

Christoph Kühberger

The Private Use of Public History and its Effects on the Classroom

Introduction

In the German-speaking countries, the paradigm of historical consciousness as differentiated since the 1970s by Jeismann, Pandel, von Borries et al.¹ has resulted in a tendency to view historical culture as the “practically effective articulation of historical consciousness in a society” (Jörn Rüsen). Historical thinking and learning must therefore also take into account this level of public confrontation with the past and history. The various representations of the past and their use in very different contexts ranging from television commercials to amusement parks do not always follow academic standards, but are, as Oswald and Pandel claim, not just “banal derivatives of academic history”, but instead offer interpretations and forms of representation that actually have an influence on the ways people think of the past that inevitably seep into the academic discourse.²

Even the everyday encounter with history represents a major challenge for all of us. The diverse forms and media in which history is (re)presented are powerful tools that shape our perceptions of the past and, in many aspects, replace academic debate. In my own childhood, I was a fan of the 1970s German, Austrian and Japanese TV cartoon series “Vicky the Viking”. In Austria at that time, in contrast to northern European regions, we were largely cut off from other cultural encounters with Viking culture. As my own studies focused on the contemporary history and there was no one with particular expertise in early medieval cultures at my universities to inform me otherwise, my ideas and understanding of Viking life was based on the TV series until a visit to a museum in Stockholm some ten years

1 Cf. Karl-Ernst Jeismann, “Geschichtsbewusstsein – Theorie,” in *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann, Klaus Fröhlich, and Annette Kuhn (Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 1997), 42–44.

Bodo von Borries. *Geschichtslernen und Geschichtsbewußtsein. Empirische Erkundungen zu Erwerb und Gebrauch von Historie* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1988).

Jörn Rüsen, *Historisches Lernen. Grundlagen und Paradigmen* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 20082).

Hans-Jürgen Pandel, *Geschichtsunterricht nach PISA*, (Schwalbach/ Ts.: Wochenschau, 2005).

2 Vadim Oswald and Hans-Jürgen Pandel “Einleitung,” in *Geschichtskultur. Die Anwesenheit von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Oswald Vadim and Hans-Jürgen Pandel (Schwalbach/ Ts.: 2009), 9.

ago. I was naturally disappointed at first, especially when I found that they had worn helmets without horns, before I was able to dig more deeply into this past culture that was really all new to me.

If we look at this instructive experience, it can be stated that it is quite unlikely that a sustainable, critical study of history can take place by ignoring historical interpretations which we encounter in everyday life. Today's history classroom is rather a mass of allegedly correct facts and fixed interpretations without sufficient appreciation of history as a construct. Since one does not encounter historical sources in everyday life nearly as often as different representations of the past, history teaching should place more emphasis on critical reflection of such representations.³

I would thus like to propose the productive, but critical use of a wide range of everyday, real-world representations of history to show that public history and its products (e.g. novels, non-fiction, exhibitions, computer games, hypertexts, TV documentaries, comics, newspaper reports, toys) can indeed have a legitimate role in the teaching of history, especially if one accepts historical learning as a project of sustained enlightenment designed to train students in the skills of critical historical thinking. It is with this in mind that pupils should be taught those analytical skills necessary to deconstruct or evaluate history in such a way that will allow them in the future to query other representations of the past for their inherent perspectives and prejudices, to question those conditions and intentions behind such representation as well as questioning the explanatory and interpretative models chosen.⁴ Academic history as the traditional source of topics for use in history classrooms is supplemented by the questioning and interpretation of public history. The themes and questions of public history are, however, more prone to agendas directed to the public market and the politics of history⁵ arising from a bourgeois canon that shaped the teaching of history in the last century.

In Western democratic systems, apart from certain recurring "classics" (such as the 1950s movie trilogy "Sissi" in Austria), there have been waves of managed attention in how we address our societies' pasts and histories that are actually quite difficult to pin down. The current products of public history consumed by today's pupils and which ought to find their way into history instruction cover subjects that cannot be fully identified and often cannot even be anticipated. There are probably various genres and types of media that represent history in

³ Christoph Kühberger, *Kompetenzorientiertes historisches und politisches Lernen* (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2009), 52–53.

⁴ Reinhard Krammer, "Paradigmenwechsel? Geschichte, Politische Bildung und eine neue Herausforderung: Globalgeschichte," *Informationen zur Politischen Bildung* 23 (2005): 50.

⁵ Cf. Margaret MacMillan, *The use and Abuse of History* (London: Profile Books, 2009), 3–5.

specific ways than one ought to include in curricula. They should not, however, be restricted to certain products (such as “Vicky the Viking”), because there are continuously created new kinds of products on a daily basis. The kids’ and teenagers’ everyday life and the representations of the past that currently engage them should help drive their selection for use in teaching. In addition one should not avert one’s eyes from artistic works that address the past or history critically from an aesthetic perspective.⁶

The private use of public history

In general, teachers know little about what representations of history are consumed by their pupils. Often, it is even considered disruptive when individual children in primary schools have a deeper knowledge of “knights”, for example.⁷ However, the origin of this knowledge is influenced by the accessibility of history. The cultural preferences and socio-economic status of the children’s parents probably play a not insignificant role, although this has not yet been investigated.

When considering children’s books, one can observe the public history trends for children three years and older even in colouring and picture books.⁸ Swiss researchers have been conducting random samples of the availability of children’s non-fiction books in book shops to extract data about what kinds of representations are available on the market. This has resulted in a relatively clear picture that aligns perfectly with the traditional themes of what is taught in the schools of the German-speaking countries. The Middle Ages (30%), Ancient Egypt (18%), the Stone Age (15%) and the Romans (12%) represent the themes that are most commonly offered by market-oriented historical culture in the children’s non-fiction books segment and thus, one could possibly infer, are also purchased.⁹

⁶ Cf. Hans-Jürgen Pandel, “Geschichtskultur als Aufgabe der Geschichtsdidaktik. Viel zu wissen ist zu wenig,“ in *Geschichtskultur*, ed. Oswald Vadim, and Hans-Jürgen Pandel (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2009), 19–34. Jörn Rüsen “The Visibility of History. Bridging the Gap between Historiography and the Fine Arts.” *Historien* 5 (2005): 130–141.

⁷ Cf. Rita Rohrbach, *Kinder & Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft. Was Erwachsene wissen sollen* (Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 2009), 73.

⁸ Rohrbach 2009, 63.

⁹ Markus Kübler and Sabine Bietenhader, *Historisches Denken bei 4- bis 10-jährigen Kindern in der deutsch-, italienisch- und romanischsprachigen Schweiz* (2011), accessed May 17, 2015. www.historischesdenken.ch/assets/files/hd_gdsu_maerz_2011.pdf (17.5.2015), Cf. also Markus Kübler, Sabine Bietenhader, Urs Bisang, and Claudio Stucky, *Historisches Denken bei 4- bis*

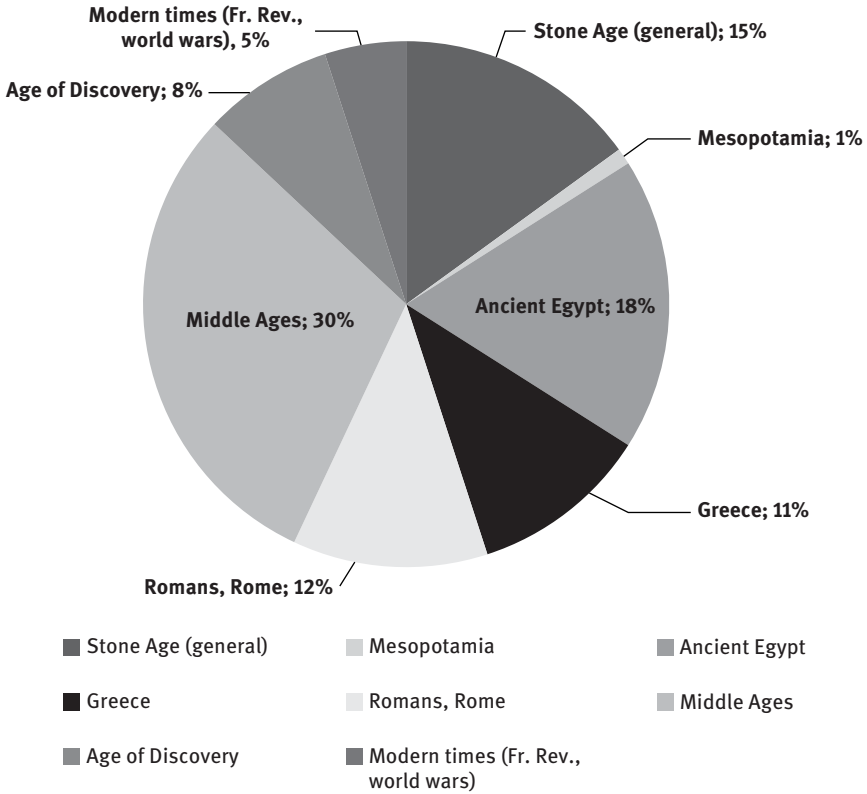


Figure 4.1: Sample of children’s non-fiction (Switzerland) (Kübler and Bietenhader, 2011).

In this framework, it is also important to consider those toys and games with which the children generate their own imagination of the past. These can include board games, plastic figures, building blocks, or costumes. However, similar data to that already available for children’s books is not, to the best of my knowledge, available for the products offered by toy shops.

One should also not forget those media and digital products that grab the attention of children, adolescents and adults. The sales of computer games that are set in the past have shown an overall social trend in recent years. According to the 2013 JIM study in Germany analysing usage patterns, 45% of adolescents

10-jährigen Kindern – Was wissen die Kinder über Geschichte? (Basel: gde13, September 2013), www.geschichtsdidaktik-empirisch.ch/ueber-die-tagungsreihe/vergangene-tagungen/gde-13/abstracts/Kuebler-%20Bietenhader-%20Bisang%20-%20Stucky.pdf (17.5.2015).

ages 12 to 19 play computer, console, or online games on a daily basis or several times a week. 17% say they play only once or twice every two weeks. The others say they play rarely (21%) or never (17%).¹⁰ The adolescents report one computer game with historical content as their top choice, namely, “Call of Duty” (2003 ff.).¹¹

With reference to computer games, there is a social phenomenon which already existed around television documentaries a decade ago. Sixty years after the end of World War II, there was a boom in television documentaries driving a new kind of public history in Germany. The nightly flood of these representations of history has since become a cornerstone of television programming, at least based on that currently offered by broadcasters. The interpretations and representations of history they present are not being socially negotiated as part of a “communicative memory” (A. Assmann) and can thus be located at some distance from a “cultural memory” without special mnemonic quality. Instead, they often represent an isolated, individual product for consumption to be consumed outside of any particular social context. It should therefore not be surprising that this (new) kind of light entertainment has been labelled “entertaining history pornography” (W. Kansteiner).¹² However, despite all the critical discussions among historians, one still must accept the ongoing success on TV and deal with the interpretations produced there as a part of our societies’ cultural inventory that has successfully found its place in our public history. Computer games can be considered a related medium, despite their interactive nature.

If one takes the title of this article “The private use of public history” seriously, it will be necessary to dig deeper and probably break new ground in research. Such research should primarily consider subjective moments when questioning how to deal with individual structures and developments in historical consciousness and how specific, thinking individuals address the past and history within their social context:

Subjects who think historically will receive particular attention because they are capable of reorganising their historical consciousness on the basis of new insights, knowledge, methodologies, attitudes, etc. both in society and especially in their own, domain-specific learning process in order to acquire or retain access to individually relevant social conditions. The individual mental

10 Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, ed., *Jim-Studie 2013. Jugend, Information, (Multi-)Media* (Stuttgart:[no publisher], 2013), 45.

11 Medienpädagogische Forschungsverbund Südwest 2014, 49.

12 Cf. Wulf Kansteiner, “Die Radikalisierung des deutschen Gedächtnisses im Zeitalter seiner kommerziellen Reproduktion. Hitler und das „Dritte Reich“ in den Fernsehdokumentationen von Guido Knopp,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003): 648.

structures, i.e. the ideas about the past and history and the concepts they use to structure these imaginations are undoubtedly evidence-based at the centre of their consideration.¹³

But finding out the source of the ideas in the heads of these subjects and what concrete impulses helped shape those ideas, especially in the hitherto neglected realm of the private, makes a look at public history a necessity. If one wants to make such “private use” a basis for learning how to think historically in school, one will have to penetrate more deeply into the subjective experiences, the private lives of the pupils to avoid falling into generalities about the historical culture shared by these children such as may be found in the relevant literature and which I have often allowed myself to explore as well.

While from a pragmatic perspective one might be able to ask the pupils to contribute different aspects of the historical cultural as they perceive and use it to one’s history teaching, empirical research can even go one step further. An ethnological look at a child’s bedroom could bring a whole new empirical dimension into the discourse. If one understands the child’s bedroom as an everyday, real-world cosmos containing or displaying manifest deposits of the child’s historical culture, one can then regard it as the real-world environment of the children’s material, historical culture. A German study from 1995 showed that 60% of primary school children preferred to spend their time in their bedrooms (and the garden).¹⁴ Already in the 1990s, about 75% of children had a room of their own.¹⁵ By 2011, this figure had climbed to 88%.¹⁶

There is a risk of assuming that the child’s bedroom is an absolutely child’s zone. Anyone who has current experience in families with children knows that the

13 Christoph Kühberger, “Subjektorientierte Geschichtsdidaktik. Eine Annäherung zwischen Theorie, Empirie und Pragmatik,” in *Subjektorientierte Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Heinrich Ammerer, Thomas Hellmuth and Christoph Kühberger (Schwalbach/ Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2015), 40–41.

14 Maria Fölling-Albers, and Arnulf Hopf, *Auf dem Weg vom Kleinkind zum Schulkind* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1995), 45. – Quoted after: Jutta Buchner-Fuhs, “Das Kinderzimmer. Historische und aktuelle Annäherungen an kindliches Wohnen,” in *Teenie-Welten. Aufwachsen in drei europäischen Regionen*, ed. Burkhard Fuhs, Jutta Ecarius, Manuela du Bois-Reymond, and Peter Büchner (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998), 150.

15 Anna Brake and Peter Büchner, “Kindsein in Ost- und Westdeutschland. Allgemeine Rahmenbedingungen des Lebens von Kindern und jungen Jugendlichen,” in *Vom Teddybär zum ersten Kuß. Wege aus der Kindheit in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996), 58 – Quoted after: Buchner-Fuhs 1998, 159.

16 Anja Beisenkamp et al., *LBS-Kinderbarometer. Stimmungen, Meinungen, Trends von Kindern und Jugendlichen. Ergebnisse des Erhebungsjahres 2011* (Münster – Herten: RDN Verlags GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 96, accessed July 13, 2015, www.prosoz.de/fileadmin/daten/mandanten/prosoz/filme/Endbericht_erster_Teil_26_01_2012_f.pdf.

kids will claim the entire home as their own if you let them. This spilling of toys and other objects produced for and by children is also indicative of the fact that children have preferred playthings and will want to have these by their side in various private spaces. But there are other objects that are simply present (and located within the space), with which the child does not play (any longer). These can be understood as mediators that may have some passive and unconscious influence on the child's ideas about the past and serve as stimuli for further historical imaginings.

Toys usually have voids that result from a reduced representation or are due to technical moments of representability. Toys thus contain abstractions that are reshaped in play or perhaps even merely by being seen and thus shape how the past is imagined. Certainly, these witnesses of a historical culture that are present in the child's space must also be considered critically. The parents' influence on the child's room and all its things is, in fact, still present, even if the research currently emphasises the appropriation and interpretation of the room from a child's perspective ("mixed realities").¹⁷ Therefore, in addition to the individual character of the historical cultural product, its integration in the "web of meanings" (C. Geertz) must be understood: "The child's room always unfolds in a triangle that consists of the child, the adults, and a complex space with his or her things."¹⁸

With ethnographic approaches, it might be possible to overcome assumptions and conjecture about some aspects of children's historical culture and their everyday experience and instead underpin hypotheses with pieces of empirical evidence.¹⁹ As always with such ethno-sociological approaches, only selective

17 Cf. Jutta Buchner-Fuhs, "Das Kinderzimmer und die Dinge. Von Normalitätswürfen und heterotopen Orten," in *Kinder und Dinge. Dingwelten zwischen Kinderzimmer und FabLabs*, ed. Christina Schachtner (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 159, 168 and 170.

18 Buchner-Fuhs 2014, 152.

19 Cf. approaches of the educational science: Helga Kelle and Georg Breidenstein, "Kinder als Akteure. Ethnographische Ansätze in der Kindheitsforschung," *Zeitschrift für Sozialisationsforschung und Erziehungssoziologie* 16, no. 1 (1996)..

Jürgen Zinnecker, "Pädagogische Ethnographie," *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, no. 3 (September 2000).

Betina Hünersdorf, Vhristoph Maeder, and Burkhard Müller. eds., *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen und empirische Annäherungen* (Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2008).

Friederike Heinzl, Werner Thole, Peter Cloos, and Stefan Köngeter, eds., „Auf unsicherem Terrain“. *Ethnographische Forschung im Kontext des Bildungs- und Sozialwesens* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010).

Barbara Friebertshäuser et al., eds., *Feld und Theorie. Herausforderungen erziehungswissenschaftlicher Ethnographie* (Opladen: Budrich, 2012).

Anja Tervooren et al., eds., *Ethnographie und Differenz in pädagogischen Feldern. Internationale Entwicklungen erziehungswissenschaftlicher Forschung* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014).

statements reflecting a particular time and place can be made about childhood development, cultural conditions, and a constantly changing zeitgeist. They will each need to be updated.

Nevertheless, such case studies could allow entirely unknown dimensions of a child's encounter with the historical as a private, real-world background of appropriating history to devise at least some tentative pure type typologies for the private use of (public) history. An empirical approach with the children's own photographic documentation, with their subjective evaluation and an inventory list of products of public history combined with interviews with the parents could establish such a framework.²⁰

In the future such exploratory investigations can help to use individual results as landmarks, but at the same time one needs to update and revise the so created typologies in order to redirect historical learning.

Effects on the history classroom

If one takes a look at the curricula, textbooks, and teachers' manuals, the public history products that are anchored in the everyday lives of pupils remain inadequately taken into consideration.²¹ The private use of public history is still largely ignored, even if the German *academic discourse* about the teaching of history has arrived at a *consensus* that dealing with the products of public history is a necessary component of history teaching and the acquisition of a reflective and (self-) reflexive historical consciousness. Adequate attention and sustainable implementation of these ideas remains largely ignore in the school systems. There are only a few aspects that have garnered attention based on interventions in the research and development of history teaching. These include a critical examination of memorials and questioning how the past is represented in film.

In 2015, a newly developed Austrian curriculum for the lower levels of secondary education for history and social studies/civics has placed a recognizable emphasis on this. The phenomena of public history (public exhibitions, films, books, computer games, comics, advertising products, etc.) are explicitly mentioned in that curriculum in order to foster historical competencies designed to

²⁰ Cf. Buchner-Fuhs 2014, 151.

Sebastian Schinkel, *Familiäre Räume. Eine Ethnographie des „gewohnten“ Zusammenlebens als Familie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), 71–121.

²¹ Cf. general approaches: Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paletschek, eds., *History Goes Pop. Zur Repräsentation von Geschichte in populären Medien und Genres* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009).

promote a critical reception (de-construction) of histories. The competencies include²²:

- distinguishing among different sources and representations of history with respect to their characteristics;
- recognising the specific aspects of related to the genres of such sources and representations;
- identify references to sources in representations of history;
- working out (hidden) references to sources in representations of history and checking them;
- working out the genre-based aspects of such representations and comparing them with other forms of representation;
- analysing the structure of such representations (how the content is weighted, lines of argument, the narrative logic, and assessments);
- scrutinising representations of the past (representative drawings, comics, non-fiction) systematically;
- comparing representations (with the same content);
- working with, comparing, and questioning history maps etc.

Although there is little quantitative evidence on the preferences of children and young people when it comes to dealing with the products of the Public History, the findings of Bodo von Borries in 1999 are not really surprising (Figure 4.2). At a time when it was even rarer than it is today for pupils to examine the products of historical culture (novels, films, television documentaries) critically, there was evidence of the younger generation's motivational affinity for audio-visual and tangible media. This involves insights that should ultimately be exploited more often for motivational moments of historical learning as well as anchoring history instruction in the everyday lives of the youth.

In this context, I would like to give an insight into a qualitative empirical study on the perception of films about the past.²³ Films about the past, whether in the cinema, on TV, or on websites in their entirety or only in snippets, continue to

²² Cf. testing version of the Austrian curriculum for “History and Social Studies/ Civic Education” which should be introduced 2016/17 (“Verordnungsentwurf”), accessed March 28, 2016, www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/Begut/BEGUT_COO_2026_100_2_1188936/BEGUT_COO_2026_100_2_1188936.html.

²³ Christoph Kühberger, ed., *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel “Spielfilm”*. *Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise* (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013).

Christoph Kühberger, “Empirische Befunde zum Umgang mit Spielfilmen über die Vergangenheit in der Sekundarstufe I,“ *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7–8 (2014).

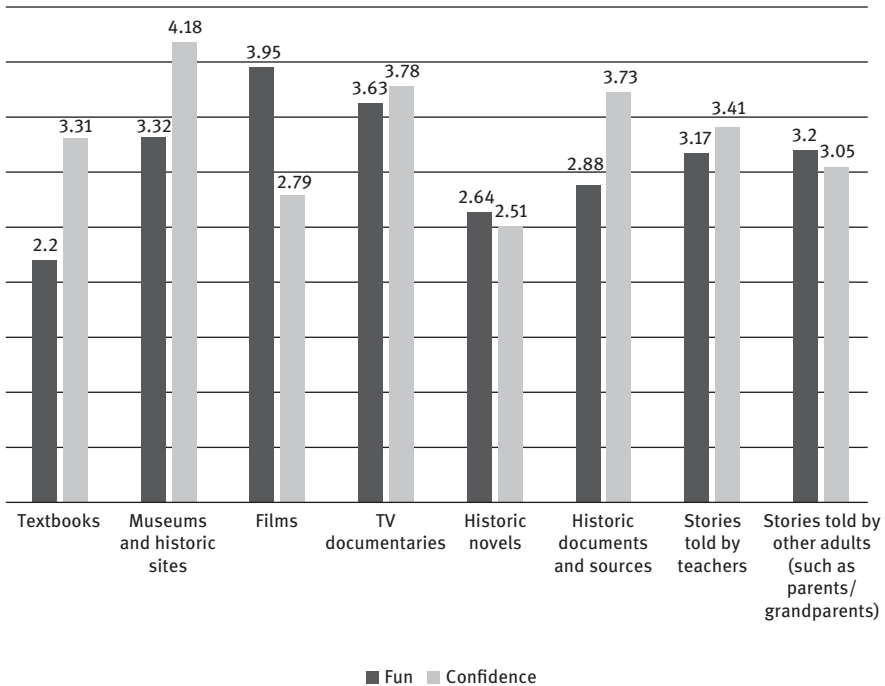


Figure 4.2: History media from the perspective of pupils, mean values on a scale of 1 to 5 (Bodo v. Borries, 1999).

Note: Bodo von Borries, *Jugend und Geschichte. Ein europäischer Kulturvergleich aus deutscher Sicht* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1999), 52.

be a part of the everyday experience of children and adolescents. What my team found interesting was the extent to which teenagers about 13 years of age understand such filmic representations as images of the past. The distinction between “past” and “history” is essential:

The past [...] is all those events and incidents that have gone on in the world of human experience before this moment. [...] The key point here I realizing that our access to the past is mediated by residue and relics [...]. [...] History emerges as distinct from the past in that it is the name we give to our efforts to interpret the past, to tell stories about what it means.²⁴

²⁴ Bruce A. VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking & Understanding. Innovative Designs for New Standards* (New York – London: Routledge, 2014), 26–27.

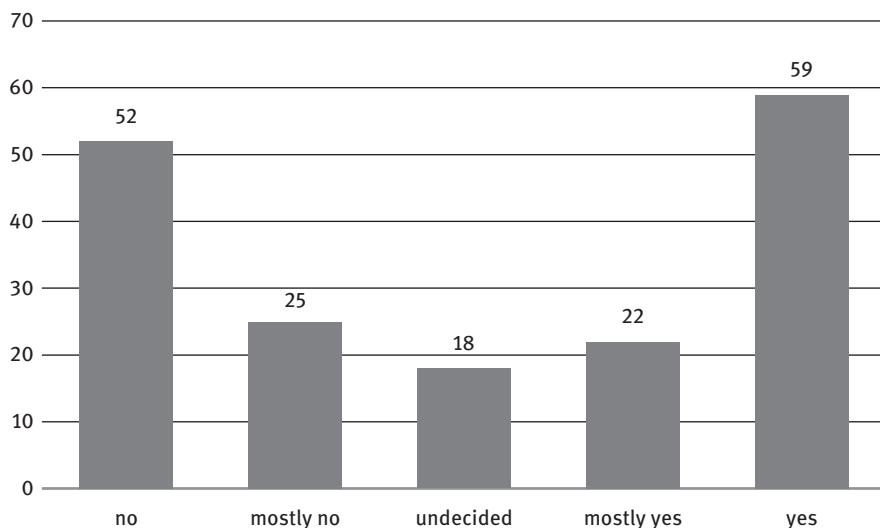


Figure 4.3: Considerations of the test subjects (n = 176) on the question of whether the film shows the past.

Using a qualitative survey (n = 176) conducted with essays, we were able to discover how much potential was possible for those teenagers without any systematic instruction in the critical engagement with filmic representations of the past (de-construction). We were also able to discover the extent to which private consumption of films, i.e. the private use of public history, has an effect on historical thinking. Our analysis showed that more than 30% of the pupils tend to assume that it would be possible to replicate the past in films in positivistic manner.²⁵

If one only considers only those pupils who gave an adequate argument for their view (n = 115), it is striking that an academically-orientated history instruction can connect well with the preconceptions of approximately 36% of pupils (constructivist type). However, in order not to be mistaken about the spectrum of historical understanding, it is necessary to identify all of the variants present in the age group investigated. For example, one should consider those views that can be classified as naïve or orientated to factuality (approx. 17%), because these young people make no distinction between history and the past. Those pupils

²⁵ Christoph Kühberger and Bianca Schartner, “Quantitative Auswertung der Schüleressays, “in *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel „Spielfilm“*. *Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise*, ed. Christoph Kühberger (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013), 53–54.

classified as positivist or historicist (approx. 17%) and who assume that it is possible to represent the past objectively, and those who are classified as agnostic/sceptical (approx. 4%), who believe that the past is not even accessible, would both need differentiated introductions to historical thinking in the classroom.

Type	Exemplary excerpts from essays	%
a the agnostic/sceptical type This type believes the past is inaccessible or only accessible to a very small extent entirely unable to be or only minimally so.	“It was probably like that, but no one really knows. The people that were around in 1492 are long since dead and buried.”	4.35
b the constructivist type This type believes that history is a (re) construction with certain quality criteria. An objective representation would therefore be impossible, but only a construct driven by the interests, skills, intentions, sources, and the medium of representation, etc.	“The music was a bit exaggerated and the clothes more funny than serious. All the snakes have the impression of a jungle, but the birds were a little too naturalistic. Nothing actually happened that would excite anyone. I didn’t find it all that special.”	36.52
c the critical type This type believes that a representation of the past is steered or even distorted by certain aspects. Its character as a construct is not clearly addressed.	“No, because it’s pretty unlikely that America once looked like that. Besides, these sailors must have been hungry [...]. As the sailor said: Land in sight was all fog, such that you couldn’t even see the sand. I don’t think that can be the case.”	26.09
d the positivist/historicist type This type believes that it is basically possible to create an objective representation of the past, if the author works hard enough at it.	It “is well represented. It looks true. It’s modern, but the period is well represented.”	16.52
e the naïve/factuality-orientated type This type does not believe in a distinction between history and the past. The idea of history as a construct is a completely foreign concept.	“Yes. Because the film was well-done and with lots of precise detail, just like it says in the book. They were really very happy when they arrived ashore and fell down on solid ground. Columbus also called the land San Salvador.”	16.52

Figure 4.4: Historical understanding typology, with frequency of occurrence in the sample (n = 115).

Note: Ammerer/Kühberger 2013, 79–80.

Only those young people who can be classified as critical of such representations (approx. 26%) could be positively classified as being more likely to accept the shift to constructivism.²⁶

Ultimately, one has to admit that empirical research to date has shown too little about the private use of public history in children and adolescents and therefore further research will be required to obtain a more systematic overview. However, this does not mean that the products of public history should not find their way into the school history instruction; indeed, quite the opposite. The consideration of a wide range of forms of representation, including everything such as plastic figures, comic books, and computer games should be a part of developing critical historical thinking so that the pupils' real-world encounters with the historical can serve as a starting point for their learning and as gateways to an academically-orientated confrontation with the past.

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²⁶ Heinrich Ammerer and Christoph Kühberger, "Typen des Umgangs mit Geschichte," in *Geschichte denken. Zum Umgang mit Geschichte und Vergangenheit von Schüler/innen der Sekundarstufe I am Beispiel "Spielfilm"*. *Empirische Befunde - Diagnostische Tools - Methodische Hinweise*, ed. Christoph Kühberger (Innsbruck – Wien: Studienverlag, 2013), 79–80.

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