



## TEXTBOOK RESEARCH: PAST ACHIEVEMENTS, CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, FUTURE CHALLENGES. A GEORG ECKERT INSTITUT RESEARCHER'S VIEW<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Recent decades have seen dynamic developments in the field of textbook and educational media production offering new perspectives and possibilities for textbook research. One source of inspiration for such new possibilities might be a systematic synthesis of the current state of international textbook research. The recently published *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, represents an attempt to meet this objective. Inspired, then, by the *Handbook's* approach, this paper outlines new topics explored and approaches taken by textbook research over recent decades. Alongside a discussion of the growing significance of textbook collections as sources for researchers and teachers alike, it will advance the argument that our societies would do well to afford greater recognition and value to textbook research. In conclusion, this paper advocates transnational cooperation between textbook researchers and educators and calls for increased awareness of issues surrounding school textbook production in the practical policy arena.

**Keywords:** school textbook research; History (and Social Sciences) education; textbook collections; textbook revision; European education.

#### INVESTIGACIONES EN LIBROS DETEXTO: LOGROS PASADOS, DESARROLLO ACTUAL Y DESAFÍOS FUTUROS. LA MIRADA DE UN'INVESTIGADOR DEL GEORG ECKERT INSTITUT

Resumen: En décadas recientes hemos visto desarrollos dinámicos en el campo de la producción de libros de texto y de medios audiovisuales que ofrecen diferentes posibilidades a los investigadores. Una fuente de inspiración para estas nuevas posibilidades puede ser una síntesis sistemática del estado actual de las investigaciones en este campo en el ámbito internacional. El recientemente publicado Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies, editado por Eckhardt Fuchs y Annekatrin Bock, representa un intento por conseguir este objetivo. Inspirado por la aproximación de este Manual, este artículo delinea nuevos temas explorados y enfoques que toman los investi-gadores de libros de texto en décadas recientes. Junto a la discusión sobre el aumento de significación de las colecciones de libros de texto como fuentes para los investigadores y profesores, este artículo avanza en el argumento de que nuestras sociedades harían bien en otorgar mayor reconocimiento y valor a la investigación de libros de texto. En conclusión, el documento aboga por la cooperación transnacional entre los investigadores de libros de texto y los educadores y llama a una mayor conciencia de los problemas que rodean la producción de libros de texto escolares en el ámbito de la política práctica.

**Palabras clave:** investigación en libros de texto; Educación en Historia y Ciencias Sociales; colecciones de libros de texto; revisión de libros de texto; educación europea.

### RECERCA EN LLIBRES DE TEXT: ASSOLIMENTS PASSATS, DESENVOLUPAMENT ACTUAL I REPTES FUTURS. LA MIRADA D'UN INVESTIGADOR DEL GEORG ECKERT INSTITUT

Resum: En dècades recents hem vist desenvolupaments dinàmics en el camp de la producció de llibres de text i mitjans audiovisuals que ofereixen diferents possibilitats als investigadors. Una font d'inspiració per a aquestes noves possibilitats pot ser una síntesi sistemàtica de l'estat actual de les investigacions en aquest camp en l'àmbit internacional. El recentment publicat Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies, editat per Êckhardt Fuchs i Annekatrin Bock, representa un intent per aconseguir aquest objectiu. Inspirat per l'aproximacio d'aquest Manual, aquest article perfila nous temes explorats i enfocaments presos per investigadors de llibres de text en dècades recents. Juntament amb la discussió sobre l'augment de significació de les col·leccions de llibres de text com fonts per als investigadors i professors, aquest article avança en l'argument de què les nostres societats farien bé en atorgar un major reconeixement i valor a la investigació de llibres de text. En conclusió, el document advoca per la cooperació transnacional entre els investigadors de llibres de text i els educadors i crida a una major consciència dels problemes que envolten la producció de llibres de text escolars en l'àmbit de la política pràctica.

**Paraules clau:** investigació en llibres de text; Educació en Història i Ciències Socials; col·leccions de llibres de text; revisió de llibres de text; educació europea.

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### Introductory thoughts

Recent decades have seen dynamic developments unfold in the field of research into textbooks and educational media. The potential for controversy inherent to societal changes in the arena of history and education policy, along with the debate around new media in education circles, has drawn an increasing number of researchers from around the world to explore textbooks and educational media in their work. 'Textbook production in a hybrid age' (2016) - as the title of a conference held in 2015 at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, put it - has asserted, or indeed reasserted, itself as a fascinating area of research with great potential and much work yet to be done. The last two or three decades have additionally seen the field establishing itself institutionally to a new extent. The nowdefunct Textbook Colloquium, founded in 1988 by British academics including Ian Michael and Chris Stray, and its periodical Paradigm. Journal of the Textbook Colloquium provided researchers in this area with impetus for more precisely locating and interpreting "Textbooks, Schools and Society" (Michael, 1989:1). Since then, the field has seen a minor boom in emerging international networks, such as the International Association of Research in Textbooks and Educational Media and the International Society for Historical and Systematic Research on Textbooks and Educational Media, which bring a range of perspectives to bear on research into textbooks and educational media. A number of initiatives and international cooperation projects have come into being with specific relation to history education; among them are EUROCLIO, the European Association of History Educators, and the History Educators International Research Network (HEIRNET). History education specialists have set up new international associations such as the International Society of History Didactics and joined with specialists in geography and political studies education to form the International Research Association in History and Social Sciences Education and consider new ways of teaching integrated social studies. Both organisations issue periodicals<sup>1</sup>.

This diverse landscape of initiatives, projects and associations is living proof of the high currency of textbook research in present-day academia. Beyond this, however, it points to the dangers of fragmentation in the field, of researchers and international teacher collaborations each working as islands for themselves. If they are to avoid this pitfall, initiatives and institutions need to refrain from regarding one another as competitors, instead coming together to present and discuss their research and consider possibilities for furthering it in joint efforts<sup>2</sup>.

One source of inspiration for such possibilities might be a systematic synthesis of the current state of international textbook research. The *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, produced by the Georg Eckert Institute, edited by its academics Eckhardt Fuchs, the director of the Institute, and Annekatrin Bock, and published by Palgrave in 2018, represents an attempt to meet this ambitious objective. The *Handbook*'s contributors, academics from a diverse range of disciplines working in Africa, Europe and North and South America, present to its reader a systematic survey of up-to-date work on the theories and methodologies of textbook research. Their essays describe

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yearbook of the International Society of History Didactics (renamed International Journal of Research in 2015); International Journal for History and Social Sciences Education.

<sup>2</sup> Elisabeta Patrizi sought to elaborate a similar vision in the context of the history of education and children's literature at the University of Macerata in 2016. Cf. Elisabeta Patrizi (2016), *Building a better society through textbook research. The mission of the Georg Eckert Institute from the beginning up to the present day.* 

the approaches which locate textbooks in their various political and economic contexts, identify their place in school-based education systems, analyse significant areas of focus in the teaching of social studies, trace the interactions and effects that unfold between the textbook and its reader, and propose considerations for future work in the field<sup>3</sup>.

Inspired, then, by the *Handbook*'s approach, its thematic and methodological considerations, yet without pretensions to the production of a comparable map of the field, this paper will invite readers of the current publication to engage with textbooks as focal points of research and thus to gain awareness of the significance of educational media to the classroom and the society beyond it. In so doing – this, at least, is my hope - those readers may feel inspired to develop visions for new research questions and forms of collaboration.

This paper will outline selected approaches taken by textbook research to its subject over recent decades. Alongside a discussion of the growing significance of textbook collections as sources for researchers and teachers alike, it will advance the argument that our societies would do well to afford greater recognition and value to textbook research. In conclusion, I will advocate transnational cooperation among textbook researchers and educators and call for increased awareness of issues surrounding school textbook production in the practical policy arena.

### 1. A view from research

Beginning with Egil Borre Johnsen's pioneering study issued in 1993, researchers have regularly provided overviews of and updates on textbook research from the perspective of educational and cultural studies and the science of teaching various school subjects<sup>4</sup>. The title of a 2009 study by the Belgian textbook researchers Angelo van Gorp and Marc Depaepe, 'In search of the real nature of schoolbooks', is a clear indicator of the sense of discovery which can surround the exploration of textbooks, particularly when linked to research on learning life cycles or around the self-conceptions and philosophies of cultural communities outside Europe. The endeavour pursued by van Gorp and Depaepe (2009) involved examining the nature of the cultural conditions within which a book containing subject knowledge transitions into a 'textbook', and the educational means and methods on whose basis this occurs. In undertaking these investigations, the researchers simultaneously shone a light on the character of textbooks as media, which has since asserted its place as a central focus of textbook research<sup>5</sup>. Surveying the work done in the field in recent years, we additionally note that the greatest successes appear to have stemmed from approaches which have taken seriously the ambitious objective, as proposed and developed by Peter Weinbrenner in the 1990s, of doing justice to textbook research as a 'process-oriented, product-oriented and reception-oriented research<sup>6</sup>. This work has brought together various divergent perspectives from education science,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Simone Lässig (2009), Textbooks and beyond: Educational media in context(s).

<sup>4</sup> Cf, Egil Borre Johnsen (1993), *Textbooks in the kaleidoscope. A critical survey of literature and research on educational texts;* Ri-chard Olechowski (1995) (Ed.), *Schulbuchforschung;* Werner Wiater (2003) (Ed.), *Schulbuchforschung in Europa. Bestandsaufnahme und Zukunftsperspektive;* Maria Repousi, Nicole Tutiaux-Guilon (2010), *New trends in History textbook research: Issues and methodologies toward school historiography;* Eckhardt Fuchs (2011), *Current trends in history and social studies textbook research;* Eckhardt Fuchs, Inga Niehaus, Almut Stoletzki (Eds.) (2014), *Das Schulbuch in der Forschung.* 

<sup>5</sup> Angelo van Gorp, Marc Depaepe (Eds.) (2009) Auf der Suche nach der wahren Art von Textbüchern, Bad Heilbrunn 2009.
6 Cf. Peter Weinbrenner (1992), Methodologies of textbook analysis used to date, pp. 21-34.

school subject-related disciplines, textbook publishers and producers of educational media, and classroom practice<sup>7</sup>.

Since the turn of the millennium, the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) has been developing an approach to the field drawing principally on cultural studies and combining concepts and methodologies from the humanities and the social sciences. Textbook research informed by cultural studies examines ascriptions and patterns of interpretation across space and time and explores the ways in which these patterns discursively emerge. Its ultimate interest is in identifying the manifestations and transmissions of these patterns and ascriptions in the classroom. In an essay appearing in 2009 in the periodical *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, Simone Lässig proposed a set of key concepts and objectives for a textbook research taking its cue from cultural studies and advocated a systematic approach to the analysis of textbooks which would encompass their social, cultural, political, economic and educational contexts. In the years that followed, Lässig's proposals have undergone systematic development, evolving into a coherent approach to research revolving around schools and textbooks (Christophe, 2014; Eckhardt Fuchs, 2014) and culminating in 2018 in the publication of an internationally comparative synthesis in the aforementioned *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (Eckhardt Fuchs & Bock, 2018).

### 2. Textbook revision explored within textbook research

One of the central sources of textbook research, which, along with research into learning, has decisively influenced its content and character from the field's beginnings, is textbook revision. The work of Eckhardt Fuchs (Eckhardt Fuchs & Tatsuya, 2010) has significantly and consistently cast light on the mutual influences and interdependencies between textbook revision and textbook research. A joint Swedish-German project has been among the recent initiatives exploring the history of international textbook revision in twentieth-century Europe<sup>8</sup>. Textbook revision in the traditional sense has been taking place in the context of international peace movements since the end of the nineteenth century. With the end of the First World War, it attained a central place in the repertoire of instruments for international understanding and reconciliation between former enemy states, a position it has retained and reiterated in various forms, formats and institutions over the decades; the League of Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe have been key movers in this regard.

The process of textbook revision involves national governments or intergovernmental organisations establishing a framework for the committed work of subject specialists, educationalists and teachers. In the period after the global caesura of 1989, the incipient textbook revision initiatives emerging from international organisations and NGOs found themselves confronted much more sharply than their predecessors had been with the challenge of societies enduring ongoing conflict or in post-conflict situations. Researchers including Falk Pingel, Denise Bentrovato and Georg Stöber have emphasised the new dimension of time and

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eckhardt Fuchs, Joachim Kahlert, Uwe Sandfuchs (Eds.) (2010), *Schulbuch konkret;* Steffen Sammler, Felicitas Macgilchrist, Marcus Otto, Lars Müller (2016), *Textbook production in a hybrid age*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Romain Faure (2015), Netzwerke der Kulturdiplomatie. Die internationale Schulbuchrevision in Europa, 1945 – 1989.

its perceived passing in relation to the revision and presentation of controversial events of the recent past<sup>9</sup>; Pingel has encapsulated the essential issue at stake here in the question 'Should time, rather than history teaching, heal the wounds?'<sup>10</sup>

This and other work has simultaneously highlighted the importance of a third party, a trustworthy mediator and a safe place for processes of mediation within textbook revision taking place between parties in active or recently ceased conflict. The GEI's Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace has acted as a forum among others for the development of the requisite competencies, which have benefitted from links to methods created since the inter-war period in the context of bi- and multilateral 'textbook conversations' between teachers' unions and professional associations representing history and geography teachers. Prominent among these methods stands the principle of respecting the language and the cultural traditions of the other party and learning to encounter one another and enter into dialogue on an equal footing. The importance of proceeding upon such foundations has only increased in our era of multiple and accumulating conflicts, a circumstance which places the community of textbook researchers, pro-ducers and users (in this instance teachers) before new challenges. Textbook revision finds itself called to the Herculean task of embarking upon joint international initiatives which might enable existing institutions to evolve. The 'textbook conversations' created an institutional network for this purpose and developed a methodological toolkit which Falk Pingel (2010) presented to the field in 2009 in the UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision and which has assisted numerous textbook research projects since then.

# 3. Textbook research: Topics and approaches for the social studies classroom

From the 1960s onward, and due not least to the fruitful discussions that have taken place within the context of the textbook-related activities conducted by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, issues pertaining to textbooks in the teaching of social studies and its constituent subjects have seen repeated reassessments and redefinitions. The central driver of this development was the advent of a new understanding of school-based learning about history and politics, which called for pupils to be equipped with critical faculties and the capacity for action alongside the theoretical knowledge on which teaching had focused hitherto. One upshot was closer consideration of topics extending beyond the bounds of traditional chronological eras and proposed models for teaching integrated subjects. Textbooks began to reference peace education, democracy, human rights education, gender issues and environmental matters.

Recent years have additionally seen successful attempts to place traditional social-studies topics, such as the nation, within new contexts and tackle them with novel methods (Grever & van der Vlies, 2017). These innovations have entailed interrogation of the concepts of 'nation' and the 'nation state' as to their beneficiaries and their current and future validity and legitimacy,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Georg Stöber (2013), From textbook comparison to common textbooks? Changing patterns in international textbook revision. 10 Cf. Falk Pingel (2009), Can truth be negotiated? History textbook revision as a means to reconciliation; Georg Stöber (2013), From textbook comparison to common textbooks; Denise Bentrovato (2015), Narrating and teaching the nation. The politics of education in pre-and post-genocide Rwanda.

alongside the measuring of these time-honoured notions against societal processes unfolding within and beyond nation states and against ideas of community which transcend state or ethnic frontiers.<sup>11</sup>

Research on ideas of the 'nation' and on nationalisms have emphasised the importance of attaining a historical long view and brought forth arguments for increased emphasis on a historical perspective in the social studies classroom. Work in this area provides an exemplary demonstration of the dangers inherent in any assumption that the propositions, hypotheses and findings of research topics derived from immediate present-day experience will retain validity into the future. Taking the historical view shines a light on the historicity of key categories and terms and, by illuminating potential alternative paths, on the open-ended nature of societal evolution.

The emphatic calls we have heard in recent years for all members of a society to have access to learning about history and politics have seen the issue of the inclusive classroom acquire particular currency within textbook research. The basis of this notion is the principle that it befits a pluralised society for pupils to learn together and have the opportunity to contribute their own particular talents and skills regardless of their linguistic or cultural experience. History teaching specialists such as Bärbel Völkel and Martin Lücke have advocated using the degree of inclusivity (or inclusion) achieved as a barometer of the extent and limits of our concepts of humanity, from which it follows that an encompassing definition of inclusivity, and a history classroom where 'no child is left behind', is the gold standard.

### 4. Textbook research and its methodologies

The 1990s marked the beginning of a series of publications on methods in textbook research which, while emphasising the productivity of interdisciplinary approaches and of synthesising content analysis with a context-focused exploration, have not neglected to point to the difficulties of reconciling the textbook in its complex being as an educational medium with the view of it from without.<sup>12</sup> The examination of textbooks 'from within' has highlighted the importance of readability for pupils, per-taining to both text – specifically including any tasks or assignments set - and images. This work, in applying linguistic field analysis and discourse analysis to the text in schoolbooks<sup>13</sup>, has underlined the necessity of maintaining a clear and logical line of argument and avoiding internal contradictions.<sup>14</sup> Recent explorations of the nature of textbooks as media have illuminated processes of pupil-text (or teacher-text) interaction and the impact of textbooks.<sup>15</sup> Work on textbooks in the context of research into teaching and learning has been the progenitor of new approaches to the effective reading of textbooks and of their use as explored in classroom-based studies.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Peter Carrier (Ed.) (2013), School and nation. Identity politics and educational media in an age of diversity; Jesús Rodriguez, Rodriguez, Mike Horsley, Susanne V. Knudsen (Eds.) (2009), Local, national and transnational identities in textbooks and educational media.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Kira Mahamud (2014), Contexts, texts, and representativeness. A methodological approach to school textbook research.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Jana Kiesendahl, Christine Ott (Eds.) (2015), *Linguistik und Schulbuchforschung. Gegenstände – Methoden – Perspektiven*; Cf. Felicitas Macgilchrist (2018), *Textbooks*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Jan Mikk (2000), Textbook: Research and writing.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Johanna Ahlrichs, Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, Felicitas Macgilchrist, Patrick Mielke, Roman Richtera (2015), *Memory practices in the classroom: On reproducing, destabilizing and interrupting majority memories.* 

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Yvonne Behnke (2016), How textbook design may influence learning with geography textbooks.

## 5. Ad fontes: Textbook research and its sources

A piece of research into textbooks can only be as good as the sources available to the researcher. The provision of foundations for good research is the achievement of numerous librarians who have given the impetus for textbook collections or whose hands-on work has brought them into being. In this context, Gisela Teistler (2008), who for many years curated the GEI's textbook collection, has emphasised the fact that 'a textbook collection can only supply a solid basis for research if the nature and quantity of the sources it includes form a sufficient or indeed exhaustive foundation which is thus able to permit the generation of representative findings' (p. 172). To do justice to this criterion, a librarian will need to acquire, wherever possible, all editions and print runs of a textbook and make them available to researchers, thus uncovering patterns of continuity and fundamental change in the course of a textbook's life.

The current scattered state of textbook corpora in public and private collections and in libraries across the globe complicates this endeavour and calls for concerted efforts to trace textbooks in these diverse locations and ensure researchers can access them. This is a challenge, now and in the future, which one single library cannot master alone, particularly in light of the necessity of collecting informal textbooks produced in the past by movements resisting authoritarian regimes, partisans or communities in exile. Further, recent times have seen exponential rises in the amounts of teaching and learning materials produced by non-state societal actors such as business associations, trade unions, environmental and social movements, all of which likewise require preservation for research.<sup>17</sup>

And then there is the increasing prevalence of textbooks in digital format, which poses other challenges completely to libraries maintaining collections.<sup>18</sup> The inevitable consequence of this development is the imperative for institutions holding corpora of textbooks to work more closely together in order to forge electronic links among their collections and secure their readability and therefore accessibility to research. Textbook research institutions in France (Emmanuelle)<sup>19</sup>, Spain (MANES)<sup>20</sup> and Germany<sup>21</sup> have variously anticipated and responded to this need over the decades by putting their holdings through large-scale electronic classification and digitalisation processes. Progressing beyond this stage, the GEI has launched a cooperative attempt to link up the databases and digital holdings of research institutes in Italy, France, Spain and Mexico in order to ensure their availability to textbook research (Scheel, Schmitz, & De Luca, 2016).

### 6. Respect and recognition for textbook research

Successful work on the theory and practice of textbooks needs, *inter alia*, an appropriate degree of recognition within the academic community and society at large for the endeavour behind that

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Le Monde diplomatique (2014), Les mondes insurgées. Altermanuel d'histoire contemporaine.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Anke Hertling (2016), Digital textbooks as a challenge to the library collection.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Alain Choppin (1991), Historische Schulbuchforschung in Frankreich: le programme informatique Emmanuelle.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Gabriela Ossenbach (2013), Consideraciones críticas sobre la investigación en el campo de la manualística escolar a 20 años de la fundación del Centro de Investigación MANES.

<sup>21</sup> Christian Scheel, Claudia Schmitz, Ernesto W. De Luca (2016), Vereinheitlichung internationaler Bibliothekskataloge.

work. Textbook authors, researchers and publishers have embarked upon a number of national and international initiatives aiming at increasing awareness of and respect for their vocation. Among them are scholarships and visiting professorships, two examples of which are the GEI's Otto Bennemann Grant and Georg Arnhold program on Education for Sustainable Peace. Awards represent a further important component of these efforts, recognising as they do the work of researchers, authors and publishers around textbooks. The GEI's Research Award, sponsored by the textbook publisher Westermann, and the Arsen Djurovic Prize awarded by the International Society for Historical and Systematic Textbook and Educational Media Research are two examples. Achieving greater awareness of textbooks as media and of their significance is among the aims of the GEI's textbook awards and BELMA (Best European Learning Materials Awards), both of which are presented at major book or teaching material fairs. Such awards draw a substantial element of their importance from the fact that, in lauding outstanding work by the teams of editors, authors, illustrators and designers who produce textbooks, they honour a central target group of textbook research findings.

### **Conclusion: For committed and cooperative textbook research**

It is my hope that this chapter will have cast a spotlight on the dynamic developments the field of international textbook research has seen in recent decades and on the challenges it now faces, one of which undoubtedly lies in bringing together a multiplicity of disciplinary and educational approaches in the pursuance of joint research projects. Meeting this challenge will mean leaving behind old and deep-rooted traditions consisting in competition and the radical enforcement of boundaries between academic disciplines and school subjects and between various national cultures of school-based education. New digital textbook formats, such as the mBook<sup>22</sup> for history education titled *Geschichte für die Zukunft (History for the future*), might promise aid in this endeavour due to their eminent suitability for both commercial and OER-based participatory textbook production processes with the potential to bridge the gap between researchers on the one side and the teachers at the 'chalkface', along with their pupils, on the other.<sup>23</sup>

Surveying the current threats to democratic societies posed by populist movements, the resurgence of methods of authoritarian rule, and the proliferation of conflicts and of hazards to our natural environment, strengthening international cooperation among teachers seems more urgently necessary than ever. The promotion of such cooperation calls for a considered approach: Great complexity resides in the pursuit of this path in settings where political frameworks, and the convictions held deeply by significant parts of national communities, regard the idea of openness towards other nations, or indeed international collaboration, with scepticism at best and hostility at worst. We cannot, however, shirk the task; the current climate urges, if not demands our support for participatory textbook production at international level. If we can rise to this challenge, the producers and users of textbooks will attain the chance to become part of that new transnational

<sup>22</sup> Institut für digitales Lernen, mBook - Geschichte für die Zukunft, Eichstätt 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Florian Sochatzy, Marcus Ventzke, Waltraud Schreiber (2016), New technology and the potentials and limitations for constructivist instructional design. A multimedia history textbook.

movement for a democratic society for which the historian Etienne François, drawing on his experience of Franco-German cooperation in this field, has emphatically and impressively called. His vision for Europe is of a history education progressing towards transnationality 'on the basis of debate, discussion and confrontation, founded on the recognition of the diversity that is constitutive of Europe and on a shared search for innovative solutions'.<sup>24</sup>

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82

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Etienne Francois (2018), D'un enseignement binational de l'histoire à un enseignement européen et transnational.

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