transacted, but also reinterpreted and in some cases, ignored. Teachers and students seem to have been co-creators in the transformation of history education.

History as a subject, according to the study, encompassed an ever expanding geographical area and more and more perspectives. Not least on the student level, the subject was formulated and dealt with in manifold ways, often oriented towards contemporary world history. Students' history had great similarities with the international notion of history education in the service of mankind. Students expressed a rejection of war, an understanding of minorities and a wish to safeguard the local cultural heritage. Even if there were exceptions, students' history appears to have been influenced by international understanding during a century filled with conflicts.

Keywords: history teaching, League of Nations, UNESCO, Council of Europe, curriculum, implementation, teachers, students

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This study would have been much harder to accomplish without the support from helpful librarians, archivists, administrators and principals; and last, but certainly not least, my fellow teachers. Your help in my search for sources from practice has been vital and your interest in my study has been encouraging. Excellent translations made by Jan Teeland, a friend and colleague in practice, also played a material part in making my research internationally accessible. The possibility to be a part of school and academia turned out to be a good combination. Thank you my dear colleagues and students for all the positive input.

As my thesis is coming to an end I am struck by the possibility proposed in a song saying that “this is not the end it’s evolution...tell you once again you are a traveller in time”¹. In this travel in time my most valuable co-travelers have been my family; and I sincerely hope to continue this fascinating journey with you Malin and our children Tuva and Freja.

Thomas Nygren

A beautiful spring day in Gävle 2011

¹ The 1988 hit single named “This is not the end” performed by “The French Revolution”.

Abbreviations

AFHL: Aktuellt för historieläraren [New Information for History Teachers].

ASP: UNESCO Associated Schools Project.

HLFÅ: Historielärarnas förenings årsskrift [Association of History Teachers' Annual Report].

ICIC: International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (Sub-organization of the League of Nations).

TfSL: Tidning för Sveriges läroverk [Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers' Journal].

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

SÖ: Skolöverstyrelsen [National School Board]

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- Paper II: Nygren T., "UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960–2002," *Educational Inquiry*, 2, no 1 (2011): 37–60. (Publication agreement 2011 03 28).
- Paper III: Nygren, T., "The Contemporary Turn: Debate, Curricula and Swedish Students' History," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*. *Submitted*. (Publication agreement 2011 04 15).
- Paper IV: Nygren, T., *Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier*, PhL diss., Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2009.

Introduction

The 20th century was a century heavily stamped by economic, social and cultural developments in an ever more globalized world. The world's population increased not least because of better health and greater longevity. New nations were created, strongly conscious of their own cultures. More and more advanced levels of education contributed to improving technology and communications. However, all these developments were overshadowed by war, the threat of war and balance of terror. The horrors of war in the short 20th century affected a great deal of the world's population both directly and indirectly.² The end of the cold war did not entail the end of wars between and within states – rather the opposite as regards Europe. Even if Sweden declared itself neutral and stood outside military alliances, Sweden was – and is – involved in the tensions of the world. A world crisscrossed by tensions and conflicts between different alliances in war and peace, with great gaps between and within nations – not least between the poor and the rich.

At the same time, during the 20th century, movements gathered against war and oppression. International organizations worked in other directions than those signalled by conflicts in a divided world.³ The League of Nations, which admittedly failed to stop the Second World War, became a formal arena, containing institutions and networks for peace, development and education.⁴ The focus of the international community on peaceful global development was reinforced after the Second World War through the creation of the United Nations and its various member organizations, such as UNESCO. In Europe the Council of Europe was created in order to fortify relations between and among European nations and to work for democracy and human rights. All this took place in an international context in which education was seen – and is still seen – as crucial for positive development within and between nations.

The use and misuse of history in education was discussed in this context. In the 19th century, history education was held to be an important part of the fostering of good, obedient citizens and patriots, but it was also criticized for harboring harmful nationalism and militarism.⁵ In the shadow of the world

² See for instance: Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Joseph, 1994).

³ Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁴ Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica*, 43, no.2 (2007): 208; *League of Nations, International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation: Subcommittee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations*, July 12, 1927, 1927.

⁵ *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), 10–15; Göran Andolf, *Historien på gymnasiet: Undervisning och läroböcker 1820–1965* (PhD diss., Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1972), 8–23; Tomas Englund, *Curriculum*

wars, criticism of history teaching as creating oppositions between countries and peoples increased. Through guidelines and reviews of textbooks⁶ history teaching should contribute to the development of the world instead of causing splits between countries.⁷ International organizations, of which Sweden has been and remains a member, claimed that history teaching should contribute to peace and tolerance, train critical thinking, show a variety of perspectives, demonstrate the value of cultural heritage and build up identities – history education in the service of humanity. The question is whether efforts to create a better world through teaching history had any significance?

In the present study, the relationship between the international guidelines for teaching history and developments nationally and in teaching practice is investigated. Guidelines from the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe, national curriculum, syllabuses, debates, teachers' views and students' work with history are placed in relation to each other. The aim is to examine the means and goals of history teaching in the international guidelines and in the Swedish context. The investigation of various levels of curricula proceeds from the following questions:

- What goals and means in history education have been recommended internationally in international organizations in which Sweden has been a member?
- How did the international guidelines relate to Swedish history education as regards implementation?

as Political Problem: Changing Educational Conceptions, with Special Reference to Citizenship Education (PhD diss., Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1986), 300f; Arie H..J. Wilschut, "History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies: Germany, England and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42, no. 5 (2010): 693–723; Henrik Åström Elmersjö and Daniel Lindmark, "Nationalism, Peace Education and History Textbook Revision in Scandinavia, 1886–1940," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, no. 2 (2010): 63–74. In the 19th century, Nietzsche claimed that studies of history could serve life by: stressing exemplary acts of the past, giving a feeling of local connection and liberating the individual through viewing the past critically. According to Nietzsche, the risk did exist that use of the past could also contribute to fanaticism, rigidity, mediocrity and a desire to escape from the present: Friedrich Nietzsche, *Om historiens skada och nytta: En otidsenlig betraktelse* (Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1998), 40–59.

⁶ From the 1930s on, in Scandinavia, the Norden Associations were reviewing history textbooks with the intention of establishing a common ground of history in the Nordic countries: Åström Elmersjö and Lindmark. An effort described by UNESCO as "the most outstanding example so far of regional collaboration on textbook revision": *A Handbook*, 34.

⁷ The efforts primarily to achieve peace through textbook research have become an academic focus. The role of history teaching and textbooks in conflict and post-conflict societies has been studied in, for example, East Asia, Rwanda, Cyprus, the Balkans and Northern Ireland: Steffi Richter, ed., *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008); Sarah Warshawer Freedman, Harvey M. Weinstein, Karen Murphy and Timothy Logan, "Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience," *Comparative Education Review*, 52, no. 4 (2008); Yannis Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A comparison of Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'," *History and Memory*, no. 2 (2008); Jean-Damascène Gasanabo, *Fostering Peaceful Co-Existence through Analysis and Revision of History Curricula and Textbooks in Southeast Europe* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006); Keith C. Barton and Alan W. McCully, "History, Identity and the School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students' Ideas and Perspectives," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 1 (2005).

- In comparison with the international guidelines, how was history formulated in Swedish formal curricula, teachers' perceptions and students' work in history?

Outline and Structure

The dissertation contains an introduction and four papers. In the introduction, supplementary points of departure for the study are presented, particularly for papers I, II and III since their format allows limited space for presentations of theory, method and materials. Results from the papers and certain supplementary results follow the introduction in order to shed light on international developments and the relation between and within different levels of curriculum over time. The dissertation concludes in a discussion of the results of the study as a whole, focusing on implementation and orientation.

Paper I concentrates on the period 1927 to 1961 when the international guidelines from international organizations began to be formulated and implemented. Paper II deals with the period from c. 1960 to 2002, focusing on three of the orientations that were formulated internationally and how these could be expressed in students' historical consciousness. In paper III, students' orientations towards more contemporary history in relation to international guidelines and debate are studied. Paper IV, previously presented separately in a Licentiate dissertation,⁸ undertakes an exploratory survey of experienced teachers' views of history teaching.

Limits of the Study

On the international level, the study confines itself to normative instruments within the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe that clearly were directed towards the teaching of history. The League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe were the international organizations during the period studied that produced guidelines which Sweden agreed to follow.⁹

To be able to study developments on an international level and link international guidelines to student levels, history education has been studied on the upper secondary level. This is also because the subject of history on this level was an independent subject during the entire period studied, and on

⁸ Thomas Nygren, *Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier* (PhL diss., Umeå: Umeå University, 2009).

⁹ Even NATO, of which Sweden is not a member, has had recommendations for a more trans-Atlantic history teaching. Within EU, history teaching has been discussed, but these discussions have not given rise to any directives: Erik Axelsson, "Europas sanna historier: Att skapa europeer med historiens hjälp" in *Det mångsidiga verktyget: Elva utbildningshistoriska uppsatser*, A. Berg, A. and H. Enefalk, eds. (Uppsala: Opuscula Historica Upsalensia, 2009). The Norden Associations which early on carried out textbook revisions are not taken up in this study because this was not an intergovernmental effort: Åström Elmersjö and Lindmark. A number of other efforts has been studied by Romain Faure: Romain Faure, "Connections in the History of Textbook Revision, 1947–1952," *Education Inquiry*, 2, no. 1 (2011): 21–35

the upper secondary level students wrote essays and individual projects in history. On the teacher level, the study is limited to the debates in teacher journals, aimed directly at history teachers on the upper secondary level, and to the personal narratives of seven experienced teachers, with a view to an in-depth analysis of their statements. The overriding pedagogic and political educational debate is not treated in detail: the dissertation concentrates on the formulation and implementation of the subject of history. Since the study does not include classroom observations, how lessons were conducted is not taken up.¹⁰ Another important point of demarcation is that from a selection of international guidelines and a survey of the various sources, periods of reform have been highlighted in order to make a more thorough analysis of how the goals and means of history teaching have been formulated, interpreted and transferred between different curricular levels.

¹⁰ The level that Goodlad calls “operational curricula” has thus not been examined. See the points of departure for theory and method below.

Theoretical and Analytical Framework

The central curricular point of departure for the study is John I. Goodlad's description of curricula and their implementation. In his theory Goodlad has brought up how implementation can be about transactions, interpretations as well as more independent creation of value in a complex interplay with the world at large.¹¹ Each curricular level can contain several different perspectives; different curricular realities. What is formulated in recommendations and national guidelines does not automatically seep down to the students.

In several ways, and using many different terms, Goodlad has divided the curriculum in different and interacting levels for negotiations on content and interpretation.¹² As a structuring principle for the present study, I have chosen to term the curricular levels as: *the ideological, the formal, the perceived and the experiential curricula*.¹³ The use of curricular levels was inspired by Goodlad and Björg Brandzaeg Gudem's use of Goodlad's concepts. However, in her interpretation of Goodlad Gudem uses the singular in her terms for levels of curricula¹⁴, whereas I deem the plural to better signify that each curricular level can entail several different perspectives.

The ideological curricula are, in Goodlad's view, currents in time that can be found in all curricular levels.¹⁵ In my study I have chosen to use this term for the international level since, in their guidelines, the international organizations explicitly express ideological stances for history teaching. I view these international guidelines as making ideological currents concrete: normative proposals that can be scrutinized in relation to each other and to other curricular levels. These involve ideological stances on means and goals that on the international level are propounded as valuable in history teaching. Since the formally-binding curricula exist on the national level, the study includes the formal Swedish curricula and syllabuses for history. The formal curriculum writings on history teaching are considered to be agreements and compromises and their internal relations and relations to other levels are seen as involving both transactions and interpretations. The formal curricula are seen as objects for different interpretations and therefore history teachers' perceptions of them can vary. Thus, the point of departure for the present study allows for the possibility that what students have understood

¹¹ John I. Goodlad, ed., *Curriculum Inquiry* (New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, 1979), 22, 348ff.

¹² Goodlad, 23, 348ff; Björg Brandzaeg Gudem, "Läroplansarbete som didaktiskt verksamhet" in *Didaktik*, Michael Uljens ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997). Wolfgang Klafki and even Bo Lindensjö and Ulf P. Lundgren have described two levels of curriculum, one where the guidelines are formulated and one where teaching is carried out: Wolfgang Klafki, "Kritisk-konstruktiv didaktik" in *Didaktik*, Michael Uljens ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 219; Lindensjö and Lundgren, 171–179.

¹³ Goodlad, 347. The operational curricula are not examined since the practice of history cannot be observed.

¹⁴ Gudem, 258

¹⁵ Goodlad, 355.

in the experiential curricula can depart considerably from the formulations in the guidelines.¹⁶

Various kinds of understandings on different levels, at different times show how the subject of history can be comprehended and formed as a history-didactic phenomenon. In Figure 1, the analytical and theoretical framework used in the study is illustrated: different curricular levels with different means and goals and possible interpretations and transactions between them.

¹⁶ Goodlad, 40.

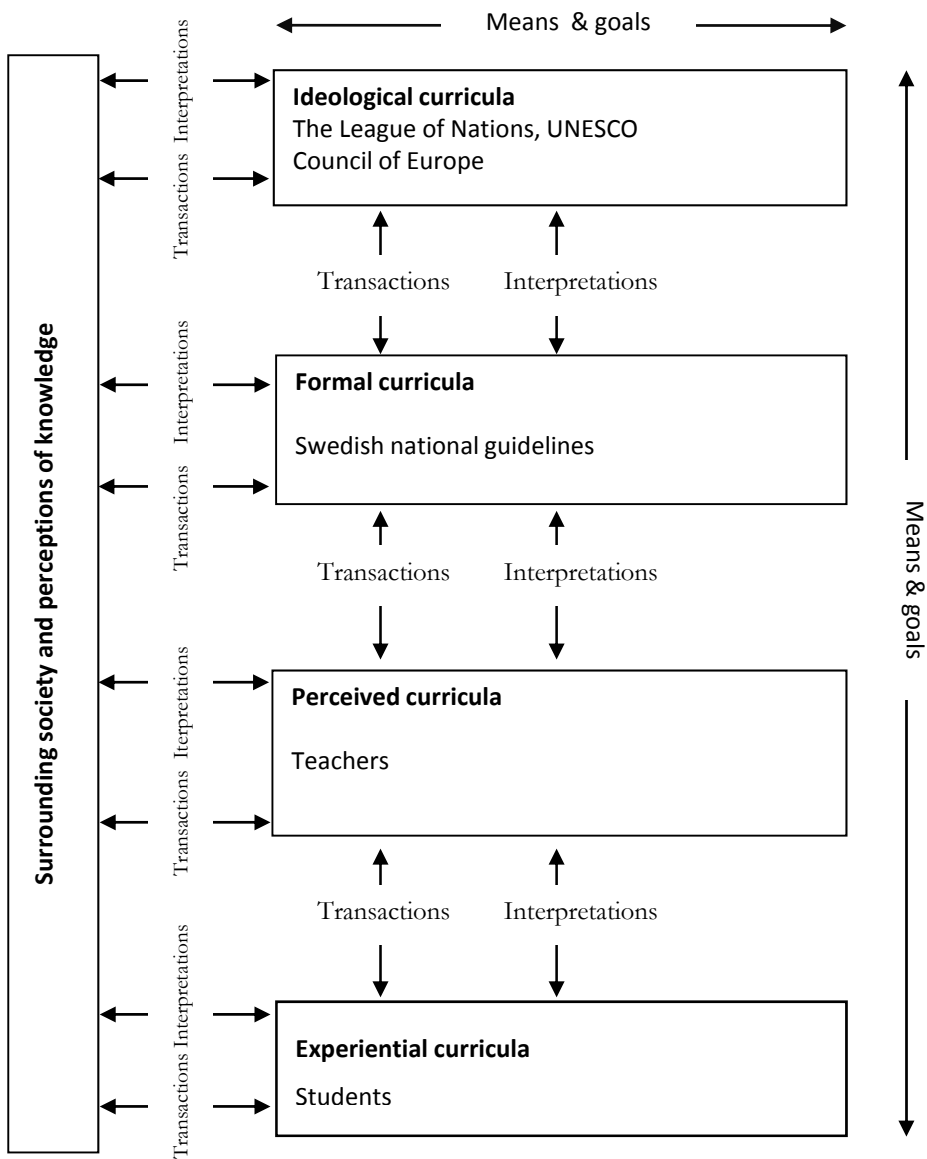


Figure 1: *Theoretical and analytical model of the relationship between and within curricular realities on different levels.*

Figure 1 shows the different curricular “realities” that have been studied. It demonstrates the great importance of interpretations for how intentions are understood and passed on. These points of departure make it possible to study the interplay between the levels. What I have examined is how the

subject of history was comprehended and formulated on the different levels, with special attention paid to similarities and differences between and within the levels. The surrounding society, the historical context, has not been studied in detail but is taken into account through setting the sources in their historical contexts and through analyzing the uses of concepts over time and in various contexts. Since history teaching is part of a complex universe, the path from guidelines to students is one filled with impressions from the surrounding world.

The connection between international guidelines and Swedish history education is described and analyzed on the basis of how the subject's values are discussed, introduced and used on different levels in order to show thereby the transformation of history teaching over time and on different levels. Direct referrals and communications between levels are noted for the purpose of revealing transactions and interpretations.

Previous Research

Formulating and Implementing International Guidelines

Eckhardt Fuchs has described the League of Nations as a formal inter-governmental network of importance for international interaction around questions of education.¹⁷ Jan Kolasa has claimed that questions concerning history teaching in this arena could involve clashes between national political agendas and more universal goals.¹⁸ Studies of UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's views of history education describe how the history subject was considered valuable for peace, cultural identity and cultural encounters.¹⁹ History teaching and textbooks have, according to Ann Low-Beer and Falk Pingel, been the subjects of recommendations from UNESCO and the Council of Europe, recommendations that have advocated a diversity of goals, content and methods.²⁰ Pertti Luntinen has described UNESCO as an ideological arena with, in many cases, vigorous disputes around the means and goals of history education.²¹ Luigi Cajani has described the difficulties arising within the Council of Europe to deal with Turkey as a part of Europe in the Council's efforts to replace nationalist perspectives in history teaching with Euro-centric ones.²² Of importance for this study it can be noted that,

¹⁷ Fuchs, 208–209.

¹⁸ Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO* (Wroclaw, 1962), 78.

¹⁹ Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision*. (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1967); Thomas Buergenthal and Judith V. Torney, *International Human Rights and International Education*. (Washington DC: US National Commission for UNESCO, 1976); Pertti Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part I," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 10 (1988); Pertti Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part II," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 11 (1989); John Slater, *Teaching History in the New Europe* (London: Cassell, 1995), 3–50; Ann Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997); Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision, 2nd Revised and Updated Edition* (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), 9–18; Katérina Stenou, *UNESCO and the Issue of Cultural Diversity: Review and Strategy, 1946–2004: A Study Based on Official Documents* (Paris: UNESCO, 2004); Katérina Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity* (Paris: UNESCO, 2007).

²⁰ Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*, 9–18; Low-Beer.

²¹ Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part I"; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part II". UNESCO's ideological tensions and problems with financing its many programs have been described by Karen Mundy: Karen Mundy, "Educational Multilateralism in a Changing World Order: UNESCO and the Limits of the Possible," *International Journal of Educational Development*, no. 19 (1999). That the subject of history has often been the focus of ideological conflicts and that views of the subject and concepts can change over time has been noted by Mark B. Nelson from an American perspective: Mark B. Nelson, *Ideology and History Education: A Study of the Influence of Ideology on the Formation of History Curriculum and History Standards* (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2001).

²² Luigi Cajani, "Bringing the Ottoman Empire into the European Narrative: Historians' Debate in the Council of Europe" in *Narrating Islam: Interpretations of the Muslim World in European Texts*, Gerdien Jonker and Shiraz Thobani, eds. (London: I.B. Tauris Academic Studies, 2010). A Euro-centric perspective replacing the nationalistic was also described by Cajani in, Luigig Cajani, "Between Cosmopolitanism, Europeanism and Nationalism: The Shifting Focus in the Teaching of History in Europe," in *A Europe of Many Cultures: Pro-*

questions of what, why and how history should be taught have been remarked and emphasized in different ways within UNESCO and the Council of Europe.²³

Mary Rauner interpreted revisions made in 42 countries' civics curricula and textbooks as being influenced by contacts with UNESCO. More economically developed countries most clearly followed the international guidelines on more global civics education. The exception, according to Rauner, was Western Europe, where despite its high level of development and clear connections to UNESCO, did not highlight global civics.²⁴ Also Poul Duedahl observed that UNESCO's guidelines can have an impact on the national level: he interpreted changes in curriculum and textbooks in Denmark as implementations of UNESCO's recommendations concerning international understanding and changes in concepts of race.²⁵ Duedahl suggested that UNESCO's guidelines were being implemented in school through the infusion of a new view of race that was penetrating both UNESCO and science; but also, a conscious media strategy and personal commitments on the part of textbook authors with links to UNESCO, were important for the introduction of the guidelines.²⁶ How students' understanding and orientations were altered was not investigated by Rauner and Duedahl. Maitland Stobart has written about the difficulties in assessing the impact of the Council of Europe's recommendations. He thought it reasonable to assume that they have had a certain influence in some member countries, not least because of the participants' professional positions in politics and education. At the same time, he contended that the recommendations have been only one of several contributing factors in a wider process.²⁷ According to Connie L. McNeely, an international organization like UNESCO can affect national guidelines for education through its role as a kind of trans-national moral actor.²⁸ John W. Meyer et al hold that internationally formulated guidelines entail a signifi-

ceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network, Alistair Ross, ed. (London: CiCE, 2003).

²³ Schüddekopf; Buergenthal and Torney; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part I"; Pertti Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part II"; Low-Beer; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*; Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question*.

²⁴ Mary Rauner, "UNESCO as an Organizational Carrier of Civics Education Information," *International Journal of Educational Development*, no. 19 (1999): 99.

²⁵ Duedahl, *Fra overmenneske*, 236–240.

²⁶ Duedahl, *Fra overmenneske*, 193–202, 233–240.

²⁷ Maitland Stobart, "Fifty Years of European Co-operation on History Textbooks: The Role and Contribution of the Council of Europe," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 21 (1999), 158.

²⁸ Connie L. McNeely, "Prescribing National Education Policies: The Role of International Organizations," *Comparative Education Review*, 39, no. 4 (1995), 503. The notion of "transnational moral entrepreneurs" was used by Nadelmann when describing intergovernmental organizations: Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society," *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (1990), 482.

cant cultural pressure for change on individual nations.²⁹ Not least through forming networks can an organization like UNESCO influence education in various countries, according to Michael Omoleva.³⁰

A large part of previous research on both UNESCO and the Council of Europe has been financed by the organization under scrutiny and directed towards improving textbooks and the practice of history teaching.³¹ Research directed towards curriculum, textbooks and textbook revision has not looked at students' history.³² There has hitherto been no independent investigation of how students have comprehended the subject of history on the basis of the various guidelines set by international organizations.

Implementation on a National Level

The implementation of national curriculum in teaching has, according to Lars Petterson, seldom been investigated in previous Swedish research.³³ When research has been carried out, what has been noted is the complex relation between the national curricula and teaching. The teacher's autonomy, outside impressions as well as of traditions within the subjects can influence the process.³⁴ Already in the 1970s Gunilla Svingby observed that the implementation of national curriculum and guidelines can give rise to both interpretations and conflicts on various levels on the part of the actors involved. She held that it must be assumed that interpretations may be made and that views conflicting with central guidelines can block their implementation.³⁵ In 2008, Ian Westbury claimed that within research of curriculum

²⁹ John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas and Francisco O. Ramirez, "World Society and the Nation State," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 103, no. 1 (1997), 160; Stobart, 158.

³⁰ Michael Omoleva, "UNESCO as a Network," *Paedagogica Historica*, 45, no. 2 (2007).

³¹ Gasanabo; Droit; Stenou, *UNESCO and the Issue*; Falk Pingel, *The European Home: Representations of 20th Century Europe in History Textbooks* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2000); Stobart; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*, 9–18; Low-Beer; Buergenthal and Torney; Schüddekopf.

³² Schüddekopf; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part I"; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part II"; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*; Rauner; Stobart; Pingel, *The European*.

³³ Lars Petterson, "Pedagogik och historia. En komplicerad förbindelse", in Selander, S. ed., *Kobran, nallen och majjen: tradition och förnyelse i svensk skola och skolforskning* (Stockholm: Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2003), 365.

³⁴ Edmund Knutas, *Mellan retorik och praktik: En ämnesdidaktisk och läroplansteoretisk studie av svensk-ämnen och fyra gymnasielärares svenskundervisning efter gymnasiereformen 1994* (PhD diss., Högskolan i Dalarna, 2008), 273–283; Ulf Lundström, *Gymnasielärare: Perspektiv på lärares arbete och yrkesutveckling vid millennieskiftet* (PhD diss., Umeå: Umeå University), 158–167; Nygren, 93ff; Mimmi Coughlin, *What Counts and Why? Exploring Historical Significance as Constructed by High School United States History Teachers* (PhD diss., Boston College, 2002); Christine Bennett and Elizabeth Spalding, "Teaching the Social Studies: Multiple Approaches for Multiple Perspectives," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 20, no. 3 (1992): 271; Ronald W. Evans, "Educational Ideologies and the Teaching of History," in *Teaching and Learning in History*, Gaea Leinhardt, Isabel Beck and Catherine Stainton, eds. (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, 1994), 192ff.

³⁵ Gunilla Svingby, *Läroplaner som styrmedel för svensk obligatorisk skola: teoretisk analys och ett empiriskt bidrag* (PhL diss., Gothenburg, Gothenburg University, 1978), 218–221.

theory, it is “widely accepted that the direct influence of formal curricula on teaching practice is at best uncertain.”³⁶

On the basis of historical educational case studies, David Tyack and William Tobin stated that school reforms can be fundamentally changed when they are reinterpreted and revised for implementation in the classroom. School cultures, opinions, political power, functionality and teachers’ workloads were, according to Tyack and Tobin, of significance for whether the reforms were put into practice at all.³⁷ In Sweden Bo Lindensjö and Ulf P. Lundgren pointed out that the organization of the school must be accepted and teachers given legitimacy when interpreting the execution of reforms: “To only interpret resistance to reforms as expressions of conservative reactions and general opposition to change is not especially meaningful.”³⁸

Teachers as Makers of Curricula

Julian Dierkes claimed that changes in history teaching in West Germany after World War II up to 1995 can largely be explained by the teachers’ academic identity and their desire to follow developments in research.³⁹ In the Swedish context, Johan Samuelsson has pointed out that through their engagement in the Association of History Teachers, teachers have been active in formulating formal curricula in history and civics.⁴⁰

Michael W. Apple observed that national curricula and guidelines, like textbooks, are the results of political power struggles, and that textbooks are neither necessarily used nor do they necessarily influence learning to any great extent.⁴¹ Within Swedish history-didactic research, the importance of the textbook in the upper secondary classroom has been asserted much on the basis of an unclear questionnaire, during and after the European Youth and History project.⁴² National and international case studies of the use of

³⁶ Ian Westbury, “Making Curricula: Why do States make Curricula and How?,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, F. Michael Connelly, ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008), 46.

³⁷ David Tyack and William Tobin, “The ‘Grammar’ of Schooling: Why has it been so hard to change?,” *American Educational Research Journal*, 31, no. 3 (1994), 469f, 477f.

³⁸ Bo Lindensjö and Ulf P. Lundgren, *Utbildningsreformer och politisk styrning* (Stockholm: HLS Förlag, 2000), 178.

³⁹ Julian Dierkes, “The Decline and Rise of the Nation in Germany History Education,” in *The Nation Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 90ff.

⁴⁰ Johan Samuelsson, “Ämnesprofessionalitet under omförhandling: Exemplet historielärarnas förening kring 1940–1965,” *Didaktikens Forum* (2008), 62f, 67f.

⁴¹ Michael W. Apple, “The Text and Cultural Politics,” *Educational Researcher*, 21, no. 7 (1992): 10.

⁴² Students stating that it is common in history classroom to work with “läroboken och/eller arbetsuppgifter” [textbook and/or tasks] has been used as evidence for the importance of textbooks in history teaching. The question asked could definitely point towards more than just the textbook. The original question in English was “textbook and/or worksheet”: Magne Angvik & Bodo von Borries (eds.) *A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents* 1997, vol. A, 444; vol B, 58. The Swedish probable overemphasis on use of textbooks are evident in: Sture Långström, *Ungdomar tycker om historia och politik: En studie i pedagogiskt arbete* (Institutionen för svenska och samhällsvetenskapliga ämnen: Umeå universitet, 2001), 54; Niklas Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet: Historiemedvetande i*

textbooks in the classroom, have instead pointed out that the teachers' use of textbooks and their ways of teaching vary a great deal and that the textbook is subordinate to the teaching.⁴³ Christina Koulouri claims that it is the interplay between curricula, teacher, textbooks and students that creates historical consciousness.⁴⁴ In line with Koulouri's conclusions, Jean-Damascène Gasanabo observed in 2006 that, in the Balkans, there were great differences between what the curricula laid down and the actual history teaching in the classroom.⁴⁵ In 2009, Asher Shkedi considered that curricula were reinterpreted by teachers who created their "own" curriculum. Inspired but not steered by the national curriculum and guidelines.⁴⁶ On the basis of previously mentioned studies, Dierkes has concluded that it is the interaction between policy writers and dominating groups – in West Germany, mainly teachers – that creates and causes changes in the content of history teaching.⁴⁷

Despite pressures on them from many outside factors, secondary school teachers in present-day Sweden reputedly have substantial autonomy.⁴⁸ Previous research on the practice of teaching history has described how teaching may have different orientations, based on different interpretations of the means and goals of the subject (for a more thorough survey of previous research on the practice of history teaching, see paper IV, 24–36). Mikael Berg

svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år (PhD diss., Lund: Sisyfos förlag, 2008), 16–19; Johan Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning; Elevers och lärares uppfattningar om historieämnet* (PhD diss., Umeå universitet, 2010), 93; Ylva Wibeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara: En ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet Förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning* (PhD diss., Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2010), 29. Janne Holmén also thought that the textbook was central to teaching but he also stated that textbooks "have never been the same as/equal to teaching": Janne Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken: Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under kalla kriget* (PhD diss., Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006), 24.

⁴³ Lars Naeslund, *Läranintentioner och skolverklighet: Explorativa studier av uppgiftsutformning och arbetsförhållanden hos lärare på grundskolans högstadium* (PhD diss., Uppsala universitet: HLS Förlag, 1991), 92–107; Ann-Christine Juhlin Svensson, *Nya redskap för lärande: Studier av lärarens val och användning av läromedel i gymnasieskolan* (PhD diss., Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2000), appendix 2, 27–36; Bernhard C. Schär and Vera Sperisen, "Switzerland and the Holocaust: Teaching Contested History," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42, no. 5 (2010), 649–669. The textbook as a support for inexperienced teachers was described by teachers in Bengt Schüllerqvist and Christina Osbeck, eds., *Ämnesdidaktiska insikter och strategier* (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2009), 210–213. The need for more research of how the textbook is used and perceived in classrooms has been emphasized, see for instance: Porstein Helgason and Simone Lässig, eds., *Opening the Mind or Drawing Boundaries? History Texts in Nordic Schools* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010), 14.

⁴⁴ Christina Koulouri, "The Tyranny of History" in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, in Christina Koulouri ed. (Tessanoli: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 15 ff. Dan A. Porat has stated that "the textbook accounts alone did not affect students' historical memory.": Dan A. Porat, "Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives" *American Educational Research Journal*, 41, no. 4 (2004): 991.

⁴⁵ Gasanabo, 66.

⁴⁶ Asher Shkedi, "From Curriculum Guide to Classroom Practice: Teachers' Narratives of Curriculum Application," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41, no. 6 (2009).

⁴⁷ Dierkes.

⁴⁸ Cf. Knutas, 273–283; Lundström, 158–167; Christina Gustafsson, "Ramfaktorer och pedagogiskt utvecklingsarbete," *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, no. 1 (1999), 43–57; Catherin Cornbleth, "Climates of Constraint/Restraint of Teachers and Teaching," in *Critical Issues in Social Studies Research for the 21st Century*, William B. Stanley, ed. (Greenwich: Information Age Publishing, 2001), 73–95.

has noted that Swedish history teachers may very well comprehend the subject in different ways.⁴⁹ Berg has also found that age and experience can influence how the history subject is understood by the teachers and their perception of freedom *vis a vis* the syllabus.⁵⁰ The results of Berg's investigation can be interpreted to mean that experience can entail a more complex understanding of the subject and less emphasis on the content of the syllabus.⁵¹ Even earlier there seemed to be degrees of freedom and other influences on teaching than the national guidelines.⁵²

To survey all conceivable influences is hardly possible; such research would also risk marginalizing the teachers' practical knowledge, and make teachers more like "marionettes than reflective practitioners"⁵³, and treat students as passive recipients of knowledge. My own view is that it is very important to look at various attempts at reforming history teaching and to analyze the subsequent transformation and implementation from a nuanced receiver perspective.

Students' History

After examining students' work and essays in history in 1909 and 1941, Sven-Åke Johansson attested to the importance of not seeing the national curriculum and syllabuses in terms of the actual teaching. He stated that "the individual pieces of work showed greater diversity of subject choice than that indicated by the curricula and syllabuses. Thus to describe schools' practice only from a point of departure in syllabuses would be pointing in the wrong direction."⁵⁴

A study on an aggregated level by Ellen Almgren and a more practice based study by Anders Broman, concerning the fostering of democratic values in Swedish schools, indicate that political and pedagogic guidelines can have unanticipated and even opposite effects in students' education.⁵⁵ Moreover, according to Keith C. Barton, recent research has revealed that stu-

⁴⁹ Mikael Berg, *Historielärares historier: Ämnesbiografi och ämnesförståelse hos gymnasielärare i historia* (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2010:37), 54–57, 129–147.

⁵⁰ Berg, 48f, 53.

⁵¹ Berg, 53, 97.

⁵² Nygren, 36, 78–94. Jan Morawski has discussed how the development of national guidelines have involved a battle between different ideas of control and freedom for teachers in Sweden: Jan Morawski, *Mellan frihet och kontroll: Om läroplanskonstruktioner i svensk skola* (PhD diss., Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2010), 226.

⁵³ Sverker Lindblad, Göran Linde and Lars Naeslund, "Ramfaktorteori och praktiskt förnuft," *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, no. 1 (1999), 201.

⁵⁴ Sven-Åke Johansson, *Östersjöområdet i skolans undervisning och värderingar* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 2005), 219.

⁵⁵ Ellen Almgren, *Att fostra demokrater: Om skolan i demokratin och demokratin i skolan* (PhD diss., Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2006), 127–136; Anders Broman, *Att göra en demokrat: Demokratisk socialisation i den svenska gymnasieskolan* (PhD diss., Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2009), 208.

dents' views of history are very diverse and have been affected by school, society and personal experiences in complex interaction.⁵⁶

Swedish research by Kenneth Nordgren, Vanja Lozic, Igor Potapenko, Sture Långström and Johan Hansson has described how different ethnic backgrounds and gender could give rise to certain differences in students' experiences of, and interest in, history.⁵⁷ The present study does not include any analyses of ethnicity or gender, but it is important to recall that students' experience of history can vary and also be shaped by factors outside of school.

The Complexity of Implementation in a Global World

Previous research tells us that the outcome of a curriculum may contain diverse perspectives and interpretations. The implementation of guidelines in teaching is neither linear nor automatic. A study of international recommendations, national guidelines, history teachers' perceptions and students' formulations of history can provide new knowledge of the development and implementation of history education in an ever more global world.

⁵⁶ Keith C. Barton, "Research on Students' Ideas about History," in *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education*, Linda S. Levstik and Cynthia A. Tyson, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 248. In a Swedish context, Ola Halldén noted in 1994 that students have a tendency to simplify by seeing history from an actor's perspective: Ola Halldén, "On the Paradox of Understanding History in an Educational Setting" in *Teaching and Learning in History*, Gaea Leinhardt, Isabel Beck and Catherin Stainton, eds (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994).

⁵⁷ Kenneth Nordgren, *Vems är historien? Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige* (PhD diss., Karlstad: Karlstad universitet, 2006), 131–163; Vanja Lozic, *I historiekansons skugga: Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle* (PhD diss., Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010), 207–251; Igor Potapenko, *Historiemedvetande och identitet: Om historiens närvaro i några estniska ungdomars liv* (PhD diss., Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2010), 214–220; Långström, 178–182; Hansson, 60–63.

Methodology and Data

The study of the relationship between international guidelines and history teaching in Sweden has required taking different types of sources into account and using different methods. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to be able to analyze curricular levels utilizing various types of sources. Materials have been collected and analyzed in order to reveal curricular realities and their relations to each other from a pragmatic and methodological point of view.⁵⁸

Ideological Curricula as Starting Point

On the international level, it is common to work with normative instruments in order to influence, for example, what happens in teaching. Declarations, recommendations, resolutions and conventions are three types of normative instruments. All are meant to direct focus towards new and important questions, but where conventions exist to be incorporated into the respective countries' laws, the declarations, resolutions and recommendations primarily concern political impact. Declarations, resolutions and recommendations have been, and continue to be used within the League of Nations, the UN and the Council of Europe to clarify common attitudes and positions and to admonish member nations to act – without threats of sanctions.⁵⁹

In the present study I have treated these normative instruments and guidelines within the above-mentioned organizations as ideological curricula since, regardless of their formal status, they reveal points of view and intentions with the subject of history as these are formulated internationally. I analyze the international guidelines concerning history teaching that has been issued by inter-governmental organizations that Sweden has been, and still is, a member of, namely the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe. I review chronologically the means and goals propounded at different time periods in the ideological curricula that Sweden has agreed to follow. I place the international guidelines in relation to each other and also in relation to an overarching survey of the source material that determined what guidelines would and could be examined on other curricular levels.

Figure 2 shows an overview of written and oral sources on different curricular levels, which have been used in the study

⁵⁸ The value of being able to combine quantitative and qualitative methods has previously been advocated by, eg Onwuegbuzie and Leech: Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie and Nancy L. Leech, "On Becoming a Pragmatic Researcher: The Importance of Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methodologies," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8, no. 5 (2005);, 375–387. Anna Hjälms noted in her dissertation how several methods can provide a better total picture: Anna Hjälms, *A Family Landscape: On the Geographical Distances between Elderly Parents and Adult Children in Sweden* (PhD diss., Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011), 36f.

⁵⁹ Svenska Unescorådet, *Deklaration, rekommendationer och konventioner*, 2009, NE.

Levels of Curricula	First Guidelines	Post World War II Reforms	Post-Colonial Reforms	End of Cold War and New Century Reforms
League of Nations and UNESCO guidelines	1925 Cesari's res. 1927 How to develop the spirit of international co-operation 1937 Declaration regarding the teaching of history	1947 International understanding 1949 Aid to international understanding	1960 Postcolonial criticism 1965 UN Elimination of racial discrimination 1972 World heritage 1976 Safeguarding cultural heritage. 1974 International understanding, peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms 1978 Against racism	1983 International understanding, peace, human rights and disarmament 1985 The status of women 1993 UN human rights education 1995 Declaration for peace, human rights and democracy 2001 Universal declaration on cultural diversity
<i>Ideological curricula</i>				
Council of Europe guidelines		1952 Revision on history and geography textbooks 1953 The European idea in the teaching of history 1954 European cultural convention 1954-58 A history of Europe (printed 1960)	1964 Civics and European education 1965 History teaching in secondary education. 1971 History teaching in upper secondary education. 1972 Religion in history textbooks 1978 The teaching of human rights 1979 Cooperation in Europe 1981 Intolerance a threat to democracy 1981 Environmental education	1983 Promotion of awareness of Europe in secondary schools 1983 Preparing young people for life 1983 Cultural and educational means of reducing violence 1984 Teacher training for intercultural understanding 1984 Against bias and prejudice 1985 Teaching and learning about human rights 1985 European cultural identity 1989 The European dimension of education 1991 The contribution of the Islamic civilisation to Europe 1993 Religious tolerance in a democratic society 1993 Local history in a European perspective 1995 Protection of national minorities 1996 History and the learning of history in Europe 1999 On secondary education 2001 Teaching 20 th century European history
<i>Ideological curricula</i>				
Sweden	1928 National curriculum 1928 Syllabus for history teaching 1933 National curriculum 1935 Syllabus for history teaching	1950 National curriculum 1956 Syllabus for history teaching 1961 Syllabus for history teaching	1965 National curriculum 1965 Syllabus for history teaching 1970 National curriculum (1.gy-7 th) 1976 Translation UNESCO International understanding 1969-82 Inspector reports of history teaching 1981 Syllabus for history teaching	1993 Translation UNESCO International understanding (second print) 1994 National curriculum 1994 Syllabus for history teaching 1994 Agreement (Översiktskomite) (Human rights and International understanding in a special print)
Teachers	TSL 1926-1942 HLEFA 1942	TSL 1945-1956 HLEFA 1945-1959 Interviews experienced teachers of their school experiences	HLEFA 1960-1982 AHIL 1968-1977 Interviews Supervision of individual projects	HLEFA 1983-2002 Interviews Supervision of individual projects
<i>Perceived curricula</i>				
Students	Titles of individual projects 1930-31 and 1938-39. Topics for exam essays, statistics from 1938	Titles of individual projects 1949-50 Topics for exam essays and statistics until 1963	Titles of individual projects 1969 and 1982 Students individual project papers	Titles of individual projects 1992 and 2002 Students individual project papers
<i>Exponential curricula</i>				

Figure 2: Sources reviewed on different curricular levels

The time divisions in Figure 2 are based on periods of international reforms that have clear guidelines possible to examine in the historical material. A more in-depth study of a selection of guidelines has been made in order to link together the local level with the international. Citing periods of reform which could conceivably have affected other curricular levels facilitates revealing transactions (or their absence) and interpretations, between and within the different levels.

What was investigated is the period of the first international recommendations in 1927, made by the League of Nation's sub-organization, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC), up to the Second World War and the reforms following the war up to 1961 (paper I). The post-colonial reforms of the 1960s, which extend into the 21st century, were further examined on the basis of international guidelines for internationalism, diversity and preservation of the local cultural heritage (paper II) and also a stress on more contemporary history (paper III).

First Guidelines and Post World War II Reforms

Analysis of the international guidelines and the survey of sources for different curricular levels were then followed by a more thorough examination of the interwar period and post World War II, when the first guidelines were formulated internationally and enthusiasm for reform was strong.

Formal Curricula

The formal national curricula which were to direct teaching in history were compared to the means and goals of the international guidelines. The syllabuses for history in 1935, 1956 and 1961 have been given special attention since they were composed after international guidelines that were clearly aimed at history teaching.⁶⁰ The formulation of historical essay topics by the state in the students' final exams was studied for the period 1926–1961 as an extension of the formal curricula.

Perceived Curricula

What teachers and historians wrote in the *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk* (TFSL; Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers' Journal) in 1926–1942, 1945–1961 and in the *Historielärarnas förenings årsskrift* (HLFÅ; Association of History Teachers' Annual Report) was studied from 1942 and the years after World War II, 1945–1961. To ascertain how the international guidelines were

⁶⁰ *Metodiska anvisningar till undervisningsplanen för rikets allmänna läroverk* (Stockholm: SÖ, 1935); "Metodiska anvisningar för undervisning i modersmålet och historia med samhällslära i gymnasiet," *Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen*, Stockholm: Statens reproduktionsanstalt (1956:19); *Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen* 1956:19; "Metodiska anvisningar för undervisning i historia i gymnasiet," *Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen*, Stockholm: Statens reproduktionsanstalt (1961:29)

handled in the debates on history teaching. How the guidelines were seen in the debates indicates how the curricula were perceived.

Experiential Curricula

The titles of students' individual projects in 1930–1931 and 1949–1950 revealed how students, supervised by teachers, formulated the subjects of their essays and oriented themselves in history under the guidelines of the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe.⁶¹ Information on students' individual work in history submitted to the National School Board (SÖ) admittedly came from a selection, but nevertheless registers what were considered to be subjects for in-depth studies of history – titles that could be compared with the international guidelines.

Students' choices of topics for their individual projects could also be linked to debates and new national curriculum and syllabuses. Students' choices of essay topics in history in 1938–1963 gave another insight into the experiential curricular.⁶² Statistics for choice of essay topics showed students' preferences regarding the final exams, when it was important for students to demonstrate their knowledge to qualify for a leaving diploma.⁶³ Regardless of whether the choices expressed the student's own interest or were a way to manage the exam, they reveal what the students thought were viable history subjects.⁶⁴

Comparison and Transactions

Curricular levels were compared and analyzed in relation to the international guidelines and by investigating how concepts and formulations have been transmitted. In a complex world, however, it is difficult to talk about direct transaction of ideas. Direct references to other curricular levels and the use of key concepts and formulations as expressed in other curricular levels can, despite this difficulty, indicate transaction; a relatively direct form of imple-

⁶¹ The analysis was based on the reported titles of 258 and 146 students' individual work in history in 1930–31 and 1949–50: "Årsredogörelser för allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter," National Archives of Sweden, Läroverksavdelningen, F II da, 1930–31, 1949–50.

⁶² Statistics are available from 1938–1963, except for 1940, 1942 and 1944: "De svenska uppsatserna vid allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter med studentexamen, fördelade efter ämnen och betyg," National Archives of Sweden, Läroverksavdelningen, B II, 1938–1951, Undervisningsavdelningen, B II 1952–1963. All the topics for essays are available until 1969: "Ämnen för svensk uppsats," National Archives of Sweden, Lärarutbildning/Lärofortbildning och Pedagogiskt utvecklingsarbete, L-avd, F Ibb, 1927–1969.

⁶³ According to Lena Lötmarker's review of contemporary literature on these final exams, history was included as a clearly defined subject which could even be divided into sub-groupings such as Swedish and foreign/general history: Lena Lötmarker, *Krian I förvandling; Uppsatsämnena och skivanvisningar för läroverkets svenska uppsatsskrivning* (PhD diss., Lund: Lunds universitet, 2004), 66. See also paper I for a presentation of how serious historical topics were perceived in the final exams.

⁶⁴ Johansson states that the choice of subject can very well be about satisfying the examiner or about something the student encountered in his/her reading, but regardless of motive, the choice is an expression of the experiential curriculum: Johansson, 203.

mentation. It is worthwhile to note this implementation, even though the concepts and formulations can be reinterpreted during the process of trans-action. The analysis of implementation has also noted if, for various reasons, certain ideas did not have an impact.

Post-Colonial, End of Cold War and New Century Reforms

The international and national activities around history teaching in the 1960s and 1970s and in 1980–2002 were analyzed on the basis of a selection of prominent orientations in the international guidelines.

Formal Curricula

On the national level, the new curricula and syllabuses for 1961, 1965, 1970, 1981 and 1994 were compared with the international guidelines.⁶⁵ The formal curricula in history have also been studied in light of the inspectors' reports, which were made in 1969–1982, when the state inspectors evaluated history teaching and applied their impressions of school in the creation of a new syllabus in 1981.

Perceived Curricula, Debate and Interviews

The perceived curricula were investigated through debates and through the interviewed teachers' perceptions of the development of history teaching over time. The debates and the teachers' views concerning the reformed syllabuses and international proposals were followed in HLFÅ from 1960 to 2002 and in *Aktuellt för historieläraren* (AFHL; New Information for History Teachers) from 1968 to 1977. Teachers' views as voiced in The National School Board's (SÖ's) reviews were also taken into account.

The perceived curricula were examined also through semi-structured interviews with teachers of both genders, employed in different types of schools who had been teaching from the 1960s and onwards. Six of the seven interviewed history teachers had more than 30 years' experience of teaching. Their retrospective interpretations of practice were used initially to reveal how similarly, but in particular, how differently one can perceive the practice of teaching (for a more thorough discussion of the execution and interpretations regarding the interviews with teachers, see paper IV, 13–23). The contents of the interviews concerning the means and goals of history teaching were then compared with formulations on other curricular levels. Since I first reviewed the guidelines after completing the interviews, there was no

⁶⁵ "Metodiska anvisningar för undervisning i historia i gymnasiet," *Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen* (Stockholm: Statens reproduktionsanstalt, 1961:29); *Läroplan för gymnasiet*, SÖ (Stockholm: Tiden barnängen tryckerier, AB, 1965); *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan Lgy 70: Allmän del*. (SÖ, Stockholm: Liber, 1970); *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan Lgy 70: Supplement 71:II Historia* (SÖ, Stockholm: Liber, 1981); *Skolverkets föreskrifter om tim- och kursplaner för gymnasieskolan samt kursplaner för gymnasial vuxenutbildning* (SKOLFS 1994:10, Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1994). In the new national curriculum for 1970, the syllabus for history was a copy of that from 1965.

risk that in the interview situation I would overemphasize the various orientations of the international guidelines.

Whenever possible, the teachers' statements were placed in relation to their students' choices of individual projects in history. For five of the teachers information was available about what individual projects in history were chosen by the students they supervised. Even though this information was limited and incomplete, it still revealed certain tendencies in students' orientations.⁶⁶

The interviews that had been analyzed before – as teacher narratives presenting history didactic insights and teaching strategies – were contextualized in papers II and III on the basis of how the subject of history was formulated on the various curricular levels and in relation to information on the interviewed teachers' supervision of individual projects. The teachers' perceptions were looked at in relation to the guidelines, debates and to the students' work.

Experiential Curricula

Students' individual projects in history have been central to this part of the study since it is students' experiences of history that the international guidelines have sought to influence.

Titles of Individual Projects in History

The existing information from (upper secondary) grammar schools regarding titles of individual projects up to 1950, which the schools registered in their annual reports, covers the entire country. These published titles have formed the background to my own investigation of titles of individual projects written in 1969, 1982, 1992 and 2002. The years were selected with regard taken to international guidelines and national reforms. City and municipal archives and school archives from large and small cities in different parts of the country have been consulted in order to ensure that the investigation extended outside the local school culture and beyond the influence of individual teachers. In total, 1,680 titles of individual projects in history from 1931 to 2002 have been analyzed.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Paper II; Appendix 1.

⁶⁷ 1,680 titles produced between 1931 and 2002 have been examined. In 1931, 258 titles were registered from all upper secondary schools in Sweden; in 1939, 193 titles and in 1950, 149 titles. In 1931, 297 students out of a total of 2,175 (14%) wrote on history; in 1939, 290 out of 6,263 (5%) and in 1950, 416 out of 6,705 (6%). I have also examined titles of individual projects in history from Boden, Umeå, Gotland, Gävle, Karlstad, Visby, Vänersborg, Ystad, Stockholm and Gothenburg, written by students studying the the social science, natural science and humanities programmes in 1969 and 1982, and in the social science and natural science programmes in 1992 and 2002. In 1969, 278 out of 1,303 (22%) individual projects were written on history topics at the schools investigated and in the programmes listed; in 1982, 184 out of 1,038 (18%), in 1992, 333 out of 1,086 (31%) and in 2002, 285 out of 1395 (20%). National Archives, Stockholm, FIIda; City and Municipal Archives; School Archives.

In order to be able to make relevant comparisons with statistics from the grammar schools' theoretical programmes, I have selected corresponding examples of history education from subsequent upper secondary schools' programmes, ie from the humanities, social science and natural science. Even if schools have become more accessible for more groups in society, my study primarily shows the work of the students of better social and cultural means.

Problems of Categorization

Statistics were categorized and analyzed on the basis of the international guidelines where the internationalization of content was clearly stressed. To determine from titles what is local, national, European or world history⁶⁸ is not always possible. Therefore a quantitative approximation has been undertaken on the basis of titles in which the actors or the events clearly refer to one of the four geographical areas and not to the others. "Karl XII:s ryska fälttåg," (Charles XII's Russian Campaigns), has thus not be categorized as either national or European history, whereas the title "Karl XII:s personlighet" (The Personality of Charles XII) has been listed under national history. By categorizing the more pure and distinctive orientations I try as to avoid categorizing what can be very national history, such as Charles XII's Russian Campaigns, as European history. It has also been problematic to categorize titles referring to the various actors and events of the Second World War. In this case, I have categorized them as world history, but also made a separate statistical analysis in order to investigate how this categorization influenced the study's conclusions.

In choosing what is to be regarded as history, I have primarily proceeded from the studied schools' own categorization, and when this is lacking, I have accepted the categorizations made by other schools, syllabuses, and from whether the title of the individual project indicated a study of the past. In some cases I have even changed the schools' categorizations – for example, when in 1992, "Finland under vinterkriget" (Finland during the Winter War), "Judeförintelsen under andra världskriget" (The Extermination of the Jews during the Second World War) and "Släktforskning och släktberättelse" (Geneological Research and Geneological Narratives) were listed under social science, I have considered them as individual projects in history.

Regarding racism and minorities, I have gone through the titles individually in order to discover the number of titles that specifically dealt with these topics. Categorized as racism and anti-racism where titles mentioning these subjects as well as titles that can clearly be linked to them such as apar-

⁶⁸ World history in this study is non-European history and history including a global perspective. A world history clearly focusing on non-Western history and recognizing marginalized groups can also be termed global history.

theid, the Holocaust, Nazism, Gandhi and Martin Luther King.⁶⁹ Minority groups that were specifically treated in titles include Indians, Aborigines, Sami and Romani peoples.⁷⁰ Of course, a project on Indians, for example, could in theory have a racist point of view, but none of the individual projects I read had such a perspective.

Titles with names of women and also titles which referred to phenomenon such as women's emancipation have been categorized as history highlighting women, and for purposes of comparison, the number of titles with men's names has been remarked.⁷¹ I also noted which women and men were written about in order to see other tendencies. In the categorization and analysis of titles and statistics, problems, of course, arise since phenomena and groups may have been dealt with in the individual projects themselves without being expressed in the titles. I have seen this in students' work on Latin America, the Second World War and the Middle Ages, where Indians, anti-semitism and women's heavy daily burdens have been described. Neither is it certain that the contents of the essays agree with the international guidelines – for instance, an essay on Queen Kristina can be stereotypical.

In order to investigate orientations towards contemporary history, titles were categorized when it was evident what period the titles referred to – for purposes of comparison, the Greek and Roman antiquity (700BC–476) and the early modern era (1500–1789) were included.⁷² The most recent 80 years were classified as contemporary history – history connected to our present-day. From the perspective of 2002, the final year included in the study, contemporary history extended from the end of the First World War. Between 76% and 89% of the project titles could be sorted under ancient, early modern or recent history.⁷³

Due to the weaknesses that exist in the statistical investigation, I have interpreted the statistics in the study as indicating orientations and refrained from drawing any general conclusions on the sole basis of these statistics.

Content in Individual Projects

To be able to see the actual content of the individual projects at various times, I sent an enquiry to school libraries all over the country. From school

⁶⁹ Racism and anti-racist phenomena were taken up in 7% of the individual projects in 1969, 4% in 1982, 8% in 1992 and 8% in 2002. Prior to 1969, racism could have been brought up in projects dealing colonial politics and policies, but as a separate topic, it crops up first in 1969. Paper II.

⁷⁰ Minorities in percent of the total project produced in: 1969, 1%; 1982, 5%; 1992, 8% and 2002, 6%. Paper II.

⁷¹ Women's names and women's rights' were found in 4% of the titles, while male names were found in 40%; in 1931; 4% women and 38% men in 1939; 5% women and 37% men in 1950; 1.4% women and 23.4% men in 1969; 3% women and 12% men in 1982; 4% women and 7% men in 1992 and most notably 12% women and 12% men in 2002. Paper II.

⁷² Paper III.

⁷³ In 1969, 247 out of 278 titles (89%) were clearly oriented towards ancient, early modern or recent history; in 1982, 157 out of 184 (85%); in 1992, 252 out of 333 (76%) and in 2002, 241 out of 285 (85%). Paper III.

libraries, school archives, school personnel and teachers I have collected 145 individual projects in history written between 1969 and 2002. Of these projects, 41 were written in 1969–1983 when Lgy-65 (Upper Secondary School Curriculum, 1965) was the ruling curriculum in history; 81 projects in history were written during the curriculum period commencing in 1981 and 24 were written after the curriculum reform of 1994. I have categorized 53 projects as world history, 29 as European history, 21 under Swedish and Nordic history and 42 as local history. I have reviewed these projects on the basis of a selection of prominent orientations in the international guidelines.⁷⁴

The students' projects I have been able to analyze have been retained in the schools and by teachers for various reasons: that the projects were particularly well written, that they dealt with interesting areas of enquiry, were produced in a class whose work was preserved, or in certain cases, that they were simply left behind. Since individual projects in history are not normally kept but either returned to the students or discarded, I have not been able to make any deliberate selection. The projects I have managed to get hold of come from four different schools⁷⁵ and have been supervised by at least eleven different teachers.⁷⁶

All reported quotes come from individual project papers publicly accessible in the schools' libraries and archives. Since the views contained in these papers were meant to be presented, are accessible to the general public and show different individuals' ideas in different times and in different circumstances, I have elected to give the names of the authors, who had by then come of age. This also makes interesting material for future research more accessible.

The majority of the projects come from Vasaskolan in Gävle. Students' individual projects in history can thus not be seen as a representative selection, but they offer examples of different ways of writing history, of what has been possible for students to write on, based on their historical consciousness. This is particularly evident in a school that, through its "lektor" (senior subject teacher) in history, had direct contact with the reforms of the international organizations.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Paper II.

⁷⁵ Katedralskolan in Lund, Linnéskolan in Hässleholm, Södra Latin in Stockholm and Vasaskolan in Gävle.

⁷⁶ Since many of the projects do not mention supervisors, I have looked for and found different supervisors' signatures in appendices to students' transcripts. In the case of several of the projects, however, who supervised the work remains unclear.

⁷⁷ Erik Brännman, who was "lektor" at Vasaskolan until 1973, participated at meetings arranged by the Council of Europe and UNESCO during the 1950s. On the basis of the international intentions, he continued to closely follow the debates, write articles and supervise students.

The Big Picture

Studying interpretations on several levels using various methods can reveal different perspectives on history teaching – without necessarily claiming to cover everything. In-depth study of particular periods gives a possibility to investigate and compare different orientations in the perceptions of the means and goals of history education on different levels and at different times. The complexity of implementation can be investigated in practice from the international level down to the students' individual projects in history. This offers a comparative possibility to relate the international levels to the individual in a way that has not been attempted before in research.

Results: Thematic Summary of the Papers

In the papers, both the chronological developments as well as thematic developments in different time periods are treated. Below, I begin with the chronological international development of guidelines for the entire period under examination, which constitutes the formulations of guidelines that the analysis of implementation and orientation has been based on. Thereafter, I present the results concerning implementation and orientation for the study as a whole.

International Guidelines for History Education

With the horrors of war fresh in mind, the League of Nations and then UNESCO and the Council of Europe formulated guidelines with the intention of making history teaching more international and thereby enabling it to contribute to peace and greater understanding across borders.

League of Nations Guidelines

The League of Nations was formed after the First World War in an attempt to avoid war in the future and to enhance peace and cooperation. The League of Nations and ICIC composed guidelines for textbook revision⁷⁸ and teaching, where patriotism – good national self-awareness – was meant to encourage international understanding.⁷⁹ Peaceful encounters across borders would also be furthered by knowledge about cooperation between and among international organizations and by studies of “foreign masterpieces and folktales.”⁸⁰ The history and handicrafts of other civilizations should be studied to “develop the spirit of international co-operation among children, young people and their teachers.”⁸¹

During the interwar period, Sweden actively participated in the League of Nations’ efforts to revise history teaching. Support for the League and its work, however, was weaker in other countries, not least in the major member powers like France and England, who did not sign “The Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History.”⁸² Disputes between countries both within and outside of the League of Nations ended with the Second World War,

⁷⁸ The so-called Cesare’s Resolution: *Final Text of the Resolutions on the Revision of School Text-books, Adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at its XIVth Plenary Session, July 1932*, Box 1750 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe), 189–192.

⁷⁹ Paper I.

⁸⁰ *League of Nations, International Committee*, 8.

⁸¹ *League of Nations, International Committee*, 8.

⁸² Kolasa, 77f; *A Handbook*, 107.

which proved that the ambition to create peace and international understanding had failed.

Peace and Understanding

In October, 1945, the United Nations made new efforts for peace, development and cooperation amongst the countries of the world. The UN and also UNESCO became a meeting place for member nations. There was great consensus within UNESCO around the proposition that “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.”⁸³ Nazism, fascism and ultra-nationalism should be banished and replaced by the implementation of international understanding.⁸⁴ Out of the ruins of Europe, there also arose a West European attempt at cooperation. The Council of Europe was formed in 1949, with the purpose of augmenting a feeling of solidarity and shared affinities between and amongst the countries of Western Europe and safeguarding democracy and human rights. This was to be done in a part of the world severely damaged by war, placed between the two new great powers, the US and the USSR. To safeguard peace was central to both UNESCO and the Council of Europe.

The guidelines of these organizations stated that through true and neutral objectivity, history education could counteract discreditable nationalism. Peace, tolerance and human rights were to be advanced through criticism of sources and a history teaching based more upon the common creation of civilization. Social, economic, cultural and scientific history should be highlighted, while political history and the history of conflicts should be toned down.⁸⁵ International guidelines were given for shaping a better present and future through a more tolerant, objective and contemporary history teaching.⁸⁶ In contrast to UNESCO, members of the Council of Europe ideologically were in accord about the value of democracy – the Council contained only western democracies. The power struggles between East and West during the cold war had a greater impact on the work within UNESCO. Not least UNESCO’s attempt to write “A History of Mankind” was complicated by difficulties in encompassing both western European and Communist history writing. During this time, various kinds of wars on different continents and

⁸³ *Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, held at the Institute of Civil Engineers, London, from the 1st to the 16th November, 1945, ECO/CONF/29* (Paris: UNESCO, 1946).

⁸⁴ Paper I.

⁸⁵ Paper I. *General Conference, first session, Paris 1946*, IC, 1947, 149–153; *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, second session, Mexico, 1947*, v. 2: *Resolutions 2C*, 16, 20–21; *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, third session, Beirut, 1948*, v. 2: *Resolutions 3C*, 1949, 24; *A Handbook; Report of the Working Group No. 2, EXP/Cult* (53) 33, Box 2747, 1953 reprinted in: Bruley and Dance, 71, the recommendations are a literal reprint of the meeting notes from Calw.

⁸⁶ Paper I, II and III.

the nuclear balance of terror colored UNESCO's guidelines, which during the 1980s came to recommend disarmament.⁸⁷

Even if the cold war ended in 1989, there remained several wars and conflicts in the world and others started up after the fall of the Berlin wall. UNESCO and the Council of Europe worked in parallel and together to support peaceful development in the "new" Europe.⁸⁸ During the 1990s former eastern European states became members of the Council of Europe⁸⁹ and the importance of having peaceful multifarious perspectives in history education was underlined. There were strong renewed efforts within UNESCO for international understanding through evaluating previous work and producing updated and clearer guidelines.⁹⁰ Many developments in the world – ethnic enmities, terrorism, and conflicts between groups and countries due to deepening schisms – were alarming. According to UNESCO, a more peaceful world should come about through education in which universal values like democracy and human rights were safeguarded and underscored.⁹¹ Both UNESCO and the Council of Europe emphasized the importance of teaching students to be critical and to gather information, to see different interpretations and to compromise. The content of instruction should be comprehensive and should pay due regard to people's creativity and their capacities for coming to peaceful agreements.

Critical Post-Colonial History

UNESCO, burdened during the cold war by the gap between East and West, became an arena where new and formerly marginalized countries could

⁸⁷ *Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, with a View to Developing a Climate of Opinion Favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament, Paris 12–20 April, 1983*, ED-83/Conf.214/2, Paris: UNESCO, 1983.

⁸⁸ Symposium on History Teaching in the New Europe, Brugge, Belgium, 9–13 December, 1991 in *Against Bias and Prejudice: the Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995); Symposium on History, Democratic Values and Tolerance in Europe: The Experience of Countries in Democratic Transition, Sofia, Bulgaria, 19–22 October, 1994 in *Against Bias and Prejudice: the Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995); Seminar on History Teaching and Confidence-Building: The Case of central and Eastern Europe, Smolensk, Russian Federation, 26–28 April, 1995 in *Against Bias and Prejudice: the Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995).

⁸⁹ Former East-European countries became members in the Council of Europe in the following years: 1990 Hungary; 1991 Poland; 1992 Bulgaria; 1993 Estonia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Czech Republic Slovakia, Romania; 1995 Latvia, Albania, Moldova, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ukraine; 1996 Russian Federation, Croatia; 1999 Georgia; 2001 Armenia, Azerbaijan; 2002 Bosnia & Herzegovina; 2003 Serbia.

⁹⁰ *Full and Comprehensive Implementation of the Recommendations concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1974, and the Preparation of the Elaborated Version of the Integrated Action Plan for the Development of International Education: General Conference, 27th session, 1993, 1–7; Records of the General Conference, Twenty-eighth Session, Paris, 25 October to 16 November 1995; Resolutions*, Paris: UNESCO 1996, 63.

⁹¹ *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy: Declaration of the 44th Session of the International Conference on Education endorsed by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November, 1995*, Paris: UNESCO, 1995, 1–9.

make their voices heard. The liberation of colonies became extremely important for UNESCO's work within several areas, not least regarding education. The early post-war efforts for peace and neutral objectivity in history teaching were followed by guidelines for a more critical post-colonial approach, with greater focus on previously marginalized groups. Colonialism and neo-colonialism were condemned.⁹²

Within the Council of Europe, however, post-colonial criticism was milder.⁹³ Countries with colonies and with a colonial past were not especially keen to condemn colonialism. Both UNESCO and the Council of Europe later on focused more on an inclusive perspective on history that could promote unity in diversity.

Unity in Diversity

“Unity in Diversity” was formulated early on both in UNESCO and the Council of Europe as a goal to achieve – namely, harmony and solidarity among different groups of people.⁹⁴ Within UNESCO there were representatives of formerly marginalized groups who wanted to highlight “their” history. UNESCO also worked actively to survey global history and to call attention especially to neglected areas such as Africa, Latin America, Oceania, Asia and the Slavic and Arabic cultures.⁹⁵

The Council of Europe contended that instruction in history that was unbiased and unprejudiced could create better understanding between the different peoples of Europe. In the 1960s, for example, history teaching should counteract the image of Arabs as merely fanatic warriors and Scandinavians as “bloodthirsty pirates.”⁹⁶ In what was described as an increasingly multi-cultural Europe, it was claimed in the 1980s and onwards that “unity in diversity” is what creates wealth in the European culture.⁹⁷ After the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 a “new Europe” was described, a Europe with a pan-European character. The Council of Europe declared a responsibility for bringing the people of Europe closer together in a cultural community infused by democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, security and diversity.⁹⁸ The European cultural identity and its “unity in diversity” was con-

⁹² Paper II.

⁹³ Paper II.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization in 1947* (Paris: UNESCO, 1947), 13; *Council of Europe Consultative Assembly, first session, 10 August–18 September 1949*. Reports part IV, sittings 12–15 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1949), 750.

⁹⁵ *Records of the General Conference, 16th session, Paris, 12 October to 14 November 1970, v. 1: Resolutions* (Paris: UNESCO, 1971, 51). In the 1990s, after many years of work, UNESCO published: *General History of Africa, History of Civilizations of Central Asia, General History of Latin America, The Different Aspects of Islamic Culture and General History of the Caribbean*.

⁹⁶ Schüddekopf, 11, 126.

⁹⁷ *Resolution (85) 6 on European Cultural Identity* 1985.

⁹⁸ *Nineteenth Session of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Education 2000: Trends, Issues and Priorities for Pan-European Co-operation*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997.

sidered during the 1990s and after 2000 to give openings for dealing with the past and other cultures;⁹⁹ providing a precondition for peace-generating cultural encounters within and across borders.¹⁰⁰

In November 2001 UNESCO adopted the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*,¹⁰¹ which underlined the value of identity, diversity and pluralism and pointed to cultural diversity as constituting humankind's common heritage:

*Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.*¹⁰²

UNESCO declared the importance of learning about our cultural heritage, which should be focused upon not least in education. Member nations promised in the declaration to support “an awareness of the positive value of cultural diversity and improving to this end both curriculum design and teacher education.”¹⁰³

The Neglect of Women's History

During the 20th century, at least in the West, women obtained more and more rights. Not least, experiences from working life during the Second World War, brought changes in women's socio-economic position. In 1958 the Council of Europe included women's emancipation as an area that had been disregarded in history teaching.¹⁰⁴ Women's situation in history education, however, did not continue to be an important issue in the Council of Europe's guidelines, even though in 1985 it was stated that teaching should aim at counteracting discrimination and sexism.¹⁰⁵ When UNESCO in the late 1970s and 1980s was focusing more and more attention on problems with racism, intolerance and apartheid, women's subordinate position in the

⁹⁹ Recommendation 1283 (1996) on History and the Learning of History in Europe 1996; Recommendation Rec (2001) 15 on History Teaching in Twenty-first Century Europe 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Recommendation Rec (2001) 15 on History Teaching in Twenty-first Century Europe 2001; Resolution Res (2003) 7 on the Youth Policy of the Council of Europe 2003.

¹⁰¹ Records of the General Conference, 31st Session, Paris, 15 October – 3 November 2001, v. 1: Resolutions, Paris: UNESCO, 2002, 61–65.

¹⁰² Records of the General Conference, 31st Session, Paris, 15 October – 3 November 2001, v 1: Resolutions, Paris: UNESCO, 2002, 62.

¹⁰³ Records of the General Conference, 31st Session, Paris, 15 October – 3 November 2001, v. 1: Resolutions, Paris: UNESCO, 2002, 64.

¹⁰⁴ Recommendations of Teachers and Authors of Textbooks, in Burley & Dance 1960, 76.

¹⁰⁵ Recommendation No R (85) 7 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in School. 1985, 3.

world and in higher education was included.¹⁰⁶ Within the UN, addressing the position of women was long considered secondary to working against nationalism and racism¹⁰⁷, but in 1985 UNESCO brought up

*[...] the need for men and women everywhere to work for the triumph of peace, freedom, equality and justice, for respect of human rights and self-determination, the elimination of all forms of inequality between men and women, of racism, apartheid and any form of foreign domination and for the promotion of mutual understanding and tolerance, so that peace and security may prevail.*¹⁰⁸

These problems, according to UNESCO, must be confronted within the various sectors of society, not least within the school. Women were conspicuous by their absence – at least as a clearly defined group – in the Council of Europe’s recommendations until 1996, when specific recommendations were made for paying particular attention to women in the teaching of history.¹⁰⁹

Safeguarding Local Heritage

Parallel with peace efforts and working for the weak groups of people in the world, the importance of increasing and spreading knowledge of cultural heritage was registered. UNESCO stressed non-European cultural heritage, while the Council of Europe was more concerned with the European. Under the auspices of UNESCO, the Nubian temple of Abu Simbel was moved, thereby avoiding being sunk under the waters of the Assuan Dam. This was an enormous project carried out between 1960 and 1980, which directed attention towards the need to preserve cultural heritage and also demonstrated the possibilities of technology. In an era with great technical progress, evidenced by Sputnik and the moon landing, huge sums of money were invested in education and technical development.

However, ensuring cultural heritage was not overlooked: UNESCO’s “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” was approved in 1972. In accord with this convention, in 1976 UNESCO encouraged member countries to work on behalf of the preservation of historical and culturally valuable environments and their present-day

¹⁰⁶ UNESCO in 1978 issued a declaration against racism: *Records of the General Conference, 20th Session, Paris, 24 October – 28 November 1978, v. 1: Resolutions*, Paris: UNESCO, 1979, 60–65. See also: *Comprehensive Report by the Director-General on the World Situation in Fields Covered by the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice and Recommendations Made with a View to Promoting Implementation of that Decision: General Conference, 21st Session*, Paris: UNESCO 1980, 45; *Records of the General Conference 22nd Session, Paris, 25 October – 26 November 1983: Resolutions*, Paris: UNESCO, 1984, 74–76. UNESCO had highlighted these problems earlier but during the 1980s, its stance against discrimination in all forms was developed and clarified: comp. *Records of the General Conference, 11th Session, Paris, 1960: Resolutions*, Paris: UNESCO, 1961, 18–20. Discrimination of women was condemned in a UN convention in 1979: *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* 1979.

¹⁰⁷ Amrith & Sluga 2008, 266–269.

¹⁰⁸ *Records of the General Conference 23rd Session Sofia, 8 October – 9 November 1985 Vol 1: Resolutions*. Paris: UNESCO, 1985, 104.

¹⁰⁹ *Recommendation 1283 (1996) on History and the Learning of History in Europe*, 1996.

role.¹¹⁰ In the recommendation, the subject of history is said to be paramount for the preservation of local cultural heritage:

*Awareness of the need for safeguarding work should be encouraged by education in schools. [...] The study of historic areas should be included in education at all levels, especially in history teaching, so as to inculcate in young minds an understanding and respect for the works of the past and to demonstrate the rôle of this heritage in modern lives. Education of this kind should make wide use of audio-visual media and of visits to groups of historic buildings.*¹¹¹

According to UNESCO in 1985, greater awareness of cultural heritage could contribute to upgrading the national identity, and improving the possibilities for cultural exchange and for the preservation of customs and relics and historical remains.¹¹² The same year, the Council of Europe followed UNESCO's suit, declaring the importance of preserving cultural heritage. The school, using various means, should underline "the unity of the cultural heritage and the links that exist between architecture, the arts, popular traditions and ways of life at European, national and regional levels alike."¹¹³ As a means for heritage education, experience-based learning, especially cross-disciplinary and using audio-visual and internet-based aids, was recommended.¹¹⁴

Implementation and Orientations

UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's guidelines had many similarities. The main difference was between UNESCO's world perspective and the Council's more Eurocentric view. UNESCO had world history as "A History of Mankind", while the Council of Europe pursued "The European Idea". This dividing line went through the ideological curricula both as regards international understanding and the view of a many-faceted culture and cultural heritage.¹¹⁵

UNESCO and the Council of Europe formulated comprehensive guidelines for history education. Three clear orientations¹¹⁶ found in the international guidelines included (1) the desire to generate greater international understanding through a more international and peace-oriented education

¹¹⁰ "Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas," in *Records of the General Conference, 19th Session, Nairobi, 26 October – 30 November 1976, v. 1: Resolutions*. (Paris: UNESCO, 1977), Annex 1, 1-29.

¹¹¹ Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding, 28.

¹¹² *Records of the General Conference 23rd Session Sofia, 8 October – 9 November 1985 Vol 1: Resolutions*. Paris: UNESCO, 1985, 61–63.

¹¹³ *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe*, European Treaty Series – No. 121 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1985) article 15.

¹¹⁴ Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding; *Recommendation No R (98) 5 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States Concerning Heritage Education*. (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1998).

¹¹⁵ Papers I, II and III.

¹¹⁶ "Orientation" is here defined as a position relative to the surrounding options regarding means and goals in history education.

in history; (2) the desire to increase understanding for marginalized groups and for cultural diversity through a perspective that highlights minorities, women and that opposes racism, and (3) safeguarding our world heritage and cultural heritage through studying local historical heritage with the help of experientially-based pedagogy. Links to the present were considered important since it was the present and the future that were to be shaped in order to achieve mutual understanding, a feeling of unity in diversity, and to value the history that surrounds us. The international guidelines on international understanding, which largely also contained the other guidelines, were the most comprehensive and most clearly stated.

The Swedish School Context

During the interwar period, the (upper secondary) grammar schools in Sweden admitted female students for the first time. However, the Swedish upper secondary schools were nevertheless socially stratified between the wars, and were primarily schools for boys from the middle and upper classes.¹¹⁷ The content of history education has been described as mainly oriented towards fostering patriarchal ideas.¹¹⁸ The material preconditions improved after World War II, not least because of the upturn in Sweden's economy when a war-torn Europe was being rebuilt. In due course, more and more students were given the opportunity to study on the upper secondary level.¹¹⁹ The theoretical courses which are reviewed here become gradually, after the war, less of a socially elite education and more generally accessible.¹²⁰

Changes in the national curriculum and guidelines, debates and textbooks have been interpreted to indicate that history teaching went from awakening love for the native country to “fostering critical judgment, tolerance and international understanding.”¹²¹ Without closer examination of teachers' and students' work in history, history teaching has been described as less and less focused on the history of national political power and more on social and economic questions and the growth of modern society.¹²² On the basis of the development of the formal curricula, post-war history education has been depicted as more scientifically rational and consequently, more democratic

¹¹⁷ Henry Egidius, *Skola och utbildning i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2001), 191–206.

¹¹⁸ Tomas Englund, “Historieämnets selektiva tradition sett ur ett legitimitetsperspektiv” *Historididaktik i Norden* 3. Bergen (1987): 50–56.

¹¹⁹ Gunnar Richardsson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1994), 54–82; Egidius, 196–202.

¹²⁰ Egidius, 201–202.

¹²¹ Andolf, 292 f.

¹²² Andolf, 290–294.

than before.¹²³ In other words, how the subject of history would be more democratic in a more democratic school.¹²⁴

These developments have also been described more critically, as a change from a nationalistic, patriotic history education to one with a fragmented identity and weak legitimacy.¹²⁵ This portrays a crisis situation, in which history was marginalized as a subject in school in favor of civics and its fostering of citizens.¹²⁶

In the syllabuses history became more and more comprehensive while at the same time, the hours of actual teaching were cut and history was not made a core subject in the 1994 curricular reform.¹²⁷ Criticism of the hours awarded to teaching – reflecting the position of the subject – came up repeatedly in the teachers' debates.¹²⁸ History became a popular subject for individual projects especially after the augmentation of the upper secondary school in 1960 (see Figure 3). Five percent of the individual project subjects have been considered a strong position in relation to other humanist and social science subjects.¹²⁹

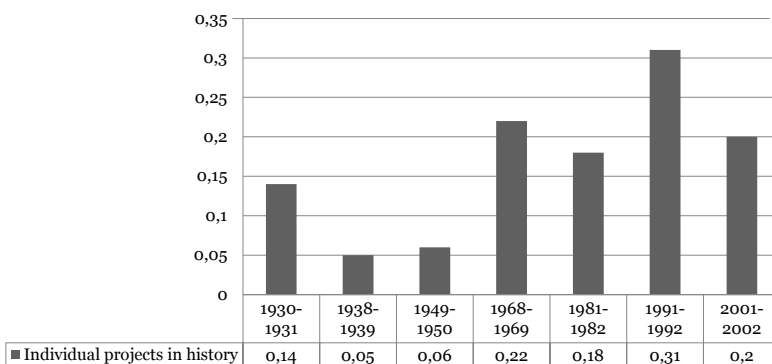


Figure 3: *Individual projects in history in percent of total.*¹³⁰

Sources: *National Archives of Sweden, City and Municipal Archives, School Archives.*

¹²³ Englund, *Historieämnets selektiva*, 50–56.

¹²⁴ Englund, *Historieämnets selektiva*, 50–56.

¹²⁵ Klas-Göran Karlsson "Historiedidaktik och historievetenskap: Ett spänningsfyllt förhållande," in Christer Karlsgård and Klas-Göran Karlsson, eds., *Historiedidaktik* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 22ff; see also Sven Södring Jensen for a more critical picture of history education, which he calls objectivist, classic and functional: Sven Södring Jensen, *Historieundervisningsteori* (Köpenhamn and Oslo: Christian Ejlers Förlag, 1978), 11–102.

¹²⁶ Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider: Bruk av och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte* (PhD diss., Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2001), 330–340; Karlsson, 22 ff; Hans-Albin Larsson, *Barnet kastades ut med badvattnet: Historien om hur skolans historieundervisning närmast blev historia* (Småland: Akutellt om historia, 2001), 46–50.

¹²⁷ Paper IV.

¹²⁸ Paper I.

¹²⁹ Johansson, 198f.

¹³⁰ The total number (N) in this study was: 1931, 2,175; 1939, 6,263; 1950, 6,705; 1969, 1,282; 1982, 1,038; 1992, 1,086; 2002, 1,395.

After 1950, the majority of the students who wrote individual projects on history in the academic upper secondary schools were girls.¹³¹ This was wholly in line with the boys' grammar schools becoming upper comprehensives, with a majority of female students. Despite the weakened position of the subject in the formal curriculum, writing projects on history attracted many students, not least after the fall of the Berlin wall. Many wrote on historical topics even into the 21st century.

Implementation in the Formal Curricula

The results of the present study indicate that the League of Nation's recommendations had little impact on interwar Sweden. Even if Sweden endorsed the League of Nation's guidelines and participated in their follow-up, they remained marginal in the formal curricula. After World War II, Sweden subscribed to the recommendations, resolutions and conventions that were to be implemented in Swedish history education. The international guidelines, particularly from UNESCO but also from the Council of Europe, were implemented in the formal curricula. International understanding and "the Idea of Europe" as a concept were incorporated into the syllabus in 1961 and in 1965.¹³² During the post-war period, the National School Board (SÖ) formulated increasingly global topics for the final exams as an extension of the formal curriculum and a more direct implementation of UNESCO's recommendations for more world history.¹³³

Even after 1960, international formulations and recommendations were taken into account on the formal curricular level. Study of at least one non-European culture was first discussed at an international conference arranged by the Council of Europe in 1969.¹³⁴ Later on, in 1981, most likely through the precepts of teachers, this was included in the Swedish history syllabus.¹³⁵ When Sweden carried out reforms in accord with recommendations for international understanding, it was reported back to UNESCO.¹³⁶ On the level of formal curricula, Ulf P. Lundgren, director of the National Agency for Education (Skolverket) referred in the 1990s to UNESCO's recommendation on international understanding from 1974.¹³⁷ The recommendation on inter-

¹³¹ In 1969, 56% were girls; in 1982, 66%; in 1992, 73% and in 2002, 65%.

¹³² Paper I.

¹³³ Paper I.

¹³⁴ AFHL 1970, no. 1, 16.

¹³⁵ This was formulated remarkably alike what the history teacher Rudolf Hultkvist in the syllabus group came away with from one of the Council of Europe's conferences: AFHL 1970, no. 1, 16; *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan Lgy70: Supplement 71:II Historia*, 10.

¹³⁶ *Synthesis of Member States Reports on the Application of the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 11, 20, 35.

¹³⁷ Paper II.

national understanding was also printed and published in conjunction with a new national curriculum and guidelines in 1994. None of the Council of Europe's guidelines was noted in this way, but European history was more accentuated in the syllabus from 1994.

The intentions of ideological curricula seem generally to have been incorporated in the formal curricula, which were comprehensive and also emphasized means and goals outside the extensive international guidelines.

Implementation in the Teachers' Debate

Examination of how the new guidelines were received in Sweden shows how teachers and students were at least co-creators in the transformation of history education up to 1961.¹³⁸ This transformation led to more of a global and contemporary-oriented teaching than a top-down approach.¹³⁹ The League of Nations' work was not included in the debate, but international guidelines from both UNESCO and the Council of Europe were addressed in the national debates and in the syllabuses. Teachers took an active part in formulating the guidelines and even students' interests were noted nationally and internationally in discussions on the means and goals of history education. The Association of History Teachers seems to have played a significant role in emphasizing the importance of the subject of history for international understanding in the syllabus for 1961.¹⁴⁰

Also apparent is how the formulations did not need to pervade practice. The cultural orientation of the subject of history, which was advocated internationally during the 1950s and 1960s, was disregarded nationally, possibly because of the national political situation and because economic and social history were becoming more emphasized.¹⁴¹ UNESCO's declaration from 1995, "Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy" was taken up neither on the level of formal curricula nor in the debates.

One element in the debate, obviously inspired by international conferences, concerned how history can be viewed as social studies, as it was in the US, but also how a sharp distinction between the two can be made, as it was in France.¹⁴² A national emphasis on contemporary history was met with skepticism in the debates since teachers claimed that this would entail the loss of longer retrospective explanations. The division into history and civics was also opposed for similar reasons. Arguments were on the other hand also raised for the need for history to explain the present and make connections with current issues.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Paper I.

¹³⁹ Paper I.

¹⁴⁰ Paper I.

¹⁴¹ Paper I.

¹⁴² HFLÅ 1951, 49.

¹⁴³ Paper I and III.

Sweden as a country of immigrants was addressed in the debate, with direct references to the stress on diversity in the international guidelines.¹⁴⁴ When local history was taken up in the debates, it had national overtones – references to international guidelines were not explicitly made. Interest in local history was in place earlier than any interest in the international. This was explained by teachers having other sources of influence, for instance, the “Dig Where You Stand” movement (“gräv där du står” – groups of amateur historians investigating their own local history).¹⁴⁵

Even if the debate brought up questions outside the international guidelines, conferences on these guidelines were noted and teachers were active in the forming of new syllabuses in history, at least prior to 1994. During the entire period under scrutiny, there were active teachers, headmasters, historians and pedagogues who participated in international conferences arranged by UNESCO and the Council of Europe and who took part in debates on the means and goals of history education.¹⁴⁶

Implementation and Teachers’ Strategies

The six experienced teachers presented in paper IV did not mention during their interviews the international guidelines as important influences. Without admitting being aware of any direct influence, they did mention a shift towards more contemporary world history. The teachers described how their history teaching had been colored by other factors such as childhood stories about history, the dramatic events of the Second World War, political discussions with their families, good and appreciated teachers, further professional education, combinations of subjects, etc.¹⁴⁷ The teachers also stated that they experienced substantial freedom as teachers and that the syllabus had little direct importance in their teaching.

Statistics from the teachers’ school archives do not provide a complete foundation for comparison, but despite the fact that years and numbers of titles of students’ work differ, they can give an inkling of the teachers’ orientations in relation to their students’ choice of subjects for individual projects (see Appendix 1). The social science-oriented teacher, called Elisabeth in the study, had largest proportion of students who wrote on world history, with a clear contemporary emphasis. Also the multiperspective Axel had a high

¹⁴⁴ Paper II.

¹⁴⁵ Paper II.

¹⁴⁶ Brita Nilsson, Allan Degerman, Vilhelm Scharp, Waldemar Lendin, Sixten Björkholm, Birgit Rodhe, Erik Brännman, Hans Lennart Lundh, Ivar Seth, Rudolf Hultkvist, Gunnar Ander, Bert Mårald, Göran Behre and Ola Lindqvist were all active internationally at meetings arranged by the Council of Europe and UNESCO and they contributed to the debates in the teaching journals.

¹⁴⁷ Paper IV.

percentage of students writing on contemporary world history.¹⁴⁸ Bengt, who said he had Sweden's chronology as a point of departure, also underlined the value of global history. He described how his teaching had become more contemporary and international and noted that the historian, Åke Holmberg, "did pioneering work with global history, adding a more universal perspective."¹⁴⁹ Bengt thus stated that an active writer in HLFÅ, with several articles and comments in favor of more non-European history, was through his university textbook, important for Bengt's own possibilities to teach history from a more global point of view.

In the interview, Bengt emphasized local and national, European and world history, but perhaps national and local history most of all. Bengt described local history as valuable for "animating history" and linking the present to the local cultural heritage. Closer examination of what Bengt's students wrote about between 1970 and 2002, showed that in comparison with other teachers in the study, he had – in line with his teaching strategy – more students writing on local history. What his students primarily wrote on, however, was world history despite his own orientation towards national and local history.¹⁵⁰ Another teacher underlining local history was Gunilla. Prior to her training as a teacher, she had worked as a guide, which facilitated a focus on local history. She professed the value of local history as one way of many in her eclectic teaching strategy to get the students to work their way into history.

The interviewed teachers' students mainly wrote on contemporary world history, regardless of their teacher's teaching strategy. The more experienced teachers' basic view of the development towards more international and contemporary history was thus evident in their students' work – even though these teachers did not admit to being influenced by the international debate. Axel explained his leanings towards previously marginalized perspectives by further professional education in ethnology and the development of the subject of history towards new perspectives. Axel was the teacher who had the highest percentage of students writing about minorities.¹⁵¹ Women were most prominent in the titles of projects supervised by Dag.¹⁵² Like the other interviewed teachers, Dag supervised many individual projects oriented to-

¹⁴⁸ World history was taken up by 84% of Elisabeth's students, 66% of Axel's, 45% of Bengt's, 45% of Dag's and 42% of Folke's students. Information on Cecilia and Gunilla is not available from the school archives (see Appendix 1).

¹⁴⁹ Paper IV, 46.

¹⁵⁰ From the information available in the school archives, 17% of Bengt's students wrote about local history, and 13% of Dag's and 13% of Folke's. According to the archives, no students of Axel and Elisabeth wrote on local history topics for the individual projects (see appendix 1).

¹⁵¹ 18% of Axels student's wrote on minorities; 15% of Bengt's; 11% of Elisabeth's and 6% of both Dag's and Folke's students wrote on minorities (see Appendix 1).

¹⁵² Women in percent of supervised titles: Dag 9%, Bengt 3%, Axel 2%, Folke 0% and Elisabeth 0% (see Appendix 1).

wards non-European and world history. He said that experiences from being marginalized himself during his years in school and also World War II strongly influenced his teaching. In addition to personal experiences, their subject combinations seem to have affected the teachers' strategies. For instance, models of analysis from social science and narratives from literature were parts of different strategies.¹⁵³

Regarding implementation, the interviewed teachers developed teaching strategies that were in accord with international guidelines, even though the teachers did not mention the work of UNESCO or the Council of Europe as being important for their teaching.

Students and Implementation

Direct contact between the ideological and the experiential curricula came about through teaching projects on human rights. One such contact was a trial teaching project in Arvika on peace and international understanding. The trial, which was linked to UNESCO, received a great deal of attention in 1954 in the *Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers' Journal* (TfSL), where the project was praised for aiming to affect students' attitudes and knowledge of human rights through objective and factual teaching.¹⁵⁴ Having the students study the position of women, historically and at the present time, was meant to show how teaching could give more space and time to the UN, human rights and international understanding.¹⁵⁵

A reverse relation existed in the international organizations' formulation of their recommendations, when they took into account students' interest in contemporary history.¹⁵⁶ Students' experiences of history were also noted by the state authorities who, through inspections and evaluations, tried to discover what the students preferred as well as what they needed.¹⁵⁷ Thus, teachers and the state authorities with contacts with students interpreted and transmitted international guidelines, and also re-reported the connected developments to UNESCO and the Council of Europe at conferences on history education.¹⁵⁸

A clear link between UNESCO and teachers and students began in 1953 when UNESCO initiated the Associated School Projects (ASP). ASP was to nurture international understanding through direct support to participating teachers and students in schools in different parts of the world.¹⁵⁹ Sweden

¹⁵³ Paper IV.

¹⁵⁴ TfSL 1954, 780, 785.

¹⁵⁵ TfSL 1954, 780, 785.

¹⁵⁶ Paper I.

¹⁵⁷ Rapport över verksamheten som gymnasieinspektör 1977–1978, F IIIa, Undervisningsavdelning för skolan (S-avd) 1970–1982, National Archives.

¹⁵⁸ AFHL 1970, no. 1, 13–18.

¹⁵⁹ *International Symposium on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Associated Schools Project: The Associated Schools Project: A Review of its Expansion and Development* (Paris: UNESCO, 1993).

was one of 15 countries to participate in ASP from its commencement in 1953.¹⁶⁰ The project did not have any direct counterpart within the Council of Europe. Admittedly, in 1954 in the European Cultural Convention, the Council had proclaimed the value of exchanges over borders, but did not initiate any student-oriented undertakings. Activities around the implementation of the Idea of Europe were mainly directed towards the formal and teacher levels, but the Council of Europe also encouraged ASP and other exchanges between schools.¹⁶¹ UNESCO's own evaluations underlined the importance of ASP for international understanding, while at the same time, they also stressed the lack of significant impact on the formal curricula and academia.¹⁶² In 2003, ASP's importance in Sweden was described as small in light of the fact that schools in Sweden, even without ASP, had good opportunities for internationalization and that the formal Swedish curricula were in accord with UNESCO's values.¹⁶³ Although the present study has not examined ASP in any depth, it may be said that there were links between the international guidelines and Swedish history education.

Orientations in Teaching Compared with International Guidelines

Because means and goals have been closely associated in the international guidelines, the presence of different means has functioned in the present study as signaling orientations towards different goals. More world history has indicated an orientation towards international understanding such as UNESCO formulated it, while more European history suggests an orientation towards the Idea of Europe.¹⁶⁴ Greater space for minorities marks an orientation towards cultural diversity, what internationally has been termed "unity in diversity", whereas interest in local history signaled an orientation towards the preservation of cultural heritage.¹⁶⁵ Interest in contemporary history can point to an orientation towards understanding of the present in light of the past.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ The initial 15 countries were Belgium, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, The Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia: *UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet): Historical Review 1953–2003* (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), 3. ASP included 33 schools in 15 countries in 1953, and in 2003, 7400 schools in 170 countries: *UNESCO Associated*, 25.

¹⁶¹ *European Cultural convention, Paris 19.XII. 1954*. European Treaty Series, no. 18 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1954). The orientation towards teachers was obvious in all of the Council of Europe's recommendations and meetings concerning history education from 1953 to 2002.

¹⁶² *International Symposium*, 25–27; *Global Review of UNESCO's Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet)*, Centre for International Education and Research, University of Birmingham, UK (Paris: UNESCO 2003), 3.

¹⁶³ *Global Review*, 32.

¹⁶⁴ Paper I.

¹⁶⁵ Paper II.

¹⁶⁶ Paper III.

Comprehensive Formal Curricula

The multiplicity of means and goals had parallels on other curricular levels. In the national guidelines, the subject of history during the period studied became more and more comprehensive. Larger geographical areas and more perspectives were to be taken up with the assistance of different teaching methods and training in various kinds of competence.¹⁶⁷

The formal curricula proposed an increasingly international, contemporary, multiperspective history, focusing on marginalized groups. The value of local history had already been stated. The extensive formal curricula were wholly in line with the international guidelines.¹⁶⁸

Orientations in the Perceived Curricula

The comprehensive guidelines reveal the problems that pervaded the debate during the entire period under study. Too much to do with too little time: the time allotted for teaching was also the issue that gathered together historians and history teachers in the Association of History Teachers in 1933.¹⁶⁹ The debates took up the international guidelines after the Second World War, although other questions were often more pressing. Time for teaching and the division of the subject into history and civics were the questions that received most attention in the debates, while at the same time, history education was said to be central for international understanding.¹⁷⁰ In the perceived curricula, there were tendencies towards history teaching that was international, contemporary, multi-cultural, attentive to minorities and to the preservation of cultural heritage. From a very global view, in line with UNESCO's guidelines until the mid-1980s, the debates from the 1990s were more directed towards European history.¹⁷¹ That the debates also reflected different points of view was clear when contributors propagated different goals and means in teaching – for example, one history teacher, Erik Brännman, underlined the subject's value for cultural heritage¹⁷² and economy¹⁷³; Rudolf Hultkvist promulgated global history¹⁷⁴, while Lennart Bohman stressed the importance of the subject as a way into cultural ethnology.¹⁷⁵

Although the experienced teachers in the interviews expressed different ideas about “what?”, “why?” and “how?” history should be taught, all the

¹⁶⁷ Paper IV, 8–11.

¹⁶⁸ Paper I, II and III.

¹⁶⁹ Paper I.

¹⁷⁰ Paper I.

¹⁷¹ Paper I and II.

¹⁷² TfSL 1953, 194.

¹⁷³ TfSL 1953, 194.

¹⁷⁴ AFHL 1974, 14ff.

¹⁷⁵ HLFÅ 1979–1980, 43f; HLFÅ 1981–82, 45–56; HLFÅ 1983–1984, 28f.

older teachers testified to a greater emphasis on international and contemporary history. The experienced teachers' teaching strategies demonstrate how they have interlinked the didactic questions of "what?, why? and how?" in different ways, which has given rise to different orientations in their views of teaching. Means and goals have interacted. It is interesting that even though the teachers stressed different means and goals in the narrative, social scientific, multiperspective and eclectic teaching strategies, their ideas follow the national curricula and guidelines. Both the more detailed curricula from 1965 and 1981 and the more open curriculum from 1994 offered a sufficiently wide scope for teachers to be able to stress narratives, social analysis or different perspectives and at the same time, follow the directives laid down in the curricula. The requirements of the national curricula and guidelines were, in theory, most clearly met by an eclectic teaching strategy.

In relation to the international guidelines, the teachers' orientations may be seen as more practical examples of history teaching for (1) forming and preserving of local identities, (2) international and contemporary connections and (3) diversity.

Students' Orientations in the Experiential Curricula

The line of demarcation between UNESCO and the Council of Europe was between a global and a Euro-centric perspective.¹⁷⁶ The orientation towards world history advocated by UNESCO was the one that was also most prominent on the student level, even though the national syllabus and the teachers' debates during the 1990s primarily stressed European history. Statistics indicate an orientation towards the goals declared by UNESCO – international global understanding – despite the fact that during the period studied, UNESCO had a limited budget which was to cover many other educational and development programmes.¹⁷⁷ The Council of Europe's propagation of more European history had little direct impact on the experiential curricula.¹⁷⁸

The more detailed study of students' work shows how world history in several cases also brought up minorities and problems with colonialism and racism.¹⁷⁹ For example, essays on Central and South American countries dealt with various Indian cultures and their encounters with conquistadors, and essays on African countries looked at similar experiences of different tribes. Statistics based upon titles of individual projects indicate that interest in marginalized groups increased. The titles of these and also my reading of other individual project papers not clearly declaring a focus on marginalized

¹⁷⁶ Paper I and II.

¹⁷⁷ Karen Mundy, "Educational Multilateralism in a Changing World Order: UNESCO and the limits of the possible" *International Journal of Educational Development*, no. 19 (1999): 31–48.

¹⁷⁸ Paper I and II.

¹⁷⁹ Paper II

groups, show how an orientation towards more unity in diversity was possible – which was also confirmed by the statistics.¹⁸⁰

Another orientation was that towards contemporary history, and in the diverse subjects treated by students, contemporary problems and entertainment subjects – e.g. world politics and popular culture – became more and more dominant.¹⁸¹

It was primarily contemporary world history that attracted both male and female students.¹⁸² Male and female students' individual projects from 1969, 1982, 1992 and 2002 showed different orientations to a certain extent. Interestingly, two of four projects in 1969 that had a woman's name in their titles were written by boys, while most of the girls' essays had man's names.¹⁸³ In other years, it was mostly boys who wrote individual projects about men and girls who wrote about women and women's emancipation. The clearest change, however, was that over the time period, names of women and men came to have equal distribution in the titles.¹⁸⁴ Part of the results of an orientation towards previously marginalized groups was that women were given more attention in both male and female students' work in history.¹⁸⁵ Up until 2002, more girls than boys expressed an interest in minorities, but in 2002, interest was equal in both sexes.

Local history attracted more girls during all the years investigated in the study, whereas world history relatively-speaking interested more boys.¹⁸⁶ Percent-wise, the early modern era was dealt with mainly by girls and a higher percent of the boys dealt with contemporary history (the last 80 years).¹⁸⁷ Other orientations attracted boys and girls in different proportions during different years. The tendency was for boys to write on subjects close to their own time and geographically distant, whereas girls studied what was close by geographically but distant in time. Despite these gender differences, the primary orientation amongst both boys and girls in the experiential curricula was contemporary world history. They also expressed interest in their

¹⁸⁰ Paper II.

¹⁸¹ Paper II and III.

¹⁸² Paper III.

¹⁸³ 40 of 156 girls (26%) had a man's name in the title, while 25 out of 122 boys (20%) had a man's name in the title.

¹⁸⁴ Paper II.

¹⁸⁵ See also paper II.

¹⁸⁶ In 1969, 13% of the girls wrote on local history, and 6% of the boys; in 1982, 38% of the girls and 20% of the boys wrote on local history; in 1992, 22% of the girls and 16% of the boys and in 2002, 13% of the girls and 9% of the boys wrote on local history subjects.

¹⁸⁷ In 1969, 23% of the girls and 10% of the boys wrote about the early modern era; in 1982, 20% of the girls and 19% of the boys; in 1992, 23% of the girls and 17% of the boys, and in 2002, 15% of the girls and 10% of the boys. In 1969, 63% of the girls and 77% of the boys wrote about contemporary history; in 1982, 57% of the girls and 68% of the boys; in 1992, 49% of the girls and 57% of the boys, and in 2002, 63% of the girls and 71% of the boys wrote on contemporary history.

local cultural heritage and in previously marginalized groups, entirely in accordance with the international guidelines.

There were, however, also examples of currents in the opposite direction, against the international guidelines. There were students who in their essays romanticized men's use of violence – for example, the Swedish King Gustav Vasa was depicted as courageous and heroic when, helped by “eager” Dalecarlian followers (“dalkarlar”), he attacked the Danes.¹⁸⁸ Another instance of romantic description is Commander C.G. Mannerheim in 1944 leading Finland out of World War II, with “his remarkable authority as a shield, behind which the whole nation, in this heinous time, could seek protection.”¹⁸⁹ Even other commanders such as Alexander and Napoleon could be romanticized – wholly counter to the international guidelines on peace and understanding. During the early 1970s, some students were supportive of communist dictatorships in countries like China and the Soviet Union.¹⁹⁰ In their essays, some students vindicated the use of violence in struggles against racism and in essays on local history, portrayed immigration as a problem.¹⁹¹

However, in the essays analyzed, the majority of students denounced war and tyranny, both at home and abroad.¹⁹² For example, it was described how Hitler's “fixed ideas, which filled his confused brain during his wretched youth in Vienna, changed the world in a horrible way”¹⁹³; the Finnish Winter War was depicted as a “war between brothers” with “murder and executions plus mass deaths in prison camps”, which “gave Finns wounds that would be difficult to heal for a long time to come.”¹⁹⁴ The Soviet Union was characterized as “an inhuman barbarian state.”¹⁹⁵ Based on interviews with relatives, war history could be an emotional family narrative, revealing ordinary people's memories and actions, with women as providers and workers when the men were at the front.¹⁹⁶

Peaceful heroes such as Mahatma Gandhi, Raoul Wallenberg and Mother Teresa were also studied.¹⁹⁷ One student selected a peaceful hero to study, namely, Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, “the great scientist, a practical and wise

¹⁸⁸ Annchatrine Stenberg, *Gustav Vasa i Dalarna* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1970), 5–6.

¹⁸⁹ Marianne Melchoir, *Finlands ekonomiska, politiska samt landets presidenters historia efter 1945* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1985).

¹⁹⁰ Paper II.

¹⁹¹ Paper II.

¹⁹² Paper II.

¹⁹³ Gunilla Svensson, *Hitlers ungdomsår* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1969), 3.

¹⁹⁴ Marko Arola, *Frihetskriget* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1987), 6.

¹⁹⁵ Olle Brännström, *Baltutlämningen* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1985), 6.

¹⁹⁶ Monika Ranudd, *Finska vinterkriget 1939–1940* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1987).

¹⁹⁷ In Bengt Schüllerqvist's previous study of a teacher's experiences, it was held that “the benefactors of humankind” replaced national heroes: Bengt Schüllerqvist, *En lärares bildningsgång: En biografisk studie av ideal, tradition och praxis i svensk läroverksmiljö* (Uppsala: Pedagogisk forskning i Uppsala 143, 2002), 155.

man, a leader of great weight”, who opened the Northeast Passage.¹⁹⁸ Nordenskiöld accomplished great deeds of the kind that both UNESCO and the Council of Europe recommended to highlight in history teaching.

Students’ work that increasingly took up minorities could express strong solidarity with oppressed groups in the world, which harmonized well with the international guidelines on unity in diversity. Students pronounced feelings of guilt and shame about what white people did in the past indicated a clear repudiation of racism. Also, the importance of preserving cultural heritage was expressed in students’ essays.¹⁹⁹ Development in Sweden mainly followed the international, oriented primarily towards contemporary world history, with students criticizing war and racism and directing attention to previously marginalized groups.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Tommy Hedlund, *Nordostpassagen: Norra sjövägen* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1969).

¹⁹⁹ Paper II.

²⁰⁰ Paper I, II and III.

Concluding Discussion

Formulations of History Education in International Guidelines

The subject of history as formulated in guidelines from UNESCO and the Council of Europe had certain differences in emphasis – whether its primary focus was global or European. However, what is clear above all is that demands on the subject were high and that over time they became more and more comprehensive. Figure 4 gives an overview of the multifarious means and goals that were put forth in the ideological curricula.

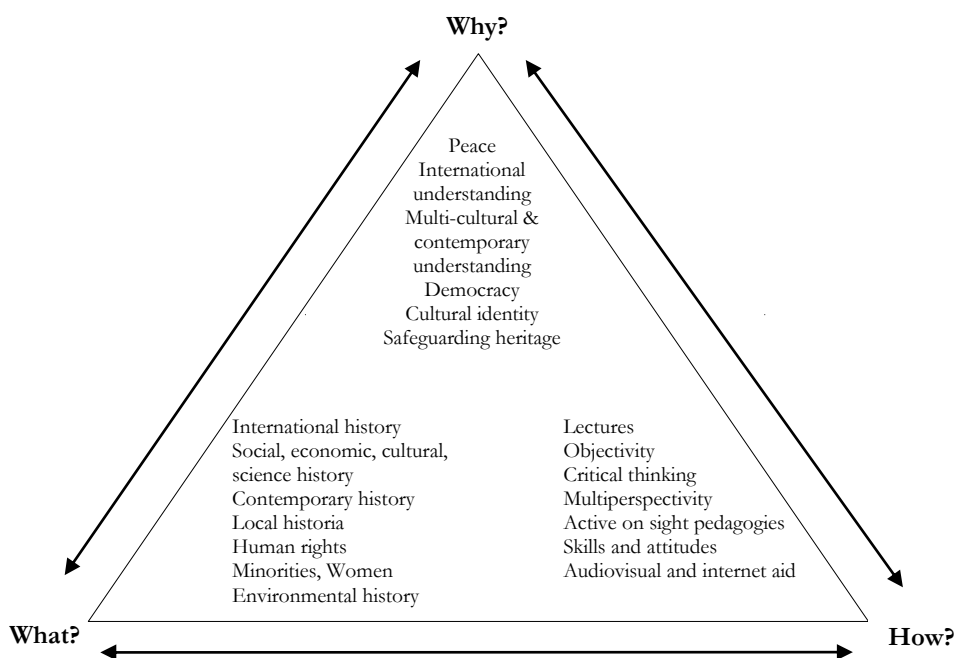


Figure 4: A didactic triangle showing different goals, methods and content as presented in the international guidelines.

Sources: *Guidelines of the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe.*

The didactic questions of “what?”, “how?” and “why?” as regards teaching history were often closely connected in the recommendations. Achieving peace through more social, cultural, economic and scientific history is an example of how goals and content correlate, but also history as a way to enhance European identity has legitimated this selection as has the need to

better illuminate the history of minorities and foreign countries. World history has been motivated by both the need for peace and for multi-cultural competence in a global world.

Fostering peace and understanding the present should, according to the recommendations, be furthered by an objective history education that is critical of sources, experientially-based and which offers multiple perspectives (“why?”–“how?”). Experientially-based teaching was motivated also by the desire to preserve the physical cultural heritage, which can be seen as yet another link between goals and method.

Considerations of “why?”, “what?” and “how?” are correlated in several of the formulations, for instance in peace, world history and objectivity. This combination changed over time into peace, world history and multiperspectivity. This change was probably due to a new view of the possibility of objectivity, which altered notions of how history should be presented and dealt with. This also affected the recommendations concerning the choice of subject matter since it became more important to present different sides’ views of conflicts.

What have been means and goals is not always obvious. For example, teaching about human rights has been described as a way of attaining international understanding, but human rights was also to be viewed as a goal for education. Figure 4 provides a rough picture of the means and goals of history teaching that have been prominent internationally. The double arrows show that in the guidelines content, methods and goals are closely linked, with no fixed position.

Connections between goals and means and ideological differences between the international organizations point to different orientations in the international guidelines. Orientations which primarily emphasized international understanding, but in the process also unity in diversity and safeguarding cultural heritage.

The Process of Implementing International Understanding

The organizations studied articulated means and goals for history teaching in relation to their contemporary worlds. The League of Nations and ICIC were clearly affected by world politics when working with their “Declaration regarding the teaching of history”. The Great Powers – the US, Great Britain and France – were keen to participate in the formation of the declaration, but then for various reasons did not sign the final document.²⁰¹ UNESCO also interacted with the contemporary context in its work with “A History of Mankind”, which became plagued with difficulties when Western powers, small states and communist Eastern Europe were supposed to write a com-

²⁰¹ *A Handbook*, 104–107.

mon history.²⁰² UNESCO was influenced by world politics, world development questions and the desire to protect world heritage. The Council of Europe, with a base in human rights but also obviously anchored in Europe, had to take into account both powerful and less powerful countries' notions about history while at the same time protecting small ethnic groups of people. The formulation of international understanding, or "mutual understanding" as the Council of Europe first termed it, was a product of its time and the ideological curricula influenced and were influenced by the surrounding world.

In line with Goodlad's previous notions, the ideological curricula were in contact with other curricular levels through transactions and interpretations. In addition, there were direct and mutual exchanges between the different levels (see Figure 5).

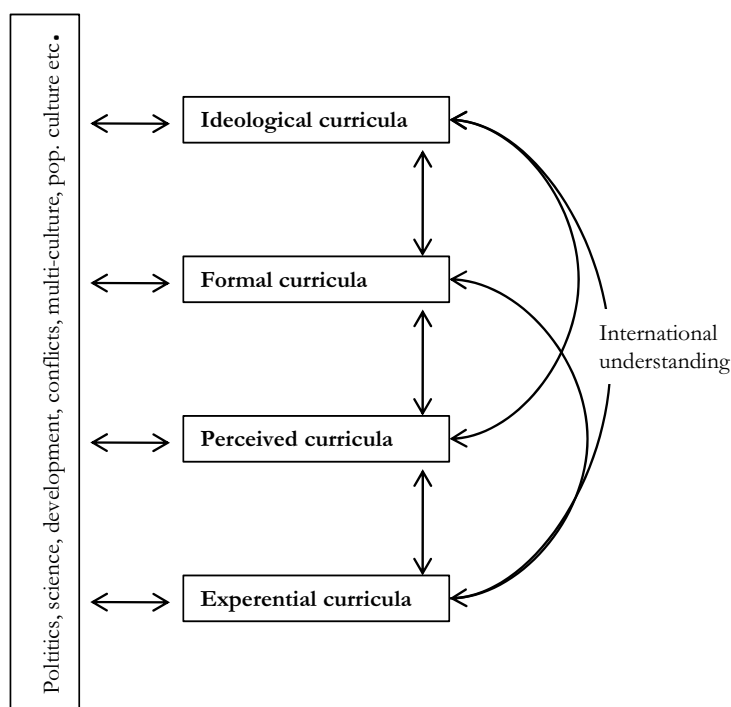


Figure 5: *The relationship between the international guidelines for international understanding and other curricular levels and the world-at-large.*

²⁰² Poul Duedahl, "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945–76," *Journal of World History*, 22: 1 (2011): 130.

In Figure 5, the two-way arrows denote how influences have been mutual and they symbolize transactions as well as interpretations. The different curricular realities have interacted, directly and indirectly. The guidelines were formed under the influence of the surrounding society, civil servants, historians, teachers and ideas about students' interest in history. In the implementation, not only have there been direct transactions regarding the formal curricula but also indirect through, for example, history teachers acting as messengers and, influenced by international guidelines, debating the value of history teaching for international understanding. The formal curricula bore the stamp of international guidelines, dispensed guidelines for teachers and students, but were also attentive to teachers' and students' opinions and their work in history. Teachers participated in international conferences, in debates and not least in the practice of teaching when meeting their students. Some teachers and students also took part in UNESCO's school project on international understanding.

Implementation may be described as: (1) a sideways process where curricular levels contained different views of the means and goals of history teaching, which were affected by their own times and developments in society; (2) a top-down process where the international guidelines were incorporated into the formal, perceived and experiential curricula through transactions and interpretations via direct and indirect contacts; (3) a bottom-up process where teachers, and in an indirect way students, participated in how the subject of history was formulated and reformulated nationally and internationally; (4) an independent creation of history, where teachers and students oriented themselves according to the international guidelines without direct links to these guidelines, and (5) a disregard of guidelines in favor of other priorities, for example, cultural history, which during the interwar years was ignored because of lack of time in history lessons²⁰³, and students who wrote essays on less or unacceptable subjects according to the international guidelines.

Even if implementation seems to have been mainly a top-down process, the present study shows that also other processes were significant. The bottom-up process appears to have been weak, but it is nevertheless clear that students themselves were able to formulate history in manifold ways, within and beyond the guidelines.

World over European History

The present study shows that each curricular level can encompass different ideas. International understanding can be seen as spanning a number of different means and goals which tend in different directions. The orientations towards internationalism, diversity, cultural heritage and contempo-

²⁰³ Paper I.

rary history reveal the breadth of the ideological curricular levels. The demarcation between UNESCO's global orientation and the Council of Europe's Euro-centrism exposes ideological differences in the ideological curricula. Students' disregard of more European history shows how implementation in both the formal curricula and in the teachers' debates does not necessarily bring about any changes on the student level.

Europe's reluctance to introduce more globally-oriented teaching, previously noted by Mary Rauner,²⁰⁴ mainly applied in Sweden to the formal curricula of the 1990s and not to the students' experiential curricula. One explanation for this reluctance can be that the Council of Europe consciously worked for asserting a European perspective over the global. Rauner examined curricula and textbooks; possibly a study that also included students' views of the surrounding world would have given other results.

One conceivable explanation for Swedish students' global orientations may be that world history was emphasized on all curricular levels up to the 1990s and was important even later. On the basis of the interviews with the experienced teachers²⁰⁵ and Mikael Berg's later study, it is reasonable to assume that the teachers who focused on world history before 1994 did not fundamentally change their teaching when a new syllabus was introduced. This is particularly likely since the experienced teachers, more than the younger ones, perceived great freedom in relation to the syllabus.²⁰⁶ UNESCO's Associated Schools Project (ASP) could also have been important for the global perspective of the experiential curricula. Because it was mainly concerned with the formal and perceived curricula, the Council of Europe lacked this direct link between the ideological curricula and the experiential.

Another contributing factor for Swedish students preferring world history – despite greater stress on European history – may be that Sweden is a small country in a, relatively-speaking, small part of the world. It is a small and officially neutral, alliance-free country between East and West, with an often prominent international profile in questions of peace, antiracism and development in poor countries.²⁰⁷ Sweden's orientation towards more international understanding could very well be a result of more than just the international guidelines. As noted in the points of departure for this study, implementation is a complex undertaking which cannot be separated from society and the involvement of other perspectives and experiences. In addition, Christina Koulouri and others have previously pointed out that reformed

²⁰⁴ Rauner, 99.

²⁰⁵ Paper IV.

²⁰⁶ Paper IV, 93f; Berg, 53.

²⁰⁷ For instance, students' growing interest in world history was contemporary to Dag Hammarskjöld being general secretary of the UN and active in the Suez crisis, Lebanon and Congo. The students increased focus on "the Negro problems in the US" followed the international attention to Gunnar Myrdal's research in the US: Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944). Reprinted in 1962 and 1969.

national guidelines and curricula do not automatically transform students' historical consciousness.²⁰⁸ Notions that are supported by the results of this study, but the study also highlights that transformation is possible.

Contemporary World History

The transformation of history teaching towards a more contemporary world history, and giving more and more attention to marginalized groups, can be seen as an international current affected by transnational, moral actors and part of the development of historical scholarship.²⁰⁹ In this international development it is interesting to see how teachers could act as agents of change in their encounters with international guidelines, national reforms, debates, and in their encounters with students. History teachers were co-creators of the prerequisites and contents of history education, as Julian Dierkes has previously observed in a German context.²¹⁰ The impact of history teachers has thus stretched even outside the parameters noted by Johan Samuelsson²¹¹.

It is also worth bearing in mind that the change in views of history education can also be explained by other factors. Teachers with different teaching strategies described how they participated in developing the subject, but not on the basis of international guidelines but from personal interests, and developments in the rest of the world and in historical scholarship.

The contemporary world history orientation also encompasses a genus aspect since this orientation, in a comparison between boys and girls, was stronger amongst boys. Both girls and boys were mainly interested in contemporary world history, but relatively-speaking, the girls set greater store by local and older history.

The major student interest in contemporary history was also evident in previous research on students' interests. Sture Långström and Johan Hansson considered it a clear preference amongst students in both lower and upper secondary school.²¹² The close-by as well as the far distant history attracted students in Långström and Hansson's Youth and History inspired investigations.²¹³ That world history in these earlier studies was divided into several different geographical areas might explain why it was described as

²⁰⁸ Koulouri, 15f.

²⁰⁹ In higher education, a more international contemporary and multi-cultural university curricula was noted by David John Frank, Suk-Ying Wong, John W. Meyer and Francisco O. Ramirez, "What Counts as History: A Cross-National and Longitudinal Study of University Curricula," *Comparative Education Review* 44, no. 1 (2000): 46f. Arie Wilschut has described how the development of history didactics could follow similar and different directions in European countries: Wilschut.

²¹⁰ Dierkes, 90f.

²¹¹ Samuelsson, 62f, 67f.

²¹² Långström, 67; Hansson, 179.

²¹³ Långström, 70; Hansson, 61.

less interesting than European and Swedish history.²¹⁴ Both Långström and Hansson also write of a tendency towards more international interests amongst upper secondary students, a tendency that is echoed in the present study.²¹⁵

Even if students expressed an interest in war and dictators in these previous investigations, the present study's results suggest that this interest was less pro militarism than its opposite. In the students' work that I reviewed, militarism was marginalized and dictators and war were treated, with a few exceptions, extremely critically.

Without and Contra International Guidelines

While the international guidelines seem to have impacted on the global orientation in history, local history was an orientation in Sweden before it was taken up internationally. Focus on local history could have been reinforced by international interest in it, but as a part of Swedish history education it was already established when UNESCO and later the Council of Europe began to note its value for preserving cultural heritage. Safeguarding the local can, of course, inflate local patriotic tendencies, but nationalism and a skeptical attitude towards immigration stood in sharp contrast to international aims. As previous research on democracy has affirmed, all good guidelines do not necessarily have good effects in practice.²¹⁶

The relationship between international guidelines and the study of local history shows that some of these guidelines did not need to be implemented and that one means does not always achieve its stated goal. The early 1970's international understanding for Leninism and Maoism exemplifies how this understanding could also encompass dictators. Students criticized totalitarian systems but could as well excuse dictators, arguing special cultural characteristics – an inbuilt problem in international understanding which teachers criticized.²¹⁷

Towards Cultural Diversity

The change in the concept of culture from being defined as literature and art to leaning more towards the anthropological was clear in the Swedish debate. In the 1930s cultural history was taken up in art classes in order to avoid taking time from hours in history,²¹⁸ but in the beginning of the 1980s,

²¹⁴ Långström, 72; Hansson, 62.

²¹⁵ Långström, 72; Hansson, 63.

²¹⁶ Almgren, 191.

²¹⁷ At the time, history teachers debated the problem of fostering both democratic ideas and understanding of foreign countries governed by undemocratic rulers and ideologies. However, writers agreed that international history was important: AFHL 1970 no. 2, 10–14; AFHL 1970 no. 3, 26–29; AFHL 1970 no. 4, 26–29; AFHL 1971 no. 2, 25f.

²¹⁸ For the discussion about how the subject of art should deal with culture see: TfSL 1935, 234; TfSL 1939, 285f, 325f. Paper I.

the value of history for cultural studies was asserted in arguments against ethnologists.²¹⁹ The view of the subject of history had obviously changed, and this change entailed that culture also concerned people's daily lives, traditions, patterns of behavior, but it also meant that in the 1980s, the value of history as a school subject had to be motivated. Katérina Stenou has claimed that a corresponding change occurred within UNESCO, where culture over time got a more anthropological definition.²²⁰

Even if it was not called "culture", UNESCO underlined already in 1949 the importance of studying ways of life in other countries.²²¹ At the end of the 1940s, affinities with people in other cultures and countries were called "Unity in Diversity" in both UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Yet this positive view of diversity did not really penetrate until the 1980s, when diversity was prioritized in the Council of Europe's work with education. This was also when the Council of Europe's guidelines concerning diversity were taken up in the Swedish history teachers' discussions. Possibly most clearly expressed was the desire for unity in diversity within UNESCO 2001, when a "Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity" was delivered.²²² The multiperspective oriented teacher in the study who strongly advocated studying previously marginalized perspectives did so based on developments within historical scholarship and not international guidelines. Swedish students' work in history showed that from the 1960s onwards minorities and negative treatment of minorities were treated in line with international guidelines. Students condemned colonialism before the Council of Europe did and repudiated racism and anti-Semitism. One group defined as marginalized by the Council of Europe and UNESCO was the women. In the perceived curricula and experiential curricula women's history and women's rights was noted and seems to have gained a stronger position; even more recognized by Swedish teachers and students than in the international guidelines.²²³

Encounters with other peoples and cultures were part of students' historical consciousness, but in their work, also artists like Leonardo da Vinci and Andy Warhol were discussed. Classical culture and popular culture cropped up in students' history essays, which could focus on Bruce Lee as well as on minorities. With empathy and interest students addressed issues relating to the present and future in the experiential curricula, which contained more than what was in the guidelines and debates. Students' history seems to be more comprehensive than that of other curricular levels. Sven-Åke Johansson has pointed out that diversity in the subjects for individual projects ex-

²¹⁹ Paper II.

²²⁰ Stenou, *UNESCO and the Issue*, 3f.

²²¹ *A Handbook*, 78f.

²²² *Records of the General Conference, 31st session, Paris, 15 October – 3 November 2001, v. 1: Resolutions* (Paris: UNESCO, 2002).

²²³ Paper II.

tended beyond the syllabus.²²⁴ This could be due to the complex interplay between personal experience and the surrounding world in relation to the past, as Keith C. Barton claims.²²⁵

Students' historical consciousness seems to stretch outside the international guidelines and be palpably affected by the present. Teachers and students, at least in the theoretical programmes, broadened the subject's content and oriented themselves in both world politics and local history, with perspectives that focused on minorities and popular culture in a subject clearly influenced by the present.

Shaping a Better World?

Students' history seems more and more often to be filled with internationalism, interest in contemporary history and in diversity. Even if several of the students' future expectations contained fears of future conflicts, what was expressed were anxieties, not militarism. Entry ways into the past were often found in the international and local present-day. Students studied the past from a variety of sources. Primarily secondary sources, but also interviews and other primary sources were used to critically describe, but also closely, even empathetically, analyze the past, the present and the possible future.

When studying the recent and distant past, students articulated their understanding of minorities, rejection of totalitarianism and war, and a desire to preserve cultural heritage – an inclusive, non-discriminatory history in the service of mankind. Students' historical consciousness can be seen as a sign of the times, and at least in part, expressing the spirit of the international guidelines – with points of departure in history, taking a clear position for a better world.

Further Research

The present study shows a connection between international guidelines and Swedish history education, while at the same time, there has been freedom to formulate the subject of history in different ways on different curricular levels. Since the experiential curricula can diverge from other curricular levels, more independent research on how international exchanges and international educational projects affect students' views of the world would be worthwhile. Differences between the experiential curricula and other curricular levels demonstrate the importance of investigating teachers' and students' ideas and views and not being content with research confined to curricula and textbooks. For example the significance of ASP for the orientation of history teaching in the participating schools needs to be examined more thoroughly to be able to judge its importance.

²²⁴ Johansson, 219.

²²⁵ Barton, 248.

The methods used in history teaching need to be more thoroughly examined in future research. Even if there seems to be more stress on competence training in teaching judging from the national guidelines, reviews, debates and interviews, this has not been examined on the student level in the present study. At a time when historical thinking has received more attention in directives, it would, for example, be useful to study how multi-perspectivity is handled and experienced by teachers and students in the classroom.

A further, preferably comparative, study of other countries' contacts with the international guidelines would give more knowledge about implementation processes internationally. Since the international guidelines are directed towards not only history but also geography, civics and languages, it would be valuable to investigate in detail the development of these subjects in relation to UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's recommendations. This would reveal both the subject's character and its inter-disciplinary qualities in an historical reform process. An orientation that has not been examined in the present study is human rights education, which clearly involves both history and civics. A detailed scrutiny of this orientation on all curricular levels would contribute to knowledge of international guidelines and teaching practices.

More focus on the experiential curricula in a global world would enlighten us on the purpose of education – to contribute to students' learning. How history education is construed and students' learn is still far too little explored.

Svensk sammanfattning

Historieundervisning i mänsklighetens tjänst: Internationella riktlinjer och svensk gymnasieundervisning i historia, 1927–2002.

I denna studie av internationella riktlinjer och historieundervisningen i Sverige 1927–2002 undersöks NF:s, UNESCO:s och Europarådets riktlinjer i förhållande till svenska styrdokument, lärares uppfattningar om och studenters arbete i historia.

Utifrån ett läroplansteoretiskt perspektiv, inspirerat av John I. Goodlads perspektiv på implementering studeras formuleringen av historieämnet i de ideologiska läroplanerna, de formella läroplanerna, de uppfattade läroplanerna och de upplevda läroplanerna. De ideologiska läroplanerna analyseras genom en granskning av de internationella riktlinjer som riktade sig till Svensk historieundervisning från 1927 till 2002; de formella läroplanerna granskas genom analys av såväl styrdokument som nationellt konstruerade ämnen vid studentexamen och inspektörsrapporter; de uppfattade läroplanerna studeras genom lärardebatt och intervjuer med erfarna lärare om deras uppfattningar om historieundervisningens utveckling; och de upplevda läroplanerna undersöks genom elevers val av uppsatsämnen vid studentskrivningar, deras titlar på enskilda arbeten och specialarbeten i historia samt även genom en mer ingående analys av specialarbeten skrivna mellan 1969 och 2002.

Studien visar att historieundervisningens mål och medel har formulerats på såväl likartade som olika sätt inom och mellan läroplansnivåerna. Ämnet har på alla studerade läroplansnivåer fått en mer internationell orientering. I paper I beskrivs hur den nationella historien efter andra världskriget hamnade allt mer i bakgrunden och den världshistoria som UNESCO framhöll blev från 1950-talet dominerande i Sverige. Elevernas orientering emot världshistoria framför europeisk historia kvarstod in i 2000-talet, trots att Europarådets eurocentrism fick en starkare ställning i kursplanen 1994 och i lärardebatten (paper II). Internationella och nationella riktlinjer betonade även värdet av att uppmärksamma marginaliserade grupper och det lokala kulturarvet. Dessa orienteringar fanns även representerade i lärares uppfattningar om historieundervisning och i elevers arbeten i historia (paper II). Samtidens historia har påverkat formuleringen av historieämnet. I den upplevda läroplanen har eleverna främst orienterat sig emot en samtida världshistoria (paper II, III).

Resultaten tyder på att implementeringen av de internationella riktlinjerna var mer än en top-down process. Under hela den studerade perioden har riktlinjer formulerats och överförts, men också omtolkats och i vissa fall ig-

norerats. I implementeringen av internationell förståelse verkar historielärare haft stort inflytande (paper I). Lärare har betonat olika mål och medel i undervisningen och skapat det som här kallas undervisningsstrategier i historia (paper IV). Elever och lärare verkar ha varit medskapare i transformeringen av historieundervisningen.

Det historieämne som framträder i studien omfattade ett allt större geografiskt område och allt fler perspektiv. Inte minst på elevnivå formulerades och hanterades ämnet på en mångfald olika sätt, ofta orienterat emot en mer samtida världshistoria. Elevernas historia hade stora likheter med den historieundervisning i mänsklighetens tjänst som formulerades internationellt (paper I, II, III). Eleverna tog avstånd från krig, uttryckte förståelse för minoriteter och värnade det lokala kulturarvet. Även om det fanns vissa undantag, verkar elevernas historia ha präglats av internationell förståelse under ett 1900-tal fyllt av konflikter.

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Appendix 1

Table 1: *Orientations in students' individual projects in history, supervised by teachers interviewed in the study. (1) Geographical, (2) chronological and (3) thematic orientations.*

	Axel	Bengt	Dag	Elisabeth	Folke
Year	1969-1975	1970-2002	1969-1990	1997-2002	1997-2000
N	44	155	69	19	80
(1) World History	66%	45%	45%	84%	42%
(1) European History	14%	18%	14%	11%	26%
(1) National History	9%	14%	17%	5%	11%
(1) Local History	0%	17%	13%	0%	13%
(2) Antiquity	0%	5%	0%	0%	6%
(2) Early Modern Era	7%	22%	10%	16%	11%
(2) Contemporary	75%	45%	68%	68%	45%
(3) Minorities	18%	15%	6%	11%	6%
(3) Women	2%	3%	9%	0%	0%

Sources: *City and Municipal Archives, School Archives.*

International Reformation of Swedish History Education 1927–1961: The Complexity of Implementing International Understanding*

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IN 1957 UNESCO's world history became the dominant line in Swedish history education at the expense of the European regionalism promoted by the Council of Europe and the nationalistic sentiments emphasized between the wars. The topics for history in the important final exams, which were decided by the Swedish authorities, gave the students a choice between "Sweden in the United Nations Security Council" and "Africa in the 20th century," both topics clearly in accord with UNESCO's recommendations on history teaching. The seventeen-year-old students preferred the latter in line with an interest in international history dating back to before the Second World War. Many teachers, on the other hand, criticized the absence of a national historical topic in the exams, which demonstrates how teachers could form a nationalistic barrier in the construing of history, but the student choices prove how central international history was to them. The

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ambitious work by primarily UNESCO for furthering international understanding seems to have had an impact on the minds of the young in Sweden.

In the present study I show the development in the interwar and postwar period toward a transformation in history teaching. I present the different recommendations for history teaching issued by the League of Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe,¹ showing how these international intentions were implemented and interpreted in the national curriculum, teachers' debates, and students' work in history. Last but not least, I show how the formulation and implementation of these recommendations was not merely a top-down procedure but allowed for interpretations and communication within and between different levels of the curriculum that formulated and construed history with different emphases.

Previous studies of UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's view of history teaching have described how the subject was seen as important for peace, cultural identity, and cultural exchange.² The teaching of history has been the subject of recommendations advocating a number of goals, contents, and methods.³ The League of Nations and UNESCO have been described as ideological arenas, often encumbered by sharp disputes over the means and goals of history teaching.⁴ It has also been claimed that the content of UNESCO's primary concerns—peace, education, science, and culture—has varied over time, and that UNESCO's intentions in certain cases have had ramifications on the

¹ The League of Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe have been studied because these international organizations have produced guidelines that Sweden has been, and remains, part of. NATO, of which Sweden is not a member, has also issued recommendations for more transatlantic history education. Within the EU, the teaching of history has been discussed, but without producing any recommendations. The textbook revision of the Norden Association, much appreciated by both UNESCO and the Council of Europe, was not a part of the official mandate on history teaching.

² Otto-Ernst Schüdekopf, *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1967); Thomas Buergenthal and Judith V. Torney, *International Human Rights and International Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1976); Pertti Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part I," in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 10 (1988); Pertti Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of UNESCO, part II," in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 11 (1989); Ann Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997); Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Hannover: Hahn, 1999); Katérina Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity* (Paris: UNESCO, 2007).

³ Low-Beer, *Council of Europe*; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*, pp. 5–15.

⁴ Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO* (Wrocław, 1962), pp. 48–92; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision . . . part I,"; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision . . . part II."

national level.⁵ The weakness in a great deal of the early research on both UNESCO and the Council of Europe is that it has often been oriented toward textbooks,⁶ financed by the organization being examined, and bent on improving practice.⁷ No independent investigations have hitherto been done regarding how students understand the subject of history from the point of view of international organizations' guidelines. That international intentions can have an effect has, however, been pointed out.⁸

The implementation of national curriculum in teaching has seldom been investigated in previous Swedish research.⁹ Scholars have noted that the relationship between the national curriculum and teaching is complex and that the teacher's autonomy and impressions from outside traditions as well as those within the subject are evident.¹⁰ The fact that the implementation of curriculum involves both interpretations and disputes on various levels was described already in the 1970s, when it was claimed that interpretations and conceptions conflicting with central intentions can render these intentions rather null and void.¹¹

⁵ Roger-Pol Droit, *Humanity in the Making: Overview of the Intellectual History of UNESCO 1945–2005* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005); Poul Duedahl, *Fra overmenneske til UNESCO-menneske: En begrephistorisk analyse af overgangen fra ett biologisk til et kulturelt forankret menneskesyn i det 20. århundrede* (Aalborg: Aalborg universitet, 2007), pp. 236–240.

⁶ Schüddekopf, *History Teaching*; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision . . . part I"; Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision . . . part II"; Maitland Stobart, "Fifty Years of European Co-operation on History Textbooks: The Role and Contribution of the Council of Europe," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 21 (1999); Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*.

⁷ Schüddekopf, *History Teaching*; Buergenthal and Torney, *International Human Rights*; Low-Beer, *Council of Europe*; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*, pp. 5–15; Stobart, "Fifty Years of European Co-operation"; Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity*; Droit, *Humanity in the Making*; Jean-Damascène Gasanabo, *Fostering Peaceful Co-existence through Analysis and Revision of History Curricula and Textbooks in Southeast Europe* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006).

⁸ Connie L. McNeely, "Prescribing National Education Policies: The Role of International Organizations," *Comparative Education Review* 39, no. 4 (1995): 503; John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez, "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 1 (1997): 160; Stobart, "Fifty Years of European Co-operation," p. 158; Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 196–197.

⁹ Lasse Petterson, "Pedagogik och historia: En komplicerad förbindelse," in *Kobran, nallen och majjen: Tradition och förnyelse i svensk skola och skolforskning*, ed. S. Selander (Stockholm: Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2003).

¹⁰ Ronald W. Evans, "Educational Ideologies and the Teaching of History," in *Teaching and Learning in History*, ed. G. Leinhardt, I. Beck, and C. Stainton (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), pp. 192–194; Thomas Nygren, *Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier* (Umeå: Umeå Universitet, 2009), pp. 93–94.

¹¹ Gunilla Svingby, *Läroplaner som styrmedel för svensk obligatorisk skola: teoretisk analys och ett empiriskt bidrag* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1978),

Recently, it has been contended that, within the theoretical research on curriculum, it is “widely accepted that the direct influence of formal curricula on teaching practice is at best uncertain.”¹² It has also been asserted that national curricula, like textbooks, are the result of political power struggles and their importance in teaching depends on both selection and interpretation.¹³ What is in the guidelines and textbooks is not necessarily what students learn.¹⁴ More recent research has remarked, moreover, that students’ comprehension of history varies a great deal and is influenced by a complex interplay between school, society, and personal experience.¹⁵

Thus, on the basis of previous research, recommendations and curricula can be seen as containing diverse points of view and interpretations. The implementation of intentions in teaching is neither linear nor automatic. An important point of departure regarding curriculum theory is the division made by John Goodlad into different “curricular realities.”¹⁶ Goodlad divided the curriculum into separate interacting levels for negotiating contents and interpretations.¹⁷ Goodlad has described the various levels of curriculum and learning as “the ideological, formal, perceived, operational, and the experiential curricula.”¹⁸ Each level can contain widely varying viewpoints regarding aims and

pp. 218–221; David Tyack and William Tobin, “The ‘Grammar’ of Schooling: Why Has It Been so Hard to Change?” *American Educational Research Journal* 31, no. 3 (1994).

¹² Ian Westbury, “Making Curricula: Why Do States Make Curricula, and How?” in *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, ed. M. Connelly (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008), p. 46.

¹³ Michael W. Apple, “The Text and Cultural Politics,” *Educational Researcher* 21, no. 7 (1992): 10; Christina Koulouri, “The Tyranny of History,” in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. C. Koulouri (Tessanoli: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), pp. 15–16; Sven-Åke Johansson, *Östersjöområdet i skolans undervisning och värderingar* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 2005), p. 219; Julian Dierkes, “The Decline and Rise of the Nation in German History Education,” in *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, ed. H. Schissler and Y. N. Soysal (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); Gasanabo, *Fostering Peaceful Co-existence*, p. 66.

¹⁴ Apple, “The Text and Cultural Politics,” p. 10; Koulouri, “The Tyranny of History,” pp. 15–16.

¹⁵ Keith C. Barton, “Research on Students’ Ideas about History,” in *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education*, ed. L. Levstik and A. Tyson (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 248. In a Swedish context, Ola Halldén has observed that students of history have a tendency to simplify through seeing history from an actor’s perspective: O. Halldén, “On the Paradox of Understanding History in an Educational Setting,” in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, *Teaching and Learning in History*.

¹⁶ John I. Goodlad, ed., *Curriculum Inquiry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), p. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 348–349.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 347. The operational curricula, what teachers actually do in the classroom, was not studied since practice-based research on historical material is not possible.

means of history teaching.¹⁹ The main advantage of Goodlad's depiction of curricula and their implementation is that he highlights how they concern both transactions and interpretations and more independent creation of values in a complex interaction with the world at large.²⁰ What is formulated in recommendations and guidelines does not necessarily filter down through the different levels.

The ideological curricula are illuminated in the present study through international guidelines aiming to affect the learning of history. Here I have studied primary sources from the League of Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe chronologically. All intentions were then placed in relation to each other to prepare the ground for what should be studied on the other levels of curricula. I then conducted a textual analysis of the national officially binding curricula and debates in teaching journals²¹ examining the formal and perceived curricula. The annual upper secondary school reports from 1930-1931 and 1949-1950, with the titles of individual students' projects, revealed how the curriculum was experienced when students supervised by teachers construed subjects for in-depth study. I categorized and analyzed this information on the basis of the international recommendations concerning what history teaching should deal with. Subject categorizations were made in terms of the period, when, for example, culture was defined as art, handicrafts, and literature (in contrast to its later, more anthropological definition).²² I scrutinized existing statistics for students' choice of essay topics in history to be able to examine how the curriculum was experienced in relation to international intentions.²³ Regardless of whether students' topic preferences in the final exams were an expression of their own interests or a way to meet examination demands, their choices attest to what they considered to be historical topics they could handle.

Although I do not claim total coverage of the field, the study of interpretations on several levels and their interaction reveals different

¹⁹ T. Englund, "Om nödvändigheten av läroplanshistoria," in *Utbildningshistoria* 1988, ed. G. Richardson (Skara: Föreningen för svensk utbildningshistoria, 1988), p. 81.

²⁰ Goodlad, *Curriculum Inquiry*, pp. 23, 348-349.

²¹ *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk* (TfSL; Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers Journal) and *Historieläraarnas förenings årskrift* (HLFÅ; The Association of History Teachers Annual Report).

²² Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity*, p. 76; Droit, *Humanity in the Making*.

²³ Statistics for subject choices are available for the period 1938-1961; for 1918-1937 information on essay subjects is available.

views of history teaching. Detailed study of the period before and after the Second World War made it possible to compare the formation, transformation, and implementation of history teaching on different levels during a period of major changes in society.

HISTORY TEACHING AS ADVOCATED IN INTERNATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In 1927, the League of Nations' scholarly committee, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC), issued their first international recommendations for history teaching. They urged member nations to develop students' and teachers' knowledge of the League of Nations and greater international cooperation.²⁴ With the family and the native country as points of departure, international understanding should be developed in education, both within and outside of school. "To imbue the child with a deep and lasting affection for its family and country remains today, as in former times, the first principle of sound education. But a true patriotism understands the patriotism of others; and a recognition of the necessity and omnipresence of co-operation, both within and without the State, must be emphasized in any education that is to fit young persons for modern life."²⁵

To achieve this spirit of international understanding, ICIC proposed the use of lectures and films, exhibitions of foreign handicrafts, visits to museums, and comparisons between different civilizations.²⁶ During the time that the League of Nations, especially within the ICIC, focused attention specifically on the subject of history, the importance of a more internationally inclined teaching was emphasized, to create good relations over national borders.²⁷ The League of Nations' declaration concerning history teaching in 1937 asserted the importance of giving "as large a place as possible to the history of other nations," and in the treatment of world history, the selection of material should

²⁴ UN Archives, Geneva, *League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Sub committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations, 4–6 July 1927*, C.I.C.I./E.J./24.(1), 1927. ICIC has been described as the predecessor of UNESCO: Droit, *Humanity in the Making*, pp. 30–31.

²⁵ UN Archives, Geneva, ICIC, 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷ These thoughts were dominant in the so-called Cesarès resolution for textbook revision. Launched in 1925 and a final text was taken in ICIC in 1932: Council of Europe Archives, *Final Text of the Resolutions on the Revision of School Textbooks*, Box 2750, 1932.

reveal countries' mutual dependence on each other.²⁸ Many countries from different parts of the world signed the declaration, but it was not signed by the great powers, even though they wanted, and were given, a say in the formulations.²⁹ It was a first and last declaration before the world once again landed in war.

During the war, allied European ministers of education advocated an education that would be for "the happiness and liberty of the largest number of human beings possible, and not the conquest of others by victorious wars and policies."³⁰ Later, when UNESCO was created, it was held that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."³¹ On the basis of experiences from the Second World War, UNESCO subsequently strongly propounded the value of education for the UNESCO idea of peace through international understanding.³² The content of this educational program should include history and geography, cleansed of nationalism and militarism, and actively promote understanding for other countries. The focus was to be on peaceful coexistence, human labor, cultural history, and scientific development.³³ In 1949 UNESCO

²⁸ *League of Nations Official Journal*, 98th and 99th Council Sessions 1937 appendix 1667 (Geneva: League of Nations, 1937). The declaration has been interpreted as a way to underline the Cesàres resolution: Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation*, p. 76.

²⁹ *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), p. 107; Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation*, pp. 75–78. In 1938 the declaration was signed by the Argentine Republic, Afghanistan, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Iran, the Netherlands, Norway, and the Union of South Africa.

³⁰ UNESCO Archives, *Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME)*, 28 X, 1942. The Association of Educational Ministers from the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Holland, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia referred to as CAME has been described as an important basis for UNESCO's principles: Julian Huxley, "Science and the United Nations," *Nature* 156, no. 10 (1945): 553.

³¹ UNESCO Archives, *Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, held at the Institute of Civil Engineers, London, from the 1st to the 16th November, 1945*, ECO/CONF/29, 1946.

³² UNESCO's first director-general, Julian Huxley, pointed out clearly in 1946 how peace through international understanding was central in the work for peace in a far too divided world, separated by ideologies and religions: Julian Huxley, *UNESCO, Its Purpose and Its Philosophy: Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation*, 1946 (Paris: UNESCO, 1947), pp. 6–7, 13, 61–62. Glenda Sluga has noted a lack of diversity in the organization and its thinking in the early years, but also how UNESCO and Huxley (in spite of the imperialist heritage) did highlight the vision of international understanding: Glenda Sluga, "UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (2010): 393–418.

³³ UNESCO Archives, *General Conference, first session, Paris 1946*, 1C, 1947, 149–153; UNESCO Archives, *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, second session, Mexico, 1947*, v. 2: *Resolutions*, 2C, 16, 20–21; UNESCO Archives, *Records of the General Confer-*

published a handbook aimed at improving textbooks and teaching, particularly in history, through, for instance, including more world history and critical thinking.³⁴ Attitudes toward the losing side in the war were unmistakable in a UNESCO that otherwise did not deem it practically possible to adopt a stance vis-à-vis religious and political/economic questions that tended to divide member nations.³⁵ The handbook was followed up by seminars in which history teaching and the role of history books in international understanding were analyzed further by groups of experts from various member countries, including Sweden.³⁶ In 1953 the work of UNESCO for international understanding also started to include programs of associated schools and later also student exchange to promote its implementation.³⁷

In its desire to highlight the UNESCO idea of a commonly shared and more peacefully mediated global history, UNESCO initiated a universal history project called History of Mankind. The goal here was to “provide for the general and specialist reader a wider understanding of the scientific and cultural aspects of the history of mankind, of the mutual inter-dependence of peoples and cultures and of their contributions to the common heritage.”³⁸ In 1953 UNESCO also started the *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale (Journal of World History)* to spread new knowledge of the subject. However, fundamentally different ideological perspectives within UNESCO made it exceedingly difficult to reach a consensus around a peaceful version of world history. Many

ence of UNESCO, third session, Beirut, 1948, v. 2: Resolutions, 3C, 1949, 24; *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).

³⁴ *Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks*.

³⁵ Various religious beliefs as well as divisive views of capitalism and socialism could not be handled by UNESCO without the risk of a large number of member countries leaving the cooperation, according to Julian Huxley: Huxley, UNESCO, *Its Purpose and Its Philosophy*, p. 7. The early difficulties of UNESCO have been described by T. V. Sathyamurthy as tensions between nations, ideologies, cultures, and general directors: T. V. Sathyamurthy, *The Politics of International Cooperation: Contrasting Conceptions of UNESCO* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1964).

³⁶ An experimental seminar for international understanding was conducted in Sèvres 1947, before the handbook, and it was followed by more seminars after 1949: UNESCO Archives, UNESCO's first Summer Seminar: *An Experiment in Education for International Understanding*, SEM/25/ED; UNESCO Archives, *The Brussels Seminar: Findings and Studies*, WS/061.32, 1951; UNESCO Archives, *Final Report of the Study Group III on Teaching History to Pupils above 15 Years of Age*, SEM.51/FR/III, 1951.

³⁷ Hugo Serdén, *Möte med främmande folk* (Stockholm: Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), p. 11; TjSL 1954, 780, 785. UNESCO Archives, *Records of the General Conference, ninth session New Delhi*, 9C, 1956, 33.

³⁸ UNESCO Archives, *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, second session, Mexico, 1947, v. 2: Resolutions*, 2C, 1948, 27.

historians had problems writing for a broad public, and many small nations and all sorts of interest groups wanted to assert themselves and their own story forcefully, since they had previously been overlooked in world history.³⁹ After 1954, when the Soviet Union became a member of UNESCO, the work on this universal history became even more strained because of the Soviet Union's many petitions and demands for revisions.⁴⁰

UNESCO's work with history teaching clearly articulated a non-European perspective.⁴¹ As an early part of a major East-West mutual appreciation movement in 1956,⁴² an examination of the West's treatment of Asiatic history in national curricula and textbooks was undertaken. Asia was given very little attention, and the history teaching was criticized for being Euro-centric.⁴³ During the 1950s, UNESCO recommendations asserted the importance of international understanding and objectivity, and also the importance of teaching human rights and the role of the UN in the world.⁴⁴

The Council of Europe was formed in 1949 with the goal to "achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress."⁴⁵ During the council's first year, the question of the need for writing a common European history and working against narrow nationalism was discussed. The need for historical studies and for scrutinizing textbooks, and even ideas about textbooks covering a common European history, were brought

³⁹ Problems with a common universal history were pointed out in: UNESCO Archives, *The International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind: General Conference, 16th session, 1970, 16C/87, 1970, 2*. See also Luntinen, "School History Textbook Revision . . . Part I," p. 343; Gilbert Allardyce, "Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of the World History Course," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 34–39. Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga have noted how the UN was an arena of competing views on universalism: Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga, "New Histories of the United Nations," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2005): 253–257.

⁴⁰ Poul Duedahl, "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945–1976," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 1 (2011): 101–133.

⁴¹ UNESCO Archives, *Final Report of the Study Group III on Teaching History to Pupils above 15 Years of Age, SEM.51/ER/III, 1951, 52*.

⁴² Iriye, *Global Community*, pp. 87–89; Laura Elizabeth Wong, "Relocating East and West: UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 349–374.

⁴³ UNESCO Archives, *Committee of Experts on the Treatment of Asian Cultures in Western Textbooks and Teaching Material, UNESCO House, 2–12 May 1956, WS/026.131, 1956, 6*.

⁴⁴ Human rights in education were clearly put forward in 1951: UNESCO Archives, *Records of the General Conference, sixth session, Paris, 1951: Resolutions, 6C, 1951, 20*.

⁴⁵ *Statute of the Council of Europe, London, 5.V.1949. European Treaty Series, no. 18 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1949), p. 3*.

up.⁴⁶ In a resolution in 1952, the committee of ministers admonished member countries to ensure that textbooks and premises were available to the private individuals and organizations engaged in examining textbooks.⁴⁷ Aware of the League of Nations' and UNESCO's previous work, the council deemed it possible to build up an awareness of Europe's historical heritage, and to that end, a series of conferences on history teaching in Europe was held between 1953 and 1958.⁴⁸

The first conference in Calw in 1953 had the straightforward title "The European Idea in the Teaching of History"; the conference addressed how Europe and the idea of Europe could be dealt with in history education. Studying European history was motivated because of the importance of avoiding traditional mistakes and prejudices and guaranteeing, or confirming, facts.⁴⁹ In its recommendations to teachers and textbook authors, the conference underlined the importance of describing Europe's contributions to the world and various regions' contributions to European development. Teachers were advised to begin by making local and regional history accessible to students and then guide them into a greater understanding of a "European conception of history."⁵⁰ The growth of European civilization should be treated, buttressed by new research within cultural, economic, social, religious, and intellectual history. By soft-pedaling political history and national conflicts, history teaching could contribute to peaceful relations. Nationalism should be considered a phase in Europe's development, and war as something waged between regimes, not between peoples.⁵¹

On 19 December 1954, the European Cultural Convention was signed, and member states pledged themselves to work for common ideals and principles on the basis of their European cultural heritage. History teaching was awarded a central role by the convention when the governments of member countries approved of efforts to augment as much as possible studies of shared European history.⁵² European cultural heritage was described in terms of humanism, rule of law, scholarship, technical development, mercantilism, parliamentarism, and peace

⁴⁶ *Statute of the Council of Europe*, London, 5.V.1949, pp. 750–774, especially p. 750.

⁴⁷ Council of Europe Archives, *Resolution (52) 17. History and Geography Textbooks* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1952).

⁴⁸ Edouard Bruley and E. H. Dance, *A History of Europe* (Leyden, 1960), p. 14.

⁴⁹ Council of Europe Archives, *Report of the Working Group No. 2, EXP/Cult (53) 33*, Box 2747, 1953 reprinted in Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, p. 71. The recommendations are a literal reprint of the meeting notes from Calw.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

⁵² *European Cultural Convention*. 1954, 2.

efforts.⁵³ Having UNESCO's earlier work with a more global history freshly in mind, the Council of Europe's committee of experts claimed in 1955 that the best way to achieve understanding between nations was to call attention to special regional characteristics: "Between the bilateral level and the universal, which is that of UNESCO, it is necessary to provide an intermediate stage at the regional, that is to say European, level."⁵⁴

"Unity in diversity" was addressed by both UNESCO and the Council of Europe at a very early stage.⁵⁵ The first meeting of the Council of Europe discussed Europe's heterogeneous population and unclear geographical boundaries. The minutes from the first session in 1949 register the notion of European unity in multiplicity: "European culture, which is the product of a long tradition, is at one and the same time a synthesis and the source of diversity."⁵⁶ The recommendations from conferences in 1954 underlined the importance of including regions and cultures that had received only marginal and rather unbalanced treatment in textbooks—for example, Byzantine and Muslim Europe.⁵⁷ While there should be greater appreciation of the intellectual and artistic contributions of Islam to Europe, the significance of Byzantium in Western Europe's thousand-year struggle against Islam was absolutely not to be ignored.⁵⁸ The recommendations emphasized the merit of historical objectivity and admonished teachers and textbook authors to avoid both condescending and exaggerating statements.⁵⁹

International intentions primarily show similarities—but also differences—in their view of history teaching over time. They clearly hold that history teaching can contribute to building up peace through international understanding. That a too nationalistic depiction of history can generate war and conflicts was pointed out in post-Second

⁵³ Council of Europe Archives, *Council of Europe, Committee of Cultural Experts: Eleventh Session, Report on the Conference on the Revision of History Textbooks held at Rome from the 15th to 22nd September, 1955*, EXP/Cult (55) 48, Box 2748, 1955, 10–11; Council of Europe Archives, *Recommendations Addressed to Members of the Teaching Profession and the Authors of Textbooks*, Box 2752, 1956 reprinted in Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, pp. 72–74.

⁵⁴ Council of Europe Archives, *Council of Europe, Committee of Cultural Experts*, 12.

⁵⁵ Julian Huxley claimed the importance of "unity-in-diversity" in 1947: *Report of the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization in 1947* (Paris: UNESCO, 1947), p. 13.

⁵⁶ *Council of Europe Consultative Assembly, first session, 10th August–8th September 1949*. Reports part III, sittings 12 to 15 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1949), p. 750.

⁵⁷ *Recommendations to Teachers and Authors of Textbooks*, reprinted in Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, pp. 73–74. See also Bruley, p. 128.

⁵⁸ *Recommendations to Teachers and Authors of Textbooks*, reprinted in Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, p. 73.

⁵⁹ *Recommendations Addressed to Members of the Teaching Profession and the Authors of Textbooks* 1956, reprinted in Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, p. 73.

World War statements. UNESCO stressed world history in its guidelines for international understanding, whereas the Council of Europe underlined the importance of a more European history. Recommendations for greater international understanding also declared the merit of teaching less about politics and war in history. Instead, the creation of civilizations and social, economic, cultural, and scientific history should be highlighted. UNESCO and the Council of Europe also pointed out the importance of not ignoring minorities and weak groups in society. Although these statements were clear in both organizations, they entailed divergent views as UNESCO's intentions primarily focused on groups of people hitherto overlooked in world history, while the Council of Europe first and foremost wished to emphasize Europe's rich cultural heritage and its minority groups.⁶⁰

SWEDISH CURRICULA

In May 1927, two months before ICIC's recommendations, the Swedish parliament adopted a compromised school reform. The upper-level grammar schools in Sweden had started to admit female students, but Swedish upper secondary schools were clearly socially stratified during the interwar period and were mainly schools for the middle and upper classes. A movement promoting more general public schools had started, but the legacy from the male-dominated school, with roots in Catholic cathedral schools, remained.⁶¹

In the curriculum from 1928, we find the subject history with social studies, which also included the study of contemporary Swedish government. The new national curriculum involved fewer hours for history on the upper secondary level. Cuts in class hours have been interpreted as an attempt from the left to reduce the conservative element in school, since the subject of history was considered to be a bearer and mediator of right-wing ideas.⁶² After major debates in the

⁶⁰ Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, p. 74.

⁶¹ Christina Florin and Ulla Johansson, "Där de härliga lagarna gro-": *Kultur, klass och kön i det svenska läroverket 1850–1914* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1993), pp. 81–125; Henry Egidius, *Skola och utbildning: I historiskt och internationellt perspektiv* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2001), pp. 191–206.

⁶² Göran Andolf, *Historien på gymnasiet: Undervisning och läroböcker 1820–1965* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala Universitet, 1972), p. 93; Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider: Bruk av och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2001), pp. 227–234.

press and pressure from both teachers and historians, the subject was allotted more hours in the reformed curriculum of 1933.⁶³ Another change in 1928 was that Swedish and general (European) history were to be studied together. This could be taken as a shift toward teaching a more internationally oriented history in school, but combining the two meant that the spread between Swedish and general history cannot be discerned in the national curriculum. What it does say is that all teaching should contribute to “awakening and maintaining in the student a patriotic /Swedish/ disposition,”⁶⁴ which was wholly in line with ICIC’s recommendations. History teaching should treat “what is of major significance for the understanding of our own culture and society and thereby make them coherent from an historical point of view.”⁶⁵ In the more detailed curriculum from 1935 regarding history, the uppermost goal in Sweden was “to awaken love for one’s country, to lay the foundations to be a good citizen and inculcate the importance of humanity and objectivity in one’s understanding and judgment.”⁶⁶ To awaken love for one’s country and at the same time be objective was not considered contradictory. Even though criticism of nationalism increased after the First World War, the Swedish curricula between the wars were infused with patriarchal attitudes and nationalism, in which the Swedish state had a central role. Teaching was to focus on national history but also include the history of Scandinavia and Western Europe. The Swedish national curricula did highlight the history of neighboring countries and paid attention not only to such parts of these nations’ history that were of significance for Sweden, but also to events that were special for them. The national curricula mentioned Swedish and general history, but non-European cultures were conspicuous by their absence. National and political history was the core of the 1935 guidelines, but it was also considered important to present ideas, cultural movements, and economic and social factors in teaching. Cultural progress was seen to often be achieved at a high cost, but students should learn about the victories of the work of cultivating peace and learn that it is mostly the positive and constructive forces that carry the history of mankind forward. In contrast to the curricula of 1928, the 1935 document presented the League of

⁶³ TfSL (1931): 217–218; TfSL (1932): 34–35, 52, 185.

⁶⁴ SFS 1928:412 §48, 1334.

⁶⁵ SFS 1928:252, 658.

⁶⁶ *Metodiska anvisningar till undervisningsplanen för rikets allmänna läroverk* (National Guidelines) (Stockholm: SÖ, 1935), p. 108.

Nations as an important actor and one to be included in the teaching of history.⁶⁷

After the Second World War, a more scientifically objective treatment of history was advocated in the national curricula to provide a critical point of view and to shield the student against propaganda. Contemporary, social, and economic history were given more space, and in the instructions for the upper secondary level, it was claimed that the study of history should open up new perspectives and broaden students' horizons by offering a more international subject matter, including more cultural encounters and cultural history.⁶⁸ The first guidelines after the wars, from 1956, stated: "What is common to European cultural development, its cornerstones and characteristic features should be highlighted when summarizing and reviewing so that unifying elements are not omitted or overlooked in favor of divisive individual national elements. Equally, a global perspective in history teaching should be stressed so that not all of world history is presented from a purely European point of view."⁶⁹

Articulations of "good" patriotism disappeared from both international intentions and Swedish curricula after World War II. That history teaching should propagate love for one's country was replaced by an emphasis on objectivity and international perspectives. The merits of political history were toned down in favor of more cultural, social, and economic history, wholly in line with the international intentions. Both the Council of Europe's recommendations on more common European history and UNESCO's on more global and less Euro-centered history teaching were complied with in the new Swedish postwar curricula.⁷⁰ Scandinavia was, on the other hand, largely overlooked. To what extent that was a direct effect of international efforts cannot be determined in the sources studied, but links are certainly conceivable. The national guidelines introduced the concept of international understanding as part of history teaching in 1956, and it was more strongly underlined as an important part of history teaching in 1961.⁷¹ In a response from the Association of History Teachers to a suggestion

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 108–110.

⁶⁸ SOU 1947: 34, 448–460 (National Curriculum Report); Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen (National Guidelines) 1956: 19, 288–289; Andolf, *Historien på gymnasiet*, p. 61.

⁶⁹ Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen (National Guidelines) 1956: 19, 288.

⁷⁰ Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen (National Guidelines) 1956: 19. "The European Idea" was implemented in the national guidelines in 1965: *Läroplan för gymnasiet* (Stockholm: SÖ, 1965), p. 181.

⁷¹ Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen (National Guidelines) 1956: 19, 289; ASÖ 1961: 29, 546.

for new guidelines the teachers highlighted international understanding as one of the primary values of history. Using the exact words from the teachers' report-response, the value of history for international relations was thereafter emphasized in the Swedish national curricula in 1961.⁷²

TEACHERS' DEBATES ABOUT THE MEANS AND GOALS OF HISTORY TEACHING

The debates about the reduction of hours for teaching history in 1928 were reflected in a number of articles in Sweden's only journal for upper secondary teachers, *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk* (TfSL; Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers Journal). In conjunction with their protests, the historians and history teachers who criticized the decision to cut the number of hours for history founded the Association of History Teachers in 1933.⁷³ Articles on history teaching in TfSL were heavily influenced during the entire period by reactions to the national state proposals for changes in schedules and curricula. A national perspective on history was prominent in the teachers' views of history. Nothing was written in TfSL about the international recommendations from ICIC, even though the debates on history teaching were very comprehensive.⁷⁴ In the early 1930s political history was considered central in history education and the importance of the cultural heritage for the fostering aspect of school and its patriotic goals was stressed.⁷⁵ However, both historians and history teachers were concerned that too much culture and intellectual history could fragment the subject.⁷⁶ The journal supported having more art and culture history outside the subject of history, while at the same time there were admitted problems with competence in these subjects, crowded schedules and lack of time.⁷⁷ In 1937, there was more discussion about how economic and social history should be handled, and both textbooks and teaching approaches were criticized for being out-of-date.⁷⁸

⁷² HLFÅ (1961–1962): 5–6; ASÖ 1961: 29, 546.

⁷³ The identification of the debate is based upon the articles on history education that were published in TfSL 1927–1957 and in the Association of History Teachers annual report from its first edition in 1942 to 1961.

⁷⁴ One author even argued that the paper had become a “pedagogical annex” to the *Historisk tidskrift* (Historical Journal): TfSL (1932): 246.

⁷⁵ TfSL (1932): 211–213; TfSL (1932): 93–94; TfSL (1932): 190.

⁷⁶ TfSL (1936): 235, 353.

⁷⁷ TfSL (1935): 234; TfSL (1939): 285, 286, 325–326.

⁷⁸ TfSL (1937): 46; TfSL (1937): 49, 85. A contest to modernize textbooks was also launched: TfSL (1937): 47.

After the Second World War, international efforts regarding history teaching entered into Swedish teachers' debates. The teachers' journal and the Association of History Teachers Annual Report, *Historieläraarnas förenings årsskrift* (HLFÅ) reported in detail from the meetings on history teaching arranged by UNESCO, and later by the Council of Europe. Both organizations recommended a more international and peace-oriented teaching of history, which also should address contemporary problems in an objective way.⁷⁹ From UNESCO's meeting on history teaching in Brussels in 1950 and Sèvres in 1951, Swedish participants reported that these meetings advocated more world history and cultural encounters to generate peace, mutual understanding, and "general human loyalty and solidarity."⁸⁰ UNESCO's meeting on human rights in Woudschouten in 1952 and the meetings in Paris in 1955–1956 on Asian history in Western teaching were also reported in *TfSL*.⁸¹ Criticism in 1955 against an all too Eurocentric tendency in the national curricula in the debate was a direct effect of UNESCO's work for mutual appreciation between Eastern and Western cultures.⁸² The more European-oriented meetings in Calw and Oslo under the auspices of the Council of Europe were also reviewed in the journal, accompanied by a discussion of the difficulties for Scandinavians to digest, in principle, the idea of Europe. The reporter from Calw advised history teachers "to treat one's own country's history always in conjunction with contemporary related phenomenon in other parts of Europe."⁸³ To an extent, the Swedish representatives in these meetings used their experiences from Calw and Oslo to discuss a more international and peace-oriented teaching of history. The teachers in Sweden showed great interest in world history but also admitted difficulties in cutting back on other parts of the crowded subject.⁸⁴

Despite the fact that international subjects became more prominent, they were still subordinated to the national issue concerning the division of the subject of history into history and social studies.⁸⁵ The

⁷⁹ *TfSL* (1950): 438–439; *HLFÅ* (1951): 38–49; (*TfSL* 1952): 561; *TfSL* (1953): 547–550; *HLFÅ* (1954): 47–64; *TfSL* (1954): 11, 57, 61; *TfSL* (1955): 710–712.

⁸⁰ *HLFÅ* (1951): 42; *TfSL* (1950): 438–439; *HLFÅ* (1951): 38–49.

⁸¹ *TfSL* (1952): 561; *TfSL* (1955): 710–712; *TfSL* (1956): 434.

⁸² *TfSL* (1955): 711.

⁸³ *TfSL* (1953): 550; *TfSL* (1953): 547–550; *HLFÅ* (1954): 47–64.

⁸⁴ *HLFÅ* (1955–1956): 5–6.

⁸⁵ *TfSL* (1948): 235; (1950): 12–13; *TfSL* (1950): 432, 451; *TfSL* (1951): 63–64, 476; *HLFÅ* (1951): 5; *TfSL* (1952): 251; *TfSL* (1953): 635–636, 640, 778–779, *TfSL* (1954): 116, 514; *TfSL* (1955): 286, 741–742, 786, 827–828; *TfSL* (1956): 180. In 1951 Anglo-American history teaching was noted as an example of how history can be a part of social

Association of History Teachers and history teachers who opposed the proposal to create a separate social studies subject stressed the political and economic aspects of the subject of history. History as it appeared in the debate was peaceful and more and more international, but not particularly oriented toward culture.

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS CONSTRUE HISTORY

In 1928, individual student projects were introduced to raise the degree of individual work on the upper secondary level. The aim was to give students a chance to develop their “aptitudes and interests” and “to plan and carry out a piece of work on their own, and utilize those sources of knowledge that are available.”⁸⁶

The annual reports from upper secondary schools in 1930–1931 and 1949–1950 give a picture of how students, supervised by history teachers, chose their topics for more advanced individual studies in history.⁸⁷ The subject of history as it could be formulated in individual projects reveals a considerable breadth. Although, in 1930–1931, eight out of nine essays at one upper secondary school were about Charles XII, in other schools topics such as “Cultural Relations in the Roman Empire,” “Women’s Emancipation,” “The Viking Period,” and “The Native Peoples of America” were studied. It may be said that most students wrote about national and European history. About half of the essays dealt with Swedish history; a somewhat smaller percentage were about European history, both before and after the Second World War. In 1949–1950, one student essay was about “Peace Organizations in World Politics,” which demonstrates that this was a viable subject. Writing about the work of the Red Cross must also be considered a choice in accord with international ideas on international understanding. From the titles of students’ work we can conclude that the cultural heritage of countries outside of Western Europe was in principle ignored, if we do not interpret work on

studies as opposed to the French who “passionately” defended “pure history with an insurmountable wall against social science.” *HFLÅ* (1951): 49.

⁸⁶ SFS 1928: 412, §9, 1333.

⁸⁷ The analysis is based on the reported titles of 258 and 146 students’ individual work in history 1930–1931 and 1949–1950: “Årsredogörelser för allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter” (Annual reports of upper secondary schools) from the National archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, F Ilda, 1930–1931, 1949–1950.

English and French imperialism and colonialism as being about cultural encounters. "Japan's Historical Development" is the only title without a European point of departure indicating the world outside of Western Europe.

As regards European history, titles of essays in 1930–1931 often referred to the French Revolution and Napoleon; in 1949–1950 topics included English and German political history. Even if students' choices frequently indicate that "kings and war" remained popular objects of study, after the Second World War there were several examples of essays in sociopolitical history. Industrialism appeared as a subject for study, and titles such as "Economic and Social Development during the Swedish Era of Great Power" and "The Economic Crisis, 1920–25" suggest that more and more areas were open for studies using economic and social perspectives. The choices of subject matter indicate that cultural exchange over national borders was not treated. The history of art and culture had mainly to do with national and European questions, primarily taking up the cultural heritage from antiquity and the Swedish nineteenth century.

From the point of view of implementation, it is interesting to note that in the work preceding the setting of a new curriculum and national guidelines in 1931–1932, attention was paid to the essay topics produced by students and teachers in the previous two years. Both experts and history teachers discussed the contents of the subject of history on the basis of the information gleaned from these essays written in 1930–1931.⁸⁸ After noting the points made by historians in conferences and associations such as the Swedish Association for the United Nations, proposals were made for the subject area and for subjects that were especially suited to individual history projects.⁸⁹ The formulation of the contents was thus influenced from different directions, not least from the students. The formal curriculum was developed under the influence of other curricular levels.

⁸⁸ At the meeting in 1933, reference was made to the annual accounts of the 1930–1931 topics of students' individual work in history: *TfSL* (1933): 244–245. The report contains clear links to titles on student works, such as "Sugar Prices on the World Market," "Nordic Housing," and "Charles X Gustav before the Polish War." Also, the more general topics that were proposed had similar titles to those of students' individual work, for example, "The Bloodbath of Stockholm," "Charles XII's Russian Campaign Plans," "London during the 17th Century," "The Causes of the French Revolution," and so forth. *SOU* 1932: 31, 150–151.

⁸⁹ *SOU* 1932:31, V–XI, 150–151.

STUDENTS CHOOSE HISTORY

In the 1930s and 1940s the final exams in Swedish upper secondary schools were considered to be a very serious matter, with great efforts required from the students, not least regarding their essays.⁹⁰ The stress and strains experienced before these written and oral exams, which in principle covered the entire upper secondary period, were discussed as a serious problem among the students being examined.⁹¹ In order to reduce stress, the Swedish essay, in which the subject of history was included, became less crucial after 1928, a measure that was both praised and criticized.⁹² The final exams were discussed and investigated but remained until 1968 as a cardinal element in upper secondary education, and academic subjects such as history had high prestige in essay writing.⁹³ These national final exams contained two essay topics, formulated by the Swedish authorities, which related to history. Other topics, on the basis of today's categorization, could very well be considered history, but in the 1930s and 1940s, and as defined by the national curriculum and their subject placement, they would be categorized as sorting under academic subjects like religion, classics, geography—or under general topics (the so-called “last resort”).⁹⁴

Given the percentage distribution, we can see how history topics were received among the examined students.⁹⁵ In the statistics from

⁹⁰ C. E. Sjöstedt, ed., *Studentexamen 100 år* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1963), pp. 52–53; *TfSL* (1928): 45; *TfSL* (1928): 46.

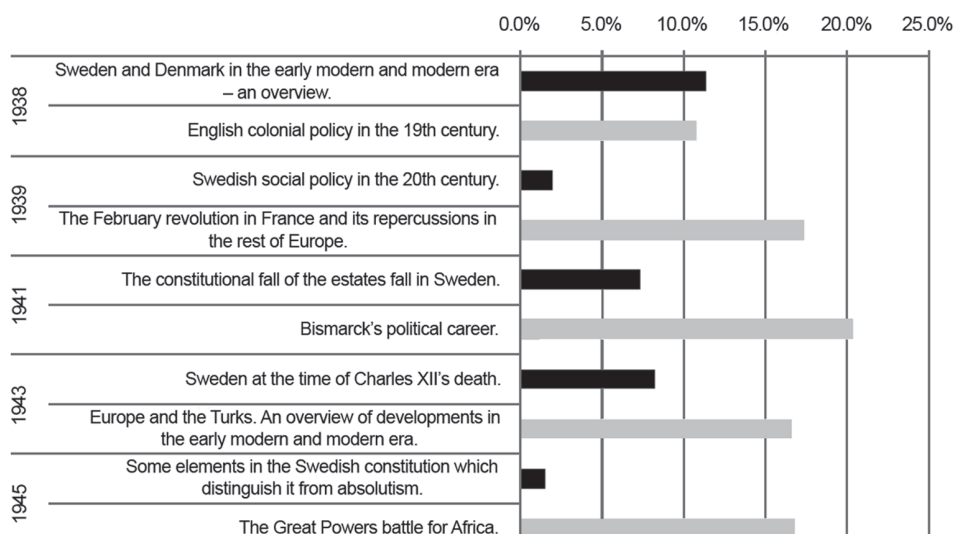
⁹¹ *TfSL* (1931): 204–205; *TfSL* (1931): 205; *TfSL* (1936): 154; *TfSL* (1936): 155–156.

⁹² Sjöstedt, *Studentexamen 100 år*, pp. 52–73; *TfSL* (1932): 119–120.

⁹³ Tor G. Hultman, “Prov i svenska” in *Allt är relativt: Centralt utarbetade prov i svenska, matematik, engelska franska, tyska, fysik och kemi—beskrivning analys och förslag*, ed. T. Lindblad (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet 1991), p. 55.

⁹⁴ Topics that today would be considered as historical subjects were not necessarily considered as history then, for example, “Swedish Communications Services through the Ages” (spring 1955) was considered geography, and both “Boys’ and Girls’ Education Now and a Hundred Years Ago” (autumn 1949) and “Peoples and Defense” (spring 1953) were categorized as general subjects, and not history. Ancient history was regarded as a subject for the education in the Latin language and considered as a classic topic. Student interest in ancient history topics was very poor.

⁹⁵ The following presentation is based on topics and statistics for student exam essays in history from 1927 to 1957. Statistics are available from 1938 to 1957, except for 1940, 1942, and 1944: “Ämnen för svensk uppsats” (Topics for Essays), National archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, F Ibb, 1927–1957; “De svenska uppsatserna vid allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter med studentexamen, fördelade efter ämnen och betyg” (Topics and statistics), National archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, B II: 6–15, 1938–1957.

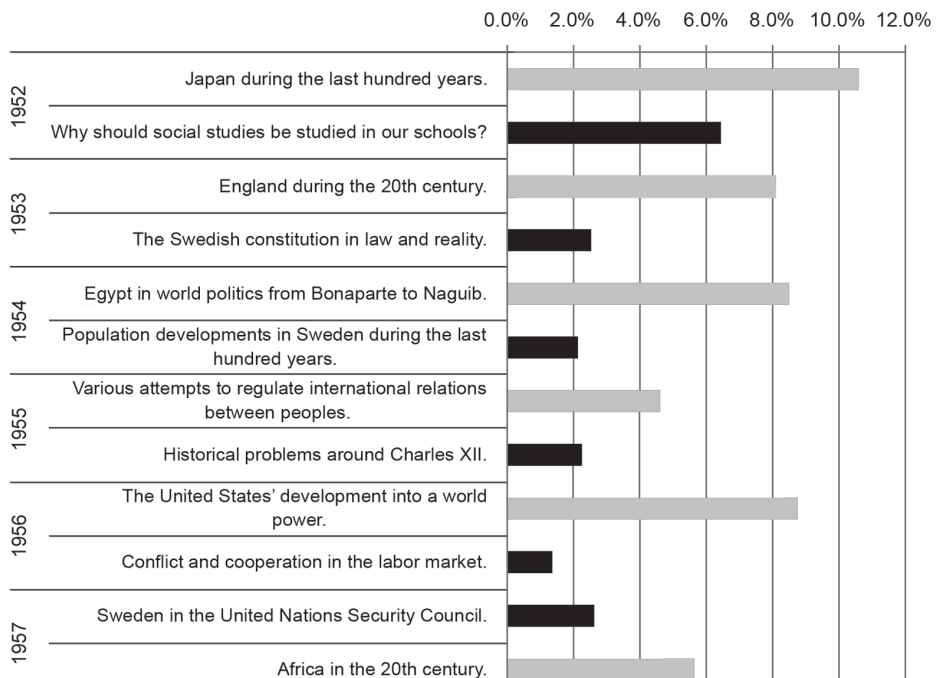


Note: In 1938 a total of 3,522 student essays were reported. In 1939: 3,701; 1941: 3,819; 1943: 4,155; 1945: 4,169.

FIGURE 1. Number of students, in percentage out of total, writing their essays in various historical topics, on the basis of existing statistics, 1938–1945.

the final exams in Figure 1, it is clear that one of the two essay topics was internationally oriented (gray bar) and one nationally (black bar). This may indicate that the state, in an extension of the formal curricula, advocated equal status between Swedish and international history—what was then termed “general history.” Students’ choices suggest that international history was manageable and part of the curriculum. Between the wars and during World War II, European political history was the most popular; favored international topics in 1938–1945 were either European history or non-European history as seen from a European perspective (see Fig. 1).

The League of Nations and the UN were included as topics at four of the total of seventy final exams between 1927 and 1961. The appearance of the UN and a new emphasis in the 1950s on world history indicates an important shift in history education. The previous clearly Eurocentric point of departure was replaced in the 1950s by themes acknowledging a more non-European perspective, and the students chose to write about world history rather than national his-



Note: Total number of students writing exam essays in 1947: 4,164; 1949: 4,167; 1950: 4,315; 1951: 4,315; 1952: 4,763; 1953: 5,022; 1954: 5,307; 1955: 5,845; 1956: 6,566; 1957: 7,319.

FIGURE 2. Number of students, in percentage out of total, writing their essays in various historical topics, on the basis of existing statistics, 1952–1957.

tory.⁹⁶ The students' choices suggest great interest in conflicts and power politics. More peaceful subject matter—economy and population development—was far less frequent. Typically, when in 1949 the international exam topic did not focus on conflicts, it was less popular than the national alternative. The choice of a topic such as “Egypt in World Politics from Bonaparte to Naguib” by the majority of students in 1954 clearly indicates a preference and ability to write about world history, as well as in the following year when international relations

⁹⁶ However, that students treated the essay subjects from a more global point of view is doubtful; in 1952, “Japan During the Last Hundred Years” could very well be a political historical analysis of Japan's buildup before and participation in the Second World War.

were more interesting than the national “Historical Problems around Charles XII” (see Fig. 2). Thus there was a shift in the experiential curricula even before the national, officially binding, formal guidelines were issued in 1956.

The essay subjects in 1957, on African contemporary history and Sweden in the UN Security Council, were addressed in the debates in both teachers’ journals, *TfSL* and *HLFÅ*. The subjects were criticized by the Association of History Teachers for being too contemporary, and the teachers wanted an alternative topic in Swedish history.⁹⁷ In the journal we find articles complaining of a vulgarization of exam subjects, which did not reflect the schools’ teaching of history but instead lent themselves to “chat around the breakfast table, but scarcely more than that.”⁹⁸ However, the opposite view was also expressed; the topics were seen by teachers as good examples of how the subject of history could include both the history of Africa and that of the UN.⁹⁹ Thus changes were met with mixed feelings by teachers, but the students preferred African history, and world history continued to dominate the final exams into the 1960s.

After the Second World War students obviously cultivated an interest in international non-European history. The changes from the period before the war are palpable. At the same time, it is clear that European history was already an integral part of the subject also in the 1930s and during the war, and national history was retreating.

CONCLUSIONS

The formulations in the Swedish curricula and guidelines followed the international intentions—or at least the then current conceptions of history teaching.¹⁰⁰ During the interwar period, patriotic elements were obvious in both ICIC’s recommendations and the Swedish history curriculum. In the first post–World War II syllabus in 1956, the subject was reformulated in accord with UNESCO’s recommendations concerning increased world history and the Council of Europe’s propa-

⁹⁷ *HLFÅ* (1957): 10–11.

⁹⁸ *TfSL* (1957): 228.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Of course, decolonization and other global events also could have affected this change. In higher education a more international university curricula was noted by David John Frank, Suk-Ying Wong, John W. Meyer, and Francisco O. Ramirez, “What Counts as History: A Cross-National and Longitudinal Study of University Curricula,” *Comparative Education Review* 44, no. 1 (2000): 46.

gating more common European history. The national points of departure for encounters with the surrounding world seem to have shrunk over time, possibly to be replaced by a more global, but also Eurocentric, worldview. Interest in international history was extensive among students throughout the period studied, with a particular interest in international conflicts. The international subjects formulated by the state for the final exams after 1950 were more in line with UNESCO's intentions than with those of the Council of Europe. World history had replaced European history, at least in the final exams. Questions concerning solidarity and cooperation promulgated especially by the League of Nations and UNESCO had no dramatic impact on Swedish history teaching, but in individual projects and in the final exams, these questions were taken up by some students. The "unity in diversity" called for by UNESCO and the Council of Europe seems not to have been implemented. The formal, perceived, and experiential curricula did not contain any cultural universal world history or clearly regional cultural heritage. The contradictory recommendation from the council to treat Islam as a friend and enemy was certainly not an easy vantage point for the teaching of unity in diversity. Interaction and cultural exchange between civilizations recommended by the League of Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe was overshadowed primarily by political history, but also economic and social history.

As regards teachers, there seems to be a shift of interest from the interwar to the postwar period. The recommendations of the League of Nations were seldom if ever discussed, while there seems to be an acceptance—even going as far as enthusiasm—of international perspectives after the Second World War.¹⁰¹ It is clear that several actors may well have functioned as agents of change. History teachers' participation in international meetings and those of the history teachers' association, writing in the teachers' journal and the history teachers' yearbook, all the while being active as teachers or principals in schools, could very well have facilitated the transference of intentions between and among different curricular levels.¹⁰² Active teachers who met their students and also participated in the formulating of international rec-

¹⁰¹ TfSL (1953): 550; TfSL (1953): 547–550; HLFÅ (1954): 47–64; Council of Europe Archives, Sweden, *A Short Report Referring to the Revision of Text-books in History During the School-year 1953/54*, Box 2747, 1954; TfSL (1955): 710–712, TfSL (1956): 434; UNESCO Archives, *Documents Concerning the Improvement of School Textbooks and Teaching Materials*, ED/CIM/10, 1955.

¹⁰² Allan Degerman, Vilhelm Scharp, Waldemar Lendin, Sixten Björkholm, Birgit Rodhe, Erik Brännman, Hans Lennart Lundh, and Ivar Seth were all history teachers and/or principals who were active in several curriculum levels and participated in international activities.

ommendations could definitely influence and reflect on history education on many curricular levels. In 1961 it was actually the Association of History Teachers that wrote the text that became the first national guideline explicitly emphasizing international understanding. However, it is evident that in the teachers' debates other questions than those highlighted by the international organizations were considered more central, even if the international intentions were not ignored. The debate primarily concerned the ability of the subject of history to satisfy the school's social studies requirements. The recommendations that lay close to the national debate on the subject of history, such as the value of more social and economic history, were to some extent reflected in the titles of some students' independent projects, but only a few chose to write on economic and social subjects in the final exams, when these subjects were approved by the state after the Second World War. What was underlined by authorities and teachers was not considered very interesting by the students. The new emphasis on more contemporary social and economic history may be explained by a strong political desire to foster among the citizens the values of a modern society based on Social Democratic ideas, in which history, as it had been taught, was thought of as conservative and reactionary.¹⁰³ Economic and social history research was also becoming more prominent, which also might have affected this new emphasis. There was little response to the appeal for more international art, cultural, and intellectual history—subjects most likely outmaneuvered by a more social scientific perspective. Cultural history, with art, ideas, and literature from the past would have been taken as conservative matter by the Social Democratic majority and the international intentions not in keeping with the national were difficult to implement. The "European Idea" in the history of parliamentarianism was, during the whole period studied, taken up on all national levels, but in this case, the recommendations can be seen more as a confirmation of prevailing practice than an implementation of intentions. The evolution of parliamentarianism was a part of the Swedish curriculum long before the recommendations of the Council of Europe.

In students' choices of subject matter for individual projects and essays, there was a strong international interest during the whole period under examination. About half of the individual projects and subjects formulated by the state for the final exams dealt with international history and half focused on national history. In the final exams the stu-

¹⁰³ Andolf, *Historien på gymnasiet*, p. 83; Zander, *Fornstora dagar*, pp. 227–234.

dents preferred international history over national, which suggests that in the experiential curricula there was more interest in, and knowledge of, international history than Swedish history. When the teachers and students put together the history subjects for individual projects, they tended more toward national history than when the students could choose between a national and international alternative in the final exams. This, as well as the teachers' debate, implies that the teachers functioned as both defenders of national history and agents of change. Some of the teachers most certainly became more "globalized instructors."¹⁰⁴ This underlines how teachers could have different emphases in their history teaching and also highlight many different things during a history course. In the light of the national statistics the students could nevertheless cultivate an interest in and knowledge of international history. Students' ability to handle international historical topics indicates that teachers and history teaching promoted knowledge of world history and European history, despite conservative reactions. The Swedish students in the 1950s were clearly oriented toward world history, greatly in contrast to the then strongly criticized world history course in the United States.¹⁰⁵

The great variations in the choice of subjects for individual projects and differences among schools indicate a broad scope in the formulation of the school subject's content. Teachers and students could transform history in many ways, more varied than what was suggested by the formal curriculum's intentions. That students' supervised choices of subjects for their individual projects were used as the basis for discussions in the Association of History Teachers and in the considerations taken by the Swedish authorities when forming a new curriculum shows that different levels can interact in devising the contents of history teaching. The teachers' discontent with reduced hours for history teaching did have an impact on the national curriculum in 1933; another example of bottom-up influence in the implementation was how the students' interest in contemporary history was noted in the 1953 Council of Europe meeting in Calw.¹⁰⁶ The students' preferences were used as an argument particularly against the French idea that objective history teaching should not deal with the present.¹⁰⁷ The fact

¹⁰⁴ "Globalized instructors" was used by Stavrianos: quoted in Allardyce, "Toward World History," p. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Allardyce, "Toward World History," p. 55.

¹⁰⁶ Council of Europe Archives, *Report of the Working Group No. 2*, EXP/Cult (53) 33, Box 2747, 1953.

¹⁰⁷ Bruley and Dance, *History of Europe*, p. 48.

that international relations and the concept of international understanding, which was formulated in the ideological curricula, was actually highlighted by Swedish teachers in the formal curricula in 1961, shows how implementation was more than just a top-down process. History was formulated, interpreted, and transformed in and between the different levels of curriculum, which reveals the complexity of history education and its implementation in an international society.

UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960–2002¹

*Thomas Nygren**

Abstract

In this study, international recommendations for history education issued by UNESCO and the Council of Europe are compared with the construing of history in national guidelines, teachers' perceptions and the results of students' work in history in Sweden. The study shows how history education from the 1960s onwards could be critical and oriented towards minorities in a global world, clearly in line with the recommendations of UNESCO. International understanding, unity in diversity and safeguarding the local heritage in many ways became part of students' historical consciousness.

Keywords: history teaching, international guidelines, teachers, students, historical consciousness

Introduction

After the Second World War, history teaching was considered both a contributing factor to the war and part of a future solution. In order to build a better world, with greater understanding between and among nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe launched reform programmes directed at the teaching of history. UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's recommendations, which were initially primarily concerned with counteracting nationalism and militarism, developed in due course into encompassing more and more areas in which history teaching was thought to contribute to influencing students' views of the world and thereby to shape a better future (Low-Beer, 1997; Pingel, 1999; Lindmark, 2008).

The present study aimed to investigate how the subject of history was formulated internationally from the 1960s until 2002, and to compare the international intentions with how the subject was formulated and understood in national guidelines and by teachers and students in Sweden.

Inspired by previous research and theories, I have called the international level of curricula "ideological curricula", the national level "formal curricula", the teachers level "perceived curricula" and the student level "experiential curricula" (Goodlad, 1979). I examined each level chronologically and in relation to each other on the ba-

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sis of international recommendations. In the study implementation was treated as a complex undertaking, with both interpretations and transferences in interaction with preconceptions and the surrounding world (Goodlad, 1979; Westbury, 2008). Since students' views of the past, present and future were central in the recommendations of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, I analysed the relationship between the ideological curricula and students' historical consciousness, as expressed in individual history projects written by upper secondary students. As a theoretical point of departure, I considered students' historical consciousness in terms of their interpretations of the past, present and future, based on experiences and expectations influenced by history both within and outside of school (Jensen, 1997; Koselleck, 2004; Rüsen, 2004; Barton, 2008).

The recommendations of UNESCO and the Council of Europe were analysed chronologically. The focus was on the international intentions from the 1960s and earlier material was noted as a background to the international and national developments after 1960. The formal Swedish guidelines were thereafter scrutinised during periods of reform, primarily in 1965, 1981 and 1994 when the history syllabuses were rewritten. Inspectors' reports covering the period from 1969 to 1982 were also treated as part of the formal curricula. The perceived curricula were studied as they were expressed in debates in the history teachers' journals *Historielärarnas förenings årsskrift* (HLFÅ; The Annual Report of the Association of History Teachers) and *Aktuellt för historieläraren* (AFHL; New Information for History Teachers) along with the life stories of six very experienced teachers, who each have more than 30 years' professional experience: Axel, Bengt, Cecilia, Dag, Elisabeth and Folke (pseudonyms). I conducted semi-structured interviews that provided narratives from practice and thereby insights into how a few history teachers have perceived the developments in history education (Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Plummer, 2005; Nygren, 2009). The experiential curricula were analysed by studying upper secondary students' (18-19-year-olds) subject choices for their individual history projects and, in a more elaborate way, by scrutinising 145 individual projects. The purpose of these week-long individual projects, introduced in 1928, was to train students to work independently and offer opportunities to deepen their knowledge of their chosen subject area and discipline. Despite some variation in pedagogical emphasis in the curriculum after periods of reform, the form and orientation of these projects were retained from 1928 until 2002 (SFS, 1928:412; SÖ, 1965; SÖ, 1986). In other words, what students supervised by teachers chose to write about in history facilitates the making of comparisons over time. I consciously gathered statistics from different parts of Sweden and different sized cities in order to avoid being too strongly influenced by local school cultures and individual teachers.² The titles were categorised on the basis of the international intentions emphasising more world, European and local history. Only titles with a clear geographical orientation were used in the statistics. Other phenomena underlined internationally, such as racism, minorities and women, were also counted. Since this

was not a complete national investigation, and the actual content of these individual projects could not be analysed, I used the statistics to indicate orientations over time. Individual projects in history are usually not saved, but through a national search of school libraries and contacts with school archives and teachers I was able to collect 145 papers written by students between 1969 and 2002. The individual projects were conducted in four different schools, in different parts of the country and supervised by at least 11 different supervisors. Most papers come from Vasaskolan in Gävle and do not comprise any representative selection.³ Yet the existing individual projects do have different geographical orientations and stretch over the national reforms of history teaching in 1965, 1981 and 1994 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Geographical orientation of individual history projects, 1969–2002⁴

	1969–1983	1984–1996	1997–2002	Total
World History	20	24	9	53
European History	8	15	6	29
National History	9	11	1	21
Local History	3	32	7	42
Total	40	82	23	145

Sources: *Katedralskolan in Lund, Linnéskolan in Hässleholm, Södra Latin in Stockholm and Vasaskolan in Gävle.*

The essays should be considered as examples of how some students completed their individual projects, with different orientations, at different periods of time. Examining what students actually wrote on the basis of their historical consciousness in the individual history projects provides an opportunity to analyse how a number of students experienced history in the light of international intentions.

The fact that the subject of history has been a focus of international reforms has previously been described in research on both UNESCO and the Council of Europe (Schüddekopf, 1967; Buergenthal and Torney, 1976; Luntinen, 1988, 1989; Low-Beer, 1997; Pingel, 1999; Stobart, 1999; Droit, 2005; Gasanabo, 2006; Stenou, 2007). Although this work has made a substantial contribution to the field, it potentially has several weaknesses stemming from efforts to improve practice, the fact that the research has been financed by the organisation it has scrutinised and that it has often focused on textbooks. Significantly, although links between international and local levels have previously been noted (Duedahl, 2007; Nygren, 2011), hitherto there has been no independent investigation of teachers' and students' conceptions of history teaching in relation to the international intentions, from the 1960s into the 21st century.

The Ideological Curricula

After the end of the Second World War, both UNESCO and the Council of Europe asserted that as a subject, a more international, peaceful, cultural and contemporary history could create greater understanding between peoples and countries, locally and globally

(UNESCO, 1949; Burley and Dance, 1960). In their guidelines, UNESCO and the Council of Europe expressed a wish to create through the teaching of history international citizens immune to propaganda who would safeguard peace, human rights, pluralism and cultural heritage. As a consequence, three prominent orientations emerged which asserted that history teaching should: 1) become more international; 2) include critical perspectives and minorities; and 3) safeguard the cultural heritage through local history.

UNESCO's recommendations had a more global perspective, while the Council of Europe highlighted Europe. UNESCO prioritised the value of a global universal history a History of Mankind, whereas the Council of Europe emphasised "the idea of Europe". The dividing line between UNESCO's universalism and the Council of Europe's regionalism remained in the recommendations for history teaching during the whole period studied. In the context of European education, through intensive work from the 1980s onwards the Council of Europe's line has largely prevailed over UNESCO's (Council of Europe, 1983, 1989, 1996, 2001). This was particularly evident when, after the Balkan war, UNESCO's Director-General Fredrico Mayor proclaimed:

We must see through the smoke of current events to the broader horizon beyond. But first of all, we must dispel the darkness of yesterday and promote the idea of a Europe of regions, a Europe of a unity in diversity, made up of an interlinking and interdependence of regions, a spirit of global solidarity (UNESCO, 1999:7).

In this quote the Council of Europe's regionalism, with "the Idea of Europe", was something the leader of UNESCO also advocated: first Europe, then the world.

During the 1960s, UNESCO sharpened its criticism of colonialism⁵ while the Council of Europe wanted to also assert the positive sides of colonialism. As late as 1967, a book from the Council of Europe argued:

[...] we must put on the credit side (as opposed to the evils of the colonial system which of course must not be minimized) the real benefits which accrued from it, and which were moral and intellectual as well as material. Without underestimating the past history of colonized peoples, it is certain that their contact with peoples of more rapid material development has proved beneficial to most of them (Bruley, 1967:122).

UNESCO stressed instead that education should contribute to "the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and expressions and against all forms of racism, fascism and apartheid and other ideologies that encourage hate between nations or races" (UNESCO, 1975). During the 1980s, the Council of Europe also started to problematise the colonial heritage; endeavouring to avoid chauvinism and Euro-centrism, the Council admonished people for glossing over the concept of "discoveries". Education should not lead to feelings of superiority because of race or culture (Council of Europe, 1984). This was considered especially important in view of the fact that more and more schools in Western Europe were becoming multicultural (Council of Europe, 1984).

“Unity in diversity” became increasingly emphasised by both UNESCO and the Council of Europe. From the start, UNESCO had a more universal perspective (UNESCO, 1947), whereas the Council of Europe mainly focused on Europe and its need for unity in the face of its multiplicity of ethnic groups (Council of Europe, 1949). Within both organisations, multiculturalism initially concerned understanding between countries and peoples, but later also included cultural identity within states and questions of democracy (UNESCO, 1975; Council of Europe, 1983, 1997; Stenou, 2004; Droit, 2005). From the 1980s onwards young people were to be prepared for life in a multicultural society (Council of Europe, 1985a), and to understand how unity in diversity and dialogue among civilisations favours Europe and mankind in general (Council of Europe, 1996; UNESCO, 1995, 2002; Boel, 2004).

Although in 1958 the Council of Europe claimed that women were a forgotten “minority”, it was not before the 1990s that women’s history was clearly noted in the Council’s recommendations (Council of Europe, 1996). It seems that within UNESCO questions of equality were long subordinate to efforts to counter nationalism and racism (Amrith and Sluga, 2008), but from the mid-1980s onwards women’s role in history and society was increasingly acknowledged (UNESCO, 1985, 1995).

History teaching was also to pay ever more attention to local cultural heritage recognising its importance for preserving the past and building a sense of identification and unity. After the Second World War, when nationalism was fiercely criticised, UNESCO and the Council of Europe saw no conflict between local history and international understanding. On the contrary, it was argued that teaching could sensibly begin with local history and then expand into Europe and the world (UNESCO, 1951; Bruley and Dance, 1960). After UNESCO’s work with world heritage initiatives, recommendations were made in which the importance of local history for preserving cultural heritage was emphasised; this was followed by similar recommendations from the Council of Europe (UNESCO, 1977; Council of Europe, 1985b).

The Formal Curricula

According to the national syllabus in post-war Sweden, history teaching should emphasise objective facts and tolerance and also underpin knowledge of history from political, economic, social and cultural perspectives (SÖ, 1956). International understanding was introduced as a concept in the national Swedish history syllabus, clearly influenced by international intentions in the post-war era (SÖ, 1956; Nygren, 2011). Swedish history syllabuses from 1960 to the 1980s thus were more and more in line with UNESCO’s design for a universal history that fostered international understanding. Accordingly, the 1981 syllabus stated the following:

Teaching should have a global perspective, regardless of whether it involves older or more contemporary history. This means that non-European history should be included and non-European cultures studied on the basis of their own pre-requisites. One minimal demand should be that every student acquires deeper knowledge of at least one non-European culture (SÖ, 1981:10).

The Swedish national syllabus adopted no direct position regarding world history or European history, but advised that national, Nordic and European history be “fitted into the global” at the same time as the global perspective should not be allowed to “obscure the European” (SÖ, 1981:11). The “Idea of Europe” existed as a concept in the syllabus from 1965 and the desire to strive for a European identity and European co-operation in the shadow of Great Power politics was noted in 1981. As of 1994, when the grading system became more goal-related,⁶ Europe acquired a more central role. In the hastily produced national syllabus, European history took on a more dominant position (SKOLFS, 1994:10). UNESCO’s recommendation regarding “International Understanding” was treated as a question of basic values rather than a question for the subject of history specifically (Läroplanskommittén, 1994). The Swedish national curriculum and syllabus moved more in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe. Global history received less attention in the history syllabus of the 1990s, even though UNESCO’s recommendation from 1974 was reprinted in 1994 (Skolverket, 1994).

To a certain extent, critical perspectives on power relations in the world penetrated the Swedish history syllabuses from the 1960s onwards. For example, the role of race theories in colonialism and issues surrounding the accommodation of ethnic minorities in national narratives were proclaimed as suitable themes for more intensive study in the 1965 syllabus (SÖ, 1965). However, the sharp post-colonial criticism which was expressed in UNESCO’s publications did not become established in the syllabus. The Swedish formulations were more cautious and, although they did assert the need for a discussion of the relations between the centre and periphery, men and women, majorities and minorities, they did not provide any condemnation of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Power relations between men and women and the positive contributions of immigrants in Sweden were included in the 1981 syllabus (SÖ, 1981). In 1994, the value of historical consciousness, understanding of one’s contemporary world and skills such as source criticism were foregrounded. In addition, the value of seeing different groups’ views of history – for example, those of women, different social classes and cultures – was underlined. According to the national syllabus for history produced in the 1990s, from a broad formulation of goals the teacher should reinforce students’ cultural understanding of “their own and others’ identity”.

An inter-cultural point of view, where similarities and differences between different cultures are highlighted, can further tolerance and broad-mindedness. At the same time, the dynamics and possibilities offered by inter-cultural encounters are made clear (SKOLFS, 1994:10:85).

Thus culture was about both one’s own identity and the encounter with others, in accord with a multi-cultural perspective that had previously been conveyed internationally and by ethnologists in Sweden (UNESCO, 1975; Council of Europe, 1983; Dahllöf and Dahllöf, 1982). Further, teaching should create a “feeling for a shared cultural heritage and also critically examine our patterns of civilisation, and be aware that it

has been and is still possible to change prevailing conditions” (SKOLFS, 1994:10:85). The so-called shared cultural heritage was clearly linked to national and Western narratives (Nordgren, 2006).

As early as the 1930s, in Sweden local history subjects were recommended for individual history projects (SÖ, 1935). As part of the preservation of local cultural heritage, local history subjects were emphasised in the Swedish national syllabuses as suitable for individual projects and study visits (SÖ, 1956; SÖ, 1981). School inspectors declared in 1973 that “We are pleased to say that we have encountered more local history in the teaching than before” (SÖ, 1973-74). In 1978, it was positively acknowledged by inspectors that local history and genealogy often had a problem-based and laboratory form (SÖ, 1977-78). By studying local history students could, according to the syllabus of 1981, obtain a “broadened understanding for the past and the problems of the present” and the possibility to “place one’s own home town in relation to the rest of the world” (SÖ, 1981:11). Local history was not included in the syllabus from 1994, but remarkably in 2000 genealogy was introduced as a grading criterion for the advanced history course in upper secondary schools (SKOLFS, 2000:60). Due to the Swedish goal-related grading system, there were good opportunities to teach about local cultural heritage – which was recommended internationally, even though it was not specifically mentioned in the syllabus.

The Perceived Curricula

From 1960 until 1984, debates about teaching in the journals for history teachers (HLFÅ and AFHL) largely concentrated on the international history that was promoted by international organisations. There was a great deal of accord around the need for more culture-oriented and global history, even if some critics claimed that national and Nordic history had been marginalised in history teaching, from “fifty-fifty” to a 10% to 90% ratio (HLFÅ, 1969-70:96). In the mid-1980s, non-European history became far less prominent in the history teaching debates, which became increasingly theoretically didactic. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the Swedish application to join the EU in 1991, the new Europe and European identity moved towards the centre of discussion (HLFÅ, 1991-92, 1994-95). Even if more global currents existed, the debate was pervaded by the Council of Europe’s and Euroclio’s desire to “encourage European awareness through the teaching of history” (HFLÅ, 1994-95:28). The work of the Council of Europe regarding history teaching was acknowledged – but not UNESCO’s declaration in 1995 concerning education for peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1995).

The teachers I interviewed, who went through their teacher-training in the 1950s and 1960s, all attested to the fact that Swedish history was the major focus of study during their time at school and even at university. European history was studied primarily on the upper secondary level and beyond. They all agreed there was a lack of non-European history. Axel described how at upper secondary school there were

“certain international points of view, but anything other than a European view of history was exceedingly rare, if it occurred at all”. When history outside of Europe was considered it involved a Euro-centric perspective – discoveries and colonialism. Dag concurred that there was a dearth of non-European history in his university education: “Non-European history, Africa and China’s – and that, all that amounted to nothing. [...] When I graduated from university my knowledge of China’s early history was non-existent.” Cecilia lamented the lack of chronological surveys of epochs from an international perspective in history textbooks, and as a result she constructed her own to help students see differences and similarities in developments in different parts of the world. The lack of knowledge of non-European history was noted during the 1960s and 1970s by both the association of history teachers and the national school board (SÖ, 1974-75). The teachers interviewed in this study described how their teaching concentrated on European history, but Swedish and global development was also taken up. Bengt and the team of teachers at his school based their instruction on Swedish chronology, whereas the others said their teaching revolved around European epochs.

Dag, Elisabeth, Cecilia and Folke described a strategic orientation, which I have called “social scientific history”. In their teaching they used history to explain contemporary problems and developments in society by making global comparisons and seeking general patterns (Nygren, 2009). This was an orientation that did not primarily focus on international cultural encounters, but had a clear international problematising orientation in line with the intentions of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The historical overview was, according to the teachers, necessary for students to be able to make comparisons and to see historical connections and the structures that created society and current problems in the world. State governments and current world politics were to be highlighted in order to encourage students to analyse their contemporary world.

During the 1960s and even more so in the 1970s the history of minorities and women was foregrounded in teachers’ discussions; several historical articles in HFLÅ represented a “history from below”. Sweden as a land of immigrants was emphasised in the debate, a direct influence from the Council of Europe (HFLÅ, 1981-82). A more ethnological perspective focusing on human behaviour and traditions was added to a view of culture as primarily art and literature. In the debate during the 1980s, there were proposals to create a separate subject for culture studies (Dahllöf and Dahllöf, 1982). History teachers, however, countered that internationalisation, immigration studies and local history were already parts of the subject of history and could provide a multicultural, ethnological perspective (HFLÅ, 1984-85). Women’s history as part of the subject was a feature of debates in 1975 and taken up later in recommendations from the National Board of Education (HFLÅ, 1975; HFLÅ, 1981-82).

Axel described how he took the opportunity to study ethnology and how this as well as other aspects of higher education such as women’s history and the history of mentalities heavily influenced his ideas about history teaching. New perspectives were

introduced in which “Sweden’s era of Great Power became the era of soldier-widows”, as he put it. A “multi-perspective” teaching strategy where different points of view and interpretations of history were central, e.g. focused on gender, cultural and social perspectives along with source criticism and the history of mentalities (Nygren, 2009).

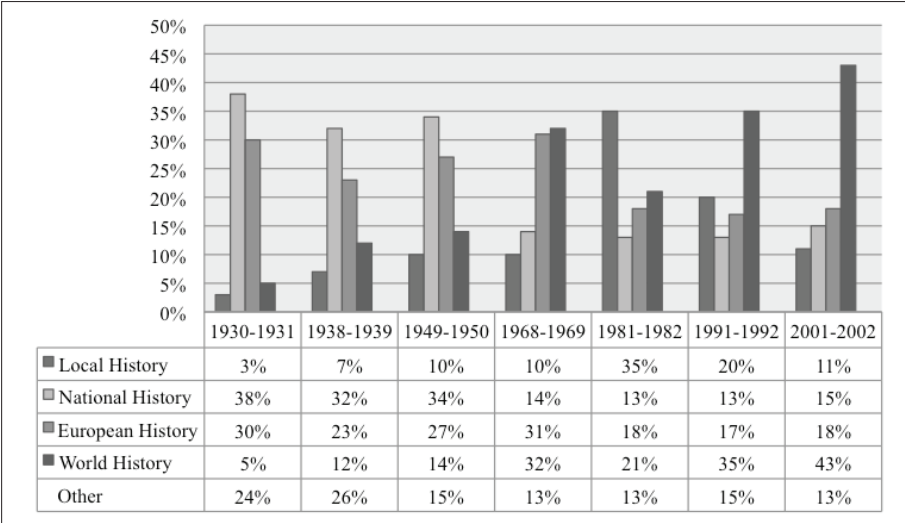
In the debates about teaching, a local historical perspective was considered to provide a solid personal anchorage in the world and a good point of departure for humanistic approaches to engagement in the world at large (AFHL, 1970). A rise of interest in local history from the 1960s was described as a consequence of the “Dig Where You Stand” movement⁷ and of fewer restrictions in the syllabus (HLFÅ, 1982-83). Yet UNESCO was not referred to, nor were the recommendations of the Council of Europe.

One of the interviewed teachers, Bengt, related how every year in his teaching he had taken his students on a local history walk in order to make history “alive” and to give the students a feeling for their cultural heritage and to make their immediate historical surroundings palpable to them. He emphasised local history and narratives of national and world historical developments – a teaching strategy I have called “narrative history” (Nygren, 2009). On closer scrutiny, it appeared that Bengt supervised a large number of individual projects in local history, but he also supervised manifold essays with both global and regional orientations. His students wrote about kings and power politics, and also about minority groups and popular culture. Students of teachers oriented towards social science and multiple perspectives show a similar wealth and variety of subjects – but fewer concerning local history.

The Experiential Curricula

There has been a clear shift in subject choices for students’ individual projects since 1950, when 34% concerned Swedish history, 27% European history, and 14% world history (see Figure 1). By 1969 interest in Swedish history had dropped to 14%, work dealing with European history had increased to 31%, while project subjects relating to world history had risen dramatically – to 32%. This indicates that in an ever more globalised world, students’ and teachers’ interest in and knowledge of non-European history made history teaching increasingly internationally-oriented.

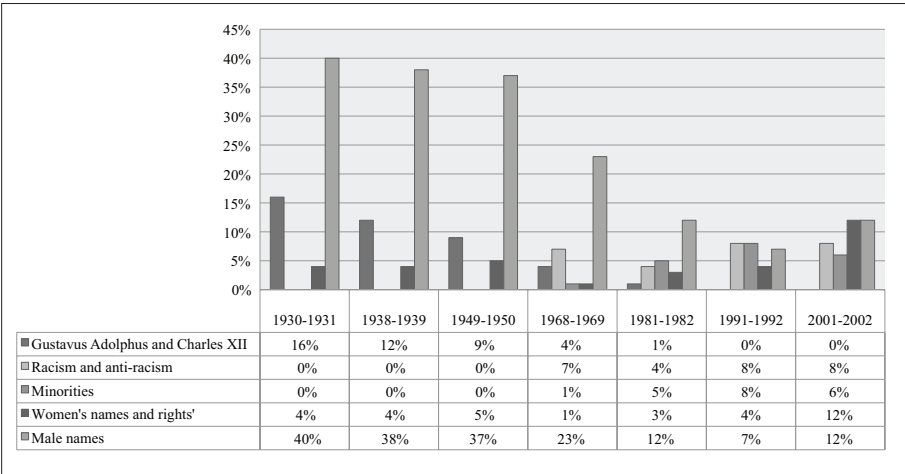
Figure 1: Individual projects and essays in history with clear geographical orientations



Sources: National Archives of Sweden, City and Municipal Archives, School Archives

Analysis of the titles of students' individual history projects revealed that the increased regard for non-European history was followed by greater interest in marginalised groups. In comparison to titles about men and prominent kings from Sweden's era of Great Power (Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII), racism, marginalised ethnic groups and women came more in focus from the 1960s onwards (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Orientations in titles towards more marginalised groups and phenomena



Sources: National Archives of Sweden, City and Municipal Archives, School Archives

For example, from 1969 onwards more attention was paid to racism and its problems, not least in the USA, South Africa and Nazi Germany. The history of the American civil rights movement was discussed in a number of students' works I have scrutinised – it was claimed that “the issue of blacks is the most difficult to solve minority problem in the US” (Hedström, 1970:1). In their scrutiny of economic and political explanations of racial conflicts, students' expressed antipathy to historical and contemporary discrimination. In 1969, one student wrote that “Dominating whites in the Southern states today show attitudes and behaviour towards negroes that are despicable from many points of view” (Bergstedt, 1969:5). The following year, another student stated that, considering the blacks' miserable social situation, one must accept “the demand for ‘Black Power’”; more power and influence for black people was wholly in accord with the “rules of a democratic society” (Ullström, 1970:12). In 1992, from a more psychological perspective, one student claimed that the continued conflicts between blacks and whites were an effect of people's fear of the unknown and of a racist world view and also an effect of exploitation and the violent exercise of power. Even though the problem of race was illuminated from several perspectives and it was asserted that many white people fought against both slavery and racism, the student concluded that the situation of black people in the USA is a disgrace, shaming all whites. “I have learned in what terrible ways ‘we whites’ have suppressed and humiliated blacks. And although ‘human feelings’ such as fear lie behind this treatment, we cannot be excused!” (Lamm, 1992:36). According to this student, historical discrimination could excuse and prompt future violence between blacks and whites.

Students' work on African history described colonialism and Africa's current situation both critically and uncritically. The stance calling for more power for the black majority and against European involvement in African countries was clear in several essays, but not all. Students criticised racism in South Africa, referring to both the UN and human rights in 1971 and in 1987. Nelson Mandela was depicted as a “born leader” (Ovaska, 1971:14) and the ANC held hope for “a free Africa in the future” (Holmberg and Lööf, 1987:11).

Students repudiated anti-Semitism, condemned the Holocaust and stressed the importance of keeping them in our memory. Referring to the persecution of Jews, it was stated that “All forms of racism are dangerous. We must fight against racist elements in society and all people are obliged to participate actively in the democratic process” (Nordmark, 1991:18).

The history of power politics came into play in essays on Vietnam, Cuba, China, Palestine and Afghanistan. Students expressed revolutionary ideas, concern for world peace and also condemnation of the horrors of war. Referring to the suffering in Vietnam, students criticised the involvement of France and the USA in Indochina and the absence of “moral courage” amongst decision-makers (Helldahl, 1998:56). Some students described the Second World War as a political drama, while others mainly depicted its horrors. There was no discernable romanticising of war in these students' work.

In their essays from the 1970s and onwards, some students advocated liberation from Western influence: for example, China, “exploited by colonists” could only be understood through “Mao’s little red book” – China should follow its own lights (Andersson, 1971:1-6). Regarding the history of Latin America, students wrote about devastating encounters between the advanced Indian cultures and Western European conquerors, who introduced slavery and an ethnically-classed society. In line with theories of dependence, Latin America’s need for liberation from imperialism was stressed. After 1989, however, China was sharply criticised when “the government opened fire against its own people” (Pettersson, 1992:13). After the turmoil on Tiananmen Square, particularism was abandoned in favour of an approach emphasising development in line with Western values.

Students paid growing attention to Native American cultures and other minorities such as Aborigines, the Romany people and Sami (see Figure 2). South American pre-colonial cultures were described as advanced civilisations – especially the Maya because of their knowledge of science, and the Inca for their developed organisation and creative culture. By studying the history and traditions of the Romany people, one student claimed a greater understanding of their culture: “It feels as if I have another attitude towards the Romany now, a more positive one. When I see them in town now, I feel a sort of solidarity.” A feeling and understanding that can help “history not to be repeated” (Olsson, 1991:2). Students emphasised people’s equal value and “one’s right to be different” (Jarnulf, 1988:37) in many ways.

Women’s history featured more and more frequently in the titles (see Figure 2) and even when dealing with non-European history. Women’s vulnerability was noted: how women were affected by war, oppression, poverty and prostitution. However, students also discussed women’s importance – how they assumed responsibility for Lesotho’s survival and the significance of the women’s movement for the functioning of Colombia’s democracy. In accord with international recommendations regarding the need to pay heed to women and exposed groups, and to reinforce unity in diversity, a clear tendency emerged in students’ works in history to become more oriented to minority groups and problems of racism until 1992. In opposition to the internationally increased efforts to promote multi-cultural understanding, the number of students who wrote about minorities decreased somewhat between 1992 and 2002. This was perhaps influenced by the fact that minorities became less distinctively emphasised in the national syllabus for history in 1994.

Subjects in European history attracted between 20% and 30% of the topics studied by students in the post-war era (see Figure 1). In their choice of individual projects, there seems to be no direct change regarding students’ interest in writing about European history after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In percentage terms, the number of individual projects in history focused on European history decreased to below 20% in 1982, 1992 and 2002, which was contrary to the increased efforts in the 1990s of the Council of Europe and the revised national syllabus in Sweden.

The choices of subject suggest that students wrote about European political, economic, social and cultural history. The Second World War was the subject of a number of students' individual projects.⁸ The role of Germany in World War II was dealt with in several individual projects during the 1970s and 1980s in terms of power politics and military history without the peaceful focus emphasised by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, but also without romanticising war. The war was also treated ideologically when Nazism was heavily criticised. The above-mentioned focus on the persecution of the Jews became more evident during the 1990s and even more so in 2002 (after the national "Living History" campaign).

Students wrote about the Russian revolution at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s as a success and a tragedy. One student claimed that "the proletarian revolution has won, slavery is abolished!" Marxist-Leninism points in the right direction, whereas "the bourgeoisie have developed their own science which distorts the world" (Strid, 1971). On the contrary, other students stated that after the revolution "the Russian democracy was crushed" (Eriksson, 1971:21) and that "Lenin's rule was one of cliques, not a proletarian dictatorship, as they would have it, but a dictatorship of a handful of politicians" (Gammelgård, 1973:19). The actions of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia were criticised as "disgraceful" (Andersson, 1969:1); later, during the 1990s, Stalin's purges were compared to "Hitler's extermination of the Jews" (Jansson, 1992:3). Leaders in communist countries, like Mao and Lenin, could, at least in the late 1960s and early 1970s, be portrayed as great leaders of the people. Yet the contrary was also evident in students' individual projects, with condemnations of their politics from the late 1960s onwards.

Even if many essays dealt with war and conflicts, they did not glorify them; instead, the war hero was Raoul Wallenberg. UNESCO's criticism of Nazism and fascism also pervaded several students' essays. The value of human rights as expressed in the Council of Europe and UNESCO's recommendations was asserted in work on such separate topics as Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc), Estonia and Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF; Red Army Faction). In the light of human rights the treatment of Jeanne d'Arc was criticised (Eineborg, 1990), as well as the serfdom of Estonian peasants in the 18th century (Giselsson, 1996). Further, the treatment of imprisoned terrorists in West Germany made human rights an issue for discussion (Eliasson, 1994).

Italy did indeed foster Fascism, according to the students, but several also underlined Italy's role in European cultural heritage. Roman Britain was described as the first step towards linking the British Isles with Europe and "forming them into what they are today" (Andersson, 1991:20). Drawing from Estonia's history, in 1996 one student claimed "European co-operation" as "necessary for favourable development" (Giselsson, 1996: 29).

Students described everyday life in Europe during Antiquity and the Middle Ages with a peaceful focus on mixed populations, sharing common joys and pains. Through co-operation and cultural encounters, marvellous works of culture such as Stonehenge

could be built. More socially-oriented students presented ordinary women as active subjects. A less ordinary woman, Jeanne d’Arc, was described as a “most remarkable and strong woman” (Eineborg, 1990:26).

During the inter-war period, a number of Swedish students wrote about local history, and after the war some students also began to investigate their own genealogy. Later, in 1982 and 1992, many wrote about the history of their family and local community (see Figure 1). Subjects and interest shifted from year to year and even between schools, but overall interest in local history remained solid (cf. Hansson, 2010). When general interest in history decreased (Larsson, 2001), the number of individual projects in local history peaked in 1982. In local history subjects relating to social history were frequent, but there were also descriptions of palaces and fortresses, locally prominent or great men (and sometimes also women) and the relationship between local communities and major (national/international) political conflicts.

The local histories written by students in the essays I examined promulgated some of the values that UNESCO and the Council of Europe wished to encourage through studying local history. The students’ descriptions of both small and large communities and places and city districts conveyed a relatively peaceful economic and social existence. The importance of preserving local cultural heritage (which was included in the international intentions) was expressed by several students, but so too were critiques against modernisation and descriptions of how immigration had turned the community into “something of a melting pot” (Öhlund, 1970: 21). There were romanticised pictures of the local past, with many superlatives being used to convey the charm of the community, and even hopes that its “old quarters be preserved long after my time” (Norell, 1991:28). One essay concerning conflicts between Swedes, “snapphanar” (guerrillas fighting for the Danes against Sweden), and Danes, concluded that “I am glad I am Swedish!” (Storm, 1995: 29). This might indicate that local history does not necessarily promote good relations between neighbouring countries and the universalism advocated by UNESCO.

Romanticising, factual, critical and relativistic points of view were all represented in students’ writing about local history. The critical essays addressed industrial communities’ class conflicts and the exclusive culture of local theatres. The old industrial community of Mackmyra was studied in 1987 from an economic and critical perspective, but in 1994 life stories from the place were studied to give “a series of pictures and impressions of how life was for several neighbours in Mackmyra” (Jagell, 1993: 2). From 1986 onwards, students used interviews as social historical testimonies. In addition, genealogical research seems to have made history social and personal. A genealogical study of the hardship of settlers in 19th century northern Sweden described how the family “after one generation ended up in poverty and misery” (Åhrlin, 1996:20).

Links between the local and the global were clear when students examined the development of local production and commerce and when they studied religious movements and different views of the penal system. In an increasingly global world, several students articulated an appreciation of the peace and security of local communities and of their cultural heritage. The value of safeguarding the heritage was clearly stated in a number of individual projects examined, wholly in line with the intentions of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. However, in clear contrast to these international intentions, examples of local patriotism sceptical of foreign influences could also be found.

Concluding discussion

The subject of history as a lesson for the future, to encourage understanding of the unknown and the preservation of one's heritage has been promulgated internationally, in national curricula and syllabuses by teachers and in students' essays. Oriented towards both global and local history, students have had the present as the point of departure in their study of history. Contemporary conflicts, documentary and feature films and their local historical milieus have awakened students' interest in investigating the past. I found that a number of students in their individual history projects started out from a genealogical perspective, went on to construct a genetic narrative and, in several cases, they ended with statements about the present and the future (cf. Karlsson, 2003; Ammert, 2008). However, not all students explicitly related their history projects to the present and the future. A number of students wrote about historical phenomena in an analytical way, starting and ending in the past.

Other students revealed social scientific orientations, where the past was used to explain and analyse the present. Using parallels and connections, they examined patterns and made statements about the future – for instance, proposing conceivable solutions to conflicts. Some students also had an expressed desire to learn from the past in order to make a better world. A value-based reformism that was close to the ideal Sven Södring Jensen (1978) termed “critically constructive”; much in line with the normative international intentions, according to which students should be critical and shape a better world.

The analysis of students' individual history projects shows that already in the 1960s and 1970s students expressed value judgements concerning the past: against discrimination and racism and for human rights and democracy. This was done with an emotional emphasis that was far from the scientific-rational conception that Tomas Englund (1986) described, whereby objectivity was depicted as neutrality. For students, working with history could kindle historical consciousness in a meeting with the “other” and unknown (cf. Jensen, 1997). Reflections around students' own identity *vis-à-vis* the past came up in several essays dealing with global and local history. The repudiation of things that happened in the past and feelings of guilt and shame were expressed. Students related that they had learned from history – something clearly

recommended by both UNESCO and the Council of Europe in the ideological curricula. Even if it involves lip service – students writing what they thought their teachers wanted – it is evident that history in the experiential curricula may be formulated as a contribution to international understanding and express values and principles for the future regarding, for instance, peace and solidarity with marginalised groups. It is also evident that, in other instances, history was dealt with by students unreflectively, in a way that has most likely not influenced their historical consciousness.

The global perspective in students' work, together with critical thinking, was wholly in accord with UNESCO's recommendations dealing with criticism of colonialism and with encounters with unknown or unfamiliar cultures. Even if the Council of Europe initially wished to tone down the damage caused by colonialism, several students from the 1970s onwards traced injustices in the world to colonial exploitation. Their criticism can perhaps be partly explained by the left-wing currents in Europe after 1968. Positive images of Mao and Lenin might also be seen as part of these currents. The student description of China's particular need for communism highlights an in-built problem in international understanding. Understanding the other, but at the same time legitimising totalitarian rule.

Despite the Council of Europe's active efforts and impact on the formal national syllabus, it would seem that their concentration on Europe was overshadowed by more globally-inclined history. In the experiential curricula, world history dominated even after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Sweden's entry into the European Union.

That said, students' choices of subject and how they treated their subjects suggest that the critical and democratic concern for human rights that the Council of Europe, like UNESCO, held to be crucial, was addressed. Women and minorities occupied a more pivotal place and several students expressed attitudes in line with values of international understanding and a "unity in diversity". Several different points of view, not least those of exposed and previously marginalised groups, most likely contributed to increased multiculturalism in history teaching – perhaps a greater degree of "unity in diversity". As one student put it in her study of the Roman people: "We are all of the same family, the human family, and should not think so many 'they are them and we are we' thoughts" (Olsson, 1991:2). In contrast to UNESCO's and the Council of Europe's intentions, I also found that some students could perceive discrimination as an excuse for violence. For instance, frustration over historical injustices could lead to the conclusion that African Americans should fight for Black power. Violence and war were otherwise often described in terms of terrible suffering, in complete agreement with the ideological curricula. Nationalism and militarism seem to have been marginalised by the students, even if war was not always condemned. Men in power were often bypassed in favour of active women and more social and critical perspectives. In the scrutinised individual projects, romanticising narratives were few and far between, and even if Mao, Lenin, Napoleon and Alexander the Great could be described as great leaders, it was Raoul Wallenberg, Nelson Mandela and

Mahatma Ghandi who were described as heroes in the experiential curricula. Ghandi was seen as a contemporary and future model: “In the universal debate, his struggle against racism, colonialism, violence and the exploitation of nature and humankind is still relevant” (Eriksson, 1993: 5). However, after a new formal curriculum in 1994 it seems as if minorities received less attention in Sweden in spite of the increased international emphasis on “unity in diversity”.

Concern for local heritage created values that UNESCO and the Council of Europe strived for. Students expressed an appreciation for their local environment and a desire to preserve their local heritage. Family stories and those of the locality, which were examined through the interviews, gave rise to reflections about the students’ own identity and even, in several cases, to connections with the past. In contrast to the intentions of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, romantic descriptions of local history could also hold negative attitudes to immigrants and neighbouring countries.

Not all students embraced mutual understanding and multiculturalism in their studies of history, but it seems as if history teaching in Sweden in many ways went hand in hand with international intentions promoting internationalism, diversity and heritage. The post-colonial criticism and global history emphasised by UNESCO was prominent in the students’ work in history, despite the influence the Council of Europe had on other levels of curricula from the 1990s. The results of the study indicate that the normative perspectives on history found in UNESCO and the Council of Europe were also evident in other levels of the curriculum and, most importantly, in the orientations of students’ interests in history and in students’ judgements of the past, present and the future.

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Endnotes

- ¹ This article presents results from the research project “History Beyond Borders: The International History Textbook Revision, 1919–2009,” funded by the Swedish Research Council and directed by Daniel Lindmark. I am most grateful for all the help and support from teachers, administrators, archivists and librarians; and also for the support and comments from my colleagues: in the project, the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Umeå University, and Vasaskolan Gävle. Special thanks go to the editors and Bengt Schüllerqvist for thorough readings and comments.
- ² 1,680 titles produced between 1931 and 2002 have been examined. In 1931, 258 titles were registered from all upper secondary schools in Sweden; in 1939, 193 titles, 1950, 149 titles. In 1931, 297 students out of a total of 2,175 (14%) wrote on history; in 1939, 290 out of 6,263 (5%) and in 1950, 416 out of 6,705 (6%). I also examined titles of individual projects in history in Boden, Umeå, Gotland, Gävle, Karlstad, Visby, Vänersborg, Ystad, Stockholm and Gothenburg written by students studying in the social science, natural science and humanist programmes in 1969 and 1982, and in the social science and natural science programmes in 1992 and 2002. In 1969, 278 out of 1,303 (22%) individual projects were written on history at the schools investigated and in the programmes listed; in 1982, 184 out of 1,038 (18%), in 1992, 333 out of 1,086 (31%) and in 2002, 285 out of 1,395 (20%). National Archives, Stockholm, F IIda; City and Municipal Archives; School Archives.
- ³ Vasaskolan’s head teacher in history (until 1973) participated in international conferences, debates, and supervised students in many and varied individual projects, some of which have been preserved, so the link with international intentions might have been stronger than in other schools.
- ⁴ The time period starts three years after the reforms since individual projects were written in the third year in upper secondary school. In 1968 no individual projects were written in Sweden.
- ⁵ The general conferences of UNESCO in 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966 and 1968 criticised racism and colonialism.
- ⁶ The goal-related curriculum was to be focused on what should be achieved in every course, with a greater freedom of content and methodology than before. The grading should relate to goals of knowledge focusing on processes rather than facts.
- ⁷ Groups of amateur historians investigating their own local history.
- ⁸ Students’ writing dealing with the Second World War landed in a grey zone between world history and European history. I have categorised these essays as world history and, even when excluding them, world history dominates students’ chosen subject areas after 1969.

III

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The Contemporary Turn

Debate, Curricula and Swedish Students' History

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Abstract: In the Swedish media during 2010 a proposal for a new syllabus for history was criticized for emphasizing contemporary history at the expense of ancient history. The present study shows how UNESCO and the Council of Europe's guidelines, like the national curriculum and guidelines and students' work since the 1950s, have increasingly focused on contemporary history. In the 1930s graduating students chose to focus mainly on the early modern era, but from 1950 contemporary history became more and more dominant in students' work. Even though history and civics were given separate status as school subjects in 1961, students' work in history continued to focus contemporary subjects. This study shows that the dominance of contemporary history in students' history is by no means a new phenomenon.¹

Keywords: UNESCO, Council of Europe, curriculum, history teaching, teachers, students, contemporary history.

Introduction

In January 2010 a proposal was presented for a new syllabus in history for Swedish secondary schools. The proposal was sharply criticized in the media by both professors and editorial writers. What chiefly upset people was the proposal to focus on contemporary history and to begin with the year 800, the Swedish Viking period. The historian Dick Harrison claimed that excluding ancient and medieval history was a "direct attack on the Swedish community of scholarship."² Older history was, according to ten professors of humanistic subjects, a cornerstone of cultural understanding: "It is precisely knowledge of our extraordinarily long human history and of the variation in human lives that makes us understand what it means to be human, despite cultural differences."³ In their criticism of the proposal these professors contended that knowledge of the origins of world religions is needed to avoid or resist "religious fanaticism,"⁴ and further, that older history could make history teaching less Euro-centric and create better understanding of our cultural heritage. "A great deal of European art, architecture, literature, theatre, film, philosophy and debates about political ideas is incomprehensible without any knowledge of ancient classical history. Consider such different phenomena as the con-

¹ This article presents results from the research project "History Beyond Borders: The International History Textbook Revision, 1919–2009," funded by the Swedish Research Council.

² Dick Harrison, "Historia i skolan blir rena snurren," [History in School Goes Haywire] *Expressen*, 15 February 2010, www.expressen.se (accessed 13 October 2010).

³ Anders Andrén et al, "Skolverkets förslag är trångsynt," [The National Agency of Education's Proposal is Narrow-Minded] *Svenska Dagbladet*, 19 February 2010, www.svd.se (accessed 13 October 2010).

⁴ Håkan Holmberg, "Ingen historia före 1709?" [No History Before 1709?] *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, 17 February 2010, www.unt.se, (accessed 13 October 2010); Anders Andrén et al, "Skolverkets förslag".

cept of democracy and films like ‘Gladiator’ and ‘Troy’.⁵ It was also asserted in the media that the proposal to cut older history coincided with an increased interest in feature films about antiquity.⁶ Editorial writer, Håkan Holmberg contended that older history was needed to defend contemporary democratic rights against dictators, slavery, serfdom, class differences and the oppression of women.⁷ Critical thinking, identity and empathy were also enhanced by studies of older history, according to the upper secondary school teacher, Inger Hillerborg.⁸

In their defense of the reform, the historians in the syllabus group pointed to teachers’ demand for having “time for in depth studies and for taking account of context, not simply being left with a check list of world history.”⁹ Per Eliasson and Kenneth Nordgren stressed the importance of ensuring time for concentration, training competence and analysis, given the time limits on teaching. They emphasized that too much material risks superficial teaching, which leads to insufficient historical understanding and a lack of understanding the present. Eliasson and Nordgren stated that: “In the real classroom it takes time to give explanations and establish contexts without which knowledge – however important or vital – is soon forgotten. It requires concentration.”¹⁰ The upper secondary teacher, David Rosenlund was thinking along the same lines when he said that clearer directives, with clear boundaries and a focus on contemporary history would better enable the student to see the connections “between the content of the teaching and the student’s own life world.”¹¹

The debate shows that the significance of contemporary history and the understanding of the present in relation to other means and goals for history teaching have been debated in Sweden. What history students needed to learn for life and higher education, was from the interwar-period and onwards a matter with various perspectives. The debate can also be seen as an expression of how the content of history teaching has interested and interacted with the surrounding society. In this study I investigate the position of contemporary history¹² in history education since the inter-war period in international guidelines (the ideological curricula), Swedish national curricula and syllabuses (the formal curricula), teachers’ perceptions (the perceived curricula) and students’ work in history (the experiential curricula).¹³

Inspired by John I. Goodlad’s perception that different curricular realities exist on different curricular levels, I examine international guidelines and Swedish history teaching between 1927 and 2002, concentrating on the period from World War II to the

⁵ Anders Andrén et al, “Skolverkets förslag”.

⁶ Lars Lindström, “Antiken frodas på bio – men inte i skolan” [Antiquity Flourishes in the Movies – But Not in School] *Expressen*, 20 May 2010, www.expressen.se (accessed 13 October 2010).

⁷ Håkan Holmberg, “Ingen historia”.

⁸ Inger Hillerborg, “Historien ger överblick” [History Provides a General View] *Sydsvenskan*, 1 Mars 2010, www.sydsvenskan.se, (accessed 13 October 2010).

⁹ Per Eliasson and Kenneth Nordgren, “Allt hinns inte med på historiektionerna” [There’s Not Time for Everything in History Lessons] *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 Mars 2010, www.svd.se (accessed 13 October 2010).

¹⁰ Per Eliasson and Kenneth Nordgren, “Allt hinns inte”.

¹¹ David Roslund, “Ämnesreform en nödvändighet” [Subject Reform, a Necessity] *Sydsvenskan*, 1 Mars 2010, www.sydsvenskan.se, (accessed 13 October 2010).

¹² Contemporary history is here defined as history in close connection with, and relevant in shaping, the present. The last 80 years.

¹³ The concepts, ideological, formal, perceived, and experiential curricula were presented in John I. Goodlad, ed., *Curriculum Inquiry* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979), 23, 348–49.

present. Implementation is treated as more than a top-down process, it concerns both transference and interpretation and a more independent creation of values in a complex interaction with the surrounding world.¹⁴ In this study guidelines issued by the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe are analyzed as a specific expressions of ideological tendencies in time, the ideological curricula; the formal curricula are followed through national curricular guidelines and also inspector reports; the perceived curricula are examined in debates in the teaching journals *the Swedish Upper Secondary Teachers' Journal* (TfSL), *The Association of History Teachers' Annual Report* (HLFÅ) and *New Information for History Teachers* (AFHL)¹⁵ as well as through interviews with six teachers with more than 30 years' experience. The experiential curricula are studied through statistical analysis of students' choice of topics in their final exams in 1938-1963¹⁶, titles of students' individual projects in history between 1931 and 2002¹⁷ and also through scrutinizing 145 individual projects in history written between 1969 and 2002.¹⁸ My study is confined to upper secondary schools where final exams and individual projects in history were produced. The focus is on the period after the Second World War, when the urge for reform was strong, up to 2002, the last year this type of students' individual projects was written. The inter-war period is used as a background. I examine the treatment of contemporary history on the different curricular levels, and do not analyze the general pedagogic and social debate in depth.

Eckhardt Fuchs has previously described how the League of Nations became an international network that addressed itself to questions of education.¹⁹ In the 1920s, history teaching as a mean for improving the present was debated, according to Jan Kolasa, within a subdivision of the League of Nations, The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC).²⁰ Regarding education, the post-war era has been depicted by

¹⁴ Goodlad, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23, 348-49; David Tyack and William Tobin, "The 'Grammar' of Schooling: Why has it been so hard to change?," *American Educational Research Journal*, 31, no. 3 (1994): 469f, 477f.

¹⁵ Issues of TfSL were studied from 1926 to 1942, and 1945 to 1956; HLFÅ, from 1942, 1945 to 2002; and AFHL, from 1968 to 1977.

¹⁶ "De svenska uppsatserna vid allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter med studentexamen, fördelade efter ämnen och betyg," [Topics and statistics] National Archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, B II.

¹⁷ I have studied 1680 titles produced between 1931 and 2002. 1,680 titles produced between 1931 and 2002 have been examined. In 1931 258 titles were registered from all upper secondary schools in Sweden; in 1939, 193 titles and 1950, 149 titles. In 1931, 297 students out of a total of 2,175 (14%) wrote on history; in 1939, 290 out of 6,263 (5%) and in 1950, 416 out of 6,705 (6%). I have also examined titles of individual projects in history in Boden, Umeå, Gotland, Gävle, Karlstad, Visby, Vänersborg, Ystad, Stockholm and Gothenburg, written by students studying in the social science, natural science and humanist programmes in 1969 and 1982, and in the social science and natural science programmes in 1992 and 2002. In 1969, 278 out of 1,303 (22%) individual projects were written on history at the schools investigated and in the programmes listed; in 1982, 184 out of 1,038 (18%), in 1992, 333 out of 1,086 (31%) and in 2002, 285 out of 1,395 (20%). National Archives, Stockholm, F IIda; City and Municipal Archives; School Archives.

¹⁸ The individual reports were collected through a national search in school libraries and contacts with school archives and teachers. The individual projects were conducted in four different schools, in different parts of the country and supervised by at least eleven supervisors. Most papers come from Vasaskolan in Gävle and do not comprise any representative selection.

¹⁹ Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s", *Paedagogica Historica*, 43, no 2 (2007).

²⁰ Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO*, (Wroclaw, 1962), 68-77.

several scholars as a period when UNESCO and the Council of Europe tried to counteract future conflicts and build bridges between countries and cultures through teaching – not least, history teaching.²¹ Previous research also indicate that Swedish student have been interested in contemporary history, rather than ancient history.²²

Contemporary History in International Guidelines

The League of Nations in 1927,²³ and later UNESCO and the Council of Europe, emphasized in their guidelines the value of history education for shaping the present and the future. According to them this would to promote peace and understanding over borders and between peoples.²⁴ The UNESCO guidelines for teaching international understanding in 1949 stated that:

There should be adequate treatment of world history and geography, the cultures of other nations, and of contemporary international events and problems. Wars and international conflicts of all kinds should be viewed in the total perspective of international relations. Not only politics but also art, music, literature, religion, education, recreation, science, health, industry, labour, agriculture and other aspects of living should be considered in the study of history and contemporary civilizations.²⁵

UNESCO's formulation accentuated world-mindedness as an ideal and narratives about the development of civilization through cooperation; the present era's peaceful historical growth. In the 1950s, the Council of Europe discussed how contemporary questions should be dealt with in history teaching. The difficulties of being objective (as in neutral and true) were underlined. However, despite these problems, the recommendations highlighted the importance of teaching contemporary history. Pedagogical arguments was put forward that contemporary history would make history teaching more interesting.²⁶ In 1953, the Council of Europe stressed the importance of history for the understanding of one's own time and even for counter-balancing the media:

²¹ See for instance: Ann Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1997); Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, (Hannover: Hahn, 1999); Katérina Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity* (Paris: UNESCO, 2007).

²² Sture Långström, *Ungdomar tycker om historia och politik: En studie i pedagogiskt arbete*, (Umeå: Umeå Universitet), 67; Johan Hansson, "Historieintresse och historieundervisning: Elevers och lärares uppfattningar om historieämnet" (PhD diss., Umeå University, 2010), 179.

²³ *League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Sub-committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations*, 4-6 July, 1927 C.I.C.I./E.J./24. (1) (Geneva: UN Archives, 1927), 8-10.

²⁴ *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), 78-79; "Recommendations to Teachers and Authors of Textbooks", in Burley & Dance 1960, 72.

²⁵ *A Handbook*, 78-79.

²⁶ Edouard Bruley & E.H.Dance, *A History of Europe* (Leyden, 1960), 48-50; *Recommendations to Teachers and Authors of Textbooks*, reprinted in Burley & Dance, 72; "Council of Europe, Course on History Teaching in Secondary Schools: Elsinor, Denmark, 21st August-1st September 1965, Final Report of the Committee for General and Technical Education" *Internationales Jahrbuch für Geschichts- und Geographieunterricht, Band X*, (Braunschweig: Albert Limbach Verlag, 1965/66, 125; Otto-Ernst Schuddekopt, *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1967), 112.

We cannot understand the present situation in Europe without the background of recent history, in which the problems we Europeans are facing today often have their roots. If the younger generation is not taught recent history by historians, they will be left exclusively to the influence of press, film, radio, etc.²⁷

Guidelines from the Council of Europe and UNESCO were directed to history and other closely related subjects such as civics and geography since a broad contemporary orientation, an interdisciplinary approach and skills such as critical thinking were to be strived after.²⁸ Aiming to influence teaching in school as a whole – very much including the subject of history – UNESCO adopted in 1974 recommendations in favour of international understanding for peace, human rights, fundamental freedoms and against racism and neo-colonialism. It was stated that “education should include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries.”²⁹ UNESCO’s recommendations were revised in 1995, with a stronger emphasis on democracy and diversity, but still claiming a will to shape the present and the future.³⁰ In 1971 experts of the Council of Europe “recommended that, in the preparation of history syllabuses for the upper secondary schools, the planners starting point should be contemporary problems.”³¹ Later the Council of Europe described history as a vital contemporary competence in a democratic, multi-cultural society.³² The Council also underlined that “oral history, through which spoken testimony on recent historical events can make history come alive for young people, and which can offer the viewpoints and perspectives of those who have been omitted from the ‘historical record’.”³³ The subject of history became more comprehensive in the international guidelines and oriented to the present, with in many cases unclear boundaries towards other school subjects.

Ancient history had, on the other hand, a subordinate or even obscure position in UNESCO’s international guidelines, which instead asserted the value of contemporary world history.³⁴ During the 1950s and 1960s, the Council of Europe brought out the

²⁷ *Recommendations to Teachers*, 72.

²⁸ *A Handbook*, 78-79; *Final Report: Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, with a view to Developing a Climate of Opinion favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament*, ED/MD/74 (Paris: UNESCO, 1983); *Recommendation No. R (83) of the Committee of Ministers to Member States Concerning the Promotion of an Awareness of Europe in Secondary Schools* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1983).

²⁹ *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (Paris: UNESCO, 1975), 3.

³⁰ *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy: Declaration of the 44th session of the International Conference on Education endorsed by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), 2.

³¹ *Meeting of Experts on History, Strasbourg, 7–10 December, 1971*, DECS/EGT (71) 150 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe).

³² *Nineteenth Session of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Education 2000: Trends, Issues and Priorities for pan-European Co-operation*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997); *Recommendation Rec (2001) 15 on History Teaching in Twenty-first Century Europe*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2001).

³³ *Recommendation Rec (2001) 15*.

³⁴ UNESCO’s promotion of world history in competition with the Council of Europe’s emphasis on European history is presented in Thomas Nygren, “International Reformation of Swedish History Education

value of antiquity in terms of a commonly-shared European cultural heritage, in its efforts to establish the Idea of Europe.³⁵ In later guidelines, which increasingly asserted the value of contemporary history, antiquity was not specifically mentioned, but European awareness and identity based on historical roots were underlined in more general terms.³⁶ Ancient history was clearly subordinate to contemporary history in the ideological curricula.

Swedish Guidelines and Teachers' Perceptions of Contemporary History

After World War II the international guidelines were considered in both the formal curricula and in the teacher debate.³⁷ Swedish authorities emphasized the education of democratic citizens through more contemporary history and also proposed a separate, self-contained civic subject in the upper secondary schools.³⁸ Proposals and attempts at concentrating on contemporary history and separating the subjects of history and civics were met with skepticism on the part of many teachers.³⁹ Too much modern history would, according to the teachers, cause students to lose the explanations and connections that more extensive history could provide. Civics became an independent subject as of the new syllabus of 1961, despite the widespread criticism from history teachers, who contended that present-day society and the education of its citizenry would be best dealt with within the framework of the subject of history.⁴⁰ In the syllabus, the teachers were directed to "devote particular attention to 20th century history".⁴¹ The inspectors' reports during the 1970s underlined the importance of contemporary history, claiming that "students' most evident area of interest lies in more recent periods of history."⁴² Contemporary history was also emphasized later in the two following syllabuses up until 2002. How 20th century history was dealt with by teachers was examined in inspections as well as in investigations commissioned by the National Agency for Education.⁴³

1927-1961: The Complexity of Implementing International Understanding", *Journal of World History*, (2011): forthcoming.

³⁵ *Recommendations to Teachers*, 72; "Council of Europe, Course on History teaching," 126.

³⁶ *Recommendation No. R (83) 4 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States Concerning the Promotion of an Awareness of Europe in Secondary Schools* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1983); *Resolution (85) 6 on European Cultural Identity*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1985); *Recommendation 1283 (1996) on History and the Learning of History in Europe*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1996); *Recommendation Rec (2001) 15*.

³⁷ Nygren, *International Reformation*.

³⁸ Tomas Englund, *Curriculum as a Political Problem: Changing Educational Conceptions with Special Reference to Citizenship Education*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1986).

³⁹ TfSL, 1948, 235; 1950, 12-13; TfSL, 1950, 432, 451; TfSL, 1951, 63-64, 476; HFLÅ 1951, 5; TfSL 1952, 251; TfSL 1953, 635-636, 640, 778-779; TfSL 1954, 116, 514; TfSL 1955, 286, 741-742, 786, 827-828; TfSL 1956, 180.

⁴⁰ Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen [National Syllabus] 1961:29.

⁴¹ Aktuellt från skolöverstyrelsen [National Syllabus] 1961:29, 547.

⁴² Rapport över verksamheten som gymnasieinspektör 1974-1975 [Inspector Report], National Archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, F IIIa, 7.

⁴³ Skolverket, *Undervisningen i 1900-talets historia: Redovisning av ett regeringsuppdrag* [Teaching 20th century History: Report of a government commission], 2000 08.23.

The experienced teachers in my study related how, ever since the 1960s, they had devoted increasing attention to modern history. Especially the teachers having a social scientific teaching strategy in history stressed the value of analyzing and illuminating the present from an historical perspective.⁴⁴ One of the teachers claimed that history can make one “better understand what will happen – it doesn’t need to be exact what one thinks will happen, but it often is. One sees patterns in the present in some way.” Several of these experienced teachers maintained that being able to see parallels in the past and the present between different parts of the world was extremely important in their teaching.

Ancient history was included in the syllabuses for history during the period investigated⁴⁵ except for between 1971 and 1981 when, on the upper secondary level, teachers were to focus on the period from 1000 and onwards. Ancient history returned to the syllabus in 1981 and in 1994 became a central period in the syllabus. The interviewed teachers described how antiquity had been part of their teaching, but their focus was increasingly on contemporary history. The records from their schools show that most of their students wrote individual projects in history on contemporary subjects.

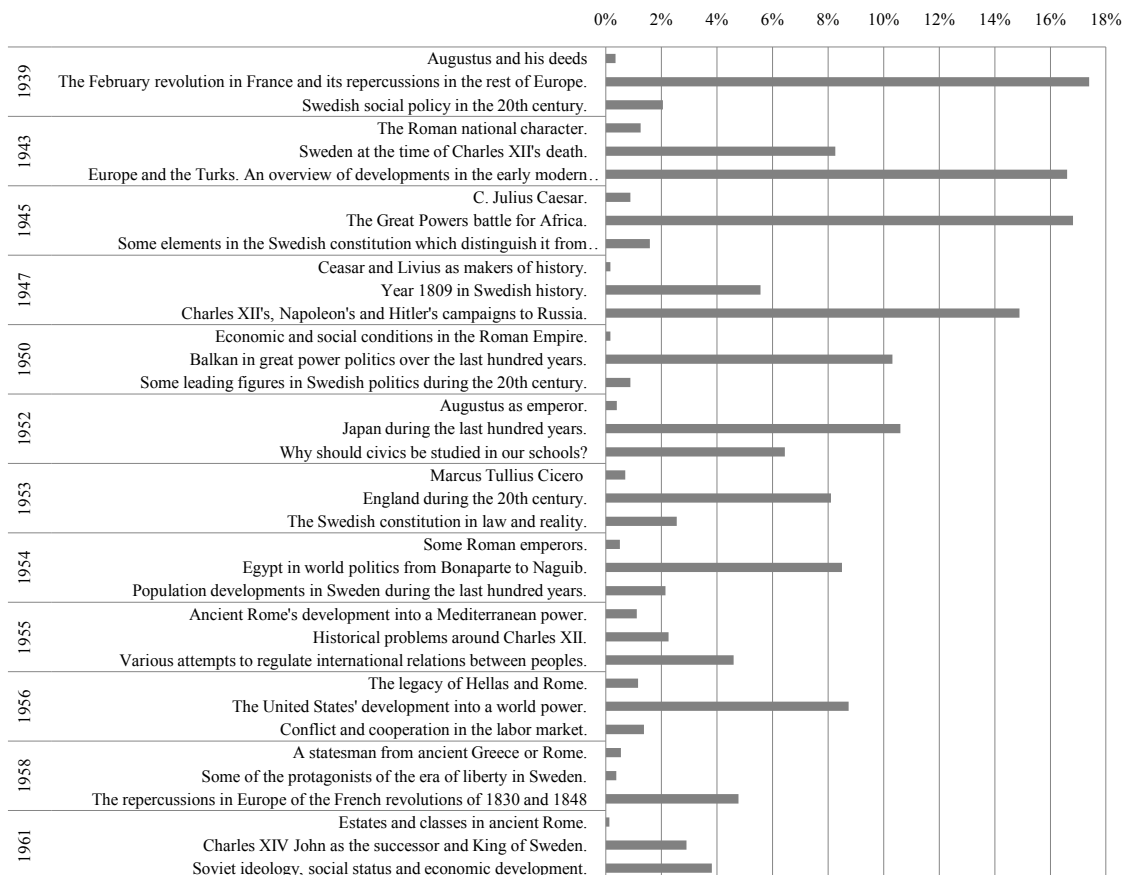
Students’ History Becoming More Contemporary

In the experiential curriculum, ancient history was not prominent when students in their final exams were to choose essay subjects. History was a relatively popular subject for these essays, but only a few wrote on ancient history (see Figure 1).

⁴⁴ Thomas Nygren, ” Veteran Teachers’ Strategies in History Teaching: History didactic narratives from practice in Sweden” in *The Processes of History Education: Report from the Conference on History Teaching in Compulsory Schools in Malmö, March 5-7 2009*. Per Eliasson, Kenneth Nordgren & Carina Rönnqvist, eds. (2011) *forthcoming*

⁴⁵ Antiquity was also included in courses in classical languages and Swedish literature.

Figure 1: Number of students, in percent out of the total, writing their essays on various historical topics, based upon existing statistics, 1938-1961.⁴⁶



Sources: "De svenska uppsatserna vid allmänna läroverk samt enskilda och kommunala läroanstalter med studentexamen, fördelade efter ämnen och betyg," National Archives of Sweden, Upper Secondary School Department, B II, 1938 to 1963.

The topics may be interpreted as an extension of the formal curricula, where the state could formulate what subject matter was to be considered central. The National School Board (SÖ), which formulated the topics, included antiquity as an alternative during certain years (the years mentioned in Figure 1).⁴⁷ The nationally formulated questions

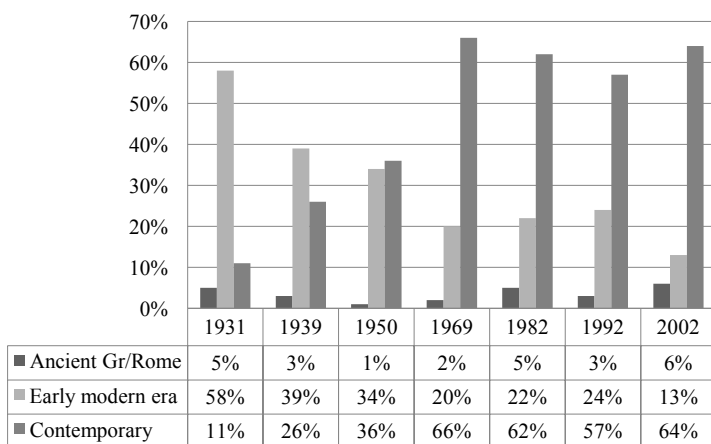
⁴⁶ Number students in total was: 1939 3,701; 1943 4,155; 1945 4,169; 1947 4,164; 1950 4,315; 1952 4,763; 1953 5,022; 1954 5,367; 1955 5,845; 1956 6,566; 1958 8,041 and 1961 11,082. Some of the statistics has previously been presented to show how world history was popular among students: Nygren, *International Reformation*.

⁴⁷ Since antiquity was not always a topic some students might have prepared themselves more for other topics. In certain years there were essay topics for students who wished to use Latin, so the legacy from

suggest a desire to stress both national and international history, often linked to contemporary history. Even if ancient history was included in the topics, few chose to write about it: between 0.1% and 1.3% of the students wrote about antiquity, when it was included in the subjects. As apparent in Figure 1, the most popular subjects for final exam essays had to do with international history from the 1800s onwards. Contemporary history, which concerned national history, was less appealing to the students, who rather chose contemporary world history.

A closer scrutiny of titles of students' individual projects in history, from 1927 until 2002, shows how students, supervised by teachers, turned towards contemporary history. In 1931, the majority of the students' individual projects dealt with the early modern era⁴⁸ and national history. Up to 1950, more individual projects concerned the early modern era than the history of the last 80 years (see Figure 2). From 1969 onwards contemporary history became totally dominating: a majority of the individual projects concerned the last 80 years when only 12–24% studied the early modern era and less than 7% studied the antiquity.

Figure 2: *Distribution of individual student projects, focusing on different time periods, in percent of total.*⁴⁹



Sources: *National Archives of Sweden, City and Municipal Archives, School Archives.*

The Swedish Great Power period and its kings, subjects of many students' essays even in 1950, became increasingly problematised and replaced by subjects covering more contemporary world history, often focused on problems and conflicts. Students' individual projects and their final exams during the 1950s attested to the rising prominence of international history in the experiential curricula. Contemporary world history then retained this dominance into the 21st century. In comparison with the boys more girls

antiquity was represented during those years. The Middle Ages however was not included as an alternative.

⁴⁸ The early modern era is here defined as from 1500 to 1789.

⁴⁹ The analysis is based upon the titles of 1680 individual projects in history between 1931 and 2002. Number of titles (N) analyzed 1931 258; 1939 193; 1950 145; 1969 278; See also footnote 17.

studied the early modern era, but both boys and girls focused primarily on contemporary history in their individual projects.⁵⁰

Closer examination of titles and student projects in contemporary history shows evidence of how contemporary conflicts affected students' experiences of history: in 1969 students wrote about the history of Vietnam and racial conflicts in the US; in 1992, they chose to write on the Balkans, and in 2002, on Afghanistan. Far away conflicts but also the immediate surroundings were studied and oral history was, at least from the 1980s, used to find out more about local historical everyday life.⁵¹ In their written work, students also revealed how they were inspired by feature films about historical subjects such as "Ådalen 31"⁵² and "Gladiator".⁵³ In an essay from 1970, one student argued the superiority of a film (Ådalen 31) over a book for giving "better insights into the conflicts between social classes, how they lived, how great the differences in their ways of life were."⁵⁴ The fact that in 2002 students wrote about Bruce Lee, Elvis Presley, Andy Warhol, Marilyn Monroe and Walt Disney indicates how contemporary popular culture can influence students' interest in contemporary history. More contemporary history also involved a less distinct boundary between history and other subjects. The Israel-Palestine conflict, the aborigines, voodoo and the Beatles are four examples of subjects that were categorized as history in certain schools but in others were seen as respectively civics, religion and music subjects. In over half of the students' work analyzed in the present study (79 out of 145), the students made clear reflections around the relationship between the present and the past, locally, nationally and internationally. Using secondary sources but also oral history and primary material students studied a wide variety of contemporary historical subjects.

Concluding Discussion

A more international and peaceful history education with a focus on contemporary history, as a way of building a better future, was emphasized in the international guidelines. The formal national curricula largely followed the same development with the present and the fostering of citizens being increasingly emphasized. The 1950s seems to have been a contemporary turn in Swedish history education. After the turn contemporary history acquired more and more importance when teachers and students chose their

⁵⁰ In 1969 23% of the girls and 10% of the boys wrote about the early modern era; in 1982 20% of the girls and 19% of the boys; in 1992 23% of the girls and 17% of the boys and in 2002 15% of the girls and 10% of the boys. In 1969 63% of the girls and 77% of the boys wrote about contemporary history; in 1982 57% of the girls and 68% of the boys; in 1992 49% of the girls and 57% of the boys and in 2002 63% of the girls and 71% of the boys.

⁵¹ Göran Blomqvist, *Hur var livet i Bomhus gamla folkskolor?* [What was Life Like in the Old Primary Schools in Bomhus?] (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1987); Kristina Jagell, *Mackmyra bruk – bruksbor berättar: En dokumentation av åtta människors tid vid Mackmyra Bruk* [Mackmyra Village – Stories from Villagers: A Documentation of Eight Persons' Years in the Village]. (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1993).

⁵² Ulla Larsson, *Ådalen 31* (Gävle: Vasaskolan, 1970). The movie, "Ådalen 31" from 1969 by Bo Widerberg about the confrontation between strikers and the Swedish military won in Cannes in 1969 and was nominated for an Oscar.

⁵³ Josefine Holmqvist, *Gladiatorerna: Romarikets stjärnor* [The Gladiators: The Stars of the Roman Empire], (Hässleholm: Linnéskolan, 2002). The movie "Gladiator" from 2000 was a box office success and won five Academy Awards.

⁵⁴ Ulla Larsson, *Ådalen 31*, 4.

areas of concentration in history. The division between history and civics in 1961, which was criticized by history teachers, did not entail history education to deal with older periods and civics to handle more recent history. Instead, according to the teachers in my study and to students' work, history teaching acquired an even more contemporary orientation after the division. The arguments of the teachers during the 1950s against the division, emphasizing the value of history per se as contemporary, timely, social science, may very well have contributed to the orientation towards more contemporary history that occurred during the 1950s and onwards.

Even if statistics cannot relate everything about the teaching that was carried out,⁵⁵ it is evident that students in their final exams often wrote on contemporary history, but that contemporary national history was marginalized. Students' orientation in the experiential curricula seems to have been affected by their own time. The present was used as an inspiration for their journeys into the past. More students wrote about the global world, which was becoming increasingly accessible during the period studied, not least through the development of technology and communications. World conflicts were made more tangible to the students and also popular culture was given a more prominent place in contemporary history in the experiential curricula. Whether the subject of history fostered critical thinking regarding the information conveyed by the media – as desired by the Council of Europe – remains to be investigated further. In accord with the guidelines that UNESCO formulated in 1949, both world politics and peaceful expressions of culture were subjects of students' work in contemporary history.⁵⁶ In the experiential curricula history as a more contemporary subject seems to have taken on a broader, possibly more interdisciplinary character – as was recommended in the international guidelines.

The position of antiquity may have been strong among the critics engaged in the debate and in the movies, but it has been marginal in students' work for a long time. Despite efforts from the Council of Europe to create a European awareness through references to a common ancient cultural heritage, students' focused primarily on contemporary world history. The occasionally heated Swedish debate in 2010, with accusations of a lack of knowledge from both sides,⁵⁷ concluded almost before it began when the Minister of Education, Jan Björklund, reacted by promising to include ancient and medieval history in the new syllabus.⁵⁸ The result was a compromise where ancient and me-

⁵⁵ Students' essays were written at the end of their last year at school and therefore with a chronologically organized course, students can have been more aware of recent and contemporary history when writing their individual projects. However, this is not necessarily the case during the period studied, as the syllabus emphasized chronology less and less at the same time as students' work became more and more oriented towards recent history (see Figure 2)

⁵⁶ For a more thorough analysis of students' orientation towards global history and minorities see: Thomas Nygren, "UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c 1960-2002" *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011): 37–60.

⁵⁷ Dick Harrison suspected that "these people themselves lack knowledge of older history", while Kenneth Nordgren claimed that "the critics argued on the basis of a dearth of knowledge of both old and new subject matter" in the syllabuses: Dick Harrison "Historia i skolan"; Lina Wennersten "Historieslag om antiken" [Battles in History Over Antiquity] *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 April 2010, www.svd.se (accessed 13 October 2010).

⁵⁸ "Regeringen stoppar Skolverkets förslag om slopad historia – replik från utbildningsminister Jan Björklund" [The Government Stops the Proposal by the National Agency for Education to Discontinue History – Reply from Educational Minister, Jan Björklund] *Svenska Dagbladet*, 17 February 2010, www.svd.se (accessed 13 October 2010)

dieval history was included at the same time as contemporary history continued to be emphasized. In light of the present study, it is, however, uncertain whether the position of ancient and medieval history in the syllabus will affect students' experiences of history. What students retain after finishing their studies of history is affected by more factors than the contents of the formal curricula. Most likely, future students will also be inclined towards contemporary history when they leave school and encounter life in society and higher education – today as much as 60 years ago.

UMEÅ STUDIES IN HISTORY AND EDUCATION

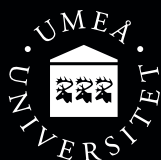
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5. Thomas Nygren, *History in the Service of Mankind: International Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927–2002* [Historia i mänsklighetens tjänst: Internationella riktlinjer och svensk gymnasieundervisning i historia, 1927–2002]. Diss. 2011.

In a century ravaged by wars international organizations issued guidelines for a more peaceful history teaching. The guidelines from the League of Nations and later UNESCO and the Council of Europe emphasized the importance of promoting international understanding.

This study shows how history education, according to the guidelines, should be international, promote a unity in diversity and safeguard the local heritage. In Sweden the formal curricula, teachers' perceptions and students' work in history developed much in line with the recommendations. The study also highlights how teachers and students were co-creators in the complex process of implementing international understanding in history education.

Students were quite international in their preferences already in the interwar period and after World War II a contemporary world history, as promoted by UNESCO, became the dominant line in students' work. From the 1960s critical perspectives on racism, colonialism and war also became evident in students' work in history. History was construed by students in a variety of ways with perspectives recognizing previously marginalized groups, local history and popular culture; within and beyond international and national guidelines.



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