Falk Pingel
UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision
2nd revised and updated edition
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Foreword

Since its first appearance at the end of the 1990s, the Guidebook has proven to be a useful instrument for educational experts, be it researchers, textbook authors, teachers or curriculum developers, who are involved in analysing, comparing and developing educational media in a national or international context.¹

It served as a useful guide for peace-oriented approaches to textbook studies, seminars and projects aiming at the modernisation of content and methodology in the field of social studies, and, in particular, at overcoming biased presentations of different cultures, religions or issues of national pride. The Guidebook appeared timely to support the systematic textbook and curriculum revision processes that took place in Eastern Europe in the wake of the new millennium; it proved to be particularly helpful in countries of transition and in regions where no intense textbook research has been done in the past.² The Guidebook has been used as an effective tool for conducting a rational debate on controversial textbook issues in many regions such as East Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

However, the role of the textbook in classroom is changing. Taking into account the rapid growth of the market for electronic educational media, the diversification and regionalisation of textbook production in many areas of the globe, and the continuing trend to introducing educational standards and quality criteria educational media have to meet the methodological framework the Guidebook offers needed to be updated.

Furthermore, the UNESCO’s new emphasis on quality education effects also education in conflict- and post-conflict conditions. With the formulation of a comprehensive strategy to guide UNESCO’s work in textbook development and revision in 2005, it has become UNESCO’s role “to assist member states in developing policies, norms, and standards for the provision of textbooks and other learning materials which facilitate quality education”. In this context, quality education for all is being regarded as a means to contribute to stabilising conflict-shattered societies.

After the dissolution of the bi-polar world, the patterns of conflict shifted from inter-state to intra-state issues. The role of textbook revision has to be placed into the wider framework of transitional justice and reconciliation measures such as trials, truth commissions, and remembrance ceremonies. The pros and cons of different formats of textbook

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² The extensive use of the Guidebook in several projects made translation into the local languages necessary as often teachers or trainers could not sufficiently communicate in English or French; see Croatian edition: Vodič za istraživanje i reviziju udžbenika, Zagreb: Profil, 2000 – http://www.srednja-europa.hr/ebooks/UNESCO_vodic.pdf; Albanian ed: Udhezime te Unesco-s per analizen dhe permiresimin e teksteve, Tirana: UNESCO, 2001; Turkish ed.: Ders kitapları araştırma ve dizeltme rehberi UNESCO, Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003; Serbian ed.: Приручник кнеза за проучавање и ревизију уџбеника, Нови Сад: Платонеум, 2005.
projects as well as the production of joint bi- or multilateral history textbooks deserve special attention in this regard. Therefore, in particular the chapters on methodology and pedagogy of bi- or multinational projects, on the construction of group identity in textbooks, and on developments and perspectives have been expanded.

As the Guidebook proved to be a functional, valuable and practicable point of reference and information tool for all the various qualifications which often come together in a textbook project, also the revised edition should primarily serve as an instrument that offers a first overview of the different aspects that have to be taken into account when planning textbook research projects as well as bi- or multilateral consultations. For readers, who need more detailed and specialised knowledge, the references for further reading have been updated and amended.

Braunschweig/Paris

October 2009
Introduction:
Textbooks – instruments of education towards international understanding

“Textbooks are one of the most important educational inputs: texts reflect basic ideas about a national culture, and … are often a flashpoint of cultural struggle and controversy.”

Let us imagine that someone collects all the textbooks in use for one particular generation of compulsory school age students. Almost all of the officially recognized knowledge a society wants to transmit to its children to prepare them for life, as full members of that society, would now be available. What would we find in the books? They would certainly contain an incredible amount of facts, data and other information but also fictional texts, fairy tales and stories. Above and beyond this, we would often find explicit references to a great number of rules, norms and patterns of behaviour that the adults believe in and wish to inculcate into the younger generation as well. Therefore, “in addition to transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people.”

They reflect the traditions a society has formed over decades or centuries; they contribute to developing the individual’s self-esteem but they also mark the borderlines of each society under consideration. This occurs particularly in history and geography books. Through the teaching of history and geography we create a mesh of reference points in time and space. Where we come from, where we live, are we allowed or are we entitled to live there? History and geography textbooks attempt to explain our roots, how and why we happen to be living in a certain place and how that place can be described and characterised – in other words, who we really are.

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3 Short title references refer to books mentioned in the Reading List (see Annex C).
Philip G. ALTBACH: Textbooks: The International Dimension. In: APPLE/CHRISTIAN-SMITH 1991, pp 242–258, quotation p. 257. I would like to thank my colleagues Roderich Henrý, Rainer Riemenschneider, Georg Stöber and Magda Telus for their support with expert knowledge and practical suggestions. Lars Müller and Brigitte Depner helped to prepare the revised edition. I am also grateful to Jean Bernard and Noro Andriamiseza Ingarao for her careful reading and useful comments. Michael Bacon checked the English language for the first edition; Liesel Tarquini and Wendy Kopisch translated the amendments for the second edition.

Perhaps the most important factor is to determine what goals the
textbooks are designed to achieve. Are they to be primarily sources of
information, builders of reading, writing and critical thinking skills,
purveyors of ethical models, or promoters of patriotism?\textsuperscript{5}

The field of social studies is a sensitive subject.\textsuperscript{6} It cannot be taught
without introducing value judgments. In fact, the learning objectives
for social studies aim to develop the ability to argue, evaluate and form
rational and reasonable opinions, as well as to understand and accept,
but also to subject norms to critical examination. Textbook authors have
not always been critical enough towards the society they live in. With
the emergence of nation states in the last century it became quite obvi-
ous that schoolbooks contain statements that glorify their own nation
and disparage others, that glorify the ruling groups within one nation or
society and disparage so-called minority groups. During this time con-
cerned educationalists and politicians had already noticed that textbooks,
especially history textbooks, didn’t and don’t only convey facts but also
spread ideologies, follow political trends and try to justify them by imbu-
ing them with historical legitimacy.

They subsequently began searching for ways to revise these one-sided
images in textbooks, thus establishing international textbook comparison
and revision as a scholarly activity. Since their first tentative approaches,
textbook researchers have created a solid basis from which to work; they
have developed sound methods of examination and have amassed a con-
siderable stock of experience in handling international textbook confer-
ences on controversial and sensitive issues.

International textbook analysis, with the aim of promoting interna-
tional understanding, deals mainly with history, geography and civics
schoolbooks, as these subjects in particular are relevant for education
towards democracy, human rights and international, as well as intercul-
tural, awareness. Over the last few decades, researchers have pointed out
that language textbooks and readers also contribute considerably to
what students know and how they think about others – not least because
poetry, for example, makes no claim to being “objective.”

This guidebook provides support and advice on how to conduct inter-
national textbook projects in two ways:
• in the practical analysis of textbooks, which requires certain metho-
dologial skills and
• in the process of mediation, which determines the extent to which
agreement on controversial issues can be reached and accepted by all
parties involved.

\textsuperscript{5} Dan B. FLEMING: High School Social Studies Textbooks: Good or Bad Compared to What? In:

\textsuperscript{6} The field of social studies incorporates not only history and geography but also civics and moral
education.
I. Textbook revision – its beginnings and achievements under the auspices of the League of Nations and UNESCO

The historical background: How did it start?

Textbook revision, as an international undertaking, dates back to the very foundations of the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations. The "Great War" – which was named the “First World War” only after the experience of even worse atrocities – had a shattering impact on nation states. Due to this, the League began to search for ways to combat mutual xenophobia and to help with avoiding stereotypes.

Immediately after the war, politicians as well as teachers criticized the fact that the textbooks used by many of the former opponents tended to foster, rather than combat, national prejudices and portrayed misleading stereotypes of adversaries.

- In the Nordic countries, a free association of concerned individuals and organisations (Föreningen Norden) appealed to educational publishing houses to screen their textbooks and remove biased presentations of neighbouring countries.7
- In 1925 the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the responsible body within the League of Nations, utilized the preliminary work of national teachers’ associations and certain private foundations, when it suggested that all national commissions initiate a reciprocal comparative analysis of textbooks in order to revise texts that were biased and flawed and which would thus help to avoid “essential misunderstandings of other countries” in the future.
- In 1932 the Committee passed a resolution to develop a model for international consultation on textbooks.8

All of this stimulated further initiatives during the interwar period, mainly between neighbouring countries. In addition, it convinced authors in many countries to take a more critical stand towards the way wars and conflicts have been presented in their textbooks. In line with international textbook revision, textbook critique also gained ground at the national level.9 Although international tensions increased considerably in the second half of the thirties, the year 1937 can be seen as a landmark in formulating principles for achieving deeper mutual understanding through the teaching of history. Twenty-six states signed a Declaration Regarding

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the Teaching of History (Revision of School Text-Books). Three principals were central to the declaration:

“1. It is desirable that the attention of the competent authorities in every country, and of authors of school text-books, should be drawn to the expediency:
   a) Of assigning as large a place as possible to the history of other nations;
   b) Of giving prominence, in the teaching of world history, to facts calculated to bring about a realisation of the interdependence of nations.
2. It is desirable that every Government should endeavour to ascertain by what means, more especially in connection with the choice of school-books, school-children may be put on their guard against all such allegations and interpretations as might arouse unjust prejudices against other nations.
3. It is desirable that in every country a committee composed of members of the teaching profession, including history teachers, should be set up by the National Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation, where such exists, in collaboration with other qualified bodies.[…]”

What are the problems to be confronted?

These principles are still valid today – but there are some inherent difficulties. At the time of the declaration, the governments that were most powerful refused to co-operate. They gave different reasons for this according to their respective politico-educational systems:

1. They had no wish to give representatives and experts from another state a say in their own educational matters. The time was not ripe to openly discuss a subject that was often seen as part of the national heritage, defining the nation’s historical tradition, its geographical boundaries and its political norms.
2. Alongside governmental institutions and commissions, teachers’ associations, like the International Federation of Teachers’ Associations, were also engaged in textbook studies. Often, however, governments with a highly centralized educational system were not willing to accept the recommendations of non-governmental organizations.
3. On the other hand, governments with a less rigid system did not want to interfere in the rights of teachers and textbook authors or could not do so as responsibility for the selection or revision of textbooks lay with regional authorities, the schools or with the teachers themselves. It can thus be seen that these principles were implemented in a relatively small number of countries and regions due not only to deteriorating in-
ternational conditions, but also to differences in the political systems of member countries. International textbook consultations were particularly successful in those cases where neighbouring states had already enjoyed peaceful relations over a considerable period of time, i.e. where an atmosphere of confidence already existed – as in the Nordic countries and in Latin America. Often, however, the very task of textbook comparison is to create, rather than simply consolidate, such a peaceful atmosphere.

It became clear that a preliminary conclusion had to be drawn in order to avoid further setbacks and disappointments:

→ Textbook revision must be seen in a wider politico-cultural context.

The Second World War put an end to all that had been achieved in the twenties and thirties. The destructive power of politics proved to be stronger than the negotiations over educational policies designed to ease tensions and to lay the foundation for peaceful co-existence in the minds of the younger generations and their educators. Although these various attempts must be regarded as having failed, they were not in vain.

A more determined approach was adopted with the advent of UNESCO. After the Second World War, the founding members of UNESCO shared the conviction that the new world organization should continue to pursue and augment the League of Nations’ activities in textbook revision. In 1946 the first UNESCO General Conference passed a resolution which established the Programme for the Improvement of Text-Books and Teaching Materials as Aids in Developing International Understanding. This programme was based on a careful examination of the experiences gained in this field during the decades between the two world wars. The principles were rapidly formulated and for the coming decades served as the guidelines for co-operation between Member States:

• A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding was published in 1949, and for the first time presented a set of criteria for the revision and writing of textbooks with the aim of enhancing international understanding.

However, not all the ideas conceived in the post-war years could be put into effect – or at least, their implementation required more time than originally envisioned. The title of the preparatory report produced for the first UNESCO General Conference in 1946 reflected the optimism concerning the crucial role that international relations should play in textbooks: Looking at the World through Textbooks. This title was wishful thinking. The focus was still on issues of national, rather than global, interest. Furthermore, budget restrictions dictated that the first short term plan be changed into a new Model Plan for the Analysis and Improvement of Text-Books and Teaching Material [...] as Aids to International Understanding. In the following years, UNESCO gradually began to put this plan into practice.
From declarations to concrete activities

UNESCO was responsible for organizing or supporting seminars that
• not only aimed at correcting obvious factual errors,
• were also planned to develop an awareness of the multiplicity of re-
gions and cultures in our world, an awareness which was not duly
reflected in textbooks, particularly in those of the so-called industrial-
ized nations.

The Model Plan had already advocated the presentation of Asia in West-
ern schoolbooks (and vice versa). These seminars were organized on a
multilateral basis and the reports contain a vast array of information on
textbook design and content that is still relevant today. Many of them
have been more or less forgotten, but they represent valuable sources for
enthusiastic researchers, who find a great deal of fascinating material
concerning schoolbooks that were used all over the world during the fif-
ties and sixties.10

Although the multilateral approach was stressed in the fifties, a large
number of bilateral projects came into being as well. The relevant Na-
tional Commissions for UNESCO made a great effort to overcome tra-
ditional barriers and bring together teachers, textbook authors and repre-
sentatives of educational authorities. There can be no question about the
significance of this work but it did have a most-likely unintended side-
effect: The initiative shifted to national authorities, and again national
issues – albeit issues between nations or states – were the main subjects
of textbook projects.

Of course, this undertaking was of paramount importance to recon-
ciling former enemies, but the bilateral approach did not challenge the
traditional structure of textbooks. Bilateral recommendations drew the
authors’ attention to another country, with the advice to provide wider or
more “balanced” coverage in the next edition – but the book would still
concentrate on the history, geography or political system of the respec-
tive different nations. We See the World through Our Nations would have
been a more fitting title for a summary of textbook examination from that
period.

On the other hand, it was quite clear that many problems in the post-
war world were influenced by supra-national factors and such problems
cannot be solved by two nations alone. The Cold War divided the globe,
as did the growing gulf between the industrialized world and the so-
called “Third World.” Once again, multilateral consultations were need-
ed; organisations engaged in textbook studies began looking for a fresh
input of ideas and methods.

10 Carl August SCHRÖDER: Die Schulbuchverbesserung durch internationale geistige Zusamme-
Towards a global perspective: new topics and new methods

In 1974, the UNESCO General Conference confirmed the importance of comparative textbook studies within its programme. By the 18th session, it had adopted the Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. This normative document underscores the importance of universal values and puts forward practical proposals for the production and dissemination of educational material designed to impart attitudes, not mere knowledge, into students in order to enable the learners to evaluate information. It states:

“Member States should encourage wider exchange of textbooks, especially history and geography textbooks, and should, where appropriate, take measures, by concluding, if possible, bilateral and multilateral agreements, for the reciprocal study and revision of textbooks and other educational materials in order to ensure that they are accurate, balanced, up-to-date and unprejudiced and will enhance mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.”

The adoption and implementation of the 1974 Recommendation initiated a new series of international textbook consultations in Europe, Latin America and Africa. Furthermore, UNESCO was aware that many problems within present-day societies require a global approach. In cooperation with the German Commission for UNESCO, a conference was held in 1988 at the Georg Eckert Institute, entitled International Consultation with a View to Recommending Criteria for Improving the Study of Major Problems of Mankind and their Presentation in School Curricula and Textbooks. The final report identified criteria for the presentation of major problems facing humankind in curricula and textbooks:

“The evaluation of the presentation of world problems in textbooks represents a new phase in international textbook research, which, until recently, has concentrated on the presentation of national images and information on particular countries in textbooks. This new stage represents a widening of the scope and the educational impact of textbook research. Such textbook research by panels of discipline experts, educational researchers and experienced teachers is to be encouraged. Also to be encouraged is classroom action research in which teachers and pupils evaluate their own textbooks and seek improved ways of representing and learning about world problems.”

12 It is interesting to note that the declaration referred also to “educational materials” and so widened the more narrow “textbook concept” without, however, reflecting the new role of educational media other than textbooks in more detail.
For the first time an international textbook recommendation endorsed by UNESCO gave equal weight to knowledge, attitudes and skills. This opened up a new perspective on textbook studies: not only the content in the textbook, but likewise the textbook in the context of the classroom is to be the subject of examination.

The conference addressed a further issue that is often found in connection with the importance of worldwide problems:

\rightarrow The global approach must be complemented by a regional approach.

Textbook authors have to be concrete, they have to give examples that relate to the students’ own experiences. The conference report advocated the preparation of detailed studies to meet regional needs, interests, priorities and realities. Following the conference in Braunschweig, a meeting of experts was held in Brisbane, Australia in 1991, in order to specify actions that could be undertaken by publishers, textbook authors and teachers to make use of these criteria in their practical work. The conference represented a major step forward in implementing what otherwise would have remained only a declaration. They identified activities to be carried out by teachers, textbook authors and students to achieve the aims laid out in the Braunschweig report:

- They provided criteria, guidelines and recommendations with an international dimension for the development, evaluation and revision of curricula, textbooks and other educational materials.\(^{13}\)
- They proposed to set up an International Textbook Research Network, which was established in 1992 at the Georg Eckert Institute, as a focal institution under the responsibility of UNESCO.\(^{14}\)

The criteria for textbook analysis as well as the aims and work of the network will be described in more detail below.

On the European stage, mention should be made of another international organization that had been involved in the improvement of textbooks and the promotion of history teaching from the outset: the Council of Europe.

Against Bias and Prejudice is the programmatic title of a Council of Europe publication summarising the results and recommendations from textbook conferences on a European level. Since the breakdown of the communist system, Europe, in the wider sense, has had to confront a number of conflicting problems. Many states are reshaping their own political systems and redefining their place in the world. The Council of Europe strives to bring together experts from old and new member countries in order to stimulate a process whereby each can learn from the other in spite of their quite different political experiences in the past.

\[^{13}\text{Guidelines and Criteria for the Development, Evaluation and Revision of Curricula, Textbooks and other Educational Materials in International Education in Order to Promote an International Dimension in Education; http://unescodoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001001/100178m.pdf}\]

\[^{14}\text{The Network is currently under review. It will be accessible on a new portal on Educational Media Research www.edumeres.net from 2010 on.}\]
The Council of Europe has published a number of useful booklets for textbook authors, publishers and teachers, who often are not able to base their work on official guidelines and well-established classroom practices. Though designed for the European context, the content of at least some of the books is also relevant for other parts of the world undergoing a period of profound and sometimes rapid transition.\textsuperscript{15}

The changing political map represents new opportunities – as well as dangers and risks.

Since the end of the Cold War, international textbook research has been offered a new field of opportunity and has had to respond to new challenges. New textbooks and curricula are currently being developed in many countries in transition to democracy all over the world – in Eastern Europe as well as in South Africa, for example. At the same time, old patterns and perspectives are being reviewed, even in countries with long-standing democratic traditions. In addition, new forms of aggressive nationalism, intolerance and xenophobia are emerging, bringing with them new dangers. Therefore, it should be examined:

- what perspectives textbooks offer to avoid the resurgence of nationalistic attitudes and
- which values authors base their evaluation of international affairs on.

The crucial role of providing all people engaged in educational activities with adequate teaching materials and resources was emphasized once again in the UNESCO \textit{Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy} (Paris, 1995). The General Conference considered that this Declaration and Framework “could represent the most relevant and most appropriate way of bringing up to date the objectives, strategies and approaches in the field of education for international understanding.”

With regard to teaching materials and resources, the \textit{Framework} in particular provides for carrying out the necessary revisions in textbooks in order to rid them of negative stereotypes and distorted views of “the other”:

- International co-operation in producing textbooks should be encouraged. Whenever new teaching materials, textbooks and the like are to be produced, they should be designed with due consideration of new situations.

\textsuperscript{15} Against Bias and Prejudice: the Council of Europe’s work on history teaching and history textbooks. Recommendations on history teaching and history textbooks adopted at Council of Europe conferences and symposia 1953–83. Council of Europe: Strasbourg, 1986; Maitland STOBART: Fifty Years of European Co-operation on History Textbooks: The role and contribution of the Council of Europe. In: \textit{Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research}, 21 (1999), pp. 147–161. Additionally, the Council of Europe has produced conference reports on improving history and civics instruction. The Georg Eckert Institute contributed to some of the conference papers and is grateful to be able to particularly draw on the Council of Europe for chapter III of this guide.
The textbooks should offer different perspectives on a given subject and make the national or cultural background against which they are written transparent.

- Their content should be based on scientific findings.

- It would be desirable for the documents of UNESCO and other United Nations institutions to be widely distributed and used in educational establishments, especially in countries where the production of teaching materials is proving slow due to economic difficulties. Distance education technologies and all modern communication tools must be placed at the service of education for peace, human rights and democracy.

Remarkably, a declaration on peace education refers here to new tools and technologies of instruction in order to strengthen peace education efforts and to reach as many social classes as possible. This was already indicative of the forthcoming UNESCO strategy on quality education as a means of also intensifying education towards international understanding.16

The challenge of the cultural turn

The UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education (2006)17 reflect the growing multicultural composition of classrooms worldwide and underscore the need to foster understanding of different cultural traditions. Multiethnic societies are not a new phenomenon, but more and more states who had the perception of themselves as being mono-ethnic and shaped by a singular, dominant culture can no longer retain this self-image because the awareness of already existing cultural or ethnic diversity has grown or because they are in fact the target of increasing cross-boundary migration flows. Though migration may contribute to intercultural attitudes, it often and primarily makes people aware of differences. Traditional stereotypes can be corroborated and new ones created. Where governments tend to play down the issue in order not to trigger a fierce debate on identity politics, separate spaces of culture and remembrance emerge, whose effects on the society as a whole only surface after inner cohesion is already on the line. Not only politicians, but also scholars have become conscious of cultural differences as one of the crucial dividing lines within and between societies and as replacing older social or class divisions. This culminated in the notion of a threatening “clash of civilizations.”18 UNESCO responded to this challenge by propagating a culture of peace and by making this concept part of its Medium Term

Values education and the forming of worldviews that define self-images and images of the “other” through textbooks has again become a focus of international textbook revision. Following this trend, interregional working groups have been established with a particular emphasis on the Euro-Arab dialogue.

The major shift in the approach to education reform with the aim of fostering international understanding and peaceful co-existence, however, was initiated through the Education for All Dakar Framework for Action (2000) adopted at the World Education Forum in Senegal. The framework was intended to assist governments to provide basic education of good quality for all. The six Education for All goals embedded in the Dakar Framework are firmly grounded on a holistic vision of quality that is closely linked to education for international understanding, co-operation and human rights issues. Taking into consideration that protracted conflicts have a lasting negative effect on schooling as they destroy the material infrastructure, lower the reputation, salaries and qualifications of teachers and cause high drop out rates or absenteeism amongst pupils, international organisations active in the field of education came to the conclusion that speedy reconstruction of school buildings, teacher training and the provision of teaching materials is a precondition for any reconciliatory approach in education. Therefore, improving the quality of instruction also helps lay foundations for learning how to live together.

Defined as a learner-centred approach, the Education for All agenda:
- strives to guarantee equal access to all students regardless of social or cultural background,
- is inclusive rather than exclusive and
- promotes universal values as well as the acknowledgement of individual rights.

Similar to the regional networks that mushroomed in the 1920s to disseminate the idea of international textbook revision, regional frameworks have spread out to implement the Dakar objectives.

The efforts to combine quality education and the promotion of intercultural understanding through textbooks, curricula and other learning materials are being realized in the inter-regional expert group Thinking and Building Peace through Innovative Textbook Design which elaborates

20 A guidebook “On a Common Path. New Approaches to Writing History Textbooks in Europe and the Arab-Islamic World” is expected to come out in 2010; it has been drafted by a working group supported by UNESCO, the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) and the Arab League, among other organizations; see also http://www.unesco.org/education/ev.php-URL_ID=537171&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
on guidelines for publishers, curriculum developers and teachers. In addition to documents which address experts in a number of regions or formulate general strategies, examples of best practices take into account the specificities of a particular region. Any curriculum that is based on general principles should nevertheless be locally relevant and meet the particular needs of the students.

The impact of the quality campaign on textbook issues became visible when UNESCO launched its new Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning Materials in 2005. According to this document, it is UNESCO’s role:

→ “to assist member states in developing policies, norms, and standards for the provision of textbooks and other learning materials which facilitate quality education.” (p. 4)

This requires a more in-depth analysis of the way content is presented in textbooks:

- The general structure (text, illustrations, assignments etc.) of a textbook and the sequencing of the lessons to be learned have to be treated more extensively when formulating recommendations.
- The overall goal of “a rights-based, quality education for all” has to be broken down into specific local or regional conditions in order to be of practical value for concrete projects. Examples of best practice may help meet this goal.

The Comprehensive Strategy links the development of high-quality educational material to international textbook revision. Furthermore, the UNESCO textbook strategy now underscores the importance of research-based activities in order to improve the quality of education and the effectiveness of multilateral projects.

- This requires greater emphasis on the methodology of textbook research and textbook revision.
- External factors that may influence the quality of learning materials, such as market conditions and types of dissemination, deserve greater attention.

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II. Methodology and pedagogy of bi- or multinational textbook projects

Finding a compromise: Bi- or multi-national consultations in the post-war decades

At first, textbook comparison focused on identifying and eliminating factual errors and obvious prejudices, as well as deliberate omissions and distortions. The main task was to analyse the texts, compare findings, relate them to acknowledged academic research and then to formulate recommendations which often gave a positive account of mutual relations and listed the issues that were not dealt with, as well as unacceptable views.

When textbook revision became a major issue after the First World War it followed a concept that we like to call the consensus model. The idea is that a comparison of different or even conflicting depictions would lead to a compromise in opinions. Therefore, recommendations approved by the partners stress the points they have in common rather than the differences still in existence. The educational aim is quite clear: to show that there are a number of topics which are viewed in a more or less similar way and which provide a firm basis for solving any problems that might still be unsettled.

Nevertheless, the partners were usually able to clearly identify certain areas where no shared interpretation could be reached and these areas were sometimes, but not always, mentioned or listed in the findings of the project; in some instances, however – and this often applied to very sensitive issues – topics on which the partners disagreed were simply omitted and not mentioned at all, so that the public was not made aware of fundamentally different views.

The language of recommendations following the consensus model is more or less factual, very similar to the kind of statements well known from the textbooks themselves: they give a comprehensive account of a chain of events in a chronological order or summarize the most important geographical conditions of a certain region that is dealt with in the textbooks used by all the partners involved in the project. As a rule, they do not give any guidance to teachers or authors on how to deal with protracted conflicts and different interpretations, particularly if they touch on national issues. This is often (and was all the more so in the past) in accordance with the structure of curricula and textbooks that offer only one interpretation and do not devote much time and space to discussing other views. The pupils are not confronted with subject matter that is approached from several different perspectives, requiring them to find their own interpretations, but instead with statements of a factual character, which simply demand a true or false response.
Despite the obvious shortcomings of the consensus model, it produced remarkable results for a variety of quite different problems. To give just a few examples:

- After the Second World War it started with the US-Canada textbook comparison. The main issue here was not a political but rather a cultural one: i.e. the fear on the Canadian side of being dominated by the USA in this respect.\(^{27}\)
- The Spanish-Portuguese textbook recommendations have advocated overcoming the age-old “white maps” in their respective representations. In this case, the fact that ethnic groups and communities have been living side by side in peace for decades does not guarantee that there will be a fair description of mutual relations.\(^{28}\)
- The Polish-Israeli textbook recommendations – like the German-Israeli recommendations of some years before – are in favour of presenting a multifaceted picture of a minority group: i.e. to not only regard the Jews as victims or through the eyes of the majority group, but in their own right and against their own cultural background.\(^{29}\)
- Very few projects managed to cross the “Iron curtain,” as did the German-Polish textbook recommendations, which gave an assessment of German-Polish relations from the Middle Ages through to post-war times. This was a great achievement at a time when politicians and the media were still discussing where the border between Germany and Poland was to be drawn. But certain issues, hotly debated by the public, at least in Germany, could only be mentioned in diplomatic terms and were unlikely to be introduced by both sides in the same manner (e.g. the forcible expulsion of the German population after the war); some had to be left out entirely (e.g. the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact).\(^{30}\)
- Another major East/West project was the US/USSR textbook study, carried out from 1977 to 1989. The title of the American project report was *School Textbooks: Weapons for the Cold War* and reflects

28 Dokumentation. Spanisch-portugiesische Kommission zur Revision der Geschichts- und Sozial- kundebücher. In: *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 17 (1995), pp. 231–235. Recently the Italian-Slovenian consultations have dealt with highly sensitive issues including border-disputes and expulsions as well as massacres committed during the Titoist seizing of power at the end of the Second World War; these crimes have been silenced on both sides since they occurred; however, this bilateral commission did nor refer explicitly to textbooks, [http://www.kozina.com/premik/indexeng_porocilo.htm](http://www.kozina.com/premik/indexeng_porocilo.htm).
29 Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen. Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, 1985 (German-Hebrew; Frankfurt/Main, 2nd. rev. ed. in German only).
30 Gemeinsame Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission: Empfehlungen für Schulbücher der Geschichte und Geographie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Volksrepublik Polen. Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, 1977 (German-Polish; rev. ed. 1995, in German only; see also Klaus Zernack: *After the Wende: The German-Polish Textbook Project in Retrospect*, [http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/bilder/pdf/Projekte/After_the_Wende.pdf](http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/bilder/pdf/Projekte/After_the_Wende.pdf)).
the old ideological split between the two “superpowers.” The report listed the deficiencies in each other’s portrayals, some of which can be remedied simply by giving more coverage to the other’s history. However, the virtually opposing evaluations of each other’s politico-economic system would still represent a problem. Nevertheless, the report’s conclusions contain a statement that is still valid today. It indicates the minimum standard of each other’s presentation which should be achieved, regardless of how divergent the political and ideological background is: “Textbooks will continue to be written from the perspectives of each society. This need not impede accurate textbook treatment.”

Of course, the crux of the matter lies in the somewhat vague terminology: What is accurate? Is the term only to be applied to factual statements? Is an accurate presentation in itself impartial? One can differentiate between different levels of accuracy or appropriateness:

- factual accuracy,
- balanced content selection,
- unbiased presentation of value-loaded topics.

Textbook consultations as mentioned above adopted a similar model of procedures until well into the 1980s:

**Stages of textbook consultations**

- **Working agreement**
  - Preliminary meetings with researchers/textbook authors/teachers to define aims/methods/duration of the project

- **Textbook exchange**
  - Pretest

- **Textbook consultations**
  - Analyses/Reviews
    - Basic lectures

- **Publication of recommendations**
  - Research and documentation of the effects of recommendations

- **Follow-up conferences**
  - on specific topics;
  - in-service teacher/textbook author training seminars;
  - Production of teaching aids

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The political changes that mark the turn from the 20th to 21st century have had a noticeable impact on international textbook revision. On the one hand, they broke down borders that had divided the world, broadly speaking, into two major blocks that adhered to different political ideologies and economic systems. On the other hand, new borderlines emerged with the foundation of new states and brought to the surface old national conflicts, which had been covered and silenced during the bi-polar block period. No longer the former combatants of the two world wars, the great powers in Europe, Asia and America, fought the wars, but smaller states often marked by inner factions and long lasting ethnic, religious or cultural/linguistic divisions who sought for new patterns of identity in a seemingly multi-polar political context. International organisations and individual states took on an interventionist role sometimes drawing on forceful measures in order to end hostilities. The “new wars”\textsuperscript{32} that characterised the conflicts often did not end with a lasting peace; violence was tamed by a kind of armistice without creating a new ground on which a sustainable, peaceful society could be built. Although wars between states are not a thing of the past, the dominant patterns of conflicts shifted from “external” to “internal” wars; so did the objects of textbook revision. Since the 1990s, a move took place

- “from controversies over the past to a debate of current, open and often still violent conflicts
- from conflicts between states to conflicts between groups within a state or society (or from war to civil war).”\textsuperscript{33}

In these cases, education could not stay neutral, but was instrumentalised by the conflicting parties. This destructive role of education, and in particular of history, geography and religious instruction, was discussed at the Dakar Forum and was one of the decisive factors in the decision to put more weight on education in conflict ridden areas.\textsuperscript{34} The new dominant patterns of conflicts and the fragility of peace (or rather temporary absence of open violence) led to a re-definition of forms and methods of textbook consultation.

\textbf{Aside from the International Community,} who represents individual states and international organizations engaged in peace-making and peace-keeping activities, NGOs, expert groups and agencies in civil


society become the main players and take over the role of the former bi- or multi-lateral, quasi-official commissions set up by educational authorities.

The new forms of textbook consultations have obvious advantages, but are also hampered by clear shortcomings. Commissions, backed and financed by the ministries, can also rely on the ministries when it comes to the implementation of recommendations into curricula and textbooks. NGOs and other civil society agencies can only exert a limited influence on the government; the material or recommendations they produce rarely find their way into the standard textbooks and curriculum. If not supported by funding institutions, they may collapse before a viable result can be achieved. They can, however, bring together people from conflicting parties, exchange information and make proposals, in situations when and where politicians are caught in a deadlock and official commissions are not able to act. They can set a new paradigm even if its innovative power only fully develops once the violent phase of a conflict is over and tools for a sustainable peace-oriented education are required. In this way, they are able to lay the foundation for peace education, even before real peace has been established.35

The interplay between and the balancing out of external intervention and local ownership has become a decisive factor for the effectiveness of reform processes in many cases.

Present textbook conflicts in East and Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, Latin America, Southeastern Europe and Northern Ireland have not been dealt with by bi- or multi-lateral textbook commissions exclusively, but rather a number of models have been applied to meet the needs of each particular case and to overcome obstacles within the political arena. Inner tensions and wars between new political units have brought about a wide range of various peace implementation measures, which still draw on the traditional mechanisms of textbook revision, but which also invent new forms of cooperation, pedagogy and remembrance.36


From reconstruction to reconciliation

As maintaining basic and impartial education in situations of open conflict is now being regarded as an important tool for reconstruction as well, a sequence of different developmental phases has been worked out\(^7\) to which different steps and forms of educational activities correspond:

- **Emergency Education**\(^8\) has become an established field of measures that aim firstly at material rebuilding (schools, classrooms, bringing teachers and pupils back to school) and at keeping basic standards in educational materials including the eradication of obvious hate speech, adversary stereotypes, etc.

- Emergency measures should lead into a phase of broader reconstruction that encompasses the renewal and in part modernisation of curricula, textbooks and teacher training.\(^9\)

- Building on these measures a long-term multifaceted strategy of revising the content and methods of instruction should be implemented to safeguard an education that actively strives to overcome rifts in the past, to build trust between former “enemies” and to help pupils develop positive expectations for the future.

**Reconciliation** is a big word for reaching this goal. Historically, it refers foremost to the process of rapprochement between Germany and its former adversaries after the Second World War. So far, it may be associated with a certain cultural tradition and even tinged by a Christian concept of forgiveness.\(^40\) Bearing this in mind, it has become one of the leading concepts for understanding long-term processes of overcoming cultural bias and political enmities, and it translates into different cultural and political contexts, moulding the aims and tools of the processes that evolve from it according to the particular case at hand. In past decades it developed well beyond textbook revision and includes judicial measures such as (international) trials, as well as amnesties, material restitution and compensation, expressions of apology\(^41\) and processes of “healing”

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including organized encounters between “victims” and “perpetrators” from all sides involved in a conflict. “Truth and Reconciliation Commissions” have been at work in many conflict-ridden areas and often not only contribute to resolving questions of responsibility, guilt and recognition of crimes, but also help to find new forms of remembrance that unite rather than divide the memories of the people involved.42

The place of textbook revision in this array of reconstructive and reconciliatory efforts cannot easily be defined. Faced with formerly unknown violence and challenged by the emergence of pluralistic political structures, international intervention, elements of civil society grassroots work and domestic reconstruction policy often lead to a mixture of tools for pacification and reconciliation in which textbook revision is only one, but still an important, aspect. Regarding the three phases mentioned above, grassroots and inter-communal activities rarely have a say in the first phase, as considerable financial means and technical capacities must be made available here; they can, however, be most influential in the second and third phases when freedom of movement and basic security is guaranteed. In the first phase, the international community, together with local (or central, if functioning) governmental institutions, usually takes the lead; although being effective in material terms, they sometimes lack sufficient support by the population at large when ideologically contentious issues are at stake. For example, as part of emergency measures following the Textbook Quality Improvement Programme, UNESCO reviewed the existing textbooks in Iraq after the Second Gulf War in order to eradicate biased language and one-sided illustrations that did not conform to the principles of education towards democratic and multicultural values. Similar activities were carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Teachers, parents and pupils often did not accept these hastily implemented measures that seemed to be imposed on them without their consultation. It is often impossible, though, to invite all stakeholders in education to take part in the process from the very beginning, as some are not ready to acknowledge the opponents in the conflict as equal partners. To date, one can only refer to a few projects that take into account the political, pedagogical as well as social and cultural dimensions of reconstruction and reconciliation after violence. STOVER/WEINSTEIN (2004) and their team who did research on and were actively involved in rebuilding trustworthy community life in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda come to the conclusion that coordinated measures are needed to bring about sustainable results. According to their “ecological model

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of social reconstruction” the promotion of justice, democracy, economic prosperity and transition, and reconciliation must go hand in hand:43

“Consequently, those who initiate systemic change in post-war societies, whether it be the introduction of criminal trials … or the development of a new history curriculum … must anticipate how each new intervention or policy will affect other parts of the system.” (p. 325)

III. How to conduct a project: methodological issues and practical guidelines

The stages in an international textbook study

Who takes part?
In many instances, textbook conferences are very much like academic meetings or pedagogical seminars. As a rule, academics and teachers meet to discuss their experiences and subsequently try to apply at home what they have learned in discussion with others. But international schoolbook comparison should not be regarded solely as an academic undertaking; since the goal is to achieve practical outcomes, this can affect official curriculum and often attracts the attention of the public. The issues to be examined are sometimes highly controversial and might involve national interests. Hence it may even be advisable to carry out political consultations before the parties are able to commence with the research work itself.

It is advisable to establish personal contacts with ministries, textbook authors and publishing houses before launching a project. If teachers, researchers or governmental authorities feel the need to compare their textbooks with those of other countries, they must first single out persons and institutions that are able to do the work involved. There is a requirement not only for money, but also for suitably qualified participants. Of course, there are advantages to involving teachers and publishers’ associations but, as a rule, they cannot provide funding and are unable to carry out the bulk of the work, which includes, among other things, administration of the project. Pedagogical research institutes, whether independent or attached to universities, can function as coordinating agencies. The UNESCO Network on International Textbook Research provides a data bank of individuals and institutions who have gained experience in international textbook studies and enquiries can be made via Internet.44

In many cases, official agreements between the ministries of education or the central curriculum research institutions are drawn up. However, the members of each group should act as free researchers, not as representatives of the respective governments. This poses an awkward problem. A free researcher is not restricted by ministerial guidelines and is entitled to criticise official curricula and approved textbooks frankly, but the final recommendations he or she makes are not binding in any way. On the other hand, when acting on behalf of ministries, curriculum institutes or publishing houses, the researcher may have a more direct influence on the implementation of research findings. However, the aims, methods and subject of research are often defined by other institutions, thus limiting the freedom to openly criticise their products. The most ef-

44 See also the website of IARTEM and other institutions listed in Annex B.
effective step is likely to set up a group comprised of academic researchers, teachers, authors and representatives of state institutions under the auspices of UNESCO or an independent non-governmental organization.

The pedagogical environment

As a first step, textbooks will be exchanged and the range of subjects that are to be dealt with has to be defined. At this stage the participants already inform each other about their respective educational systems and the general framework for the subjects concerned. It is not always easy to decide on a comparable sample of books:

- Do the school levels correspond?
- When does the teaching of history, geography or civics start?

Detailed information concerning such questions will soon be readily available, as the Georg Eckert Institute is in the process of preparing a data bank on such topics.

Furthermore, textbooks must be interpreted against the curriculum background and the role that curriculum plays in teaching. How is the curriculum designed?

- Does it define general purposes of education or does it specify particular aims and objectives?
- Does it distinguish between core (compulsory) and optional topics?
- How much time is allocated to the subject under review and at what grade level is it taught?
- What institutions or persons have an overall responsibility and who must be consulted if curriculum changes are required – textbook producers, parents or other umbrella organisations? This knowledge is crucial for the implementation of recommendations.
- Do textbooks cover the entire subject, do teachers have easy access to additional materials or must they depend almost exclusively on the book?
- Is the textbook the sole medium of teaching or only one amongst others?

The curriculum itself represents a compromise reached by educational agents that has many more facets than those that are visible in the printed or Internet publication. The intended curriculum is shaped by the general ideology (or, as it is often called, philosophy) of education; the intended curriculum has to be transformed into the written formal curriculum, meaning the officially approved plan for instruction that is going to be implemented by teachers as the active curriculum. On this road from philosophical conception to a written statement and further on to practical implementation, the curriculum will be continually streamlined, changed and interpreted by the various actors on various levels

such as scholars, concerned intellectuals, politicians, pressure and interest groups and teachers. The more of these actors that are represented in a group, the wider the spectrum of the ideas that can be exchanged.

In addition to the curriculum and the syllabus, we find that textbook adoption procedures influence publishing houses and authors before the book is marketed and placed at the student’s or teacher’s disposal. Who decides on approving or adopting a schoolbook for use in the classroom: the ministry alone, teachers, parents or even pupils? Control over these matters can be exerted in different ways and to various degrees. Many critics of centralised state adoption procedures argue that they obstruct the implementation of new ideas and innovative methods. They guarantee uniformity but not quality. The idea of regional or local adoption is receiving increasing support, particularly from teachers’ associations. It gives teachers more freedom to take their special needs into account and makes the market more flexible. So again, as far as implementation of textbook research is concerned we must know whom to address, who is interested in new methods and content and who is responsible and able to initiate changes in educational material and in the teaching methods used.46

It might even occur that certain interpretations of historical events are explicitly being prescribed through political decisions.47 Also, official commemoration ceremonies may restrict the freedom of interpretation to a certain extent. The commission should be aware of politics of remembrance as a powerful instrument to shape peoples’ and pupils’ view on the past.

In many countries, examination standards might influence the selections that teachers make from textbooks and can result in the rigid streamlining of an otherwise wide variety of topics and approaches. In the final examination, however, students normally have to write paper and pencil tests whose questions often only allow one short, right or wrong answer. They are mainly related to topics that can be easily memorized and they often do not encourage critical thinking. In this case, the principles of testing and examining knowledge are not in line with a multiperspective way of teaching the social sciences. It is a significant advantage to know


47 A fierce debate emerged in France about several “laws on remembrance” issued by the French parliament since the 1990s; the laws forbade the denial of the holocaust, defined the massacres of the Armenians committed by the Turkish army during the First World war “genocide”, and recommended to also mention the “positive aspects” of colonialism in textbooks; the latter law has been withdrawn after protest articulated particularly by concerned historians; René RÉMOND: Quand l’Etat se mêle de l’histoire. Paris: Stock, 2006; Olivier LECOUR-GRANDMAISON: Passé colonial, histoire et ‘guerre des memoires’. In: Multitudes, (2006) autumn, no. 26, pp. 143–154.
about examination standards before embarking on a project to find ways to overcome restrictions which may later on hinder successful implementation of project results.

Textbooks are often supplemented by a teacher’s guide that suggests concrete lesson plans, different interpretations of sources to be found in the book, offers more background for explanation and that makes the authors’ intention clearer. Although useful results can be obtained from an examination of the teacher’s manuals, the two analyses should be kept separate: the students must understand their texts without having to consult the teacher’s guide. Their text might be inaccurate or biased because of its simple and shortened format: this is a fault that cannot be overlooked simply because the teacher is provided with more information and a more detailed treatment of the topic.

Defining the sample

The next step is to decide on the number and the type of books to be examined. Official statistics on sales figures are available for only a few countries. To find out what books are most commonly used you have to rely on the experience of the teachers and booksellers. Teachers’ associations sometimes carry out surveys; at the very least, they can tell the researchers what books are used. In many cases, these are not always the latest editions. A great deal depends on the financial means available to schools or parents; and many teachers like to work with the same book over a longer period of time. Therefore, last year’s bestsellers are not necessarily the books most commonly used in schools.

The aim and the scope of the project will normally determine whether you choose the books that are actually in widespread use or whether you also include outdated series or new books that have less success on the market. If your aim is to investigate how the presentation of topics has changed over time or whether the image of a society’s history, geography or political system has remained stable you will opt for a vertical analysis. If you are more interested in new approaches and stimulating ideas, a horizontal analysis covering as wide an area as possible is advisable.

All selection criteria are superfluous if the government prescribes only one or a very limited number of books per year and subject. However, it is more likely that researchers will be confronted with an increasing trend towards diversification at various levels. Particularly, though not exclusively, in Europe the general editions are often supplemented by regional ones, which pay more attention to the specific characteristics of an ethnically or culturally mixed population or to the demands of a federal political system. For practical reasons, regional issues are often not included in a sample, because it might then become too large. Analysis of regional issues, however, can provide interesting insights into the cultural variety and pluralism of a certain country.
The analysis

After selecting the sample and agreeing upon the purposes and objectives of the project, the researchers must now decide which methods are to be applied. Every educational subject-oriented text can be analysed from two general points of view:

- a didactic analysis that deals with the methodological approach to the topic and explores the pedagogy behind the text
- a content analysis that examines the text itself: what does the text tell us, is it in accordance with academic research, does it sufficiently cover the topic in question?

A short overview about methodological approaches, with a few examples of tables with categories for analysis, is given in Annex A.

In many countries different experts tackle these questions. University scholars, e.g. historians, geographers or social scientists, are mainly concerned with the content analysis, whereas teachers are more interested with how to transmit a given subject to the students. Although the findings of academic research represent only one of the many components that contribute to the quality of a textbook, we cannot afford to not examine the extent to which the authors have acknowledged and incorporated such research.

> In our experience with textbook projects it is of the utmost importance that both academic experts and teachers are able and willing to cooperate. Subject-oriented expert knowledge and educational experience must be given equal status in order to be able to compare the different perspectives presented in textbooks from different countries.

The same is true for the compilation of textbooks particularly when the issues are controversial, sensitive and involve value judgments. Textbook authors cannot be experts in all of the topics they describe in a schoolbook, which could cover world history from prehistoric times up to the present day or the geography of different continents. This means that both sides must engage in dialogue. University scholars must be familiar with the needs of teachers, publishers and authors. They must take care not to impose their expert knowledge on the practitioners by claiming that everything is of equal importance and must be included in the curriculum as well as in the textbook.

While the entire group should agree upon the parameter of the project as a whole and the categories for analysis, the practical analysis should be done individually. Modern means of communication allow us to inform each other about problems that need further clarification. When the analyses have been done, the group should meet again to exchange results.
Financial implications

A crucial factor for the design, length and print-quality of a textbook are the funds which are available to produce it (as well as the price that students, parents and schools are prepared to pay for it). Since economic circumstances vary greatly throughout the world, many books can’t be compared because the producers and the consumers do not have access to the financial resources to do so. For instance, let’s imagine that we are to compare the presentation of a certain topic in two geography schoolbooks: the first book covers the entire world in one volume with the help of only a few maps in black and white, while the second book is part of a three-volume series that contains many coloured illustrations and maps. The result of the evaluation will be quite clear from the outset – but unfair to those who have the more limited resources. Obviously there is another problem to be investigated here: do they use the means at their disposal efficiently? Therefore it is advisable that for every book analysed the total number of pages and the space devoted to the topic under examination should be registered (the same conditions can be applied to the format of a book). This means that relative as well as absolute figures can be compared.

From facts to interpretation

At the beginning there may be a great deal of discussion about how exactly to define the term facts. It is surprising how much of the basic information, such as names, dates and so on, in textbooks already in use is actually false. Further problems, of a more subtle nature, also arise, for example:

- the terms which are attributed to facts or persons,
- the context in which they are placed,
- the definition of geographical areas, of boundaries etc.,
- the problem of periodisation, which indicates the main direction of development and which characterises an entire epoch.

For one party a conflict may be a “war of liberation” that lasted for years, whereas for the other it was a short “revolt” against a legitimate power. Such issues are the starting point for the debate about interpretation.

To avoid becoming deadlocked over irreconcilable controversies and inconsistent opinions, it is useful to broaden the horizon from time to time. The findings of textbook analysis should be compared with those of academic research and debate. This makes it easier to discover the selection criteria textbook authors use and to examine the principles and models of explanation used in the text.
Formulating and circulating the findings

After drawing on the findings of a scientific and didactic analysis, the conclusions and results should be formulated.

- They give an overview of the topics dealt with and the methodological approaches applied in the books under analysis;
- they identify items omitted, discuss controversial issues and
- formulate recommendations on how to improve the textbook presentation of the topic concerned.

It must be kept in mind that any proposals for changing textbook content and methods of presentation should be related to the fundamental concept of education that prevails in the countries participating in a project. Often, the conclusions and findings of a study mainly describe the negative aspects: omissions, pitfalls, biased judgements, etc. It can be a much more stimulating experience to give examples of good practice found in the textbooks analysed – or if there are none, to offer suggestions.

As textbook conferences primarily have a pragmatic objective, their results must be easily accessible to professionals, such as teachers and publishing houses, as well as to other interested parties like parents. The findings of the circle of experts should be made known to the public in general. Only a relatively small number of representatives actually participate in textbook conferences, seminars and projects, even if they convene over a period of years (the German-French textbook group, for example, having started in the early 1950s, convenes almost every year in order to check the latest editions of textbooks).\(^\text{48}\)

How can you distribute the results to reach as many textbook authors and teachers as possible? The easiest, but often least effective, way is to print the conference papers. Like many academic books, these sometimes voluminous publications do not reach teachers, students or parents. Although they contain a great deal of background information, they give little advice on how to deal with a certain subject in the textbook or in the classroom.

A summary report can have an immediate impact. It should clarify what the main arguments are, what topics could be agreed upon, where different interpretations still prevail, and list the most important omissions.

Textbook recommendations represent the classic form of such a summary. Traditionally, they summarize the most important findings, on which proposals for a more balanced presentation are then based. On the one hand, they contain a list of factual statements about what can be found in the books; on the other hand, they include many demands and wishes, often employing normative formulas like “Textbooks should …” In many instances, recommendations made in this form have attracted

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the attention of politicians and educationalists because they give clear directions rather than supply numerous alternatives. Such reports are often well received, as they provide an “audit” of a particular situation. They can also be used as the starting point for a longer period of consultations.

From a scholarly point of view, however, this model has been met with increasing criticism. Some people believe that the formulations are reminiscent of diplomatic agreements. Today, many research projects prefer a more discursive form, one which
• gives the pros and cons of arguments,
• reflects different interpretations and
• offers alternative forms of representation and not just one solution to a problem.

Research conclusions of this kind are obviously more teacher-friendly, as they tend to address the practitioner, who will welcome the inclusion of guidelines or orientations for the construction of the teaching units that were critically reviewed during the project. Politicians or the general public, however, feel less targeted, as the structure of the arguments and the message the researchers want to get across are more complex. A combination of both forms would overcome these problems, but would also entail greater costs.

Subsequent activities

If possible, follow-up activities should be planned in order to monitor the extent to which recommendations or conclusions are put into practice. For example, seven years after the first edition of the German-Israeli textbook recommendations were published, the Georg Eckert Institute examined “what has changed and what has remained unaltered” concerning the presentation of Jewish history in German textbooks. We discovered that although textbook authors often shared our views, they did not feel able to write appropriate texts
• due to a lack of source material and comprehensive academic studies or
• because teachers were not familiar with a certain approach to the topic.

Project participants therefore decided
• to organise in-service seminars and
• to publish additional material including a leaflet showing either good or impaired textbook presentations and giving advice on how to implement new approaches to the subject.
The obstacle course: from the schools to the publishers

After recommendations have been completed, printed and distributed to schools, publishing houses and other interested parties, it is sometimes exasperating to find that they are not readily available on the market and have little influence on textbook production. In fact, the very existence of a free market is questionable. Many countries have state-run publishing houses, which means that normally schools can get their products free of charge, but they cannot express preferences. They must take what they are offered. Sometimes the ministry commissions private companies to produce books according to given guidelines; these books will then dominate the market, since there is effectively no competition. In all of these cases, there are often many administrative hurdles to be overcome.

Therefore, follow-up activities are necessary not only on a pedagogical or academic level but also on a political level. Often, however, the research team does not include people who are able and willing to act as political facilitators. This is one good reason for including representatives of educational ministries from the very beginning.

Even if a free market exists the state often controls access to it by instituting official textbook adoption procedures. Sometimes it is the sheer economic power of a small number of publishing houses that creates a virtual monopoly and restricts access to at least part of the market. Although it is more promising to submit proposals for new and challenging approaches to smaller firms, which are usually willing to take greater risks, it is quite clear that more schools will be reached by state-owned publishers or large private companies. Whatever the circumstances, however, it must be remembered that the textbook market reacts slowly to demands for change.

Private companies must make a profit and they are keen to keep their products unchanged for as long as possible. On the other hand, they are amenable to making alterations and innovations at the right time, in order to compete with others. As a rule, a successful textbook will have a life of ten years or more. When a textbook is finally published it will contain facts and statistics that were compiled several years before. As one edition of a textbook series has a life span of three to five or even more years, any reviewer must bear in mind that up-to-date information can often only be incorporated in supplementary material (or on publishers’ websites, see chapter IV).

There is a close link between marketing procedures, the budgets available to customers – such as parents or schools – and the innovative capacities of publishers as well as the funds they are able to invest in new books. If publishers have to respond to new customer demands every year they need to be flexible; they must adapt their books to new educational methods or change the content as new events and developments take place. If three or more generations of students use the same book,
the publishers will make less profit, a fact that will have a great influence on their planning. Therefore, the degree to which a book can be regarded as “modern” depends to a great extent on the prevailing political and economic conditions. It would be quite unfair to disregard this fact when comparing textbooks and implementing the results.

If the entire process, from the writing to the distribution of textbooks, is more or less in the hands of the ministry and only one textbook per grade and subject is available, there is – as a rule – no climate conducive for innovations. Often, ministries open a tender and approve one and more books for use in the classroom leaving the final choice to headmasters, teachers or school councils in which parents and students can also be represented. The sometimes competing interests of these groups lead to a diversity of the market and innovations can be implemented easier. In those countries where private enterprises do not have the sufficient capacity to invest in new books on their own, state organized textbook production might be needed in order to further innovations in textbook design and structure. The development of modern textbooks employing a clear didactical structure, offering a variety of methodological tools and a varied design require the work of trained experts who are often not yet available in countries with a poor publishing industry and low level of literacy. Here, capacity building in the publishing sector should therefore support innovative textbook projects.49

According to the principle of equal access to education, textbooks should be available free of charge. Actually, this has led to unwanted consequences; often, even in economically strong states such as Western Europe, ministries of education suffer from financial constraints and put pressure on the schools to use an individual copy for many pupil generations, so that in the end the users find them in bad shape, unattractive and containing outdated information. In addition, as publishers sell fewer copies a year, they are hesitant to make greater investments and the circle of innovation will be prolonged. Thus, a measure that was intended to serve quality education may lead to stagnation in educational standards because of market mechanisms.

Patience is of the essence regardless. Surprisingly, even countries with very high academic and technical standards in textbook writing and printing take about five years or more to develop a new book. This phenomenon could be witnessed recently: it was only in the second half of the nineties that the former communist countries began to introduce challenging and innovative books that did away with old approaches and models. This can

49 A salient example is the “Azerbaijan World History Textbook Project” funded by the Open Society Institute; an evaluation report mentioned insufficient publishing and distribution environments such as “a lack of experienced educational publishers, a lack of experience and documentation on basic procedures, e.g. tendering, bidding, preparation of dummy copies, copyrighting, illustrations etc” as possible shortcomings; Timothy HUNT: Five Case Histories of Textbook Development (Romania, Macedonia, Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan, China). In: BRASLAVSKY 2006, pp. 195–270, quotation p. 223.
be explained only in part by the transitory curriculum situation and un-
stable economic conditions. Even in Germany, where the well established
West German publishing houses took over almost all of the East German
market, the publishers only amended their books at first, devoting a few
pages at most to recent developments. Most of the books containing a
revised presentation of contemporary history did not appear in schools
until about five to ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

A wider approach to textbook analysis: the construction of
group identity

We know of various serious, protracted conflicts and controversies over
biased textbook representations, omissions of obvious and indispensa-
able facts, etc. Although these issues are sometimes discussed openly in
public, pupils learn nothing about them when reading their books.\(^{50}\) In
this case, the restrictions of the traditional model of bilateral textbook
revision become apparent: it fails to offer a means for coping with the
differences between conceptions of history or society that are based on
fundamental ideological beliefs, political creeds and people’s pride, all
of which are areas that should not be called into question.

History textbooks, in particular, contain a perception of *self-image*
that may be no less stereotyped than the perceptions they contain of
countries other than their own. This self-image may be directly identifi-
able, but it may also be that it is discovered through the images and por-
trayals of others. Anyone who engages in this type of analysis will find
that stereotypes and prejudices tend to be related to the need of the soci-
ety in question to find points of self-orientation in its own development
process. As a result, they are often immune to pure factual information.
This circumstance probably reveals the weakest point in the traditional
approach to combating prejudice, namely adding more, or more “accu-
rate” knowledge; the idea that simply supplying the right facts will help
to “correct” a “wrong” image. We already know that this approach does
not suffice to change someone’s mind. Textbooks as educational tools
offer greater opportunities and can do much more than merely convey
facts. They should provide points of references for students whose be-
havioural and cognitive patterns are being formed. Readers should strive
to find out the key points of reference in a given text and to examine the
degree to which the concept of oneself, embedded in history, geography
or social studies textbooks, is also open to other identities. Generally

\(^{50}\) Wolfgang HÖPKEN (ed.): Öl ins Feuer. Schulbücher, ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in
Südosteuropa/Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic, Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Eu-
speaking, the consequence is a debate on the relationship between “us” and “the other,” whoever “the other” in each case may be: class, gender or ethnic/cultural/religious groups. We are exposed to an inextricable interrelation between two poles: how do we assess our own group and how do we assess other groups?

The basic questions for textbook analysis with a view of international understanding are therefore:

- How does a text represent and confirm group identity?
- How does the fundamental difference between us and them emerge from the portrayal of different groups of humankind in textbooks?

Founding myths

Concepts of collective identity are often anchored in history and linked to a territory that is “owned” by the collective. The notion of the modern nation-state is thereby translated into the past, although the subject of this collective, the nation as a socio-political or ethnic group, did not exist at that time. The histories of indigenous and nomadic peoples who have been expelled or even annihilated are often neglected. Authochtonism and founding myths legitimize current territorial interest and claims for cultural dominance, uniqueness and exclusiveness. Making them amenable to scholarly analysis and discussing their legitimizing function are some of the most difficult tasks in textbook talks, as core issues of national pride and consciousness are at stake. Conflicting national myths often employ the same essentialist concept of the collective and its territorial “home” over long historical periods. “National” history often starts in ancient times or in the Middle Ages, thus establishing a sense of territorial and time continuity up to the present. Even relatively new states whose boundaries were carved out by colonial powers and/or international agreements try to establish a much longer “national” tradition and to write it into the school curriculum. Becoming aware of the conceptual inter-changeability of founding myths may open up the floor and convince the project partners that a concept that is based on primordial, quasi-eternal characteristics of the collective no longer fits into a world marked by multicultural societies and global interdependency.

Nations strive to develop positive self-concepts. How to remember – and to present in a textbook – a “negative” past which may be, for example, associated with mass crimes, dictatorship etc. poses therefore a severe problem. No wonder that politicians and authors try to avoid addressing historical periods that do not fit into a positive self-image in any detail. However, we cannot distance ourselves from our own history when we interact with neighbouring peoples or states in the long run. Either they or successor generations in one’s own society take up these sore points a new which is sometimes even more painful. Building on the vast post-war-time experiences people underwent in the 20th century, one can say that “working through” a negative past, reflecting it consciously and openly can become a value in itself; it does not turn the “negative”
past into a positive one, but the way to deal with it takes on a positive meaning and helps to “heal” the traumatized historical consciousness which otherwise would encapsulate a hidden scar.51

Multiculturalism: Cohesion without homogeneity

As textbook revision projects were conducted between states in its formative years after the First World War, the inner fractions of a society were normally not touched upon in textbook consultations. The nation-state societies conceived themselves predominantly as homogeneous entities. History and geography textbooks disregarded or neglected minorities; if they were taken into account in civics books, they were mainly depicted as a social, economic or cultural problem. The majority population has been clearly in the focus of textbook representations so far. In view of world-wide migration flows, this can no longer be regarded as an appropriate approach.

Therefore, migration and the place minorities have in education should be included into textbooks and textbook projects.52 However, up to now no generally recognised model has been found of how to deal with minorities. Broadly speaking, two approaches prevail: Firstly, minorities are included in the regular textbook; however, that offers hardly enough space to treat them in a detailed and proper way; often, it leads to strike differences rather than to underscore challenging ways of a multicultural interplay. Secondly, some governments granted their minorities the right to develop their own textbooks and use them in addition to the general regular textbook. The advantage is that the minorities now have the chance to employ their own point of view, but without being able to integrate it into the mainstream narrative. This model caused all the more problems, as many minority textbooks heavily drew on the history, geography and culture of the country of origin and tended to minimize the sense of belonging to the state they live actually in and whose citizen they are.53

It would also not help just to add to the core narrative of the majority population short information about the history, geography and societies of the countries of origin of the minorities and immigrants. In many countries, where a number of minorities or immigrants live this additive

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52 The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities includes only a rather general reference to minority education in article 4: “States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole.” www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r135.htm. National legislation provides more detailed regulations.

approach would lead to an indefinite regress, blow out the content and make the book indigestible to pupils. Where one minority succeeds being integrated into the main narrative, others want to follow. Instead of integration, competing histories and cultural claims emerge and trigger out “textbooks wars” over the appropriate place of each group in the curriculum.

This is the reason why multi-perspectival methodologies and skill-oriented approaches that do not prescribe a fixed body of content issues are being implemented in more and more countries. Their textbooks employ a narrative structure that integrates all components of the society and regards the mixture and growing together as a value in itself. They follow an integrative and inclusive concept rather than a separatist and exclusive model of collective identities.

Here, a change of paradigm takes place putting groups who were formerly neglected, disregarded or labelled as problem-makers on equal level with the “established society”. For example, in England, the colonialist approach shifted to an inter-communal, “multi-racial” concept which tries to establish a new identity concept breaking with the idea that the immigrants from the former colonies have to adapt to English tradition and heritage.\textsuperscript{54} However, the implementation of this model has often to face criticism from politicians and concerned scholars who raise their voices that this approach would weaken the inner cohesion of the society as people would loose their sense of tradition and stability, as well as their trust in the future. Some of the European countries who went relatively far in putting a multi-perspectival approach into practice are now shaken by a move backward to national core curricula or a consensual canon “consisting of selected figures, events, story lines, ideas and values, colligated by definite plots, perspectives and explanations”\textsuperscript{55} which tend to concentrate on the old majority population’s “master narrative”.

International textbook consultations can serve as a communication forum for exchanging and testing the pros and cons of different approaches to the presentation of multicultural societies and colonial heritage. This may also help develop a dialogue between the former colonizers and colonized countries as inner violence in former colonized societies

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Consensual canon vs. multiperspectivity?}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{54} FABIAN SOCIETY: \textit{The New Britishness. Could a New Britishness Unite Us?} http://fabians.org.uk/content/blogcategory/73/130/. Curriculum developers have to search for an inclusive way which does neither separate the immigrant culture from main stream society nor alienates migrants from their culture of origin.

\textsuperscript{55} Maria GREVER/Siep STUURMAN (eds.): \textit{Beyond the Canon. History for the Twenty-First Century.} New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; see also Linda SYMCOX/Arie WILSCHUT (eds.): \textit{National History Standards. The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History.} Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009. In France, the debate is still controversial as the government tried to impose on textbook authors by law to also teach the positive sides of colonial rule (see footnote 47). The egalitarian notion of citoyenneté became even an obstacle for giving special regard to the histories of immigrants from the former French colonies; for an in-depth analysis see Nicolas BANCEL/Pascal BLANCHARD (eds.): \textit{Culture post-coloniale 1961–2006. Traces et mémoires en France.} Paris: Edition Autrement, 2005.
is often seen as a burdensome heritage of the colonial past. Furthermore, if immigrants from former colonies are disregarded or problematised in textbooks, is this taken as sign for continuing discrimination.\textsuperscript{56}

The spatial dimension

Even where the nation or the nation-state is still at the centre of textbook representation, the relationship between the national, regional/international and global dimension is under revision. In what context do I place “my” country, with which cultural traditions, political and social values do I feel associated? No textbook can take account of the different regions of the world in a strictly impartial way, i.e. give all of them equal weight. This is neither possible, nor desirable. Even the definition of particular “regions” depends on more general concepts, which often are not purely geographical. During the Cold War, many geography books did not regard the Soviet Union and their satellite states as European countries because their authors adhered to a concept of Western European culture. Another example: in the minds of many European pupils, Africa is represented as a contingent unit with a similar culture across the entire continent. Do instruments of representation, such as maps, foster these perceptions?

→ What can we do to give an impression of the differences in living standards, cultural traditions, languages etc.?

This leads us to a very important analytical question:

→ Which differences is a textbook author interested in?
→ Where does he/she prefer to give a more general view, where does he/she stress homogeneity rather than variety?

This is of particular importance because students have already developed an inner “mental map,” which tells them what is too far away from them and undifferentiated in and of itself, and what they feel is closer to them and associated with their own lifestyle. The distances in mental maps often differ considerably from the “real” geographical ones.

The time dimension

History teaching normally starts at a stage when the pupil has no concept of an abstract historical time comprised of centuries and millennia. It contributes to the pupil’s ability and capacity to gain, step by step, an understanding of development in time. Almost any history schoolbook designed for use in compulsory schooling follows a more or less strict chronological approach. It constructs continuity over time and space that in reality is interrupted by discontinuities, even unknown decades, blank

\textsuperscript{56} Ussama MAKSIDI/Paul A. SILVERSTEIN (eds.): Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
areas. It is the selection of facts and the author’s grouping of them that creates this sense of unity and continuity. For pupils, this often appears to be “natural,” undisputable and real. This may contribute to their over-estimating the flow of tradition they feel associated with and to their neglecting or refusing to accept other traditions that appear to have less legitimation because they are restricted to certain areas or cannot boast such a long history. These considerations raise crucial questions for analysis:

- Is continuity used as an argument for proving legitimacy?
- Whose traditions are neglected or given only scant coverage?

The context of teaching and public memory

The role textbooks play varies from country to country, sometimes even from school to school. At first glance, this issue appears to refer only to methodological issues. But deeply rooted matrices of “official” historical memories are often masked by the different ways in which textbooks are used.

Is there a determined set of events and characters, which all pupils have to learn about? If so, such a “pack” of mandatory topics can be seen as a code indicating that the past, in a certain sense, dictates the mode of remembering in a given cultural context. Not only the content, but also the evaluation, are usually fixed and immutable. Allan Luke speaks of a “one-to-one identification of school knowledge with textually represented ideas of the dominant classes” or ruling groups within a society. All this makes it extremely difficult to improve mutual understanding, as the integration of new topics, which often entails the exclusion of previous material, and the discussion of divergent interpretations, which might not reflect the quasi-official opinion, will tend to be frowned upon.

Often, however, the curriculum only very roughly describes what should be taught and teachers turn to other textbooks or additional material to select the topics that best suit their scheme. In this case, simply comparing the contents of textbooks is not enough to define a “core” of national memory.

Both types of cultures have developed almost incomparable ways for memorizing the past. In the latter case, you may decide to regard those contents common to all the textbooks analysed as just such a core. This approach may be feasible, but you cannot exclude the fact that teachers probably only teach a few of these topics. The shared memory of society, then, seems to be under constant change, shifting from one subject to another according to the current interests and issues which are the subject of public debate. It probably depends more on other media than

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on textbooks and the institutions or groups influencing them. In places where mass media are still less influential also oral histories, drama etc. may play a significant role.

If historical tradition is indeed shaped in such divergent ways, then the comparative approach is confronted with an enormous problem. Before the actual analysis of the textbooks it is often helpful to explore the background shaping the historical consciousness, the prevailing cultural patterns and the scientific developments within the cultures concerned. A failure to do this might make it impossible to find acceptable criteria for interpreting the findings of textbook analysis.

“This shift from treating history as a body of knowledge to be remembered, to a perception of history as a process of rational investigation of the past, based on reference to a variety of evidence from different viewpoints, may have a profound impact on pupils’ values.

Once the process of looking at issues from other perspectives is established, this may begin to affect everyday attitudes and positions … – not just in history but in all aspects of life.” (GALLAGHER 1996, p. 52)

With these principles as a basis, international textbook revision has developed into a scientific discipline called textbook research. Its aim is to provide better insights into the interrelationships that exist between the teaching of history, geography and civics and the prejudices and misconceptions in pupils’ everyday experiences as conveyed by the general political culture, to which mass media makes an increasing contribution. Thus, textbook research has developed into an interdisciplinary activity, in which historians, geographers, social scientists and educationalists participate in equal measure.

From the 1970s on, several groundbreaking studies on collective images as transmitted through textbooks appeared in a number of countries, particularly in Germany, France, and the USA. These studies reflect, in a stimulating manner, on the concept of history as embedded in textbooks – a concept which becomes fully visible only through a diachronic review over a longer time span. Although limited in scope because they only treat one singular country, they nevertheless contributed considerably to establishing textbook research as an acknowledged academic discipline.

A lively and engaged schoolbook debate, which is still going on, emerged in the 1980s in the USA. It concentrates on admission policies, its influence on the quality of textbooks and problems of evaluation. Although publications are mainly related to political debates and textbook research inside the USA, a lot of what they describe can be applied to other regions as well:

William E. MARSDEN: The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies. London: Woburn Press, 2001; it has been Marsden’s explicit intention to lay the foundation for more detailed research on the multifaceted textbook production in Great Britain, where only through the introduction of the “National Curriculum” in the 1990s a well defined school textbook market like in other western European countries was established. Marsden’s book deserves the interest also of those readers who are not particularly interested in the development in Great Britain, as he lucidly summarises the state of the art in general before he examines the national case. He develops an “analytical structure” revealing three crucial elements of every textbook: Content, method and “mission.” In addition, he sheds light on censorship issues as they occurred in totalitarian regimes in Europe; see also Norman J. GRAVES: School Textbook Research: the Case of Geography 1800–2000. London: University of London, Institute of Education, 2001 (refers also to the USA).


In the meantime, many monographs have been devoted to the textbook; they not only deal with content-related issues, but also discuss the general structure and composition of textbooks as a particular medium of instruction. Scandinavian authors, in particular, have contributed quite a bit to this field. They can look back on a long tradition of textbook comparison and seem to be more open to experiments in textbook construction and production than writers in other parts of the world.


Textbooks serve multiple functions

During the early years of textbook studies, textbooks were often regarded as quasi-independent entities. The examination focused almost exclusively on the content and the written text. Schoolbooks, however, are constructed as educational tools. How do teachers and students use them? Are textbooks at the focus of classroom teaching? Do pupils learn parts of the text by heart? Do teachers have to follow the text chapter by chapter or are they free to choose whatever coincides with the students’ interests and desires?

So far, we only have a vague knowledge about the role textbooks have in the classroom. International comparative empirical studies are still missing. Teaching and learning cultures differ considerably from country to country and sometimes even within the same country. At least for the subjects referred to here, it can be said that teachers use textbooks almost all over the world primarily for preparing and structuring their lessons; this does not necessarily imply that they also refer to them during classroom teaching. It depends on how rigid the curriculum is; if the textbook has to mirror the curriculum exactly, the teaching also follows the textbook chapter by chapter or even paragraph by paragraph and students read part of the book aloud in class. If the curriculum gives leeway to teachers, in particular as far as methods of teaching are concerned, they tend to rearrange the material and do not follow the textbook strictly. In the latter case, students use the textbook mainly for homework assignments.

To sum up, on the one hand:

- teachers rely on textbooks,
- “textbooks provide expertise, are timesavers, and provide security for both teachers and students in outlining content, scope and sequence.”


In addition, wherever they are the only or the central medium for teaching,

- textbooks “comprise the subject.”


On the other hand, to summarise the main function of textbooks in such a short formula would certainly provoke the protest of many teachers who do not feel dependent on textbooks as textbooks provide “primarily … a source of information rather than … the structure of a course.”


These statements need not be seen as contradictory; in practice, they often actually complement each other. Researchers have developed questionnaires to explore the role textbooks play in the classroom. The example below is taken from a project conducted in Australia.

Questions to examine textbook use in secondary classrooms

- Detail and condition of the material being used
- the length of time taken to issue and collect texts
- how the students gained access to texts
- the length of time texts were used in teaching and learning
- whether pre-reading took place
- how did students read the text
- what tasks were set by the teacher
- were the texts to be used for homework
- how did the students use the text
- what was the teacher’s purpose for using the texts in class

Textbook comparison can even become a student activity rather than an exclusively academic undertaking. To stimulate classroom discussion the 1988 UNESCO conference in Braunschweig recommended that authors should

➔ “include points of view on a given subject expressed by other textbooks.”


61 Developed as an observational instrument (textor = textbook observation record) by Mike HORSLEY/ Kevin LAWS: An Expert Teacher’s Use of Textbooks in the Classroom, 1990.
Such an exercise enables students “to step into the shoes of others.” Students can also perform some basic linguistic evaluation and discover whether their own images of other people are biased or not.62

Classroom exercises on textbooks
1. Ask the students to write down a few words describing attitudes, behaviour and other characteristics of boys/men compared to those of girls/women (or other groups).
2. Let the students consult their textbooks: how do they characterise the same groups (identify words and terms used, attitudes ascribed to them, context in which they are presented: work, leisure time, family surroundings). Ask them to list, for each group or country separately, the words used and to consider whether these have negative or positive connotations.
3. Open discussion about images, bias and stereotypes about one’s own group and other people. Focus should be on “hidden messages”: Portraying others implies telling something about how you perceive yourself.
4. Introduce new information about the groups dealt with. Does this change the image as described before?
5. Possible conclusion: To overcome prejudice about others it seems to be essential to revise one’s self-conception at the same time.

Towards variety in designing schoolbooks

In the past, history textbooks concentrated on the narrative and geography books on the description of geographical features of a country or region. But the design of schoolbooks has changed considerably. Many of them are now full of pictures, maps, caricatures, photos and drawings. Children are more and more used to being exposed to TV, videos and computers; illustrations attract their attention more than written text. Pictures are like catchwords; they can serve as keys that give the memory access to a chapter. The function of illustrations is therefore an important topic:
- Do they add new perspectives?
- Do they change the angle of approach?
- Do they complement the text?

Illustrations often affect the observers’ emotions and stimulate them to express their feelings, a response which might not result from mere reading. Pictures can aid free expression, although probably in a less controlled way, especially when sensitive issues are raised and emotions

62 In many countries teacher manuals are available to give advice on how to cope with controversial issues in classrooms. From the point of view of global education and teaching for international understanding see Robert STRADLING et al.: Teaching Controversial Issues. Edward Arnold: London 1984; GALLAGHER 1996.
are involved. Hence, illustrations are more likely to foster deeply rooted prejudices; they help to create images in the minds of students, which are more persistent than the written text. For example, if a text advocates women’s rights and equality of the sexes but the illustrations display men only, the text will probably have no effect. The same applies to minority groups, who are often neglected in illustrations or depicted in a less favourable light. This means that:

> text analysis should be complemented by an examination of illustrations. 63

In some books there is a tendency to rely heavily on character portraits, which reflects the significance authors attach to famous people in history. It is interesting to analyse the types of characters shown: are they politicians, soldiers or ordinary people; are they men or women, adults or children; are they shown in action or are we given a static portrait? Examining all the illustrations in one book can show that, in many cases, they are not used arbitrarily, but rather to transmit a message that is not evident at first glance.

As this paragraph shows, the range of methods that textbooks provide for pupils and teachers alike has broadened significantly in many countries over the past few decades. This development implies a redefinition of the role of the teacher. Lessons in which the pupils are placed in the spotlight of the instruction procedure are replacing the traditional teacher-centric classroom. The various materials and methods provided by textbooks are used to inspire pupils to ask questions and to explore ways in which these questions may be answered. Indeed, textbooks often change more quickly than the behaviour of teachers and pupils. An analysis based solely on textbooks may therefore easily give rise to the impression that diverse forms of teaching are put into practice and that pupils are able to openly discuss their various interpretations of a particular event, for example. It is equally possible, however, that the opposite occurs: that the textbooks only provide one interpretation of each event and the pupils are nevertheless in a position to autonomously contribute their own opinions – opinions not supported by the textbook – to the class. And so, in order to gain the most accurate reading possible of the actual classroom situation, we should also consult empirical studies on the use of textbooks. If these are only insufficiently available and if the scope of the project in question does not accommodate such studies within its course, experienced teachers should – at the very least – be

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asked to report on their own teaching methods in order to achieve a better assessment of the relevance of the textbooks’ content to actual teaching practices.

The varied, modern design of textbooks seems to be a contradiction to the “authority” the textbook has enjoyed as being the ultimate point of reference for valid information and interpretation in the past (CASTELL et. al. 1989). According to the older studies by Castell, Apple and others it is the “impersonality” that guarantees the “objectivity” of the textbook. “The notion of the school text as an idealized (explicit) prose does not account for the discourse structure of many basal readers and prescribed course books currently in use” (CASTELL et. al. 1989, p. 250). Earlier, textbook authors would conceal any point of subjectivity or personal interest in designing the book and selecting the content. Since then, however, history, geography and social studies textbooks have changed and now often employ this discursive style that textbook researchers were missing before. Meanwhile, ironically, empirical surveys have shown that students regard the regular textbook as the most trustworthy authority even ranging before the teacher who may be influenced by her/his own subjective opinion.65

Students, therefore, will only understand the multiperspective and discursive make-up of their schoolbooks if they understand that the books are tailored to also develop their skills in argumentation and evaluation, not only in knowledge production and repetition. They should know that modern schoolbooks are the result of a teamwork to which many powerful and knowledgeable players contributed, as well as a controlled selection (and often also approval) process. In practice, however, the discursive structure of the modern learning process is jeopardized by rigid, fact-oriented and knowledge-based examination assignments that streamline the learning process and do not build on the didactical principles that might have shaped the design of the learning tools. To come closer to what is really claimed by the students, it can be useful and revealing to also include so called examination books that condense the wide range of contents and skills into core elements, which can be seen as a canon of what really counts for getting good marks, into the review process.

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IV. The challenges of the new media

“What we are expected to be today is to serve as mediators between the students and varied sources of information and to act as counsellors and consultants.”

Today’s pupils are exposed to a wide range of electronic media. Working with attractive CD-ROM diskettes and the Internet enables the students to browse through time and space, to rapidly obtain information about important historical personages, data about populations and the physical conditions etc. of a region or a country. The key advantage of electronic media over printed media is that they can illustrate change visually, for example, how borders were altered and what impact this had on population movements or the distribution of ethnic and language groups in a certain region. In addition to the printed textbook, publishing houses develop websites which offer a greater variety of source material and assignments; in particular, latest developments can be taken into account for teaching before a new, updated edition of the book comes out. The wide range of material on foreign countries, cultures etc., which is accessible on the Internet, can be used to enrich the teaching of issues which are normally dealt with in the textbook only in a national context. For example, the teaching of the Holocaust can be related to other state committed mass crimes in different regions and time periods in order to understand the impact of genocide on feelings of victimization, which might occur in a multicultural classroom. In particular, information about countries of origin of migrant pupils can be researched and complement the nation-centred view that often prevails in the regular textbook. Internet-based learning materials have also been used (at least temporarily) to fill the gap where not enough textbooks per pupil are available.

Electronic media offer teachers, as well as students, new possibilities for structuring their lessons and collecting their own material. Students can exchange information on sources, statements and personal experiences and make them available to other classes in distant countries they have never visited. In Internet projects students can engage in their own dialogues by talking to their peers over long distances, for example about cultural customs, special holidays and commemorative occasions, what they find important and their likes and dislikes in history, geography and civics lessons. An example is the Hamburg-Chicago project, where pupils worked together on a book about the two cities they live in. They could investigate the differences between an “official” text and their own – what terms do they use, what values are important to them, do they share these values with teachers and textbook authors?

67 Further information available (transatl-book@dkrz.d400.de).
Students operate with their own “scripts,” which are model-interpretations of a situation often related to their daily experience and not based on a deeper historical or geographical understanding. It is difficult to find any traces of such “scripts” in text-oriented teaching.

The computer can contribute to establishing a “learner-centred” discourse, which is an authentic way of highlighting conflicting issues. In Northern Ireland, for example, students communicate via e-mail and the Internet with their counterparts in Dublin and elsewhere, informing them of how they experience the conflict in everyday situations.68

“Instead of reading about the concepts of American political behavior, imagine a problem that would allow a student to experience the political process in real time. The student can participate as a political leader of a ‘virtual interest group’ … focusing and sustaining participation, fitting activities to resources … and building coalitions with other students. This experience could include use of online databases, collaborative work groups over the Internet, and poll taking with various political mapping and data analysis tools.”69

Electronic media can narrow as well as widen existing divides regarding access to quality education between developing and industrialized countries. Distance education via Internet can help to rebuild educational infrastructure in post-conflict areas; wherever computers and Internet are available teachers and students get access to latest information; they can even download textbooks or teaching units provided that they have already acquired the necessary skills. Usually, short-term emergency measures need at least some IT support. However, still in many regions of the globe, not every student is provided with a textbook, not to speak of computers and Internet. Here, the divide expands as the electronic illiteracy reinforces the already restricted realm of knowledge and learning skills.

Teachers and educational authorities must face up to the challenges of the new electronic media. It is now more difficult to control the material used in the classroom. Browsing through the Internet during a project, students may find sources, pictures and other information that their teachers are not familiar with. Students may be confronted with offensive contents, loaded language or biased slogans about other peoples and cultures.

Although there will always be an element of spontaneity in any educational process, teaching is, on the whole, a more or less controlled and planned activity. The acquisition of data, pictures and other items of

information via the computer is an arbitrary and sometimes chaotic activity, but the real process of learning begins when the student tries to build a structure, linking the material to form a consistent entity. Students and teachers have to check how reliable and correct the data are; they must be aware that information obtained from the Internet or electronic data banks has been deliberately pre-selected – only then can we begin to apply all the procedures we have already used in textbook comparison.

This all may lead to the question: Is the era of the textbook as the main educational tool over? Why compare textbooks when this almost unlimited realm of virtual reality has opened up? However, experts on the use of electronic media in education hold the view that new media will not replace the printed textbooks even though governments in many countries support the development of electronic learning material and provide schools with computers; instead, the electronic media will amend the printed material, and both will complement each other. Educational media are “endowed with practical efficiency and symbolic legitimacy,” as Pierre Mœglin has put it, and electronic media seem to lack the latter. Even if schools are well equipped with computers, most often the use of computers is not regularly and systematically included into the school curriculum. Teachers more often use it for demonstration purposes, than students use it as a tool for active learning. Governmental funds are mostly provided for hardware, less for software. Accessible figures for the EU show that even best equipped countries spend less than 10 % of the amount which is spent on textbooks for multimedia material.70 Moreover, the market for electronic media still seems to be limited; CD-ROMs and Internet material sell less than books and printed media is still more profitable for educational publishing houses than electronic media. The latter are used randomly, and do not yet represent the main transmitter of content and methodology. This is corroborated by studies showing that textbooks are still regarded the most reliable learning tool by students as well.

→ “Revolutionized knowledge production” through the Internet will not automatically lead to a revolution in the acquisition of knowledge.71

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So far there have been only a few attempts to study pupils’ attitudes about the use of traditional print media and new electronic media for educational purposes. In addition to CD-ROMs and Internet programs tailored for use in the classroom, comics, computer games, TV series and TV news or documentaries and youth journals also transmit images of history and geography and so address issues of a common heritage. It is almost impossible to influence the production of TV series or comics by recommendations following the model of textbook consultations. Projects, however, can be designed to compare the imagery of different media, although they can only be handled by an interdisciplinary group and are expensive.72 Nevertheless, we need to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the media market to which students are exposed and which competes with formal educational tools like textbooks. Otherwise, a growing gap between popular and school (and academic) history could marginalize the impact of the latter; therefore, teachers should include analyses of movie and TV series which are related to topics relevant to the teaching of history, geography and civics into their teaching in order to address competing patterns of the use of the social sciences in class.

The media revolution has consequences for a modern concept of textbook research. The idea of the textbook as the sole and most important tool of instruction expands into the wider concept of “educational media.” The textbook is only one instrument of “the official culture” that constitutes formalized and canonized education. Traditional normative approaches to textbook analysis and revision strove to identify and “rectify” errors, omissions, one-sided views, etc. The assumption was, that if the content of a textbook is unambiguous, all students would understand it in the same way. For a growing number of today’s pupils, however, texts are no longer read in such an authoritative way (if they ever have been). Rather, the entire “learning environment” with its diversity of media, its plurality of agents and interpretations has to be taken into account. The textbook is just “one medium in a chain of media”; therefore, it should not be analysed as an isolated medium of education that – after revision according to criteria of factual accuracy and “objectivity” alone – would serve its aims more effectively. Textbook revision cannot be restricted to the “text,” as the text itself is the result of a negotiated societal process.73

The role of the teacher in computer-based teaching is to work together with the students in interpreting and evaluating the material. Experts speak of “discourse-based knowledge acquisition.” This does not make textbooks superfluous. At the end of computer and Internet projects classes normally produce their own report or a small booklet on the in-

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72 See the contributions on “Popular Culture”. In: RICHTER 2008.
73 Based on these assumptions Höhne has developed a “theory of the textbook”: Thomas HÖHNE: Schulbuchwissen. Umrisse einer Wissens- und Medientheorie des Schulbuches. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Goethe-Universität, 2003.
formation collected. They are expected to present a result that is accessible to everybody involved in the project. As a rule, electronic educational materials are neither produced for a single national market nor designed for schools in a particular country. Nevertheless, they reflect certain cultural patterns, at least those of the people who produce them.

*Often the presentation of other countries and cultures on CD-ROM is just as biased as in books:* it concentrates on famous individuals; it is more occupied with wars than with peace, and it is biased towards men. There has been almost no research on the extent to which the audiovisual content of educational videos follows certain cultural patterns, a fact that poses problems within an educational context. Only a few educational institutes have established services to check this so that teachers can decide what software is appropriate for use in schools.

*There is an urgent need to develop internationally comparable standards that can be applied to the electronic media used in the teaching of international understanding.*

Communication through the Internet can also ease the work of textbook project groups. Interactive project websites allow fast exchange of results, comments, and material; this can be crucial for a project where groups can hardly meet because of security risks. Also, the textbooks to be analysed can be digitized for computer-based analysis (see Annex).

V: Towards international cooperation: developments and perspectives

Educational information and communication across borders

“As a worldwide textbook culture is created by the multinational firms, textbook ideas that dominate the Western countries come to predominate in the rest of the world. Since textbooks provide an intellectual ‘map’ of the world and its knowledge for students, the ideas that shape textbook development have considerable importance not only for the books but also for the curriculum.”

Recent studies have confirmed Altbach’s claim and ascertained a trend towards a *worldwide standardization* of school education. This standardization is primarily relevant for the subjects most often taught and the average number of teaching hours they comprise, as well as – in-

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creasingly – the structural presentation of the material and formal examination requirements. International tests such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study) and – particularly relevant for the topic we are dealing with here – IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement)\(^{76}\) and CivED (Civic Education Study), are based on such standardization tendencies, and at the same time reinforce them.

All countries participating in such tests agree to the quality of their education systems being evaluated in terms of standardised global criteria. The studies quoted make it clear, however, that their results are primarily relevant for ‘core’ subjects, such as the natural sciences, mathematics and languages, while the subjects that relate more intensively to values, such as literature, civics and religion, may be attributed very different levels of importance by the national curricula. History, geography and civics are often consolidated by the studies into a ‘social sciences’ cluster, which is not least a result of the fact that these subjects are indeed often integrated and not taught as separate disciplines, particularly for younger pupils. An international comparison of curricula and textbooks is therefore more difficult to execute in this regard, because it would have to take varying curricular structures into account. In any case, the content matter and explicit or implicit values prescribed by the curricula and textbooks for these subjects can differ profusely, even if they are subject to seemingly similar formal structures. Despite developments towards a harmonisation of education forms and a more pronounced consideration of international topics in history lessons, the importance attributed to certain topics and judgements of historical processes, events and individuals continues to be of a national and cultural nature.

An international comparison with the goal of deepening our understanding of one another therefore certainly remains worthwhile. For instance, while superior curricular aims, such as respecting human rights or developing critical thinking, may well correspond with one another, in actual teaching practice other aims may begin to compete, such as inculcating pride in one’s own nation, or glorifying national heroes. The international standardization of general learning goals and disciplinary structures therefore bears little resemblance to the actual dissemination of the material within the subject areas focused on by international textbook reform.

Studies by the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE) on religious, history and civics instruction as well as moral education in

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countries with differing political systems have revealed that surveys of formal data, such as the number of subjects taught or the number of teaching hours involved, provide barely any information on the content matter of the lessons. Even if the number of teaching hours and the curricular structures do not greatly vary in an international comparison, the content of what is actually disseminated can differ significantly. In many Arab countries, for example, history textbooks, textbooks for learning the native language and literature readers in particular feature an amalgamation of explicit and implicit religious maxims, while in a strictly secular system, such as in France, disciplinary boundaries are attended to more scrupulously. As a result, the number of hours allocated to a subject provides us with an inadequate picture of the importance allocated to the subject in question when the content matter of other subjects is permitted to penetrate its topic areas.77

In the past schoolbook publishers have tended to operate within their own national boundaries. Exceptions can be found in the UK and France, where several very large publishing houses cater to an extensive foreign market, mainly in former colonial territories that were exposed to the cultural and linguistic influences of these two countries. While educational publishing houses increasingly merge into bigger international conglomerates, the market still remains nationalized to a large extent. This applies even to the EU where a free, inner, and international, market exists. Although international, or even global, players are penetrating textbook production in the EU more and more, the schoolbooks developed normally only fit into one particular national or regional area. The EU has only a very limited mandate in primary and secondary education, and the legal and curricular frameworks for textbook development are highly decentralized.78

Nevertheless, the trend towards globalization and the need for rationalisation in order to keep up with competitors are two factors that are increasingly forcing national publishers to seek international partners. Developing maps and producing up-to-date statistics is a costly business. With the help of electronic media, this data can easily be changed and adapted for use in different countries and languages, with the result that international cooperation will increase in this field. The situation is quite different for history or civics textbooks, where it is more difficult to construct a common core of content. Nevertheless, the task of finding common features for chapters working towards democratic participation

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and the observation of human rights presents a challenge that should be taken up. The production of educational multi-media units, in the form of separate sets or supplements to a book, is a growth area likely to stimulate joint ventures.

The collapse of the communist system has already furthered cooperation inside Europe. For example: under the guidance of the French publisher Hachette, an international team of authors produced the *European History Book*, which has since been published in 18 national editions. This book has caused considerable debate as far away as Japan.79

In this regard, the UNESCO *Pedagogical Use of the General History of Africa* project (2008–2012) with a view of renovating history education throughout Africa will focus on the development of three history textbooks, an historical atlas and CD-ROM on the basis of the *General History of Africa*. The project will involve pan African institutions including publishing houses.

Cooperation across borders between international organisations and local agencies of education can also challenge the trends towards harmonization and standardization, and may be of particular help to developing countries in preserving and improving local textbook production in order to resist the influence of the large companies operating on a global scale. Programmes to stabilize indigenous production on a regional basis have already been set up, for example, in Southern Africa. Although their main concern at present lies with the sciences, they should not exclude history, civics, geography and foreign language textbooks. New and progressive developments can be made available quickly through an exchange of experience about innovations in the writing and printing of textbooks (which are sometimes still imported from the former colonial powers).

All of this saves money and the developing countries do not become dependent on knowledge and resource transfers from foreign companies as long as this exchange is under the auspices of international organisations (NGOs included). In addition, this kind of cooperation prevents textbook design from becoming too streamlined:

＞ This mutual exchange of information can result in variety rather than uniformity.

“Textbooks are without question an element in the struggle for cultural and educational independence for many countries, both in the Third World and in smaller industrialized nations.”80

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Multi-/Transnational Textbooks

In the year 2006, the German-French history textbook was published for upper secondary level in both Germany and France, with identical contents, and written by a Franco-German team of authors.81 The creation of the book was inspired by the Franco-German Youth Parliament, an institution of the Franco-German Youth Exchange. The governments of both countries pursued the young people’s idea and appointed a commission of experts to phrase a call for proposals stipulating the thematic and methodological framework for the textbook. Following an open competition, the commission of experts awarded the contract to the Franco-German publisher team whom they considered most suitable according to the conditions laid down in the call. Although it was to be a Franco-German common product, the textbook not only presents Franco-German history; it equally addresses European and world history as required by the curricula of both countries. Produced and marketed by private publishing houses, the book must now assert itself against other textbook series on the market. Civil society, state and private companies have thus all contributed to the development and distribution of the book. The Franco-German Textbook Commission, which has now been established for over 60 years, and the close cooperation between historians in both countries have almost certainly laid foundations for the project. The book is an example of international cooperation already of influence to other regions.82 A group of Japanese, Korean and Chinese scholars that emerged following years of consultation have equally productively collaborated to produce a common history textbook to help alleviate the debate surrounding controversial assessments of World War II in East Asia.83 Unlike the Franco-German book, however, it is merely intended


82 The Korean translation of the book is already available; the Japanese version is in progress. A German-Polish team headed by the German-Polish Textbook Commission and the Georg Eckert Institute is currently carrying out the groundwork for a German-Polish history textbook.

as supplementary material and not as a regular textbook. However, the book can serve to provide teachers with orientation when re-interpreting East-Asian history. The greatest value of such initiatives is perhaps their contribution to the development of a transnational historical consciousness permitting a cross-border dialogue on varying interpretations of history. Whereas the tri-national East Asian textbook has been produced by a NGO, official bilateral History Commissions between Japan and Korea as well as between Japan and China are at work and deal with school textbook issues.84

Such undertakings cannot always rely on state support. Teacher associations, unions and peace education organisations have themselves taken the initiative whenever action on the part of the state has proved to be impossible, producing innovative teaching materials via cross-border projects conducted on their own responsibility.

Multinational textbooks display certain pedagogical styles that must fit into different pedagogical environments, and represent average standards over special features characteristic for a particular country. The more education follows universal standards in design and structure where only the content differs, the more international publishers will have a chance to streamline their products accordingly to cover different national markets. Hopefully, what seems to be internationally acceptable or what sells in different countries, should represent the most advanced and successful model of textbook construction.85

The success of such projects depends on a multitude of factors. An agreement is difficult to achieve if the consultations have to deal with material issues such as territorial claims or compensations. Reconciliatory efforts between Korea and Japan were often jeopardized through new territorial disputes – if even about rather small and almost uninhabited islands – that caught the attention of the media and made the public less amenable to a historical rapprochement. Thus, the work of joint state commissions in history could easily be hampered by such debates, and

84 This assessment is also true of other works such as the Baltic History Textbook Project, which was developed by scholars and education experts and supported by the Council of Europe: The History of the Baltic Countries. Eds. Zigmantas KLAUPA et al., Tallinn: Avita, 1999 (also available in the languages of the Baltic countries and in German).

85 A sceptical view on international publishers was developed in Michel APPLE: The Political Economy of Text Publishing. In: CASTELL et al. 1989, pp. 155–169, as he holds the view that international publishing will contribute to levelling out standards.
the reputation of civil society agents or expert groups was still too weak as to withstand mainstream politics and public opinion. Although the Korea-Japan Commission for the Joint Study of History established in 2002 agreed on a number of issues and could hammer out 40 joint theses, continuing political controversies restricted the areas where a common interpretation could be reached. Both, joint state commissions and NGOs have to increase their weight in the public debate through continuous work proving that they can establish a long-term, expert-based rational discourse which does not follow short-term oriented political manoeuvres. Besides the above mentioned tri-partite textbook, ongoing bi-lateral projects have produced a range of new joint teaching material for Korean and Japanese classes. The growth of their societal and pedagogical range is generally consistent with the variety of dimensions that a project can cover in the network of relationships in which a textbook is developed and distributed.

- The involvement of teachers and imaginative textbook authors – while not to be taken for granted – guarantees relevance to the teaching practice and can lead to the use of the product in class, even if there is a lack of political support.
- Innovative ideas are lent support from academia by input or assessments from scholars. This is particularly important if sensitive issues pertaining to national self-images are at stake.
- Societal support from parent associations, teachers’ unions, etc., is important wherever a project gives rise to or contains a direct statement on politically controversial debates.
- Political support or at least tolerance on the part of ministries of education or state teacher-training and textbook-approval institutions is always desirable; a work-group based on an NGO structure can then at least access informative contacts even if no government bodies are officially involved.

The government may also contribute by appointing official commissions or work-groups to develop a proposal as a committee of experts independently of further government decrees; the government will then in turn decide whether to accept, reject or modify the proposal. This procedure allows for a clear distinction between the work of the experts and the political decision.

In many areas of conflict, textbook issues are worked on simultaneously by NGOs, government commissions and pressure groups. In order to raise the effectiveness of this work whilst at the same time maintaining its autonomy, it can be helpful in such cases to draw from coordinated resources from internationally recognised organisations and institutions such as UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute. Such institutions can assist in comparative discussions of the individual work-groups’ results, identifying areas of overlap and proposing solutions for any continuing differences.

Educating for global responsibility

“Do history, geography and social studies textbooks seek only to reflect society, or to change it? Do they seek to guarantee certain attitudes and values? Or do they more modestly seek to enable young people, with a foundation of knowledge, skills and insights, to make their own independent choices between alternative attitudes and values?” (John Slater, in: BOURDILLON 1992, p. 17)

At the beginning of this guidebook it was emphasised that the political climate plays an important role for any potential changes in textbooks concerning international understanding. In particular, history and social studies schoolbooks cannot be isolated from the political and social background that shape historical awareness and the understanding of citizenship within a certain society. It is impossible, in the long run, to teach insights or disseminate knowledge through textbooks that do not correspond with the general political context. The relationship between politics and education, however, is not one-sided. They influence each other. Education can supply new aims that will be propagated in schools and textbooks before they are implemented and fully realised on the political level. Education can lay the foundations for forming attitudes and opinions which are essential to policies that promote peace and mutual understanding. Through education, we can legitimately instil a sense of global responsibility in the students’ minds, although in reality pupils are confronted with violations of this principle almost every day.

International textbook comparison can help to investigate and explain the instruments that textbook authors should develop in order to include not only the well-established local, regional and national dimension but also the global dimension in textbooks for history, geography and civics.88

VI. The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and the UNESCO International Textbook Research Network

Georg Eckert, a historian at the Braunschweig Pedagogical University, established contacts with foreign history teachers during the post-war period in order to initiate comparative textbook analysis and revision that would help eradicate one-sided, traditional and nationalistic images. A number of projects run by the International Institute for Textbook Improvement, which Eckert founded in 1951 and which after his death became the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, were set up or carried out in co-operation with UNESCO. In accordance with the main stream of international textbook projects, Eckert organised bilateral, as well as multilateral, seminars at which teachers and scholars from the former adversaries of Nazi Germany could meet and converse. Since these early years the institute has devoted its work in particular to problems relating to the presentation of one’s own or others’ difficult past in textbooks.

→ How can we come to terms with a past that instils us with a sense of shame rather than pride?
→ How can we come to terms with the fact that communities are often divided although, or even because, they share a common past?

The foundation of the first international textbook research institute
Due to the experience gained by the Georg Eckert Institute in international textbook consultations, it has received more and more requests to lend its expertise to projects which do not deal with German textbooks or curricula at all; the role of the institute is not only to guarantee a high academic standard in textbook consultations but also to create an atmosphere of confidence, without which there is little hope of achieving successful results. In these cases the institute acts as a “neutral” mediator between the conflicting groups. In 1988 the Council of Europe invited the Institute to act as a clearing house for the exchange of information on history and geography textbooks.

The Institute cooperates with experts from universities, teacher training seminars and textbook publishing houses. In its projects, the Institute brings together representatives from different fields of research and educational practice to initiate or stimulate dialogue. It is a conference and research centre. At its very heart is the unique textbook library, which is supplemented by a smaller academic reference library. Over the years, other textbook research centres have been established throughout the world. They give advice on how to conduct textbook projects and provide literature as well as information about where to find good textbook libraries and resource centres (see Annex).

After the conference in Brisbane (see p. 14), UNESCO commissioned the Georg Eckert Institute to establish an international network of research institutions and curriculum development centres in order to exchange information about the updating of curricula, textbooks and teacher training programmes with regard to peace, human rights and democracy. The databank of the network will be integrated into the Institute’s new portal on Educational Media Research www.edumeres.net. It provides information about on-going projects, institutions and scholars engaged in textbook studies; it also contains articles (research papers and analyses) and a databank which provides information on education systems, structures of curricula in history, geography and civics as well as textbook (production and approval) systems. It will be closely linked to the UNESCO homepage.

From the very beginning, the network on textbook research was conceived as a medium to enable an exchange of views, to disseminate knowledge about a wide range of different methodological and intellectual approaches, and to establish common ground for further research. In many countries the allocation of funds for textbook research is restricted, so Internet based information and communication represents an inexpensive alternative to fulfil the need for further information and stimulating ideas about peace and human rights education.
The Georg Eckert Institute’s activities are intended to pave the way for peaceful conflict resolution, to foster international understanding and to strengthen the intercultural dimension of history, geography and civics textbooks. The Institute examines the role of the textbook in the teaching process; it addresses the question of what relationship textbook-conveyed interpretations have to those concepts of identity that are offered by other educational media.

To achieve these aims the Institute
• organizes international textbook conferences,
• elaborates upon and publishes textbook recommendations,
• advises textbook authors, editors, teachers and teacher training colleges,
• offers scholarships for research purposes at the Institute,
• conducts research projects.

The Institute’s library is open to visitors and researchers.
• The textbook library contains approx. 171,000 volumes from 157 countries; the majority of the textbooks have been published after 1945. For German speaking countries the collection goes back even to the 16th century. The library offers an inexhaustible source of materials, in particular for all those who are engaged in research with a comparative approach.
• The research library contains approx. 70,000 volumes with literature (including journals) for textbook research and didactics in the above mentioned subjects.
• On-line catalogues provide easy access to the library’s collections:
  http://www.gei.de/index.php?L=1&id=bibliothek (Information about the library and access to catalogues)

The Institute’s publications include
• a series of conference reports, textbook analyses, recommendations as well as teaching materials, monographs/edited books on textbook research89
• the Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society.90 The journal covers the entire field of comparative media research, of research on stereotypes and prejudices, the construction of collective memories and concepts of space; beyond the textbook, the journal deals with museums, memorials, films etc. It presents theoretical approaches and gives practical guidance.

89 The publication series Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung will be continued under the title Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe. Studien des Georg-Eckert-Instituts zur internationalen Bildungsmeforschung: for a complete list of publications visit www.gei.de; see also Ursula A. J. BECHER and Rainer RIEMENSCHNEIDER (eds.): Internationale Verständigung. 25 Jahre Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2000.

ANNEX: Practical advice for textbook reviewers

A. Methods and categories for analysis

The methods of textbook research have evolved so as to meet the needs of different analytical purposes: these include identifying the obvious content coverage, didactical approaches or uncovering the hidden curriculum, the underlying assumptions and the connotations which a text may evoke in the student’s mind.

Almost every debate about the methodological problems of text-interpretation starts with a discussion on the pros and cons of a quantitative vs. a qualitative approach. Of course, each approach provides answers to different questions:

Quantitative methods like frequency and space analysis measure the text and determine:
- how many times a term is used or a person or people are mentioned,
- how much space is allotted to a country or topic, etc.

This can tell us a great deal about where the emphasis lies and about selection criteria, but nothing about values and interpretation. Quantitative analysis carries the advantage that other researchers can approve it if the methodology and the terms for analysis are well defined and distinct; it has limitations concerning the relevance of the findings as the evaluation criteria are mostly of a formal nature. A simple frequency analysis, however, can tell us a lot, for example, about the room for manoeuvre that authors have to design their textbooks.

Let’s take an example from a project investigating the significance of the European dimension in Spanish textbooks. All books analysed were widely used and followed the same curriculum. However, the space devoted to the European dimension varied from ca. 40% to 57%. The textbook series with the lowest percentage of European content attached more importance on Spanish national history (43.5%) than the other books, whereas the series with the lowest share in national history (26.6%) underscored – besides the European dimension – also the global context which was only mentioned in passing in other books. The example demonstrates that the Spanish authors enjoyed a large amount of freedom regarding the emphasis given to national, European or global history. This freedom of choice also had its costs though: the emphasis placed on national history necessarily reduces the space available for the European or global dimension – and vice-versa. Such an analysis may well reveal one level of the authors’ historiographical conception; it does not by any means indicate, however, that the authors’ emphasis on national history would also support a nationalistic standpoint. Such a verdict can only be reached via a qualitative content analysis.

Any historical or geographical portrayal of a country is located within a larger, regional and even global framework. This classification process reflects a significant factor in the self-positioning of a country. It provides indications of the extent to which a country regards itself in a state of exchange with other political and economic entities; it leads to conclusions as to whether a country or a nation considers itself in possession of clear boundaries and endowed with unique qualities, and/or emphasises its membership of a larger cultural community. A quantitative

Spatial analysis (such as the space a textbook allocates to the portrayal of a country, a region or to the global dimension as a percentage of the total volume) provides important results for the content-related weighing of various spatial entities and should be included as much as possible in an internationally comparative project. Gilbert concludes:

- “The reliability of quantitative analysis can be high, given close definitions of rules of classification, training of coders and other steps designed to produce so-called low interference measures. However, the selection of textual elements to be counted is of course a high interference step.”

Therefore, the decision what should be measured is a qualitative one; both methods complement each other.

Qualitative methods such as hermeneutic analysis reveal underlying assumptions that cannot be measured:

- what does a text tell us, what messages does it transmit?

They give insight into the mode of presentation

- multiperspectivity vs. monocausal explanation, results of scientific studies vs. didactic reduction in textbooks.

Qualitative analysis applies less strict methods, which rely more on the reviewer’s own value system and understanding of the text itself.

It is important that the frame of reference for the evaluation is laid out in the beginning. Nevertheless, we would suggest that the distinction between the two approaches should not be made too definite. As a rule they complement each other.

Therefore, the categories for analysis, their operationalization and the analytical methods should be fixed for all participants in a manual or code book.

Computers enable easy and rapid collection of quantitative data, so that the researcher can combine the quantitative and qualitative approaches and take advantage of both. This may enable him or her to find interesting answers concerning a contingency analysis, a field of research that is arousing growing interest in academics dealing with textual as well as pictorial representation:

- In what context are terms or people placed?

For example, the term “nation” is often used as if it refers to a “natural” entity, inherited in a people, inborn even in individuals. But isn’t it more a historical concept that normally undergoes considerable alterations, comprises different peoples, changes its extent or takes on a different meaning for different members of a group?

In order to identify these connotations frequency and hermeneutic or linguistic analysis have to be applied.

There is a range of tried-and-tested software available for the computerised qualitative analysis of various types of “text”. As a general rule, they can process


95 For instance, ATLAS.TI (in English and German – www.atlasti.com or www.atlasti.de); AQUAD (German, English and Spanish – www.aquad.de); THE ETHNOGRAPH (English – www.qualisresearch.com). Demo versions are usually available to download free of charge. See also the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Networking Project (caqdas.soc.surrey.ac.uk) or www.content-analysis.de; and more generally, Delbert C. MILLER/Neil J. SALKIND (eds.): Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement. Bloomington: Sage Publications, 6th ed., 2002.

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text files (txt, rtf, doc), image files (jpg, tif), audio files (wav, mp3) and video (avi, mpeg2). The use of PDFs is only possible to a limited extent. These programmes facilitate the swift identification and comparison of highlighted sections of text to be analysed in more detail. These text sections can be marked with memos or notes. Certain passages can be coded and thus linked to other documents. The documents can be classified into various “families” (e.g., according to publisher, authors, publication date, etc.). It is also possible to present these links as a network diagram. The programmes therefore allow for accurate and fast comparative work on the texts. Although it is time-consuming to incorporate the texts into the programme and carry out the coding process, it becomes significantly easier to arrive at a replicable interpretation.

When different cultural patterns in a multilateral research project are to be investigated, there should be a cross-cultural analysis of the textbooks: each side examines their own books and those of at least one partner, since the researchers’ views, interpretations and categories may be shaped by their own cultural background.

At least, when quantitative methods are to be applied, a pretest should be conducted to ensure that all the parties involved have the same understanding of the major concepts and categories for analysis. Some researchers consider the same text independently and then compare their results until they are convinced that the categories have the same meaning (reliability) for each of them and that the methods of analysis are so well-defined that every member of the group will apply them in the same way (validity). This fact is of particular importance when rating scales or check lists are used. The following short extract from a questionnaire for textbook evaluation can serve to check whether a multicultural approach has been employed. It is developed by a Canadian education authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is the material designed to help students to:</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>N/A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) appreciate the importance of cultural diversity</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) understand that beliefs and customs are important to those who hold them?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c) appreciate that all racial/ethnic groups have mixed heritages which serve as both sources of pride and humility?</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) promote acceptance of racial/ethnic groups and individuals on the basis of personal worth?</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) go beyond stereotypes to offer genuine insight into other racial/ethnic groups?</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) examine racial/ethnic stereotypes critically?</td>
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<tr>
<td>g) examine their own values and attitudes?</td>
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</table>

Even if the questions to be answered are well designed, the evaluator’s personal judgement is of prime importance. Do all the researchers use the term “genuine insight,” for example, in the same way? It takes a lot of testing and discussion within the research group to ensure that different researchers give the same answer when evaluating the same text. As such a procedure is quite time-consuming, many questionnaires cater for open answers and not only “yes/no” responses. Tulley and Fair criticised that “evaluation and selection checklists require only that reviewers

96 N/A=No answer. The rating form has been used by Alberta Education.
determine the presence rather than the quality of various features." Analysts should discuss how to weigh the categories and findings and they have to decide if they want to give all of them equal importance in the final assessment.

Categories for analysis can be developed from two different points of departure:

• **Choosing a deductive approach** the group of reviewers establishes a grid of external categories to which the book is expected to respond. For example, the group defines first a minimal/average/maximal curriculum on Human Rights and then checks to what an extent the book covers the curriculum. The categories of analysis are derived from the particular topic that should be presented in the book. In this case, the criteria are often linked to an academic, disciplinary understanding of the topic. Recommendations drawn from such an approach may lead to overloading the schoolbook with knowledge-oriented content and not take its pedagogical functions appropriately into account.

• The other option is an inductive approach that tries to find out what content areas, leading interpretative concepts and methods of presentation the book offers. It strives to unfold patterns of understanding or worldviews that have guided content selection and modes of presentation. Reviewers choosing this approach often refer to grounded theory as their leading theoretical paradigm. The categories emerge from the analysis and must be sharpened through a more and more in-depth examination of the text.

As most projects dealing with textbook revision are interested in studying each others’ presentation, they tend to prefer a content-oriented deductive approach. However, in terms of pedagogy, the inductive way of enquiry may be more revealing as it brings to the fore the underlying concept of a book and then allows for posing the question as to what kind of content fits into this concept from a more theoretical point of view.

Reviewers checking the content coverage of a topic should at least discern between different levels of presentation such as information vs. explanation or depth vs. breadth. Herlihy proposes three categories:

• **expository-descriptive, explanatory, investigative-argumentative.**

*Linguistic investigation* offers insight into how messages are characterised and transmitted, as well as into examining the facts, events, persons and processes mentioned in the text. Linguistic analysis can show whether certain peoples or groups or world regions are portrayed in a way that creates invariable images of them. Such images often are linked to common opinion and can foster already existing stereotypes. A simple method is to list the adjectives attributed to characters, and social or ethnic groups: are they emotionally loaded, do they have pejorative or positive connotations? A story about the same event can often be told from opposing perspectives, i.e. from the point of view of the victims or from the standpoint of the perpetrators. The author can incorporate these different perspectives and leave it to the reader to evaluate them.

Linguistic analysis can also reveal who the characters or protagonists are. Long textbook passages are often written in the passive voice. The subjects are mainly social groups, bodies or institutions, and only rarely individuals. On the other hand, other passages might portray a number of famous historical figures to whom we attribute great achievements. As a rule, these figures are either good or bad, but not

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“normal.” To examine whether authors concentrate on structures or personalities in their history or civics textbooks can reveal their underlying conception of what the most influential forces in history and society are.

Discourse analysis has also developed useful instruments for textbook research.99 It attempts to find out what the author regards as important, what he or she feels needs to be explained and what he or she takes for granted. Which topics are supported by visuals, which are summarised and which are selected for inclusion in the exercises for students?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Criteria for Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Textbook sector components</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– educational system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– guidelines/curricula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– adoption procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– structure of publishing houses</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) Formal criteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– bibliographic references</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– target group (school level, type of school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>– dissemination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Types of texts/mode of presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– authors’ intentions (if specified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– descriptive author’s text (narrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– illustrations/photos/maps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– tables/statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– sources</td>
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<tr>
<td>– exercises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Analysis of content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– factual accuracy/completeness/errors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– up-to-date portrayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– topic selection/emphasis (balance)/representativeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– extent of differentiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– proportion of facts and views/interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Perspective of presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– comparative/contrastive approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– problem-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– rationality/evocation of emotions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scientists and educationalists have devised different sets of criteria for analysis. Textbook and curriculum institutes offer worksheets and checklists. The above-mentioned categories and methods of analysis can only be presented in a very general way. They represent a minimum standard for textbook analysis. The questions and

aims are often more specific and the instruments to be used in the study must be further refined.\textsuperscript{100}

Aside from the presentation of nations and states, the books might review important processes that have left their mark on history or present-day society: for example, the role of gender, liberation movements, colonisation and the North-South divide. For each of these processes appropriate checklists and categories have to be constructed.\textsuperscript{101}

Let us recall the statement of an experienced social studies supervisor: “Time spent in designing the analysis instrument will pay great dividends throughout the process.”\textsuperscript{102} Developing these is an instructional exercise in itself. It sharpens the understanding of the research group for a particular issue; they can agree on what they regard as important and how bias and one-sidedness can be identified. In the following section certain items for analysing different subject areas will be discussed.

Civics textbooks: our role in society and international affairs

Civics is a relatively new subject. In many countries it is not taught separately but is subsumed under the teaching of history or other disciplines. When the subject was first introduced in its own right the emphasis often lay on the presentation of the political system prevailing in the student’s own country. Textbooks tended to depict the relevant political institutions, thus tacitly giving their approval to the entire political system. Imperfections were only identified in foreign systems and so it became difficult to make objective comparisons on an international level.

To impart democratic values is considered a crucial objective of civic education in pluralistic societies. Weinbrenner has developed ‘dimensions and categories of sociological schoolbook research’ for an analysis of value judgements. Some of his analytical questions are of particular interest:\textsuperscript{103}

- Which attitudes/values are expressed with regard to general rules and principles such as authority, tradition, customs and religious and ethical-moral norms, as well as to the constitution, laws or other legal principles?
- Does the schoolbook contain attitudes and values about the family, school, work and professions, consumption, leisure and the public sphere, etc.?
- Which types of value judgments are represented with regard to primary and secondary value judgments, ontological and discursive value judg-

\textsuperscript{100} A comprehensive list for teachers and authors focussing on pedagogical quality, less on topic orientation, was published by Peder SKYUM-NIELSEN: Analyzing Educational Texts. In: SKYUM-NIELSEN 1995, pp. 179. See also SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION CONSORTIUM: Curriculum Materials Analysis System. (USA) 1971.

\textsuperscript{101} The UNESCO Promoting gender equality through textbooks (Paris, 2007) publication includes tools to revise textbooks as regards gender. The guide is based on scientific research carried out jointly by research centres in the North and the South within the framework of the International Network for Research into Gendered Representations in Textbooks (RIRRS). It provides tools to revise textbooks or use existing textbooks critically, whether in the teacher/learner relationship or among adults involved in the textbook chain (from design to use); \url{http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001588/158897e.pdf}


ments, value judgments without normative information content (empty formulae) and value judgments with normative instructional content?

The report about a UNESCO conference on the presentation of human rights stated that: “Textbooks tend to take an ethnocentric view of human rights.” It gives an instructive example of what is called the “centre-and-periphery-approach” as the dominant perspective on human rights issues in civics textbooks:104

In order to avoid such unbalanced presentations, the 1994 UNESCO International Conference on Education took up the issue and made it an integral part of its declaration and the proposed “framework of action on education for peace, human rights and democracy.” This ensures that, in the future, projects investigating the presentation of human rights issues in civics textbooks can count on the support of UNESCO.105

Under the impact of globalization international issues feature more prominently in teaching materials for civics instruction and make the subject more amenable to international comparative studies. In recent years there has been a definite trend towards a more balanced presentation of international topics in civics textbooks. The range of problems and issues taught in civics lessons is expanding. In addition to the standard topic of political institutions we now find other themes being covered, such as the family, the upbringing and education of children, media, industry and the world of work and leisure. There is increasingly inclusion of the international dimension, such as world trade, membership of global organisations like the UN or regional groupings like the EU or the AU. Analysis of how textbooks deal with the international dimension can reveal deficiencies and suggest improvements in the presentation of how countries cooperate and the global responsibility that they share.

In analysing civics textbooks emphasis should be placed on the following questions:

Mode of presentation:
- institutional approach vs. focussing on social and political roles in society
- system imposed on the individual/active vs. passive participation
- static description vs. dynamic description, presenting potential for change

Range of topics
- one’s own country/international context
- holistic (monolithic) society/internal differentiation (minority groups)

Role of gender
- Does the language allow differentiation between boys/girls or men/women?
- How often are males/females presented as people in positions of power or responsibility, how often do they appear in visuals, what are their opinions and roles in society?

Geography textbooks

In geographical representations we can distinguish between different scales. These might be:
- local, national, continental or global.

All of these scales have their own merits and can provide different and unique insights, so we should ask to what extent they are taken into account. Additionally, geography differentiates between a regional and a general perspective. It is not easy to combine both approaches to give the students an impression of the diverse nature of the world they live in, to provide them with a minimum of topographi-


107 Basic information on topics and methods in civics and education towards democracy, as well as information about civics education in different countries, particularly in Eastern Europe and Latin America, are offered by civnet, journal for a civil society, which is available on the Internet (http://www.civnet.org; see in particular vol. 1, no. 2, John J. PATRICK: The National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics).

cal knowledge, as well as with transferable knowledge about general principles. General principles are often exemplified by spatial examples on a large scale. On the other hand, when several distinct examples on a micro or meso scale are studied, students cannot conceive of the comprehensive topographical framework. On a smaller scale, when ‘countries’ or ‘(sub-)continents’ are the areas of reference, descriptions tend to be more abstract and general so that the settings and workings of everyday life remain concealed and the many important differences that are to be found in the realm of human activities are overlooked. Thus, it is important to check:

- Which places, regions, etc. of a particular country can be identified on maps?
- Have authors chosen an appropriate scale to increase pupils’ awareness of cultural diversity and of different geographical conditions that leave their mark on human civilisation?

Region-centred views are reflected in map projections such as the Mercator projection that exaggerates the size of the European continent and places it in the centre of the map, as is the rule in European school atlases. In this way, they create images of centre and periphery, which in the minds of the students do not only have a purely spatial dimension but which also take on cultural meaning by pretending that the geographical centre is more developed than the peripheries. As perspectives cannot be avoided when producing maps, modern atlases expose their young readers from time to time to different projections in order to avoid biased world views.

Reviewers should look at the emphasis textbooks authors place on physical and human/social/economic/cultural geography. Sometimes, as in the former Soviet Union, physical geography dominates the curricula, only supplemented by a separate section on economic geography. This means that there is little explanation of the interaction between man, society and nature. In other cases, physical geography is reduced to aspects of environmental education. In extreme situations, physical items are mentioned only with respect to their significance for society, and not as topics in their own right. The exclusive focus on the impact on mankind (resources, environmental hazards and the like) precludes any deeper understanding of natural processes that are independent of the social world. Curriculum planners and authors should, therefore, try to combine both in their curriculum and textbook conceptions.

The findings of a bilateral or multilateral geography textbook analysis can sometimes lead to criticism as one party may feel it is totally misrepresented. Its country is mentioned only in the context of one or two “problems,” such as earthquakes, labour migration or population growth, but is not covered in its entirety: pupils may only remember Japan for its earthquakes, Turkey for its migrant labourers or India for its caste system.

Such a problem-oriented approach may create a stereotypical image of a country – but it must be borne in mind that the intention of geographical education may not be to ‘teach countries’ but rather general geographical problems through reference to well-chosen regional examples, thus enabling students to transfer their knowledge to other regions of the world with similar constellations. This transfer is unlikely to take place if the intention is only to teach knowledge about specific countries. The more countries are covered, the less information pupils receive about each of them – sometimes only a few statistics about area and population, names of capital cities, mountains, rivers and so on. We have to take into account what the author’s aim is. Is it:
• to give a variety of information about particular countries or
• to deal with general principles which are only exemplified by a particular region?

Transmitting a cultural image through language teaching – Some remarks on language textbooks

When textbook researchers from all over the world convened at the Georg Eckert Institute in 1988, representatives from African countries stressed in particular that it is mainly English and French language textbooks that shape the image their students have of Europe in general and of former colonial powers in particular. In fact, language textbooks transport a considerable amount of information about the country and the people whose language is being learned, be it one’s own language or a foreign language.

As a result of growing international cooperation and exchange, the learning of foreign languages as a gateway to international communication has now attracted the attention of textbook researchers all over the world (BYRAM/ESARTE-SARRIES 1991; BEVERIDGE/REDDIFORD 1993). Therefore, the Braunschweig conference recommended that:

➔ “particular attention should be paid to the cultural information conveyed through foreign language textbooks.”

Modern curricula for foreign language teaching often identify three different levels of intercultural competence:

• “the development of communicative competence for use in situations the learner might expect to encounter,
• the development of an awareness of the nature of language and language learning,
• the development of insight into the foreign culture and positive attitudes towards foreign people.”

In contrast to history and geography teaching, conveying knowledge about another country or culture is, however, not the primary purpose of foreign language textbooks. Their main aim is to enable the students to use the language correctly. Only in the wider sense can it be said that with the language the students also acquire an insight into another culture. Every textbook contains a great deal of information about the relevant country: tourist sights are mentioned, travelling conditions are explained and individual politicians or artists are referred to. Step by step, the students learn not only new words and grammatical structures but also become acquainted with many facts about the foreign country, the attitudes of the people and communicative situations that were alien to them before. Cultural imagery should be carefully constructed in order to avoid one-sided and biased views.

Speech acts are embedded in a social and cultural context. Modern textbook authors attempt to introduce this phenomenon as early as possible. The sentences the students read and speak should not only train vocabulary and grammar but also occur in situations in which these sentences are normally spoken. Although the real

context is, as a rule, quite complex, the sentences themselves must be very simple, at least in the beginning. Hence, there is a danger of stereotyping, particularly when simple, so-called typical situations and holiday impressions are presented. In order to avoid giving this biased view, many authors try to introduce *contrasting situations* as early as possible, by comparing, for example, everyday situations in the foreign and the native country. This has the advantage of introducing an element of intercultural communication from the outset.

### Particular criteria for analysis of foreign language textbooks concerning the image of foreign countries/cultures

**Mode of presentation**
- language: literature/reports (newspaper articles)/authorial text
- pictures: photos, caricatures, drawings
- tables: plans, statistics, maps
- integrated in the main text/separated (boxes, particular chapters)

**Perspective of presentation**
- present-day/historical
- range of regions/social groups mentioned
- dates, names and facts, institutions/everyday activities/tourist perspective

*Reading literature* forms part of the teaching of a foreign language as well as of one’s own mother tongue. *Readers* also portray an image of a country, language group or culture (CASTELL et al. 1989). This can be analysed as well but here the aim is not to correct the texts published in a reader but to examine their selection. Poems, essays and newspaper clips need not be balanced or unbiased in themselves – *they often intend to transmit a one-sided message*. Students must also learn to find out what the author is aiming at. It is only the whole collection of texts in a reader which can be evaluated with respect to gender, social class, minority groups and so on.\(^{111}\)

It is assumed that encounters of young people from different countries, for example through student exchange programmes, foster international understanding. Research has shown however, that pupils are often exposed to negative experiences when they have to adapt to a new social and cultural environment in a foreign country. Short encounters may corroborate rather than combat stereotypes. Exchange students must have the opportunity to positively cope with the challenges of being a “foreigner”; this normally only happens when they have successfully established social bonds to peer groups, the family they stay with, etc. BYRAM/ESARTE-SARRIES (1991) make a plea not to draw too rosy a picture, but to give a realistic account of the country whose language should be learned in the textbook; language teaching should address the expectations and pre-ordained views pupils have acquired before they enter a foreign country.

\(^{111}\) Teodor HREHOVČÍK: *Evaluation of Foreign Language Textbooks. Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*. Prešov: Filozofická Fak. Prešovskej Univ., 2002. This is one of the few scholarly publications that develop a special set of tools for the evaluation of foreign language textbooks. Hrehovčík combines theoretical approaches with practical advice that can assist teachers to select the most appropriate book for their pupils. Furthermore, he also looks into the history of textbook evaluation.
Checking the general quality of a textbook

Although this guide focuses on projects devoted to the comparative research and
and improve the general quality of textbooks as required by UNESCO’s Textbook
Strategy.112 This is all the more important as:

→ the change of paradigm from knowledge-based education to outcome oriented-
learning stresses skills and competencies rather than rote learning and memo-
ration of facts.

Under these methodological premises the content no longer stands alone; it has to
serve certain aims such as developing critical thinking, discussing different value
judgements, writing an essay, building up an understanding of time and space and
developing a sense for taking over responsibility in the community.113 Therefore,
the delivery of content should match with the training of skills. To check whether
a textbook provides the appropriate structure to this end, one can build a matrix
listing the content issues which should be covered and the methods to be trained.
However, the authors do not always state what competencies should be acquired
and thus make clear the intentions behind the structure of their textbook.

When the methodology of writing and reading a textbook started to become
more varied and complicated in – roughly speaking – the 1980s, textbook authors
sometimes offered “instructions for use” that explained the various functions of the
textbook in order to help teachers and pupils use the book. In cases when this is
not done, it may be helpful at the beginning of an analysis to develop such a set of
instructions for each book so as to better understand the methodological paradigm
according to which it is developed.

The methodology of the learning process
influences the content selection criteria
and the way topics are presented. Consequently, how the design of textbooks from
different countries applies different learning models may differ considerably even
within the same topic. Reviewers should agree upon whether they would also like to
take teaching methodology into account – which is desirable from the point of view
of quality education – or whether they are only interested in content related issues.

As promising as a book may look for those adults who decide on its adop-
tion – that is, teachers, scholars and, in some cases, parents – pupils may neverthe-
less have problems comprehending the texts and tasks. Even while the book is still
being written textbook authors and teachers, who have the opportunity to decide
what book to use, can use readability tests to check whether a text meets the intel-
lectual capacities of their young readers.114

Formerly, textbook writing was the job of a small circle of senior teachers and
scholars at pedagogical academies or other teacher training institutions. In view
of the ever growing market diversification and regionalisation and the increase of
disciplinary knowledge, textbooks are more and more often written by teams of
authors. In addition to the regular textbook, complementary materials, which often

112 An example of general criteria for the evaluation of textbook quality is offered in BRASLAVSKY
2006, pp. 258.
113 Dominique S. RYCHEN/Alejandro TIANA: Developing Key Competencies in Education: Some
114 For readability tests see Jaan MIKK: Textbook: Research and Writing. Frankfurt/Main: Peter
Lang, 2000. Mikk offers concrete guidelines on how to enhance the readability of texts for text-
book authors. In addition, he gives insight into methods of textbooks evaluation and develops
recommendations for writing textbooks that should make learning easier and more efficient; see
also Jeanne S. CHALL/Sue S. CONRAD: Should Textbooks Challenge Students? The Case for
only address a regional market, have entered the classroom. As all this leads to an expansion of the body of textbooks writers, professionalization is needed. To date, courses in textbook writing are almost unknown. It could be a challenging task for the UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute textbook network to organize such workshops for writers and reviewers of textbooks alike on a regional basis to strengthen the quality of writing and the improvement of textbook quality in particular areas.
B. Selective list of institutes for textbook research

American Textbook Council, 475 Riverside Drive 518, New York, N.Y. 10115, USA (reviews US curricula and textbooks in history, civics and the humanities; publishes widely on textbook research and evaluation) http://www.historytextbooks.org/

Bibliothek für bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung, Warschauer Straße 34–38; 10243 Berlin, Germany (holds some thousands of textbooks of all subjects) http://www.bbf.dipf.de

Emmanuelle, 19 allée de Fontenay – BP 17424 – 69347 Lyon Cedex 07, France (the Emmanuelle database compiles the whole of the textbook editions published in France since 1789, for all subjects and all teaching levels; up to now, the textbook references of eight subjects (Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, English, History and Geography) have been entered in full. Over 27 000 citations corresponding to about 70 000 different publications can now be accessed on line) http://www.inrp.fr/she/wchoppin_emma_banque.htm

Erziehungswissenschaftliche Zweigbibliothek (EZB), University Library Erlangen/Nürnberg, Regensburger Str. 160, 90478 Nürnberg, Germany (historical textbooks collection, ca. 13 000 vols. of various subjects) http://www.ub.uni-erlangen.de/standorte/ezb

Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Celler St. 3, 38114 Braunschweig, Germany http://www.gei.de

Harvard Graduate School of Education, Historical Textbooks Collection, 6 Appian Way, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA (ca. 35 000 textbooks of all subjects from 1800 to 1950, most of the books are from the USA) http://www.gse.harvard.edu/library/collections/special/textbooks.html

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, 434 Galves Mall, California 94305-6010, USA (textbook collection particularly meant for studies on views about other cultures and nations) http://www.hoover.org/hila/

Institut für historische und systematische Schulbuchforschung, Universität Augsburg, Lehrstuhl für Pädagogik, Universitätsstr. 10, 86159 Augsburg, Germany (collection of historical textbooks, 1500 – 1920) http://www.philso.uni-augsburg.de/lehrstuehle/paedagogik/paed1/Schulbuchforschung2/

Institute National de la recherche pédagogique, 19 allée de Fontenay – BP 17424 – 69347 Lyon Cedex 07, France (collection of ca. 135 000 French textbooks) http://www.inrp.fr/vst/Dossiers/Histoire/manuels.htm#_ftn1

Institute of Education, University of London, 20 Bedford Way, London WC11 OAL, Great Britain (holds a collection of British historical textbooks covering all educational levels, from nursery to sixth form, and various subject areas, with particular strengths in history and science. Most material dates from the late nineteenth century onwards, with strong holdings from 1920–1960, ca. 18 000 items) http://ioiewebserver.ioe.ac.uk/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=9356&9356_0=9398 International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks (INCA) (provides updated descriptions of government policy on education in Australia, Canada, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, the Nether-

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115 This list contains institutes particularly devoted to international and intercultural studies. Many countries have established central and regional pedagogical institutes that collect domestic textbooks and evaluate them; often they also engage in international research and comparison. With only a few exceptions we have not included them in the list. Many of them are listed in the UNESCO International Textbook Research Network.
lands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the USA and Wales with particular reference to the curriculum and assessment frameworks in place) http://www.inca.org.uk/

Japan Textbook Research Center, 9–28 Sengoku 1-chome, Koto-ku, Tokyo, 135-0015, Japan (research on textbooks and other related materials with a focus on Japan) http://www.textbook-rc.or.jp/eng/index.html

Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), 92-6 Umeyon-dong, Seocho-gu, Seoul 137–791, Korea, including KEDI Cyber Textbook Museum (the original and full text of Korean textbooks dating from the 1890s to the present have been digitized and arranged for easy internet access) http://www.textlib.net

Manes, Madrid, Spain, (data bank on textbooks from Spain, Portugal and Latin America, partly digitized) http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/portalmanes.html

Multi-Opac, University of Macerata, Italy (a search engine that makes possible simultaneous searches across the data banks of Edisco, Emmanuelle, Manes and the Georg Eckert Institute; the system allows to carry out an in-depth investigation by accessing directly each database) http://www.reseducationis.it/multiopac/default.aspx?src=adv

National Council of Educational Research and Training, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi – 110016, India (textbook development and evaluation in all subject areas, predominantly Indian books; International Educational Resource Documentation Centre – IERDOCS) http://www.ncert.nic.in/index.htm; online-textbooks: http://www.ncert.nic.in/textbooks/testing/Index.htm

Teaching Resources and Textbook Research Unit (TREAT), School of Teaching and Curriculum Studies, University of Sidney, NSW 2006, Sydney, Australia (Mike Horsley) (evaluation of Australian textbooks; research on the use of textbooks) http://alex.edfac.usyd.edu.au/TREAT/index.htm

The Center for Research Libraries, Textbooks collection, 6050 S. Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637–2804, Chicago, USA (ca. 70000 textbooks from the USA of all subjects) http://www.crl.edu/content/textbooks/html#historyw

The International Association for Research on Textbooks and Educational Media (IARTEM), http://www.iartem.no/

The National Institute for Compilation and Translation, No. 179, Heping E. Road, Sec. 1, Da-An District, Taipei City, 10644, Taiwan, including Textbook Resources Center (holding ca. 60000 schoolbooks, teaching and reference materials of Taiwan, from the 1900s to present; smaller collections of textbooks from outside Taiwan, mostly from USA, Germany, Finland, Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Mainland China and Singapore) http://www.nict.gov.tw/en/about/textbook.php textbook collection: http://www.nict.gov.tw/en/index.php?option=com_content &task=view&id=112&Itemid=96

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6, Canada, http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/oise/

UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE), 15, route des Morillons, 1218 Le Grand-Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland (engages in curriculum development with a particular view on “learn to live together” and issues of conflict and social cohesion; offers educational documentation services, data bases: WDE – World Data on Education, IBEDOCS – worldwide references to documents and publications, journal titles and articles, reports, books published since 1979, on the organization and development of education; the library holds also textbooks of various subjects and countries) http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/meta-navigation/unesco-ibe-contacts.html

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Université Laval, Université du Québec, Trois-Rivières, Canada (ca. 21000 textbooks from Quebec or dealing with Quebec, covering various subjects and being published from 1765 to 1965) http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/catalog.html

University Library Augsburg, Universitätsstraße 22, 86159 Augsburg, Germany (collection of 14059 textbooks ranging from 1500 to 1920) http://www.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/sondersammlungen/schulbuecher/
C. Reading list


BENA VOT, Aaron/Cecilia BRASLA VSKY (eds.): School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective. Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education. Hong Kong: Springer: Comparative Education Research Centre, 2006.


