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Jihye Bae

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Dean: Prof. Dr. Guido Sprenger
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Summary

Hatred among people based on nationalistic sentiments leads to interstate conflict. Many governments have ardently pursued nation-building and justify nationalistic measures through ideologically constructed history teaching in schools. This phenomenon still exists throughout the world, but it needs to be stopped. The aim of this study is to find denationalization strategies by identifying didactical differences between nationalistic and anti-nationalistic history education. While existing studies mainly analyzed the narratives in history textbooks, this study examines didactic dimension such as the cognitive levels of learning goals, spatial scope of history taught, historical sources presented, learning activities, and nature of question items in assessment. Applying the methodology of comparative education, empirical data of curriculums, textbooks, and assessment at system-level for history teaching in Germany and South Korea are juxtaposed and compared.

In Germany, European and world history occupy more significant proportion than its own national history. The main purpose of history education in curriculum is to develop critical historical consciousness and to create a historical culture that links the past, present, and the future, which are supported by various history competencies. Textbooks train students to compare and interpret controversial historical sources and focus on the average lives of ordinary people. Essay-type questions in Abitur test enable students to compose their own pluralistic history narratives through analyzing sources and evaluating the past. In South Korea, by contrast, the curriculum allocates more than 70 percent to Korean national history and aims primarily for students to develop a comprehensive understanding of the grand national narrative. Textbooks use historical sources as evidence that the Korean people and their culture are unique and excellent, with an emphasis on monarchs and great men. In assessment, multiple-choice CSAT tests confirm whether students have memorized historical knowledge in detail.

Nationalist history teaching aims to create a one-sided understanding of the nation's glorified past, while the opposite is to recognize the multiperspectivity of history and foster critical historical consciousness. Imposing a historical interpretation from a national perspective should be substituted by an analysis and evaluation of the past based on multiperspectivity. The implication of this study consists of practical suggestions for overcoming nationalistic history teaching and theoretical and methodical contribution to comparative analysis in history education. The pedagogical findings of this study that safeguard history education from the misuse of political instrumentalization would be applicable not only to South Korea but also to other East Asian countries or even countries in other regions that suffer from a vicious circle of conflict from past tragedies.

Zusammenfassung

Der auf nationalistischen Gefühlen beruhende Hass unter den Menschen führt zu zwischenstaatlichen Konflikten. Viele Regierungen haben durch einen ideologisch geprägten Geschichtsunterricht in den Schulen eifrig versucht, Nationen zu bilden und nationalistisches Handeln zu rechtfertigen. Dieses Phänomen gibt es immer noch überall auf der Welt, aber es muss gestoppt werden. Ziel dieser Studie ist es, Entnationalisierungsstrategien zu finden, indem didaktische Unterschiede zwischen nationalistischem und antinationalistischem Geschichtsunterricht herausgearbeitet werden. Während bisherige Studien hauptsächlich Narrative in Geschichtsbüchern analysierten, untersucht diese Studie didaktische Unterschiede wie die kognitiven Ebenen der Lernziele, den räumlichen Umfang des Geschichtsunterrichts, die präsentierten historischen Quellen, die Lernaktivitäten und die Art der Prüfungsfragen. Unter Anwendung der Methodik der vergleichenden Pädagogik werden empirische Daten von Lehrplänen, Schulbüchern und Leistungsbeurteilungen der Systemebene für den Geschichtsunterricht in Deutschland und Südkorea einander gegenübergestellt und verglichen.

In Deutschland nehmen die europäische und die Weltgeschichte einen größeren Anteil im Geschichtsunterricht ein als die eigene nationale Geschichte.

Das Hauptziel des Geschichtsunterrichts ist die Entwicklung eines kritischen Geschichtsbewusstseins und die Gestaltung einer Geschichtskultur, welche Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft miteinander verbinden und das durch verschiedene Geschichtskompetenzen unterstützt werden. In den Lehrbüchern werden die Schüler darin geschult, kontroverse historische Quellen zu vergleichen und zu interpretieren und sich am durchschnittlichen Leben der einfachen Menschen zu orientieren. Aufsatzartige Fragen in der Abiturprüfung ermöglichen es den Schülern durch die Analyse von Quellen und die Bewertung der Vergangenheit, ihre eigenen pluralistischen Geschichtsdarstellungen zu verfassen. In Südkorea hingegen sieht der Lehrplan mehr als 70 Prozent für die nationale Geschichte vor und zielt in erster Linie darauf ab, dass die Schüler ein umfassendes Verständnis der großartigen nationalen Narrative entwickeln. In den Lehrbüchern werden historische Quellen als Beweis dafür herangezogen, dass das koreanische Volk und seine Kultur einzigartig und hervorragend sind, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf Monarchen und einzelne große Persönlichkeiten liegt. In den CSAT Prüfungen wird durch Multiple-Choice Fragen lediglich überprüft, ob sich die Schüler historisches Wissen im Detail eingeprägt haben.

Der nationalistische Geschichtsunterricht verfolgt das Ziel ein einseitiges Verständnis der glorifizierten Vergangenheit der Nation zu schaffen, während das Gegenteil darin besteht, die Multiperspektivität der Geschichte zu erkennen und ein kritisches Geschichtsbewusstsein zu fördern. Das Aufzwingen einer Geschichtsdeutung aus der nationalen Perspektive heraus sollte durch eine Analyse und Bewertung der Vergangenheit auf der Grundlage der Multiperspektivität ersetzt werden. Die Implikationen dieser Studie bestehen in praktischen Vorschlägen zur Überwindung des nationalistischen Geschichtsunterrichts und aus einem theoretischen und methodischen Beitrag zur vergleichenden Analyse im Geschichtsunterricht. Die pädagogischen Erkenntnisse dieser Studie, die den Geschichtsunterricht vor dem Missbrauch politischer Instrumentalisierung schützen, wären nicht nur auf Südkorea begrenzt anwendbar, sondern auch auf andere ostasiatische Länder oder global, die unter einem Teufelskreis von Konflikten aufgrund vergangener Tragödien leiden.

초록

국가 간 갈등은 민족주의적 정서에 기반한 사람들의 증오에 기반한다. 역사상 수많은 정부가 이데올로기적 역사 교육을 통해 국가를 건설하고 민족주의적 정책을 정당화하고자 했다. 여전히 전 세계적에서 발견되는 현상은 하루 빨리 중단되어야 한다. 본 연구의 목적은 민족주의 역사교육과 반민족주의 역사교육의 교육학적 차이를 규명하여 역사교육의 탈민족주의 전략을 찾는 것이다. 선행연구가 주로 역사교과서의 내러티브를 분석한데 비해, 본 연구는 학습목표의 인지적 성격, 학습 주제의 공간적 범위, 제시된 사료, 학습 활동, 시험문제의 성격 등 교수법적 측면을 분석한다. 비교교육학의 방법론을 사용하여 독일과 한국의 역사 교육과정, 교과서 및 평가의 공식적 문서로서의 실증적 자료를 병치 및 비교한다.

독일에서는 역사 수업에서 유럽사와 세계사가 자국의 역사보다 더 많은 부분을 차지한다. 역사 교육의 주요 목표는 학생의 과거, 현재, 미래를 연결하는 비판적 역사 인식과 역사 문화에 참여하고 만들어가는 역량을 키우는 것이다. 교과서는 평범한 사람들의 평균적인 삶을 주제로 하며, 논쟁적인 사료를 학생 스스로 비교 및 해석하도록 훈련시킨다. 아비투어 역사시험은 논술형 문제를 통해 학생들이 사료를 분석하고 과거를 평가하도록 요구하고 역사 내러티브의 작성 능력을 평가한다. 반면 한국의 교육과정은 70% 이상을 한국사 비중으로 할당하고, 학생들이 거대 국가 서사를 체계적으로 이해하는 것을 주요 목표로 한다. 교과서에서 사료는 한국 민족과 한국 문화가 독특하고 탁월한 것을 보여주는 증거로 사용되며, 역사 내용은 군주와 위인을 주요 소재로 한다. 객관식의 수능 역사 시험은 해박한 역사 지식의 암기 여부를 평가한다.

민족주의적 역사 교육은 민족의 영광스러운 과거를 일방적으로 이해하도록 강요하는 반면, 그 대안은 역사의 다중관점성을 인식하고 비판적 역사의식과 이를 바탕으로 한 참여적 역사문화 역량을 계발하는 것이다. 민족적 관점에서 역사 해석을 강요하는 것은 다원적 관점에 입각한 과거에 대한 분석과 평가로 대체되어야 한다. 본 연구의 시사점은 민족주의적 역사 교육을 극복하기 위한 실천적 제언과 역사교육의 비교교육학 연구를 위한 이론적, 방법론적 기여이다. 본 연구의 교육학적 발견은 역사교육을 정치적 수단의 남용으로부터 보호할 것이며, 이는 한국뿐만 아니라 과거의 비극으로 인해 갈등의 악순환을 겪고 있는 다른 동아시아 또는 전 세계 국가들의 역사 교육에도 적용할 수 있을 것이다.

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List of Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini [after Christ]
BC	before Christ
BW	Baden-Württemberg
bpb	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung [The Federal Agency for Civic Education]
lpb	Landeszentrale für politische Bildung [The State Agency for Civic Education]
CHE	Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung [The Centre for Higher Education]
CSAT	College Scholastic Ability Test of South Korea
DeSeCo	Definition and Selection of Competencies
EPA	Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen in der Abiturprüfung [the Uniform Examination Standards in the Abitur Examination]
GEI	Leibniz Institute for Educational Media Georg Eckert Institute
KICE	Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation
KMK	Kultusministerkonferenz [the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the States in the Federal Republic of Germany]
MoE	Ministry of Education
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VGD	Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands [the association of history teachers of Germany]
ZSL	Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung [Center for School Quality and Teacher Education]

Notes

- ▷ The Romanization of Korean language followed the *McCune–Reischauer* system.
- ▷ Subject names are written in parentheses of 「 」, for example, 「Korean History」.
- ▷ Names of Korean researchers are written in order of given name and then family name according to the ordinary order in English language, whereas names of historical figures such as *Park Chung-hee*, a former president, are written in order of family name and then given name according to common practice in Korean language.

1 Introduction

After the two devastating world wars, nation-building through instrumentalized nationalistic history teaching was recognized as a causal culprit for deaths and ruin (Bendick et al., 2018; Bottici, 2009; Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010a; Rüsen, 2001). Since then, history didactics theories for antinationalism were, especially in Germany, intensely discussed (Bergmann et al., 1997). Yet despite the successful development and establishment of history didactics theories (Barsch et al., 2020; Günther-Arndt & Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2014; Mayer et al., 2016; Pandel & Schneider, 2017; Sauer, 2015), nationalist history teaching persists worldwide (Psaltis et al., 2017; Zajda, 2015), and particularly, a number of studies proved that the history textbooks of East Asian countries are extremely nationalistic (Bang, 2015; Cave, 2008; M. Kim, 2015; Müller, 2011; Nishino, 2010; Shin & Sneider, 2011; S. Yoon, 2017). These studies shed light on the characteristics of textbook narratives on specific historical events, but there are few studies that offer pedagogical and didactic alternatives to reduce the nationalistic history teaching in these countries. The purpose of this study is to identify differences by juxtaposing and comparing anti-nationalist German and nationalist South Korean history education and thereby suggest concrete alternatives to reduce nationalism in history teaching in South Korea.

結者解之(kyöl-cha-hae-chi), meaning "One who has tied a knot must untie it," is an East Asian idiom that refers to that the cause of the problem is the key to the solution. Hatred created or promoted by nationalistic history teaching can only be reconciled by changing history teaching. Under the influence of social changes after 1968, so-called "crisis of history teaching" is occurred in Germany, which negated the previous nationalistic history teaching. This crisis led to strong changes and innovations in history teaching from the late 1970s to the 1980s (Dong-ki Lee, 2016; M. Park, 2018; Sauer, 2015; Yi, 2015), and the theories and practices of de-nationalizing history education have continuously evolved in the process. Germany is now internationally known as the country that developed and practiced the theories of history didactics for this goal and purpose (Kawate Keiichi, 2011; Lässig & Pohl, 2009; Chae-bok Park, 2018). Since 1951 with France and from 1972 with Poland, West Germany took the initiative role for history textbook in order to develop a basis for peaceful coexistence through a reconciliatory historical consciousness for future generations. The discussion on the textbook revision led to the successful publication of joint history textbooks in the participating countries in the 2000s (Bendick et al., 2018; Pick, 2018; Wiatr, 2014).

In Germany, first, the goal of history education has changed from understanding national narratives through historical narratives to developing students' own critical historical consciousness (Jeismann, 1997). Second, the principle of national monoperspectivity in history education has been replaced by multiperspectivity (Bergmann, 2016b). The principle of narratives about the "great men" who contributed to the country" was replaced by narratives dealing with the average life of the "ordinary people (Bergmann, 1997; Sauer, 2015)." The content has been restructured according to present relevancy and significance for students to understand the society and solve its problems (Bergmann, 2016a). Third, instead of the method of understanding and accepting given narratives, the method of one's own experience through critical analysis of historical data was emphasized (Grafe et al., 2014). Finally, with the changes in

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information and globalization and the transition to a multicultural society, competency-based education, which became the paradigm of school education in the 2000s, accelerated the transformation of history education from teaching historical knowledge to promoting historical competencies (Körber, 2021).

In contrast, in the history teaching of East Asian countries, represented by China, Japan and Korea, the grand national narrative is still being the main content of the historical narrative (Cave, 2013; E. Hwang, 2015; Yan et al., 2021). History teaching serves to convey the country's own chauvinistic attitude in historical disputes between countries, and numerous studies have analyzed current history teaching in East Asian countries in this regard. Studies in which European and American researchers analyzed the content of East Asian History textbooks from the third perspective. Unanimously, they note a dominance of nationalistic narratives and differing memories related to past wars (U. Han et al., 2012; Müller, 2011; Shin & Sneider, 2011). Although there have been efforts and successes in historical reconciliation, such as the publishing joint textbooks between China, Japan and South Korea led by scholars and civil society groups in 2005 and 2012, respectively, yet these joint textbooks merely bring together the countries' national narratives in parallel, and the adoption and use of these textbooks in schools has been not successful, so the impact on history education was insignificant (Wang, 2009; H. Yoon, 2014).

In South Korea, national narrative of history had been suppressed during the Japanese colonial period, and after the independence in 1945, national history was welcomed by scholars, educators, and the public. Attachment to the nation was so strong that attempts by the U.S. military government in South Korea (1945-1948) to introduce progressive social education failed (Sohn, 2021). Afterwards, the military dictatorship (1962-1987) reinforced nationalistic history teaching to ensure the regime's own legitimacy under the situation of national division between North and South Korea (Bang, 2016; Cha, 2007; K. Ku, 2014). Studies criticizing nationalist history teaching and called for changes have emerged in the early 2000s (D. Moon, 2003; J. Yang, 2002, 2005). The background was social changes such as the democratization of politics, digitalization, globalization, and the introduction of the constructivist view of history in South Korea. The studies analyzed the narrative structure and narratives of history textbooks from the military dictatorship period and criticized the strong presence of nationalism, patriotism, and chauvinistic narratives in history textbooks. However, the majority of South Korean studies continue to take the position that nationalist history teaching should be defended or positively transferred to open nationalism (N. Kim, 2005; M. Yang, 2015). The main reason for this position seems to be that the learning content of national history has become the traditional structure since the 1950s, and the basis for a theoretical discussion on history didactics for denationalism is still scanty, as this discussion has only been going on for about 20 years in South Korea.

Due to the university ranking system and the high correlation between an individual's social success and the name of the university attended (Doo-hyoo Lee, 2007), a multiple-choice test form with objectivity and reliability is generally used in South Korea. This test form requires students to choose an answer from given options and the "correct answer" usually deal with a mono-perspective national narrative (Swartz, 2006). Because multiple-choice test is a representative test form in schools, teaching and learning, therefore, focuses on the effective understanding of the given historical narratives. This practice of teaching and learning hinders active engagement with the history teaching and active discussion of critical historical thinking.

Although a number of previous studies have confirmed the nationalistic phenomenon of East Asian History teaching by analyzing textbooks (Müller, 2011; Nishino, 2010; Vickers & Jones, 2005), there are few studies that propose or offer concrete alternative plans for the de-nationalism of history education in terms of history didactics and pedagogy. Moreover, unlike the cases of Chinese and Japanese history education, there are few studies written in English on South Korean history education available. In South Korea, there are researchers that introduced theories of history didactics of Germany and made suggestions in this regard (Bae, 2021a; Ko, 2019; M. Park, 2021; Yi, 2016), however, the studies are not based on juxtaposing comparisons of the two countries' history teaching, so the diagnosis for improvements is lacking. Moreover, by addressing overall aspects of history education in schools, this study provides comprehensive suggestions for dismantling nationalism in history education, whereas previous studies usually focus on a specific theory and its application (Ko, 2013; Yi, 2008, 2015).

The aim of this study is to develop concrete alternative action plans for reducing nationalism in history education in South Korea by comparing the curricula, textbooks, and examinations in Germany and South Korea using the methodology of comparative education (Hilker, 1962; Parreira do Amaral & Amos, 2015). To this end, the main research question of this dissertation is: "What are the differences in content and didactics between history education in Germany and South Korea, and what are the implications of these differences for denationalism of history education in South Korea?" To answer this question, this study asks the following sub-research questions. First, what are the objectives and history competencies of history education in the curriculum documents of both countries, what are the spatial scopes of historical content covered by the grade-level learning goals sentences, and what cognitive learning level do they require? Second, how are the topics of (1) ancient peoples in the territories of Germany and Korea and (2) early book printing presented in the history textbooks of the two countries in relation to the grand national narrative, ethnicity, uniqueness, and superiority of the nation, and how are historical materials and learning activities addressed? Third, how are international relations and forms of government addressed in the history tests of the two countries?

This study compares the curricula, textbooks, and tests of Baden-Württemberg, a German state, and the South Korea. While South Korea has a centralized political system, Germany is a federal country in which each state is responsible for developing and implementing its own curriculum. Since each state develops its own curriculum, which reflects the individual characteristics and regional needs of each state, it is not appropriate to regard a state curriculum as representative for Germany as a whole. Rather, it is important to recognize that each state's curriculum reflects the unique circumstances and culture of the region. The domestic scholarly discussion and exchange of information between regions enable that the curricula and textbooks of each state have nevertheless similarities to a certain extent. Submethods used are curriculum mapping (CCM) for the curriculum (Jeong-hyo Kim, 2020), comparison of authors text, historical materials, and learning activities in textbooks (Schinkel, 2017), and deductive classification of questions using coding guides (Mayring, 2014).

The reasons for choosing Baden-Württemberg, the southwest region of Germany, were the size of the state, the population, the up-to-datedness of the curriculum, and the data accessibility. Baden-Württemberg has about 11 million inhabitants, which is about 13% of the total population of Germany and is the third most populous state among the 16 German states (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2021). Since the first conversion to the competency-based curriculum in 2004, the curriculum has been again revised in 2016,

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soliciting comments from experts, teachers, and the public, therefore, the curriculum is the second generation of the competency-based history curriculum (Grießinger & Neutatz, 2017). Accordingly, the textbooks analyzed in this study have been newly published since 2016 and thus reflect the latest research findings in the field of history didactics. In addition, in some other German states, history subject is taught integrated with other discipline of social studies, while history is taught as an independent subject in all types of lower secondary schools and at Gymnasiums in Baden-Württemberg. Last but not least, the State Agency für politische Bildung (Ipb) Baden-Württemberg has played a leading role in the development of democracy education in Germany by drafting the Beutelsbach Consensus, which was a milestone for politics and history education in Germany (Dong-ki Lee, 2016).

Although there is always dissimilarity between formal and implemented curriculum, this study limits its data for empirical analysis to official curriculum, published textbooks, and state-administrated examinations. Therefore, the findings of this research do not reflect the teaching practices in lessons, which could be greatly vary. Regarding the assessment comparison, this study compared the upper secondary graduation qualification test, namely the Abitur, at the state level of Baden-Württemberg and the College Scholastic Ability Test, namely CSAT, at the national level in South Korea. This is because the both tests are administered by each MoEs, therefore, the test form and contents dealt with are representative and the data are accessible than tests administered by individual teachers. Moreover, both exams are high-stake summative assessment which has a powerful wash-back effects on teaching and learning in school lessons, and it makes the comparison more significant.

This study contributes the knowledge of pedagogical and didactic means to reduce nationalistic history education in East Asia by applying the theory and practice of Germany. It provides practical implications that fill the lack of knowledge and experience to break down the fixed structure of the grand national history narrative in South Korea and East Asia. In terms of research methodology, this study broadens the horizon of comparative education research in history education. While previous international comparative studies mainly compared history education in neighboring countries or in countries using the same language (Mittnik, 2018), this study, by comparing Germany and South Korea, attempts cross-cultural comparative education in history teaching. It was able by comparing the pedagogical and didactic aspects rather than the description of identical historical events. Finally, while most comparative educational studies on history teaching analyze the topics of modern history (Ga-young Kim, 2016; Shin & Sneider, 2011), this study focuses on ancient and medieval periods to focus on the pedagogical aspect. It is to avoid the attention to the topics which could be sensible and controversial, and to concentrate on the didactical dimension rather than the narrative itself.

In order to answer the research question "How to reduce nationalistic history teaching in South Korea?", it is important to reflect on the definition and features of nationalism in the context of history teaching. The characteristics of nationalist history education in previous studies can be divided into three categories: the grand national narrative, differentiation, and hostile international relations. *Chapter 2* which is followed by this introduction deals with this content.

Chapter 3 discusses history didactic theories for the alternatives to nationalistic history teaching in the following order: purpose of history teaching, its main principles, analysis and interpretation of historical media and sources, and competency-based history education. Key concepts in this context are historical consciousness, multiperspectivity,

personification, present relevancy, text and image sourcework, history competency models, and their competencies. These theories are based on the contents and structure of German history didactics, the discussion on each theory in South Korea is added at the end of each section, respectively.

The following *Chapter 4* introduces comparative education, the methodology of this research. Comparative education research, which means international comparison exclusively, has two purposes: It provides a more general explanation of educational phenomena, on the one hand, and it benchmarks and borrows idea to solve a domestic educational problem, on the other hand. The procedure of analysis consists of four steps: explanation-interpretation-juxtaposition-comparison. This chapter also includes information about the different school systems in Germany and South Korea, as well as the time allocation of history education by grade and school level in each country.

The curriculum, the textbook, and the test of Germany and South Korea are compared as the objects of empirical analysis in this study. To this end, *Chapter 5* explains the basic theories of these three pillars of school education. The contents include the definition and types of curricula, the types of textbook systems and the components of history textbooks, the definitions and typologies of assessment, and the college admissions system and tests for this in both countries. For each content, this chapter explains the national context so that one can see what to consider when interpreting the results, and it helps a fairer comparison.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 deal with analyses, namely the comparison of history curricula, textbooks, and examinations. Each chapter consists of research questions, methods, results, discussion, and summary.

Chapter 6 is comparing the curriculum and analyzes the differences in the overall objectives of history education and the learning goal sentences for each grade level. The textbook comparison in *Chapter 7* deals with two topics, ancient people and the letterpress, and compares them in four categories: the weight of the topic, the author's text, historical media/sources, and learning questions. *Chapter 8* compares the content of the history tests by dividing it into two topics: international relations and forms of government and examples of test questions are also provided. In this process, the difference of test forms between essay and multiple-choice test reveals obviously.

The general discussion in *Chapter 9* provides nine suggestions for reducing nationalism in South Korean history education along with considerations for its implementation.

Chapter 10, the final chapter, revisits the overall analyses and the significance of this research. The theoretical, methodological, and practical implications and contributions of this study are described, as well as follow-up studies that are necessary to better achieve the denationalism of history education.

2 Nationalism in History Education

After the two World Wars, educators and pacifists pointed out that the cause of wars and conflicts was nationalism (Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010b). Since then, has history education contained nation, nationalism, and nationalist ideology? In many cases, this seems not the case.

Historical conflicts, including controversies over history textbooks, have been one of the thorny interstate problems in Northeast Asia for decades. Through scholarship, it has been confirmed that the nationalist worldview is the origin of these problems (K. Ku, 2014; Nozaki, 2008; Saito, 2017). One cause of the nationalist narratives in history education in South Korea lies in the past colonial rule (1910-1945) during Japanese imperialism. The military regimes (1962-1987) also used nationalist discourse as an ideological basis for legitimizing their rule. Between the 1960s and 1980s, this nationalist historical discourse dominated the history teaching and was a political tool to justify the dictatorial regimes (H. Kim, 2014; K. Ku, 2014; Cheol-hee Park, 2007). To this end, the governments of military dictatorships increased the number of teaching hours for the subject of "national history," published nation-wide uniform textbooks on national history. They established historical research institutes such as the "National Institute of Korean History" to support the elaboration of national history. Retrospective studies on history education of the period indicated that it played a crucial role in building national identity (Bang, 2016; Cha, 2007).

In Germany, after two successive world wars in which an imperialist patriotism education played a major role, there has been a move away from nationalism and a focus on building a cohesive European and cosmopolitan identity. Social issues such as human rights, gender, and equality have taken central focus. History didactics researchers have also actively led discussions from a critical perspective (M. Park, 2021). The proportion of textbook descriptions on European and world history instead of national history has also increased in this context. Studies evaluate that current German history textbooks teach pluralistic perspectives, transnational and trans regional approaches, and promote reconstructions of historical myths and narratives compared to German history textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s (Lässig & Pohl, 2009).

Why and how does history teaching that promotes nationalist thinking cause conflict? Based on previous studies, this chapter (1) reflects on the concept of "nation" and "nationalism," (2) identifies the characteristics of nationalistic history teaching, and (3) presents the transition processes in setting the goals of history teaching in Germany and South Korea.

2.1 The concept of nation and nationalism

Simply put, nationalism is an ideology that seeks the identity and cohesion of a particular group (Malesevic, 2013). Numerous scholars have tried to give a general definition to "the nation", yet even the opinion about when the concept to a "nation" arose is still disputed.

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On the one hand, there are the views of primordialism and perennialism, which assume that the nation has always existed in human history. On the other hand, there is the view of modernism, which considers the nation as an imaginary community that emerged in the process of modernization and urbanization (A. D. Smith, 2013). Wars between nations or dynasties in ancient records support the perennialist view that nations have existed for always. Many researchers in South Korea seem to hold this view (N. Kim, 2005; Seo, 2001; J. Yang, 2002). The modernist view proves that this community we call a nation did not exist before the Middle Ages in an agrarian society dominated by a small elite, but emerged later in the process of industrialization and urbanization along with the bourgeois class (Hobsbawm, 1992). This view is generally accepted in Europe. What both views have in common is that nationalism takes an exclusive position vis-à-vis other groups.

Many scholars have already defined the concepts of nation and nationalism. According to Renan (1882), "a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things make up this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present." (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 17). He argued that the individual is seen as the end product of the nation sharing the rich heritage of the past, and that it is an essential requirement for a nation to achieve the common glory of the past in the present and in the future. Joseph Stalin (1973) considered the nation as a "historically established community of people" distinct from race and tribe. He wrote, "A nation is a historically established, stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychological structure manifested in a common culture (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 18)." Weber (1948) wrote that "a nation is a community of feeling which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own." (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 25).

Clifford Geertz (1963) listed the following criteria as the basis for classifying nations: "assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion, and custom" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, pp. 17–34). Smith (2009) defined nationalism as "an ideological movement to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population that some members believe constitutes an actual or potential 'nation'" (A. D. Smith, 2009, p. 61). He explains that nationalism has the following key motifs: Autonomy, Unity, Identity, Authenticity, Homeland, Dignity, Continuity, and Destiny. Hutchinson (1994) explains nationalism by dividing it into political and cultural nationalism. Political nationalism is a political community that seeks cosmopolitan rationality among groups within society. In contrast, cultural nationalism emphasizes the historical, cultural, and geographical distinctiveness of a group and places value on the group's shared culture. This can be seen as the nationalism of South Korea, which emphasizes the traditions of the nation.

Attempts have also been made to divide the concept of nation into objective and subjective definitions based on the characteristics of the standards. Objective definitions refer to cultural factors based on physical indicators such as ancestry, language, religion, customs, and territory. Stalin's definition of a nation as "a historically developed, stable community with language, territory, economic life, and psychological structures embodied in cultural communities" is a good example. The subjective definition defines a

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nation by the will and desire of the members of a nation to belong to the nation of their choice, even if the language or customs are different. Anderson's definition of an "imagined community" is an example of this. Based on these criteria for different ethnic groups, it is argued that the definition of a nation is a combination of objective factors such as ancestry and culture and subjective factors such as homogeneity and members' desire to belong. This theory emphasizes that there is an inseparable relationship between the two elements rather than just one of the objective and subjective elements of the essence of the nation (Seung-bae Choi, 2011; M. Yang, 2015).

All of these views considered so far are attempts to explain nationalism. However, while they define a nation, they present conditions that explain its variability and ambiguity. Nationalism as such is intellectually and logically contradictory, so there are as many characteristics and types of nationalism, and because it is combined with various social ideologies, it is understood as a complex concept that is difficult to explain in general. In short, a nation shares or claims to share a common race, ethnicity, language, religion, territory, culture, customs, history, etc., but this is not always the case. Nationalism asserts that members of a group prioritize the values of national autonomy, unity, identity, and continuity over individuals.

In addition to nationalism, the terms patriotism and chauvinism are also commonly used to describe a nation. Patriotism is often defined as love for one's country and is considered a "good" feeling, which means a natural love for the ancestral land where one was born and raised. Patriotism can also be classified according to the origin of the spirit: "natural patriotism," which manifests itself in a bond of blood, and "compulsory patriotism," which forces one to sacrifice one's existence in the name of a nation or people. As well as the "autonomous patriotism", in which citizens are the main members of the modern nation-state who aspire to republican and constitutional values (K. Ku, 2014). The 'natural patriotism', which is expressed as an attachment to blood, means passion that enables us to act for a common purpose with an original love for the motherland developed from the internal connection between individuals, families, and groups. The second is 'coercive patriotism', which is forcing one to sacrifice one's existence in the name of a nation, and this includes nationalistic patriotism. The third 'autonomous patriotism' refers to Viroli's republican patriotism and Habermas' constitutional patriotism, which aims for republicanism and constitutional values as a member of the modern state.

Similarly, chauvinism means an exaggerated and unreasonable patriotism. A French soldier named Nicolas Chauvin became emblematic of the cult of glorification of the military among veterans of Napoleon's armies. The simple-minded worship of Napoleon, chauvinism, became synonymous with ultranationalism, an undue bias or attachment to a group or place to which one belongs. Patriotism focuses on love of the nation or state, while chauvinism is seen as importunity and blindness of spirit (Britannica Academic, 2022a).

2.2 Characteristics of nationalistic history education

History education intended for nationalism and patriotism has various narrative and rhetorical features similar to the attributes of nationalism. Based on previous studies, this section summarizes the characteristics of a history education that pursues nationalism. The characteristics are divided into three categories: the grand national narrative, differentiation, and hostile international relations.

2.2.1 Grand national narrative

The grand national narrative assumes a nation as the sole subject of history and presents the foundation, development, and fall of a dynasty or state as the main actor of the historical narrative. Complementing the national narrative are kings, the bureaucratic elite, and social norms as rulers' achievements, the political and diplomatic records of the dynasty or country.

According to a study analyzing the content of the *Koryŏ* period (918-1392) in Korean high school history textbooks (Jeong, 2018), the textbooks contain narratives that focus on the king and the ruling class to glorify authoritarian rulers and defend nationalism and totalitarianism. In the subchapter "The Foundation of *Koryŏ*," the founder of *Koryŏ*, Wang Geon, is mentioned in seven out of ten sentences. In the subchapter "The Policy against Local Powers and the Strengthening of Royal Authority," eight out of 13 sentences were about King *Taejo* and *Gwangjong*. In the subchapter "King *Gongmin*'s Reforms," King *Gongmin* was used as the subject in 10 of 15 sentences. These narratives with the king as the subject were intended to provide students with an image of history that focuses on the ruler, and implicitly so, an awareness that justifies the king's rule in the monarchy era and the dictator's rule in the authoritarian era. The lower classes are described only to the extent that they fought to overcome the national crisis caused by the Mongol invasion, rather than complaining about the state adopting class discrimination. In this way, in the national narrative, only great men, not ordinary people, are portrayed as saviors and heroes of the nation. It is common for a general or king who was active in a national crisis to be portrayed as a great man. These idols are appropriately represented with a portrait or a photograph of a statue.

A country founded by a nation is described as always striving for the unification of the nation. Just as national autonomy and unity are attributes of nationalism, the nationalist teaching of history is also described as being focused on the unification of the country. Regardless of whether the countries are ancient or medieval, unification into national unity is described as desirable and worth striving for. A group that follows a nationalist narrative of history is convinced that people's minds need to be unified in the present as well. A study analyzed the beliefs of two groups regarding the history textbook system (K. Lee & Yang, 2020) showed that the group advocating a unified named history textbook held statist values and followed a unified ideology. They wanted to maintain control over the state and prevent a split in national opinion. In contrast, the other group, which advocated the accreditation system through private publishers, believed that the values of autonomy, democratic ideology, and self-reliance were important.

2.2 Characteristics of nationalistic history education

History education emphasizing nationalism also shows a modern development-orientation that presupposes the belief that it gets better with time. It therefore takes the position that they must succeed in these historical developments of the past and strive for a better future in the present.

This development orientation leads to the logic that every member of the nation must make sacrifices for the nation's destiny. Analysis of history textbooks from the period of the Korean military regime (1962-1987) has revealed that these books emphasize that individuals should obey and devote themselves to the country as the state protects the individual. History books from this period affirm that citizens' responsibilities and duties take precedence over fundamental rights, saying that freedom and the rights of the people can be enjoyed only when each citizen fulfills his duties before claiming them (Bang, 2016). Nationalism conveys the following message in textbooks: the state is infallible and does not make mistakes, a transcendent state that must take the initiative to solve all the problems faced by the people. And the idea that the life of the individual should contribute to the prosperity of the country, that is, the state as the goal of life, which considers the prosperity of the state as the guarantor of personal happiness.

This national narrative describes members as a whole, not as individuals, and uses the collective subject "we". In nationalist history teaching, the frequent use of the word "we" emphasizes the community rather than the individual. The repeated use of the word "we" can lead learners to unconsciously identify themselves as a member of the nation (J. Lim, 2015).

Nationalistic history education through national narrative utilizes mythology (Jae-won Lee, 2007; K. Lim, 2017). According to a dictionary definition, myth is "a symbolic narrative, usually of unknown origin and at least partly traditional, that ostensibly relates actual events and that is especially associated with religious belief." Myths are "specific accounts of gods or superhuman beings involved in extraordinary events or circumstances in a time that is unspecified but which is understood as existing apart from ordinary human experience. Mythology denotes both the study of myth and the body of myths belonging to a particular religious tradition (Britannica Academic, 2022b).

A myth is a record invented and discovered to give privileged preference to a group and to convey a biological determinacy of a particular group so that its members can bond with each other. Cultural and political myths create the illusory impression of uniqueness, uniformity, continuous progress, and a sense of belonging. The egoistic, crooked illusion of one's own group simultaneously implies exclusion from other groups. Myths are creations that always reflect the needs of a particular era. Instead of dealing with their content, it is important to examine how the myths were created, namely through the process of mythologization (Bottici, 2009). Nationalism, which emphasizes the homogeneity of ethnic groups, likes to make use of these myths in ancient historiography.

2.2.2 Differentiation

Differentiation refers to the portrayal of a nation as unique and superior and emphasizes its own cultural heritage. First, originism is based on the premise that the older the better and culture is passed down from developed countries to underdeveloped countries.

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Narratives related to originism appear in the form of certain relics that can be associated with a particular people in the present, are "the oldest in the world," or that "our culture was brought to this place and influenced." This explanation promotes a belief in the original character of the nation (Lim, 2015). Originism differs from merely emphasizing uniqueness in that it stresses originality but emphasizes its temporal precedence (J. Lim, 2015).

Originism is reinforced by giving more importance to ancient history. In 2015, the education minister of South Korea's conservative government announced that he would "set the right direction for our proud history." As a result, the proportion of ancient history in national textbooks was significantly increased (Jeong-bin Lee, 2018). According to another study, a national history textbook for high schools described the origin of Korean history as "people belonging to the yellow race and closely related to the Altai language group formed a national unit on the Korean peninsula and created an independent culture." The researcher pointed out the inconsistency of the narrative of national identity in the era of tribal states (Gi-bong Kim, 2005).

The narrative that emphasizes uniqueness and originality suggests otherness from other nations and implies that "we have characteristics that are different from others." Superiority and glorification, which emphasize the cultural and political superiority of the nation, are also among the content features of common nationalist history teaching. Cultural characteristics of buildings or artifacts are described as unique and superior, and victories in wars with neighboring countries are portrayed as auspicious. However, positive narratives of war victories do not address the victimization of the opposing nation, which is inconsistent with victimization of one's own nation. According to a study analyzing the description of Japan in 「Korean History」 books, the main message is that Korean countries in the past influenced the emergence of Japanese culture. Then, it is described that Japan, which was at a low cultural level, invaded Korea. For example, it was highlighted that the culturally superior country of *Chosŏn* sent a cultural agency to Japan to spread Korean culture after the *Imjin* War (Joong-hyun Park, 2005).

Cultural property serves the basis for the nation's uniqueness and superiority. Eric Hobsbawm argued that tradition was created in modern times. According to his argument, the systematic preservation of heritage by the state is a modern invention. Tradition also promotes social integration through a sense of belonging to society. According to a study (Kang, 2020b), cultural properties represent the essence of national culture was started to be conducted since the 1950s in South Korea. In 1962, the Park Chung-hee government enacted the Cultural Heritage Protection Act to designate and protect tangible and intangible historical, artistic, academic and scenic traditions. The 1969 Document on the Pedagogical Orientation of Korean History Education defined Korean history education as the foundation of national education and made the restoration of a positive self-image of the nation the task of the day. In particular, the curriculum emphasized pride as a cultural nation as follows. "Grade 4: Through historical relics of our country, students understand the outlines of the development of our nation's life and feel pride in our ancestors and our history. Grade 5: Students develop affection for the lives and traditions of our ancestors and feel proud as a cultural nation. Grade 6: Students feel pride in their

2.2 Characteristics of nationalistic history education

country and ancestors." Kang emphasized that the creation of cultural assets and heritage education is a global phenomenon of the nation-state and is based on a nationalist ideology. She argued that the practice of equating cultural properties with relics in history education should be abandoned.

2.2.3 Hostile international relations

The threat of war from external enemies across the border and the experience of colonialism are among the narratives frequently emphasized in Korean history classes. The experiences of war and colonialism are eloquently portrayed as the collective suffering of the national community. The emphasis on suffering leads to the view that members of the nation and the nation share the same fate. By telling us that all individuals in the past worked to overcome the nation's suffering, they force the impression that individuals must work and sacrifice for the nation in the present as well.

According to D. Moon (2003), 「Korean History」 textbooks for primary school state that the whole nation must unite to overcome the crisis of aggression. The Japanese colonial period is described as a dark era caused by the evil power of Japan and suffered by Korea. However, there is no mention of the lives of the people who actually lived during this period. Only those who strove for independence and fought against Japanese imperialism are described. But not those who took a neutral or pro-Japanese position. The narratives about the Japanese colonial period are characterized by describing everything that was done for the nation's independence, so that students who read them get the reverse impression that everyone fought against Japan together and that there were few who did not fight for the nation. He argued that textbooks with this abstract national history made it impossible for students to get a concrete picture of the people who lived at that time. According to Joong-hyun Park (2005), Japanese aggression and persecution are described in detail from the victims' point of view in South Korean history textbooks to arouse anger. Every Korean is portrayed as an independence activist fighting for the nation.

It seems that the content of national history textbooks for secondary education in South Korea at the end of the military regime (1982-1989) also reflected the spirit of collective hardship (Cha, 2007). History teaching during this period continued to emphasize the educational goal of creating a national identity. Modern and contemporary historical narratives began to focus on "hardships and overcoming." These narratives were used to legitimize the military regime and anti-communism.

Similarly, the term "victimization" is used to falsely ascribe a victim role or to portray an exaggerated victim role. The term victimization is often used in research on Japanese textbooks to point out that Japan, as a war criminal country in World War II, describes the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima or the bombing of Tokyo from the perspective of the victim partially. Such depictions could also be found in German history lessons from the postwar period until the 1960s (Puaca, 2011). The perspective of the victim is used in a similar way to the concept of hardship, resulting in the encouragement of individuals to cooperate and restore national damage and honor.

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According to Pandel, "emotionality strongly shapes historical consciousness" (Baumgärtner, 2019, p.37). All these content-related features of nationalist history teaching, such as the use of the "we" concept, victimization, and glorification, aim to appeal to emotion on a broad level. Pupils thus become caught up emotionally in nationalism, and it means the influence of nationalistic history education on students' historical consciousness would be significant.

2.3 Reconciliation or conflict through history education

2.3.1 Historical reconciliation in Europe and the initial role of Germany

Germany has been leading textbook dialogue with neighboring countries for peaceful international relations based on mutual understanding since the 1950s. The history textbook dialogue between Germany and neighboring countries, represented by the examples of Germany-France and Germany-Poland, is seen as a success in each other's countries and around the world. German-French history teachers' associations met in Braunschweig and in Paris in 2017 to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the first Franco-German history textbook recommendation of 1937. In the book's preface, which reproduces the contents of the scientific session of these two meetings, the following sentence is written (Bongertmann, 2018, p. 9). *"(...) We note with satisfaction today that there are no longer any points of contention about the interpretation of the essential events of our common history (...)"* In the book, Rainer Bendick's article begins with the following sentence (Ibid., p. 185). *"Today, from the German as well as from the French history textbooks, all representations have disappeared which denigrate the respective other or consciously serve negative national clichés. (...)"* French and German history teachers' associations plan to continue meetings to exchange information and discuss teaching methods. The German-Polish textbook dialogue is also viewed positively. The subtitle of the book "Polish-German Relations" by Polish sociologist and politician Jerzy J. Wiatr is *"The Miracle of Reconciliation."* The book evaluates that "the correction of mutual negative stereotypes was an investment in the future" (Wiatr, 2014, p. 38)." The book concludes that the experience of improving German-Polish relations should be a cornerstone for overcoming the hostile relations cursed by history in the rest of the world.

Scholars in South Korea who studied history in Germany have introduced the textbook dialogue and cooperation between Germany and its neighboring countries. Whenever anti-Japanese sentiment intensified due to historical conflicts, bilateral textbook dialogues of Germany with other countries were discussed in South Korea. Due to the historical backgrounds of Korea being colonized by Japan (1910-1945) and of Poland being occupied by Germany (1939-1945), it is considered appropriate to compare the case of history textbook dialogue between Germany and Poland. These studies and academic conferences emphasized that the deliberate revision of the history textbook description, i.e., changing the textbook content through consultation in the textbook dialogue, improved mutual negative perceptions, which ultimately contributed to peaceful international relations. In particular, the publication of joint textbooks of Germany with

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neighboring countries was also a driving force that enabled private-level cooperation on the joint history textbooks of China, Japan, and Korea, as will be explained in 2.3.2.

Textbook dialogue is an activity that promotes mutual reconciliation by changing the descriptions in textbooks written to form a collective memory and national identity. The main driving force was the unprecedented experience of the destruction of human civilization in World War II and the prevention of its repetition. Georg Eckert, a professor at Kant University in Braunschweig, founded the International Textbook Research Institute in 1951 and led the dialogue of international history teachers. The German-Polish dialogue was initiated with *Enno Meyer's* 47 theses and Georg Eckert's collaboration in their implementation. Even after Eckert's death in 1974, the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) was a focal point for international textbook dialogue. Political situation and continuous support are also prerequisites for such textbook dialogues. The Franco-German and German-Polish history textbook dialogues were also initiated based on a political agreement. The political background of the Franco-German textbook dialogue was the Élysée Treaty of 1963, of the German-Polish textbook dialogue the normalization of German-Polish relations according to the Treaty of Warsaw of 1970.

In retrospect, the textbook dialogues between Germany and the neighboring countries have gone through a similar process: They started with textbook dialogues for domestic textbooks and it continued to publishing joint history textbooks. First, the textbook dialogue started with organizing textbook committees of both countries. The committees consist of historians and researchers of history didactics. The committees met regularly to discuss agreements on textbook descriptions and determined the points to be considered in textbook descriptions of both countries. They issued recommendations based on the agreement. The recommendations are supposed to be considered by each government, publisher, and textbook author on how they describe the common history and the other country in domestic history textbooks in both countries.

On the one hand, the Franco-German Textbook dialogue, which resumed in 1951, unanimously agreed on a 40 items recommendation in the beginning. The recommendation was based on the first textbook agreement in 1937 before World War II. A series of meetings continued until 1967 to discuss issues arising from the application of these recommendations. After a period of inactivity, the discussion resumed in 1981, and it continued until 1987. On the other hand, the German-Polish textbook dialogue on textbook descriptions took place from 1972 to 1976, and 26 items recommendation was announced in 1977. The main objective of the recommendation was to avoid negative portrayals of the other country and ethnic groups. Regarding sensitive issues like borders and displaced persons, opinions of the Polish committee were accepted following the context of the SPD's Ostpolitik in the 1970s. Yet this was criticized by organizations representing more than 10 million displaced persons in Germany. The recommendations after years of complex deliberations were taken into account and gradually included in the revision of curricula and textbooks in both countries (Yu-kyung Kim, 2002; Chae-bok Park, 2018). The annual German-Polish textbook dialogue continued from 1977 to 1986, and the outcomes of the ten meetings were published in a book each year.

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Second, the textbook dialogue led to the writing of joint textbooks in the 2000s. The primary goal and outcome of the textbook dialogue were to improve the images of each other countries in textbooks. Then the successful dialogue provided the academic foundations for the creation of bilateral joint textbooks synthesizing the perspectives of both countries. On the one hand, the Franco-German project for a joint history textbook began in 2003 on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Élysée Treaty. Some 550 students from the Franco-German Youth Council expressed a desire for a joint history textbook. French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder accepted the proposal. The delegation comprised of 10 teachers in service, five from each country, all fluent in the languages of both countries, was organized. The delegation prepared the guidelines for upper secondary school history textbooks, so they reviewed the textbooks of both countries and discussed in depth the problematic areas. In 2005, the project appointed two publishers from each country: The Ernst Klett publishing house in Germany and the Nathan publishing house in France. Together the companies published three volumes for the upper secondary grammar schools. The first volume covering a timeline from 1945 to the present was published in 2006. The second volume of modern history from 1815 to 1945 was published in 2008. The third and final volume on ancient Greece and Rome to 1815 was published in 2011.

The German-Polish joint textbook project began in 2008. The project team decided to develop textbooks for lower secondary schools in grades 7-10. The textbook guidelines were published as a series of GEI publications called 'Eckert Expertise' in 2012, celebrating the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the German-Polish History Textbook Committee. The publishers in both countries were named in 2012: WSIP in Poland and Universe Communication and Media AG in Germany. Between 2016 and 2022, both countries published a total of four joint textbooks in each language version. The series "Europe - Our History" includes the following four volumes: Volume one, "From Prehistory and Early History to the Middle Ages," is available in German and Polish schools since 2016. Volume two, "The Modern Era to 1815," was published in 2017. Volume three, "From the Congress of Vienna to World War I," followed in 2019, and volume four, "Twentieth Century to the Present," appeared in 2020 (Pick, 2018).

As explained above, Germany has engaged in textbook dialogues with various countries, such as Israel and the Czech Republic and France, and Poland, since 1950 to promote peace in neighboring countries. It was a lengthy and challenging process to reach an agreement amidst the turbulence of opposing viewpoints, interests, and emotions. The background that made this process possible was the will and practice of the political party chosen by German society and researchers. Although the agreement's recommendations were not legally binding, it was assumed that these recommendations were reflected in the representations of German history textbooks and neighbouring countries. In the course of the history textbook dialogue, the history didactical change, in which the structure of the book changed from a text-centred to a history material and student activity-centred view, also contributed to putting these discussions into practice. Germany has promoted historical reconciliation with neighboring countries by continuously improving the presentation of history through textbook dialogues.

2.3.2 Historical conflict in East Asia and history education in South Korea

There have been interstate conflicts among China, Japan, and Korea in various spheres of political and social issues in Northeast Asia. Some examples of these perpetual disputes are as follows: the Japanese history textbook controversies, individual compensation for the damage to Korean people during the war, including the Comfort Women issue, Japanese leaders' visits to the *Yasukuni Shrine* in Tokyo, denial of Japanese war crimes by former Prime Minister Abe, and territorial disputes over the *Dokdo/Takeshima* and *Diaoyu/Senkaku* islands (Schumacher, 2015; Wang, 2009). Antagonism, often anti-Japanese sentiment from the experience of colonial past and World War II among South Korean and Chinese people, and its repercussion in Japan, places as background. Collective memories based on national identities tethered in a nationalist milieu often lie at the root of conflicts.

A nationalistic history narrative in social discourse and history textbooks have long been established over decades in the countries involved and are still dominant today. Yet the development pattern of this phenomenon varies depending on the political situation in China, Japan, and South Korea. The recent trend toward strengthening nationalism in China is attracting particular attention worldwide. Concerning Japan, the "history textbook controversy" began in the 1980s as a critique of nationalism and continues to recur whenever curricula are periodically revised. In South Korea, there has continuously been domestic criticism of history education for overemphasizing patriotism.

In China, based on the theory of a "multicultural unity of the Chinese nation," the Chinese government began the Northeast Project (NEP) in February 2002. This five-year project attempted to develop a logical framework for denying the historical connections between the Korean Peninsula and Northeast China. Researchers of the project argued that ancient kingdoms, previously considered Korean such as *Old Chosŏn*, *Koguryŏ*, and *Balhae*, belong to Chinese history. The NEP prevented the Korean Peninsula from influencing the northeast China area and showed the Chinese strategy concerning the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia (H. Yoon, 2005).

Regarding history education, the Chinese government launched a nationwide campaign to comprehensively revise history textbooks to instill core socialist values in young people in 2017. Moreover, in the same year, China declared that all primary and secondary schools should use the single-type national textbooks issued by the Ministry of Education for the three main subjects of language, history, and, ethics and politics. It resulted in schools in the whole People's Republic of China using authorized single-type textbooks for the first time (Yu-ryee Kim, 2018). The Social Studies textbook for primary school, "Ideology and Moral Character", describes the Chinese territory as an organism having a personality to be great and beautiful. The book emphasizes the merits of Chinese culture and describes modern history as humiliation, including the defeat in the Opium War. The Communist Party is portrayed as China's savior in adversity (S. Yoon, 2017). The textbook 「Chinese history」 emphasizes the origin of ancient Chinese history traced back to the mythical age, the theory of the "unified multiethnic country," the unity of the "Chinese nation," and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. History textbooks are judged to be more ideological and to include substantial national discourse than earlier

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versions. The changes have strengthened positive views of the "Chinese model" characterized by great cultural and historical tradition and centralized governance and increased nationalist and anti-Western sentiment among the younger Chinese generation (Yan et al., 2021, p. 175).

In Japan, the controversy over the inadequate representation of Japan's colonial and wartime past in the country's history textbooks is one of the longest-running, best-known, and most politically controversial "history problems" plaguing East Asia. After the initial controversy over history textbooks in 1982, the Japanese government announced the Neighboring Countries Clause, and textbooks became more reflective of the country's past. In the mid-1990s, however, this trend was reversed by the neonationalist movement of *Tsukurukai*. In this way, domestic and foreign disputes over Japanese history textbooks have brought cycles of greater openness and conservative backlash (Y. Ku, 2014; Schneider, 2008). Since then, South Korea and China have regularly criticized the inadequate portrayal of the atrocities of imperialist wars and colonialism by every revision of history curricula and textbooks in Japan.

The so-called attack on Japanese history textbooks emerged as an international issue in the 1980s, but it began with domestic criticism of nationalism in Japan. Renowned historian *Ienaga Saburo* began criticizing the Japanese MoE for censoring textbooks, as the MoE rejected his history textbooks in 1952 (Selden & Nozaki, 2009). The MoE's request to revise the books included the following: "Do not write negatively about Japan when describing the Pacific War. Even if they are facts, present them in a romantic way. (...) The textbook describes Japan as a unilateral evil. It is not based on an understanding of the international situation at the time." *Ienaga* undertook a series of lawsuits against the ministry for violating the freedom of speech. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999 (Nozaki, 2008). The conflict between *Ienaga* with the transnational activists supporting him and the ruling conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)'s nationalist groups undoubtedly promoted scrutiny and consideration of the historicity of descriptions in history textbooks. It contributed to the increased descriptions of war crimes. In the 2000s, however, with the continued conservatization of the LDP regime, the critical portrayal of imperialist Japan in textbooks is trending downward.

In South Korea, reflective studies on history education marginal until the 1990s. It was the late 1990s and the early 2000s that researchers started critical reviews on history textbooks during the military regime. This situation can be due to the political situation in South Korea (Ide, 2012). Cold War tensions favored the dictatorship of Rhee Syngman (1948-1960) and Park Chung-hee (1962-1979) in the forefront country of the market economy of South Korea. Even after Park's assassination in 1979, military regimes continued until 1987. The military government has long engaged in nationalistic history teaching to secure their legitimacy as their political propaganda.

History textbooks from the 1960s to the 1990s described Korea as a nation with 5000 years of history and cultural excellence, which has overcome numerous national hardships. Narratives in textbooks of this time imply that citizens must obey the orders of the state and that their responsibilities to the state take precedence over the fundamental rights of citizens (Bang, 2016). The reference book for history teachers emphasized

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education for patriotism, in which the "nation" comes first before individuals. Teachers were forced to educate learners that they should sacrifice themselves for the nation and have patriotism. The regime promoted patriotism and loyalty to the country to justify its ideology (K. Ku, 2014). This right-wing history education showed shortly a downwards tendency in the late 1990s when the progressive president came to power (Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003), Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008)). However, as the conservative government returned to power again in 2008, they strengthened the nationalist history narratives (Bang, 2015). Conservative and progressive politicians alike are willing to provoke citizens with nationalistic anti-Japanese sentiments and profit from them. Overall, history teaching in South Korea still cannot break away from nationalism, despite constant criticism on nationalist history education by part of history didacticians.

In 2005 and 2012, researcher groups of China, Japan, and South Korea published joint history textbooks that strive for coexistence and reconciliation. As described above, the three countries have conducted nationalist history education under distinct political intentions. The joint textbook project was a new and unique activity geared to overcome the ethnic discourse that is the root cause of historical conflicts in East Asia. A direct impetus for the joint textbook was that a right-wing textbook that reduced the description of war was approved for use by the government in Japan in 2001. The tri-national China-Japan-South Korea Joint History Textbook Committee was established as a civilian collaboration during the "First Forum on History Appreciation and Peace in East Asia" in 2002, when scholars met in Nanjing, China, for an international conference. The fifty-four members of the joint committee included fourteen Japanese scholars, twenty-three scholars from South Korea, and seventeen from China. They were composed of university professors, researchers, history teachers, and citizens (Jeong-in Kim, 2007; Wang, 2009). They decided to write a textbook of modern history for use in lower secondary schools and held the International Conference from 2002 to 2005 eleven times. The joint history textbook 「東亞三國の近現代史 in Chinese, 未来をひらく歴史 in Japanese, 미래를 여는 역사 in Korean」 on modern history was published in 2005 in all languages of the three countries in each country. This book was translated and published in English by the School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the University of Hawaii in 2015 under the title 「A History to Open the Future: Modern East Asian History and Regional Reconciliation」. Against the backdrop of intensifying political and historical conflicts in East Asia, the publication of these joint textbooks was positively received and evaluated in South Korea. At the same time, the problems of this first joint textbook were pointed out by researchers (Joong-hyun Park, 2007, 2010; Xu, 2011). The criticisms are: The book only contains the respective histories of the three countries in chronological order; that East Asian countries such as Taiwan, North Korea, and Mongolia were not involved in the writing process; the lack of a balanced account of indigenous historiography; the inability to briefly cover the post-1945 history and highlight undemocratic political practices; and the fact that the description of the content was primarily based on Japan's imperialist invasion and the resistance between Korea and China, which amounted to a dichotomous national confrontation structure.

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For the second joint history textbook, 43 members from the existing committee participated to improve the problems of the first joint textbook. After six years of discussion from 2006, the Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee published volumes 1 and 2 of 「Modern and Contemporary History of East Asia」 in China, Japan, and South Korea in 2012. The second textbook has made various descriptive improvements to overcome the problems but still has limitations. A lot of the editorial members were oriented toward national history, so the topic of delicate historical conflicts such as the Taiwan issue or the view of the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 has not been adequately addressed. In addition, because the left-leaning historians of the members were dominant, the conservative interpretation of history was not included enough in writing (H. Yoon, 2014).

The joint history textbook project of Japan, China, and South Korea in East Asia is different from the cases of Germany-France and Germany-Poland in Europe in the following two points. First of all, the East Asian textbook project to reconcile the issue of history was conducted at the civil level without direct governmental subsidiaries. As explained above, the three countries' governments did not show their will to resolve historical conflicts but instead it was civil engagement of scholars and teachers. In this historical-political conflict, civil society groups that included scholars, history teachers, and citizens who sought a peaceful relationship carried out this program without direct government support. This initial situation brought the problem of the missing representativeness that the committee members did not represent overall historical scholarship and teaching in each country. Consequently, this situation inspired the questions about the status and representativeness of their joint history textbooks.

Second, the joint East Asian History textbooks project began without the basis of a formal dialogue for the domestic history textbooks used in each country. The German history textbook dialogue avoided negative statements by developing recommendations for national textbook work in each country. The German-French textbook dialogue began in 1951 and made recommendations until 1967. After that, further discussions continued about the details. On this basis, a joint textbook project was launched in 2003. In the case of Germany and Poland, the textbook dialogue began in 1972, and recommendations for the two countries' national textbooks and teachers' manuals were developed. A joint textbook project was then launched in 2008. In the case of East Asia, in the absence of an official history textbook dialogue on domestic history textbook narratives, a dialogue on the joint history textbook was conducted. The joint East Asian textbook has significance and limitations in that it is a civilian academic attempt to reconcile the regional conflict situation. In contrast, official textbook dialogue and reconciliation among the three governments do not exist. Although there has been permanent criticism from the ranks of education against nationalist history education, there have already been several reconciliation programs, such as joint history textbook projects of China-Japan-South Korea, a rapprochement, or reconciliation of the East Asian states remain unsuccessful. On the contrary, current developments and conflicts lead to a persistently negative perspective that hardly allows for positive expectations of a change in history education anytime soon.

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In summary, it is exceedingly difficult to expect historical reconciliation in East Asia and history education in the near future. As mentioned above, history education in China, Japan, and Korea have nationalistic characteristics. Despite the continuous criticism and self-reflection of scholars, despite the achievements of writing joint history textbooks, the situation in which political reconciliation and peace are not pursued is the root of the continuation of nationalist history education in these countries. The country's influence on education makes the next generation repeat this cycle of historical conflict.

Therefore, this dissertation aims to empirically examine what kind of "change" should be made to overcome nationalism in history teaching. The problem with nationalist history teaching is that it prioritizes a systematic understanding of the national narrative to build a national identity in students' minds. The problem with this is that it prevents alternative interpretations from different perspectives and positions on the past, what history originally pursues. Pride and a sense of belonging are not always harmful but these must be founded on the rational judgment of the individual. History education should play a role in this by helping individual students to reflect critically on the past and to make appropriate judgments for the present and the associated future. Therefore, this thesis aims to explore what kind of 'change' should be conducted to overcome nationalism in history education. The problem with nationalist history education is that it emphasizes a systematic understanding of the national narrative to build national identity in students' minds. The problem here is that it hinders alternative interpretations from various perspectives and positions on the past. Pride and a sense of belonging are not all harmful but have to be based on the rational judgment of each individual. In the process, history education should play a role in helping individual students critically reflect on the past and make appropriate judgments for the present and future related to them.

3 Didactical considerations for alternatives

This chapter examines the theories on history didactics that provide an alternative to nationalism in history education, focusing on the educational objective, principles, methods, and the trend of competency-based learning. The factors that contribute to reducing nationalism of history education in Germany are: First, the goal of history education changed from understanding historical knowledge of the past to cultivating historical consciousness and historical culture for today and the future. Second, as a principle of history teaching, multiperspectivity emerged and was emphasized from the critique against the mono perspective national narrative. This shift was accompanied by the discussion in the 1990s that German society was no longer a German ethnic society but a multiethnic one and the history of various ethnic citizens should be included in school history teaching. In addition, personalized history teaching, which focused on a few great men has been replaced by personificated one, which describes the average life styles of ordinary people in the past. Third, the method of analysis and interpretation of historical materials, which is the basis of students' own investigatory learning, are addressed by focusing on textual and pictorial sources. Fourth, the paradigm shifts of competency-based education in the 2000s, which prioritizes students' capability of reflective thinking over knowledge solidified the above-mentioned changes. Representatives are methodical -, historical knowledge -, orientation -, judgment -, and narrative competencies. Overall, this chapter explains, in regard to reducing nationalism, historical consciousness and historical culture as the objective of history education, multiperspectivity as the principle, historical sourcework as the method, and competency-based history learning as the new trend and catalyst of the change.

3.1 Objective: historical consciousness and historical culture

In Germany, developing historical consciousness¹ of individual students and designing historical culture² of the society are the two main goals of history education. This is because the historical consciousness shared by individuals and historical culture interpreted and redesigned by the members of a society can determine the future fate of that community. This section examines the meaning and usage of the term historical consciousness (3.1.1), historical culture (3.1.2), and the development process of the purpose of history education in Germany and in South Korea since the 1950s (3.1.3).

3.1.1 The concept of historical consciousness -*Geschichtsbewusstsein*-

One can find various descriptions and definitions of the term "historical consciousness": Pandel tried to define the categories what interactions constitute historical consciousness. According to Pandel (1987), the components of historical consciousness are "the

¹ Geschichtsbewusstsein, 역사의식

² Geschichtskultur, 역사문화

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consciousness of time, of reality, of historicity, of identity as well as - already substantially preformed a political, economic-social and moral imagination (Bergmann et al., 1997, p. 43)." He pointed out that the singular of the term historical consciousness should not lead to the assumption that a 'true' historical consciousness is hidden behind the various reconstructions of the past. Historical consciousness is not to be recognized by a "valid" conception of history, but by the effort for empirical reliability, weighing judgment and reflection of values and perspectives" (Ibid., p. 43).

Based on these considerations, Jeismann founded history didactics as a sub-discipline of historical science and clearly expanded its field of research, and redefined historical learning with the concept of historical consciousness: "It is less about the acquisition of knowledge alone than about the engagement with history, that is, about fundamental mental operations. (Baumgärtner, 2019, p. 34)" The distinction between "analysis, factual judgment, and evaluation" is a helpful categorization of the historical learning process, as it has also found its way into history teaching with various areas of requirements (Ibid., p.34). Through his matrix of historical consciousness, one can recognize the "activities of an elaborated historical consciousness: analysis, factual judgment and evaluation as a planning aid for historical learning processes" These activities can be found in the history curriculums and in the tasks of the Abitur.

According to Sauer (2015, p. 12), historical consciousness can be understood as the dynamic sum of all historical impressions in different dimensions from an individual or collective perception. A sound understanding of the present is preceded by an analysis-based interpretation of the past. This in turn is the basis for the development of a desired future. Historical consciousness and historical culture describe the framework and target field of school history learning. It becomes clear that historical consciousness is an ongoing development process, which is influenced by the "mediating instances such as media, museums, school, etc." can definitely be influenced in terms of educational policy (Ibid., p.13). It should be the goal to help students develop their own independent historical consciousness, because it is important that the students can consciously acquire and evaluate historical knowledge in an unbiased and critical way.

To sum up, the purpose of teaching history is to deconstruct, reconstruct, and interpret the past in order to develop historical consciousness in the present. This is necessary to construct and shape the desired future. Thus, learning from the past should enable students to design the future in the way they want, which will be addressed more clearly in the next subsection 3.1.2 about historical culture.

3.1.2 The concept of historical culture –*Geschichtskultur*-

Historical culture as a goal of history education means that the outcome of history teaching is not limited to the understanding of school lessons, and should influence and be applied to students' consumption and participation of out-of-school public history in their real life. Students are quantitatively and qualitatively more exposed to history in their daily routines and leisure time in the form of movies, novels, computer games, museums, and news than through school instruction. Therefore, history education should support students that they perceive and manage history as a culture in a desirable manner. In this

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sense, history educators in Germany since the 1990s started to emphasize the engagement of history teaching in schools with developing competencies for mature consumers and producers of historical culture.

So, what is historical culture? The definition of historical culture can be divided into two types: inclusive and restricted definitions. According to more inclusive definition, historical culture is the ongoing process of how a society deals with historical products, contents, and practices. Rüsen (1997, p. 38) defined that „Historical culture refers to the overall area of the *activities* of historical consciousness. It can be described and analyzed as a *separate area of culture* with a specific way of experiencing and interpreting the world, of orienting human life practice, of human self-understanding, and the development of subjectivity³. According to this view, historical culture does not necessarily accompany scholarly reflection but encompasses all media and behaviors embodied and expressed in various forms related to history in a society.

The latest restrictive definition defines historical culture as a shared collective cultural identity associated with the history that has gone through the process of the academic reflection of history and history didactics. Oswalt and Pandel (2021, p. 9) have defined that “Historical culture is the way in which a society deals culturally with academically researched history. It includes all forms of fictional, artistic, aesthetic, and journalistic treatments of historiographical knowledge⁴.” This narrow definition limits historical culture to the cultural and historical activities of a society based on scientifically researched achievements. This view reflects the essence of historical culture as a desirable goal of history education, and it is assumed that the historical culture of a society is always logical and rational, based on science. However, this perspective has the limitation that it excludes cultural historical phenomena of a society based on a weak academic foundation or pseudo-historical research from the domain of historical culture.

The former inclusive definition is to observe and interpret the existing historical culture and behavior patterns from a neutral point of view. In this view, historical culture is the object of acceptance and interpretation, so history education assists students in possessing the necessary competencies in the process of "interpretation" to recognize and understand this historical culture. The latter narrow definition takes the position that a society should systematically construct and shape historical culture into a desirable state based on historical and history didactics knowledge. From this point of view, historical culture is an object of change and design, so history teaching supports students to create a future history culture in a peaceful and democratic way in accordance with the universal values of humanity. In this regards, it is argued that “Historical culture competence is a generative ability and not a specialized knowledge” (Oswalt & Pandel, 2021, p. 30). These

³ Geschichtskultur bezeichnet den Gesamtbereich der Aktivitäten des Geschichtsbewußtseins. Er läßt sich als ein eigener Bereich der Kultur mit einer spezifischen Weise des Erfahrens und Deutens der Welt, der Orientierung der menschlichen Lebenspraxis in ihr, des menschlichen Selbstverständnisses und der Ausprägung von Subjektivität beschreiben und analysieren.

⁴ Geschichtskultur ist die Art und Weise, wie eine Gesellschaft kulturell mit wissenschaftlich erforschter Geschichte umgeht. Sie schließt alle Formen von belletristischen, künstlerischen, ästhetischen und publizistischen Verarbeitungen von historiografischem Wissen ein.

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two aspects of history culture are nevertheless not separate from each other, but pursued simultaneous and continuous, and they are practiced through various aspects of history education.

While historical consciousness is discussed and pursued as the goal of history teaching since the 1970s in Germany, the concept of historical culture was illuminated in the 1990s and has been actively argued to become one of the goals of history education along with historical consciousness since the 2000s (Sauer, 2015, p. 11; Schönemann, 2014). Schönemann explained that historical consciousness is an individual internalization while historical culture is a collective externalization and that these two concepts are closely related and influence each other like "the two sides of a medal" (Schönemann, 2014, p. 17). It means that consciousness resides in the mind, and culture exists as a visible phenomenon. Historical consciousness fulfills its meaning when it is practiced as historical culture. For this reason, Schönemann claimed that historical culture should be part of the main contents of history teaching and that containing history culture in curricula and textbooks is one of the most urgent tasks of history didactics (Ibid., p. 20). The recent publication of the "*Handbuch Geschichtskultur im Unterricht* [Handbook of Historical Culture in lessons]" proves that this change is pursued actively by the academic circle of history didactics. The preface to this book points out that "despite practical constraints, the history that takes place outside the classroom is covered inadequately (Oswalt & Pandel, 2021, p. 9)" in history teaching of schools.

Depending on its form, there are three different classifications of historical culture: *Products, Contents, and Practices* (Oswalt & Pandel, 2021, pp. 614–615). *Products* of historical culture are to understand all representations of aesthetic, political commercial and memory cultural concerns. Monument, memorials, museums, paintings, novel, film, games belong to this category. *Contents* are all statements which are written about or to history understand. News, political speeches, discussion forums are the examples of contents. *Practices* refer to cultural activities and events that have a historical-cultural background. They include commemoration days, historical festivals, educational trips, and product boycott in terms of historical issue (Hinz & Körber, 2020).

Depending on its emphasis of meaning, historical culture is perceived by people from five different aspects: cognitive, aesthetic, political, moral and religious (Baumgärtner, 2019, p. 41; Rüsen, 1997, p. 39). At the beginning, Rüsen classified the forms of historical culture into three dimensions of cognitive, aesthetic, and political aspects. Cognitive dimension refers to the rational debate which takes place primarily in the history research. Aesthetic dimension refers to all forms of artistic practices which are encountered in monuments, museums, films, visual art, or literature. Political aspect relates to the area of power and influence in a broad sense, such as commemoration days, historical arguments in political disputes, or the political intentions of state over history teaching. Later Rüsen added two other dimensions. The moral dimension focuses on the assessment of historical facts with regard to ethical norms and values. The religious aspect addresses beyond human life to transcendent points of orientation.

According to Schönemann, historical culture can be also classified by four dimensions of *institution, profession, media, and publica* (Baumgärtner, 2019, pp. 41–42;

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Schönemann, 2014, pp. 18–19). Distinguishing these stakeholders and components of history culture can be useful to manage each element to make certain change in historical culture. *Institutions* refer to where does historical culture take place: universities, schools, museums, archives, libraries, monuments, and etc. *Professions* mean who mediate or moderate historical culture: university professors, history teachers, museum experts, archivists, librarians, monument conservators, but also laymen and semi-professionals such as "politicians, journalists, representatives of the fine arts and poetry, citizens interested in history. *Media* mean what conveys historical culture including the products, contents, and practices. Novels, speeches, articles, monuments, memorials, historical festivals, the Middle Age markets, and educational trips. *Publica* or addressees refer to recipients of historical-cultural communication: students, museum visitors, memorial day participants.

3.1.3 Development process of the objectives of history education

According to the sociology of education, there are two main views about the role of school. The functionalist perspective regards school as transmitting the social values of the old generation to the new generation and systematically teaching children and adolescents what they need to live their lives. Functionalists assume that school plays the natural and positive role expected of the adult generation. Another view is the conflict theory, which assumes that schools teach specific values of the ruling class of society who decide the curriculum that corresponds to their interests to preserve their position. Conflict theorists view that schools exacerbate and perpetuate inequality between social classes, genders, and ethnicities. The discourse on history education has transformed by the intersection of these two positions from a broad perspective.

A state is responsible for and conducts school education for the next generation. What does the government expect teachers to do with children and adolescents? The prevailed view was and is that schools pass on the knowledge of the older generation systematically and effectively: functionalism. This idea has always been and is still valid to some degree. However, the government, which has the authority to determine the content of education, intends to make use of school education for its political purposes, especially for the purpose of the ruling class: the conflict theory. In particular, a regime that lacks legitimacy or pursues a direction that departs from the universal values such as peace and democracy desperately needs edification and indoctrination of citizens through school education. This experience was confirmed through the education of the Nazi regime in Germany and other dictatorship countries in the last 20th century or even current North Korea. Teachers who have their beliefs and conscience to help students grow become problematic when the regime's intentions are so abnormal. In this case, teachers who critically view the government are excluded from the school. This often becomes a notorious precedent and hinders the teachers' reflection on the educational purpose.

To return to the theory of function and conflict mentioned at the beginning, school education is supposed to help children and adolescents grow into adults. Still, at the same time, the government can also try to use school education to achieve its political goals. Historical education, in particular, with its inherently political nature, carries this risk.

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Therefore, discussions about the purpose of history education have varied its scope and content depending on the political situation of the country. In other words, discussions on the purpose of history education were conducted differently depending on the political situation in each country. This is still the case today and will continue to be the case in the future. The academic discussion on the purpose of history education is influenced by the characteristics of the government. With this in mind, this chapter examines the discussion on the purpose of history education in Germany and Korea in the context of the political and social situation.

3.1.3.1 Development of the objectives of history education in Germany

From today's perspective, it is generally assumed that history education during the Nazi regime, which sought to cultivate national identity, was an education to nurture human beings that met the purpose of the regime. After Germany's defeat in World War II, there were efforts by the U.S. military government to change the nature of German history education. Still, the nationalistic character of history education persisted into the 1960s. This stagnant history teaching reached a turning point in the 1970s. The '68 revolution in Europe raised critical questions about the world order created by the older generation, which led to a dispute over political education among scholars with opposing positions in the 1970s.

This debate was settled by an agreement in 1976 with three basic principles known as the "Beutelsbach Consensus," which emphasize the objectivity and value neutrality of citizenship education. The three principles of the Beutelsbach Consensus are the prohibition of overwhelming the student, treating controversial topics as controversial, and taking into account students' personal interests. Against the backdrop of this discussion on political education and the critique of existing nationalistic history education, a new exploration of the meaning and role of history education was attempted. Specifically, a reflective study on the existing history instruction that presents and teaches the nationalist values for the system's perpetuation as learning content was made. Instead of teaching that recommends following the proposed values, the history didacticians examined what values history teaching should follow (Ipb Baden-Württemberg, 2022).

These considerations were reflected in Jeismann's study of history and historical consciousness, and his theory that the purpose of history education is to cultivate historical consciousness was widely accepted by the academic community. According to Jeismann, historical image, "Geschichtsbild" in German term, means history as fixed knowledge that demands absoluteness and totality, while historical consciousness, "Geschichtsbewusstsein" in German term, means thinking as an interpretation that is reconstructed by imprinting the relativity of history. Since then, the cultivation of historical consciousness, which is not an education about values but an education about the process of finding values, has become the general goal of German history education. I see this process as a return to a functionalist role rather than a conflict theory because history education has been transformed to pursue an educational essence beyond its function as a tool of the regime. This opinion holds true if one considers the idea that social justice and history education should contribute to it as a general value that German society pursued in the 1970s.

3.1 Objective: historical consciousness and historical culture

History teaching to promote historical consciousness has evolved since the 1970s. The history didactics have been refined to have students make value judgments for the present and the future based on the exploration of historical materials. The historical value discussion has also achieved remarkable results by expanding the scope of reflection to the memory culture, the "*Erinnerungskultur*," the thought on the past, women, the environment, mutual culture, pluralism, criticism of Eurocentrism, and public history. As mentioned in the previous *chapter 2*, the German contribution to the reconciliation of European history is one of these achievements.

The concept of competency, which emerged in the education field in the late 1990s, opened a new forum for history teaching. The DeSeCo study of OECD grouped the skills students need in an era of globalization and computerization into three categories: Information retrieval, collaboration with people from other cultures, and readiness to solve real-world problems. The competencies presented in the DeSeCo study were the main topic of curriculum reforms in countries throughout the world in the 2000s. Competency is a cross-curricular educational paradigm that aims to ensure that all school subjects, including history, provide students with the skills they need to succeed in a knowledge-based and globalizing society. Various curriculum competencies have been proposed for the subject of history to meet these educational needs in Germany. The history curricula of the German states have also been reorganized based on competencies in a broad framework, although the detailed contents of the history curricula vary slightly among the states. Among the various competencies of history subjects, representative are knowledge competencies for understanding historical facts, methodological competencies for analyzing historical data, and reflection competencies for forming historical judgments. The discussion of the competencies is presented in detail in 3.4.

To sum up, the purpose and task of post-war German history education in the 1950s and 1960s was the one-sided transfer of historical knowledge from a conservative nationalist perspective. From the 1970s to the 1990s, history education in Germany became a pluralistic and critical focus on cultivating historical consciousness. In the 2000s, the purpose of history education was to develop the competencies necessary for successful living in the age of information and globalization through history learning. It should be noted that the teaching of historical knowledge, the cultivation of historical consciousness, and the development of historical competence should not be understood as something completely different but as repetition and improvement based on the previous content. Even a reoriented history teaching has changed based on helpful information based on existing expertise and teaching methods.

3.1.3.2 Evolution process of the objectives of history education in South Korea

The main purpose of history education in the 1950s after Korea's liberation was to restore the national identity damaged by Japanese imperialism. During the authoritarian military regime from the 1960s to the 1980s, this nationalistic history education was reinforced as a means to groom people suitable for government. This is the general assessment, at least from today's perspective. Korean history education from the 1950s to the 1980s resembled German history education in the 1950s and 1960s in terms of national identity building. It is clear that history teaching as a politically influenced phenomenon is different from

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the discussion of academic history education. Nevertheless, the fact that history didacticians still claim that history education should develop critical thinking skills beyond national identity education reflects the current situation of Korean history education.

Nationalist history education, which was intended to restore broken national pride through history education, was taken for granted in Korea after independence from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. In reality, however, this meant a shift from education that emphasized loyalty to the Japanese emperor to education that emphasized commitment to an independent motherland. The U.S. military government supported democratic education in place of nationalistic history teaching in defeated Japan and its colony of Korea. Conflicts between a few scholars who had experience with American democracy and democratic education and nationalist educators, however, led to the victory of nationalist education. In addition, the argument to introduce a course on social life instead of a history course was considered unusual because it did not fit with the nationalist thinking shared by Korean citizens and teachers at the time.

It is understood that Park Chung-hee's authoritarian regime (1962-1979) seriously misused history education as a political tool. In the 1960s, the secondary school enrollment rate was only around 30 percent, and it means the final schooling for the majority of the population in South Korea at that time was six years of primary school education. According to a study on the 「National History」 textbooks for primary school used from 1972 to 1982, history is considered as Korean history and attempted to cultivate patriotism by emphasizing overcoming the national hardships (Bang, 2016). The view that history subject was synonymous with Korean national history in primary school became entrenched during this period. Teachers with critical views on this who spoke differently from the regime about the textbook's description was expelled from school. This view, however, was continued after 1993, when a civilian president was elected. It can be said the discussion for a breakthrough out of the nationalist history teaching had a barren foundation. History education in South Korea in this period can be criticized from the standpoint of conflict theory.

The discussion on the purpose of history education in South Korea should be conducted divided into primary schools and secondary schools. On the one hand, the reason is that the history class in primary school is one semester-long in the sixth grade by a homeroom teacher, not by a history teacher. On the other hand, history classes in middle and high schools are taught by history teachers who are qualified to teach history. It is criticized that the structural continuity and sequence of history teaching between primary and secondary schools is insufficient (J. Moon & Bang, 2014).

Primary school history teaching, the first history education for students in South Korea, covers Korean national history from ancient times to the present. Under the military regime, history education in primary school was a lesson that gave absolute value and priority to the nation and the state and forced students to do so. Although the curriculum has been revised several times since the democratization of politics since 1993, the composition of history lessons that focus on the nation's history has not greatly changed (Bang, 2016; J. Moon, 2016). Since the history teaching in primary school is

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treated as a sub-section of social studies, primary school history education has not been a main topic of discussion in historical scholarship (Joo, 2010; Kang, 2008). Even in the 2000s, there was no independent discussion about the purpose of teaching history in primary school. The current curriculum and textbooks in primary school deal with exclusively Korean history as well, the history of Korean people who defended the country against many difficulties (E. Hwang, 2015). Although the goal of social studies education is to promote democratic citizens, the contents of primary school Korean history has a unique purpose of building Korean identity, and it is frequently criticized.

The main arena and topics of discussion in history education in South Korea is history education for secondary schools. As mentioned earlier, nation and nationalism have been the core concepts and main contents of Korean history and history education (J. Yang, 2002). By the end of the 1990s, this mainstream had not changed significantly. According to the study on the purpose of history teaching, based on the theory and reality of history teaching, historical consciousness in South Korea means critical consciousness and problem awareness in principle, but in reality it is used in the sense of national identity, independence, pride in the country, and patriotism. Research on historical thinking has also been limited to showing the process of value-neutral thinking (Bang, 2012).

While such a distinct nationalist discourse is a major feature of Korean history education, a critical discussion about the purpose of nationalist history teaching began in the early 2000s through postmodern history theory. Unlike mainstream nationalist history teachers who assume that historical narratives are indisputable facts, postmodern history theorists view historical narratives as one interpretation among many. Therefore, postmodern historical theorists argued that existing nationalist historiography and history teaching favor the interests and ideologies of certain groups. In particular, they criticized Korean historiography and history teaching for its closed-mindedness and chauvinism that defended the ambiguous concept of nation.

In addition, scholars who have studied history education in the U.S. and Europe introduced cases from abroad and discussed them in light of the current state of history education in Korea. One such case was the introduction of competency-based learning in history education, which began with the revision of the curriculum in 2015 (Bae, 2018; Ko, 2017; M. Lee, 2021a; M. Park, 2021). History competencies are discussed in detail in *Section 3.4*. It is worth noting that history education of Germany, in particular, has been introduced frequently since 2010. There have been sporadic introductions of particular topics and theories in German history education, such as history of environment (Yi, 2008), multiperspectivity (Ko, 2013, 2019; Yi, 2015, 2016). Since 2015, essential contents such as the Beutelsbach Agreement (Dong-ki Lee, 2016) and historical consciousness theory of Jeismann and Rösen have been introduced (M. Park, 2020; Yi, 2019).

In summary, the purpose of history education in South Korea since independence in 1945 has been primarily to build a national identity and a nationalist ideology. Nationalist contents and goals still constitute the basis of history education. This feature is particularly evident in primary school history classes. Criticism on nationalism in history teaching with a national character has increased in the 2000s. There are voices of reflection by postmodernist theorists. Researchers who introduce foreign history

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education cases argue that it is necessary to learn critical thinking about historical narratives and the possibility of different interpretations. However, the fact that these arguments are still being constantly raised proves that the nationalistic nature of history education is still prevalent in South Korea.

3.1.3.3 Overall trends of history education in Germany and South Korea

Although the discussion on the objective of history education in Germany and South Korea differs in time and content, they show a similar tendency. One important trend is that history teaching is moving away from the one-sided acceptance of a fixed representation of history based on nationalism toward the diversity of interpretation and critical thinking based on multiperspectivity. This change has occurred in Germany since the 1970s and in Korea since the 2000s. These changes are maturing and evolving, but like the nature of diverse interpretation and critical thinking, the interpretive perspective is gradually broadening the spectrum and expanding the scope of discussion.

In addition, the paradigm shifts of competency-based education that accompanied the societal transformation of digitalization and globalization in the 21st century required a new self-understanding that history education should contribute to the successful life of students. In the early 2000s, a number of history competency models were originated in Germany, and the discussion further advanced based on curricula development from sixteen countries. In Korea, where the concept of history competence was adopted with the 2015 curriculum revision, the discussion on competency in history education continues with reference to foreign examples such as mainly Germany, and other countries of the United States, Singapore, and Australia.

3.2 Principles: multiperspectivity, present relevancy, and personification

3.2.1 Multiperspectivity

3.2.1.1 The definition of multiperspectivity by Klaus Bergmann

According to *Klaus Bergmann* (1997), perspective is a fundamental human activity that gives perception and meaning to a situation. Multiple perspectives refer to a plurality of perspectives in which numerous people who have lived and experienced the past perceive a certain situation differently according to their class, gender, religion, and faith. Multiperspectivity means the epistemological premise that historical knowledge is viewed, recorded, and observed from different perspectives by different participants and parties. This premise is one of the most important principles of history education (Bergmann, 2016b). Each person perceives reality from his or her unique situation and point of view, this phenomenon is called perspective. History, as a record of the past of many individuals, must contain numerous perspectives, which is called multiperspectivity. Bergmann argued that students should always be aware of this multiperspectivity before and during history learning.

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Bergmann suggested a five-step learning process for students to understand the multiperspectivity. First, students read the material, empathize with what the character has done, and understand the situation from the character's point of view. Second, students explain, by their own words, the temporal and spatial background and the situation as background knowledge to understand the material. Third, through the reconstruction of the situation at that time in the reading material, they vividly experience the situation. Fourth, students understand the truism that there were other characters and their perspectives besides the character depicted in the material by thinking about the situation he or she is rendering. Fifth, the students evaluate the character's behavior. Evaluation in this fifth phase complies with the following four processes. Firstly, students judge the person as good or bad, i.e. positive or negative. Secondly, regarding the judgment, the logical rationale is given. Thirdly, students reflect on it in the historical context and explain the reasons for the judgment. Finally, students evaluate the character's behavior in terms of today's present norms and perspectives (Bergmann et al., 1997, pp. 65–66).

3.2.1.2 Three dimensions of perspectivity by occurencial time

Bergmann classified perspectivity into three categories, (1) multiperspectivity, (2) controversy, and (3) plurality, according to the time at which the phenomenon occurred, and defined each perspectivity operationally. First, multiperspectivity is a term that refers to a phenomenon in which there are as many different perspectives as there are people living at the time. In the history classroom, multiperspectivity can be affirmed through historical materials that evidence different opinions about events of the same time. For example, someone who participated in a war may have perceived the war positively, volunteering according to his beliefs, or he may have perceived it negatively as a horrible phenomenon with many deaths. Or he may have had complex emotions mixed with negatives and positives, and a person's experience of war must have changed over time and circumstances. So a historical event has as many perspectives as the number of people who experienced it or the change in each person's perception. This phenomenon of there being multiple perspectives in the past is called multiperspectivity.

Second, controversy means that later observers, especially historians, may interpret historical sources in opposite or different ways. In the case of the Tiananmen Square incident in China in 1989, for example, historians who defended the Chinese Communist Party government would have viewed and explained the incident as a protest that fueled social chaos. Conversely, historians who viewed the Chinese government's response at the time as unjust would have judged and recorded it as a suppression of human rights by state power that denied democratic demands of people. Historians' interpretations are not necessarily always controversial arguments against each other. However, I assumed that controversy has been specified because cases of conflicting arguments that oppose each other can be used meaningfully in history teaching.

Third, plurality means that students read historical sources or historians' interpretations in class and evaluate them differently. For example, after reading historical material experienced and written by people who participated in the war, some students may positively evaluate the necessity and importance of the war, while others may think the opposite. Another example: After reading the views of various historians about the

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Tiananmen Incident in China in 1989, one student may evaluate the event differently, as one that caused social chaos, while another may view it as a call for democratic change. However, Bergmann's distinction between controversy and plurality is ambiguous. If a student learns through the process as a "historian" directly analyzing historical materials, it may be considered "controversial" if students have differing opinions because they are young historians. Nor is it always the case that the students' judgments about the past are always contrary and controversial. However, Bergmann is thought to have used the term plurality in the sense that he positively advocated that students be free to express their opinions in a variety of ways without being influenced by the interpretation of other peers. It is easy to understand when viewed in terms of pluralism, a way of thinking that allows different thoughts to coexist peacefully.

3.2.2 Migration and Inter-, Multi-, Transculturality

Although Germany was never an ethnically unified group (Alavi (Degner), 1998, p. 7), as is the same in Korea (Cheol-hee Park, 2007) and in the universal history of humanity, the traditional historical narrative characterizes the monoculture of a nation in the purpose of defending national identity. Therefore, it is understandable that most historical narratives have features of mono perspective.

The discussion of multiperspectivity in German history education has been partly driven by the context of the notion of "Germany as a migration society." The discussion of multiculturalism in history education in the 1990s starts with the situation that "guest workers" and their families, who came from abroad after the war to replace the missing German labor force, stayed in Germany afterward (Alavi (Degner), 1998; Georgi, 2003). In this context, researchers have pointed out contradictions that history textbooks primarily defined German society as a monoculture and argued that history teaching should take into account the different existing cultures of the society from different perspectives.

In reality, however, even aside from the ethnic composition and cultural substance of a particular society, the form of culture actually differs. These cultural differences do not have to be limited to continents or countries; ways of life also differ in regions and individual neighborhoods. For example, the food differs in Europe, West Asia, and East Asia, or even in Bavaria and Berlin. However, if one assumes that the culture of a society consists of the diverse culture of different people, and a general culture of people consists of diverse societies, then the "difference from other cultures" is rather insignificant. Also, cultures are permanently changing due to a wide variety of social changes and their influences.

The reactions and perceptions of "people of different cultures" have changed over time. The reaction to a "different culture" means that it "differs" from the "general culture" of a society. The history of a single nation based on the existing mono perspective evolved into the intercultural and multicultural and later transcultural discussion in German society (Körber, 2018). Currently, German history education academia is discussing content and linguistic restructuring for cultivating history competency in a heterogeneous classroom environment due to the integration of secondary school types

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and the increase in students from different linguistic backgrounds (Barsch et al., 2020; Bramann & Kühberger, 2021; Degner & Kreutz, 2020). This discussion is supported by the idea that the differentiated learning material, especially textbooks, supports inclusive citizenship education for all students to express their opinions in the form of the narrative of historical competence and historical and cultural competence.

3.2.3 The present relevancy: from the past to the present and the future

Bergmann, a famous German history didactician, explained that the present relevancy, *Gegenwartsbezug* in German terms, as a thought that records on the past only make sense if there is a present interest and demand for the information. And he stated that this present relevancy has already "established itself as one of the few major, undisputed learning principles in German historical didactics" (Bergmann et al., 1997, p. 266). The present relevancy is widely accepted as one of the most important principles of history education in Germany, emphasizing that "learning our past must be always relevant to the present, and it is the goal and task of history education" (Sauer, 2015, pp. 90–92). The present relevancy is an essential criterion and a prerequisite, not an option, in the selection of learning content in history classes that motivate students' learning and is meaningful and useful for them. According to Bergman, there are two main methods of selecting content based on the principle of relevance to the present. The first is to select "past knowledge that is the cause of current social problems." This selection of content helps to reduce the risk of wrong decisions and actions. Second, "selecting content that has a common meaning between the past and the present, which matches, corresponds, or opposes current social problems." This principle means that history teaching should support solving current social problems and provide a new approach and concept for the future (Bergmann et al., 1997, pp. 266–267).

3.2.4 Personalization and personification: from the great to the average

According to Bergmann's operational definition, personalization, *Personalisierung*, *우리/인물*, in history education is a form of historical narrative in which the past reality is portrayed as the defining domain of a few key figures and the result of their actions. The person or people are portrayed as a "great person" who made certain decisions or achieved historical accomplishments without any difficulty or hindrance. Personalized narratives are, contrary to the principles of historical learning which are supposed to encourage students to make their own choices and seek human emancipation, for the following five reasons. First, personalization leads students to political indifference because it prevents students from recognizing the possibilities of their own change and action. Second, personalization promotes the false thinking that an era can be characterized by authoritarian manners and "powerful figures." Third, personalization prevents students from recognizing that history is made up of many human actions and experiences. As a result, students fail to recognize the objective possibilities and capabilities of change and future improvement. Fourth, because the story is told from the mono-perspective of a single great person in the past, other actions that were meaningful from today's

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perspective but failed in the past are ignored. Finally, because it does not address the daily lives and sufferings of the majority of ordinary people who lived contemporaneously in the same time with the great man, it leads the student to reject, despite high probability and possibility, identifying their ancestors as one of the majority of ordinary people (Bergmann et al., 1997).

Personification, *Personifizierung*, *범인화*, is a pedagogical alternative to personalization. Personification means to describe the past from the perspective of "nameless" people who lived dominated and suffered, in the same time as the "personalized great person." The personificated figure should be described based on the average representative characteristics of the social group. However, for the student learning basically from the given material, the personificated narrative, is also a historical experience recorded from another different mono-perspective, even if it shows the average people of the majority group. In both cases, therefore, when students are taught the historical narratives of great figures and ordinary people, a critical view of history must be presupposed through reminding students that history is one of numerous narratives from different perspectives. To this end, teachers should guide students to critically examine the perspectives and values of other groups. This critical examination in the history classroom helps students realize that the personalized narrative of history is a simplified and unrealistic story by reconsidering the "personalized narrative" that they have constantly experienced in the process of growing up and socialization. Teachers can also guide students to question the personalized narratives found in history books or other history textbooks by providing primary sources with eyewitness accounts from different various perspectives (Bergmann et al., 1997, p. 299).

Personalization is often found in nationalist history textbooks. In the political situation of pre-modern monarchy, the objects of personalization are mainly kings, high-ranking officials or eminent scholars, and heroes who saved the country from national crises, usually generals, and so on. The history taught in South Korea today appears to be relevant with this. The history of kings or queens, and generals who performed a number of deeds for the country, most of which were appreciated positively, take up a large portion. The history of the "nameless" people who led ordinary lives, on the other hand, is comparably not often mentioned because, like always said, there are no records about them. The exceptional cases where the history of these "nameless" people is described in detail are when the people, not as individuals but as a whole community, suffered from enemy countries' attacks during the war (Bang, 2015, 2016, 2020).

In Germany, personalization was especially proactively used for educational purposes during the German Empire and the Third Reich. After the war also, personalized historiography continued to be practiced amid the absence of pedagogical alternatives. It was used particularly actively for political propaganda in the DDR, East Germany. In West Germany, criticism of personalization was voiced in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1972, Bergmann proposed the model of personification as an alternative to personalization (Sauer, 2015). As pointed out by Sauer, the criticism of personalization was exaggerated

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compared to the actual situation in the practice. Yet after this criticism, personalized narratives were greatly reduced and disappeared from German history textbooks. In this sense, this research uses personalization and personification as one of the theoretical frameworks for the comparison of history education between Germany and South Korea.

3.2.5 Discussion on multiperspectivity in South Korea

In South Korea, just as in many other countries, history education conveys nationalistic ideology. Nationalist history education, in terms of perspectivity, means that all students are forced to regard history written from the perspective of the dynasties and ruling classes as objective knowledge about the past. Various actors other than the family of dynasties and elite groups of the society are excluded from the history, and the past of the ordinary common people and their viewpoint are mostly omitted. "Their" national history is richer in material because they are usually recorded, while materials on the history of numerous "nameless" people who have not been documented are scarce, by contrast. Based on these evidence-supported and rich narratives, "their" history is shared as "all of our community's" history. Yet considering the history of the dynasty as a history shared by all of us is the personalized history we already examined, and the flaws and problems of which were presented in *Subsection 3.2.4*.

It is from the 2007 curriculum that multiperspectivity was mentioned in the South Korean history curriculum. In the 2007 curriculum, the name of the middle school's 「National History, *kuksa*⁵」, which had been used until the previous curriculum, was changed to 「History, *yŏksa*⁶」. This change in subject concept from 「National History」 to 「History」 led to an unexpected effect on the content structure of social studies classes: previously, world history was taught by social studies teachers within social studies subject along with world geography contents. With the introduction of 「History」 subject, world history became content of history that teachers majored in history education to teach. It was, however, later pointed out that the history teachers omit many topics of world history due to time constraints by allocating time to teaching Korean history (Kang, 2019). Likewise, in high school, the name of the 「National History」 was changed to 「Korean History, *han'guksa*⁷」. By doing so, it was intended to introduce history education from a pluralistic perspective by linking Korean history and world history. One of the goals of history education was “by applying a pluralistic understanding of history, to recognize that different interpretations and perspectives of the past can exist, and to cultivate insight into history through this” (Dae-hyun Kim, p. 35). In 「Korean history」, the history of women, *chungin*⁸ - the middle classes of the *Chosŏn Dynasty*, *nobi*⁹ - the lower-class slaves, and migrants emerged as new learning topics. Through the curriculum

⁵ national history: *kuksa*, 국사, 國史

⁶ history: *yŏksa*, 역사, 歷史

⁷ Korean history: *han'guksa*, 한국사, 韓國史

⁸ commoner: *chungin*, 중인, 衆人

⁹ slave: *nobi*, 노비, 奴婢

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revision of 2007, understanding history from a pluralistic perspective was emphasized compared to the past.

The discussions on multiperspectivity, or the matter of perspectives, can be represented by studies of the following researchers: H. Yang (1998, 2000), H. Kim (2008, 2021), Ko (2013, 2019), Yi (2015, 2016), Bang (2010, 2020), and Kang (2018, 2020a). The development of discussion can be by its time into three phases categorized. First, in the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, the issue of perspective in history teaching was raised and it provided the frame of further discussion. Ho-hwan Yang and Han-jong Kim raised the issue for multiple perspectives in history teaching and introduced and summarized the Anglo-American and domestic discussions. Secondly, in the 2010s, German theoretical consideration on multiperspectivity was introduced. Yi (2015) and Ko (2019) introduced the theoretical discussion of multiperspectivity of history didactics of Germany. Thirdly and recently, from the late 2010s to present, empirical analyses were conducted and international case studies were introduced. Ji-won Bang summarized the discussion on multiple perspectives in historical narratives and empirically analyzed learning activities in history textbooks focusing on perspectivity. Sun-joo Kang reviewed empirical and theoretical studies on multiperspectivity in South Korea and Europe focusing on students' diversity and value collide.

As an early study on the multiple perspectives of Korean history education academia, H. Yang (1998, 2000), based on Hayden White's argument, raised the need of questioning the general trust in the objectivity of the historiography in textbooks. H. White, in his book *Meta History* in 1973, pointed out the contradiction of the historical realism, which pursues objective narratives based on a rigorous critique of historical sources, which had been developed by historians such as *Ranke* in the 19th century. Yang emphasized that the attitude relativizing the historical point of view does not invalidate the established history and that learning history should be an "exploration" of the past instead of a "representation" of the past. He argued that teachers and students should recognize the subjectivity and perspectivity of historical descriptions to practice this. To dispel the illusion of history that allows only one narrative, the nationalist perspective, he suggested that history classes juxtapose and compare other historical sources written from different perspectives. He also argued that the existing history education that emphasized the objectivity of the narrative and narrow-minded history textbooks, along with the changes of digitalization, globalization, and constructivist educational culture, should be transformed.

H. Kim (2008) discussed the importance and problems of the pluralistic perspective and argued that pluralistic perspective is necessary to understand the history of people who came from different societies and cultures. His article examined the potentials and dangers of the political misuse of relativism resulting from a pluralistic perspective. He suggested that "we can understand other people through history" as Korean society is becoming a multicultural society due to the increase of migrant workers and marriage migrants (H. Kim, 2008, p. 258). Although the research covers the topic of the induction of multiculturalism in history education, it demonstrates a view that recognizes immigrants in Korean society as "the others." Such perception otherizing the immigrants

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is still dominant in present South Korea. His research, by using the Korean term “*tawǒnjök kwanjǒm*¹⁰” for the first time in history didactics circle, provided a basis for related discussions about multiperspectivity. Since then, most of the researchers, especially Ko (2013) and Yi (2015), who introduced the multiperspectivity concept of Germany, used this term. Yet there are also other researchers who use other terms for the translation of multiperspectivity. In Kim’s recent study, “Thinking history from multiple perspectives (2021),” he summarized the congested using of the Korean terms for multiperspectivity and the problem of the term *tawǒnjök kwanjǒm* that he used and is still in use. He diagnosed that alternative terms and consensus for that is necessary.

Ko (2013) introduced the multiperspectivity discussion of history education through the German migrant society and intercultural experience, based on the studies of Bettina Alavi (later Ms. Degner), Klaus Bergmann, Viola Georgi, and Andreas Körber. According to her, German history education up to the 1990s introduced immigrants' "their" history as a part of Europe-centric history, from the consideration on minority migrants. According to her, the studies of Alavi, Georgi, Körber, and others contributed to transforming the concept of multiculturalism into transcultural history and established the concepts as one of the main principles of German history education. In her recent study in 2019, Ko introduced Bergmann's theory of multiperspectivity and its related dimensions, as well as the principles of the Beutelsbach Consensus (Ko, 2019). She then analyzed the content of the Herero War in German history textbooks using multiperspectivity and the principle of "treating controversial topics as controversial." The study findings are: Although there is room for improvement adequately addressing scholarly controversies in learning about German colonial history, the learning questions are designed to encourage students to develop a reflective historical consciousness by experiencing multiple perspectives. Overall, therefore, the Herero War contents can be considered to be written following the principle of multiperspectivity.

Yi (2015, 2016) sharply criticized the South Korean government's attempt to take authorship over history textbooks and their implementation (2014-2016), and introduced the discussion of multiperspectivity that emerged in Germany in the 1990s, based on Klaus Bergmann's theory, as an alternative. According to his studies, traditional history teaching in Germany since the early 19th century was teacher-led instruction, and history textbooks were considered unquestionable historical records of "truth." The idea that history is an "ideological construct" was not widely accepted at the time. History education in that period served the state and the elites of the state, and was an instrument for producing a unified ideology that would be useful for their political purposes. The aim of history teaching in those times was to make students strong men who could give everything for the honor and dignity of their country. In this way, traditional history teaching produced loyal and uniformly conscious citizens who would conform to power and authority. In comparison, contemporary German history education has shifted toward cultivating individual students' critical historical thinking and judgment, thanks to

¹⁰ pluralistic perspective, *tawǒnjök kwanjǒm*, 다원적 관점, 多元적 觀點

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the concept of historical consciousness that has emerged since the 1970s and the discussion of multiperspectivity that began in the 1990s.

For reference, in South Korea, under the intention of then-President *Park Geun-hye* (2013-2017), a daughter of former authoritarian President *Park Chung-hee* (1962-1979), authorship of history textbooks was transferred to the government (2014-2016), as had been the case until the early 2000s. The plan was implemented by MoE staffs, historians, and history didacticists who advocated it. In response to strong opposition from the education community and the public, there was an episode that two-thirds of the Conservative Party MPs held a rally calling for the nationalization of history textbooks. The policy was pushed through despite strong opposition, and the completion of the textbooks was followed by the pilot introduction of nationally authored textbooks in some schools. When the president was impeached and a progressive government came to power in 2016, the return to national history textbooks was thwarted.

Bang (2010) analyzed the changes in middle school 「History」 textbooks after the introduction of the multiperspectivity principle in the 2007 curriculum. This study examined how the content of ethnically exaggerated national history and Europe-China-centered world history changed according to the curriculum revision. The analysis confirmed that in the case of Korean history, "people" was emphasized instead of "nation" in the foundations of national history, and in the composition of world history, the proportions of West Asia and Southeast Asia increased. Bang's 2020 study examined how the high school 「Korean History」 textbook of the 2015 curriculum realized multiperspectivity. As a theoretical discussion, Klaus Bergmann's three-dimensional multiperspectivity based on research of Ko (2019), Bjorn Wansink's model of temporality and functions of multiperspectivity, and others were reviewed. Features of multiperspectivity in high school 「Korean History」 textbooks were (1) the relativization of the national narrative by adopting multiple actors and (2) the handling of the different viewpoints of historical sources, historians, and students. Despite some of these positive improvements, she assessed that the 2015 curriculum textbooks still maintain the chronological framework of the national narrative and focuses on conveying core knowledge through dry and concise sentences, so it has limitations in dealing with a variety of perspectives of history.

Kang (2018) reviewed empirical studies of immigrant students' history learning from Europe and North America. She suggested the following three points regarding immigrant students' history learning. First, by reflecting students' ethnic and cultural diversity in history education, content should be selected and structured so that students can compare the historical experiences of different cultural groups. Second, national history should be de-ethnicized by highlighting different historical actors. Third, students need to learn history by scientifically analyzing the memories of learning, which currently consist of emotions. Her later study (2020a), alike H. Kim (2021), addressed the problem that the Korean term "multiperspectivity" used in Korean history education means a "pluralistic view," that is, a diverse or multicultural view, not the phenomenon of viewing

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the past through a pluralistic view. She proposed and used the term "*tachung sikak*¹¹, multiple perspectives," the more direct translation. She also categorized the instructional methods for encountering different perspectives in history education into three types: a pluralistic approach, an integral approach, and a discipline-oriented approach.

In brief, the above discussion of multiperspectivity in South Korea can be summarized in two ways. First, the term meaning the concept of multiperspectivity has not yet been determined in South Korea. The terms "plural perspective, *tawönjök kwanjöm*" and "multiple perspectives, *tachungsikak*" are mainly used. However, regarding multi, the Korean word for *tawönjök* has become an established term for translation of pluralism. Thus, when "multi-" is translated as "pluralistic, *tawönjök*" it connotes the meaning of "the acceptance of the differences of others" rather than simple plurality in number, which leads to confusion. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss whether "multiple" should be used as a term meaning more than one plural, as suggested by Kang. Regarding the term perspective, it is necessary to propose a new term that connotes "a human act of viewing a phenomenon with a perspective," instead of "perspective, *gwanjöm*" Personally, I propose the term "*tajung gwanjömsöng*¹²" for multiperspectivity which combines the terms "*tachung*" for multi, and "*gwanjömsöng*" as a metacognitive concept of looking at something from a certain perspective rather than "perspective" itself.

Second, previous studies have found that the principle of multiperspectivity should be considered in history education. The reason why multiperspectivity is not sufficiently taken into account is that the national history narrative is still dominant. The recognition that history means the history of a country was firmly confirmed in the 2015 education policy, in which the government attempted to monopolize the authorship of history books. This idea was supported by numerous history didacticians, government officials, and members of parliament, despite opposition of many historians, history lecturers, and history teachers. Since the 2007 curriculum, the goal of teaching history has been to cultivate the qualities of a democratic citizen who accepts and respects pluralistic values. However, it is difficult to see that the curriculum, textbooks, lessons, and exam content in principle and comprehensively pursue a pluralistic understanding of history, even after some 15 years have passed since then. Bang confirmed that the structure of the national narrative has not changed significantly even in the 2015 curriculum textbooks. Moreover, most of the researchers emphasize the need to practice multiperspectivity, which prove that history education in the praxis does not do so. To sum, the previous studies evidenced the necessity of concrete action plans to implement the multiperspectivity as a desideratum in history teaching of South Korea.

Using multiperspectivity as a criterion for analysis, this dissertation attempts to present practical ideas for dismantling the national narrative of mono-perspective. Multiperspectivity and personification, which have been discussed in Germany since the 1970s, have been established as principles of history textbook description and history

¹¹ multiple perspectives, *tachungsikak*, 다중시각, 多重視角

¹² multiperspectivity(proposed), *tajung gwanjömsöng*, 다중관점성, 多重觀點性

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lessons (Lässig & Pohl, 2009; Sauer, 2015). In South Korea, on the other hand, the discussion about it emerged in the 1990s, but due to the nationalist history tradition and the strong influence of the conservative regime over history education, the discussion could not be actively conducted. In curriculums, multiperspectivity was sought and history teaching from different perspectives such as women and immigrants was introduced, but the mono-perspective national narrative is still the basic structure and central content of history (Bang, 2020; H. Kim, 2008). Therefore, this study compares German and Korean history curricula, textbooks, and examinations, using perspectivity as one of the criteria, and attempts to identify the differences. Action plans for change will be then proposed based on the differences found.

3.3 Methods: Interpretation of historical sources

“For more than 200 years, university professors and teachers have been discussing the sense and limits of the use of sources in the classroom. This debate has never been conducted solely on the basis of pedagogical and didactic arguments with regard to students but has always involved professional and socio-political convictions. (...) Whenever it was a matter of enlightenment self-thinking or emancipatory maturity, sources were in vogue. However, they always lost their value when obedience to the authoritarian state, conformity to a formed society, or totalitarian capture was demanded. For teachers who are primarily concerned with fact-saturated historicism and teacher-dominant interpretation of historical knowledge, sources were always a nuisance.”

from the preface of “Quelleninterpretation” by Pandel (2012, p. 5)

Interpretation of historical sources dismantles history teaching which emphasizes knowledge as predetermined interpretations. This is because, by doing so, students experience other perspectives and interpretations. The problem on using historical sources in South Korea is pointed out for using historical sources as evidence to emphasize the uniqueness and excellence of a country or people (Sung-ja Kim, 2015). To analyze and interpret historical sources "in a proper manner" following the procedures suggested in the history didactics is critical. This section explores the meaning, types of historical media, two main types of sources (text and image), and the procedures of their interpretation.

3.3.1 Historical media and its typology

History is a field of study that deals with the past, and the object of historical study do not exist the present as it is. Therefore, historical research is always conducted through "media" in various forms that have been handed down from the past to the present (Sauer, 2015, p. 179). History education as well, which resembles the study of history, deals with those media that remain from the past. The media used in the history teaching can be classified by form as textual, graphic, visual, audio, and object media (Pandel & Schneider, 2017). Text media include documents from the past (text sources), history textbooks, historical research articles, and history books for children and young people. Graphic media include tables, diagrams, historical maps, and chronological table. Visual media include drawings, caricatures, posters, cartoons, films, historical picture books, and graffiti

(image sources). Sound media include music, oral histories, sound recordings, and audiobooks. Object media include relics, monuments, models, and toys handed down from the past (Pandel & Schneider, 2017).

Another classification of historical media is primary and secondary sources, divided by the time of origin. The primary source, "*Quelle, saryo*¹³", comes from the past and in most cases is not intended to convey the events from the past to the later time, but to exist and be used in a certain time in the past. In this sense, it is also called evidence and trace (Barton, 2005; Seixas, 2016). And the secondary source, namely the historical accounts and representations, is the records that describe the knowledge, meaning, and evaluation of the past, and are created at a later date. It is understood that the authors, usually historians, try to describe the past as close as possible to the facts, but the descriptions are still interpretations based on the latest historical knowledge. In German and Korean language, this is called "*Darstellung, sōsa*¹⁴".

Although the distinction between historical sources and accounts is fundamentally important in historical research, the results of these distinctions can always vary depending on the perspective of the use of historical research, and the distinction is not always clear-cut (Barton, 2005; Sauer, 2015; Seixas, 2016; Spieß, 2014). Thus, the consideration that there are sources as historical representations and vice versa depending on the perspective and intended use is crucial. Upon this premise that this classification is flexible depending on the point of view and purpose of use, this study uses the term *historical sources or primary sources* for materials as evidence and trace from the past. Likewise, the historical narratives written by historians or textbooks authors are called using the terms *historical accounts or representations*.

3.3.2 Historical sources and its typology

Students' direct exploration of historical sources helps them to experience the process of historical knowledge creation by the historian. Primary sources in form of text and image are media that are frequently and continuously used in history classes. Since it is impractical to convey sound and object materials onto textbooks, sound sources are used as converted texts, and objects, monuments, and buildings are used in the form of images taken as photographs. Therefore, this subsection examines the meaning and typologies of text and image sources.

Pandel's definition reads: "historical sources are objectivations and materializations of past human action and suffering. They originated in the past and are available to a present that follows it." (Pandel, 2012, p. 11). He classified textual sources as follows: certificates, documents, letters, newspapers, autobiographies, and speeches. In his book, *Quellenarbeit*, namely the sourcework, he mainly meant historical sources in the sense of textual sources.

¹³ historical sources: (de) *Quelle(n)*, (ko) *saryo*, 사료, 史料

¹⁴ historical representation: (de) *Darstellung(en)*, (ko) *sōsa*, 서사, 書史

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Sauer (2015) classified sources by type, while acknowledging that the distinction between primary and secondary data is not clear, as follows. According to him, there are seven types of primary sources: texts, images, factual sources, buildings and memorials, films, songs, and newspaper statements. He explained texts and image sources, which are frequently used materials in history classes, as follows. Regarding text sources, there are Acts, annals, appeals, eyewitness accounts, autobiographies, biographies, letters, chronicles, dramas, pamphlets, epics, poems, legal texts, epitaphs, biographies, legends, memoirs, memoranda, minutes, speeches, travelogues, novels, diaries, and so on (Ibid., p. 180). Second, there are image sources. The number of images in history textbooks has increased in recent decades with the development of digital media. The term "image" includes all types of painting, sculpture, graphics, and photography. Aside "still images," there are also "moving images," often videos and films (Ibid., p. 188). He emphasizes some of these genres cannot be clearly distinguished from each other, overlap, and there are several ways to classify them.

3.3.3 Procedures of sourcework

In Germany, sourcework has been established as one of the central activities of history teaching since the 1970s (Sauer, 2015). This differs from the traditional history teaching of the 19th century, in which teachers explain history and students are asked to explain it accordingly (Pandel, 2012). Apparently, this old teaching style, which might intend and lead to indoctrination, has been an obstacle to democratization (Ibid., p. 78). In fact, sourcework with the analysis of historical material accounts for more than half of the introduction books for history didactics in Germany (Baumgärtner, 2019; Günther-Arndt & Zülstdorf-Kersting, 2014; Sauer, 2015). Sourcework helps students to experience diverse perspectives and form their own judgments about the past, namely the plurality, free from the constraints of a predetermined interpretation.

3.3.3.1 Interpretation of text sources

There are various suggestions on how to analyze and interpret historical sources and suggested procedures have core steps in common. The process of the sourcework can be started with the identification of the genre of the source and its interpretation follows (Pandel, 2012). Identifying the genre of the source is to determine to which genre the source belongs and to determine an appropriate interpretive strategy. The scope and method of interpretation vary depending on the nature, intent, and timing of the genre of the source. For example, certificates are a document that was created at a specific time and follow a specific format. Thus, by checking whether the certificate is written in the correct form, one can assess whether the certificate document is forged or not, and make use of its contents. Letters are also one of the text source genres, reflecting personal and subjective emotions and moods, as well as revealing relationships between people. Thus, the letter can answer the question about the personality of the author. Speeches are intentional statements addressed to the public, and it can be determined what effect the

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author wanted to achieve. In this way, understanding the genre provides guidelines on what kind of meaning can be gleaned from the content material.

Moving on to the interpretation, the procedure can be examined separately according to the two representative forms of sources, namely text and image sources. The process of interpreting text sources consists of the following six steps: the reception phase, formal analysis, content analysis through problematization, ideology critique, placing the source in historical context, and opinion and application (Grosch, 2014). In the reception phase, students identify the source and read or observe it to understand the contents. Students identify the perspective of the content through information about the author and whether the author was an eyewitness at that time or whether he or she recorded it in later generations, etc. In the formal analysis stage, students describe the elements of the image or outline of the text using key terms. By doing so, students understand the content of the source to the full degree and reorganize the contents from their point of view. Putting a title conveying the central content, and making a list of keywords can be useful in this process.

In the third phase of content analysis through problematization, students critically analyze the content. If the previous formal analysis was an impressionistic understanding of the phenomenal content, this stage allows for a systematic understanding according to objective criteria. Useful questions include: What is the author's hidden intention, and what is the central argument of each text and image element? Is the content of the text logically structured and understandable? Are the supporting documents or sources used in the article reliable? This phase allows for a multi-layered and systematic understanding that goes beyond the formal understanding of the content. The following 4th phase is the ideology critique of the author, the recipient, and the interpreter. By understanding the content of texts or images by linking it to information about the author, one can imagine what kind of thoughts he might have under what circumstances. Likewise, it is necessary to examine how the recipient of the article might have understood the author's argument. This interpretation phase is useful in that students consider different positions rather than judging whether they are good or bad.

The fifth step is to place the source in its historical context by explaining the background circumstances in the past. This process makes it possible to go beyond subjective judgments about historical materials and interpret them in a historical context. Questions to ask include: was the material created at the time the event described occurred, what is the time gap if it was written later, how much is known or known about the situation, and what is the condition of the given material, whether it is the original version or a translation into another language, is it only part of it or part of the whole. It is also possible to confirm the nature of this material by comparing it with the content of other materials describing the same subject. The last step of "opinions and their implications" refers to students formulating and justifying their point of view about the source. Students first state the meaning of the historical materials in relation to the overall story of the material, introduce the content by and large, and then express their willingness to act on

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their position. These opinions and implications may be written in the form of articles in student newspapers, materials for presentations, and scripts for discussions (Grosch, 2014).

3.3.3.2 Interpretation of image sources

Concerning image sources, the analysis and interpretation procedure includes four steps: description, analysis, historical contextualization, and summary with the interpretation in terms of the historical question (Grafe et al., 2014). First, in the image description phase, the visual components such as people, clothing, buildings, and objects are described as they are drawn. In the analysis phase, the arrangement of elements in the background, center, and edges of the image, as well as the angle of view, symbol, color tone, and emphasis are explained to infer the intention of the author. In the historical contextualization phase, the historical significance of the image is examined by asking what role the picture is intended to play. At this phase, the social position of the persons who commissioned the painting and the place where the image was hung or published is examined. It also examines who the elements of the painting represent, the people they portray as enemies, whether they are trying to exclude or include a certain group of people, and whether they have power. Finally, the summary and interpretation phase provides a comprehensive explanation of the significance of the image source in light of historical issues (Grafe et al., 2014).

3.3.3.3 Procedures of sourcework in teaching materials

The teachers' guide for history sourcework i.e. the analysis procedure for each source type such as text, caricature, and the poster is as follows. The sourcework procedure consists of common three steps: *description*, *explanation in historical context*, and *evaluation* (ZSL Baden-Württemberg, 2022).

First, in the description phase, students first write a formal description of the title, the author, the place and date of publication, the addressees, and the nature and type of the source. Text types include speech, article, essay, governmental statement, pamphlet, interview text, (auto) biography, individual writing, scholarly text, and journalistic text. After the formal description, students describe the content and use of language. Regarding the use of language, the vocabulary and literary stylistic devices frequently used by the author are described as follows: simple/difficult, rhetorically skillful, sober/imagery, scientific. In the case of caricatures and posters, the title, the subject, the question, the problem and the main statements of the text, the place and the date of creation are considered first for the content. Then the characteristics of the main components of the image are described. For the characters, facial expressions, movements, gestures, clothing and accessories, objects such as ships, tanks, weapons and crowns, as well as the colors, seasons and weather are described according to the background of the image. In addition, students examine what the elements of these images symbolize and what intentions they represent. In the case of posters, the meaning of the text presented along with the image and the relationship between the elements of the image can be examined.

In the second step of the *explanation in the historical context*, specific facts in the content of textual and pictorial sources are related to the political / social / cultural /

economic situation and the perspective of the author in his professional, social, political position/office/function of the by drawing conclusions about the author, the political, ideological point of view of the source, etc. is confirmed. The author's attitude is also examined, such as whether he or she opposes or endorses the subject of the text or image, takes a neutral position, or writes from the perspective of a historian. Figuring out whether the author's intent is propaganda, provocation, appeal, denunciation, commercial success, education, problem solving, or factual information help. In the case of a caricature that has a socially critical character, it is necessary to examine what it intends to criticize. In the case of a poster that has a political propaganda function, it is examined for what occasion it was produced, what the political situation was at the time, and what the party that commissioned the poster advocated and wanted to warn against.

In the final evaluation phase, students draw a general assessment of the source's credibility, their opinions on the content, and the value of the source from today's point of view. First, evaluation of the value of the source, such as whether the source has factual accuracy and appropriateness and coherence of argumentation, and whether there are no logical errors and contradictions would be mentioned. Based on this, students conclude the sourcework by summarizing the contents' arguments, intentions, and values, and evaluating them in the historical context and current position.

To sum up, sourcework involves the following elements: (1) identifying genre of the source, (2) examining the meta-information of the historical sources such as title, author, place/date of creation, (3) describing the content itself, (4) explaining the content in the historical context, and finally (5) evaluating the sources. Formal characteristics of sources, such as title, author, and genre, should constantly be accounted to the analysis of the content and the evaluation of the source value. Using sources as evidence of a given interpretation by mentioning superficial data on sources such as title or individual contents is not the "sourcework" in historical study. The procedure of sourcework allows students to evaluate given narratives and this procedure can help dismantle nationalistic history education.

3.3.4 Discussion on sourcework in South Korea

Just as primary sources are important in historical research, the significance of history teaching and learning using primary sources, as *Saryohaksŭp*¹⁵ in Korean term, has been also repeatedly emphasized as a teaching desideratum in South Korea (H. Kim, 2013; Pak, 1987). A number of studies have emphasized the importance and purpose of historical learning with historical materials (Sung-ja Kim, 2015; Jeong-bun Kim, 2020; J. Yoon, 2014). The studies have a consensus that a history class should not simply be a lesson imparting historical knowledge to students, and in which students are taught historical knowledge. The researchers argue that teachers should set assignments to analyze historical data that students can research and work on their own, not just conveys

¹⁵ Sourcework: (de) *Quellenarbeit*, (ko) *saryohaksŭp*, 사료학습, 史料學習

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historical facts. This subsection summarizes problems pointed out in terms of using historical sources based on previous studies.

The problems of historical learning using primary sources were diagnosed variously according to the factors of textbooks, students, and teachers (Sang-hoon Choi, 2006; Hong, 2019; Kang, 2013; H. Kim, 2013; Sung-ja Kim, 2015; M. Lee, 2021b; Mun, 2020). The main issues pointed out are as follows: Lack of critical reviewing of historical sources, such as reviewing the explanations of the production background of historical sources, and incompleteness due to the excerpts of historical materials in the learning questions of historical materials presented in textbooks, as well as the failure to analyze historical materials as they are, and the tendency to use historical materials as evidence for existing historical narratives. It is assumed that the studies manifest the deficiency of theoretical foundations and available information for sourcework.

3.3.4.1 Aspects of textbooks

Sung-ja Kim (2015) investigated the ways of using primary sources in eight high school 「Korean History」 textbooks and confirmed that most of the primary sources were used as evidence that promoted better understanding and supported the authors' texts. The study identified several uses of primary sources: The first is to promote understanding of the author's text as additional evidence. The second way is to present primary sources as material for solving questions. Thirdly, most primary sources in 「Korean History」 textbooks play a role as evidence for the author's text. Particularly, opinions included in sources were described just like facts in the past, and few learning questions asked students to analyze and interpret the sources themselves. The learning activities do not provide opportunities for students to ask questions and think about what is the basis for a historical interpretation, whether such an interpretation is valid, and whether other interpretations are possible. Instead, in addition to reading the text, students are impressed with the textbook's interpretation by having it confirmed in historical evidence. The presentation of historical material in the textbooks requires students to accept and internalize the textbook author's interpretation of history as it is.

Hong (2019) examined how historical materials were used in nine middle school 「History」 textbooks and eight high school 「Korean History」 textbooks. The subject of this study was learning questions related to 619 historical materials on *Silhak* in the *Chosŏn* Dynasty. *Silhak* is a Korean Confucian social reform movement in the late *Chosŏn* Dynasty. According to this study, in cases that primary sources on *Silhak* were used in middle and high school history textbooks, there were few questions asking of "doubting general knowledge" and "analyzing the sources" found. In addition, the learning questions for students were too simple, and they were mostly "closed questions" asking repetition of knowledge. The way the materials were used was also similar and did not differ between textbooks. The study concluded that it is difficult to consider the learning questions for historical sources and materials in textbooks as true historical sources and historical learning, and suggested to pose learning questions using historical

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sources for questioning the given knowledge and interpreting the contents in a historical context.

According to Mun (2020), there are following problems in current sourcework teaching in middle and high school textbooks. First, most historical materials function only to supplement and verify the contents of the author's text. Second, the students already know the results of interpretation before analyzing the historical sources. Third, textbooks do not explain that the historical materials contain opinion and intention of authors and they are presented as an excerpt with the front and back context are cut off. Finally, the situation at the time the material was written are not adequately explained in terms of the present.

3.3.4.2 Aspects of students' learning

Sang-hoon Choi (2006) who analyzed the historical learning process of eight high school students in Seoul using the think-aloud method, showed that the students were not used to reading historical documents critically, so they tended to believe the historical narratives as facts. And the students could not understand the material in terms of historical context. He classified the students' learning from the sources into four levels as follows: (1) Misunderstanding the content of the source material, (2) Reacting with their own thoughts instead of the source material, (3) Not understanding the material as a whole due to the partial use of the material, (4) The historical context was comprehensively understood. The level of students' historical learning through sources was generally rated as the second or third level. The students had difficulty in understanding the reliability and content of historical materials because they did not know that identifying the sources of historical materials is important for understanding historical materials. Therefore, the study emphasized that students should be critical of historical materials. For this, teachers should give students instructions to check the sources of historical materials when learning historical materials, and explain the contents of textbooks in detail so that students can easily understand them.

Kang (2013) analyzed how Korean tenth-grade high school students read historical texts and found out that students incorporated their prior knowledge and biases into the authors' interpretation of the historical texts. She interviewed tenth graders as they analyzed three historical texts, which were used repeatedly in Korean elementary, middle, and high school history textbooks. Students either accepted the text as it is based on their own prior knowledge or ignored the text. Students who have a lot of background knowledge and can analyze texts in historical contexts also tended to interpret based on these biases.

H. Kim (2013) investigated the differences in learning patterns of high school students in three classes depending on three different ways material is presented in textbooks. He classified the method of presenting historical material in textbooks into three categories: (1) when the author's text was written including the interpretation of the historical material, (2) when the historical material was presented in the form of a direct quotation in the author's text, (3) when materials are presented separately. Students

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showed a tendency to understand the interpretation of historical sources as historical facts when the interpretation of historical sources was included in the author's text, as in classification (1). In case (2), when the content of historical materials was directly cited in the text, students showed more confidence in the author's view and interpretation. In case (3), where the historical material was presented separately from the main text, students had difficulty reading and interpreting the meaning of the historical material from their own point of view. He also found that the learning questions in textbooks are informational confirmations that can be answered without interpreting historical sources or requiring historical thinking. The study argued that the author's text and historical sources should be presented separately so that students can interpret the data from a pluralistic perspective, and that a learning task should be set for reading and making judgments and evaluations.

3.3.4.3 Aspects of teachers' teaching

M. Lee (2017) surveyed history teachers of one hundred middle schools about the use of historical materials introduced in a unit of history textbooks and investigated the actual use of historical materials through teaching protocols and in-depth interviews with seven teachers. Although the teachers agreed that historical materials were necessary for teaching history, they had different perceptions of what historical materials were, and their patterns of use also varied. Teachers did not use questions that encourage divergent thinking but rather showed a common pattern of use in which the teacher asks the question and the students answer it. In addition, teachers felt that there was a lack of rich and varied textbooks that they can use in lessons to promote historical learning using historical sources.

According to M. Lee (2021b), who analyzed the characteristics and problems of teachers' usage of historical sources through interviews with fourteen middle school history teachers, the historical materials teachers use in history class are mainly textbook materials, and teachers mainly confirm the author's text content through the historical sources. The reason why teachers mainly use historical materials from textbooks is that the length and level of the texts are edited so that students can understand them. Although teachers are aware of the importance of historical materials in teaching history, activities to analyze and interpret historical materials in class are rarely carried out. The phenomenon of teachers viewing historical materials as aids to understanding the content is due to the use of historical materials in textbooks to support the content of the text.

H. Park (2017) analyzed the historical learning patterns of students in a history lecture at a Korean university. The study figured out that when students studied historical sources, they gathered the knowledge of the epoch that formed the background of the historical sources and interpreted the the historical sources by adapting the background knowledge. Or they tried to investigate the meaning of historical sources that historians had already evaluated and used the interpretation as a basis for their own explanation. The researcher as a lecturer encouraged the students to discover their own questions by reviewing historical sources before seeking background information, but students found

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this approach difficult. The researcher pointed out the lack of her own teaching method, which could not provide an appropriate step-by-step guide for historical learning using historical materials. This study shows that not only secondary school students but also university students have difficulties in learning history using historical sources, and not only teachers but also university lecturers do not have enough knowledge about didactics for learning history using historical sources.

The above-mentioned studies on teaching sourcework have emphasized the importance and value of using historical materials. Yet the main problems were diagnosed as follows: Subjective views and opinions of the historical materials are described as if they were objective facts in the author's text in textbooks, and the historical sources mainly play a role to support the content of the author's text. In addition, there are not enough primary sources available in textbooks. Learning questions that require analyzing and Sourcework merely reconfirms the author's text instead of analyzing and interpreting the data. Students have difficulties in critically analyzing and interpreting historical materials and most students do not know that the contents of the historical sources are selected knowledge by the author's view and intention. As for teachers, although they recognize the importance of learning using historical sources, it is rarely adapted as the main activity in their actual teaching, and they did not provide information such as the origins or excerpt of the sources.

Moreover, the studies generally focus mainly on to diagnose the current situation and problems but do not extend to suggest alternatives. There are only few studies that deal with procedural information on how to compose the questions for learning using historical sources in history textbooks, how history teachers should teach the learning using historical sources in the classroom, and what procedure of historical sources analysis students should learn. In other words, the history didactics academia in South Korea needs theoretical knowledge on sourcework teaching: the types of historical sources, the types of historical learning by types of historical sources, the process of historical sources analysis, the method of constructing learning questions using historical sources, and information on how to implement them in textbooks.

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Competency-based learning is a new paradigm of school education of the 2000s. In the domain of history education, it brought a new and powerful approach to deconstructing the nationalist narrative. While nationalistic history teaching imposes a particular, in this case nationalistic, interpretation of history, history competencies are tools to help students to doubt it, question it, reflect on it, evaluate it, and interpret it based on their own investigation of historical media. Representative history competencies are methodical -, knowledge -, orientation -, narrative competencies. This section reviews the definition of competency, models of history competencies, definitions and meanings of main history

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competencies, history competencies presented in history curricula in Germany and South Korea, and discussions on this topic in South Korea.

Changes that enabled history teaching to go beyond the nationalist narratives were historical consciousness, - thinking, and - constructivism. Such discussions have emerged in Germany in the 1970s and in South Korea in the 1990s. They made it clear that teaching history does not mean that students are to accept existing narratives which portray a fixed image of the past but to learn the process of critical thinking that enables them to explore and interpret the past through analyzing historical materials by themselves. Based on this shift, competency-based history education which focuses on "what students can do" rather than "what students know," facilitated the existing changes. In other words, the paradigm of competency-based learning further solidified the existing shift from knowledge-centered history learning to promoting students' ability to interpret the past independently. It, therefore, contributed to fostering a pluralistic perspective instead of nationalistic history.

Since the 2000s, countries around the globe have redesigned their school curricula to be competency-based, and discussions on didactics of individual subjects have also focused on competency-based teaching, learning, and assessments. The *DeSeCo* study of OECD provided the background for competency-based learning as a new paradigm for school education in the era of digitization and globalization (OECD, 2001). Competency-based education aims at developing competencies necessary for students' future work and life, rather than at teaching existing knowledge and its structure.

In Germany, the discussion about competency-based curriculum began and was driven by the sharp criticism on the first PISA results in 2000 which did not meet the expectation. German students ranked only the average level of OECD member countries and a correlation between the socioeconomic background and achievement of students was noted (Klieme et al., 2003). Regarding history teaching, several researchers proposed competence models. Since then, 16 German states have developed and implemented competency-based curricula in schools, and competency-based history teaching has become now a stabilized normality. In South Korea, in comparison, competency-based learning was introduced in the 2009 curriculum and adopted at the subject level in the 2015 curriculum. However, heretofore, there accumulated a scant number of relevant studies on history competency. Henceforth, studies on foreign cases of competency-based history teaching were introduced. German history competence models and curricula are, among others, being the main references for domestic discussion in South Korea.

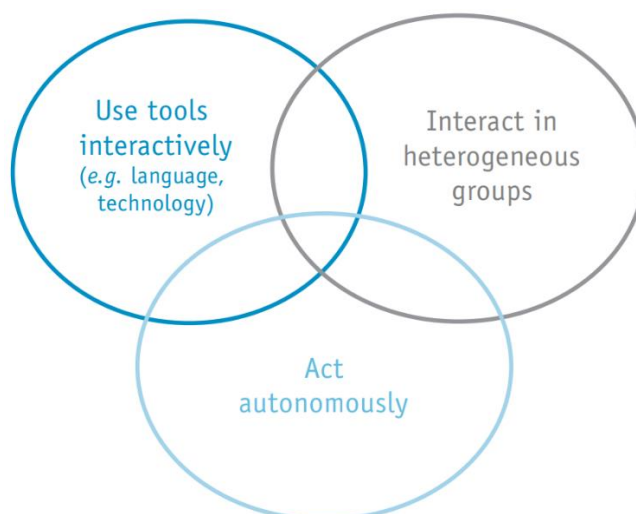
This section introduces the definition of competency in 3.4.1, and history competence models in 3.4.2. Each model has its own logic, and by how they define history education, their composition of competencies varies. Importantly, 16 German states have developed competency-based curriculums applying these models and their competencies, as will be described in the following subsection 3.4.3. The last subsection 3.4.4 reviews the related discussion on history competency in South Korea.

3.4.1 Definition of competency

The term "competency", which is a variant jargon of "competence," coined by American social psychologist D. McClelland in the early 1970s refers to skills that are important for students' success not only in school but also in work and the whole life. He proposed competency as an alternative to intelligence, which has traditionally been emphasized in school education (McClelland, 1973). Although both competency and competence mean a basic ability to do something successfully and efficiently, I distinguish both words in this research. This dissertation uses the term competency to refer exclusively to the educational change and phenomenon of competency-based learning. The term competence, in comparison, will be used to name each history competence and its models.

In the late 1990s, The *DeSeCo* study (Definition and Selection of Key Competencies, 1997-2002) of OECD established the theory for competency-based learning to reorient school education in response to the new needs of future generations. The study aimed to define and select the competencies needed for future generations who will live in the age of digitalization and globalization. This multi-national study, led by researchers from Western Europe, presented the definition and structure of competencies as shown in Figure 1 rather than suggesting specific competencies as a result of the study. The three categories of competencies were proposed to develop particular competencies appropriate for different societies and curriculum goals. Research defined the competencies needed for future generations as (1) at the individual level: the ability to use tools such as existing information media and language, (2) at the social level: the ability to work with others in groups with heterogeneous backgrounds, and (3) based on personal and social skills: the ability to be ready to take actions to solve problems (OECD, 2003)

Figure 1 Three categories of competencies



(OECD, 2003)

This model means that students living in the age of knowledge and information, where access to knowledge becomes more accessible through the information media such as the

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Internet, need the ability to search and use knowledge rather than memorize it by heart. It also means that students living in the globalized world, in which the speed and volume of the mobility of goods and people are increasing, need to respect different values of people with diverse historical and cultural backgrounds, rather than considering the values of one's society as absolute and permanent, to coexist peacefully by solving problems through cooperation.

The scholar who provided the theoretical basis for the concept of competency in DeSeCo research was Franz E. Weinert, a German scholar, who defined competency as follows. Competency is “a cognitive ability that can be used or learned individually to solve a specific problem, mastery of that ability, and motivation, determination, and social readiness to solve problems successfully and responsibly in a variety of situations (Weinert, 2002, pp. 27–28).¹⁶ In other words, competency is not knowledge and skills per se, but cognitive ability of how to find knowledge, and the ability to apply these cognitive skills to different types of problematic situations that may arise in real life. It also means the general practical ability to have the motivation and the will to solve the problems successfully and responsibly, be willing to make collaborative efforts in the problem-solving process, and cooperate socially with others.

3.4.2 History competence models in Germany

In Germany, in the 2000s, history didacticians and their groups originated various models of history competencies. The driving force of the reorientation of competency-based curricula was the negative result of the PISA, the Programme for International Student Assessment, in 2000, namely the PISA-Shock. According to its international comparison, the average German student performance was diagnosed as only in the middle of the OECD countries. Moreover, it revealed a comparatively distinct correlation between the socio-economic background of the students and their achievement in Germany than in other countries. Severe criticism of the result of PISA was made by society and the educational community (Klieme et al., 2003). The emphasis on competency brought structural changes to the school curriculum and is called the competency-based curriculum.

Representative historical competence models are, on the one hand, those of history didacticians: Hans-Jürgen Pandel, FUER, and Peter Gautschi. These models use the cognitive process of historical thinking and reflective historical culture as the logic of model development. On the other hand, there are also history competencies models suggested by the Association of History Teachers Germany (Verband der

¹⁶ In German: Franz E. Weinert definiert Kompetenzen als „die bei Individuen verfügbaren oder durch sie erlernbaren kognitiven Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten, um bestimmte Probleme zu lösen, sowie die damit verbundenen motivationalen, volitionalen [die willentliche Steuerung von Handlungen und Handlungsabsichten] und sozialen Bereitschaften und Fähigkeiten, um die Problemlösungen in variablen Situationen erfolgreich und verantwortungsvoll nutzen zu können“ - Weinert (2002, pp. 27–28).

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Geschichtslehrer Deutschland, VGD, 2006, 2010) and the EPA model. EPA¹⁷ is the uniform examination requirements for the Abitur test which is proposed by the assembly of ministers of education of German states. The two latter competence models emphasize, along with the historical thinking, the structure of historical knowledge that students learn in their history lessons and for preparing exams in schools as knowledge competence.

3.4.2.1 Hans Jürgen Pandel's model (2005)

Pandel is a representative didactician in analysis methods of historical media. His model consists of four competencies:

- Genre competence (Gattungskompetenz)
- Interpretation competence (Interpretationskompetenz)
- Narrative competence (Narrative Kompetenz)
- Historical-cultural competence (Geschichtskulturelle Kompetenz)

Genre competence means the ability to explain the nature of historical data and judge their explanatory power, i.e., the significance of the content. Distinguishing good sources and avoiding incorrect sources is the starting point of historical investigation, and by doing so, one can prevent misinterpretations of the past. Interpretive competence is the ability to derive historical meaning from data. It is divided into factual interpretation, which grasps the text of the historical source, and historical interpretation, understanding contents from the meta-perspective and position. Through these two stages of interpretation, the meaning of the data is derived and given from the perspective of the past and the present position.

Narrative competence refers to the students' ability to explain what they have learned about the past using their own language. As they organize their own explanations and share them with other students, they recognize that different understandings can exist. These activities in which students share their explanations help them move from an individual understanding to a more diverse understanding of the past. Historical-cultural competence refers to students' abilities to contribute to and influence the historical culture of their society through their actions as participants of the society, extending the learning from inside the classroom to the outside of schools (Heil, 2012). It emphasizes that students' ability directly shapes the history and culture of society by expressing their thoughts about history. In this meaning, it is similar to the orientation competence of the FUER model.

Pandel composed the competence model with the process of interpretation of historical data, the process of thinking carried out by a historian. The FUER model, developed later, can be understood as it includes Pandel's first three competencies in the domain of methodical competencies. The distinction of Pandel's model is the emphasis on genre competence and narrative competence.

¹⁷ Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen in der Abiturprüfung

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3.4.2.2 The FUER model (2006)

The FUER model emphasizes students' historical competency as an independent thinking skill. This model is developed by researchers primarily at the University of Hamburg. Learning history in this model means learning the process and ability to think historically. Four competencies of this model comprise of (Schreiber et al., 2006):

- Questioning competence (Fragekompetenz)
- Methodical competence (Methodenkompetenz)
- Knowledge competence (Sachkompetenz)
- Orientation competence (Orientierungskompetenz)

The goals of teaching history of this model are for students to raise historical questions in their lives, to analyze historical media (de-construction) and interpret its meaning (re-construction), to practice processing historical knowledge, and to develop historical orientation by experiencing evaluating the past, and take actions on issues related to history for now. It pursues reflective historical consciousness overall, and many German states adopted these competencies in their curriculums (see 3.4.3.17).

3.4.2.3 Peter Gautschi's model (2009)

Peter Gautschi, together with Jan Hodel and Hans Utz, has developed one of the Swiss competence models for 'good history lessons' based on the theory of historical consciousness. This model aims at equipping students with the narrative competence to explain history themselves. The four competencies they propose are:

- Perceptual competence for changes in time (Wahrnehmungskompetenz für Veränderungen in der Zeit)
- Reasoning competence for historical sources and explanations (Erschliessungskompetenz für historische Quellen und Darstellungen)
- Interpretation competence for history (Interpretationskompetenz für Geschichte)
- Orientation competence for time experience (Orientierungskompetenz für Zeiterfahrung)

These competencies are also aligned with the processes and procedures of historical thinking and at the same time, it bases on the universe of students' perception in their history learning. According to Gautschi, four main questions arise in learning history: Firstly, through what can we learn history? Secondly, how can we analyze the given historical information? Thirdly, what is the significance of the analyzed historical data in the context of history? Fourthly, how can the results of learning history be used? The four competencies are the solutions to the respective requirements of historical learning (Gautschi, 2009, pp. 50–52).

Perceptual competence for changes in time means asking questions and speculating about the records of the past that students encounter in historical culture. Reasoning competence for historical sources and explanations means verifying the authenticity of historical media and analyzing and interpreting different genres of historical data. Interpretation competence for history refers to the ability to draw objective judgment in interpreting historical data, meaning, the ability to interpret and explain historical analysis

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and meaning in a historical context. Lastly, Orientation competence for the present experience means judging values, extending past experiences as guidelines for one's life and future actions, and establishing values. Gautschi's model can be understood as it shares the typical components of questioning, methodical, and orientation competencies of the FUER model, and the Genre competence of Pandel's model.

3.4.2.4 The VGD model (2010)

The history competence model of the Association of History Teachers Germany, in German terms "Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschland" consists of the following three competencies (VGD, 2010):

- Interpretation and reflection competence (Deutungs- und Reflexionskompetenz)
- Methodical and media competence (Methoden- und Medienkompetenz)
- Knowledge competence as content-related standards (Sachkompetenz als inhaltsbezogenen Standards)

Interpretation and reflection competence refers to critically examining historical narratives by applying various perspectives to the meaning of past records. Changing perspectives, in this case, means applying the positions of different parties and different situations in the past and present in historical scholarship to organize and express one's own thoughts. Methodical and media competence means the ability to understand the perspective that distinguishes historical sources from explanations, to distinguish genres and to process each material, to plan and reflect on one's learning process, and to present learning results. Knowledge competence refers to chronological historical topics, i.e., content, that should be studied for each grade level in secondary school. Learning contents are presented as a result of the learning to be achieved in the three stages of the 6th, 8th, and 10th grades.

3.4.2.5 The EPA model (2005)

"Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen für eine bundesweit einheitliche Gestaltung der Abiturprüfung für Geschichte" of Germany, abbreviated as EPA, means the "Guidelines for the Uniform Conduct of the Abitur Examination" written by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Kultusministerkonferenz, KMK). The sixteen Ministries of Education of German states have agreed to develop and use this common Abitur standards, and they comply with these guidelines as they develop question items for the state central Abitur exam. The EPA history competence model consists of (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2005):

- Knowledge competence
- Methodical competence
- Judgment competence

Knowledge competence of EPA model means having a comprehensive knowledge of past historical events, persons, ideas, social structures, and processes of change and knowing that positions or points of view differ depending on the culture, situation, and observer of the time. Methodical competence means being able to develop one's own historical

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position and argument through the process of interpreting various historical sources and critically examining historical narratives. Judgment competence refers to the ability to evaluate historical events and their values based on historical reasoning and logic and to support their assertions with sufficient evidence.

3.4.2.6 Summary of history competence models

The competence models reviewed above were originated by different scholars and groups according to their own logic and suggest different competencies depending on how they defined the historical learning. They can be roughly divided into two categories: the models of Pandel, FUER, and Gautschi, which consist mainly of the process of historical thinking. The models of VGD and EPA include both procedural competencies and the chronological content of learning in terms of lessons and assessment. Each model offers different competencies depending on its own definition of historical learning. Nevertheless, they are quite different from the learning concepts and history curricula before that consisted mainly of chronological knowledge. It is because they involve the student's historical learning process for the main objectives of history education.

3.4.3 History competencies in the 16 states curriculums in Germany

Officially and apparently, the development of students' competency places in the center of school education in Germany since the Pisa-shock at the beginning of the 2000s. 16 German states present history competencies as the purpose of history teaching in their curricula. There are frequently or less frequently used history competencies. Some of the popular common competencies, not always, are used slightly or largely different meanings by states. This subsection confirms the overall goal and direction of history education in Germany by enumerating the competencies in the current curricula of all of the 16 German states. Table in 3.4.3.17 summarizes the history competencies presented on curriculums, and it confirms that procedural competency of historical thinking has more priority and significance over understanding chronological historical knowledge.

3.4.3.1 Baden-Württemberg

The Baden-Württemberg curriculum adopted competencies of the FUER model and emphasizes competencies. Followings are the five "process-related competencies:"

- Questioning competence (Fragekompetenz)
- Methodical competence (Methodenkompetenz)
- Reflection competence (Reflexionskompetenz)
- Orientation competence (Orientierungskompetenz)
- Knowledge competence (Sachkompetenz)

According to the curriculum, questioning competence means that students develop strategies to formulate historical questions as hypotheses and to provide answers to them. Methodical competence refers to students' ability to understand and apply the methods of historical research through critically evaluating historical materials and interpreting their content. Reflection competence is the ability to assess the significance of historical

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events and to make present sense of the past by placing historical knowledge acquired through the analysis of historical data in a causal context. By doing so, students confirm their own opinion concerning historical events. Fourth, orientation competence refers to students' ability to form their own identities through historical learning and to use these as a basis for their actions. In this case, identity refers to individual identity. Finally, historical knowledge competence refers to students' ability to interpret and express the structure of historical knowledge. Knowledge competence has the role of material for cultivating the other four competencies. It also refers to understanding given the historical knowledge itself, but also the ability to structure, synthesize, and express learned knowledge in various forms (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016b).

The curriculum explains that the learning content in chronological order are "contents-related competencies," distinguishing it from the five competencies described above. Each learning goal for grades 5/6, 7/8, and 9/10 are tagged by single or multiple "process-related competence." For example, one learning objective in the introductory unit in grade five reads, "Students can explain the relevance of history to their own lives and describe the working methods of the subject of history." This learning goal is tagged by orientation - and knowledge competencies. However, the contents-competency connections are unclear. The links do not always match because the goal sentences apply not solely to the designated competencies,

3.4.3.2 Bavaria (Bayern)

Curriculum of Bavaria is considered to have chosen the FUER model in principle because the judgment competence describes means equivalent to the reflection competence. On the basis of FUER model, it added Pandel's narrative competence (Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung Bayern, 2014).

- Knowledge competence
- Methodical competence
- Judgment competence (Urteilskompetenz)
- Narrative competence (Narrative Kompetenz)
- Orientation competence

Through this structure, the Bavarian curriculum emphasizes both the student's explanatory ability which means students' own historical story telling.

3.4.3.3 Berlin & 3.4.3.4 Brandenburg

Berlin and Brandenburg develop and use common curriculum and provide a brief English version history curriculum aside its original German version. The curricula mention each competence in a form of nouns in English version and in a form of verbs in German version. It is similar to Pandel's model in that it focuses on the process of historical data's analysis and emphasizes narrative competence as the most desirable historical competence (Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie Berlin, 2017).

- Interpretation competence (deuten)
- Analysis competence (analysieren)
- Method application competence (Methoden anwenden)

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- Judgment and Orientation competencies (urteilen und sich orientieren)
- Portrayal-historical narrative competence (darstellen-historisch erzählen)

What is notable in this curriculum is that both analysis competence and methodical competence compose different competencies, although they are considered identical in general. On the one hand, it explains that analysis competence is the critical review and interpretation of data. On the other hand, method application competence is described as it “includes deciphering historical information from materials, verifying the origin of information, research skills, and the application of technical language.” It involves the collection, evaluation, and use of data, which is comparable to the genre competence in the Pandel’s model.

3.4.3.5 Bremen

The Bremen curriculum divides the competencies into the subject - and methodical competencies. As for the subject competence, it presents knowledge -, interpretation and reflection competencies as sub-competency. The methodical competence is the single sub-competence of methodological competence. These three competencies are consistent with those of the VGD (Landesinstitut für Schule Bremen, 2010).

- Knowledge competence
- Interpretation- and Reflection competence (Deutungs- und Reflexionskompetenz)
- Methodical competence

3.4.3.6 Hamburg

The Hamburg curriculum emphasizes interdisciplinary competence and linguistic competence ahead of history competencies. First, there are three interdisciplinary competencies presented in history curriculum: Individual competence (Selbstkonzept und Motivation), social-communication competence (Sozial-kommunikative Kompetenzen), and learning methodical competence (Lernmethodische Kompetenzen). Second, educational-language competence emphasizes that learning in all subjects should contribute to the student's language development, and specifically guided that assessment of students whose native language is not bilingual or German, should be taking into account language difficulties. Based on this upper-level competencies, the following three competencies are the sub-competencies, i.e., history competencies (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung Hamburg, 2014).

- Orientation competence
- Methodical competence
- Judgment competence

The Hamburg curriculum enumerates standards for the three competencies by grades 6, 8, and 10 in detail. The learning goals for each grade level are also aligned according to the three competencies. In addition, learning goals are not presented in chronological order solely, but rather by the structure of the historical study, the areas of history, such as categories of socio-culture, politics, and economics. It is also notable that all the learning goal sentences are phrased in the form of questions. This can be seen that the curriculum of Hamburg is organized as a rigorous competency-based learning guideline.

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3.4.3.7 Hessen

The Hessian history curriculums for vocational and grammar schools do not share common competencies, and this is different from other states. The history curriculum of vocational schools does not mention specific names of history competencies. Instead, I found the following elements of history competencies below in the text which describes the objectives of historical learning, which are the verbs mentioned in the sentences of the curriculum that have overlapping meanings, I have categorized them by meaning.

- Knowledge competence
- Judgment competence (reflect)
- Action competence
- Methodical competence (interpret)
- Questioning competence

History curriculum for grammar school names competencies as follows (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 2010a, 2010b):

- Knowledge competence
- Judgment competence (= reflection competence)
- Methodical competence

In addition, it presents action competence indirectly but it writes that the three competencies above make responsible actions, *verantwortungsvolles Handeln* in German terms. Therefore, action competence is one of the history competencies of Hessen. In this meaning, it can be said that history competencies for grammar school in Hessen follows the KMK model basically and emphasizes historical cultural competence similar to Pandel's model.

3.4.3.8 Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen)

The Lower Saxony curriculum emphasizes narrative competence. Along with the narrative competence, they use knowledge, methods, and judgment competencies as in the EPA model (Niedersächsischen Kultusministerium, 2015).

- Narrative competence
- Knowledge competence
- Methodical competence
- Judgment competence

The curriculum presents the learning goals of the three competencies by grades 6, 8, and 10 in each table. This format is similar to the curriculum in neighboring Hamburg. Learning content has been presented according to the structure of historical knowledge as follows: Rule and statehood, society and law, world interpretation and religion, economy and environment, and transculturality¹⁸.

¹⁸ Herrschaft und Staatlichkeit, Gesellschaft und Recht, Weltdeutung und Religion, Wirtschaft und Umwelt, und Transkulturalität

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3.4.3.9 Mecklenburg-West Pomerania (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern)

The MV curriculum includes general competencies along with exclusive history subject competencies. The most important competence emphasized is action competence. The action competence means applying historical knowledge learned in school to everyday life, in the way around, applying what learned in everyday life to the history learning in school. This curriculum is similar to the FUER and VGD models in that it includes knowledge and method as well as action competence similar to judgment or orientation (Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 2002).

- Knowledge competence
- Methodical competence
- Self-competence (Selbstkompetenz)
- Social competence (Sozialkompetenz)
- Action competence (Handlungskompetenz)

The characteristic of this curriculum is it emphasizes self- and social competence as history competencies. These two competencies are described as follows. The self-competence means to be curious about the unknown, the strange, the historical phenomena, and to act independently and conscientiously, and to be creative. The social competence is explained to cooperate with each other and to present the results of their work, to show tolerance, and to react appropriately in conflict situations and to solve problems together. The emphasis on interdisciplinary competencies is similar to the Hamburg curriculum. However, the curriculum of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania is unique in that it emphasizes the general competencies included in the domain of history competencies.

3.4.3.10 Northrhine-Westphalia (Nordrhein-Westfalen)

The curriculum of the most populous region in Germany Northrhine-Westphalia presented the three competencies of EPA and the action competencies (Ministerium für Schule und Bildung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2019).

- Knowledge competence
- Methodical competence
- Judgment competence
- Action competence

The curriculum presented the learning objectives according to the four competencies above. As for the concrete learning goals by grades, the knowledge - and judgment competencies were presented through ten chronological topics, namely the ten mandatory content fields. This format is similar to the Hamburg and Lower Saxony curricula in that it presents learning goals by competence categories. It differs from the Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria curricula in which learning goals are basically written as chronological content, where the connection with competencies is rather loose.

3.4.3.11 Rhineland Palatinate

The state of Rhineland-Palatinate published the newest version of the social studies curriculum. Instead of providing a separate curriculum of history, the curriculums for the three social studies subjects of geography, history, and politics are put together in a

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document. This social science curriculum emphasizes democracy education by setting the "democracy competence" for educating "responsible citizens" as the highest-ranked competence of social science studies. Under the overarching democracy competence, there are three central competencies of social studies subjects:

- Orientation competence
- Action competence
- Building society competence (Gestaltungskompetenz)

Orientation competence means a student-centred understanding of historical learning. Action competence means having responsible and participatory engagement. Building society competence, namely the Gestaltungskompetenz, means understanding globalization and interculturality and having a future-oriented attitude. Considering the list of social studies competencies of orientation, action, and building society as common core competencies, Rhineland-Palatinate is seen as pursuing student-centred education emphasizing knowledge and action. Moreover, by issuing a single document rather than dividing the curriculum into geography, history, and politics, the Rhineland Palatinate state curriculum emphasizes democracy education and the participatory competence of students.

History competencies underlying the three central competencies are methodical, communication, and judgment competencies. Along with these three basic competencies, the curriculum adds the subject competence, "Fachkompetenz," which refers to the subject's knowledge structure (Ministerium für Bildung Rheinland-Pfalz, 2021).

- Methodical competence
- Communication competence (Kommunikationskompetenz)
- Judgment competence
- Subject competence (Fachkompetenz)

The subject and communication competencies are similar to the knowledge competency in that they mean historical knowledge and its reconstruction. In this respect, this composition of competencies can be considered as a similar version of the EPA model. Learning contents consist of four areas of history: Rule, society, economy, and world interpretations¹⁹.

3.4.3.12 Saarland

The curriculum of Saarland contains the three competencies of EPA and two additional competencies of orientation - and action competence.

- Knowledge competence
- Orientation competence
- Judgment competence
- Building society competence (Gestaltungskompetenz)
- Action competence

The curriculum explains that orientation competence means recognizing one's position in the present in connection with the past and the future through historical learning. Action

¹⁹ Herrschaft, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Weltdeutungen

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competence refers to the ability to cooperate with others, practice tolerance towards others, and act responsibly to maintain and develop a democratic society. This composition of competencies shows that the history curriculum of Saarland emphasizes responsible action as much as historical knowledge and reflection.

3.4.3.13 Saxony (Sachsen)

Instead of enumerating specific names of competencies, history curriculums of state Saxony present the following five general goals of history teaching: (1) Developing an understanding of conditions and processes of change typical of the time in the past and present, (2) Learning subject-specific working methods, (3) Insight into the significance of history for one's own life, (4) Developing the ability to make well-founded judgments about the past, about representations of history, and about historical references in the present, and (5) Developing the willingness to participate in the shaping of the liberal-democratic basic order. Through the use of specific words and the interpretation of their meanings, one can notice that the five goals presented above are distinctively linked to each specific competence. Therefore, the historical competencies of Saxony state can be viewed as the following five competencies (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus, 2019a, 2019b):

- Knowledge competence
- Methodic competence
- Orientation competence
- Judgment competence
- Action competence

3.4.3.14 Saxony-Anhalt

The history competencies of Saxony-Anhalt consist of three implicative elements of interpretation, narrative, and historical culture competencies (Ministerium für Bildung Sachsen-Anhalt, 2019a, 2019b). Interpretation here implies analysis methods. And the historical cultural competence can be replaced by orientation or action competencies, because the historical culture means the extension of school learning to the social engagement.

- Interpretation competence (Interpretationskompetenz)
- Narrative Competence
- Historical cultural competence

3.4.3.15 Schleswig Holstein

As clearly stated in the curriculum, the history competencies of Schleswig-Holstein are based on the model of *Peter Gautschi*. The *Gautschi model* emphasizes the development of students' narrative competence as ability to express thoughts (Ministerium für Schule und Berufsbildung des Landes Schleswig-Holstein, 2016).

- Perception competence for changes in time
- Reasoning competence for historical sources and explanations
- Interpretation competence for history

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- Orientation competence for time experience

As explained in 3.4.2.3 for the Gautschi's model, according to the curriculum, perception competence for changes in time means that students become aware of historical evidence and presentations (e.g., historical films, exhibitions) from the historical culture outside of schools and can derive questions and assumptions that form the basis for the reasoning. Reasoning competence for historical sources and explanations refers to students' historical factual analyzes by dealing with various genres of historical sources appropriately. It also means that students critically review existing historical narratives. Interpretation competence for history means that students use their own and record existing analyzes to bundle plausible relational connections into a factual judgment. Lastly, the orientation competence for time experience refers to that students gain orientation by constructing and deconstructing value judgments, by taking into account different perspectives, and by reflecting on historical learning and its dimensions.

3.4.3.16 Thuringia (Thüringen)

As in several other federal states, the history curriculum of Thuringia also mentions common competencies of social studies subjects as follows: learning -, knowledge -, self -, and social competencies. As for the history subject-specific competencies, following four competencies are presented. It is noticeable that the adjective "historical" precedes the name of each competence to distinguish it from the general competencies of the social studies subjects (Thüringer Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur, 2012).

Subject-specific competencies:

- Historical questioning competence
- Historical methodical competence
- Historical concepts and structure competence (Historische Begriffs- und Strukturierungskompetenz)
- Historical orientation competence

Historical questioning competence means that students can independently formulate questions about historical events and sources in order to relate them to contemporary perceptions. Historical methodical competence means answering historical questions by selecting appropriate resources and presenting the results using relevant media. Historical concepts and structure competence means understanding and reflecting on historical terminology, facts, and ways of thinking. This is comparable to knowledge competence. Historical orientation competence means that students gain the ability to transfer and reflect acquired historical knowledge and insights to the present and their own perception.

3.4.3.17 Summary

As shown in *Table 1*, history competencies adopted in curriculums of 16 German states overlap in many cases, while some states have unique compositions of competencies.

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Table 1 History competencies of 16 German states' curriculums

	- competence	Baden-Württemberg	Bavaria	Berlin	Brandenburg	Bremen	Hamburg	Hessen	Lower Saxony	Mecklenburg Western Pomerania	Northrhine-Westphalia	Rhineland Palatinate	Saarland	Saxony	Saxony-Anhalt	Schleswig Holstein	Thuringia	Total
1	methodical	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○			○	13
2	historical knowledge	○	○			○		○	○	○	○		○	○			○	10
3	orientation	○	○	○	○		○						○	○		○	○	9
4	judgment		○				○	○	○		○	○	○	○				8
5	narrative		○	○	○				○						○			5
6	interpretation			○	○	○									○	○		5
7	action							○		○	○		○	○				5
8	questioning	○						○									○	3
9	reflection	○				○												2
10	analysis			○	○													2
11	building society												○					1
12	perception															○		1
13	reasoning															○		1
14	self									○								1
15	social									○								1
16	communication											○						1
17	subject											○						1
19	historical cultural														○			1
	Total	5	5	5	5	4	3	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	3	4	4	

The most frequent five competencies are *methodical*, *knowledge*, *orientation*, *judgment*, and *narrative competencies*. It is difficult to accurately explain the scope of each competency as they separately describe the process of thinking. Yet it is possible to explain

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the grouping and relative relationship of these competencies as follows, and a flexible understanding is required to some extent.

Methodical competence essentially means the ability to analyze historical media, namely sources and representations, in a professional and appropriate way (deconstruction) and to recognize the message and intention of the media (re-construction). In some state curricula, methodological competence includes further interpretation based on analysis, which in other state curricula is explained as a separate competence of narrative competence. Thus, methodical competence in a narrower sense means understanding the meaning of historical materials with greater emphasis on deconstruction, and in a broader sense, it also means reconstruction, so that it includes the ability for students to create their own interpretations and narratives. Although deconstruction and reconstruction are not distinct stages of the thinking process that occur with marked differences in time, the advantage of distinguishing between these two types of thinking is that it clarifies the process of reconstruction as narrative competence. In Gautschi's model, the two processes are divided into reasoning and interpretation competence, respectively. The two competencies of Schleswig-Holstein, which has adopted Gautschi's model, can be understood as synonymous with methodical competence. Meanwhile, the curriculum of Berlin and Brandenburg presents analysis competence and method application competence. The former is used as the meaning of typical method competence, the latter as the meaning of the genre competence of Pandel's model. Taken together, method competence is used synonymously with genre, analysis, reasoning, and interpretation competencies.

Historical knowledge competence means first acquiring central historical developments, facts, and events as well as basic dates and terms. This chronological and terminological basis helps students to structure history learning and to understand time-typical as well as long-term structures in order to work on and reproduce historical interpretations based on sources. As described above, although historical knowledge competence is the object of historical learning and the basis for historical interpretation, there are regions that do not include it as a part of historical competencies. These regions can be seen as cases that consider historical competence as a rigorous thinking process. Furthermore, historical knowledge competence in Baden-Württemberg is described as the ability to process historical knowledge in distinction to learning content.

Orientation competence means using historical geography, media, and chronology for one's own orientation, comparing cultures, the present and the future in order to better understand current contexts or problems. It serves to build up one's own identity and helps to understand one's own and foreign cultures in order to justify actions related to the present and the future. Since students' ability to recognize historical phenomena and objects in their living environment through their own lens and to apply and use the historical knowledge they have learned in their own lives means recognition of public history and participation in historical culture, orientation competence is understood mainly as historical culture competence. Action and building society competencies can be

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understood as a part of orientation competence, which has more emphasis on social engagement.

Judgment competence is the ability to arrive at argument-based factual judgments, for example by being able to differentiate between causes and consequences and to assess historical developments in an increasingly multi-causal manner. One critically examines existing judgments in sources and representations and is finally able to compose coherently unfolded, differentiated argumentations in which one can represent one's own position, convincingly weigh arguments and consider counterarguments. The Baden-Württemberg curriculum uses reflection competence as a synonym for judgment competence. For state curricula that do not exhibit judgment competence, interpretation competence tends to be presented. Interpretation, as explained above, is used in the sense of deconstructing methodological competence, which inevitably involves a learner's independent thought process. It can thus be seen that interpretation and judgment competence share a common meaning.

Narrative competence has an epistemological receptive, history as a construct, and a concrete productive meaning: e.g. writing texts. This consists of the ability to use information taken from sources and representations, to recognize causes, effects, and conditions of historical developments, and evaluate these independently, taking into account the perspective and significance. By subsequently explaining the result in contexts critically and self-reflectively, orally or in writing, students can orientate themselves in contemporary society. Narrative competence is a characteristic competence of the Pandel model and ultimately aims at participation in historical culture through writing texts.

Each region emphasizes historical consciousness and historical cultural aspects by adopting existing competence models either unchanged or with partial modifications. The states that primarily use the FUER model are Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Thuringia. Bavaria and Saxony are the states that emphasize Pandel's narrative and historical culture based on the FUER model. The FUER model is recognized as a representative competency model in history education academia. Discussion of instructional strategies for individual competencies explores how to develop students' competencies step-by-step, focusing on the individual competencies of the FUER model (Trautwein et al., 2017). The states of Berlin/Brandenburg, Saarland, and Saxony-Anhalt predominantly follow Pandel's historical culture model. The states that adopt the KMK's EPA model are Bremen and Lower Saxony, which do not include history-culture-related orientation competence. The only state to adopt the Gautschi model is Schleswig-Holstein. Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and Rhineland-Palatinate are the states that have not adopted the existing history competency model and have composed their own history competencies. Currently, there is an active discussion in Germany about how these competencies can be adequately reflected and implemented in the classroom, based on which historical events (Sauer et al., 2018; Zülzdorf-Kersting, 2021).

3.4.4 Discussion on history competency in South Korea

Contrary to the 16 states in Germany that develop respective school curricula, eight cities and nine provinces of South Korean regions use a common national curriculum. The national curriculum has a hierarchical structure of the framework document and subject curriculums. The framework document proclaims the goal of school education and applies it to all subjects. According to the framework document, curricula for each subject are developed. The framework document and subject curriculums therefore have coherence.

Regarding the competency-based learning paradigm, the 2009 national curriculum of South Korea adopted the concept in the framework document, but the curriculums of each subject did not contain subject competencies. It was not until the 2015 national curriculum that the competencies for individual subject were developed. The framework document of the 2015 national curriculum, as an overarching curriculum, defined competency as "the ability inherent in and necessary for all people to live, learn, work, and contribute as members of a community." Based on this, the following six core interdisciplinary competencies were selected as the creative and convergent talents that future society should possess (MoE South Korea, 2015).

- 1) Self-management competence
- 2) Knowledge-information processing competence
- 3) Creative thinking competence
- 4) Aesthetic-emotional competence
- 5) Communication competence
- 6) Civic competence

Self-management competence means to lead one's life with self-identity and confidence based on basic abilities and qualifications necessary for life and career. *Knowledge-information processing* skills refer to the process and utilization of knowledge and information from diverse fields to solve problems reasonably. *Creative thinking* competencies encourage students to discover something novel by integrating knowledge, skills, and experiences from diverse professional fields based on broad foundational understanding. *Aesthetic-emotional* competence focuses on the ability to find and appreciate the meanings and values of life based on an empathetic understanding of others and cultural sensitivities. *Communication skills* mean to respectfully listen to opinions of others and effectively express one's thoughts and feelings in diverse situations. *Civic competence* teaches students to actively participate in improving the community with the values and attitudes required to be a member of local, national, and/or global communities (MoE South Korea, 2015, p. 2).

In the social studies curriculum, the following five competencies were presented as common history competencies for the following five history subjects: middle school 「History 1」 and 「History 2」, high school 「Korean History」 「World History」, and 「East Asian History」 (MoE South Korea, 2018, p. 96). The five competencies are as follows:

- 1) Understanding historical facts
- 2) Analysis and interpretation of historical materials
- 3) Use and communicate historical information

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4) Historical judgment and problem-solving skills

5) Identity and mutual respect

First, the competence "Understanding historical facts," means acquiring knowledge about events, people, structures, and changes in the past and understanding important historical terms and concepts. According to the explanation in the curriculum, this competence does not mean reorganizing or explaining historical knowledge, as the knowledge competence in the German curriculum does. Still, it exclusively means understanding knowledge about the past. Second, the competence "Analysis and interpretation of historical materials," refers to the critical reading and review of historical materials to construct historical knowledge. It is comparable to the methodical and reflection competence in German curricula. Third, the competence "Using and communicating historical information," means being able to analyze, discuss, summarize, and evaluate historical information obtained through various media. This competence has a common nature with the second competence mentioned above, as criticized by researchers, but emphasizes communication. In this sense, it is comparable to knowledge and narrative competence. Fourth, the competence "Historical judgment and problem-solving," involves solving current problems in light of examples from the past. As can be inferred from the linguistic expression, this competence is comparable to judgment and action competence. The fifth and final competency, "Identity and mutual respect," refers to the development of historical consciousness and an attitude of understanding and respect for others in the rapidly changing modern society. The curriculum document describes this competency is "based on an understanding of our history and world history." Accordingly, the above-mentioned historical consciousness refers to Korean national identity and mutual respect for foreign nations. It shows that the meaning and use of the term historical consciousness are different in Germany and South Korea. In addition, a clear distinction between our history and the world history of others reveals the underlying understanding of history, which is nationalistic.

The 2015 history curriculum was criticized that it is merely a slogan that presents the concept as a superficial introduction to the competency. Sung-ja Kim (2016) points out that the problem with the current competencies is that they are unclear because the meaning of the competencies is incomplete. In addition, she criticizes that the core competencies in the framework document and the history curriculum are presented in parallel, so the relationships are not defined. More importantly, some competencies overlap each other in their meaning. In fact, the curriculum document lists the names of the competencies, and there is only one sentence explaining the meaning of each competence described above. A curriculum for each subject consists of subject characteristics, educational objectives, performance standards for each grade level, and essential points for teaching-learning and assessment. The history competencies are mentioned once in the subject characteristics at the beginning. This means that the competencies are not connected to the learning objectives for each grade level.

The cause of this problem lies in the process of curriculum development. First, the introduction of core competencies and subject competencies was assigned as a general principle of the 2015 curriculum. However, the discussion of individual subjects of

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academic communities concerning competency-based learning was not accumulated enough. Research on general competencies has been conducted since 2007, after the announcement of the report of the Presidential Advisory Education Innovation Committee. The discussion on history competencies, on the other hand, was conducted in 2013 firstly. As the development of the 2015 curriculum began in 2014, the actual research period was two years. According to Sung-ja Kim (2016), the selection of the history competencies was conducted with a solid connection to social studies - and the framework curriculum. During the process, some competencies were deleted and replaced according to the characteristics and meaning of the subject area. The consistency of competencies between the framework document and the subject curriculum was repeatedly emphasized by MoE. History competencies that deviated from the core competency elements were considered as a "problem" (Sung-ja Kim, 2016, p. 367). Also, in the curriculum development process, although the concept of core competencies presented in the framework document should be introduced to the history curriculum, there was no significant discussion between the national institute of KICE and history education circles. It was understood that the KICE neglected the academic groups and the specialized knowledge of each subject didactics (Baek, 2015).

Before the 2015 curriculum introduced history competencies, there was almost no interest or discussion of competencies among the circle of history education scholars, and perceptions of competencies were generally negative. Apart from research led by the Ministry of Education, there were only two studies on history literacy before developing the 2015 curriculum. C. Lee et al. (2013) defined social studies literacy in five categories: Problem Solving, Collaboration Skills, Communication, Information Literacy, and Citizenship. M. Lee (2014) introduced history competencies presented in Australian and American history curricula and examined competency-based history teaching.

From 2015 to 2022, research on historical competence has not been immensely accumulated. In particular, studies after the announcement of the 2015 curriculum showed a rather negative attitude toward the concept of competency-based history education and its implementation reasoning that the competency-based learning concept is developed by OECD for growing future workforce, not humanistic education. It seems that this conservative attitude of history didactics researchers was one of the reasons why the research has not been actively conducted (Baek, 2015; Sung-ja Kim, 2016). J. Jung (2020) examined competence issues in the 2015 history curriculum and pointed out the following two problems. First, the school history is filled with knowledge, so it is challenging to make balance between knowledge and historical thinking. Second, the concept of competence is still incomplete.

Most studies on the 2015 history curriculum focus mainly on the chronological contents rather than the competencies. Many studies also analyzed the characteristics of textbooks written according to the 2015 curriculum. However, these studies rarely mentioned or discussed the competencies because the weight and status of the competencies in the curriculum are low as well. Representative studies on the 2015 history curriculum are as follows: H. Kim (2015) examined the problems of the 2015 history curriculum and pointed out three major issues: (1) the meaning of the core concepts

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proposed in the curriculum in the areas of general history, political history, social history, and cultural history was not clear, (2) the rationale for their selection was unknown, and (3) it was unclear whether these core concepts were applied in compiling the content. J. Yang (2015) sharply criticized the 2015 history curriculum for being developed as propaganda in line with the political direction of the Park Geun-hye government. According to him, the logic of curriculum development was to strengthen "core competencies," and that the curriculum focused on core competencies which led to a reduction of content. Moreover, Park Geun-hye government emphasized political history by focusing on the great and heroic personalities and reducing social history, as it was in the 1970s. Kang (2016) examined the development process of the 2015 middle school history curriculum and argued it needed connections between 「Korean history」 and 「World History」. She believed 「World History」 teaching should be redesigned to inquiry and storytelling rather than memorization. Ji (2017) interviewed related persons to the development-procedure of the high school 「East Asian History」 curriculum, and argued that frequent revision of the national curriculum created confusion. She pointed out that the contents do not have to follow chronological order, and is better to learn about the various topics for resolving historical conflicts in East Asia.

Research after the 2015 curriculum can be divided into two categories: The first category is about studies introducing history competencies presented in foreign countries' curriculum. The second category is on whether history competencies in the 2015 curriculum are being reflected in textbook learning activities. The research introducing foreign history competencies mostly deals with German regional curricula and competence models. (Ko, 2017) introduced the German competency-based curriculum change and historical competency models of Pandel, VGD, and FUER, along with the history competencies of the North Rhine-Westphalia curriculum and its application on a specific topic. Bae (2018) introduced the history competencies of Baden-Württemberg and cases of application of competency-based learning to textbooks focused on grades 5 and 6, which belong to the elementary school in South Korea. Y. Jung (2020), in her article "Peace in History Education in Germany", she mentioned the history competencies of North Rhine-Westphalia, as well as Ko (2017) and Joo-hyun Park (2020) analyzed the problems of selecting history competencies in South Korea's 2015 curriculum and thus, in search of improvement, dealt with the history competencies of Hessen and Berlin. Recently, M. Park (2021) discussed the nature of the FUER Model concerning Rösen's historical thinking process in her paper 'Cases of German History Education on the Application of Competency-based Curriculum'. M. Lee (2021a) introduced the history competencies of nine different states, countries, and institutes: United Kingdom (England and Wales), International Baccalaureate, United States (Michigan), Netherlands, Singapore, Australia (New South Wales), Canada (British Columbia), and Germany (Hessen). Lastly, Bae (2021a) analyzed the history exams took place in the German university entrance qualification examination and introduced the history competencies of the EPA model. These studies introduce the history competencies models of various scholars and the history competencies presented in the history curricula of each German region.

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The second category is about studies that analyzed how history competencies which are presented in the 2015 curriculum are being reflected in textbooks by looking at the learning questions. H. Lee (2018) and Yun-jeong Kim (2020) examined the learning questions of units of four high school 「East Asian History」 textbooks. Both studies pointed out the following common features. a) the learning questions in the textbooks are mainly in the form of short answers and b) they require students to find and write down the relevant content after reading the author's text. This only demonstrates that the textbook authors' understanding of the "competency to understand historical knowledge," envisaged in the curriculum is limited to "knowing simple historical knowledge." Thus, the learning questions in textbooks have not changed much after the introduction of history competencies. In terms of history competencies, although the percentages of questions on the competencies "analyzing and using historical data," "understanding historical facts," "using historical information," and "communicating" were high, the percentage of evaluative questions asking judgment opinions was less than 10%. Notably, all four textbooks do not clearly emphasize mutual respect in dealing with historical conflicts in modern and contemporary history.

According to these studies, the most appropriate competence to historical reconciliation in the history curriculum is the "identity and mutual respect" competence, but the 「East Asian History」 textbooks bear a nationalistic perspective instead of the view for peace in Northeast Asia (Yun-jeong Kim, 2020; H. Lee, 2018). Originally, the subject of 「East Asian History」 in high school was newly adopted in 2007 in response to historical conflicts with neighboring countries. In the early 2000s, China included *Old Chosŏn* and *Koguryŏ* history; which had been treated as Korean history until then, as China's ancient history domain. Therefore, 「East Asian History」 became one of the school subjects to promote the value of peace and coexistence in the region rather than pursuing a nationalist focus. These studies revealed that 「East Asian History」 textbooks do not fulfill the meaning and importance of the subject matter nor do they implement a competency-based history education.

To sum up, the concept of competency-based learning arrived and was discussed later in South Korea than in Germany. As time progressed and more research was conducted this trend gained influence more and more. Since the first adaptation of history competencies in the 2015 curriculum, the discussion on history competence developed with abundant support from case studies abroad, especially from Germany. The 2022 national curriculum is currently under development, and it is expected that the history curriculum, with competency-based learning, contains more proficiently structured competencies and is consistent with learning contents and objectives. Throughout this dissertation, attempts have been made to demonstrate the necessity for competency-based history teaching by comparing and contrasting the contents of German and South Korean history curricula and textbooks.

4 Comparative Education as Methodology

*"And if thou appearest to be entirely lost, Compare thyself. Know what thou art."
("Und wenn du ganz dich zu verlieren scheinst, Vergleiche dich. Erkenne, was du bist.")*

- Goethe, Torquato Tasso, v.5.

“Comparison enables one to raise their level of knowledge (Halls, 1990, p. 5)

4.1 Awareness and understanding through comparison

Social science research pursues general statements about individual social phenomena. Social scientists believe that human and social behavior can be explained by general laws. It attempts to provide a convincing explanation for individual phenomena by identifying concepts and general factors at some level in all societies (Przeworski & Teune, 1970). When a general explanation that holds in one society is no longer valid because it appears to be a different phenomenon in a different time and space in society, the social science attempts to generalize the statement at a higher level that can also explain the phenomena of that society. The process of such an attempt inevitably involves comparison. For a fair and persuasive comparison, it is necessary to explain surrounding situations and the context behind the phenomenon. In this process, comparisons provide a better understanding and insight into social phenomena. Thus, when it is difficult to understand a particular social phenomenon, a comparison is an effective way to provide an "Aha!" moment to understand it.

In social science, comparison refers to explaining the differences in detail rather than emphasizing the differentness or contrasting them. The point is to elaborate on the context behind the phenomena. The aim of a comparative study is to provide practical, reformative, reliable, and accurate study presented as scientifically as possible with intention to link human beings together with the kind of awareness that is humane, liberal, and scientific (King, 1967). For example, the personal starting point of this dissertation research was the question and difficulty of understanding history education phenomenon in South Korea, and it developed to understand it by comparing it with history education in Germany, which is renowned to be less nationalistic than in South Korea and in other East Asian countries. Therefore, the main content of this dissertation is comparative explanations, which enables an understanding of the phenomenon. This knowledge enables better understanding of history education in both countries and can increase the likelihood that more scientific and better education could be conducted in practice.

From the perspective of meliorism, which means the progressivist belief that the world can be made better by human effort, educational intervention at a policy level pursues change and improvement of the educational system. The policy, in this case, based

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on the international comparison, can only be put into practice if the judgment that the comparison is fair and acceptable is shared. Conversely, understanding the phenomenon is the basis for operational intervention in education. Therefore, explanatory power based on scientific and logical comparison is essential to achieve educational changes. Educational policies based on comparative judgments that show educational differences with other societies suggest change, but many of them remain as a yearning for utopia and fade away with no success. The comparison in the absence of a sufficient explanation of the difference results in the impression that it is unfair and the arguments in it would be not carried out. Conversely, clearly identifying and fully understanding the problem through the fairest possible comparison with sufficient explanation is the starting point for educational change. Explanations and clarifications are clues to the specific alteration and intervention of the perceived phenomena in education.

4.2 Comparative education as academic discipline

Comparative education discussed in educational science is a modern academic field that emerged mainly in the 1960s. Most likely, comparative education as a comparative consideration of education-related issues would have a tradition as long as human history. However, modern comparative education in this dissertation and in general means the unique field of study that has sought qualitative improvement in comparative analysis in education. The writing of Marc Antoine Jullien de Paris (1775-1848), considered as the father of comparative education, clarified the purpose of the study as below.

Education, as other sciences, is based on facts and observations, which should be ranged in analytical tables, easily compared, in order to deduce principles and definite rules. Education should become a positive science instead of being ruled by narrow and limited opinions, by whims and arbitrary decisions of administrators, to be turned away from the direct line which it should be follow, either by prejudice of a blind routine or by the spirit of some system and innovation (Holmes, 1981, p. 39).

This section examines the scope, objective, and typology of comparative education through key discussions in this field.

4.2.1 Scope

The discipline of comparative education supposes a nation-state as a unit of comparison. Comparative education engages in cross-national analysis and therefore encourages its participants to take an international perspective (Bray, 2002; Sobe, 2016). In other words, comparative education focuses on international and foreign education. Wilson (1994) described the change of the name of society as a marriage of comparative education and international education when the Comparative Education Society (CES) became the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) in 1969. With time, the concept of comparative education substitutes international education. Even without mentioning the word "international," comparative education automatically means comparison between or among countries. Specifically, there are bilateral or trilateral comparisons

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between two or three countries and multilateral comparisons between education issues of numerous countries by international organizations such as UNESCO, World Bank, IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), and the OECD.

The scope of comparative education can also be divided into various levels, such as theory, direct comparison, and indirect comparison, that provide data for comparison. According to the scope model of comparative education by Olivera (1992), studies that exist as data necessary for comparison in educational research are in the outermost scope. There are case studies that implicitly compare, and these have the status of primary data for comparative studies. At the heart of comparative education is comparative research between countries or from a transnational perspective. The theory and methods studies are presented separately at the core of comparative education research.

4.2.2 Objectives

The purpose of comparative education is twofold: (1) borrowing ideas for the improvement of domestic education and (2) pursuing social and scientific truths about educational phenomena (Brickman, 1969; Epstein, 1983; Wilson, 1994). I believe both the melioristic and scientific purposes are interdependent and complementary. Practical benchmarking and pursuit of transcendent scientific purposes are inseparable like the two sides of a coin. For instance, to solve a certain educational problem of one society, it is a useful strategy to refer to a similar situation in another society where the same phenomenon is proceeding without or with fewer problems. Solving problems by adopting ideas requires rigorous scientific verification. Introducing examples from other countries does not automatically equal acceptance without reluctance when the phenomena lay in different social contexts. In the scientific investigation on the background of the emergence of other phenomena, the prerequisite environments that were previously taken for granted can be recognized as the cause or origin of the problematic situation. A solution to the problem is possible if these causes are carefully taken into account. Therefore, melioristic benchmarking needs scientific explanation, and vice versa.

4.2.3 Typologies

Using the previous discussion of the purpose of comparative education, the relationship between meliorism and scientific understanding will be reviewed once again. According to Noah and Eckstein (1969), comparative education evolved through the following five stages of development: (1) *traveler's tales*, (2) *pedagogical borrowing*, (3) *international pedagogical collaboration*, (4) *identification of forces and factors shaping national educational systems*, and (5) *social scientific explanation*. Despite the critique of Epstein (1983) on this model, this evolutionary view has been popularly cited in the field. In the traveler's tales phase, foreign cases serve as information to satisfy curiosity. In the second educational borrowing phase, researchers aim to improve education in their home country. In the international educational cooperation phase, comparativists seek to collect,

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organize, and provide knowledge about education in other countries. In this stage, encyclopedism, the pursuit of knowledge about a country or region, provides a large body of knowledge and ultimately promotes educational cooperation. Identifying the national context beyond the educational system, the fourth phase is to explain the cultural, political, and social background of the phenomenon of national education. In the final stage, the social science explanation means trying to prove the generalization of educational phenomena through scientific quantitative measurements. Noah and Eckstein summarized these five stages of development as period features observed from the 1800s to after 1945.

The five evolutionary stages in the development of comparative education is yet concurrently observed in recent literature, as pointed out by Bray, however (Marshall, 2014). Today, and in the future, everyone can still express their educational opinions based on their personal experiences in the form of essays or even academic articles, such as a traveler's tale in stage one. Research by OECD and UNESCO is at the fifth level of study based on rigorous quantitative statistics of multiple countries. They provide the encyclopedic knowledge, which is the accumulation of the previously collected research separately on the archive on their homepage, and this can be supposed at the third stage. However, the latest research report of OECD and UNESCO itself omits contextual information regarding each country's cultural, traditional background of the fourth stage assuming that people would refer archive knowledge by themselves. Furthermore, education policymakers in each country formulate a plan of educational improvement as benchmarking of foreign cases based on these studies, and in most cases, they skip understanding the explanation of the original data. This means that they are at the second stage in this meaning. Therefore, a researcher conducting comparative education research can view his or her research purpose from a meta-perspective by understanding the theoretical discussion of each phase, and this understanding helps clarify the position and direction of the research.

There is another theory about the history of the development of comparative education research. George Bereday, a professor at Columbia University, in 1964 described the development of comparative studies and a comparative method in three phases: (1) *borrowing*, (2) *prediction*, and (3) *analysis* (Wojniak, 2018). This is similar to Noah and Eckstein's five stages. Yet the difference or another focus of his view is the conceptualization and criteria of classification. Travelers' tale and idea borrowing are combined into the borrowing. The prediction means that idea borrowing is no longer automatically assumed to be successful, but it is assumed that it requires a preparatory process before policy transplantation. The final phase of the analysis means seeking broader and more general views of education, especially beyond the barriers of Western centrism.

Recent interest in comparative education has been in education for democratic citizenship with mutual culture and tolerance from a postmodern perspective. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2010, p. 28) summarized the new trend of changing the foci of comparative analysis to complement Noah and Eckstein's existing five stages of development from the 1960s. According to their new model, "Historical Foci in Comparative Analysis," the

4.2 Comparative education as academic discipline

major activities of comparative education have accumulated in the following order: (1) *description*, (2) *policy analysis*, (3) *use of statistical evidence, systematic data collection*, (4) *socio-economic evidence and understanding*, (5) *outcome analysis*, (6) *globalized context and* (7) *postmodern approaches*. Applying this model to Noah and Eckstein's five-stage model, we can assume that the traveler's story in the description stage, the borrowing ideas in the political analysis stage, systematic data collection and statistical analysis in the encyclopedism and international cooperation stage, and analysis of the results correspond to the social factors analysis and social science explanation stage. However, it differs in that it additionally presents a postmodern approach as the final step. Phillips and Schweisfurth described this as the emergence of a critique of the Grand Narratives based on Western, white, and male perspectives. While academic research sought to maintain equilibrium under the Cold War system, changes in the existing order occurred after the 1990s with the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. The representative critiques of postmodernism are feminist, culturalist, and classist. Comparative education also strives to overcome the limits of Eurocentrism and Western rationality. Accordingly, the following question to explore the possibility of coexistence emerged as a topical issue: "How can we construct multiple citizenships and tolerant affective identities (T. Kim, 2000, p. 231)?" As a result, interculturality and multiculturalism became major topics in comparative education, as in general educational discussions.

France W. D. Halls, a British comparative education researcher and historian, proposed a typology model of comparative education in 1973 (Halls, 1990, pp. 23–24). Despite Halls' apology that the model is overlapping and provisional, the model is still validly cited in the field (Röhrs, 1995). Halls' typification divides comparative education into four upper subareas: (1) *comparative studies*, (2) *education abroad*, (3) *international education*, and (4) *development education*. The first subarea, the comparative studies, consists of comparative pedagogy and intraeducational analysis. Comparative pedagogy refers to the comparison of instructional activities such as teaching and learning in classrooms. Intraeducational and intracultural studies refer to the comparison of different subjects within a country or culture. Second, education abroad deals mainly with foreign education systems and refers to studies that compare them with domestic education systems. Another term for education abroad is foreign education, *Auslandspädagogik* in German terms. Third, international education consists of two parts: international pedagogy, i.e., research on teaching and learning in a multicultural environment, such as international schools, and the study of international organizations, such as research on educational exchanges and mutual recognition of educational qualifications between countries. Fourth, development education refers to educational research as a means of providing information for educational policy making, especially for "new or underdeveloped nations." Looking at this typology through applying to this dissertation research, which deals with curriculum, textbook, and assessment of history subjects, it belongs mainly to comparative pedagogy, the first subarea of the comparative studies. Since the school systems of Germany and South Korea are compared and dealt with, which is necessary for understanding the phenomenon of history teaching, some content belongs to the education abroad category.

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Phillips and Schweisfurth (2010) proposed another typology. In their model, comparative education and international education are presented separately from the beginning. They defined studies that systematically analyze foreign education using comparative education theory as international comparative research. This typification based on the academic establishment of comparative education made it clear that foreign education without a comparative process belongs to international education and is outside the scope of comparative education. By presenting the theories and methods of comparative education as a separate field of comparative education, they emphasized the application of concepts and methods of comparative education in their typology of comparative education research. According to this typology, this dissertation belongs to "international comparative research."

Kobayashi (1973, p. 251) proposed five different types of comparative educational studies according to the forms of collaboration. His typology includes the following types: (1) *national case studies*, (2) *national parallel studies*, (3) *cross-national studies*, (4) *international studies of education*, and (5) *studies of international education*. National case studies are studies of education in other countries, and national parallel studies are studies of specific topics in education in other countries and in their own countries. Cross-national studies refer to research conducted in collaboration between two countries, as opposed to (1) and (2), which are unilateral studies conducted in one country. International studies in education mean international comparative studies of education, while studies in international education mean a study of international exchange in education. According to Kobayashi's explanation, the studies in (4) and (5) also have less international collaboration than cross-national studies. This dissertation in this case lies between the second and fourth types, national parallel studies and international education studies.

4.3 Methods of comparative education

According to George Bereday, the procedure of comparative educational research involves four processes: *description, interpretation, contrast, and comparison* (Parreira do Amaral & Amos, 2015). The German comparative educator Franz Hilker described the four stages of comparison in his book *Vergleichende Pädagogik, which means Comparative Pedagogy in detail* (Hilker, 1962). According to Hilker, "*description*"²⁰ describes the phenomenon to be compared accurately and completely. For this, the process of observation, called *Anschauung* in the German language, is necessary. Personal observation of foreign cases is the starting point for comparison. This observation is possible through personal travels and sojourn. Unlike in 1969, when the book was written, in the present day, often referred to as the information era, there was an abundance of introductions to foreign education, and information about public education, such as curricula, was accessible via the Internet. In addition to being able to investigate information through e-mails, since the Covid-19 crisis, it became common to have video interviews or online conferences without technical barriers. However, my personal belief

²⁰ description: (ge) Deskription, (ko) 묘사, 描寫

is that being in the country is still a meaningful investment to learn about a particular topic in its cultural and social context. It is because that one's own observations in the overall context can bring new insights and perspectives, which merely a literature review overseas does not. The last phase of the description is to gain insight by working on documentation after observing and analyzing previous studies. This process includes verifying authority for documenting the information collected.

Comparative education research, including the description stage, basically requires language skills. Language knowledge is the most basic prerequisite for obtaining information about education in a foreign country. Existing data translated into the researcher's native language have limitations as secondary data. A bilingual person can achieve excellent results in comparative studies. Otherwise, this should be accompanied by the continued acquisition of language skills and the identification of language features used in related research topics. Personally, I have the impression that education majors are less international than other fields of studies. This is because the disadvantage of the language barrier is fatal in the major, which deals with the important and sometimes very serious task of education. Nor is there an urgent need to refer to foreign examples, although they provide a new perspective on educational problems.

As Hilker (1962) pointed out, documentation in the description phase requires the researcher's attitude toward the transfer of knowledge from one country to another. Whether foreign cases can be translated and used is a practical and moral question comparative researchers face. In Germany, Article 60c of the Copyright Act allows the use of content within 15%, with citations of course, only if the scientific research has no commercial purpose. Even if the content of curricula, textbooks, and examinations is publicly available or for sale, I believe the contents of copyright law also apply to such scientific works. Individual publishers provide copyright for the contents of textbooks or examinations and require prior permission for use. Even in this case, I thought it is allowed to use the contents for academic purposes by applying copyright law. Additionally, there is the problem of plagiarism, where existing knowledge is used as it is. While there are tools to check for plagiarism based on word count, it is difficult to find it with a mechanical plagiarism checker when translating it into another language. In general, and according to common sense, it is plagiarism to translate and use data without citing it. When writing a comparative education research paper, as with any other research, the author must write all sentences, except for those sentences that are directly cited.

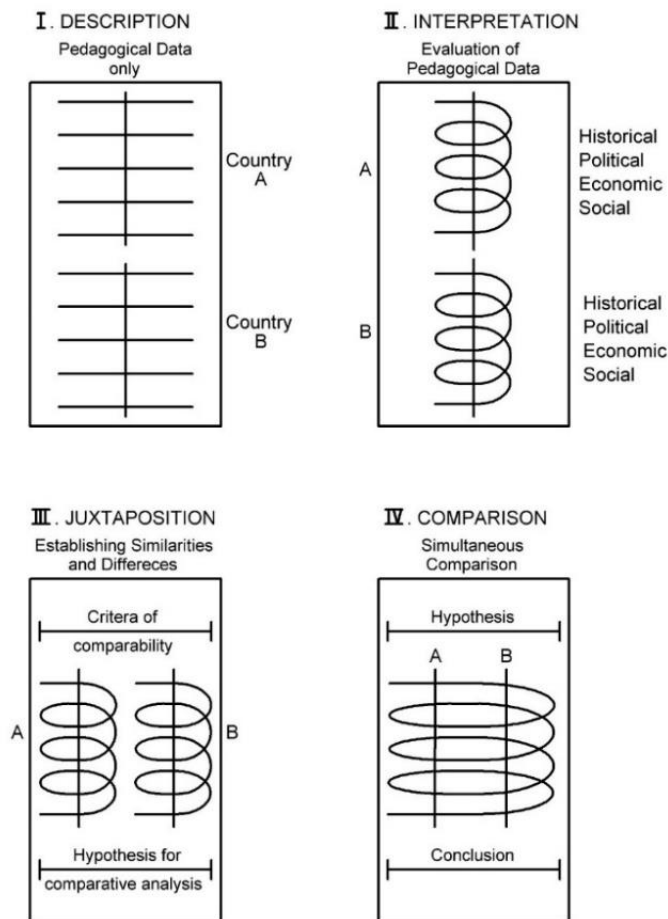
The second process of comparison is "*interpretation*²¹." Since education is a complex and multilayered phenomenon, it requires careful and detailed interpretation (Hilker, 1962, p. 113). In the interpretation phase, the traditions of society, economic and technological conditions, political conditions and culture, and variables of the state and society should be used. For example, if the German vocational education system, *duale Ausbildung* in Germany, is to be presented in other countries, it is necessary to explain the tradition, culture and social consensus, and infrastructure of vocational education in Germany. In addition, the economic and technological situation of the country, as well as

²¹ interpretation: (ge) Interpretation, (ko) 해석, 解釋

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the availability of educational investment and educational facilities, are a prerequisite for comparing the education-related phenomena of the two countries. In teaching history, for example, whether a country is politically controlled by a dictatorship or a democratic government affects the teaching methods and content. Therefore, an explanation of such a governmental ruling structure is essential. Interpretation sufficiently explains the background of the ostensible phenomenon of education in the comparing country.

Figure 2 Comparative analysis model by Bereday



(Parreira do Amaral & Amos, 2015, p. 116)

The third process of comparison is "juxtaposition²²" (Hilker, 1962, p. 121). Since descriptions and interpretations refer to observations, records, and explanations of background knowledge in foreign education cases, they still have the character of knowledge about foreign education. Since Hilker explained the process of juxtaposition with an example of the educational research process of a transnational organization, he explained the process as the participation of several countries and the preparation of the data collection in the form of a report. The meaning of the word "juxtaposition" is to place two or more materials at the same time, side by side. Bereday described juxtaposition as a

²² juxtaposition: (ge) Juxtapotion, *Nebeneinanderstellung*, (ko) 병치, 併置

simultaneous comparison. This process identifies the quantitative and explanatory symmetrical elements not found in the description and interpretation of education in each country. This process is an opportunity to look back and affirm the education of the society to which the researcher belongs and instead of the foreign country that is the target country of comparison. At this stage, the researcher also discovers the need for standards or criteria that explain more than one educational phenomenon.

The fourth process is "comparison"²³ (Hilker, 1962, p. 124). Through the previous process of description, interpretation, and comparison, the researcher develops subjective impressions and experiences into objective knowledge as much as possible. The comparison refers to the process by which knowledge of "difference" is no longer a sentimental and impressionistic appeal but a comprehensive explanation with sufficient contextual explanations necessary to understand the phenomenon. The comparison process provides an interpretation of the quantified "difference" that is objectively revealed in the juxtaposition. Researchers present their opinions and conclusions of the study in this process. These opinions are persuasive because the evidence supports them through description, interpretation, and comparison of the thought process that lead to these results.

In addition to Bereday's four-step method, there are other methods of comparative educational research suggested by different scholars. By examining these procedures, it is possible to identify the necessary elements of the general process that comparative educational research must execute. Basically, other scholars who proposed the method recognize the four steps of Bereday's description, interpretation, juxtaposition, and comparison as the main procedures. Among the four steps proposed by Bereday, the steps of juxtaposition and comparison, which can be thought of as exclusive comparison in the strict sense, require a proof procedure for generalization. This means that juxtaposition and comparison require a scientific process of quantification and measurement based on criteria to control the variables. Regarding the order in which step hypotheses are made and their evidence is provided, theorists of comparative pedagogy hold different views, which will be discussed below. There are two views: the opinion that they hypothesize after data collection, description, interpretation, and comparison and the opinion that they hypothesize before data collection at the beginning of the research. Both views of the method provide information about the research procedure to help comparative research, but they do not necessarily force the research to be conducted according to that method.

Phillips and Schweisfurth (2010) addresses the structure for comparative inquiry in more detail of the process of juxtaposition and comparison described above. They consider "conceptualization," which captures the characteristics of the educational phenomenon being compared, as the starting point of comparative educational research. Then, the individual characteristics of the educational phenomenon are symmetrically compared based on the local backgrounds of the two countries. By this symmetrical comparison of data from the two countries on the same subject, we can find an obvious difference. The development of assumptions is based on this explanation. These

²³ comparison: (ge) Komparation, Vergleichen, (ko) 비교, 比較

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assumptions in turn allow a general statement to be made through contextual interpretation. The general statements developed through this process are used as a hypothesis that can explain other phenomena in similar situations. The peculiarity of this procedure is that setting a hypothesis is considered the result of comparative analysis and is close to the conclusion of the study. That is, in this procedure model, the procedure of hypothesis testing is not found.

Kobayashi (1973, p. 251) also proposed a practical procedure of comparative education consisting of the following six phases: (1) *identification and definition of the problem*, (2) *formulation of the hypothesis*, (3) *collection of the data*, (4) *analysis of the data*, (5) *testing of the hypothesis*, and (6) *generalization based on the findings*. The research procedure suggested by Kobayashi indicates a distinct meliorism as comparative education for solving domestic educational problems. The researcher identifies a specific problem and plans to compare it with foreign education to solve the problem. A characteristic of this method is that it proposes the establishment of hypotheses before data collection. First, hypotheses are established, and then the corresponding data are collected and analyzed with the foreign education system. Then, the hypothesis is verified through comparative analysis of the collected data according to the hypothesis. The final step is generalization based on the results and hypothesis testing. Kobayashi wrote that among the process steps, international cooperation is necessary for the data collection stage and can be carried out more effectively by consulting foreign experts in the field. He also pointed out that "promoting international understanding and cooperation" is not the purpose of comparative education from the beginning, but promoting international understanding is a byproduct of individual comparative education research. His insight seems to be a realistic opinion because most comparative education research conducted by individuals is purposeful investigations of foreign cases to find a solution for a particular educational phenomenon in their home country. Of course, comparative education ultimately contributes to high-level goals such as international understanding, peace -, citizenship -, democratic education, and improving the quality of education. However, few studies will be planned and conducted from the outset for this purpose, with the exception of large-scale studies by international organizations such as UNESCO.

Let us examine this dissertation research by replacing it with the comparative study procedure of Kobayashi. This study recognized the history teaching in South Korea and neighboring countries in East Asia as a problem reproducing a nationalistic thinking paradigm, constant conflict. To solve this problem, it is possible to assume that history teaching in non-nationalist countries and history teaching in South Korea have different elements of history teaching. Therefore, an attempt was made to concretize this assumption with the various dimensions of history teaching, such as curriculum, textbook, and assessment. To make a meaningful hypothesis in this phase, the data from the third and fourth phases must be collected and analyzed to a certain extent. Since each hypothesis should be based on a sufficient understanding of the two countries' curricula, textbooks, and assessments, it is necessary to examine them. After that, it goes back to the hypothesis setting of the second stage. Therefore, it would be reasonable to consider the steps from the second to the fourth stage as a circular process rather than a linear process.

4.4 National context regarding history education

After going through the second to fourth steps of this dissertation, the subareas of teaching history were determined: curriculum, textbook, and assessment, and hypotheses were made for each subarea. First, in analyzing the curriculum, I made the following two hypotheses: Korean history teaching has national history as the central theme and German history teaching has Europe and the world as the central theme. Another hypothesis is that the goal of history teaching in South Korea is the systematic understanding of historical knowledge, while in Germany, the focus is on the critical evaluation of the presented narrative rather than the understanding of historical knowledge. Second, in comparing the textbooks, it was hypothesized that there would be a difference in the form of emphasis on the nation when describing the ancient people as the national origin and printing technique of the nation between Germany and South Korea. Third, in comparing the tests, the following two hypotheses were made: Concerning the international relations presented in the test items, the Korean test is more concerned with hostile relations than the German test; Concerning the forms of government, the Korean test more often covers the monarchy, and the German test more often covers the democracy. Then, the fifth stage of analysis was conducted to test these hypotheses using the prepared criteria in comparing curriculums, textbooks, and tests. Based on the comparative analysis results of the hypotheses, concrete statements about history education in Germany and South Korea were delineated in the discussion part of the dissertation. The sixth stage of generalization described the characteristics of the overall history education found after the comparison to be analyzed in the conclusion.

4.4 National context regarding history education

Policy implications as a conclusion of this study can also only be identified and implemented if they are based on the consideration of the school context. Therefore, understanding the school context in relation to history education in Germany and South Korea is essential to this study. This part examines school system and the position of history subjects.

4.4.1 School system in Germany and South Korea

4.4.1.1 The German school system

The German school system generally consists of four years of primary school, five or six years of lower secondary school, two or three years of upper secondary school, and five years of university. A simple generalization would be 4-6-(2~5). One school year consists of about 38 weeks of 190 days in both countries.

ISCED 1 of primary education in Germany is *Grundschule* in German terms and consists of four grades. Eight subjects are taught primarily, including object lesson which is *Sachunterricht* in German term. Object lesson is an integrated subject of social studies and natural sciences and deals with children's perception and their world of experience. The history-related contents of the object lesson are "basic history activities," "learning from historical sources," "time and timing," and "shaping the future and taking action" (Bae,

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2021). Although the object lesson includes historical learning, this dissertation does not consider the subject as part of the history subject. This is because the content is not taught exclusively in a specific period of time, such as a semester or a school year.

In Germany, students and parents decide on career paths into vocational and grammar school at fourth grade of primary school referring to recommendation of teacher. As for ISCED 2, the lower secondary school, there have been traditionally three school types. Two vocation-oriented lower secondary schools: *Hauptschule* of grades 5 to 9 and *Realschule* of grades 5 to 10. After graduating these schools, students continue their learning in dual vocational education system, which is in German "duale Berufsausbildung". This program combines work and learning. Students choose one occupation among nationally recognized vocations and learn and work at a company for three to four days a week. At the same time, they attend a vocational school, which corresponds to ISCED 3, the upper secondary education. Students learn theoretical basics for the occupation for one to two days a week. Another secondary school option is *Gymnasium*, the grammar school. At *gymnasiums*, academic training takes place assuming that students prepare university study. *Gymnasium* course is comprised of six years of lower secondary course of ISCED 2, and two or three years of upper secondary course of ISCED 3. By finishing *gymnasium* course successfully, they get a qualification for university-level education.

As for the educational administration, based on the principle of federalism and cultural sovereignty, sixteen German states run their own MoEs, and states are mainly in charge of school education policies and finance. The share of financial expenses for public schools was 82% by the state government and 18% by local governments in 2015 (KMK, 2021, p. 84). The school system also shows differences by state. Nevertheless, after the establishment of the West German Federation in 1949 and until the 1990s after the reunification of Germany, the school system in all states maintained a similar form of above explained.

In the 2000s, the strict division of the existing three types of secondary schools: *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium* became increasingly flexible. Based on the results of the PISA, which compares academic performance of 15 year-old students internationally, German educators criticized the strong correlation between a student's social background and academic achievement. This criticism has led to secondary school reform. State governments reformed school system to postpone the timing of school type choices, which was before after fourth grade. In addition, school reform increased the transferability between different types of secondary schools by adapting integrated secondary school type. In reality, it becomes more and more two different school types to come through, *gymnasium* and non-*gymnasium*. It is described as a change from three-track system to two-track system (Ridderbusch, 2017).

The results of school reform were also different by states because sixteen regional governments have the authority to reform the school system, as mentioned earlier. However, from a broad perspective, the school reform was oriented toward ensuring that all students have equal educational opportunities through integrated education for groups of students with heterogeneous academic achievement. Specifically, it is observed that the

4.4 National context regarding history education

number of integrated secondary schools that provide multiple curriculums of the existing school types is increasing, and a tendency to postpone school decisions to after 6th or 10th grade rather than after 4th grade is observed.

Another school reform related theme in the early 2000s was on shortening the period of gymnasium. From an international comparative point of view, the school year before the university entrance in Germany was longer than other countries (Homuth, 2019). Gymnasium was before nine year long and it became in many states eight year long, and it is called G8 reform. In reality, G8 and G9 with grades 5-13 are mixed.

University education has been changing with the reorganization of the existing five-year magister degree. Traditional five-year magister courses became into three-year bachelor's and two-year master's programs in line with the improvement of comparability of European university education promoted through the Bologna process in 1999.

4.4.1.2 The Korean school system

The Korean school system generally consists of six years of primary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and four years of university. This school system is usually called the 6-3-3-4 form. ISCED 1 of primary education in South Korea is called "*chodeung hakgyo*, 초등학교" and consists of six grades. Ten subjects are taught, while there are five subjects in the first and second grades. Korean History, as a part of 「Social Studies」, is taught in the first semester of the sixth grade. This dissertation considers the history teaching in the sixth grade as one component of the history education and includes it for analysis. This is because the 「Social Studies」 textbook for this semester deals exclusively with Korean national history from ancient to modern times, and it is regarded as the first history teaching in the whole school curriculum structure. It is also appropriate to include the history teaching in the sixth grade because, in Germany also, it begins in the fifth grade. ISCED 2 in South Korea corresponds to three-year middle school course, *chung hakgyo*, 중학교, which composes grade 7 to 9. ISCED 3 of upper secondary school is high school, *kotŭng hakgyo*, 고등학교, and it consists of 10 to 12 grades.

In South Korea, students and parents decide on the career path for vocational or grammar school after the ninth year with the graduation of middle school education. The difference in South Korea is that the period of primary school education is six years, which is two years longer than in the German case. The selection and separation of students take place after the 9th grade with the graduation of middle school. This typical form of the school system in South Korea was established in 1951 and maintained without change since then.

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Figure 3 School system in Germany (simplified)

ISCED	Grade		Age	History teaching
8		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 80px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> </div>		
(5) - 6 - 7		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> </div>		
		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Technical School (Fachschule)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Vocational Academy (Fachhochschule)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">University</div> </div>		
3 - 4	14 13 12 11 (10)	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> </div>	19 18 17 16 (15)	2-3 yr.
		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Vocational School (Dual System)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Upper secondary Gymnasium</div> </div>		
2	10 9 8 7 6 5	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> </div>	15 14 13 12 11 10	6 yr.
		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Hauptschule</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Realschule</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Schools with several educational programs</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Lower secondary Gymnasium</div> </div>		
		First Selection		
1	4 3 2 1	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	9 8 7 6	
		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Primary School</div>		
0		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; text-align: center;">Kindergarten</div>		

4.4 National context regarding history education

Figure 4 School system in South Korea (simplified)

ISCED	Grade		Age	History teaching
8		Promotion		
7		Special Graduate School Professional Graduate School General Graduate School		
5 - 6	16		21	
	15		20	
	14		19	
	13	Junior College Industrial University University of Education University	18	
College Scholastic Ability Test (C S A T)				
3 - (4)	12		17	
	11		16	
	10	Vocational High School Autonomous High School Special purposed High School General High School	15	1 yr.
First Selection				
2	9		14	
	8		13	2 yr.
	7	Middle School	12	
1	6		11	1 yr.
	5		10	
	4		9	
	3		8	
	2		7	
	1	Primary School	6	
0				
		Kindergarten		

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Compared to Germany, South Korea operates a centralized political system, so the school system is also nationwide the same. The MoE at the national level, and sixteen provincial offices of education at the local level, are in charge of school policies. The authority over school education and finances is concentrated in the central MoE. For example, the financial expenses of public schools consist of 47.5% of the central government, 47.5% of the local government, and 5% of the local government. The government seeks educational autonomy in regions that gradually transfer education authority to sixteen provincial governments.

Around 2010, the high schools reform took place in Korea as well. At that time, the conservative party government emphasized the excellence of school education and newly established a form of high school called "autonomous high school." The reform aimed in nominal terms at the autonomous composition of the school curriculum. Still, in reality, it resulted in the preferential selection of students with relatively high achievement. Through this, the public recognized that the "general high school," which was the majority of the humanities high schools, was perceived as a school where students with middle and low grades attend. As the Progressive Party came to power after 2017, it was decided that the current autonomous high school would be abolished in 2025. This plan faced objections of the autonomous high schools' students, teachers, and parents who are arguing for more various high school options and better education.

4.4.2 Time allocation of history subject

In German primary schools, history is taught in the 'time and change' part of an integrated social studies and science course, Sachunterricht, and covers the perceptual world of children. The history content in this course includes basic historical activities, such as comparing past and present, distinguishing fact from fiction, and overall chronological flow (Bae, 2021). The vocational lower secondary schools allocate eight hours to history instruction per week. For example, fifth and sixth graders have one hour of history per week, and grades seven to ten have two hours per week (Kultusministerium BW, 2015). The grammar schools, Gymnasium grades five to ten, offer ten hours of history classes per week. Students have four hours of lessons in upper secondary school, two hours per week for grades 11 and 12.

In South Korean primary schools, national history is taught in chronological order for three hours per week in the second semester of fifth grade. It is three units and equivalent to 1.5 hours per year. In middle schools, 「History 1」, 「World History」, is taught three hours a week for one year, and 「History 2」, 「Korean History」, is taught two hours a week for one year. For example, eighth graders learn world history, and ninth graders learn 「Korean History」. In the first year of high school, 10th graders learn 「Korean History」 three hours per week as a compulsory subject. Altogether, the history lessons occupy 9.5 hours per week. The subjects 「East Asian History」 and 「World History」 are electives among the seven social studies subjects. This study does not cover these subjects. In addition, the history or social studies subjects considered here are only the compulsory subjects that students must take before graduation. Weekly teaching

4.4 National context regarding history education

hours refers to a class unit that takes forty-five minutes held on average thirty-five times throughout a school year.

Table 2 Compulsory teaching hours of history

		Germany (BW)		ISCED		South Korea	
1	Primary School (4 yr.)			1	1	Primary School (6 yr.)	
2	Sachunterricht ≈ 0						
3							
4							
5	Vocational	Grammar		2	2	Korean History 6 Units ≈ 1.5	
Lower Secondary School							
6	Haut- (5 yr.)		Gymnasium (8~9 yr.)				
7	Real-, Gemeinschaftschule (6 yr.)						
8							
9	8		10				
10				3	3	High School (3 yr.)	
Upper Secondary School							
11							
12	Vocational Gymnasium (3 yr.)		G8 4	3	3	Korean History 6 Units = 3	
13	6		G9				
		8~14		Total		9.5	

Overall, regarding the concept of history as a subject, national and world history are not differentiated in Germany, while they are two separate history subjects in Korea. The total number of hours for compulsory history classes is 8-10 hours in Germany and 9.5 hours in Korea. There is no significant difference. However, Gymnasium students who are preparing for the university entrance qualification take four additional hours. Therefore, in terms of the compulsory history class hours of college students, Korean students take 4.5 fewer hours per week than German students. The four and a half hours per week corresponds to approximately 160 hours per year based on the 35 average annual school weeks.

5 Curriculum, Textbooks, and Assessment

This chapter examines the three pillars of school education, namely curricula-textbooks-assessment, to provide a basic understanding for the following empirical analysis chapters.

5.1 Curriculum

These are the terms that refer to official educational plans for school: curriculum, syllabus, standards, program. In this study, curriculum²⁴ refers to official and formal documents containing educational objectives, contents by grades of each subject. This section introduces the definition and typology of curriculum by viewpoints.

5.1.1 Definition of curriculum

The curriculum, in general, is a formal document that provides a plan of what, how, and why to teach in elementary and secondary schools and is an official guide that identifies and directs the content to be taught and learned in each subject. It is also the basis for teachers' lesson planning and textbook development (Paik, 2006). The term curriculum was first used in the book 'The Curriculum' of Bobbitt. In this book, he explained, "the curriculum is Latin for a race-course or the race itself" (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 42). Even today despite social and educational changes, the curriculum remains the main constitutive document for school education.

Since the curriculum is written as a separate document according to the school system and the subjects taught at each school, the curriculum reflects the school system of a country or region (Esslinger-Hinz & Sliwka, 2011, p. 38). For example, the primary school in Germany consists of four years in most regions, and the curriculum for German, mathematics, and object education (Sachunterricht), which are three main subjects of primary school, has contents for four years of learning. In South Korea, in comparison, the primary school consists of six years, and the curriculums of each subject are containing contents for a total of six years of learning.

In Germany, 16 regional MoEs develop and implement the curriculum. The term curriculum is generally called education plan, *Bildungsplan*, or teaching plan, *Lehrplan*, which combines two words of education or teaching with plan. Other terms used are a subject teaching plan, *Fachlehrplan*, with the subject *Fach* in front, and a subject requirement, *Fachanforderungen*, using a requirement *Anforderung* instead of a plan. The terms *Kernlehrplan* and *Rahmenlehrplan* or *Rahmenplan*, which emphasize the nature of abstraction or regulation of curriculum, are also used by attaching a key *Kern*, or frame *Rahmen* as prefixes (Bae, 2021b, p. 243).

As a similar concept, there is also the Education Standards, *Bildungsstandards*, that applies federal wide in Germany. It is agreed upon and adopted by KMK for the quality development of school education in all the German states and has both a monitoring and a developing function. There are so far the following five standards (KMK, 2022a):

²⁴ curriculum: (ge) Lehrplan, Bildungsplan, or Rahmenplan, (ko) kyoyukkwajöng, 教育課程

5 Curriculum, Textbooks, and Assessment

- the primary level for the subjects German and Mathematics (grade 4)
- the basic lower secondary school certificate for the subjects German, mathematics, and first foreign language (grade 9)
- the intermediate lower secondary school certificate for the subjects German, mathematics, first foreign language, biology, chemistry and physics (grade 10)
- the general university entrance qualification for the subjects German, Mathematics and the continued foreign language (grade 12 or 13)
- the general university entrance qualification for the natural science subjects including biology, chemistry and physics (grade 12 or 13)

As seen above, the Education Standards defines the level of achievement at the end of each school unit. They have influence on the curriculum development of each German state MoEs, as they are agreed and adopted by the KMK. In this study, yet the term curriculum does not refer to these standards documents but to the curriculum documents of each subject developed by each state MoE.

In South Korea, the curriculum is developed by the central MoE, not the regional Offices of Education. The curriculum consists of a framework document, *ch'ongnon* 총론, and the individual subject curriculum documents, *kangnon* 각론. The framework document contains the direction of the curriculum structure, the educational objectives for each school level, the standards for subject and time allocations, and the guidelines for curriculum organization and implementation. Each subject curriculum documents at each school consist of the nature, objective, content, teaching/learning methods, and assessment of the subject.

5.1.2 Typology of curriculum by viewpoint

There are various views to see curriculums. In this dissertation, the term curriculum refers to formal curriculum as official and legal documents developed by MoEs. This subsection explores other viewpoints on curriculums such as formal -, implemented -, experienced -, latent, hidden, and null curriculums.

Firstly, *formal curriculum as document* means a program and standards of teaching. It refers to generally a document that contains a plans for students, what is to be taught, how it is to be taught, and why it is to be taught. The documents are developed and implemented by a national or regional government.

Secondly, *implemented curriculum as process* refers to instructional activities, what actually happens in classrooms, in which the planned curriculum is interpreted and implemented by the teacher. It differentiates the implemented curriculum that teachers actually teach is different from the curriculum as a formal document.

Thirdly, *experienced curriculum is a realized experience* refers to what students actually experience or accomplish as a result of their participation in teaching and learning processes. Terms curriculum as outcome or output is also used to refer to what is actually experienced or achieved at the student level (Henson, 2015, p. 9; Moore, 2013, p. 45).

Forth, latent curriculum is the conceptualization of an intended or unplanned experience as a curriculum, which is not explicitly planned or intended in the curriculum document, nor intentionally implemented in the course of education. A term a curriculum as unintended outcome is also used to refer to this, because it does not represent the

experiences or outcomes that students have in the school's formal curriculum. Fifth, the hidden curriculums are the case where students do not learn because it is omitted and not taught, even though the content is necessary for students. Similarly, the null curriculum refers to a curriculum that does not taught but still results in educational outcomes for students. This notion is used by Eisner to describe another curriculum that produces educational outcomes for students which is not intended (Henson, 2015, p. 149).

5.2 Textbook

What is a textbook? A textbook for school education is a universal and didactical teaching material for lessons. It is used by teachers and students to meet the requirements of the curriculum in terms of its structure and content. It is a guideline, a starting point for discussion, a pool of tasks, and a material for tasks all in one. For this purposes, textbooks contain overviews, texts, image materials such as pictures, the corresponding learning questions/activities, and references to other extended materials.

5.2.1 The textbook system

The textbook system refers how a state screen or allow school textbooks to be written, approved, distributed. There are four different types of textbook system: state designation -, authorization -, approval system, and free publication system (Seung-hoon Kim, 2002).

First, the state designation system is a policy that requires the national or local government to write or contract to write and publish textbooks, and to make the textbooks mandatory to use. It is also referred to as the national publishing system. The state designation system is a textbook policy in which the state manages all processes from compilation planning to research and development to screening, publishing, and distribution. Since the adoption of textbooks is compulsory, there can be no regulations for textbook selection. Second, the state authorization system is a policy in which the state is indirectly involved in the development of textbooks, and it allows the private publishers to revise textbooks previously before the national institution allows its suitability as a textbook. It is similar to the state designation system in that the state participates in the creation of textbooks, but the author of the textbooks is a private publisher, and it is an indirect control of the state in that only the parts that are unsuitable as a result of the review as a textbook are corrected by the author.

Third, the state approval system is a policy in which the national or local government is only involved in the use of textbooks. Textbooks are published after they are written regardless of the state's decision, and national or local governments go through an accreditation process to use them as textbooks. Fourth, the free publication system is a policy in which the government is not involved in the creation or use of textbooks. The author of textbooks is a private publishing house, and the basis for textbook creation is the national or local state curriculum and the academic and pedagogical needs of the author. Textbooks are published after they are created without any review and verification procedures, and even after they are published, teachers adopt them as textbooks without giving them special recognition as such. In most countries or regions, governments

implement the state authorization or approval system that allows the use of textbooks from private publishers.

History textbooks must be approved, both in Baden-Württemberg and in South Korea. The Center for School Quality and Teacher Education (ZSL) decides on the approval of a textbook in Baden-Württemberg, while, in South Korea, the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE) is in charge of it. The publishers in Germany that currently offer school history textbooks for secondary level 1 or 2 include: Klett, Cornelsen, Westermann, Schöningh, C.C. Buchner, and Oldenbourg (J. M. Berger & Schmidtman, 2014).

5.2.2 History textbook

Sauer (2015) explains: "A (history) textbook is the leading medium of history education and will probably remain so. Textbooks in Germany must closely follow the guidelines of the curricula, and this is especially true at the lower secondary level, where textbooks must be approved by state MoEs. It means the curriculum largely determines content and structure of textbooks. The books for the lower secondary level all roughly follow the chronology from prehistory and early history or from antiquity to the present. (...) For the upper secondary level, all major publishers offer theme and course books; however, there are also textbooks that are intended to cover the curriculum" (Sauer, 2015, pp. 254–255).

History textbooks in Germany, like other subject textbooks, are generally structured to learn one topic in two pages, which consist of left and right pages when the book is opened, and this way of page structure is called the '*Double-page principle (Doppelseitenprinzip)*' (Brauch, 2015, p. 110). Within the two pages, there are mainly authors' texts, historical materials/sources, and learning activities/questions corresponding to the topic (see *Figures 17, 18*). First, the authors' text (Verfassertext) is an explanatory text written by the author of the textbook to help students understand the topic. Second, historical materials/sources (Materialien) refer to media such as text and image sources including tables, graphs, maps, etc., which deliver information about the past. Compared to historical evidence created in the past, materials include contemporary knowledge as well as a historical narrative written by historians with specific views, historical maps, diagrams, and explanatory pictures. Third, learning activity/question (Lernaufgabe) means inquiring tasks for students. The authors' text and historical materials provide the information needed to solve the learning activities/questions. On average, 6-8 activities/questions are presented at the bottom of the right page or both pages.

This double-page principle is found uniquely in German textbooks. While history textbooks in South Korea include the same elements, they are not organized in two pages focusing on a certain topic. South Korean textbook is structured by authors text-oriented in balance with historical materials/sources based on chronology, but learning activities are not always presented in each two page for granted (see *Figures 20-21*).

Among the three main components of a textbook - author's text, historical material, and learning tasks-, the learning tasks receive the most attention. This is based on the idea that a quality learning-task culture, which takes into account both the task design and the handling of tasks, is a prerequisite for successful historical learning (Köster, 2021). History

textbooks are analyzed in aspects from learning, teaching, and research media empirically and theoretically towards fostering historical thinking (Kühberger, Bernhard, & Bramann, 2019; Kühberger, Bramann, et al., 2019). The studies propose new approaches to the further development of the 'learning-activity/question/task culture' in textbooks as initiation and control elements of historical teaching and learning processes in terms of competency-based teaching and learning of history. Critical analyses on normative tasks type such as "summarize the text" or "tell the story" argue that more emphasis should be placed on the development of historical competencies for historical thinking in terms of the overall composition of learning tasks, and the necessity of didactical scaffolding strategies in creating tasks (Brauch, 2019; Christoph Bramann, 2019).

Moving on to the overall structure of the book, history textbooks consist essentially of book introduction, orientation guide, author's text, historical materials, and learning questions or activities, method part, summary, glossary, or index. In principle, all school history textbooks are structured very similarly, yet publishers and authors bring in their own intensions, ideas or features and therefore differ slightly in the given framework. The principle structure of a school history book is as follows (Brauch, 2015, p. 108; Sauer, 2015, p. 260):

1. Introduction: opening page, raising historical questions, syllabus, overview of competences
2. Orientation: time table, timeline, maps, table of contents, or overview
3. Author's texts (right) and materials/sources (left) according to the double-page principle, explanation of key terms
4. Learning activities/questions
5. Method training (guidelines for material analysis process by forms)
6. Treatment of historical culture (interpretation and use of history)
7. Reference to other media (youth literature, novels, films, non-fiction literature)
8. Summary
9. Glossary/Register

5.3 Assessment

5.3.1 Definition and typologies of assessment

Assessment in the school system is an evaluation of a student's achievement or performance. It can be knowledge or competencies, measured against a social or factual reference norm. On the one hand, an assessment can provide feedback, orientation, and motivation for the student, and on the other hand, it can serve as a tool for recording the level of knowledge and selection for the teacher or examiner. Assessment can be classified, by its function, summative and formative one, and by modality, multiple-choice test and essay test. This subsection introduces the four types of assessment.

In summative assessment, information, knowledge, or competencies learned by a student are tested by the teacher, examiner, or an institution at the end of each learning unit, usually in a written form. Thus, student receive feedback regarding the learning success, this is usually in the form of a grade, a score, a certificate, or a diploma. Since the summative assessment takes place at the end of a learning unit, it has no influence on the ongoing learning process within a learning unit, which is why it is referred to as "Assessment of Learning."

In formative assessment, the teacher assesses or checks a student's knowledge or competencies during an ongoing teaching and learning unit. Thus, teachers and students receive direct feedback about the current level of performance or knowledge compared to the required learning objective. It is supposed to be adapted to the teaching and learning process afterwards for students to achieve the required level of performance or knowledge. Since the formative performance assessment takes place during the ongoing lesson, it has a direct influence on the following learning process and is therefore helpful for students to get better achievement. Direct individual and differentiated feedback takes place in small steps, whereby the student can early and directly identify an improvement in their competencies or knowledge. This in turn contributes to an increase in motivation. Since this process is co-directed by the student, it also contributes to an increase in the student's sense of responsibility, which is why it is referred to as "Assessment for Learning" (Esslinger-Hinz & Sliwka, 2011, pp. 131–133).

Multiple-choice test is an assessment in which the student must select one or more correct answers from a number of predetermined answer options. The student has to choose, mostly by selecting an option number from options or ticking, therefore, it requires convergent thinking. Other than typical multiple-choice test, there are types such as true/false, and matching (Zeidner, 1987). For merits and demerits, multiple-choice formats are easy to administer and use and provide inherent objectivity in grading, but they measure only superficial binary outcomes and encourage rote memorization (Swartz, 2006).

In an essay test, the student constructs his or her own stylistically sophisticated prose text in response to a question or given topic. In the process, a topic is discussed in a free-form, associative, and emphatically subjective-reflective manner, so the essay type test fosters divergent thinking. The essay is not supposed to provide new facts, but looks at familiar things from a different or individual point of view. The goal is not to convince the reader, a teacher in general, of the student's own opinion, but to present with several possible solutions and approaches (Institut für Bildungsanalysen Baden-Württemberg, 2022). Essay tests are more difficult to administer and score objectively and accurately, and they provide the opportunity to assess more complex student attributes and higher levels of achievement (Swartz, 2006).

5.3.2 Abitur and CSAT in relation to college admission system

The Abitur in Germany has two meanings: test and qualification. Firstly, Abitur is a set of graduation tests of Gymnasium, a grammar school to achieve upper-secondary education completion (*Abschlussprüfung, Reifeprüfung*). Secondly, the Abitur is a verification itself of upper-secondary school completion, obtained at Gymnasium. It constitutes a general entrance qualification of higher education permitting the Abitur holder to enroll themselves in any major at any higher education institution including university. Students with an Abitur are recognized that they possess the ability to study at a university (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, 2010). The Socio-Economic Panel in Germany, one of the largest and longest-running multidisciplinary household surveys worldwide, classifies the Abitur holders to a group into a high level of education regardless of their attendance in university education.

College admission in Germany guarantees open entry for students who passed the Abitur exam. It is based on the early selection process at the entrance of grammar schools after graduating primary schools. As the number of Abitur holders who attended grammar schools has increased, the German state governments have steadily increased the university capacity to meet the growing higher education demand. Although the Abitur proves its holders' academic capability and grants the opportunities to study at a university, departments with a larger number of applicants than the number of enrollment quota, such as medical departments, the admission is being limited. This restriction due to the lack of quota is called "Numerus clausus (hereafter NC)." NC is a Latin term meaning 'a fixed number' and has two meanings: the quota and the note score to enter the department. The college admission quota system is NC, and a note grade required to enter a particular department is also NC (uni assist e.V., 2021). Therefore, German university admission is an open system that students with Abitur can register without admission restrictions, but departments with admission restrictions implement NC to select students. The proportion of NC departments in the winter semester of 2020/21 was 40% (CHE, 2021), which means that 60% of all departments let applicants enter without restrictions. The proportion of NC departments of universities in metropolitan cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Hannover are generally higher than average. With the increasing proportion of NC departments, demands for the objectivity and comparability of the Abitur test arouse.

On the other hand, South Korean universities implement selective admission. Universities select the incoming students based on various criteria, and the nationwide College Scholastic Ability Test, CSAT is one of the main criteria. Unlike in Germany, secondary schools in South Korea, neither grammar schools nor vocational schools do not implement a graduation qualification test. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act stipulates that high school students can receive a diploma if they attend at least two-thirds of the 190 school days in each grade and the national curriculum 2015 writes that high school students need to complete 204 units for graduation in 3 years. The absence of the high school graduation requirements needs improvement in terms of enhancing students competency and raising accountability of school education (Shin-young Kim et al., 2010; Jee-hae Park, 2020). Furthermore, regardless of high school type, any students graduating from secondary school are eligible to apply to college. Therefore, the universities set the incoming students' qualifications and decide whether they pass or fail the admission. In the South Korean school system, integrated education is implemented until the ninth grade of middle school (7-9 grades). After that, when entering high school (10-12 grades), students choose the school type: the grammar or vocational high schools according to their career path decision. However, all students are entitled to apply to the university. In other words, all high school graduates are eligible to apply to any university. This can be seen as delaying the higher education selection to after the 9th or 12th grade, compared to the selection in Germany that takes place after the 4th or 6th grade. This delay of selection means an integrated school education environment. The absence of limiting entitlement through the type of secondary school visited means more equal tertiary education opportunities. However, it also means disadvantages that it is difficult to provide an excellence prioritized education for homogeneous student groups in secondary schools.

5 Curriculum, Textbooks, and Assessment

Most universities set a minimum score of CSAT and students must get the score to be admitted. Accordingly, the content of the CSAT questions have great influence on teaching and learning in high schools. The Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE) introduces the CSAT as follows:

"CSAT is designed to measure students' achievement of national curriculum standards and scholastic ability required for college education. It is developed and managed by KICE, commissioned by the Ministry of Education. CSAT aims to assess high-order thinking skills in the six study areas - Language Arts, Mathematics, English, Korean History, Investigation, and Second Foreign Languages/Chinese Characters & Classics. CSAT is, firstly, as reliable, and valid as possible when measuring achievements and learning abilities required for college education. Secondly, it provides reliable data for college admissions. Thirdly, it seeks to achieve a positive impact on teaching and learning practices in high schools (KICE, 2021)."

In addition, it is noteworthy that there is a clear hierarchy of better and worse universities in South Korea, and this perception is widely accepted in South Korean society. It is called the fixed university ranking system, *Daehak sŏyŏrhwa*. Universities in South Korea are ranked, and this ranking is almost fixed. Social success is affected by academic background and region. Moreover, there is a social phenomenon that places importance on the status of one's university attended regardless of an individual's ability, so-called *hakbul*. It is distinguished from credentialism that values one's years of schooling. Entry into a top-ranking university means acquiring a high social status (Doo-hyoo Lee, 2007). Competition for admission to high-level universities requires a 'line-up test' for 'fair' selection. The applicants' grades, which are objectified by CSAT score, solidify the university hierarchy reverse and this ironical cycle of competition gets fiercer. Advocates of the fixed university ranking system argue that selection based on academic achievement is a fair meritocracy. Social selection and competition based on academic achievement provide strong motivation for students to learn. However, a serious problem remains: judging abilities by the name of the university attended denies the potential of most students attending other than the top-ranked universities.

5.3.2.1 Function and modality of Abitur and CSAT

Tests, in principle, measure how well a pupil has achieved the learning objectives of the curriculum. A diagnostic and formative evaluation provides feedback as personal support to improve the learning. A summative evaluation grants pupils' ultimate grades or qualifications. Results of summative evaluation often relate to one's social success, and the comparison and competition that occur in the selection process provide pupils strong motivation. High-stakes summative exams such as college admission exams inversely affect teaching and learning in classrooms. The test content also serves as an orientation guide for teaching and learning content instead of the curriculum. Therefore, it is vital to analyze the contents of the exams to understand the history education in both countries.

Representative modality of written test includes multiple-choice and essay. Multiple-choice tests require convergent thinking, while essay-type tests require divergent thinking. The Abitur test consists of essay-type written test and presentation-based oral

test, whereas the South Korean CSAT is a multiple-choice written test. The teachers at each school qualitatively evaluate the Abitur test. Two or three teachers make corrections, give grades respectively, and combine them to determine the final grade. While the questions of CSAT are multiple-choice questions, and the students mark the answer number on the optical mark recognition (OMR) card with a marker pen, and the computer checks the answers.

For a qualitative evaluation such as grading an essay test, teachers need criteria, a reference norm, to form their opinion to decide grades. There are individual, social, and criterial norms. The individual norm uses the improvement of a pupil's achievement over time, the social norm compares pupils' achievement with the average of learner groups', and the criterial norm uses the learning goals as the criteria for grade assignment (Kühberger, 2016; Rheinberg & Fries, 2018). Assessment by the social norm contrasts with assessment as educational support because low-achieving students are consistently negatively evaluated and cannot motivate them. Professional teachers are expected to apply various RNs consciously and reflectively (Esslinger-Hinz & Sliwka, 2011). Teachers who evaluate essay tests are likely to refer to the level of other pupils' answers, the social norm, when grading the pupils' essay. Whereas the CSAT in South Korea uses only the criterial norm, it uses a computer to check the answers based on the markings on the OMR card to multiple-choice questions. In this context, multiple-choice tests guarantee grading objectivity, excluding the possibility that a teacher refers to other pupils' performance. The CSAT, however, is used as one of the criteria for a university to select applicants under the fixed university ranking system. Therefore, the rank within the applicant group is essential, not the test score itself. The transcript of the CSAT shows the test taker's absolute score and percentile within the whole test-taker cohort as well. In summary, teachers are likely to use the social and criterial norm in assessing Abitur essay-type tests, while CSAT, the machinery grading process to multiple-choice answers, uses only the criterial norm, whether the answer is correct or not. Regarding the usage of test results, the Abitur test score is used to determine the pass or fail of the test. Pupils who have obtained the university entrance qualification through passing the Abitur exam are, in principle, eligible to study in all departments of all universities. For departments with no admission restrictions, the rank within the test-taker group does not affect the admission. When there is an admission restriction (NC), the rank within the applicants is used for selection. South Korean CSAT scores are decided regardless of the social norm, but they are used as rank to identify the order of the applicants among the whole applicants when universities select incoming students.

5.3.2.2 Quality criteria and comparability issue for fairness?

The prerequisites for a good evaluation tool are validity, reliability, objectivity, and economic efficiency. A valid test measures faithfully the achievement of learning objectives. Objectivity means that candidates take the test under the same conditions, and grades are given based on the same criteria. Reliability refers to whether stable results can be obtained when the achievement of the same examinee is repeatedly measured. Economic efficiency means minimizing human and material investment in the conduct of the evaluation. Objectivity and reliability are emphasized when the test result is used as a criterion for a competitive selection. The test should fulfill the comparability for fair competition. Multiple-choice modality is preferred, in this case, because subjectivity in

the grading process is excluded, and test results are quantitative, making the ranking among examinees explicit.

However, existing studies pointed out that multiple-choice is not a valid test type for measuring higher-order thinking ability. D. Nuttall (1987) argued that in the information society, the existing multiple-choice test does not adequately evaluate higher-order cognitive skills such as critical thinking and problem-solving ability. A good evaluation tool should assess the learning objectives properly. The validity is a prerequisite for proper testing. Nevertheless, many countries continue to use multiple-choice tests because of the advantages of objectivity, reliability, and comparability. In particular, the education authority makes excuses that the essay test for higher-order thinking skills is too costly to realize (KICE, 2020c).

A study measured the validity of the history test, analyzed whether the multiple-choice history test for 12th graders conducted in 24 states in the United States adequately evaluates the purpose of history education, 'historical thinking.' He pointed out that the multiple-choice evaluation, a typical American history test, does not assess historical thinking nor function as an adequate evaluation of historical knowledge (M. D. Smith, 2017). Analysis of South Korea's CSAT history test analyzed the validity of the content match with the curriculum and argued that the content should be evenly presented (Sang-hoon Choi, 2015). History questions of the CSAT, the South Korean university entrance exam, and pointed out that the multiple-choice test only functions to confirm fragmented historical knowledge and does not adequately evaluate learning goals such as historical judgment and historical analysis (Bae, 2020). A good test should equip validity. For example, according to the OECD, the future competencies needed for students in the information and globalization society are searching and using information, empathizing, and collaborating with others, and readiness to solve problems. Existing studies generally conclude that the multiple-choice test that confirms memorized knowledge does not adequately evaluate future competence.

The objectivity of a test is discussed with fairness issues. CSAT guarantees higher objectivity over Abitur. Test questions, dates and time, and other conditions vary from state to state because the MoEs of German federal states conduct the Abitur of each state. In addition, it is difficult to completely exclude subjectivity in the grading process because the teachers evaluate the essay-type answers qualitatively by the respective schools. The test results show regional differences as well. For example, in 2021, the average grade gymnasiums in Thüringen was 2,06, while the average in Schleswig-Holstein was 2.40 (KMK, 2022b). The discussion repeatedly appears that Abitur test questions and conditions should be more unified state by state for a fairer evaluation. OECD Education Director Andreas Schleicher mentioned that the state-level makes little sense because pupils are applying to the same universities nation-wide in the end, and the central Abitur is not only a question of transparency and efficiency but also a question of fairness (Das Deutsche Schulportal, 2019). However, KMK intends to guarantee the test's objectivity by presenting the common standards for each state's school curriculum and the Abitur test.

On the other hand, the CSAT is a highly objective test regarding the same questions for all the pupils and the same date and time. For the mobility of test-takers on

the day of CSAT, the school and office hours postponed to 10 AM nation-wide. During the Korean and English language listening test using radio broadcasts, airplane taking off and landing schedules are adjusted to prevent disorders. Grading of students' achievement is done by computer processes; therefore, there is no difference in rates depending on the examiners. There was a trend that universities were reducing the proportion of CSAT in selecting incoming students, while they increase the proportion of school grades. However, the MoE demanded for universities to increase the proportion of the CSAT for "fair competition" (MoE South Korea, 2019a). Some universities have accepted this plan and increased the proportion of CSAT. Educational sociologists criticize this strengthening of 'fair' competition as 'meritocracy' that justifies social selection based on academic achievement, which plays a role in further solidifying the fixed university ranking."

5.3.2.2 Implementation of Abitur and CSAT

German Abitur test is conducted on several days from late April to early May and students take three written and one oral tests by their choice. According to the schedule of written Abitur test of year 2022 in BW, as shown in *Table 3*, tests start at nine and last more than four hours.

Table 3 Abitur schedules at grammar schools in 2022 (BW)

Subject	Date	Time
History	April.26th.2022	09:00-13:30
German	April.27th.2022	09:00-14:15
Mathematics	May.03rd.2022	09:00-13:30
chemistry	May.04th.2022	09:00-13:30
French	May.05th.2022	09:00-13:00

(MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2021)

South Korean CSAT is conducted in late November on the same day across the country. As shown in *Table 4*, the CSAT takes place from 08:40 to 17:40. CSAT consists of seven block exams of Korean language, Mathematics, English, Korean History, two electives from social studies and science subjects, and one additional elective subject among second foreign languages and Chinese character. (KICE, 2020).

Table 4 CSAT time schedule in 2022 (South Korea)

period	subject	time (minutes)	number of question items
		Entering the room 8:10	
1	Korean	8:40 – 10:00 (80)	45
		Break 10:00 – 10:20 (20)	
2	Mathematics	10:30 – 12:10 (100)	30
		Lunch 12:10 – 13:00 (50)	
3	English	13:10 – 14:20 (70)	45

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Break 14:20 – 14:40 (20)			
4	Korean History	14:50 – 15:20 (30)	20
Break an exam distribution 15:20 – 15:30 (10)			
		15:30 – 16:00 (30)	20
5	Elective 1 and 2 2 subjects of social and natural studies	exam hand-in and distribution 16:00 – 16:02 (2)	
		16:02 – 16:32 (30)	20
Break 16:32 – 16:50 (18)			
Elective 3			
6	Second foreign language or Chinese character	17:00 – 17:40 (40)	30

(KICE, 2022)

Both examinations take place at the end of a school year for the graduation of secondary schools and entrance of tertiary institutions. School year starts in Germany in August or September after summer vacation, and it varies by states slightly. In South Korea, in comparison, the school year starts after winter and spring vacation on March first nationwide. In Germany, students take three Abitur written tests. For that, they choose individually three subjects as performance subject, i.e., *Leistungsfach*, and take additional classes for four semesters to be qualified to take the tests. In South Korea, students take four compulsory subject tests, Korean, mathematics, English, and national history, and three elective subject tests.

To summarize, Abitur and CSAT show significant discrepancy in their function, form, criteria under different social circumstances. CSAT has objectivity through multiple-choice questions and uniform test conditions, and through this, it functions to check the difference in achievement among students. This phenomenon seems due to the demand of high objectivity of the exam under the social condition of the fixed university ranking system in South Korea. In comparison, the early selection of students at the beginning of secondary school in Germany enables gymnasium students' high-quality learning for the educational purpose of academic training rather than competition between students. The Abitur exam takes an essay type despite its lack of objectivity pointed out, and the exam lets students write texts for sufficient time on multiple days, so that students could be prepared for university education. Abitur is validity oriented qualitative essay test, while CSAT is objectivity oriented quantitative multiple-choice test.

5.3.3 History test of Abitur and CSAT

5.3.3.1 History test of German Abitur

History test of Abitur deals with the contents of final two-year preparation courses, *Qualifikationsphase*, *Oberstufe*, *Kursstufe*, of grammar school, covering the modern and contemporary history of Germany since the 1800s. The State MoEs issue guidelines, *Facherrlass*, outlining the scope of the Abitur exam for individual subjects, including history. The history exam guideline of Baden-Württemberg designates two topics each year. On the test day, students choose one of the two topics and write the answer. The

state ministries of education follow the EPA, the federal Abitur examination regulations, mentioned in *Section 3.4*.

Three main themes have been announced for the BW State History Abitur exams for the past five years. The first theme was economic, political, and social modernization in the 1800s following industrialization, which was for 2016 and 2017. Second, the conflict structure of the Cold War after World War II, the socio-political situation of the two divided Germanys, and the unification of Germany were steadily designated as a theme from 2016 to 2020. The third topic was the Weimar Republic and the society under the dictatorship of the Nazi regime from 2018 to 2020 (Bae, 2021a).

Regarding to the composition principle of the test questions, the state MoE of BW sets the regional central Abitur exams by referring to the federal level guidelines for integrated administration of Abitur exams. The history of BW State Abitur consists of 4 questions: 'structural explanation' is one item, 'Material-based task' is two items, one each for analysis, analysis and comparison of sources, 'critical judgment' consists of one item. This shows that the number of items is determined based on the KMK's EPA requirements level (*Anforderungsbereich*). Reversely, the past question items can be sorted into these three types of requirement levels based on the operational verbs in the question items: 'analysis and comparison of materials,' 'explanation,' and 'evaluation and judgment.' For example, *Table 5* shows the analysis of the 40 questions presented in the past 5 years: (1) Questions for interpretation of historical materials accounted for 50% of the total with 20 questions. (2) The explanation of historical facts takes up 10 questions, accounting for 25%. (3) Critical judgment on historical representation takes up 10 questions accounting for 25% as well (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2015)

Table 5 Frequency of question items in Abitur history tests by operational verbs

	Operational verbs in question items	German verbs	frequency	types
1	Analyze material A.	analysieren	10	historical materials
2	Analyze data A and compare material A and B.	analysieren + vergleichen	10	
3	Explain A with evidence examples.	erläutern	5	explanation of history
4	Describe A (process, policy, impact).	darstellen	5	
5	Evaluate proposition A.	beurteilen	5	Critical judgment
6	Assess and check proposition A.	überprüfen	3	
7	Discuss proposition A based on your position.	erörtern	2	
	Total (4 question items × 10 exam sets)		40	

(Bae, 2021a)

Next, look at the materials used in the question. Data can be broadly divided into image and text sources. *Table 6* is the result of analyzing the data presented in the Abitur History

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Test questions for the past five years. The image material presented in the exam was presented in three types: caricatures depicting political situations satirically, posters of specific political parties made for election purposes, and flyers containing political propaganda content. Text sources can be divided into texts containing claims such as speeches and editorials and texts that objectively describe facts, such as articles and reports. The three diets presented in one trial consisted of either one text and two image diets or two text and one image diets. Text and image materials were presented 15 times out of 10 test sets in the last five years.

Table 6 Frequency of question items of Abitur history tests by types of materials

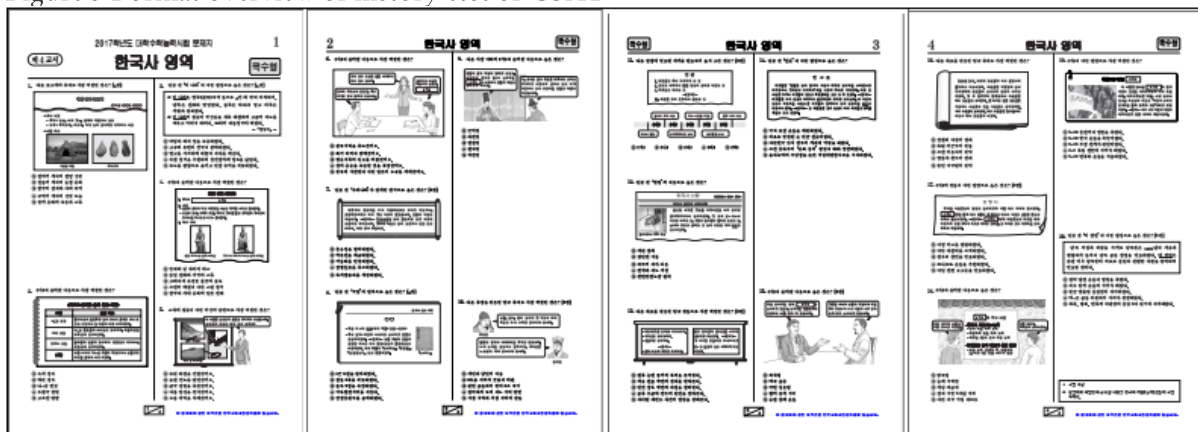
	Types of materials	German words	frequency
1	Speech, Editorial Text	Rede, Artikel	12
2	Caricature Image	Karikatur	9
3	Election Poster Image	Plakat	5
4	Report, Article Text	Bericht, Artikel	3
5	Propaganda Flyer Image	Flugblatt	1
	Total (3 materials × 10 sets)		30

(Bae, 2021a)

5.3.3.2 History test of South Korean CSAT

The form of history exams of CSAT is uniformly multiple-choice questions with 5 options. A set of tests is composed of four pages, and each page contains five questions, as shown in Figure 5. Each question consists of three components: a question sentence, contents sources, five options

Figure 5 Format overview of history test of CSAT



(KICE, 2020b)

Regarding the composition of questions, Bae (2020) explained, based on her analysis of the classification of the CSAT Korean History Test questions from 2017 to 2021, there are five types of questions: (A) Knowledge Check, (B) Theme Recognition, (D) Designing an inquiry, and (E) Chronology. Bae pointed out that all the categories can be subcategorized under the Knowledge Check.

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6.1 Research questions and hypotheses

National or state governments are required to develop and implement curricula, and they, therefore, influence national or regional curricula. A curriculum provides a systematic and formal framework and guidelines for school instruction and textbook development. Because of this influence, numerous educational research projects examine curricula to encourage curriculum improvement and revision (Grießinger & Neutatz, 2017; H. Kim, 2015; Rychen, 2001). This chapter compares the current history curricula of South Korea and Baden-Württemberg in Germany to identify the similarities and differences between the history curricula. The state of Baden-Württemberg in southwestern Germany has about 11 million inhabitants, or about 13% of the total population of Germany, making it the third-most populous region among the 16 German states, as mentioned *chapter 1*.

The research questions of this chapter are: (1) What are the general objectives of teaching history in the two countries? (2) How does the proportion of national, regional, and global history content differ between countries? (3) How differ the cognitive levels required in the learning goals for each grade in the curriculums of the two countries? The comparison, therefore, focuses on the two different levels of objectives: the higher-level 'objectives' of the history subjects and the subordinate 'learning goals' for each grade level. The descriptions of subject objectives are qualitatively compared, while the subordinate learning goals are rather quantitatively categorized first by the spatial scope and second by cognitive levels. Hypotheses are: (1) The overall objectives of history education would not differ significantly between the two countries: Historical consciousness in Germany and historical thinking in South Korea. (2) The spatial scope of history teaching would be in Germany the history of Western Europe, and Korean national history in South Korea. (3) The cognitive level required by the learning goals of each grade would be "analysis" and "judgment" in Germany and "comprehension" in Korea.

6.2 Method

6.2.1 Data

Compared are the current history curricula which are legally announced for school lessons in Baden-Württemberg and South Korea: The German curriculum documents, '*Gemeinsamer bildungsplan der sekundarstufe I, Geschichte*', which refers to common history curriculum for lower secondary schools such as Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gemeinschaftschule, and '*Bildungsplan des Gymnasiums, Geschichte*,' which are state-level documents (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, 2016b); The social studies curriculum document of South Korea, '*Sahoegwa kyoyukkwajöng, kyoyukpu koshi che 2018-162 ho*

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[pyölich'aeng 7]²⁵ ' which is a national-level document (MoE South Korea, 2018). Table 7 shows the pages of two different domains of comparative analysis: The general objectives as superordinate level and the learning goals as subordinate level. The general objectives include competency part. The learning goals indicate the sentences describing what students are expected to do after learning in each grade. These subordinate learning goals consist of 139 sentences in the German curriculum and 85 sentences in the South Korean curriculum.

Table 7 German regional and South Korean national history curricula

Country year	Curriculum documents	Grade	Analyzed pages	
			General objectives	Learning goals (N)
Germany (BW) 2016	History for lower secondary level	5-10	3-15	16-41 (68)
	Upper Secondary School	11-12	3-16	36-48 (71)
South Korea 2018	Primary School: Social Studies, Korean history part	5-6	4	40-44 (14)
	Middle School: World history, Korean history subject	7-9	96-97	100-116 (45)
	High School: 「Korean History」 subject	10	140-141	145-151 (26)

6.2.2 Analysis

The method of analysis is threefold. (1) Regarding the general objectives of the history subject, the sentences are inductively coded and categorized. I come up with the categories based on the meaning of the original text and then connected similar meanings for each curriculum. Then, I compare the two category outcomes. In addition, more importantly, history competencies of each country are juxtaposed in terms of their meanings and consistency with the subordinate learning goals for each grade. (2) The subordinate learning goal sentences are categorized under the three spatial scopes of national, regional (cultural), and global history (Faas, 2011). Regional history here means European and East Asian History for Germany and South Korea respectively. (3) Concerning didactics, the sentences of learning goals are classified by the cognitive process dimensions of the revised Bloom's taxonomy (Anderson, 2005). The Curriculum Mapping, applied on analysis of subordinate learning goals, is a method to examine the coherence of a curriculum by indexing the content assignments and instructional techniques. By doing so, it can improve the overall consistency of the curriculum by correcting repeated or omitted elements (The Great Schools Partnership, 2013). In this study, it provides overviews on spatial scopes and cognitive requirements of grade-level learning goals of the history curriculums of both countries.

Regarding the taxonomy for learning, the framework proposed by Bloom in 1956 originally consisted of six categories: Knowledge, Comprehension, Application, Analysis, Synthesis, and Evaluation. The Revised Taxonomy of Anderson in 2001, which is used in this chapter, use action verbs and points to a more dynamic conception of classification.

²⁵ 사회과 교육과정, 교육부 고시 제 2018-162 호 [별책 7]

It consists of six categories as the original version: Remembering, Understanding, Applying, Analyzing, Evaluating, and Creating (Anderson et al., 2001, pp. 67–68). Upon classification of learning goal sentences, cognitive requirements or activities can be controversial because they overlap, and a single verb may applicable or contain plural processes. To avoid this uncertainty, the *Table 8* presents the German and Korean verbs used in the learning goal sentences without exception. It increases transparency and make subsequent discussions of classification criteria possible.

Table 8 Classification of verbs in sentences of the learning goals

	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analyzing	Evaluating	Creating
	lowerlevel cognitive process			→	higherlevel cognitive process	
Example	name recall	describe explore investigate	represent explain justify reason refute	characterize compare	judge assess debate	develop hypotheses seek for solution cultivate attitude
in German	nennen abrufen	beschreiben	darstellen erklären erläutern begründen	analysieren charakterisieren vergleichen	beurteilen bewerten eroertern	Hypothesen entwickeln nach einer Lösung suchen Haltung kultivieren
in Korean	언급하다 기억하다	이해하다 파악하다 탐색하다 탐구하다 조사하다 알아보다	설명하다 추론하다 반박하다	비교하다 분석하다	평가하다 판단하다 토의하다	가설을 설정하다 방안을 모색하다 태도를 기르다

The predicted learning process in the lessons was the standard used to classify the verbs. For example, the words 'explore, 탐색하다 and 탐구하다' and 'investigate 조사하다 and 알아보다' referring to specific historical contexts frequently appeared in the South Korean curriculum. They are classified as 'understand' because the cognitive activities practiced regarding the learning goal sentences are to understand the content suggested in the sentence. Likewise, the word 'refute 반박하다' was classified as 'apply' because the sentences with this verb already contain a judgment value. They require students to provide grounds for the judgment instead of letting student judge or evaluate certain historical event. The verb 'refute,' in this case, means to justify the given arguments by applying the history knowledge, which is different from evaluating the idea. Grammatically, the verbs are placed at the end of the learning goals sentences in German and Korean languages. This study set the criteria for deductive coding as the verbs at the end of the sentences. Some sentences contain two verbs to connect two sentences; they were also coded by the verbs at the end because the previous activity is often preparatory for the latter activity. Thus, one learning goals sentence was the unit of coding.

6.3 Findings

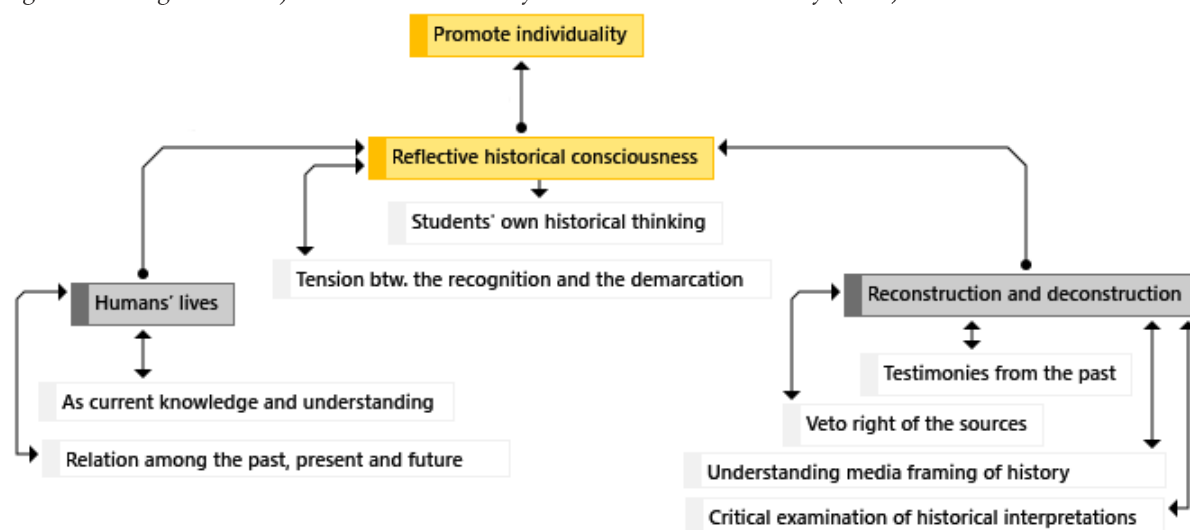
6.3.1 General Objectives and history competencies

6.3.1.1 General objectives of Germany

The history curriculum in Germany aims to foster a reflective historical consciousness and historical culture for today and the future by teaching about human beings' lives in the past. Historical consciousness is developed through critically reconstructing and deconstructing past testimonies, historical sources, and media narratives. On this basis, students develop their identity based on their critical historical thinking skills, as shown in *Figure 6*. These objectives are embodied in the learning goals of the five history competencies: questioning -, methodical -, reflection -, orientation -, and knowledge competencies. The curriculum emphasizes finding implications for the present and future through learning about past historical knowledge. The curriculum states,

"The central goal of teaching history is to build a reflective historical consciousness. It is based on the realization of it, although history refers to the past. It is by no means the past, for it belongs to the present and emerges from it. (...). It is rather their interpretation in the horizon of present knowledge and understanding. (...) Students learn to adopt a research-critical basic attitude. In doing so, they develop the willingness to use historical insights for their actions. They recognize the necessity of putting themselves in the shoes of other perspectives, to deal with them critically and to take their own stand (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, p. 3)."

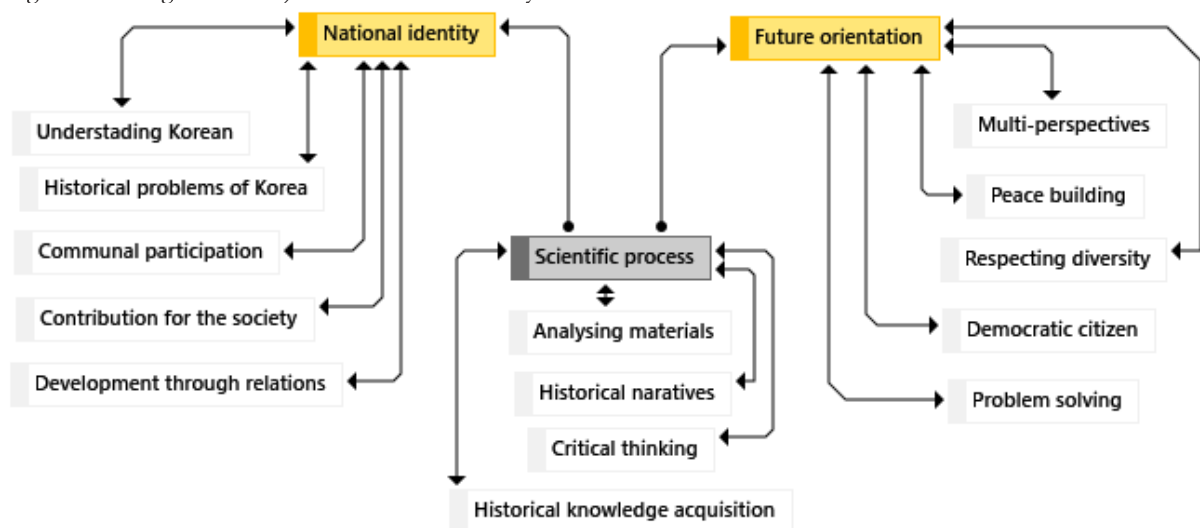
Figure 6 The general objectives of the history curriculum of Germany (BW)



6.3.1.2 General objectives of South Korea

The history curriculum in South Korea aims to comprehensively teach the development of Korea and other countries to foster identity and mutual respect for different cultures, as shown in *Figure 7*. The primary school history description reads, "The purpose of history learning is to systematically understand the development of national history by understanding the peculiarities of the historical tradition and culture of our country by focusing on the characteristics of each period" (MoE South Korea, 2018, p. 4). The middle school history description reads, "The goal of history learning is to develop insights that can solve current problems and suggest the direction for the future society through comprehensively and systematically understanding the development process of Korea and other countries around the world" (Ibid., p. 97). The high school 「Korean History」 description reads, "The goal of 「Korean History」 is to understand the characteristics of the pre-modern period of Korea and current lives of Koreans and Korean society by learning modern and contemporary History in-depth" (Ibid., p. 143).

Figure 7 The general objectives of the history curriculum of South Korea



6.3.1.3 Comparison of general objectives

In comparison, both countries have in common that their curricula deal with analyzing historical sources and knowledge, historical thinking, and identity. The most striking difference is that the curriculum focuses on individual identity in Germany and national identity in South Korea. The objectives of German history teaching are for students to develop reflective historical consciousness that constructs one's individuality. The curriculum requires students to analyze and interpret historical sources and materials to understand themselves in the present world and draw personal historical judgments.

The objectives of South Korean history teaching are, on the other hand, for students to systemically and comprehensively understand the national and world history to develop their identity and future orientation. The learning material mentioned in the

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general objectives differs as well. The German curriculum explicitly mentions the history of human beings as the learning material and emphasizes its present importance rather than the past. The South Korean curriculum emphasizes national history in the learning objectives and materials, although this is basically due to the composition of the subjects. Overall, it highlights the significance of historical knowledge to build Korean identity and qualities as a global citizen.

6.3.1.4 Comparison of subject competencies

As mentioned in *section 3.4*, competency-based curriculum means a curriculum that focuses on abilities such as using knowledge, cooperating with others, and having an attitude of readiness to solve problems. It differs from traditional curriculums emphasizing subject knowledge. Both countries are presenting history competencies as *Table 9*.

Table 9 History competencies in the German and South Korean curricula

Country	History Competencies	Students can ...
Germany (Baden-Württemberg)	Questioning Competence	develop historical questions and strategies to answer them.
	Methodical Competence	apply subject-specific methods.
	Reflection Competence	analyze, assess, and evaluate historical facts and interpretations.
	Orientation Competence	use history as an orientation for understanding the present and the future, for building up their own identity and for justifying actions related to the present and the future.
	Knowledge Competence	understand and reproduce historical facts in a structured manner.
South Korea	Understanding historical facts	acquire knowledge of past events, characters, structures, and changes and understand important historical terms and concepts.
	Analysis and interpretation of historical materials	read historical material and critically review it to construct historical knowledge.
	Use and communicate historical information	analyze, discuss, synthesize, and evaluate historical information obtained through a variety of media.
	Historical judgment and problem-solving skills	solve today's problems in light of past examples.
	Identity and mutual respect	develop a historical consciousness required in the rapidly changing modern society based on the understanding of our history and world history and develop an attitude of understanding and respecting others.

They have the four competencies of knowledge, methodical, reflection, and orientation in common. The difference is that the German curriculum has the questioning competency, and the South Korean curriculum has the identity and mutual respect competency. The German curriculum explains the competencies in seven pages in detail, while the South Korean curriculum explains them in half a page with one sentence each for respective competencies. According to the competency-based curriculum model, the state government of Baden-Württemberg restructured its curriculum in 2004 and updated it in 2016 (Grießinger & Neutatz, 2017). The South Korean government adopted the

competency-based concept in the 2009 revision, but subject competencies at a subject level appeared later in the 2015 revision (see *Section 3.4*). Studies argue, however, that subject competencies are not consistently applied in learning content (Sung-ja Kim, 2016; Yun-jeong Kim, 2020; H. Lee, 2018).

6.3.2 Spatial scope of learning goals

6.3.2.1 Contents allocation and spatial scopes in Germany

Contents allocation: In Baden-Württemberg, at grammar schools, students in grades 5-10 learn history chronologically from ancient to modern times over 6 years. Unlike South Korea, history is not divided into national history and world history; instead, grades 5-9 learn mainly Western European and German history and focus on the modern era, which is learned in grade 9. In grade 10, the curriculum deals with the world history of three countries of Russia, China, and Turkey. The curriculum explains that the criteria for the selection of the three countries are globalization and the composition of immigrants in German society (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, p. 12). The selection of Russia and Turkey as subjects to be learned is significant in that it is an attempt to systematically cover the history of those people who make up the majority of immigrants in the curriculum. The content composition of this German history curriculum maintains the framework of the 'Western Europe and China centrism' in world and Asian history.

Table 10 Contents allocation in the German curriculum

Grade	Content
5/6	1 First encounter with the subject history
	2 Ancient Egypt – Culture and High Culture
	3 Greco-Roman Antiquity – Communal Living in the Polis and the Empire
	4 From Late Antiquity to the European Middle Ages – New Religions, New Empires
7/8	1 Europe in the Middle Ages – Life in an Agricultural Society and Encounters with the Foreign
	2 Turning to the Modern Times – New Worlds, New Horizons, New Violence
	3 The French Revolution – Bourgeoisie, Reason, Freedom
	4 Europe after the French Revolution – Bourgeoisie, Nation-State, Constitution
	5 The Industrialized Nation-State – Breakthrough of Modernity
	6 Imperialism and World War I – European Striving for Power and the Epochal Turn
	7 Europe in the Interwar Period – Breakthrough and Failure of the Democratic Constitutional State
9/10	1 National Socialism and World War II – Destruction of Democracy and Crimes against Humanity
	2 FRG and GDR – Two States, Two Systems in a Divided World
	3 Foreign Spaces? Former Empires and Their Current Challenges in a Historical Perspective
	4 Russia – An Empire in Transition
	5 China – An Empire in Transition
	6 Ottoman Empire and Turkey – From Islamic Empire to Secular Nation-State
	7 Former Empires and European Integration in Comparison
11/12	1 Ways into Western Modernity
	2 Dictatorships in the 20th Century as Counter-designs to Parliamentary Democracy
	3 Western and Eastern Europe after 1945: Striving for Prosperity and Participation
	4 Current Problems of Postcolonial Spaces in Historical Perspective

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Table 10 shows the allocation of the content. There is a difference between vocational and grammar school curricula, that the students in vocational school do not learn history of the foreign spaces, namely Russia, China, and Turkey in grade 10, instead they learn history of European integration focusing on EU and postcolonial spaces. Concerning different types of upper secondary grammar schools, the contents of 11th and 12th grades on the *Table 10* are same for the contents of 12th and 13th grades of vocational grammar school, where students start their upper secondary course at grade 11 after finishing vocational lower secondary schools or integrated lower secondary schools.

Spatial scope: The learning goals in the German curriculum are structured in chronological order, but the content for 10th grade is organized by world history of Russia, China, and Turkey and European integration. *Table 11* shows the distribution of the learning goals by the regional scope. World history accounts for the most significant portion of 40%, followed by European history at 35% and German national history at 25%. Global history outside of Europe consists mainly of ancient Egypt, China, and Turkey. The global history contents in the lower secondary curriculum involves "describing life in the Old and New Stone Age and comparing Ancient Egypt with Europe during the Stone Age" (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, p. 18). In the upper secondary curriculum, it entails "analyzing and assessing the origins and development of the People's Republic of China and the living conditions of the population" (Ibid., p. 33) and "characterizing the prerequisites for Turkish labor migration to Western Europe and assessing their consequences" (Ibid., p. 34).

The European history in the lower secondary curriculum is as follows: "Analyzing social and cultural aspects of the living environment in the Greek polis" (Ibid., p. 18), "explaining and evaluating the significance of the French Revolution for the present" (Ibid., p. 26), "describing the territorial change of the German southwest by Napoleon" (Ibid., p. 27), and "analyzing and evaluating the effects of industrialization on European societies" (Ibid., p. 29).

The national history contents mainly deal with modern and contemporary themes. Sixteen learning goals concern the Nazi regime, comprising 46%, and 13 learning goals deal with the division and reunification of Germany after 1945, accounting for 37% of the national history. Other national topics deal with the founding of the German Empire in 1870/71 and the new democratic era beginning with the Weimar Republic in 1918/19.

Table 11 Proportion of learning goals by spatial scope (Baden-Württemberg)

Scope	Lower Secondary School Grades 5-10		Upper Secondary School Grades 11-13		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
National	16	23.53%	19	26.76%	35	25.18%
Regional (Western Europe)	26	38.23%	23	32.39%	49	35.25%
Global	26	38.23%	29	40.85%	55	39.57%
Totals	68	100.00%	71	100.00%	139	100.00%

6.3.2.2 Contents allocation and spatial scopes in South Korea

Contents allocation: The learning goals of the South Korean curriculum are chronologically organized. In South Korea, students learn national history three times from ancient to contemporary history, in primary -, middle -, and high school. World history is taught once in middle school. *Table 12* shows the national history taught in primary school, middle school, and high school and the world history taught in middle school in South Korea. The Korean history content addresses the first ancient nation, *Old Chosŏn* (2333 BC?-108 BC?), the ancient Three Kingdoms period (*Silla*: 57 BC?-676 AD, *Koguryŏ*: 37 BC?-668 AD, *Paekche*: 18 BC?-660 AD), the *Unified Silla* (676-935) along with northern country *Balhae* (698-926), *Koryŏ* (935-1392), *Chosŏn* (1392-1910), the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), and modern South Korea (1945-present).

Table 12 Contents allocation in the South Korean curriculum

Grade	Contents	
	「Social Studies」	
	1 Life and culture of people in the past	
	a. The emergence and development of nations	
	b. <i>Koryŏ</i> developed a unique culture	
	c. Chosŏn preserved the national culture	
5/6	2 New changes in society and we of today	
	a. Movement towards a new society	
	b. Japanese invasion and efforts for liberation	
	c. The establishment of the Republic of Korea and the Korean War	
	3 Political developments in our country	
	a. Development of liberal democracy and civic participation	
	「History 1」 (World history)	「History 2」 (Korean history)
	1 Emergence of civilization and the formation of the ancient world	1 Prehistoric culture and the formation of ancient nations
	2 Spread of world religions and the formation of local cultures	2 Development of the era of the North and South nations
7/8/9 ²⁶	3 Exchanges and changes in the regions	3 Establishment and transformation of <i>Koryŏ</i>
	4 Imperialist invasion and movement to build the nation-state	4 Establishment and development of Chosŏn
	5 World Wars and social change	5 Changes in Chosŏn society
	6 Development and challenges of the modern world	6 Development of modern and contemporary society
	「Korean History」	
	1 Understanding pre-modern Korean history	
10	2 Movement to establish a modern nation-state	
	3 Japanese colonial rule and the development of a national movement	
	4 Development of South Korea	

The history lessons in primary school covering from ancient times to the Korean War (in *Table 12*) are taught three hours a week in the second semester of 5th grade, and

²⁶ Most schools allocate 「History 1」 for 8th grade, and 「History 2」 for 9th grade.

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modern national history is taught in the 6th grade along with politics contents. The total number of lessons is approximately 60 hours. Korean national history from the ancient times to the modern history is taught three times, for 60, 70, and 105 hours in primary -, middle -, and high school, respectively.

Spatial scope: Over the course of school education, Korean history repeats three times following a spiral structure. Accordingly, as shown in *Table 13*, national history takes up 73%, while regional East Asian history and world history constitute 6% and 21%, respectively. It shows history education in South Korea covers the grand national narrative at large. More evidence for this is: It is characteristic that 48% of the learning goals sentences contain or start with a country name. The learning goals of primary school show an extremely obvious nationalist perspective. They entail "investigating the activities of people who tried to protect the country against Japanese aggression", "understanding the activities of people who worked hard for liberation, and developing an attitude of valuing the effort to take back the country" (MoE South Korea, 2018, p. 42). Content emphasizing individual sacrifices or contributions to the nation accounts for 16% (N=10) of the national history curriculum. The content of middle school Korean history lessons is focused on pre-modern history before the late Chosŏn. Accordingly, in high school history, the pre-modern history content gets brief, and the late Chosŏn period and the Japanese colonial period are covered in detail. The content on the Japanese imperial invasion and the independence movement during the colonial period accounts for 23% (N=14), and the development of democracy in South Korea after 1945 accounts for 8% (N=5) of the national history (N=62). Strikingly, North Korea is not mentioned. Instead, the unification of the two Koreas is mentioned in two sentences (3%): 'identifying efforts for unification and exploring measures for peaceful unification' (Ibid., p. 115) and 'examining the process of inter-Korean reconciliation and thinking about ways to contribute to peace in East Asia' (Ibid., p. 151).

Table 13 Proportion of learning goals by spatial scope (South Korea)

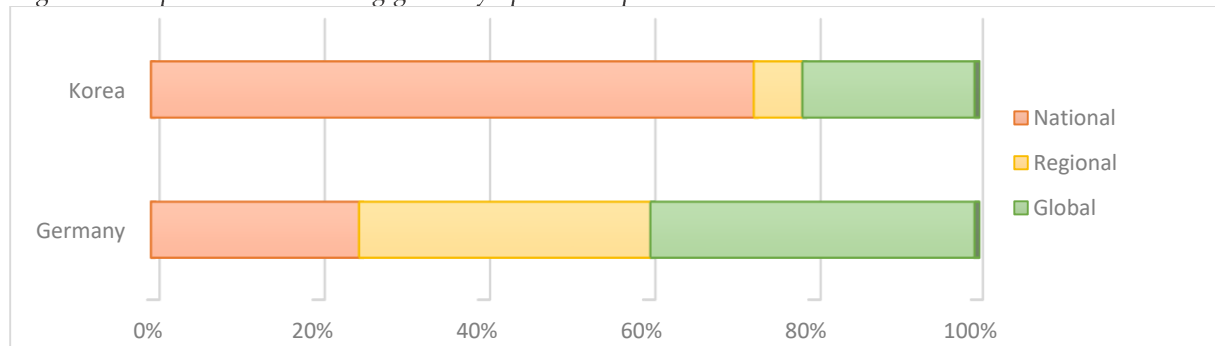
	Primary School Grades 5-6		Middle School Grades 7-9				High School Grade 10		Total	
	Korean History		World History		Korean History		Korean History			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
National	14	100.00%	0	0.00%	23	100.00%	25	96.15%	62	72.94
Regional (East Asia)	0	0.00%	4	18.18%	0	0.00%	1	3.85%	5	5.88
Global	0	0.00%	18	81.82%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18	21.18
Totals	14	100.00%	22	100.00%	23	100.00%	26	100.00%	85	100.00%

6.3.2.3 Comparison of contents allocation and spatial scopes

Commonalities are that the learning content is arranged in chronological order and the world history is taught as separate units and grades in Germany or a separate subject in South Korea. As shown in *Figure 8*, the proportion of European regional and international

history is 35% and 40%, respectively, in Germany, while national history accounts for approximately 73% of the South Korean curriculum.

Figure 8 Proportion of learning goals by spatial scope



Regarding the content composition of the curriculum, in South Korea, it is notable that students learn the entire period from ancient times to the present three times repeatedly. The composition of these subjects and learning contents can form a worldview in which a nation is the protagonist of history, and it might have a great impact on the learning of history. There is also a noticeable difference in the composition of learning content by grade level. In Germany, students learn history the entire era once for 6 years. 5th and 6th grades study ancient times, 7th graders study the middle Ages, and 8th-10th grades study modern and contemporary history. In addition, history courses are continuously arranged for 1 hour per week for all 5th and 6th graders and 2 hours per week for 7th and 10th graders, so history is continuously taught as a major subject for 6 years. In upper secondary grammar schools, two hours are basically allotted each year, and if a student chooses history as an intensive subject, they learn history five hours a week.

The range of periods covered *in each year* also differs widely. While students in Germany learn ancient history in 5th and 6th grades, the Middle Age in 7th grade, and the modern era from 8th to 10th or 12th grades more in detail, students in South Korea learn the entire epochs in one semester or one year. In primary school, students learn Korean history from ancient to modern times for one semester for three hours a week. In middle school, they learn the whole epochs of World History, namely 「History 1」, for 3 hours a week for one year in 8th grade, and the whole epochs of Korean History, namely 「History 2」, is taught for 2 hours a week in 9th grade. In the 10th grade of high school, Korean history is taught for three hours a week, again throughout the all epochs, with emphasis on modern and contemporary history. Electives of 「East Asian History」 and 「World History」 in 11th grade are also taught in a year the whole epochs. History teaching in South Korea can be characterized that all epochs are taught in one semester or one year.

Regarding the focus on human being, namely the personalized history of the great men and personified ordinary people, it is noteworthy that the proportion of German learning goals dealing with daily life, '*Leben*' and '*Alltag*' in German, is 17% (N=24), while the learning goals containing the words meaning daily life, '*Saenghwal*, 생활' and '*Sam*, 삶' in Korean, account for only 4% (N=3). It shows the principle of *personification*

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is well adopted in the German curriculum, while it is not true in the South Korean curriculum. Instead, the learning goals of the South Korea curriculum often deal with the grand national narrative, such as the nation's founding, unification, development, and fall; the country's ruling system. There are also nationalistic representations of hostile international relations that caused the national hardship by external enemies, which are supported by emotional appeal for sacrifice and commitment of individuals.

6.3.3 Cognitive requirements of learning goals

According to the classification by the cognitive process by the revised Bloom's taxonomy, the learning goals descriptions using 'evaluate', that is, eliciting students' judgments, account for 42%; analyzing and comparing data 31%; and giving comprehensive explanations 'apply' 21%. For the learning goals in upper secondary school, the rate of evaluating was 46% (N=33), making it present in almost half of the learning goals. The code co-occurrence coefficient of evaluating and the national scope in the German curriculum is 0.31 (N=22). It is calculated as follows: $22 / \text{Evaluating (58) + National history (35)} - 22$. Examples from the middle school curriculum are "characterizing and evaluating the ideological foundations of National Socialism" (MoE South Korea, 2018, p. 33), "characterizing and evaluating the Second World War and explaining the oppression in East Germany and evaluating their impact on people's lives" (Ibid., p.37).

Table 14 Proportion of learning goals by cognitive processes

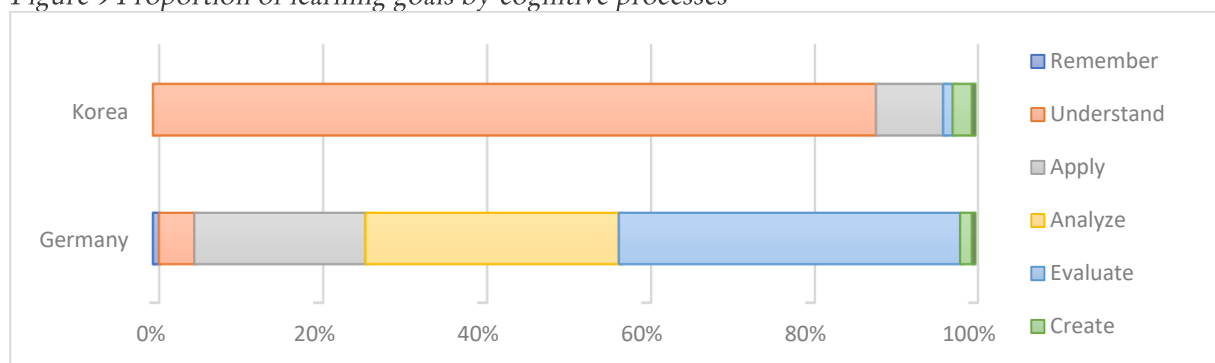
	Germany		South Korea	
	N	%	N	%
Remembering	1	0.72%	0	0%
Understanding	6	4.32%	75	88.24%
Applying	29	20.86%	7	8.24%
Analyzing	43	30.94%	0	0.00%
Evaluating	58	41.73%	1	1.18%
Creating	2	1.44%	2	2.35%
Total	139	100.00%	85	100.00%

In South Korea, 'understanding' is the most common cognitive process in the learning goals, at 88%, and 'applying' processes, such as comprehensive explanation, constituted 8%. The combination of 'understanding' and 'national history' shows the highest code co-occurrence coefficient: 0.71 (N=57). It is calculated as follows: $57 / \text{Understanding (75) + national history (62)} - 57$. Examples are "comparing the characteristics of prehistoric culture and Bronze Age culture in different regions in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula and understanding the social aspects of *Old Chosŏn*," "understanding the process of development of the Three Kingdoms and exploring the characteristics of the ruling system of the Three Kingdoms" (Ibid., p. 109), "understanding the characteristics of the ruling system of *Koryŏ* through the process of unification of divided countries and

reorganization of the system" (Ibid., p. 109), "understanding the process of Japan's invasion of sovereignty and the content of the movement to defend national sovereignty against it" (Ibid., p. 147), "examining the changes in colonial rule after the Japanese imperialist war of aggression and understanding the life of the people changed by the wartime mobilization focusing on cases" (Ibid., p. 149), and "examining the background and development process of the Korean War and understanding the process by which North and South Korea were divided after the war" (Ibid., p. 151).

In comparison, a similarity is that the proportion of 'remembering' and 'creating' activities is low in both countries. This means that neither simple memorization nor the development of hypotheses appears frequently in the both curricula. The most significant difference is that, as shown in *Table 14* and *Figure 9*, evaluating and analyzing activities account for 73% of the total in Germany, while understanding activities account for 88% of the total in South Korea. This difference has consistency with the general objectives of the history curricula. The German curriculum emphasizes reconstructing and deconstructing historical meaning, while the South Korean curriculum emphasizes a systematic understanding of historical knowledge.

Figure 9 Proportion of learning goals by cognitive processes



In summary, the cognitive levels of learning goals were in the curriculum of South Korea the 'understanding' almost 90%, while in the German curriculum have the application, analysis, and evaluation in balance rather than understanding.

6.4 Discussion

The results of the comparative analysis of the curricula demonstrated significant differences in the content composition, purpose, spatial scopes, and cognitive requirements of history education.

Regarding the composition of the content, German and Western European history are the main focus in the German curriculum, while Korean national history is at the center of the South Korean curriculum. Second, the purpose of history teaching in Germany is to build historical consciousness as a historical thinking process through various history competencies of methodical -, narrative -, judgment -, orientation -, and knowledge competencies. In South Korea, the goal of history teaching is to understand

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the past systematically. As for the cognitive activity of the learning goal sentences by grade level, the German curriculum uses verbs such as apply, evaluate, and create in balance, while the South Korean curriculum dominantly uses the verb understand.

In Germany, history is taught as one subject, and there is no subject distinction such as German history, European history, and world history. Both German and world history are covered, with a strong emphasis on the history of Western Europe. In Baden-Württemberg, at the lower secondary level, grades 5 through 7, the history of Western Europe, with the exception of ancient Egypt, is covered from the ancient time to the Middle Ages, and in grades 8 through 10, more recent history is covered with an emphasis on the history of Germany and its relations with European countries. In this way, students in vocational schools learn about the history of Western Europe and Germany once. Students in the Gymnasium learn about the history of Russia, China, and Turkey as history outside of Western Europe in the 10th grade. The students of grammar school learn modern and contemporary world history once again in grades 11 and 12, in the upper secondary level, with focus on German society.

In South Korea, history mainly deals with the history of Korea and Koreans. Students learn Korean history in elementary, middle, and high school in 6th, 9th, and 10th grades each time from ancient to modern times respectively repeating three times. History contents in primary school 「Social Studies」 subject consists of exclusively Korean history and cover all eras for one semester in grade 5. Middle school history subjects are divided into 「History 1」 and 「History 2」. 「History 1」 covers world history for one year at 8th grade. 「History 2」 covers Korean history of all eras for one year in 9th grade, with more focus on pre-modern history. In high school, 「Korean history」 is the only compulsory history subject among other social studies subjects, and it also covers all epochs in 10th grade. Yet taking into account the fact that middle school 「History 1」 covers pre-modern era in detail, high school 「Korean History」 subject covers modern Korean history in more detail. In high school, 「East Asian History」 and 「World History」 are among the nine electives of the social studies subjects. 「World History」 as a compulsory subject is taught once in 8th grade as 「History 1」 in middle school. In this way, students learn Korean national history three times and world history once.

This study expands the scope of the research by symmetrically juxtaposing and comparing the curricula of these two countries, which makes this analysis unique. Previous studies identified the characteristics of the history curriculum and textbooks, focusing on a specific school and grade level; therefore, the composition of history subjects in the overall history curriculum at the primary and secondary levels together has not been considered as the topic of existing comparative studies. This study examined the compulsory history teaching that students experience throughout their schooling. Above all, the purpose of this research is mainly to identify the differences in relation to nationalism and to find alternatives to reduce nationalism. As a result, it became clear that German history education emphasizes the history of Western Europe rather than national history, while Korean history education repeatedly emphasizes the history of Korea.

As previous studies have criticized, teaching the entire periods in one year or one semester limits the history teaching to "listing" knowledge by simplifying the content of

each epochs (Bae & Yoon, 2022). A simplified history narrative is one of the tools for shaping nationalist historical discourse. Enumeration of simplified historical knowledge does not allow teachers and students enough time to examine a historical topics considering multi perspectives. The systematic content linkage and consistency between primary, middle, and high school is also frequently criticized, not just in history subjects (Bae, 2018; J. Jung, 2020; H. Nam, 2016). From the criticism on the repetition or discontinuity of learning contents, the 2015 curriculum took a measure: middle school focuses on pre-modern history and high school modern and contemporary history. This structural change, however, applies only to 「Korean History」 subjects. The objectives of history education in primary -, middle -, and high school overlap without a clear difference.

The composition of these subjects is of course related to the school system (see *Section 4.4*). Primary and secondary schools in Germany consist of grades 4 and 6-9, while primary, middle, and high schools in South Korea consist of 6, 3, and 3 grades. In Germany, it is general to learn history from the ancient time to the present once for six years in secondary school, while history in South Korea is taught repeatedly in primary, middle, and high school the whole epochs. It might be impossible to judge which system is better or worse by comparing the school system and the curriculum on a piecemeal basis. Both ways of learning might have all pros and cons. The important thing is how to develop historical competence and critical thinking, not how to allocate chronological orders by grade.

Regarding the purpose of history education, the history curriculum in Germany is adopting adequately the general research of historical consciousness and the transition to competency-based learning. The objective of history education is to develop the historical consciousness and personality of students by promoting question, methodical, reflection, orientation, and knowledge competencies. It is in line with the general tendency in Germany that emphasizing methodical, judgment, orientation, knowledge competencies (see *Section 3.4*). The goal of history education in Germany is, in short, to developing history consciousness through history competencies. Importantly, different operational verbs were used for the learning goals of each grade. When describing learning objectives of specific grade-level, operational verbs, as shown *Table 17*, are systematically used. By doing so, various cognitive goals such as comprehension, application, judgment, and creation are applied to students' learning in a balanced way. In addition, modern history is taught in the upper grades of 9th and 10th grades. Given the principle of present and future relevancy emphasized in German history didactics theory, this composition can be considered appropriate, because modern history is more directly related to the present and future, and it allows deeper study using learned history competencies in lower grades.

Existing studies in South Korea posit the history curriculum is written in the framework of nationalism, it does not implement competency-based history learning properly. These are confirmed the argument of these studies. History competencies are, as already known by previous studies, not applied in learning goals and remain superficial level. Additional findings of this study is yet that the purpose of history education in South Korea is a systematic understanding of history by using the verb to understand

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dominantly in learning goals sentences. This means that the curriculum aims, in short, a systematic understanding of the grand national narrative of Korea.

Learning Korean history three times repeatedly in primary, middle, and high school would strengthen the understanding of the content and the importance of its meaning through repetition. It is suitable for the purpose of a systematic understanding of Korean history. The problem here is that accepting and understanding the contents of history as an interpretation from a national point of view cannot be the objective of history education. Therefore, emphasizing the understanding of the contents through the repetition of teaching national history three times cannot be justified in terms of the more fundamental objective of history education. Moreover, repeating the same content is a waste of time that should be spent on developing students' various history competencies.

The learning objective, which emphasize passive understanding and acceptance of historical interpretations, and the repetition of learning national history impedes history education for critical historical consciousness. This combination is well suited for nationalist history teaching. However, it hinders building critical thinking which is essential competence of democratic citizens. It becomes clear when we consider the principle of multiperspectivity, which is one of the most important principles of history education. The past did not exist as one single fact at the time of its creation, its interpretation by the historians is also various, and students' perception is neither only one. For instance, there was a ruling class and a ruled class at the same time, there were those who sent people to war and those who were mobilized at the same time, and there was the experience of winning a war and losing friends and family at the same time. From this point of view, history teaching as a "systematic understanding" that forces students to simply accept the given history narrative written from a national point of view is not appropriate for the objective of history education.

The 'systematic understanding of the past' emphasized by South Korean history curriculum gives the impression that it seems plausible and quite good educational purpose, but precisely, it hinders students from thinking and judging the past by themselves and recognizing the possibility that they can create their own present and future on their own. In this regard, it is necessary to reorganize the objective of history education. Instead of the systematic understanding of the past, history competencies reviewed in *Section 3.4* can be a reasonable alternative. The operational verbs can be very useful for reorganizing the curriculum for competency-based history learning (see *Table 17* in *Subsection 7.2.2*). The use of the verbs can help reorganizing the knowledge, evaluating the past, and creating ideas for the future rather than to understand in the learning goals sentences. Indeed, all the history curriculums in German states provide a list of operational verbs with their definitions and examples for its application in teaching and learning history.

Finally, the following two things are recommended: In South Korea, first, the objective of history education should be developing 'historical consciousness' and 'history competencies' rather than the systematic understanding of the grand national narratives. Second, for the application of competency-based history education, it is strongly recommended that the KICE develops the list of the operational verbs of a Korean

language version and utilize them in learning goal sentences for each grade in history curriculum in the next revision.

6.5 Summary

The findings of curriculum comparison can be summarized by answering the following two questions: what and how do students learn history. First, what do they learn in terms of the boundaries of a region? This is related to whether they deal with a grand national narrative or regional identity. The history curriculum of Germany sets Europe as a main regional boundary (35%). National history contents in curriculums consist of mainly critical reflections on the National Socialism regime and its crime, therefore, the contents do not intend nation-building or otherization of other nations, but they rather indirectly emphasize the importance of democracy, peace, and integration of Europe. Global history covering areas outside Europe accounts for 40% of the total. The main contents of global history consist of ancient Egypt, Russia, China, and Turkey. To avoid a Euro-centric understanding of history, there are 'Window to the World' sections at the end of each unit, and more than half of the learning goals for the upper secondary grades deal with history outside of Europe. Global history contents earned the criticism of the Euro-centric understanding of history. A previous study analyzed the 2004 history curriculum in Germany and showed that 45.5% of the content was national history, 36.4% was European history, and 13.6% was world history (Faas, 2011). The time spent on global history increased in the 2016 curriculum analyzed. In comparison, the South Korean history curriculum repeats national history three times in primary school, middle school, and high school, respectively, and world history is taught once in middle school. Approximately 70% of the history learning goals are related to national history. The high proportion of national history results from the subject composition.

Second, how do they learn? On the one hand, 31% of the learning goal sentences in the German curriculum require analytical activities for deconstructing and reconstructing sources and 42% of learning goals require students' evaluation and judgment of historical events. On the other hand, 88% of the learning goals in the South Korean curriculum entail 'understanding' history. The difference in the cognitive processes originates from the curriculum goals pursued by the two curricula, which are developing historical consciousness in the German curriculum and systematic understanding of the past in the South Korean curriculum.

7 Comparative Analysis two: Textbook

7.1 Research questions and hypotheses

Textbooks, written according to the curriculum, are the primary medium of history classes. The contents of history textbooks show representative historical discourses of the society (Bang, 2020; Sauer, 2015). This chapter compares German and South Korean history textbooks to understand how nationalism is didactically mediated. Different historical narratives, materials, and learning questions illuminated by the comparison provide alternatives on how to reduce nationalism in history textbooks.

Therefore, the main research question of this chapter is to examine what commonalities and differences between history textbooks of Germany and South Korea have in dealing with national contents. To this end, the first sub-research question is “How do history textbooks deal with ancient people who lived in the present German and Korean territories?” Independence, unity, and identities are the essential components and logical basis of nationalism (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, 5, 49). Identity begins with the question of “who I am” or “where I am from,” and nationalism often emphasizes the concept of belonging to a group sharing the unique, the oldest, longer, superior history which is differentiate the nation from others, namely the ethnic connectivity with the ancient people who lived in the present territory. With that in mind, this chapter compares how the topic ‘ancient people’ in Central Europe and the Korean Peninsula is mediated in German and South Korean textbooks, respectively.

The second sub-research question is, “How do history textbooks deal with the early letterpress printing?” National identity can be emphasized through cultural uniqueness, homogeneity, and excellence that shows brilliance and superiority over other peoples (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 46). It is often argued that they possess a rich cultural heritage that is older and better than other nations. Regarding national pride based on cultural uniqueness and superiority, the representation of the “letterpress” is chosen for the topic of cultural aspects.

This study compares the history of ancient and medieval times that were not previously examined in comparative study of history teaching. Existing studies dealing with nationalism issues in history textbooks mainly analyzed modern histories such as World War II or the Holocaust and suggested improvements of the historical narrative (Ga-young Kim, 2016; Mittnik, 2018). Also, previous studies analyzed the representation of the narratives written by textbook authors (Hashiba, 2010; Lässig & Pohl, 2009; Müller, 2011; Shin & Sneider, 2011), this study compares not only the narratives but also historical materials and learning activities. By doing so, this study focuses more on the didactical aspect.

7.2 Method

7.2.1 Data

This chapter compares 12 German and 7 South Korean textbooks as shown in *Table 15 and 16*. For German textbooks, six publishers are separately chosen for vocational and grammar schools. From the list of approved textbooks of Baden-Württemberg, textbooks of six publishers were selected without overlap of publishers.

For vocational and integrated schools, namely Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gemeinschaftschule, there are six history textbooks of the following publishers: two types of Cornelsen, Ernst Klett, Westermann (before Schroedel), Westermann, and Westermann (before Schöningh) (ZSL Baden-Württemberg, 2016b, pp. 57–60). Among the six series, this study chose three series of 「Zeitreise」, 「denk|mal Geschichte」, and 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit」 of three respective publisher of Ernst Klett, Westermann (Schroedel), and Westermann were chosen. The first topic of ancient people was dealt in textbooks for 5/6 graders, and the second topic of letterpress in textbooks for 7/8 or 7 graders. Therefore, a total of six volumes of textbooks were analyzed.

For grammar schools, Gymnasiums, there are six history textbook series of five publishers: C.C. Buchner, Cornelsen, Eduversum, Ernst Klett, Westermann, Westermann (before Schroedel) (ZSL Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, pp. 69–74). Among the six series, three series of 「Das waren Zeiten」, 「Forum Geschichte」, and 「Geschichte」 of C.C. Buchner, Cornelsen, Westermann (Schöningh) are chosen. Upon citing the contents of the books, the series title of the textbooks will be used. It is because the publishers produce different textbook series for vocational and grammar schools.

Table 15 German textbooks analyzed

	Publisher	Title	Grade	Pages		Author (Year)
				by Topics		
				1	2	
Vocational School	Ernst Klett	<i>Zeitreise 1</i>	5, 6	64-65		Christoffer (2016)
		<i>Zeitreise 2</i>	7, 8	54-55		Christoffer (2017)
	Westermann (Schroedel)	<i>denk mal Geschichte 5/6</i>	5, 6	52-53 92-93		Doll (2016)
		<i>denk mal Geschichte 7/8</i>	7, 8	60-63		Doll (2017)
	Westermann	<i>Die Reise in die Vergangenheit 5/6</i>	5, 6	86-87 94-95		Bienert (2016)
		<i>Die Reise in die Vergangenheit 7/8</i>	7, 8	66-69		Bienert (2017)
Grammar School	C.C. Buchner	<i>Das waren Zeiten 1</i>	5, 6	66-69		Benzinger (2016)
		<i>Das waren Zeiten 2</i>	7	66-67		Benzinger (2017)
	Cornelsen	<i>Forum Geschichte 5/6</i>	5, 6	66-69		Cornelissen (2016)
		<i>Forum Geschichte 7</i>	7	122-123		Cornelissen (2017)
	Westermann (Schöningh)	<i>Geschichte 5/6</i>	5, 6	74-75		Gawatz (2016)
		<i>Geschichte 7</i>	7	144-145 152-153		Gawatz (2017)

For South Korean textbooks, seven textbooks are selected considering the school level and publisher. For the primary school level, one social studies textbook is analyzed. This book is for the second semester of the fifth grade and a nationally designated single type of textbook, dealing with Korean history exclusively. For middle school and high school textbooks, respectively three textbooks are chosen considering the market share, avoiding an overlap of publishers. For middle school history textbooks, nine publishers in total have approval: Kyohaksa, Kūmsōng, Dong-a, Liber-school, Mirae-n, Bisang, Shinsago, Chihaksa, and Ch'ōnjae. For high school 「Korean History」 textbooks, there are also nine publishers approved for high school textbooks: Kūmsōng, Dong-a, Liber-school, Mirae-n, Bisang, Ssimasū, Chihaksa, Ch'ōnjae, and Haenaem.

Secondary textbooks analyzed in this study were published in 2020. As addressed in Section 3.2, the government of former president *Park Geun-hye* (2013-2017) carried out a history textbook system reform from state-approval to state-authored despite of the severe opposition of the history teacher's union and scholars between 2014 to 2016. The government had a plan not to allow private publishers to issue history textbooks, by approving only a single-type history textbook written by MoE. Due to the impeachment of president *Park* in 2017, the history curriculum was partly revised in 2018, and publishers were again allowed to issue new textbooks in 2020. So the books analyzed were issued in 2020 according to the revised curriculum. In this chapter, the names of the publishers will be used when citing the books because the book titles are same: middle schools textbooks are all titled 「*Yōksa 2*」 referring to the subject 「History 2」 and high school textbooks are titled 「*Han'guksa*」 meaning the subject 「Korean history」.

Table 16 South Korean textbooks analyzed

	Publisher	Title	Grade	Pages by Topics		Author (Year)
				1	2	
primary school	MOE	<i>Social Studies 5-2</i>	5	10-13	48-53	MoE South Korea (2019b)
	Bisang	「 <i>History 2</i> 」	9	16-17	108-109	B. Lee (2020)
middle school	Ch'ōnjae	「 <i>History 2</i> 」	9	17-19	102-103	Deok-su Kim (2020)
	Chihaksa	「 <i>History 2</i> 」	9	13-15	100	K. Park (2020)
high school	Mirae-n	「 <i>Korean History</i> 」	10	14	53	C. Han (2020)
	Dong-a	「 <i>Korean History</i> 」	10	11	46	No (2020)
	Kūmsōng	「 <i>Korean History</i> 」	10	14	46	Choe (2020)

7.2.2 Analysis

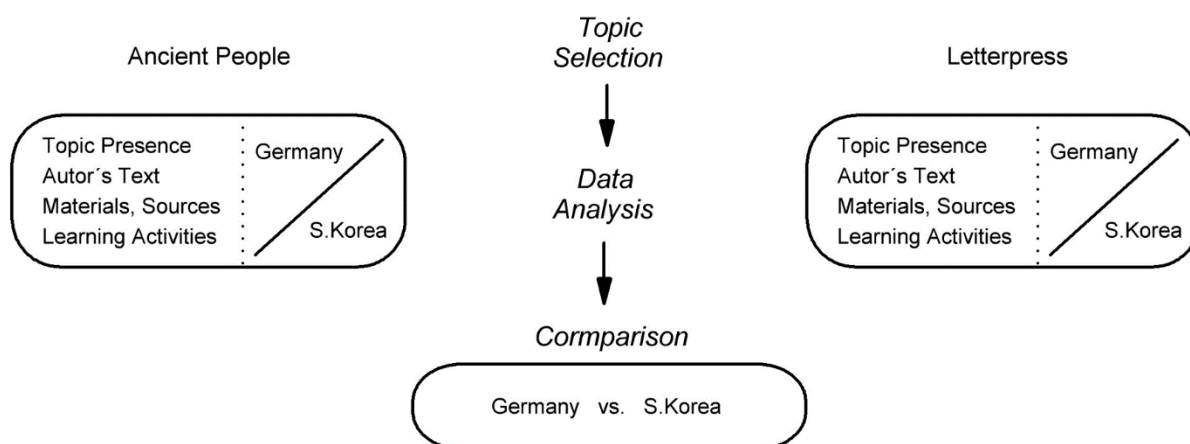
This study adopts the latest analysis method for the history textbooks by Schinkel (2017), who analyzed the presence and weight of the topic, author's text, and learning activities,

7 Comparative Analysis two: Textbook

as illustrated in *Figure 10*. First, this structure explains the presence of the topic, where the topic appears, its volume, and proportion. The content arrangement and composition of the history subjects of Germany and South Korea are markedly different, therefore, a strict one-to-one comparison is not possible. By scrutinizing the portion of the topic in the related unit, one can recognize how the topic is presented.

Next, the author's text is analyzed and summarized using Philipp Mayring's qualitative content analysis, especially the inductive category development to figure out the descriptions of the topics (Mayring, 2014). For example, the author's text of German textbooks was paraphrased into 28 codes for the ancient people's topic. Afterward, these codes were organized through repeated code abstraction and classification into six final categories. The final categories were prehistory Central European, Egyptian civilization, simple comparison, critical comparison, the epoch of world history, and general historical descriptions. The author's text of the Korean textbook on this topic was first paraphrased into 23 codes. The final six categories decided were the national foundation of the first country of our nation, the development and fall of *Old Chosŏn*, the *Dangun* myth, the *Eight Laws of Old Chosŏn*, and cultural uniqueness of Korea. After that, the study summarized the author's text based on these results of inductive analysis of author's text.

Figure 10 Analysis design for textbook comparison



Thirdly, the historical materials and sources were also analyzed with a focus on their form and usage. Historical materials in textbooks are typically divided into primary sources and historical narratives (Günther-Arndt & Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2014, p. 74). In that sense, the author's text also belongs to historical narratives. This study nonetheless limits historical material to “historical records in form of text and image” and “reproduced historical image materials,” excluding the author's text. Image materials include photos of relics or historical monuments and reconstructed explanatory drawings. Text materials include excerpts of writings written at the time or later writings written by historians. Sources

were analyzed combined with learning activities where the sources were used as objects of analysis.

Fourth, learning activities were examined by classifying them into three cognitive levels, *Anforderungsbereich* in German terms. It consists of three levels of cognitive activities: reproduction, reorganization, and transfer-judgment. *Table 17* shows 19 operational verbs suggested for the subjects history, geography, and politics in the 2016 Baden-Württemberg curriculum and the verbs are divided into the three cognitive levels of reproduction, reorganization, and transfer-judgment.

Table 17 Operational Verbs and its classification by cognitive levels

	verbs	in German	meanings defined	
1	describe	beschreiben	state facts in a coherent manner	I - Reproduction
2	transform	bezeichnen	formulate facts (especially in non-linear texts such as tables, charts, diagrams or maps) in a conceptually precise manner.	
3	name / state	nennen	state facts in a concise form	
4	analyze	analysieren	systematically examine and evaluate materials or facts	II - Reorganization
5	justify, give reasons	begründen	support statements (e.g., an assertion, a position) with arguments that are supported by examples or other evidence.	
6	characterize	charakterisieren	identify facts with their typical characteristics and in their basic features	
7	present	darstellen	explain facts in a structured and coherent way	
8	classify, assign	ein-, zuordnen	place facts coherently in a given context	
9	explain	erklären	contextualize facts from knowledge (e.g., theory, model, law, rule, functional, developmental, and/or causal relationship).	
10	explain with examples	erläutern	illustrate facts with examples or evidence.	
11	create	erstellen	present facts in a structured way (especially in graphical form) using technical terms.	III - Transfer and Judgment
12	elaborate	herausarbeiten	extract facts from given material under certain aspects, reproduce them and/or calculate them if necessary	
13	compare	vergleichen	determine comparison criteria, compare similarities and differences and formulate a result.	
14	judge	beurteilen	examine facts, statements, proposals or measures, state the criteria on which they are based and formulate a well-founded factual judgment.	
15	evaluate	bewerten	evaluate facts, statements, proposals or measures, formulate a well-founded value	

			judgment and disclose the value standards on which it is based
16	develop	entwickeln	design a well-founded solution to a given or self-designed problem
17	discuss	erörtern	formulate a reasoned conclusion to a given thesis or problem by weighing pro and con arguments
18	design	gestalten	create a practical media item such as a poster, article in a newspaper, or a letter text for a given or self-designed problem in a role- or addressee-oriented manner
19	review	überprüfen	examine statements, proposals or measures on facts for their factual correctness and formulate a reasoned result.

(MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016b, pp. 42–43)

According to the *Table 17*, reproduction means finding information and mentioning them again. Reorganization means that students analyze and compare the knowledge by restructuring the information using their own words. The transfer and judgment mean that students evaluate and review historical representations to choose a position, and suggest their ideas regarding historical issues or originate text containing their own thoughts. The classification aims to examine the nature of learning activities.

7.3 Results one: description and interpretation

7.3.1 Ancient peoples in German textbooks

7.3.1.1 Topic Presence

For the topic of ancient people in German textbooks, this study limits its scope for the Central European, which appears in comparison to Ancient Egypt. The content of the Germanic and Celtic peoples, which are dealt with in relation to the ancient Roman, is not analyzed to focus on its didactic characteristics.²⁷ The overall contents for the fifth and sixth grades stipulated in curriculum consist of four parts: (1) a guide to history learning, (2) the Stone Age and Ancient Egypt, (3) Ancient Greece and Roman Empire, and (4) early Middle Ages. The learning goal sentence in the curriculum related to the topic ‘ancient people lived in Europe’ reads, “*Students can compare Ancient Egypt with Europe in the Stone Age.*”²⁸ (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016a, p. 18, 2016b, p. 18). The content placement differs by textbooks in that the content appeared at the beginning, middle, or end of the unit.

The scope and proportion of the content appeared marginal. The Stone Age and Ancient Egyptian Civilizations units have 45 pages on average. Approximately 85% of

²⁷ The Germanic and Celtic people are not distinctly mentioned in the learning goal sentences of the curriculum. Related learning goal reads: Die Schülerinnen und Schüler können den Einfluss des Imperium Romanum auf die eroberten Gebiete beurteilen. [Students can assess the influence of the Imperium Romanum on the conquered territories.] In this case as well, the focus is on the influence of Roman, not the Germanic people.

²⁸ Die Schülerinnen und Schüler können das Leben in der Alt- und Jungsteinzeit beschreiben sowie- das Alte Ägypten mit Europa während der Steinzeit vergleichen.

them address Egyptian civilization and another 15% with the Stone Age. Comparisons between the two regions are covered in two to four pages (see *Table 15*). The total pages of the corresponding unit of the six textbooks are 297 pages in six textbooks, and the topic of Central European compared to ancient Egypt takes 21 pages or about 7%. It is noteworthy that textbooks do not mention German people but the Central European.

7.3.1.2 Author's Text

The unit mainly deals with ancient Egyptian civilization, and the comparison between ancient Egyptian and the Central European is peripherally presented using the *Fenster zur Welt* section, which means "Window to the world." This section is usually located at the latter part in units and primarily deals with world history outside of Europe, such as Africa, America, and Asia. The "Prehistoric Age and Ancient Egyptian Civilization" unit yet considers Europe as observed outside of it, because this unit mainly handles Egypt. Exceptionally, in the case of 「Das waren Zeiten」, the section is named '*Blick zurück*,' meaning 'looking back' (Benzinger, 2016, p. 66). It supports the view that Europe is where students started the journey, which means that they left Europe, travelled to Egypt, and then look back to Europe.

The main content on central European in the author's text can be divided into two: (1) comparisons between two places and (2) descriptions of the two regions. First, regarding the comparison, there are simple and critical comparisons of the two regions. The simple comparison juxtaposes the Paleolithic/Neolithic period with the ancient Egyptian civilization focusing on various themes such as art, residency forms, beliefs, the existence of letters, and the tomb shapes. Critical comparison guides students to question the comparability between cultures, ponder the meaning of civilization, and consider the social inequality of Egypt.

Second, regarding descriptions about the contemporary Stone Age in Central Europe, textbooks explain the fact that little is known about this period due to the deficiency of written records, and that human life can be only imagined based on archaeological findings. This explanation is quite different from the Korean textbooks analyzed later, and it provides meta-information in the sense that it explains the source and origin of narrative content in relation to sourcework. Moreover, they mainly compare the way of *ordinary people's life* of Paleolithic and Neolithic periods with ancient Egyptian civilization. The Longhouse, where people resided with livestock separately inside the house, is one of common topics, and it reflects the principle of personification. As for ancient Egypt, textbooks focus on the flooding of the Nile River, irrigation used in agriculture, high productivity through division of labor and surplus production, the prosperity of Egypt through mass manufacturing of metal, the Egyptian letters, and the role of civil servants.

In terms of rhetoric, sentences in the author's text use a style that elucidates from an omniscient perspective. Four publishers used "*du, ihr, or wir*," which means "you, you plural, and we." These expressions give the students a friendly impression. While textbooks of 「denk|mal」 and 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit」 do not use those expressions and thus maintain distance.

7 Comparative Analysis two: Textbook

7.3.1.3 Materials and sources

The materials were mainly image sources presented for the comparison between the two regions. Paintings and photos depict (1) different forms of residence, such as a picture of a reconstruction of the Longhouse in Europe and stone houses in an ancient Egyptian city, (2) the lives of people, such as reconstructed imagination pictures of hunters in the Stone Age in Europe, and photos of murals of civilized Egyptians with their haircuts or clothing, and (3) the shape of tombs, such as the large stone tombs comparing to the Egyptian pyramids. Regarding the type of materials, three types of image sources were used: explanatory paintings to describe people's lives, photos of stone tools and artifacts from ancient Egypt, and historical maps. The description focuses on normal people by asking about their lifestyles according to the principle of personification.

It is noteworthy that the captions of image materials explain whether they are reconstructed drawing or a photo whenever the paintings and photos do not originate from the time. For instance, 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit」 presented four images on pages for the comparison between Neolithic Age and ancient Egypt (pp. 94-95), and the image titles read, “Agriculture during the Neolithic period (reconstruction drawing)²⁹,” “Reconstruction of a Neolithic hook pile³⁰,” “Reconstructed Neolithic pile-dwelling village near to Lake Constance³¹,” “Reconstruction of a Neolithic stone drill with sand as abrasive³².”

It is also noteworthy that the captions of sources and materials provide detailed meta information such as title, estimated production time, size, excavation site and year, material, etc. For instance, image source captions of 「Das waren Zeiten」 explains the photo of “Hunting waterfowl on the Nile river³³” as follows (p. 67): “mural in the tomb of the official night, Thebes-West, around 1400 BC”. Another image “Hunting waterfowl in the Middle Stone Age³⁴” is explained as a “drawing for a book for young people, 2008.” Regarding other photos on page 69 of the same book, “Ramses II as young Pharaoh³⁵” is explained with information of “stone figure (diorite, variety of rock), height 1.94 m, c. 1270 BC.” A photo of a stone statue “Prince of the Glauberg, the Iron Age³⁶,” is presented with information of “stone figure (sandstone), height 1.86 m, around 400 B.C.”

7.3.1.4 Learning Activities

Questions are comprised of two types: explaining the comparison of the times in a table and building one's opinion. The first type activities are to complete a table comparing the Stone Age and Ancient Egypt by various criteria, and to present what the similarities and differences are. Example activities read, “Compare the examples of Paleolithic and

²⁹ Landwirtschaft während der Junsteinzeit (Rekonstruktionszeichnung)

³⁰ Rekonstruktion eines jungsteinzeitlichen Hakenpflugs

³¹ Rekonstruiertes jungsteinzeitliches Pfahlbaudorf in Unteruhldingen am Bodensee

³² Rekonstruktion eines jungsteinzeitlichen Steinbohrers mit Sand als Schleifmittel

³³ Jagd auf Wasservögel am Nil

³⁴ Jagd auf Wasservögel in der Mittelsteinzeit

³⁵ Ramses II. als junger Pharao

³⁶ Fürst vom Glauberg, Eisenzeit

7.3 Results one: description and interpretation

Neolithic history with the advanced Egyptian civilization. Discuss similarities and differences³⁷ - 「Das waren Zeiten, p. 69」, "Based on your findings, justify why Egypt is considered an advanced civilization but Central Europe is not³⁸ - 「Zeitreise, p. 65」. These questions require students to reorganize and explain the contents of author's text, which belong to the second requirement level of reorganization in Operational verbs list. These questions mainly relate to the methodical competence.

Another type of question requires evaluation and judgment about a given controversial statement: Questions present a statement such as "Primitive Central European with Stone Age and Ancient Egyptian Civilization", and asked students their opinions and provide reasons why they think so. Examples read: Evaluate the statement: "The early advanced civilizations provided ideas for the contemporary Neolithic and Metal Age ways of life in Europe." 「denk|mal, p. 93」, "How do you judge this statement?: "Primitive Neolithic here and incipient advanced civilization there." - 「Forum Geschichte, p. 67」." It is worth noting that these questions encourage divergent thinking by asking "open-ended questions" in which a controversial assumption or argument is firstly presented and then the student's opinion or judgment on it is asked. They let students experience controversy and multiperspectivity, and by answering the questions, they can realize the plurality of opinions. In addition, these questions help students draw their own decision and opinion, which means judgment competence.

Concerning the present relevancy, students are often asked to choose a place where they would like to live or imagine a trip to another area. Students inevitably transfer the past to the present or all the way around the present to the past through these tasks, so that they evaluate the past in relation to their current understanding. Related questions ask, "Where would you rather have lived - in the Paleolithic Age, the Neolithic Age, or Ancient Egypt? Explain the reasons for the decision. A boy from the Neolithic Age is talking with a girl from Egypt. The two are arguing about who has the better life. Have a conversation about it with your partner. 「Geschichte, p. 75」." In this way, students are asked to choose a place where they would like to live as individuals or imagine a trip to another area. Students inevitably transfer the past to the present in these tasks, and the subject matter is usually viewed and evaluated according to today's understanding.

Moreover, according to the principle of personification, the activities deal with the average lives of normal people rather than chronicles of dynasties or monarchs. It means that the activities encourage students to compare and evaluate everyday human life as individuals rather than perceiving themselves from a collective nation's or region's perspective.

³⁷ Vergleiche die Beispiele aus der Ur- und Frühgeschichte mit den Beispielen aus der ägyptischen Hochkultur. Diskutiert Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede.

³⁸ Begründet anhand eurer Ergebnisse, warum Ägypten als Hochkultur gilt, Mitteleuropa aber nicht.

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Table 18 Learning activities for ancient people topic in German textbooks

book	pages		Learning activities and materials
Forum Geschichte 5/6	66-67	Question	<p>1. Imagine that people from Central Europe come to this village in Egypt around 2500 BC in M 2. Note everything that the Neolithic people probably did not know, or knew it already.</p> <p>2. Partner activity: Based on author's text, M2, and M3, compare Ancient Egypt and the Neolithic period in Central Europe around 2500 BC. Make a table. Tip: Possible comparison criteria could be, for example: nature and climate, landscape, technology, nutrition, living together.</p> <p>3. Now it's your turn. How do you judge this statement: Primitive Neolithic here and incipient advanced civilization there? Tip: You can start your answer like this: "I agree/disagree with this statement because ..." Use the results from question 2 to justify your argument.</p>
		Material	<p>M 1. A map indicating the locations of Egypt and Central Europe</p> <p>M 2. An image of the Nile Valley, reconstruction drawing</p> <p>M 3. An image of construction of a longhouse in the Neolithic period, reconstruction drawing based on excavation results</p>
Forum Geschichte 5/6	68-69	Question	<p>1. Describe the mining of ores in the Metal Age in Central Europe, using M 2.</p> <p>2. Explain with examples (erläutere) how people's lives changed in Central Europe during the Bronze Age, using the author's text (lines 15-29) and M 1.</p> <p>3. Make a keywords list for a short lecture (see p.210) about bronze production in Egypt, using the author's text, M 3 and M 4. Tip: Use dictionary to look up unfamiliar terms.</p> <p>4. "Prosperity through metal?" Evaluate the importance of metal production for the Egyptian Empire.</p> <p>5. Partner activity: What are similarities and differences between Bronze Age in Central Europe and in Egypt around 1500 B.C. (comparison)</p>
		Material	<p>M 1. A photo of a relic from the Central European Bronze Age, 1500 to 1000 B.C.</p> <p>M 2. An image of ore mining in the Metal Age, reconstruction drawing, 1999</p> <p>M 3. Wall paintings from the tomb of the vizier Rechmire, around 1420 B.C.</p> <p>M 4. A Newspaper report on bronze production in Egypt, 1999 (Joachim Fritz-Vannahme, The Metal Unrugen of the Pharaoh, in Die Zeit, on May.4th.1996, p. 33)</p>
„Geschichte„ 5/6	74-75	Question	<p>1. Observe M 1. Can you distinguish the three people to the epochs Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Egypt? <i>Name</i> one person you think is backward and one person you think is advanced. Justify for your opinion.</p> <p>2. Make a Table M 2 in your notebook. Compare Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Egypt using the table. Use the questions of M 3 as reference.</p> <p>3. An anthropologist (anthropology, Greek = science of man) has argued the Paleolithic Age the "first abundant society" in history.</p> <p>a) Consider what Paleolithic people had in abundance and what they did not. b) Discuss this argument in class.</p> <p>4. Discuss whether the Neolithic Revolution or the transition to Egyptian advanced civilization was more important to the advancement of human beings.</p> <p>5. Where would you rather lived - the Paleolithic, the Neolithic, or Ancient Egypt? Give reasons for your decision.</p> <p>6. A boy from the Neolithic Age is talking with a girl from Egypt. The two are arguing about who has the better life. Have the conversation with your partner friend. (design)</p> <p>7. Make a list of the inventions of the Stone Age and Egypt that you think are still very important for our lives today. (design)</p>

Material	M 1. Photos of three people from the Paleolithic Age, the Neolithic Age and Ancient Egypt			
	M 2. Table for comparison			
		Paleolithic	Neolithic	Egypt
	Economy			
	Society			
	Rule			
	Religion and Culture			
	Technology			
	M 3. questions on advanced civilization			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule: Was there an autocrat? Was there a state? What is known about it? • Society: Were the people sedentary? What kind of dwellings did they have? Was there a division of labor and occupations? Was there a social pyramid? • Economy: How did people feed themselves? Did they stockpile? Did they grow crops and raise livestock? • Religion and culture: Was there a simple or an advanced religion= What is known about it? Were there art, music and important buildings? • Technology: Were there important inventions and technical feats? How did they improve people's lives? 			

The number of learning activities on a topic is usually 6-8. In the initial part, questions confirming content are presented with a low level of cognitive requirement, and in the latter part, questions ask historical evaluation and assessment requiring a higher level of thinking. For this topic, questions require the comparison of time in a table, analyzing historical material and establish one's own opinion are presented in the learning activities. Among the 15 questions presented in *Table 18*, two questions were related to reproduction, six questions were related to reorganization, and seven questions were related to transfer and judgment. From this, one can recognize that questions involve more reorganization, transfer, and judgment than simple reproduction of knowledge. Moreover, in the process of answering the questions, students are mostly required to write sentences and text, which enables them to build narrative competence.

7.3.2 Ancient peoples in South Korean textbooks

7.3.2.1 Topic Presence

The Ancient Korean history in this study analyzes the history of *Old Chosŏn* Korea, which is taught as the first nation in the present territory of present Manchuria and North Korea. The topic presence is greatly influenced by curriculum. In south Korea, students learn national history from ancient to modern times in the fifth, ninth, and tenth grades in the primary, middle, and high school three times, respectively, and learn world history once in the eighth grade of middle school. So this topic is mainly dealt in the Korean national history. The learning goal in the curriculums for primary school reads, “Students examine the story of the foundation of *Old Chosŏn* (...) and explore the growth of various countries.”³⁹ (MoE South Korea, 2018, p. 40). For middle school, the learning objective

³⁹ 고조선의 등장과 관련된 건국 이야기를 살펴보고, 고대 시기 나라의 발전에 기여한 인물(근초고왕, 광개토대왕, 김유신과 김춘추, 대조영 등)의 활동을 통하여 여러 나라가 성장하는 모습을 탐색한다.

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reads, “Students understand the characteristics of prehistoric culture and Bronze Age culture in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula compared to other regions and understand the social aspect of *Old Chosŏn*.⁴⁰” (Ibid., p. 109). For high school, the learning objective reads, “Students understand the process of the foundation and development of ancient countries and know the characteristics of their ruling system.⁴¹” (Ibid., p. 145).

Regarding the extent of *Old Chosŏn* in ancient history from the Stone Age to the first century B.C., it comprises four out of eight pages, equivalent to 50% in the primary textbook written by the Ministry of Education. In the middle school textbooks, the coverage of *Old Chosŏn* averages three pages out of 12 pages, or 25%, in the three history textbooks of different publishers analyzed. In the three textbooks for high school students, the history of *Old Chosŏn* is introduced in one page out of four pages, which is 25%. High school history focuses more on modern and contemporary history, so the pre-modern history is dealt with briefly. To sum up, the seven textbooks analyzed in this study contain content spanning from the prehistorical age to the end of *Old Chosŏn* in 56 pages, and the contents of *Old Chosŏn* cover 16 pages, which takes 35%.

7.3.2.2 Author's Text

The contents of the author's text dealt with the chronicles of *Old Chosŏn*, including (1) national foundation, (2) development, and (3) decline. In addition, the text describes (4) the *Dangun*⁴² myth, (5) the *Eight Laws*, and (6) the cultural genuineness of Korean nation. First, the national foundation of *Old Chosŏn* is frequently referred to as the subunit's title. For example, the title of subunit in Bisang textbook read “*Old Chosŏn*, the first nation in our history⁴³.” Introductory sentences explain the country's founding, development, and fall as follows in general,

After the Bronze tools spread, wars occurred more frequently. As a result, strong forces joined together or conquered neighboring groups and expanded their sphere of power. In this process, Old Chosŏn, the first country in our history based on Bronze culture, appeared. The founding process of Old Chosŏn and the society at that time can be derived from the Dangun myth. (...) Old Chosŏn continued to develop and grow into a country strong enough to compete with the Yan China by the end of the 4th century BC. As Old Chosŏn exchanged and competed with the Yan, Chinese iron culture gradually arrived. (...) Old Chosŏn monopolized the trade route between Han China and small country in southern part of the Korean peninsula, which led to a conflict with Han. Emperor Wu of Han felt anxiety by the increasingly powerful Old Chosŏn and eventually invaded Old Chosŏn. Old Chosŏn fought persistently against the Han for about a year, but internal divisions arose among the ruling class, and the capital Wanggeom fortress was captured and destroyed (108 BC). After the fall of Old Chosŏn, the Han established gun administration, which dominated this area. The

⁴⁰ 만주와 한반도 지역의 선사 문화와 청동기 문화의 특징을 다른 지역과 비교하여 이해하고 고조선의 사회 모습을 파악한다.

⁴¹ 고대 국가의 성립, 발전 과정을 파악하고, 지배 체제의 성격을 이해한다.

⁴² Dangun Wanggeom, 단군왕검, 檀君王儉

⁴³ 우리 역사상 최초의 국가 고조선

7.3 Results one: description and interpretation

*people of Old Chosŏn resisted Han rule, and in the process, many people migrated to the south of the Korean peninsula.*⁴⁴ 「Ch'ŏnjae」, pp. 17-18

The foundation myth, the story of *Dangun*, is introduced in all primary and middle school textbooks as a translated primary source as the Korean alphabet, *Han'gŭl*, was invented in the 15th century. In high school textbooks, the myth is mentioned briefly with its interpretation. The *Eight Laws* are mentioned in all textbooks without exception. It is explained that one can guess the lifestyle of *Old Chosŏn* through the content of the three remaining articles of the *Eight Laws*. Regarding cultural genuineness, it explains how the *Misongri*-style soil ware, table-style dolmens, and non-wavy copper swords are unique and different from Chinese relics. It is explained that these relics' excavations enable to estimate of the cultural border of *Old Chosŏn*. The narrative perspective has an omniscient perspective in all author texts.

In terms of word use, the most frequent words are *Old Chosŏn* (87 times), power (15), growth (13), foundation (12), and fall. The words Bronze Age (22), Iron Age (17), copper sword (17), and dolmen (5) are also frequently used to explain the development and cultural characteristics of *Old Chosŏn*. These words describe the rise and fall of *Old Chosŏn* and its cultural characteristics. The word "*senghwal*, 생활," which means the lives of people, appeared only once. It shows that the author's text of *Old Chosŏn* focuses mainly on the nation, not the individuals or ordinary people. This violates the principle of personification, which shows that Korean history books are written from the point of view of the ruler not ordinary people.

7.3.2.3 Materials and Sources

Historical data presented in this part use various forms of historical materials, including photos of relics, maps, text sources. Primarily, historical maps show the cultural influence sphere of *Old Chosŏn*, which is assumed through the excavation of the same sort of Bronze Age relics. Maps are presented in all seven textbooks along with overlapped pictures of the relics, which are regarded as relics of *Old Chosŏn*. The excavation sites where the relics were found are marked as the cultural influence territory of *Old Chosŏn* (see Figure 19, 20). Text sources consist of the *Dangun* myth and the *Eight Laws*. The *Dangun* myth is presented in all the primary and middle school textbooks, while high school textbooks mention its title and source. The myth reads,

Hwan-ung, the son of God, came to earth with gods who rule over wind, rain, and clouds. A bear wished to become a human, so Hwan-ung let the bear eat garlic and mugwort in a cave

⁴⁴ 청동기가 보급된 이후 전쟁이 잦아졌다. 이에 따라 강한 세력은 자신들을 중심으로 연맹을 만들거나, 주변 집단을 정복하며 세력 범위를 확장하였다. 이러한 과정에서 청동기 문화를 기반으로 한 우리 역사상 최초의 국가인 고조선이 등장하였다. 고조선의 건국 과정과 당시 사회상은 단군 신화를 보면 짐작할 수 있다.(...) 고조선은 발전을 거듭하여, 기원전 4세기 말에는 중국의 연과 맞설 만큼 강한 나라로 성장하였다. 고조선이 연과 교류하고 경쟁하는 과정에서 중국 계통의 철기 문화가 차츰 들어오기 시작하였다. (...) 고조선은 한과 한반도 남부 소국 사이 무역로를 독점하며 한과 갈등을 빚게 되었다. 점차 강성해지는 고조선에 불안을 느낀 한 무제는 결국 고조선을 침공하였다. 고조선은 약 1년간 한에 맞서 끈질기게 싸웠지만, 지배층의 내부 분열이 일어나 수도인 왕검성이 함락되면서 멸망하였다(기원전 108). 고조선 멸망 후, 한은 군을 설치하여 이 지역을 지배하였다. 고조선 유민들은 한의 지배에 저항하였고, 이 과정에서 많은 유민이 한반도 남쪽으로 이주하였다. - 천재, 17-18 쪽

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for 21 days. After that, the bear turned into a woman and got married to Hwanung. They gave birth to their son Dangun wanggŏm, the founder of Old Chosŏn.⁴⁵

- 『MoE』 p. 11, 『Bisang』 p. 17, 『Ch'ŏnjae』 p. 17, 『Chihaksa』 p. 14,

This text is presented with the source information of old Korean books, *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事) and *Dongguk tonggam* (東國通鑑). It is striking that all textbooks mentioned only book titles but do not provide further information on the two books. *Samguk yusa* is a collection of legends and folktales, and it is believed it was compiled around the 1280s after the Mongolian invasion, and the earliest extant publication of the text is from 1512. *Dongguk tonggam* is the national historiography of the *Chosŏn* (1392-1897) regime published at the beginning of the national foundation in 1485. The book title *Dongguk tonggam* is the source for estimating the foundation year of *Old Chosŏn*, in 2333 BC. Textbooks do not mention that there are 3800 years of gap between the years the book was written and the foundation of *Old Chosŏn*. Importantly, historians have concluded that the founding year of *Old Chosŏn*, which is generally mentioned and believed as 2333 BC, is a false conjecture. It shows the textbooks themselves contradict the knowledge of history research, and they provide inappropriate guides for sourcework.

The three remaining articles of the *Eight Laws* is also one of main materials. The contents are found all the seven textbooks and they are separately presented in a frame and titled as the law of *Old Chosŏn* or with three explanatory drawings for each together. The three remaining articles of the *Eight Laws* in textbooks read,

1. Whoever kills another compensates it with death. 2. Whoever harms others indemnifies with grain. 3. Whoever steals other people's property becomes a slave, and to avoid becoming a slave, they must pay half a million chŏn.⁴⁶

『MoE』 p. 12, 『Bisang』 p.17, 『Ch'ŏnjae』 p.19, 『Chihaksa』 p.15, 『Mirae-n』 p. 14,
『Donga』 p.11, 『Kŭmsŏng』 p.14

Textbooks explain that the remaining three articles enables to imagine the social aspect of *Old Chosŏn*. The interpretation supports the argument of the existence or plausibility of *Old Chosŏn* as a country.

⁴⁵ 환인(하늘의 신)의 아들 환웅이 하늘 아래에 뜻을 두고 인간 세상을 간절히 얻고자 하니, 환인이 아들의 뜻을 알고 아래의 삼위태백을 보자 널리 인간을 이롭게 할 만하였다. (...) (환웅은) 풍백, 우사, 운사(각각 바람, 비, 구름을 다스리는 신하)와 함께 곡식, 수명, 질병, 형벌, 선악 등 인간 세상의 360 여 가지의 일을 다스리게 하였다. 당시 곰 한 마리와 호랑이 한 마리가 같은 굴에 살았는데, 사람이 되고 싶어서 환웅에게 빌었다. 곰은 21 일 동안 썩과 마늘을 먹으며 햇빛을 보지 않는 것을 지켜 여자의 몸(웅녀)이 되었다. (...) 환웅이 웅녀와 혼인하여 아들을 낳았으니 이름을 단군왕검이라고 하였다.

⁴⁶ 8 조법 중 현재까지 전해지는 내용 1. 다른 사람을 죽이면 죽임으로 배상한다. 2. 다른 사람에게 상처를 입히면 곡물로 배상한다. 3. 남의 물건을 훔친 사람은 노비로 삼는데, 노비가 되지 않으려면 1 인당 50 만 전을 내야 한다.

7.3.2.4 Learning activities

The main requirement of learning activities is to explain the content presented in the textbooks, write the appropriate words in blanks, indicate “O” or “X” regarding the sentences presented, and connect the related content. An example for underlining the text of historical sources is as follows "Underline the part in the story of *Dangun* that shows that *Old Chosŏn* was an agricultural society⁴⁷. 「Chihaksa, p.14」" Other frequent questions include filling-in the blanks questions, "The first nation in our history based on the Bronze Age culture is ○○○⁴⁸. 「Ch'ŏnjae, p. 19」" Questions are asking for knowledge written in the authors' text and materials. Students do not need to analyze the material but read and find the knowledge. There are also no activities requiring students to evaluate or judge by building their opinions. As shown in *Table 19*, all the questions expect the only correct answer already explained in textbooks.

By repeating the contents and questions, the intention seems clear that the textbooks let the state's interpretation of the past be the historical facts. The forms of OX, fill in the blanks allow only the checking the limited contents. Although some questions ask open questions such as “what can we learn?” or “what can you deduce from the historical material?”, they are asking about the *Dangun* myth or the *Eight Laws*, so the students have no other choice but have to answer the question by repeating the textbook explanation in author’s text and materials. It means the learning activities force mono perspective understanding through mono material and mono interpretation. It is hard to find any pedagogical or didactical meaning in these questions.

Table 19 Learning activities for ancient people topic in South Korean textbooks

textbook	pages	Learning activities and materials
primary school	『Social Studies』	11 What can we learn from the story of the founding of <i>Old Chosŏn</i> ?
		12 Based on the three remaining provisions of the <i>Eight Laws</i> of <i>Old Chosŏn</i> , imagine and write about how people lived at that time. Ex) Whoever kills a person is punished by death: It shows that a serious crime was strictly prohibited by the law.
middle school	『Ch'ŏnjae』	17 1 Find and underline the phrases from the <i>Dangun</i> myth that show that <i>Old Chosŏn</i> was founded in an agrarian society. 2 "In the <i>Dangun</i> myth, the bear turned into a woman, married <i>Hwanung</i> , and gave birth. This son was <i>Dangun Wanggeom</i> ." Write down the historical facts meant in this verse.

⁴⁷ 위의 단군왕검 이야기에서 고조선이 농경 사회였음을 알 수 있는 부분을 찾아 밑줄을 그어 보자.

⁴⁸ 청동기 문화를 기반으로 한 우리 역사상 최초의 국가는 ○○○이다.

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		19	<p>1. Contents of Article 3 of 8 Laws, Ban-go, 『Hansǒ』 『Geography』 -</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Write down the social aspects of <i>Old Chosǒn</i> seen in the second article. 2. Imagine and write down the contents of the other provisions that have not come down now as they would have been then. <p>2. Write down the corresponding words.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Neolithic people in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula made OO cook and store food. (2) The first nation in our history based on Bronze Age culture was OOO. <p>3. If it is correct, mark O; if not, mark X.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) At the beginning of the Paleolithic, small, sophisticated tools proper to the uses were made and used, but by the end of the Paleolithic, a single large stone tool was used for a variety of purposes. () (2) Neolithic people in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula lived by rivers and beaches and subsisted on fishing, hunting, and gathering. () (3) In the Bronze Age, agriculture was practiced with bronze agricultural tools. ()
	『Mirae-n』	14	Regarding the remaining three articles of the <i>Eight Laws</i> from 『Hansǒ』, talk about the <i>Old Chosǒn</i> society. What can you deduce from the above historical material?
high school	『Kǔmsǒng』	16	<p>The following is a summary of the formation of the early state. Fill in the blanks by choosing the correct answer from the following four words. Choices: Class / Federal Country / <i>Dangun</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In the Bronze Age, the generation of surplus products created a gap between the rich and the poor, forming a () society. 2. According to 『<i>Samguk yusa</i>』, () established <i>Old Chosǒn</i> in the 24th century BC. 3. The initial state was (), in which several small countries were united with the main power as the center.

As shown in *Table 19*, the questions in the fifth-grade textbook read, "What can we learn from the history of the foundation of *Old Chosǒn*?", "Based on the three remaining provisions of the *Eight Laws* of *Old Chosǒn*, imagine and write about how people lived at that time." Students need to review the historical interpretation of the *Dangun Myth* and the *Eight Laws*. The questions in middle and high school repeat almost the same questions which is forcing students to accept the historical interpretation regarding *Old Chosǒn*. It is striking that there is no difference in the cognitive level required by questions for different grade levels. This small amount of historical information on *Old Chosǒn* is dealt with in primary, middle, and high schools, and students are repeatedly asked to accept the contents without a chance to reflect on it critically.

These questions serve to sublimate the historical content of the "first country in our history," which has not been rigorously verified academically, as the "right" and "correct" answer. It violates the principle of multiperspectivity. Moreover, regarding the present relevancy, these contents are in no way related to the current reality of students' lives. Questions are asking about the rise and fall of *Old Chosǒn* country, the *Dangun*

Myth, and the three remaining articles of the *Eight Laws of Old Chosŏn*. Although the lives of ordinary people are dealt with through the *Eight Laws*, the questions focus on that students repeat the given interpretation by asking superficial explanation on the three remaining articles.

7.3.3 Letterpress in German textbooks

7.3.3.1 Topic Presence

The history curriculum for seventh grade consists of three parts: (1) the Middle Ages in Europe, (2) the transition to the modern era, and (3) the French Revolution. The contents of the letterpress printing, *Buchdruck* in German, during the transition to the modern era, and the related learning goal presented in the curriculum is as follows: "The students can characterize the change of epoch from the Middle Ages to the modern age and explain its manifestations in people's everyday life (for example: Renaissance, individual, new science, Copernican turn, book printing, banking, and Long-distance trade)⁴⁹" (MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016b, p. 24) The unit about the transition to the modern era is made up of on average 52 pages, and the content of book printing takes 2.5 pages, accounting for around 5%.

7.3.3.2 Author's text

The content consists of an account of *Gutenberg* as a person, his invention of the letterpress with moving types, the acknowledgment of *Gutenberg*, and the societal influence of book printing. First, the account of *Gutenberg* as an individual describes that he was born around 1400 to a patrician family but had to borrow money from wealthy merchants to finance his experiments so partners and creditors would later get involved in the business. *Gutenberg* could not use this important invention to his advantage and died in 1468 in similar circumstances to those in which he was born 「Forum Geschichte, p. 122」, 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, p. 66」.

Second, textbooks commonly explain the process of printing books using moving metal letters and the *Gutenberg Bible* in relation to *Gutenberg's* invention. The printing process of a book was explained using explanatory pictures presenting the printing process of one page or the letterpress book production process at the printing house with image sources. It also explains why *Gutenberg* decided to make the Bible and it resulted decrease the price of the Bible.

Third, respecting *Gutenberg's* influence, textbooks explain that there were 250 printing shops established in Europe in the 1490s, which increased to 1000 printing shops in the 1500s, and the printing of books spread rapidly 「Geschichte, p. 153」. Concerning *Gutenberg's* acknowledgment today, 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, p. 66」 introduces that *Gutenberg's* printing press was selected as the most important invention by the American magazine *Time-Life* in 1997 and that a group of scholars selected him as the

⁴⁹ Die Schülerinnen und Schüler können den Epochenwechsel vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit charakterisieren und seine Erscheinungsformen im Alltag der Menschen erläutern (Renaissance: z. B. Individuum, Neue Wissenschaft, Kopernikanische Wende; Buchdruck; z. B. Bankwesen, Fernhandel)

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“Man of the Millennium” in 1999. Likewise, 「Das waren Zeiten, p. 66」 introduced Gutenberg as the “Man of the Millennium” by Time magazine in the U.S. in 1999.

Fourth, the media revolution is often introduced jointly with Gutenberg's invention due to the increased numbers of book printing houses. 「Forum Geschichte, p. 123」 introduced the media revolution in five stages. The introduction of computers and smartphones was presented as the fifth and final media revolution.

Regarding the author's standpoint, all six publishers took the perspective of explaining from an omniscient point of view. In terms of the language used, unlike other publishers, 「Geschichte, p. 144」 vividly described the content using the following sentences: "Who can read has certainly an advantage. However, at the end of the Middle Ages just between 10% of men and only few women could read. (...) In 1500, around 40 new book titles were published in the German language area, in 1523, there were already 500, and the tendency is rising!⁵⁰"

7.3.3.3 Materials and sources

Image materials include portrayals or a photo of a statue of Gutenberg, one of pages or the cover page of the Gutenberg Bible, old drawings depicting the printing process at a printing house, and a monk copying a book before the invention of letterpress printing. The portrayals of Gutenberg was presented as an image material in 「denk|mal, p. 60」, 「Forum Geschichte, p. 118」, and 「Geschichte, p. 152」. 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, p. 66」 presents a photo of his statue. Three textbooks described the creation time of statues and portraits as in 16C, in 17C, and in 1837, and 「Geschichte, p. 152」 referred to the portrait as a 'fantasy portrait' and explained that there are no records of his actual appearance⁵¹. All the publishers provided sources of pictures showing the working process of a printing house. The stated production years of these source images are also subtly presented as in 1588, in 1632, and in 16C.

The acknowledgment of book printing at the time is introduced as text sources. A critical review of the *Abbot Johannes Trithemius* in 1494 wrote that the printed writing on paper would not survive 200 years, while hand-written books last more than 1000 years in two textbooks: 「Das waren Zeiten, p. 67」 and 「Zeitreise, p. 55」. The critique is presented with positive evaluation which praising the letterpress bookprinting at the time and ask questions to compare the two opposing materials. 「Das waren Zeiten, p. 67」 asks students to explain the different viewpoints by examining the biographical background of the two source's authors. Students should be able to understand the influence of the new printing technology on the traditional writing profession. In this way, students can experience multiperspectivity in the past.

⁵⁰ Wer lesen kann, ist klar im Vorteil. Jedoch konnten am Ende des Mittelalters gerade einmal zwischen 10 % der Männer und nur ganz wenige Frauen lesen. (...) Im Jahr 1500 wurden im deutschen Sprachraum ca. 40 neue Buchtitel herausgebracht, 1523 waren es schon 500, Tendenz steigend!

⁵¹ Porträt von Johannes Gutenberg: Fantasiebildnis des 16. Jahrhunderts, authentische Bildnisse sind nicht überliefert.

Overall, the typical image sources are explanatory drawings of the book's production process and the primary text sources containing praise and criticism of *Gutenberg's* letterpress. The sources are used in learning activities to analyze or compare them.

7.3.3.4 Learning Activities

The learning activities for this topic consist of explanation, comparison, and critical analysis of source text and images. Firstly, learning activities about the image materials describing inside of printing house require students to explain the process of printing and people's roles, such as letter setters, pressers, proofreaders, and bookbinder based on the information on descriptive image sources. Examples are: "Imagine that you should learn how to work in a printing shop. What does a colleague explain to you? Write down the conversation. 「Zeitreise, p. 55」;" "Compare the creation of a book before Gutenberg's invention and at the time of Gutenberg. 「denk|mal, p. 60」;" "Describe the wood printing process in a printing house. 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit」, 「Geschichte, p. 67」;" "Describe the production of a book using the method developed by Gutenberg based on the image material 「Forum Geschichte, p. 122」."

Secondly, questions ask students for their opinions on evaluations of Gutenberg and the media revolutions. Examples are "Explain to what extent the invention was groundbreaking for a new era. 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, p. 67」;" "Gutenberg was selected as the '*Man of the Millennium*', name the reasons. 「Zeitreise, p. 55」, 「Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, p. 67」;" "Evaluate the invention of printing for the dissemination of knowledge 「denk|mal, p. 60」." Two publishers presented questions on how Gutenberg's letterpress relates to the current media revolution over the internet, "The invention of the internet is often thought as world-changing as that of the printing press. Ask your parents how their lives have changed due to the internet and how they evaluate this change" 「Das waren Zeiten, p. 67」;" and "Evaluate how the internet changed the way of knowledge exchange using the example of Wikipedia, 「Forum Geschichte, p. 123」."

Table 20 Learning activities for letterpress topic in German textbooks

Textbook	pages	Learning activities and materials
「Zeitreise」	2 54-55	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. List inventions made at the beginning of the modern age (author's text). 2. Figure out why books were extremely expensive before <i>Gutenberg's</i> invention (author's text 1). 3. Observe Q 3. Put yourself in the 15th century. Imagine you are supposed to work in a printing shop. A journeyman shows you around. What does he explain to you? What else would you like to know? Write down a conversation. 4. Describe the opinions of contemporary opinions on Gutenberg's invention in your own words (Q 4, Q 5). 5. <i>Gutenberg</i> was selected as the "Man of the Millennium" in 2000. Justify this. 6. Discuss which modern technology is pushing back the importance of printing today. Give reasons for your opinion. 7. Explain why people at the time of the Renaissance understood "around the clock" but people in the Middle Ages did not. 8. What "time device" do you use? What inventions were necessary for it?

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	<p>Q 1. A photo of an old drawing depicting eye glasses</p> <p>Q 2. A photo of pocket watch from the 16th century</p> <p>Q 3. Printing house in the 16th century, copperplate engraving by Philipp Galle</p> <p>Q 4. About printed books in 1494 by Abbot Johannes Trithemius</p> <p>Q 5. The advantages of letterpress printing around 1475 by Bonus Accursius</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Die Reise in die Vergangenheit, 7/8</p>	<p>1. Describe the copperplate engraving M 3.</p> <p>2. Compare the production speed of the <i>Gutenberg Bible</i> with the handwritten Bible of a monk.</p> <p>3. Explain (erläutere) how the invention of printing paved the way for a new era.</p> <p>4. Figure out the Pope's attitude towards printing from Q 1.</p> <p>5. Justify <i>Gutenberg's</i> election as Man of the Millennium.</p> <p>6. Discuss the benefits and dangers of distributing printed works.</p> <hr/> <p>M 1. Johannes <i>Gutenberg</i> statue in Mainz (bronze statue based on designs by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1837)</p> <p>M 2. Photo image of a page from the <i>Gutenberg Bible</i>.</p> <p>M 3. A drawing of a book printing house</p> <p>M 4. A drawing indicating the process of <i>Gutenberg's</i> printing</p> <p>Q 1. In 1501, Pope Alexander expressed himself in a document (a text stating that the printing of books requires prior authorization)</p>

The sample questions in *Table 20* consist of a total of 14 items. Based on operational verbs, the questions can be classified into the three cognitive levels: there are three questions for reproduction, eight questions for reorganization, and three for transfer and judgment. It can be thus seen that questions on the reorganization of historical materials account for a substantial proportion. Another characteristic, in comparison with South Korean textbooks, is that each question indicates which reading material is related to solving the task by mentioning material numbers at the end of question sentences. This suggests that the historical materials and author's texts presented could be organized in mind what information students need to solve the questions, which reflect learning goals.

7.3.4 Letterpress in South Korean textbooks

7.3.4.1 Topic Presence

In South Korean textbooks, the letterpress is introduced in the unit of *Koryŏ Korea* (935-1392), a medieval country on the Korean Peninsula. Among the contents of Korean history in the fifth grade 「Social studies」 of primary school, there are two learning goals regarding the *Koryŏ* period. The learning goal related to letterpress is as follows: "Explore the excellence of science, technology, and culture in the *Koryŏ* period through cultural heritage such as *Koryŏ Celadon*, metal type, and the *Tripitaka Koreana*⁵²." (MoE South Korea, 2018, p.40). The relevant learning goal in the ninth-grade Korean history curriculum of middle school 「History 2」 is that "Students infer the characteristics of society and culture of *Koryŏ* based on relics or historical sites⁵³." (Ibid., p. 111). High school 「Korean History」 focuses on modern and contemporary history, and the *Koryŏ*

⁵² 고려청자와 금속 활자, 팔만대장경 등의 문화유산을 통하여 고려 시대 과학 기술과 문화의 우수성을 탐색한다.

⁵³ 고려 시대 사회 모습과 문화의 특징을 유물이나 유적, 사례들에 기초하여 추론한다.

period briefly deals with politics and ideological history. Thus, there are no learning goals related to printing.

Primary school 「Social studies」 textbook assigns six pages out of 19 pages in *Koryŏ* units for letterpress, and it corresponds to 30% of the units considered. In middle school textbooks of 「History 2」, the *Koryŏ* period is introduced in 35 pages on average, of which the description of the letterpress is two pages long. It is about 6% of the units. Although the letterpress is not mentioned in the high school curriculum, all high school 「Korean History」 textbooks briefly deal with the letterpress in less than half a page.

7.3.4.2 Author's text

The descriptions of the letterpress are mainly composed of explanation on the *Tripitaka Koreana*⁵⁴, a Korean collection of the Tripitaka on woodblocks, and *Jikji*⁵⁵, a Korean Zen text, printed by movable metal type. The author's text introduces that the *Tripitaka Koreana* is a collection of Buddhist scriptures. The original *Tripitaka Koreana* was burnt and destroyed during the Mongolian invasion and the *Koryŏ* regime reproduced the *Tripitaka Koreana* consisting of more than 80,000 woodblocks, to overcome the Mongolian invasion with the Buddha's power. Photos of a plate of *Tripitaka Koreana* and the building of *Haehinsa Temple*, where the *Tripitaka Koreana* is stored, are presented together (see *Figures 11, 21*). The primary school textbook and 「Bisang」 and 「Ch'ŏnjae」 middle school textbooks mention that the *Tripitaka Koreana* and *Haehinsa Temple* are listed as UNESCO cultural heritage sites.

Furthermore, the five textbooks introduced *Jikji*, published by *Heungdeoksa Temple* in 1377, as the world's oldest book printed with metal type. The primary school textbook introduced *Jikji* with the words, "It was more than 70 years ahead of the metal type in Europe." The middle school 「Bisang」 textbook describes the letterpress of *Koryŏ* as "The *Saangjeonggogeumyemun*⁵⁶, which is said to have been printed with movable metal type in 1234, predates the West for about 200 years. In the West, *Gutenberg* in Germany succeeded in printing using metal type the first time around 1445."⁵⁷ 「Bisang, p. 109」. It is explained clear that *Jikji* is the world oldest book, but what kind of book *Jikji* is not always explained. 「Bisang」 textbook is the only book that explains about the contents of *Jikji* that it is the collection of various Buddhist teaching scriptures and the words of priests. Interestingly, the primary textbook introduces a story that *Mr. Park Byung-sun*, who worked at the National Library in Paris, France, recognized and informed that *Jikji* was an older metal type printed book than that of Europe. Overall, the author's text introduces the *Tripitaka Koreana* and *Jikji* as cultural heritages of the *Koryŏ*.

Regarding the language use, it is characteristic that the modifiers "the world's oldest" or "the world's first" are frequently used. In the case of the primary school

⁵⁴ P'almandaejanggyŏng, 팔만대장경, 八萬大藏經

⁵⁵ Pulcho Jikji shimch'e yojŏ, 불조직지심체요절, 佛祖直指心體要節

⁵⁶ Saangjeonggogeumyemun, 상정고금예문, 詳定古今禮文

⁵⁷ (...) 1234 년에 금속 활자로 인쇄하였다고 전하는 상정고금예문은 서양보다 약 200 년이나 앞선 것이예요. 서양에서는 1445 년경 독일의 구텐베르크가 금속 활자를 이용한 활판 인쇄에 처음으로 성공하였어요.

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textbook, it is notable that the evaluative comments are presented in cartoon figures': "The *Tripitaka Koreana* is the most complete among the remaining *Tripitaka*. The *Tripitaka* could only be made with a very high level of knowledge of Buddhism."

7.3.4.3 Materials and Sources

For the topic of letterpress, there are two types of image sources. All textbooks contain photos of one of 80,000 boards of the *Tripitaka Koreana* and the *Janggyeongpanjeon*, the building that stores the *Tripitaka Koreana* in *Haehinsa Temple* (see Figure 11).

Figure 11 Letterpress image material - 1

자료 1 팔만대장경과 해인사 장경판전

팔만대장경의 원래 이름은 고려 대장경으로, 두 번째로 만든 대장경이라는 의미로 재조대장경이라고도 한다. 팔만대장경이라는 이름은 전체 판목의 수가 팔만여 개로 이루어져 있다는 것에서 유래하였다. 해인사 장경판전은 팔만대장경을 보관하려고 조선 전기에 만든 건물로, 1995년 유네스코 세계 문화유산에 등재되었다. 팔만대장경 경판은 2007년 유네스코 세계 기록 유산에 등재되었다.

팔만대장경의 우수성

팔만대장경은 경판이 팔만 장이 넘고, 글자 수가 오천만 자가 넘는다. 이렇게 글자가 많음에도 경판의 서체가 한 사람의 숨씨처럼 일정하고, 현재까지 발견된 오·탈자가 거의 없을 정도로 정교함을 자랑한다.



✪ 팔만대장경 경판(경남 합천 해인사)

✪ 팔만대장경을 보관하는 장경판전

「Chonjae, p. 103」

인쇄술

고려 시대에는 인쇄술이 크게 발전하였다. 외세와 항쟁하는 과정에서 제작된 초조대장경과 팔만대장경은 고려의 발달된 목판 인쇄술을 보여 준다. 또한, 세계 최초로 금속 활자 인쇄술을 발명하여 "상정고금예문", "직지심체요절" 등 다양한 책을 인쇄하였다.



✪ 팔만대장경 경판(경남 합천)

✪ 직지심체요절(프랑스국립도서관) 남아 있는 가장 오래된 금속 활자본이다.



✪ '북'이 새겨진 금속 활자(국립중앙박물관)



「Dong-a, p. 46」

7.3 Results one: description and interpretation

The second most frequently presented photo is the book cover or some pages of *Jikji*. Five out of seven textbooks contain those photos. The photos of *Jikji* is often presented always together with a metal type (see Figure 12), which is known that it is excavated in *Pyongyang*, North Korea. Although this is a movable metal type and there is a separate explanation about this, this has no direct relevance with *Jikji* itself, and it gives an impression that the type is used for printing *Jikji*.

Another type of image sources are explanatory pictures, as shown in Figure 12. The primary school textbook 「Social Studies」 and middle school 「Bisang」 textbook present a series of drawings explaining the manufacturing procedure of *Tripitaka Koreana*. What is noteworthy here is that there is no remaining record on how the people at that time made metal types and how *Jikji* is printed. The explanatory pictures are titled, “The manufacturing and printing process of metal type” and “Beeswax casting method for printing *Jikji*,” and they do not mention that there is no record about it. It is known that the metal type of *Heungdeoksa Temple*, where *Jikji* was printed, used beeswax casting, but based on a strict academic verification, it is only a speculation (J. Hwang, 2005, 2008). More than anything, there is no literature record on how the casting were made (G. Nam & Lee, 2010). In reality, Mr. Oh reconstructed the wax casting method in his artistic work in the 1990s, who was, for this reason, designated as a technology holder of the intangible cultural treasure of the movable metal type. Altogether, the image materials subserve the author's text, contain misleading information.

Figure 12 Letterpress image material - 2



「Social Studies, p. 52」

「Bisang, p. 109」

7.3.4.4 Learning Activities

Most of learning activities focus on reproduction of given information in this topic again. The most common question types are the fill-in-the-blank and answering “O” or “X” to distinguish right or wrong on given sentences. An example of the fill-in-the-blank exercise is as follows: “OO is the oldest metal type printed document in the world” 「Bisang, p. 108」, 「Chihaksa, p. 100」. The OX quiz reads, “The Mongol invasion burned down the

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Tripitaka Koreana." The correct answer is X because the *Tripitaka Koreana* is a replicated version of the original one produced after the Mongolian invasion.

Table 21 Learning activities for letterpress topic in South Korean textbooks

Textbook	page	Learning activities and materials
primary school	『Social Studies』 50	How did the <i>Koryŏ</i> people feel, as they made the <i>Tripitaka Koreana</i> ?
	53	Why is <i>Jikji</i> in France?
middle school	『Bisang』 108	1. Find the term that fills the gaps in the character table and mark it. : OO is the oldest metal script in the world. 2. Mention the names of the representative cultural works that developed during the <i>Koryŏ</i> Dynasty, such as Buddhist art, handicrafts, and printing? see pages 106~108
	『Chihaksa』 100	Write the corresponding words in the blanks. (1) OO introduced Neo-Confucianism from Won to <i>Koryŏ</i> during the reign of King <i>Chungnyeol</i> . (2) OO is the oldest surviving metal printing book in the world.
	104	1. Production of <i>Tripitaka</i> , woodblock printing: Chojo <i>Tripitaka</i> during the Khitan invasion and OOOOO during the Mongol invasion. 2. Use of metal types: 『 <i>Sangjeong Gogeu</i> <i>Yemun</i> 』 (1234) does not exist, and OO (1377) is the oldest printed version with metal type in the world.

It is hard to find questions requiring analysis of materials or where the answer is required with complete sentences and not short words or an OX quiz. Partly, the primary school textbook presented such questions. For example, it reads, "How did the *Koryŏ* people feel when they made the *Tripitaka Koreana*?" The students are guided to answer that the *Koryŏ* people hoped to overcome the national hardship, the invasion of Mongolia. Another question reads, "Why is the *Jikji* in France?" It is explained that a French invaded Chosŏn in the 19th century took it to France. This question highlights the Mongol invasion of *Koryŏ* and the French invasion of *Chosŏn*.

7.4 Results two: juxtaposition & comparison

7.4.1 Topic presence

The ancient people who lived in present territory of Germany and Korea take up different proportion and importance in textbooks, and this difference originates from the curriculum that is the framework for writing textbooks. The topic of ancient people in Europe appears as a marginal topic in the unit of ancient Egypt, and took up 7%. Students are asked to compare the civilization of ancient Egypt and the Neolithic period in Central Europe. It is noteworthy that the textbooks do not mention German people. South

Korean textbooks introduce the ancient Korean people of the first country, *Old Chosŏn*. *Old Chosŏn* is described that it was founded in 2333 BC., and textbooks deal with the topic repeatedly in the fifth, ninth, and tenth grades in the first unit of Korean history.

The second topic, the letterpress, is also differently introduced in German and South Korean textbooks. German textbooks present the letterpress mainly with *Gutenberg's* printing of bibles using movable metal type, which triggered mass production of books and the Reformation in Europe. The Letterpress is introduced as one of several factors that brought about the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern era. Korean textbooks present letterpress mainly connected to the *Tripitaka Koreana*, a woodblock produced as an effort of resistance against the Mongol invasion, and *Jikji*, the world's first or oldest book printed with metal type. These are introduced as examples of the oldest and leading printing technology of *Koryŏ* Korea.

7.4.2 Author's text

Instead of comparing the contents of the author's texts describing different past of two countries, the comparison here is about the characteristics of the author's text, such as the object, intention, and language of the author's text. As for the object of the description, German textbooks describe the life of individuals, ordinary people, and social aspects. They compare the lives of the ancient people who lived in the Stone Age and ancient Egyptian civilization. Korean textbooks describe the country, *Old Chosŏn*. They describe the national foundation, development, and fall of *Old Chosŏn*. It overall emphasizes the Korean culture distinguished from Chinese.

Upon topic two, German textbooks introduce *Gutenberg's* work and the subsequent social consequence, the increase of printing houses in Europe and the Reformation. Korean textbooks mainly introduce the *Tripitaka Koreana* and *Jikji* as excellent printing techniques of *Koryŏ* Korea, and emphasize that the letterpress technique was developed about 200 years earlier than Europe and *Jikji* recognized as the oldest in the world by UNESCO.

Regarding the intention of the author's text, one can see it depends on the curriculum's learning goals. For example, in topic one, the German textbook authors interpret the purpose of the learning objective "Comparison between Central Europe in the Stone Age and Ancient Egyptian Civilization" to give students a chance to experience multi-perspective by comparing cultures, allowing students to think about cultural diversity. It contrasts with the nationalist perspective that intends to own a long and glorious past as 'ours' and emphasizes relative superiority over others in Korean textbooks. Because the Korean curriculum is a standard for Korean history, *Old Chosŏn* inevitably is at the center of the content. The second topic, the letter printing, in the German curriculum, is used as an example to explain manifestations of the modern age in people's everyday lives. The Korean curriculum introduces the letter printing as a material to explain the cultural characteristics of *Koryŏ*. In particular, the primary school curriculum presents this theme to prove the cultural excellence of *Koryŏ* Korea.

7.4.3 Materials and sources

Regarding the meta-information on materials given, German textbooks supply information to distinguish materials from sources. In topic one, the photo sources of Egyptian relics and monuments are presented with the information of the estimated time when the relics or monuments were created. Image materials of European residency patterns in the Stone Age were explicitly marked as reproduction images, *Nachbau*, *Rekonstruktion*, to distinguish them from photos of primary sources created in the period. In topic two, *Gutenberg's* portrait images are marked when the picture was drawn based on imagination. It intends for students to know that the portrait was drawn after *Gutenberg's* death. As an exception, the 「denk/mal」 presented portraits without information on when it was drawn. Korean textbooks presented image materials as animations instead of written information to distinguish historical materials from primary sources. For example, the process of making metal type in Topic 2 is presented as a cartoon. However, it does not mention the fact that there are no exact records about the printing process.

Secondly, in regards to the usage of materials, German textbooks let students analyze and interpret the contents and components of materials. For instance, in topic one, the primary learning activities are to compare the antiquities of ancient Egypt with those of central Europe in the Neolithic period. In topic two, students are asked to explain the work process using picture materials showing the process of book printing after *Gutenberg's* invention. Students are also asked to compare text sources holding different opinions on book printing.

On the other hand, Korean textbooks present historical materials as evidence of the author's text content, and the learning questions ask students to understand and memorize the names and contents of the materials. In topic one, the titles of text sources, *Samguk yusa*, and *Dongguk tonggam* were introduced as an information source for the founding myth of *Old Chosŏn* and the foundation time. However, none of the textbooks noted the time gap between the *Old Chosŏn* period and when the two historical sourcebooks were written, which is more than 3,000 years. The primary school textbooks and middle school 「Bisang」 textbooks provide information that *Samguk yusa* was written during the *Koryŏ* Dynasty. However, this information is written not in the author's text but at the bottom of the pages. The middle school 「Bisang」 textbook provides information on *Samguk yusa* and *Dongguk tonggam* as follows: "*Samguk yusa*, written by *Il yeon* during the *Koryŏ* Dynasty, contains the *Dangun* myth, the founder of *Old Chosŏn*. The history book of the Chosŏn Dynasty *Dongguk tonggam* contains the time information that *Old Chosŏn* was founded in 2333 BC." None of the textbooks explicitly give information on the year when the two-book sources are written. *Samguk yusa* is assumed to have been written around 1280, and *Dongguk tonggam* in 1484. The frequently presented photo images in topic one are relics of *Old Chosŏn*, the Misongri-style earthenware, and the non-corrugated copper sword. They play a role as evidence that *Old Chosŏn* was a separate country from China by explaining that they are different from the relics found near the *Hwang He* River in China.

In topic two, the process of making metal type supports the contents of the author's text that Korea's metal type production is the world's oldest by giving quasi proof of how they made it. However, textbooks do not mention that there is no remaining information on this process, and the process in the picture represents the reconstructed process of the 1990s. To summarize, German textbooks use materials as an object of analysis, and Korean textbooks use data as evidence to manifest the author's intention.

Overall, German textbooks provide meta-information about the materials and use them as an object for students to experience data analyzing and interpreting. Korean textbooks, in comparison, rarely provide meta-information about data and use materials as evidence to support the author's text.

7.4.4 Learning activities

This subsection compares learning activities in terms of didactics according to the three different requirement levels. It consists of reproduction of historical knowledge, reorganization of data, and transfer and critical judgment (BW, 2016). Questions of the first level as reproduction of historical knowledge in German textbooks require restructuring knowledge in tables, paraphrasing, and summarizing the content (Brauch, 2019). Questions in South Korean textbooks require mentioning the name of central historical figures or a title of historical sources, deciding whether the given sentences are right or wrong, and connecting related words or sentences using lines. By answering the questions, German students have an opportunity to reconstruct the knowledge and write texts they learned about using sentences with their own explanations, while Korean students must find out the information from the textbook contents. Korean students, therefore, have little opportunity to formulate what they have learned in sentences.

The second level requires analyzing historical materials and reorganizing the information. German textbooks provide information about historical materials, which guides students to check the time of creation, whether the material is original or reconstructed, information on authors and their intention to produce the materials. The questions about image sources ask students to analyze and explain the components of the image. Learning questions related to materials and sources in South Korean textbooks require writing the title of the historical material or repeating the analysis of the historical material described in the author's text. Korean textbooks rarely mention whether certain critical sources are reconstructed sources or not, which may cause misunderstanding. The learning questions, therefore, cannot foster a critical analysis on the sources by asking to review the nature of the source or authors' intention.

The third level requires critical judgment and making up ideas or suggestions. German students learn to evaluate the historical argument. They present two text sources present conflicting opinions, and questions require students to take a standpoint and give reasons to the decision. The historical materials play a role as auxiliary, supporting the author's text. Through the historical material, students have an opportunity to scrutinize the memorization of terms.

In summary, learning questions in German textbooks let students explain what they have learned using their own words, make judgments, and justify their decisions.

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Korean textbooks, in comparison, let students memorize key concepts, write the correct terms in blanks, or figure out whether given sentences are true or false. When it comes to multiple perspectives, the German textbooks provide opportunities for students to experience different points of view, while Korean textbooks force to take the historical interpretation in textbook as historical fact and knowledge. Concerning present relevancy, German textbook questions let students think about the past in relation to their current lives, while those efforts are not found in South Korean textbook question. South Korean textbooks emphasize the uniqueness and superiority of Korean people in the past.

7.5 Discussion

Chapter 7 compared history textbooks with the two topics of "ancient people" and "letterpress" by four categories: topic presence, author's text, historical materials, and learning activities. German textbooks cover the two topics as the history of the world and Western Europe and focus on the perspective of an average person. Learning activities require analyzing the content of historical material or making a judgment on a controversial statement. South Korean textbooks, in contrast, cover two topics in the context of Korean history, describe them from a perspective of the nation, and emphasize the uniqueness and excellence of the Korean people. Historical materials have roles as evidence to support the author's narrative rather than the content itself is analyzed. Learning activities let students confirm the given information written in the textbook but they seldom require students to make a judgment.

Regarding the presence of the topic and the author's text, the two topics are categorized as world history and European history in textbooks of Germany and mainly Korean history in Korean textbooks. The approach to these topics reflects the understanding of history and the worldview of each country. The Western European-centered understanding of history is a perceptual framework that is criticized in both German and Korean history didactics (Bae & Yoon, 2022; Lässig & Pohl, 2009). From this criticism, in Baden-Württemberg, world history contents are added in every epoch to the basic contents of Western European history (Grießinger & Neutatz, 2017). But the Europe, specially the Western Europe is the basic frame of its historiography. In South Korea, the proportion of other sides of Korea, East Asia, such as West Asia, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, has increased in 「History 1」 for world history. Yet the contents of compulsory history subjects in South Korea consist of Korean national history more than 70%. It seems natural that the contents of ancient people and letterpress are mainly covered within the Korean history according to the curriculum.

German textbooks also presuppose the distinction between Western Europeans and others by drawing borders between Western Europeans and other regions. In this respect, the case of Germany, where the boundary of national borders just extended to a regional or cultural level, is not ideal. Ideally, history contents can cover any meaningful past, no matter where they are about, as long as it helps students understand their lives and society better ideally. Yet the extension of the border from Germany to Europe serves to reduce the distinction and the Otherization between neighboring countries within

Western Europe, which is a region within the border, compared to the existing historical description of ethnic entities. Therefore, to solve the problem which is the starting point of this dissertation, the conflicts between East Asian countries, it may be a plausible alternative to make the contents of history as the East Asian region rather than the history of the nation. Presenting the contents of national history in chronological order within the distinction of Korean history and world history is, in a very indirect way, conveying the world view of the otherizing by ethnicity. Therefore, as in the case of Germany, it is necessary to remove the distinction between Korean and world history subjects and integrate them into history subjects. Also, the contents of history should not list the history of each country in turn.

Such discussions, in South Korea, have already been held in the past. With the 2007 curriculum, the name of history classes in middle school was changed from Korean history and world history to 「History 1」 and 「History 2」. However, since the curriculum and textbook contents still cover Korean history and world history separately by grade level, what changed was only the subject names. In addition, 「East Asian History」 was newly introduced as a high school social studies elective in 2012 to resolve historical conflicts in East Asia. Yet the influence of this subject is rather limited as it is an elective among the other seven social studies subjects including 「World History」. In addition, researchers pointed out that the 「East Asian History」 covers the national history of China, Japan, and Korea in parallel, that the textbooks are written from a nationalistic viewpoint, and that learning issues related to conflict resolution are not adequately addressed. From these experiences, it can be seen that the selection and composition of content are important when integrating the subjects of 「Korean history」, 「East Asian History」, and 「World History」 into one history subject in the future. In this case, the principles of German history didactics such as multiperspectivity, personification, and present relevancy can be used as a criterion for content selection.

Regarding the historical materials and the learning questions, it is clear that textbooks in South Korea confirm the historical interpretation described from national perspective as "verified" history through materials and let students recognize them as "facts and knowledge" through learning questions. These uses of materials and the intention of the learning questions are in contrast to those in Germany. German textbooks provide detailed historical data in small font size and small line spacing sufficiently, so that students can review the value of the material and analyze the content. The learning questions requiring confirmation of the content are seldom but ask students are asked to analyze materials and make judgments about historical statements or controversial opinions.

Implication for the improvement of South Korean textbooks of this research is the following four points. First, textbooks should include activities to analyze and critically interpret historical materials. Critical examination and interpretation of historical materials and sources are the basis of the historian's work. Textbooks should provide more information on historical materials, such as when the source is created, who the author is, and the author's intention. A number of previous studies in Korea have emphasized the importance of historical studies and the need for sufficient data, as written

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in *Section 3.3*. They pointed out that it is difficult to grasp the overall context because the historical materials are poorly presented in the textbooks or the historical materials are sometimes presented briefly as content to support the explanatory text, as proven in this study as well. German textbooks are written in double-columned pages that contain about 45 lines of the author's text and about 50 lines of documentary material. The usability of the textbook pages can be increased by reducing the font size and the line spacing. In this way, it is possible to provide sufficient materials, e.g., articles from authoritative newspapers and magazines, and speeches by politicians, which shed light on the situation at the time from different perspectives. In addition, the methods for analyzing various sources should be taught, and textbooks must allow students to experience and exercise the source analysis.

Second, learning questions require students' evaluation and judgment on historical events should be included in the textbooks. Based on analysis of historical materials containing different arguments, questions should require students to make their judgments, and justify them with reasons. To do so, operational verbs list can be, here also, adopted. Relevant list of operational verbs for evaluative questions are: assess, evaluate, judge, review, take your position, and conduct pro and contra debates, explore, suggest the alternative. Textbook authors can develop learning questions even before they start writing the author's text and selecting historical materials, so that students have enough information to solve the questions.

Third, learning activities should let students write their learning results in sentences using their own words and as a complete text. Apparently, learning questions in history textbooks in Germany require, almost without exception, students to write their answers in complete sentences, while it is rather almost rare in textbooks in South Korea. The ability to express one's thoughts in an orderly manner to communicate with others, namely the knowledge - or narrative competence, is an essential skill for citizens. It is because, by doing so, one can convey their need to implement their right. Conversely, teaching writing is the way that we grow students as democratic citizens. Learning activities in textbooks of South Korea rarely give opportunities for students to express their thoughts in sentences. To summarize the contents, making one's assessment, and logically justify one's arguments with reasons should be at the center of the learning activities. To do so, the operational verbs can be a useful tool to organize the questions.

Finally, history subjects should be integrated into one general history subject not separating it into national, regional, and world history. Also, the learning goals in the curriculum should be for students to experience the process of critical thinking rather than understanding the given national history narratives. As pointed out in discussion 8.1, the composition of the history subject focusing on Korean history and its large proportion presupposes the distinction between us and others (see *Section 9.1*). The comparison of textbooks clearly showed the structural influence of this curriculum, namely the consistency between the curricula and textbooks. It shows the importance of defining the framework and content of the subjects.

Concerning the history of ancient people, textbooks can deal with the past of ancient people relatively well known today by not setting the subject as 「Korean History」.

In history textbooks in South Korea, the content of ancient peoples is covered in elementary, middle, and high schools three times due to the lack of historical materials. Because of the scarcity of historical materials and topics for learning about ancient Korea, the contents of the founding myth and the three social rules were repeated, and the contents confirm the "exist" of those as facts rather than let students critically reflect on the characteristics of the historical materials and narratives. In German textbooks, the ancient Egyptian civilization is compared to contemporary Central Europeans. The ancient history of Egypt, which had a civilization, left more historical records than that of Europe at that time. It also deals with social problems of ancient Egyptian society, the discrimination based on status, which can be viewed in relation to the present.

7.6 Summary

Textbook comparison analyzed the two topics of "ancient people" and "letterpress" in history textbooks in four categories: topic presence and weight, author's text, historical materials, and learning activities. In German textbooks, ancient people lived in central Europe in Stone age are treated as a minor topic in the unit of ancient Egyptian civilization, and Germanic people in the unit of the ancient Roman Empire. The author's text describes the habitation, eating -, and clothing habits of ordinary people. Regarding letterpress, textbooks describe the progress of *Gutenberg's* project for bible printing and the subsequent spread and increase of printing houses in Europe, seeing it as one of the driving forces of the Reformation and cultural change from medieval to modern times. Students are expected to use historical materials to analyze their contents, and the materials are mainly two distinctive documentary sources having opposing opinions. The learning questions ask students to analyze the sources and contents of materials, compare the opinions written from different perspectives, and make their judgments about them.

History textbooks in South Korea, in contrast, explain ancient people who lived in the Korean peninsula as "ancient Koreans" in the unit of *Old Chosŏn*. The main contents are the foundation, development, and fall of *Old Chosŏn*. The ancient three kingdoms afterwards are also described from the point of view of each kingdom. The topic of letterpress and book printing focus on relics as a splendid cultural heritage and their excellence. The *Jikji*, an old book printed using the world's oldest movable metal type printing technique is one of the main contents. In short, textbooks deal with two topics within the scope of Korean history and they are written emphasizing the originality, uniqueness, and excellence of the Korean culture. The sources and contents of historical materials are rarely analyzed, and photos showing the relics' appearances such as book covers are used to support the author's text description. Most of the learning questions require reproduction of the author's text and materials, and the question forms are mainly filling-in the blanks, OX quizzes, and multiple-choice questions. Rarely are students' judgments or reflection on the historical narratives required. In sum, the author's texts, historical sources, and learning activities are generally described from the national perspective. As aimed in curriculum to understand the past of Korea, the textbook

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contents seem appropriate. However, in reality, it is more as indoctrination, as students are forced to accept the national interpretation of the past as historical knowledge.

8 Comparative Analysis three: Assessment

8.1 Research questions and hypotheses

German Abitur and South Korean College Scholastic Ability Test, CSAT in short, are both high-stake summative assessments taken at the end of secondary school education and official college entrance examination administered by the MoE. Assessment is to diagnose and measure the level of students accomplish, yet summative assessment reversely has a strong washback effects on teaching and learning (Alderson & Wall, 1993). For this reason, this chapter compares the two influential tests to recognize differences in the history tests of the two countries in terms of nationalism. This comparison aims to find ideas to decrease nationalism in assessment of history education by strengthen critical historical thinking. In this regard, the two research questions are: “How do the Abitur and CSAT history tests deal with international relations in terms of nationalism?” and “How do Abitur and CSAT history tests deal with the forms of government in terms of the grand national narrative?”

Related hypotheses are: First, the South Korean history test covers hostile international relations more frequently than the German history test. The theoretical consideration for this is that collective national hardship and its derived emotion of victimization strengthens nationalist social cohesion (see 2.2.3). Max Weber argued that a nation is a community of sentiment sufficiently formed and tends to generate these emotions naturally (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 25). Renan wrote that shared hardship as "having suffered together" is a powerful driver for a feeling of a nation because it imposes duties and demands on the ethnic community (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 17). According to the existing CSAT analysis, the proportion of questions dealing with the Japanese colonial period of 1910-1945 in the Korean history test took about 25% of the whole (Bae, 2020). The more the history test deals with hostile international relations, the more it can be seen that the test is intended to educate nationalist history.

The second hypothesis is that the CSAT history test deals more frequently with monarchy than the history test in Germany. The theoretical consideration for this comparative analysis is the grand national narrative, personification, and present relevancy. In contrast to a democratic republic, a monarchy is ruled by a single person. A monarch, such as a king, emperor, or pharaoh, rules for life, and the right to rule is hereditary within the family (bpb, 2021). This chapter uses the term monarchy for the limited meaning of the absolute and constitutional monarchy, not the parliamentary monarchy. The grand national narrative regards a nation as the sole subject of history dealing with the rise and fall of past dynasties. The rulers such as kings and elites and their performance are the main contents of the grand national narrative (see 2.2.1). Dealing with the monarchy and life of the dynasty family frequently in history tests serves to frame the grand national narrative written from a personalized viewpoint as history itself. Otherwise, the history of democracy and democratization, in which all members of society share or pursue equal rights, is the history of overcoming a monarchy of one particular royal family dominating the entire society and personificated history about average lives of ordinary people. The

history of democracy, therefore, lies in line with the multiperspectivity, personification, and present relevancy which are the alternatives of nationalistic history teaching.

8.2 Method

8.2.1 Data

The compared are question items of history tests in Abitur and CSAT from 2016 to 2020 for the past five years. Abitur question items of Baden-Württemberg analyzed are 40 essay questions: Two sets of history tests are provided each year, and a test set consists of four question items and three historical materials. Question items and model answers are accessible through test preparation booklets published by *Stark Verlag of Pearson-Group*, a German publisher that specializes in Abitur test aids for students (J. Berger, 2020; Bill, 2019; Größl, 2016; Größl & Müller, 2017).

As for the CSAT, three history tests of 「Korean History」, 「East Asian History」, and 「World History」 of 2017 to 2021 are analyzed. 「Korean History」 test is mandatory, while 「World History」 and 「East Asian History」 tests are one of nine elective social studies subjects. The tests are issued in November between 2016 to 2020 but are titled for the next school year which starts in March. There are 20 multiple-choice questions in each test, and the questions in the last five years are 100 questions for each subject; therefore, this study analyzed a total of 300 question items (KICE, 2016a, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2019a, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b). KICE provide the previous test question and answer files since 1994 accessible without barrier on the CSAT webpage⁵⁸.

8.2.2 Analysis

The Qualitative Content Analysis is conducted to systematically classify the test questions and to interpret the meaning and intention of specific categories of question items (Mayring, 2010; 2000, 2014), using the computer-assistance tool "Atlas.ti." The analysis process consists of two stages of deductive categorization. The two processes are applied to both hypotheses: international relations and forms of government.

Regarding international relations (IR), all the questions were classified into three categories: 'hostile IR,' 'not-hostile IR,' and 'not international' according to the coding guideline in *Table 22*. The guideline was prepared through the first preliminary coding and the final coding guideline is made by repeating coding process with tentative ones. The coding unit is a question. Through this deductive categorization, the proportion of the question items is verified by three categories quantitatively. Then, by using the Structuring Content Analysis, inductive type-building is carried out on the question items by the three categories to designate representative question items of each category.

⁵⁸ <https://www.suneung.re.kr>

Table 22 Coding guideline for international relations (IR)

	Value	Definitions	Anchor samples	Encoding rules
International relations (IR)	Hostile IR	International relations of armed conflict or coercive domination are presented	(CSAT Korean History 2021-17) Q: After the Sino-Japanese War, as the National Mobilization Act was enforced, which of the following was the correct policy implemented by the Japanese Empire? A: ⑤ Forced to recite the Oath of the Imperial Subject.	- International relations are described with words such as war, invasion, aggression, resistance, exploitation, damage, army, destruction, occupation, battle, attack, fight, etc.
	Not hostile IR	International relations of social, cultural, economic, philosophical, and religious exchange or transfer	(Abitur 2016-B-4) Q: With the help of [M 3], assess the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev and his policies for the end of the Cold War and for German unity. 18VP [M 3] Caricature by Horst Haitzinger from a West German newspaper of Jan. 29th 1988	- Mainly social and cultural exchange, transfer, trade or dispatching an envoy among countries - Including political issues concerning resolution or alleviation of international conflict
	Not international	Contents are not inferable to international relations.	(CSAT World History 2021-20) Q: During the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), the Taiping Heavenly Army occupied this region, the Lower Yangtze River, and made it the capital. What else happened in this city? A: ② Sūn Wén (孙文) was inaugurated as the Provisional President.	- Issues of domestic topics - Ancient relics found internationally but not applicable to international relations - Including conflicts btw. a divided country, btw. East and West Germany, and btw. North and South Korea

To confirm the second hypothesis on the form of government, the same procedure was repeated. According to the deductive category assignment (Mayring, 2014, p. 94), all the questions were classified into 'democracy,' 'monarchy,' and 'not inferable to forms of government,' using the coding guideline of *Table 23*. Based on the result of the deductive coding, representative question items classified into 'democracy' and 'monarchy' are presented. The aim of this analysis is to filter out a certain structure from the data, and to systemically extract the text components addressed by the categories.

Table 23 Coding guideline for forms of government (FG)

	Value	Definitions	Anchor samples	Encoding rules
Forms of government (FG)	Democracy	The main topic of questions is democratization and the democratic political process.	(Abitur 2018-A-4) Q: Assess whether resistance to the Nazi regime was meaningless.	including - democratization - resistance against dictatorship
	Monarchy	Questions mainly address political domination by	(CSAT EAH 2021-11)	- Absolute and constitutional monarchy,

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	monarchs such as emperors, kings, and dynasties or monarchic political process.	Q: Which of the following statements about the emperor is correct? “Our ancestors became a king that encompassed all nations and founded the nation with the capital in Jiangnan (江南). I inherited this... and designated Beijing as the capital and built a palace.” (Students are supposed to identify the emperor as the Yongle Emperor (1402-1424), the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty) A: ④ He dispatched Zheng He's fleet of navy ships to Southeast Asia.	but not the parliamentary monarchy - Described with words such as majesty, emperor, dynasty, Shogunate, king, master, etc.
Not inferable	Questions their themes are not dealing with the forms of government	(Abitur 2020-A-3) Q: Describe the actions of the Nazi regime against Jews in the years 1933 to 1945.	- relics - social, cultural, economic - philosophical, religious - RAF, 68 Movement

The researcher and two further history teachers, working at a German Gymnasium and a South Korean high school, respectively, classified Abitur and CSAT question items in August and September 2021. Both teachers have more than ten years of teaching experience. The reproducibility of the encoding was confirmed to be 92% for international relations and 78% for the forms of government. The formula reads (*Number of classifiers*) × (*Number of matching classifications*) / (*The number of all code classifications*) (Mayring, 2014, p. 112).

8.3 Findings

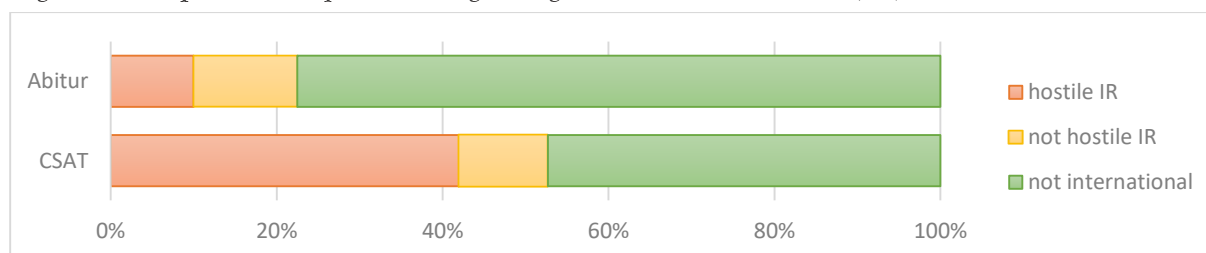
Hypotheses of this chapter are that the CSAT presents more hostile international relations and more monarchic type of government than Abitur. To test the hypotheses, 40 essay type question items of Abitur and 300 multiple-choice type question items of CSAT were deductively classified by the two coding guidelines.

8.3.1 International relations (IR)

Does the CSAT history test convey more aggressive interaction between countries in the past than Abitur? As *Figure 13* and *Table 24* reveals, yes, it is true. On the one hand, Abitur questions dealing with international relations accounted for 22.5%, and domestic topics of Germany accounted for 77.5% of the total questions. Among questions related to international issues, the proportion of questions containing hostile international relations such as war or domination accounted for 10%, and question items involving cooperation or exchanges inter-countries were more frequent at 12.5%.

On the other hand, in CSAT, questions dealing with international relations accounted for more than half (52.7%), and the domestic topic of individual countries accounted for a 47.3%. Issues involving hostile IR such as wars, imperialism, and consequent colonial rule or independence movements in Korea or Asia, Africa, and Latin America in history accounted for 42%. Not hostile IR such as trade, cooperation, peace treaty accounted for a relatively small proportion at 10.7%.

Figure 13 Proportion of questions regarding international relations (IR)



Looking at each subject in detail as shown in *Table 24*, 「Korean History」 test of CSAT deals with negative international relations significantly at 37%. Although it is a subject that deals with Korean history, violent history such as wars and invasions of China, northern nations except Chinese, Japan, and Western countries into Korea takes a pretty large part. In contrast, question items dealing with non-hostile IR accounted for marginal at 5%. In the 「East Asian History」 test, 41% of the subjects dealt with hostile relations such as western imperialism, Japanese imperialism, and Chinese imperialism. The proportion of question items indicating positive IR was 18%, relatively higher than two other history tests of the CSAT. In the 「World History」 test, 48% of the questions included hostile IR, such as wars, imperialism, colonial rule, and the slave trade. Peace treaties or general exchanges which belong to non-hostile IR accounted for 9%, and the question items dealing with the history of individual countries accounted for 43%. The 48 questions, or 48%, of questions classified as hostile international relations, mainly consist of wars between states or empires 23%, Western imperialism 15%, Islamic imperialism 6%, Chinese imperialism 3%, and Japanese imperialism 1%. The imperialism of Japan and China, which is often covered in the examinations on 「Korean History」 and 「East Asian History」, occurred relatively little in 「World History」.

Table 24 Proportion of questions by classification of international relations (IR)

Test	Code	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Abitur	hostile IR	1 (12.5%)	2 (25%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)
	not hostile IR	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)
	not international	4 (50%)	6 (75%)	6 (75%)	7 (87.5%)	8 (100%)	31 (77.5%)
	Total	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	40 (100%)
CSAT							

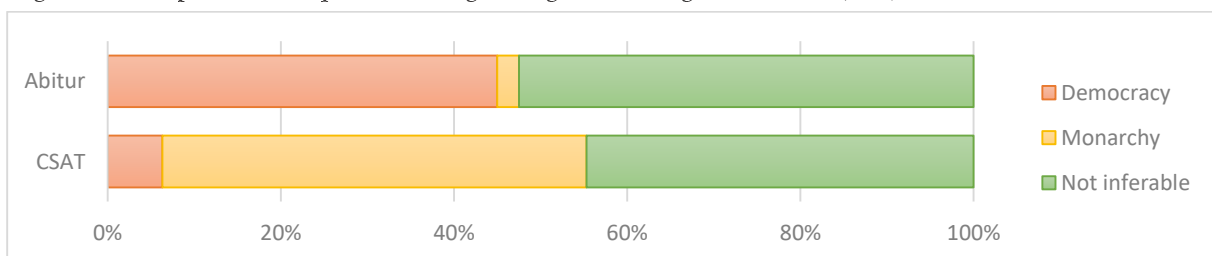
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KH	hostile IR	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	37
	not hostile IR	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	0 (10%)	1 (5%)	5
	not international	11 (55%)	13 (65%)	11 (55%)	12 (60%)	11 (55%)	58
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)
EAH	hostile IR	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	9 (45%)	9 (45%)	41
	not hostile IR	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	18
	not international	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	41
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)
WH	hostile IR	12 (60%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	10 (50%)	11 (55%)	48
	not hostile IR	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	9
	not international	5 (25%)	10 (50%)	11 (55%)	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	43
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)

8.3.2 Forms of government (FG)

Does the CSAT history test cover more often the monarchy as the grand national narrative than Abitur? Yes. The deductive code assignment shows that only 2.5% of the questions of German test deal with the monarchy, whereas 49% questions of the Korean test contain monarchic form of government as its content. The question about the monarchy in Abitur was only 1 out of 40 items, while the number of questions regarding monarchy in CSAT was 147 out of 300 question items. On the other hand, the questions related to democracy in the Abitur history test accounted for 45%, whereas among the questions of the CSAT, the questions related to democratization or democratic political process took for 6.3%, which is a relatively smaller portion than Abitur.

Figure 14 Proportion of questions regarding forms of government (FG)



Questions in Abitur classified into democracy deal with efforts for democratization. They ask about the *Frankfurt National Assembly* in 1848/1849, the establishment of the *Weimar Republic* in 1918/1919, the fall of the *Weimar Republic* in 1932/1933, resistance against the *Nazi* dictator, Germany after 1945 in an international and European context, the situation at the end of World War II, the development toward state division, and the forms of social life resulting from the different economic and political systems in the Federal Republic and the GDR. Thus, it can be said that questions are about the

development and defense of democracy in modern German political history. It is noteworthy that the content of the test mainly focuses on efforts to achieve a democratic form of government and the criticism of dictatorship rather than on the traditional monarchy. Representative questions write: "Describe the emergence of the Weimar Republic (2018-A-1). The failure of the Weimar Republic can be traced back to the course set in its early days. Discuss this thesis (2019-A-1). Explain three examples of resistance to National Socialism (2019-A-4)." The question item dealing with the monarchy, as an exception, is on the formation of constitutional monarchy in 1871. It reads, "Explain the formation of the German Empire and the constitution of 1871. (2017-A-2)"

Table 25 Proportion of questions by classification of forms of government (FG)

Test	Code	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Abitur	Democracy	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)	5 (62.5%)	7 (87.5%)	2 (25%)	18 (45%)
	Monarchy	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
	Not inferable	5 (62.5%)	6 (75%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)	6 (75%)	21 (52.5%)
	Total	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	40 (100%)
KH	Democracy	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	9
	Monarchy	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	11 (55%)	36
	Not inferable	10 (50%)	15 (75%)	12 (60%)	11 (55%)	7 (35%)	55
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)
CSAT EAH	Democracy	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	3
	Monarchy	9 (45%)	10 (50%)	11 (55%)	11 (55%)	11 (55%)	52
	Not inferable	10 (50%)	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	9 (45%)	8 (40%)	45
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)
WH	Democracy	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	7
	Monarchy	14 (70%)	10 (50%)	12 (60%)	9 (45%)	14 (70%)	59
	Not inferable	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	34
	Total	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	100 (100%)


The CSAT History test frequently asks questions about the monarchy. The most typical question refers to the achievements of a particular king or emperor; it reads "What is the correct explanation for King A?" or "What is the right about Dynasty A?". The words used in such questions are king, majesty, emperor, shogun, lord, princess, dynasty, grace, benefit, master-slave relationship, palace, castle, and etc. The verbs used are "to send an envoy, to receive the honor, to receive a decree, and etc."

Other things noteworthy are the questions that ask about the king's achievements or occurrences during the reign of a certain king. These types of questions are often

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presented with images, as shown in *Figure 15*, presenting the virtual conversation between the king and his servants. In the picture, the king commands or makes a decision, saying "Do something" with an authoritative attitude, and in response, the servant bows his head and upper body, and responds to the command or offers an opinion in a low posture. Such pictorial materials including dialogues between kings and servants are also used in questions concerning Chinese emperors in 「East Asian History」 tests. These questions are classified as the monarchy.

Figure 15 Image materials regarding monarchy in 「Korean History」 test of CSAT

<p>2018-11. Which of the following statements is correct as the virtual conversation took place?</p> 	<p>2019-7. Which of the following is true of the king's achievement in the virtual dialogue? (3 points)</p> 
<p>2017-9. In the following virtual conversation, which of the following statements is correct for A?</p>	
 <p>(KICE, 2016b, p. 2, 2017b, p. 3, 2018b, p. 2)</p>	

8.3.3 Sample questions


This subsection presents representative questions of the Abitur and CSAT. As sample questions for the Abitur history test, questions classified as "not relevant" in international relations and "democracy" in the form of government are introduced. As for the CSAT, questions classified as "hostile international relations" and "monarchy" are mainly

presented. Since there are three history tests for CSAT, 「Korean history」, 「East Asian History」, 「World History」, two question items from each of the tests are presented. Each question is introduced with the process how students work on it to answer the question. By doing so, this subsection demonstrates the nature of question items.

8.3.3.1 Question items of the 「History」 test of Abitur

The four questions in *Table 26* are the *Set A* of the year 2018 test. All the four questions are classified as "not relevant" in international relations and "democracy" for the form of government. The first question is about the emergence of the *Weimar Republic*, the second question is about the process of the Nazi regime coming to power, the third question is about the Nazi regime's control of the media, and the fourth question is about resistance to the Nazi regime.

Table 26 Example questions of 「History」 test of Abitur

year-set	2018-A	
questions	1. Describe the emergence of the Weimar Republic. (14 points) 2. Analyze M 1 and compare M1 with M2. (16 points) 3. Analyze M3. (14 points) 4. Evaluate whether resistance to the Nazi regime was meaningless. (16 points)	
materials	M 1. Poster of the NSDAP for the Reichstag election on March 29 th in 1936. M 2. Germany reports of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) from September/October 1935 M 3. Speech by Joseph Goebbels on the occasion of the promulgation of the Schriftleitergesetz before representatives of the German press in Berlin on Oct. 4, 1933.	 <p>Image Source: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte © (2022)</p>

Bill (2019), pp. (2018-1)-(2018-3)

As described in *Section 3.4* and *Subsection 5.3.3*, *Historical Knowledge* -, *Methodical* -, and *Judgment Competencies* are the three *EPA* competencies which are agreed by *KMK* to be evaluated in the Abitur history test. Since 2015, the format of the Abitur history test in Baden-Württemberg has been changed from six to four question items. According to this new format, the four question items consist of one question on historical knowledge competence asking narrating a historical event, two questions on methodical competence as an analysis of historical data, and one question on historical judgment. Each year there are two examination sets of A and B. The topic of the A-set in 2018 was "Germany in the tension between democracy and dictatorship" and the topic mainly deals with the following two sub-topics: "The development of political culture in the Weimar Republic" and "The dictatorship of the National Socialism."

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Question one requires students to describe the process of formation of the democratic society by looking at the process of foundation of the Weimar Republic. The question uses the verb of describing, *darstellen* in German. According to the suggested answer, it is not enough for the student to list information about the formation of the German Republic in chronological order. The student should explain this process as the main theme of the structural problems of Weimar democracy, pointing out that the new democratic republic was founded under difficult conditions and was in an unstable initial situation. Therefore, this topic is assigned to the classification of "Democracy", which asks about the process of replacing the monarchy and moving towards a democratic form of government in Germany.

Question two requires students to *analyze* the election poster of the National Socialist Party and *compare* it with the report of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the 1930s in Germany. In the poster analysis, students are to analyze information about the poster such as author, time of creation, intention, title, etc., and explain the individual pictorial elements of the poster as well as account for the poster in an overall historical context. The poster contrasts the figures of the soldier holding a shovel in the center and the unemployed people drawn small around the poster. It urges people to "Vote Hitler," along with the explanatory phrase: "The past days were about unemployment, strikes, and hopelessness; today is about hope, jobs, and colleagues." In contrast, the German report of SPD, which was active in Prague and Paris when party was banned in Germany in 1933, explains the societal problems in Germany, the threat of war, in contrast to the poster. Students are supposed to explain and compare the poster and the report in relation to the failure of democracy from a critical perspective against dictatorship. This assignment requires students to compare two materials written from different perspectives and thereby examine the crisis and decline of a democratic society. Therefore, this assignment was also classified as "democracy."

Question three is a question to *analyze* a speech of Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda of Hitler's regime. Students should be able to rephrase key sentences and main messages in their own language using direct and indirect quotations and critically evaluate the Nazi government's justification for total surveillance and control of the media. This question, which requires an analysis of Goebbels' speeches advocating and announcing control over the press, has the function of leading students to critically evaluate the speech from the perspective that diversity and freedom of the press are the basic requirements of democracy. For this reason, this question was classified as a "democracy" question.

Question four asks students' opinions on whether resistance to the Nazi regime was successful. The suggested answer guides students to define the term "resistance," list the examples of resistance in order, justify their position, and provide rationales. In their essay, students are supposed to mention representative examples of resistance against Nazis such as the *White Rose* which conducted an anonymous leaflet and graffiti campaign that called for active opposition to the Nazi regime, and general *Claus von Stauffenberg's* attempt to assassinate Hitler. They must then determine their opinion as successful or unsuccessful and provide the logical reasons behind it. Since the Nazi regime

was a dictatorship that overthrew the democratic republic of Weimar, this question item, which deals with resistance to the regime, is classified as "democracy" related.

This topic of *Weimar democracy* and the *Nazi dictatorship* was chosen for three consecutive years from 2018 to 2020, which means half of all Abitur question items deal with this topic. This topic was selected in 2021 and 2022 as well, although these belong not to the scope of this study. Most of the questions on this topic relate to Germany and are classified as "not international" in the classification of international relations. Regarding the forms of government, question items in this topic are mostly classified into "democracy," not a monarchy. The composition of the exam questions systematically assesses historical knowledge, methods, and judgment. Therefore, this Abitur history test can be considered a valid instrument adequately assessing the purpose of history teaching.

8.3.3.2 Question items of the 「Korean History」 test of CSAT

The following two questions are classified to the categories of "hostile international relations" in international relations and "monarchy" as a form of government. *Table 27*, number 12 for 2020, deals with Japanese imperialism, which belongs to the most frequently classified subcategory of the "hostile international relations" category in the 「Korean History」 test.

Table 27 Example question 1 of 「Korean History」 test of CSAT

year-number	2020-12
question	Which of the following statements is true between time periods (A) and (B)?
materials	(A) Japan, which caused the Russo-Japanese War, forcibly signed a protocol between Korea and Japan that declared Japanese right free to use the strategically necessary areas in Korea. (B) After King <i>Gojong</i> forcibly abdicated and his army was disbanded, volunteer civilians formed the <i>Sipsamdoch'angŭigun</i> and conducted the <i>Seoul March Operation</i> .
options	① <i>Hullyŏndogam</i> was established. ② The <i>Nobian'gŏmbŏp</i> was implemented. ③ <i>Hong Gyeong-rae's</i> rebellion broke out. ④ The <i>Korean Empire</i> was deprived of diplomatic power. ⑤ The <i>Donghak</i> peasant army occupied <i>Jeonjuseong</i> .

KICE (2019b, p. 3)

This question asks students to figure out what are events (A) and (B), and choose the corresponding number which took place between the two events. (A) is the 1904 Japanese-Korean Treaty, and the *Seoul March Operation* of the *sipsamdoch'angŭigun*⁵⁹ in (B) occurred in 1908 against the abdication of the Korean Emperor by imperial Japan. The *Eulsa Treaty* in option ④ which deprived Korean diplomatic rights by Japan was signed in 1905. *Hullyŏndogam*⁶⁰ of option ① is 1593 during the early *Chosŏn* Dynasty, and

⁵⁹ *sipsamdoch'angŭigun*, 십삼도창의군, 十三道倡義軍: the Righteous Army of the 13 Provinces

⁶⁰ *Hullyŏndogam*, 훈련도감, 訓練都監: Central army defending the capital established after the Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592

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*Nobian'gōmbōp*⁶¹ of option ② is in the reign of *King Gwangjong* (949-975) of the *Koryō*, option ③ *Hong Gyeong-rae's rebellion*⁶² occurred in 1811, in the eleventh year of *King Sunjo* (1800-1834) in *Chosŏn*, and option ⑤ refers to the *Donghak Peasant Revolution*⁶³ in 1984.

When Korea declared itself neutral regarding the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese troops invaded *Hanyang*, the old name of the Korean capital Seoul, on February 9, 1904, and abducted some pro-Russian officers. As a result, the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1904 was concluded on February 23 in 1904 between representatives of the Japanese Empire and the Korean Empire (1897-1910). Option ④ is the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905, also known as the *Eulsa Treaty*. It was concluded between the Empire of Japan and the Korean Empire on November 17 in 1905, and described the Treaty of Eulsa. It was the result of Imperial Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and deprived diplomatic sovereignty of Korea and made it a protectorate of Imperial Japan. Both treaties are considered processes of colonization of Korea by imperialist Japan. This question item is classified as the "hostile international relations" because it describes Japanese aggression against Korea, and it is classified as "monarchy" because it mentions the abdication of *King Gojong* and the content of the options consists in terms of the reigns of the respective kings.

Table 28, number 6 for 2021, asks about occurrences during the reign of a certain king. From the material, students can notice that this figure is the *King Gongmin* (1351-1374) in the late *Koryō* period, who is known that he conquered *Hwaju* and *Jeongju* by attacking the Mongol administrations.

Table 28 Example question 2 of 'Korean History' test of CSAT

year-number	2021-6
question	Which is correct that occurred during the underlined king's reign? (3 points)
material	The Mongols invaded <i>Hwaju</i> , established the General Administration Office of <i>Ssangseong</i> , and appointed <i>Chowi</i> as the general administrator. (...) <u>The king</u> sent <i>Yoo In-woo</i> to attack the <i>Ssangseong</i> General Administration, and several regions, including <i>Hwaju</i> and <i>Jeongju</i> , and these places were restored as homeland.
options	① <i>Hoesaryōng</i> was issued. ② <i>Lee Ja-gyeom's</i> rebellion broke out. ③ <i>Sunsubi</i> was erected. ④ The <i>Chōnminbyōnjōngdogam</i> is installed. ⑤ <i>Kyoyugipkukchosō</i> was published.

KICE (2020b, p. 2)

King Gongmin (1351-1374) established the *Chōnminbyōnjōngdogam*⁶⁴ to liberate those who had been enslaved and deprived of their land by the nobility as civilians during

⁶¹ *Nobian'gōmbōp*, 노비안검법, 奴婢按檢法: Slavery liberate Act in 956

⁶² *Hong Gyeong-rae's rebellion*, 홍경래의 난, 洪景來의 亂: A large-scale peasant uprising led by Hong occurred in 1811 as many small farmers became poor with the advent of wealthy farmers in the 18th century

⁶³ *Donghak Peasant Revolution*, 동학농민혁명, 東學農民革命

⁶⁴ *Chōnminbyōnjōngdogam*, 전민변정도감, 田民辨整都監: temporary government office established to determine land and slaves and return them to their original owners or commoners

Mongol rule and to return the land to its original owners. Therefore, the correct answer is option ④. Option ①, *Hoesaryöng*⁶⁵, the Company Ordinance (1910), was a law that gave the Japanese governor-general the power to allow foundation and closure of companies in Korea during the Japanese colonial period. *Lee Ja-gyeom* of option ② sparked a rebellion (1126) during the *Koryö* Dynasty. *Sunsubi*⁶⁶ in option ③ was built to commemorate King *Jinheung* (540-576) of *Silla* after securing the *Han River* area. *Kyoyugipkukchosö*⁶⁷ in option ⑤ was issued in 1895 by King *Gojong* (1864-1897) in the late *Chosön*. Since this question item deals with the invasion of Mongolia, it is classified as hostile international relations, and since it deals with the king's achievements, it is classified as monarchy.

8.3.3.3 Question items of the *East Asian History* test of CSAT

Among the question items categorized as "hostile international relations" in the 「East Asian History」 test, Western and Japanese imperialism were the two most frequently mentioned subcategories, being addressed 11 and 9 times respectively. Example questions on East Asia below are also classified under "hostile international relations" in international relations and "monarchy" as the form of government. In *Table 29*, number 16 for the 「East Asian History」 test in 2020 asks about a war. The material mentions that the emperor issued a law banning opium, so students can figure out that this war is the "Opium War" of 1840.

Table 29 Example question 1 of 「East Asian History」 test of CSAT

year-number	「East Asian History」 2020-16
question	Which of the following statements about the underlined term " <u>this war</u> " is correct? (3 points)
material	A large country with a huge territory could not defeat a small country for several years, and <i>Gangnam</i> was almost taken. Why was the whole country so upset? It was because a small country was not allowed to smoke opium and gave the suffering of opium to a big country. As a result, the emperor issued a harsh law banning opium, and then their resentment grew, so <u>this war</u> began.
options	① It influenced on the British-Japanese alliance. ② As a result, Qing lost its customs sovereignty. ③ As a result, Russia got <i>Lushun</i> and <i>Dalian</i> . ④ Japan returned Taiwan to China. ⑤ Germany lost control of <i>Shandong</i> to Japan.

KICE (2019a, p. 4)

As a result of the First Opium War, the Treaty of *Nanjing* was signed in 1842, in which Qing opened five ports, ceded Hong Kong to Britain, and lost customs sovereignty. Therefore, the answer is option ②. Option ① refers to the Anglo-Japanese alliance which

⁶⁵ *Hoesaryöng*, 회사령, 會社令: Company Ordinance of Imperial Japan with 20 clauses stipulating the process of establishment, operation, dissolution, etc. of a company in Korea (1910-1920)

⁶⁶ *Sunsubi*, 순수비, 巡狩碑: Bukhansan Monument which the inscription on it praises the Silla King *Jinheung*'s (540-575 CE) territorial expansion into the Han River valley

⁶⁷ *Kyoyugipkukchosö*, 교육입국조서, 教育立國詔書, The Building Nation Through Education Act

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was concluded twice in 1902 and in 1905. In option ③, Russia received *Lushun* and *Dalian* from China after the Triple Intervention of 1895. The *Triple Intervention*, was a diplomatic intervention by Russia, Germany, and France on 23 April 1895 and the goal was to stop Japanese expansion in China. The Triple Intervention was one of the causes of the subsequent Russo-Japanese War. Taiwan in option ④ came under Japanese colonial rule as a result of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and was returned to China at the end of World War II in 1945. Concerning option ⑤, Germany's cession of the interests of the Shandong Peninsula to Japan was the result of Japan's request for 21 articles to the Chinese government in Beijing in 1915.

Table 30 shows the question item of number 17 for year 2019. It deals with Japanese imperialism, the most frequent subcategory of hostile international relations. From the information that the country was founded with *Puyi*, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, as king, it is obvious that state A is Manchukuo.

Table 30 Example question 2 of 'East Asian History' test of CSAT

year-number	「East Asian History」2019-17
question	Which of the following statements is true after the founding of the state?
material	After an armed clash with the Chinese army, the Japanese army established State A and appointed <i>Puyi</i> , the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, as king. In <u>this country</u> , the Japanese, rather than the Chinese, who formed the absolute majority, provided half of the officials in the central government. In particular, the State Council, the courts and the prosecutor's office, which were the core of power, were completely taken over by the Japanese.
options	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① The Washington system began. ② The Communist Party of Vietnam was established. ③ Japan withdraws from the League of Nations. ④ The May 30 Movement takes place in the Shanghai Concession. ⑤ Japan returns the Liaodong Peninsula to the three countries.

KICE (2018a, p. 4)

Manchukuo (1932-1945), officially the State of Manchuria prior to 1934 and the Empire of Manchuria after 1934, was a puppet state of Japan in northeast China and Inner Mongolia. It was established as a republic in 1932 after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and was transformed into a constitutional monarchy in 1934, under the de facto control of Japan. The League of Nations criticized Japan's occupation of Manchuria and the establishment of *Manchukuo* and demanded Japan's withdrawal. As a result, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. So, the correct answer is option ③.

The *Washington System* in option ① means a new international order formed after the Washington Conference (1921-1922). The Communist Party of Vietnam in option ② was founded by *Ho Chi Minh* in 1930. The May 30 Movement in option ④ is an anti-imperialist movement that took place in Shanghai China in 1925. The Triple Intervention in option ⑤ was an event in 1895 when Russia, along with Germany and France, put pressure on Japan. This question was classified as the category of hostile international relations since it mainly deals with the competition of imperialist expansion at the

beginning of the 20th century. In addition, *Manchukuo* was a constitutional monarchy and was classified as the ruling form of the monarchy because it referred to dynasties and kings.

8.3.3.4 Question items of the 'World History' test of CSAT

In the 'World History' test of CSAT, hostile international relations accounted for 48 of 100 questions. Regarding the contents of hostile international relations, Western imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries and pre-modern Islamic imperialism were frequently asked. As mentioned earlier, the imperialism of Japan and China, which is frequently dealt with in the 'Korean History' and 'East Asian History' tests, appeared relatively little in the 'World History' test. The question in *Table 31*, number 17 for 2019, deals with the Western, namely European imperialism. The underlined "this country" refers to Belgium.

Table 31 Example question 1 of 'World History' test of CSAT

year-number	'World History' 2019-17
question	Which of the following statements about the underlined 'this country' is correct? (3 points)
material	The painting satirizes the harsh exploitation of Africans by King <i>Leopold II</i> of <u>this country</u> , one of the great European powers. He massacred Africans while mobilizing them into forced labor to obtain rubber and ivory.
options	① This country was opposed to England in <i>Fashoda</i> . ② This country was at war with France over Morocco. ③ This nation was defeated by Ethiopia at the <i>Battle of Adowa</i> . ④ The nation was defeated at the <i>Battle of Isandlwana</i> with the Zulu. ⑤ This country divided and controlled the <i>Congo River</i> area with France and others.

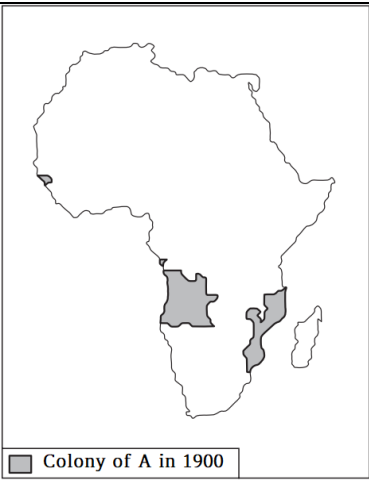
KICE (2018a, p. 4)

The Belgian King *Leopold II* partitioned and ruled the Congo River basin area in Africa along with France and other countries through the Berlin Conference. It is known the colonial rule of King *Leopold II* exploited and slaughtered the Africans in the area. Therefore, the correct answer is option ⑤. Option ① refers to France's conflict with Britain in *Fashoda* in Africa. The *Fashoda Incident* or the *Fashoda Crisis* was the climax of imperialist territorial disputes between Britain and France in East Africa, which occurred in 1898. In option ②, France's opponent in the struggle for control of Morocco was Germany. In option ③, the Western nation that was defeated by Ethiopia at the *Battle of Adowa* was Italy. The *Battle of Isandlwana* in 1879 was the first major Anglo-Zulu War between the British Empire and the Zulu Kingdom. This question was classified as monarchy as it relates to King *Leopold II*.

Question number 17 for 2018, in *Table 32*, deals with European imperialism as well. Based on its colonial territory in Africa and the information that African slaves were exported to the Americas by this country, students can deduce that this country is Portugal.

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Table 32 Example question 2 of 'World History' test of CSAT

year-number	2018-17	
question	Which of the following statements about the country (A) is correct?	
material	 <p>■ Colony of A in 1900</p>	A country amassed much wealth by capturing slaves in Africa and exporting them to America. In the second half of the 19th century, the A country used mercenaries to extend control over the African colonies.
options	<ol style="list-style-type: none">① It lost the war with the United States and lost Cuba.② It made Egypt a protectorate and occupied the Suez Canal.③ It invaded Southeast Asia and established the Indochina Federation.④ In the 16th century, it led spice trade between Southeast Asia and Europe.⑤ It promoted the 3B policy linking Berlin, Byzantium, and Baghdad.	

KICE (2017a, p. 4)

Portugal led the spice trade between Southeast Asia and Europe in the 16th century after opening up new sea routes. Therefore, the correct answer is option ④. Option ① refers to Spain, option ② is describing the United Kingdom, option ③ which established Indochina Federation was France, and option ⑤ explains the Berlin–Baghdad railway of Germany. This question deals with the expansion of European countries and colonization of the world by the European powers. This question has been classified as "hostile international relations" in the classification of international relations and "not relevant" in the classification of forms of government.

8.4 Discussion

History tests of Abitur and CSAT are summative assessments administered by the MoE. As college entrance qualification exams, both history tests have a significant washback effect on teachers' lessons and students' learning. It means the content of these tests functions as orientation for teaching and learning.

This chapter clarified the distinctions between the two history tests by comparing the proportion of international relations and forms of government respectively. The Abitur test of Baden-Württemberg deals with the modern history of German society as its main content, so the proportion of questions dealing with conflicts between countries is rather small. Regarding forms of government, the Abitur history test focuses on the process of democratization versus monarchy and dictatorship, and there were few questions on past monarchs and dynasties. The South Korean test, in comparison, deals

with pre-modern and modern history comprehensively and often covers questions on invasions and wars of/between China, Japan, the northern peoples, and the West from the perspective of the state. In addition, the CSAT history test includes relatively more questions asking on dynasties and kings of Korea, East Asia, and around the world, but relatively few questions ask about democracy or the democratization process. The scope of tests relates to the lower and upper secondary school curriculum comprehensive.

This section discusses the results of the test comparison by dividing it into objectives as competencies, principles, and the methods, in relation to nationalism. *First, the two tests serve different objectives.* The Abitur assesses the competencies of (1) understanding central historical knowledge, (2) the method to analyze historical materials, and (3) historical judgments. In addition, as students must write their answers as a logical essay text, it basically assesses historical narrative competence. In this meaning, the Abitur history test is a valid assessment tool to evaluate students' historical knowledge -, methods -, and judgment competencies corresponding to the EPA history test regulations at the federal level. The form and content of the Abitur as a summative assessment, therefore, can be seen that it provides valid guidance for the teaching and learning of history in school.

In comparison, the CSAT history test requires students to simply choose the correct answer from given options, so it only assesses the understanding of historical knowledge. All the questions basically ask, "Which of the following statements is correct?" Notably, the test does not require students to analyze historical material. The materials provided are clues about historical figures or events, but they are not the subject of analyzing. Nor are students asked to make a judgment on the past and give their opinion on a historical argument. Therefore, it can be said that the CSAT history test cannot assess methodical or judgment competencies, but only historical knowledge.

Noteworthy is that the students do not have to write a single word or a sentence during the CSAT test. Students only choose a number from the options and mark it on the OMR card as the "correct" answer. It means the CSAT test does not promote narrative competence. Students can develop their thoughts and express their opinions logically through writing and its exercise, but the test format of CSAT does not provide students the opportunity to express their thoughts in the form of sentences and texts. It can be argued that students naturally have historical thinking in the process of understanding and confirming historical information, but the problem here is that there is no process in CSAT for students to express such thinking in sentences and to present their judgments and grounds. More seriously, because all historical contents are predetermined as "right" and "wrong" information, fostering analysis of materials and critical thinking are fundamentally interrupted. To get a higher score, students have to learn what is written in textbooks and the written historical interpretations are not allowed to doubt.

The format of CSAT influences the teaching and learning of history in secondary school. Students learn also with the intention to prepare for exams, and teachers are supposed to meet these expectations. The influence of test format can be confirmed in textbook learning questions which are the main teaching and learning materials. As

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examined in *Chapter 7*, the learning activities in textbooks of South Korea are only to simply confirm historical knowledge. This indicates that, in the process of teaching and learning in schools as well, explaining or rephrasing historical information or express their opinions using their own words would not be the main tasks.

For instance, the CSAT history exam often treats international conflicts between states along with past dynasties and kings from a state point of view. To receive high marks on the CSAT, students must know the contents of conflicts between nations and the achievements of past monarchs and dynasties presented from the nation's point of view in detail. Yet requiring one-sided acceptance of given historical knowledge contradicts the goal of history education to promote critical historical consciousness and thinking. It indirectly internalizes the nationalist view of history by forcing to accept the grand national narrative from a state's view.

Second, the two tests indicate a significant difference in terms of the principle of history teaching, which are alternatives to nationalism, namely the multiperspectivity and the present relevancy. In the Abitur, questions use the four different tasks "describe, analyze, analyze and compare, evaluate" systematically. Therefore, students are asked to be able to describe, analyze and present their opinion with valid reasons, not just choosing numbers from one to five which statement is right or wrong. Thus, the multiperspectivity at the student level, namely the plurality, is sufficiently guaranteed. The "analyze and compare" questions, moreover, present two materials created from different perspectives and intentions. Since one of these four questions is asked in this manner in all exams, at least a quarter of the total questions involve the controversy, the multiperspectivity at the historian level.

By contrast, because the content of the CSAT is primarily concerned with the grand national narrative, such as conflicts between countries and the achievements of monarchs, it does not fully reflect the ways in which history might have been experienced by ordinary people with quite different positions. In addition, the multiple-choice assessment, in which all questions basically ask "*which is correct in the following statements?*", does not encourage students' own thinking, the multiperspectivity at the student level, namely the plurality. In addition, the history of wars and monarchs are frequently treated as important historical facts that students need to know, even though they have little relevance to students' understanding of contemporary society. In this sense, the content of the CSAT's history test seriously violates the principle of multiperspectivity and the present relevancy.

It can be argued that certain event in the past is conceptually linked to modern society, and therefore learning about past events naturally has the present relevancy. However, since the multiple-choice questions of CSAT do not ask about the conceptual link between the past and the present and the resulting transferability, it is difficult to regard the questions have the present relevancy.

The present relevancy refers to selecting the topics for history teaching that are directly related to understanding contemporary society, or the past from which

meaningful lessons can be learned for the present, even if it is not directly related. On the one hand, regarding conflicts between countries presented in CSAT, the questions ask "Which of the following statements about the underlined war is correct?" and it cannot be assumed that these questions are being addressed to help student's understanding of a current social phenomenon or a fact of the past from which a lesson can be learned. Specifically, all of the questions dealing with colonial rule and war focus on the time of occurrence and content and do not have an intention to emphasize that war may not be repeated in terms of its destructive nature and death of civilization.

On the other hand, the question classified into hostile international relations in Abitur asks, for example, question 4 of 2017-A, "The Soviet Union bears primary responsibility for the confrontation in the East-West conflict. Evaluate this thesis during the period from 1945 to 1962." To answer this question, the student must also know specific information about the East-West conflict, but beyond simply knowing information, the student must be able to evaluate the role of the Soviet Union in the post-World War II Cold War structure. This type of Abitur question can be evaluated as covering a broader range than the CSAT test, which asks whether individual pieces of information about the timing of the war, the country involved, and the cause are known. Abitur questions ask a more comprehensive overarching understanding of history, reorganizing the knowledge, and building opinions.

Regarding the present relevancy of forms of rule, the CSAT questions about monarchy ask basically "Which of the following statements about the achievement of the king is correct?". These questions concerning kings and dynasties, which account for nearly half of all questions, are not directly related to understanding contemporary society. From the point of view of democracy, a monarchy is a form of unequal rule in which one person or a minority of a particular family rules all people. And this is what history teaching can give a meaningful lesson on the past by applying it to the present. CSAT presents yet the king's achievements in a positive perspective, so it does not intend any criticism.

There was only one question in Abitur that was classified as monarchy-related. Question 2 of 2017 year the A set reads as follows. "Explain the foundation of the German Empire and the constitution of 1871." The model answer suggests for students to emphasize the foundation of the German Empire with relation to the attempt in 1848/49 to form a parliamentary democracy. It is pointed out that the German Empire was a constitutional state that reflects the demands of the time for democracy, although it was a monarchical state. The Abitur questions on democracy ask, "Assess the extent the moderate and radical forces of the 1848/49 Revolution achieved their respective goals in the establishment of the German Empire in 1871 (2016-A-2). Describe the emergence of the Weimar Republic (2018-A-1). <The failure of the Weimar Republic originates from the situation in its early days.> Evaluate this argument (2019-A-1)." By asking so, the Abitur test deals directly with the motivation and process of overcoming the monarchy and transforming German society into a democratic society and requires students to

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understand and explain the overall process of democratization of Germany. The CSAT test does ask for knowledge about the democratization movement of the 1960s and 1980s in South Korea, but there are not many questions on this topic. So, it can be summarized that the Abitur test asks about the process of democratization of German society, while the CSAT asks about the achievements of kings in the monarchy.

Third, the proportion of historical material analysis and methodical competence in the Abitur test is 50%, while there is no question of this domain in CSAT. Among the 50% of Abitur questions asking analysis of historical materials, half of them is about analyzing one piece of material, and the other half is comparing two pieces of data with opposing arguments or intentions. Students practice identifying plural perspectives in history and determining their own position based on reflecting the controversial arguments. These questions encourage plurality, namely the multiperspectivity at the student level. In comparison, there is apparently not a single question asking sourcework on the CSAT. While the questions use a variety of historical materials such as texts and images, they are essentially neither for students to analyze the content nor make an interpretation through the multiple-choice test. Instead, the materials provide clues as useful information for recognizing the answer.

Teaching students to analyze and evaluate historical materials by themselves is a powerful alternative to nationalistic edification in history teaching (Pandel, 2012). In the Abitur examination, half of the questions require students to analyze historical material fundamentally and to reflect its significance in a historical context. Abitur test deals with methodical competence importantly, and therefore, building methodical competence by analyzing historical sources would be a significant task in history teaching and learning in schools. Contrarily, nationalistic education allows only one interpretation, therefore, "critical interpretation of various materials of the past" is undesired and the process should be avoided as much as possible. Since the CSAT test is not dealing with analyzing historical data at all, it basically functions to block students from interpreting the past from a critical viewpoint.

Based on the findings, the following two points is suggested. First, the format of the CSAT history test must be changed from multiple choice test to essay type in the long run. It is because the multiple-choice test, which gives no choice but to choose a fixed answer, is not appropriate for the purpose of history education. In particular, these answers which are assumed as correct, true, and right contain with, as shown in the analysis, nationalistic character. The purpose of history teaching should be letting students experience and realize the multiperspectivity in historiography, but not letting them believe what is written.

Nationalism explains the world's order and starts with the premises that people of a particular community are superior over others. Nationalism, on this account, does not tolerate plural stories and ideas (Wien, 2017). Nationalism and multiple-choice tests have a commonality: they do not accept various viewpoints and impose fixed answers. Therefore, multiple-choice tests can be usefully adapted for nation-building and

cultivating a national identity for nationalistic education. The content of the CSAT test is to presuppose the country as the subject of history, reproduce and present negative experiences about international relations, and emphasize the authenticity and achievements of monarchs and dynasties. Because the multiple-choice test forces one experience, one understanding, and a single point of view, it contradicts the nature of 'history' itself bearing thousands of experiences and interpretations of the past.

Second, the KICE, the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation which is in charge of making and managing the CSAT in South Korea, should intentionally reduce the questions on 'hostile international relations' and 'monarchy' within the question contents. Presenting hostile international relations in the past might convey an impression that international conflict is inevitable instead of letting students make their own future peaceful by themselves. By doing so, the test denies the students' competence to build their future as they wish. The peaceful future is not a natural coincident to come, the younger generation is who the people to make it. It is important for them to recognize that international relations are not just hostile as nature, but history education should teach them the importance of peace and their role to achieve it. In addition, contents of the legacy of monarchical rule, which is not related to the students' understanding of modern society, should be reduced. Tests measure whether the learning goals of the curriculum have been achieved. The purpose of history education is obviously democracy education both in South Korea and in Germany (Bang, 2015; MoE Baden-Württemberg, 2016b; MoE South Korea, 2018). The history test must deal with the forms of government in a critical way so that the students can realize and appreciate the value of democracy and democratic society. History test, which is very political, should equip the intention of laying the groundwork for peace and international cooperation of today and the future. It is important in the era of globalization as well.

A test measures students' achievement based on the curriculum, but the past test questions have the function for teachers to orient the teaching and students to learn. A test can force a single historical narrative, or, on the opposite, it can encourage various historical interpretations. History tests can reinforce nationalism or lay the foundation for peaceful coexistence and cooperation among countries. So, it is pedagogically clear that it should be a seed for a peaceful future.

8.5 Summary

The comparison of examinations analyzed the history tests of Abitur and CSAT which are high-stake summative assessments that have a significant washback influence on history teaching and learning in school. The Abitur history tests ask comprehensive understanding of modern history topics, the analysis and interpretation of historical materials, and students' judgment on the past through writing essays. The main topics dealt with are the immorality and crimes of Nazi or East Germany's dictatorship, the establishment-fall-development of a Weimar democratic republic, and the integration of Europe through the European Union. The history competencies in the Abitur standard

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guideline are historical knowledge -, methodical -, judgment competencies. History teaching in upper secondary grammar school, therefore, trains students to have these competencies along with narrative competence at an advanced level.

The CSAT history tests in South Korea ask for comprehensive historical knowledge and check the students' understanding of pre-modern and modern national -, East Asian -, and 「World History」 in detail by using multiple-choice questions. The tests ask students to choose the correct answer instead of writing sentences and texts. It is notable that students do not need narrative and judgment competence about the past, because they only have to choose the correct option number one to five given in the multiple-choice test. The students, therefore, prepare for the test by understanding a wide range of historical knowledge. History teaching in high schools is expected to satisfy the needs of students by focusing on the frequently asked history knowledge. Frequently presented topics include the policy or achievement of former kings and dynasties, the oppression of the imperial rules, the hardships of colonized countries, and the resistance of people against imperial aggression.

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9.1 General Summary

This study compared history curricula, textbooks, and examinations in Germany and South Korea. Therefore, the general summary is also divided into three sections. Since the areas of investigation stem from two interrelated and partly interlocked educational concepts, a clear delineation of the areas is not possible in some cases, or narrative repetitions cannot be ruled out.

Curriculum comparison: The curriculum analysis was reviewed in two domains: the scope and purpose of history education. *First*, the scope of history teaching indirectly indicates the nature and intent of history education. Germany's history education covers the whole era of world history with a strong focus on Western Europe for six years in grades 5-10. In comparison, in South Korea, Korean history is covered three times in primary, middle, and high school, and world history is covered once in middle school. As a result, Korean history accounts for about 70% of the total contents, meaning that the content of history classes consists dominantly of national history. National history may be a subsection of history, but it is not "history" in itself. Through the composition of the subject "national history" and the repeated arrangement, history and national history become recognized as the same. South Korea, Japan, and China in East Asia and many other countries around the world, including the United States, divide history subjects into national and world history. This division might be natural according to the spatial extent of students' living space, but this provides a framework in which the national chronicle from a national perspective is the main structure.

In this regards, the division of national and world history from the curriculum was critically reflected and it is argued to integrate them into a single subject of 'history.' In the case of Germany, it has been confirmed that this border has been extended to Western Europe. In the sense that nationalism causes conflicts and wars especially between neighboring countries, expanding the borders of these continents or regions seems to be a realistic alternative. The identity as East Asian rather than Korean will certainly help to resolve the current historical conflicts between East Asian countries. Ultimately, however, the human history that breaks down all these national and regional boundaries should be oriented. This is because the boundaries of continents or regions divided by religion and culture are merely extensions of nationalism and may lead to conflicts between regions rather than countries. The history of mankind is neither a national nor a European history, but the sum of the past experienced by numerous people. It is impossible to conclude it as one particular narrative, and showing the complexity of such a history should be the main content of history education. History teaching for future generations living in the age of globalization should ultimately deal with a human history without borders and divisions, and this should be the long-term goal of both German and South Korean history education programs.

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Second, the purpose of German history education is to cultivate historical consciousness, which means the process of critical historical thinking, and the various history competencies that constitute it. The basics of history teaching is to examine the nature, status, and meaning of historical materials, and in this process the principles of multiperspectivity, present relevancy, and personification are emphasized. In contrast, the emphasis of history teaching in South Korea is clearly based on the systematic understanding of history as knowledge about the past. The knowledge of the past presented in the curriculum refers to learning the grand national narrative of Korea. Historical thinking and data analysis are emphasized as one of history competencies in the curriculum, but they are not reflected in the learning goals for each grade.

In Germany, historical consciousness, i.e. critical historical thinking that links the past, present, and future, has become established as the purpose of history teaching. The goal of history teaching is to develop insight into the process of creation and subjectivity of historical knowledge. History teaching in South Korea is perceived as memorizing large amounts of knowledge about the past. It is necessary to discuss and agree that the purpose of history teaching should be critical historical thinking and not the one-sided implantation of knowledge, especially state chronology. In the South Korean curriculum, historical thinking is mentioned rhetorically as a purpose, but it should be the practical goal that permeates the entire content of the curriculum. Changing the purpose of history teaching through in-depth discussion and sharing this understanding is the first step and the most important task to reduce the nationalistic nature of history teaching.

Textbook comparison: The comparison of textbooks on the two topics of ancient people and letterpress was reviews in the two following ways: content selection and analysis of historical materials. The Korean history textbook, in which the history of the country replaces human history, presents and introduces the two topics as the first Koreans who lived on the Korean peninsula and outstanding science and technology of Korea. Historical materials are presented as reliable evidence to support this interpretation of national history, but it illuminates the title and existence itself rather than its nature, credibility, and contents of the data. The learning activity serves to sublimate historical interpretation to the correct answer and truth about the past by repeatedly asking about historical interpretation from the national perspective. They demonstrate how textbooks transform the interpretation of the grand national narrative into a system of "correct" historical knowledge about the human past. By contrast, German history textbooks deal with history of humanity focused on Western Europe. They present the two topics with the Neolithic people who lived in Western Europe in the time of ancient Egyptian civilization and inventions leading to social changes in Western Europe. It is markedly different that Germany as a country is never mentioned while the name of Korean nation is already mentioned in the history of BC, even considering that Germany was firstly unified in 1871. Historical materials are presented with information such as whether they have been reconstructed or not, their title, information about the author, clues letting guess the author's intention, and the time of creation. It is characteristic that materials are often presented with two opposing arguments from different perspectives, allowing students to experience the multiperspectivity of human society in the past. Above all, the

learning activities require students to independently analyze and interpret the content of historical data and to present their opinions on controversial issues.

The analysis of records from the past is the starting point for historical research and historical learning. Historical materials enable students to relive and re-experience various human experiences and perspectives in the past. History textbooks of South Korea are using them as one-sided evidence to prove the interpretation of the past described from the state's perspective to a "fact," and to elevate it to justified historical knowledge. In the process, textbooks provide selective information such as its title, author and needed contents only, while critical meta-information about the data such as time of creation, credibility, authors intention is not considered. In this way, it is not possible for students to make a reasonable interpretation of the past by analyzing and interpreting the contents of the data themselves.

Assessment comparison: The comparison of the history test of the university entrance exam was reviewed by the form and the topic of the test. Compared were international relations and forms of government presented in the questions. The German Abitur history test consists of four essay-type questions and takes 270 minutes. It covers topics such as the Weimar Republic, the Nazi regime, and the Cold War with the division and reunification of East and West Germany. Analysis revealed that questions on international relations were rare and most questions were related to the form of democratic government. The CSAT history test of South Korea bears 20 multiple-choice questions and took within 30 minutes. The 「Korean History」 test is mandatory, while the 「East Asian History」 and 「World History」 tests are electives. The test covers all eras, from ancient to modern times. Analysis showed that questions on hostile international relations such as war and colonial rule and monarchy concerning kings and dynasties accounted for a large proportion.

The CSAT history test asks about the grand national narratives, focusing on foreign invasions, wars between states, the plundering of colonial states by imperialist countries, the territorial expansion of old dynasties, and the achievements of kings. The CSAT, which uses a multiple-choice format to ask questions about national history with the correct answer, has the character of indoctrination that makes critical thinking fundamentally impossible. Under the national history paradigm, international conflicts seem essentially unavoidable. In addition, the average life of ordinary people in the history is omitted from the historical picture behind dynasties and kings. Since the history test for the university entrance serves as a guide for history classes, the test should address the history competencies rather than knowledge of national history. A valid assessment form that enables evaluating students' plural interpretations of the past is an essay.

9.2 Practical implications

The aim of this study was to identify didactic alternatives to reduce the nationalistic character of history teaching in South Korea. To this end, German and South Korean history curricula, textbooks, and examinations were compared. In this section, three

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suggestions are presented based on the main differences found in each comparison, which compose a total of nine suggestions.

9.2.1 Curriculum

The comparison of the curricula in *Chapter 6* revealed the following differences: the concept and spatial scope of the history subject, the purpose of learning, and the perspective of history contents in the two countries were different. Accordingly, this study proposes (1) to change the conceptual frame of history subject from the division of "national history" and "world history" to an integrated "history," (2) to change the purpose of teaching history from understanding to developing critical historical consciousness via history competencies, and (3) to deal with the past of ordinary people which are relevant to figure out the present society rather than dynasties of the Korean nation.

First, the current history subject which is a concept of teaching "national history" should be replaced by the concept of general history in South Korea, because it limits the learning contents to the Korean past exclusively. The very concept of the subject "national history" provides the framework in which the "state" is the main subject of content rather than people as humans.

Through the comparative analysis of the South Korean and German curricula, it was found that there are major differences in terms of regional limitations. On the one hand, national history accounts for 73% of the total learning objectives of elementary, middle, and high schools in South Korea. In Germany, on the other hand, 35% of European history and 40% of world history are taught, while the proportion of national history is only 25%. The subject of Korean national history covers the grand national narrative of *Old Chosŏn, Three Kingdoms, United Silla, Koryŏ, Chosŏn*, the Japanese colonial period, and modern South Korea, and the story deals with the rise, development, and fall of the Korean "states" as the main plotline. Despite numerous studies that criticize "the grand national narrative," the content structure of history education still adheres to this unit composition in elementary, middle, and high schools. It should be changed immediately.

Primary school history teaching in South Korea deal exclusively with Korean history within social studies subject, which means the scope of history content is spatially limited to Korea. The geographic scope of history content should be changed to human history content. In the short term, in the next revision of the curriculum, Korean history should be reduced to less than 50%, and East Asian History and world history should each account for more than 25%. In middle school, world history and Korean history are taught separately as History 1 and History 2. I suggest that History 1 cover ancient and medieval history and History 2 cover modern and contemporary history. In high school, the current compulsory subject of "Korean History" and the electives of "East Asia" and "World History" should be combined into a new compulsory subject of "History". In the next curriculum revision, the contents of high school history should integrate South Korea at less than 50%, East Asia at about 25%, and World History at around 25%.

Regarding the epochs in high school history subject, it should cover history from modern times to the present so that students can learn more about the present-related past.

It will be a long process to change the current subject conceptual frame of "national history" in the curriculum. The main reasons are the existing teaching materials, basic research, and teacher training at the university. Nevertheless, the curriculum should play a role in leading social change. When the curriculum of schools changes the history concept, the above conditions will also be reshaped in the same direction.

The merit of the concept of general history education, which involves exposure to other cultures and societies, can also help reduce prejudice against people of other nationalities. By eliminating these distinctions and boundaries, students will be able to access more historical material, learn about other possibilities, and find inspiration for understanding the present and future life. Moreover, because broadening horizons from the national border to the world by not limiting history to a nation offers more abundant historical topics for useful lessons, it enables more quality history teaching.

Second, the goal of history teaching should be changed from "systematic understanding" to developing "history consciousness and competencies." In Korean history curriculum documents, 88% of the learning objective sentences require "understanding" as the learning goal, and the main topic is national history. In other words, the goal of teaching history in South Korea is to make students obediently accept the given national history. In contrast, the German history curriculum requires learning objectives "applying, analyzing, and judging", and various historical competencies are applied to the learning goal sentences.

"Understanding" can no longer be meaningful learning in today's information society. Instead, students living in a modern society flooded with information need to be able to find useful information and then critically evaluate the content of the information. The danger of manipulation through false information such as fake news is also increasing, making critical and well-educated media literacy essential for students to protect themselves. In this regard, history education can make a useful contribution to the student's media literacy.

The South Korean MoE and the KICE, which are developing the curriculum, need to ensure that history education aims to develop critical historical awareness and methodological and judgmental competencies by letting students repeatedly experience the multiperspectivity of history. A useful strategy for implementing these changes is to use the operative verbs in *Table 17* to formulate the learning goal sentences for each grade level. A Korean translation of *Table 17* is included in *Appendix 1, Table 33*. This can be referred to originate a list of operative verbs suitable for Korean linguistic features and history teaching.

Third, as an alternative to the grand national narrative as the structure of the contents, new topic matters should be organized in the learning objective sets of the curriculum. In doing so, based on the overall chronological order, the principle of present relevancy and personification in choosing the topics is recommended. A number of studies have criticized the content of the grand national narrative of Korea, which indulgently lists the records of dynasties and rulers. These studies have also suggested alternative

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narratives such as the history of children, the history of life, local history, etc., yet the analysis in this study confirmed that the content is still intensely focused on the grand national narrative and little has changed.

According to the present relevancy, learning content in history subject should be selected from the criteria whether it helps students to understand human society in relation to their present life. In other words, it allows only topics that convey useful meanings for students in the present society has entitle to be taught. Ironically, then, the selection criteria for historical learning topics for learning about the past come from contemporary human society not from the past. What can history education or school education itself do to solve the challenges of contemporary society or to improve society? History teaching in context of school education should ask what kind of human experience of the past can be shared with students to solve poverty, inequality, global warming, and wars, and it should ultimately contribute to achieve a more egalitarian, harmonious, and prosperous future. Based on this awareness, appropriate topics could be selected from the history knowledge from ancient, medieval and modern times. The past related to the present can replace the national narrative that glorifies and upholds the nation's glorious past. In addition, with globalization and digitization, historical knowledge is shared across borders and accessibility is increasing via the Internet. In the flood of historical information, students need the ability to recognize, interpret, and evaluate history on their own. History education is not about imparting knowledge, but teaching students how make their own interpretations on the past to shape their future society.

For the initial learning objectives primary school history, I suggest the following alternatives for the next history curriculum document in South Korea:

Students can:

- explain the overall epochs of the history learning in grades 5/6.
- explain the importance of history to their own lives and describe the ways of working on the subject of history (sourcework: written, non-written; chronology, period, perspective).
- compare life in the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods between ancient Qin China (or Egypt) with people who lived in the contemporary Korean Peninsula.
- analyze the social and cultural aspects of life in East Asia in *Koryŏ* and Chosŏn Korea.
- evaluate the opportunities for political participation created by the social reforms during Chosŏn Korea.

Overall, the learning objective regarding the listing of the names of dynasties and kings should be modified to reflect on the problems of modern society and to examine ancient history for meaningful implications for possible solutions to the problems of modern society. In other words, learning goal sentences should require understanding and evaluating life in the past. Social problems of Korean society, for example, include the high suicide rate among youth, the deepening gap between rich and poor, the political conflict between conservatives and progressives, the population concentration in big cities, the

ongoing gender conflict, the environmental problems, and the international conflicts with North Korea and other countries in East Asia. Drawing on lessons from the past to provide solutions to current problems should be the orientation for the new learning objectives. Regardless of how few past records of ordinary people there are compared to those of the king, it will be much more interesting and meaningful for students to explore and learn about the average lives of ordinary people, from the past. It is needed that a history class that deals with the history of ordinary people rather than the history of individual rulers.

9.2.2 Textbook

Moving on to suggestions on textbooks, textbooks serve for the didactic implementation of the curriculum in history lessons. The content and learning objectives of the history textbooks are therefore determined by the curriculum. It means a change in the textbooks presupposes a change in the curriculum. Nevertheless, I would like to propose the following changes to the content of school history textbooks. Upon comparing textbooks (German/Korean), the following differences were found in the author's text, the presentation of historical sources, and the evaluative learning questions. In this context, this study suggests the following three points: (1) textbook authors should write their texts to explain the findings of recent history and history didactics rather than to explain existing national narratives, (2) historical materials in textbooks should be presented together with meta-information and analyzed and interpreted by students, and (3) textbook authors should reduce content-reproducing questions and instead ask questions that challenge students' judgment and evaluation. Followings are detailed descriptions of these suggestions.

First, the grand national narrative in the textbook author's text should be replaced by up-to-date research findings on history and history didactics. Current history textbooks in South Korea, in line with their goals, focus on the grand national narrative, which deals with the foundation, development, and decline of Korean states and emphasizes the originality and superiority of Korean national culture through its own cultural properties such as *Jikji*. In contrast, German textbooks deal with the lives of ordinary people and focus on social changes that originated with the letterpress, rather than making Gutenberg's book-printing the main subject.

An example of alternative could be as follows: *Chapter 7* described the current transmission of the *Dangun* myth according to the grand national narrative. Textbook authors in this case should, in addition to mentioning the content of the myth, ask history didactical questions such as: What is a myth? What is the author's intention? What role do myths play in history? Moreover, the critical academic research that has already identified the pseudo-historical elements of *Old Chosŏn* should be incorporated into the author's text in textbooks. In this way, textbook authors can objectively convey achievements in historical scholarship and controversial discussions. By doing so, students can be guided to form a critical historical consciousness.

Second, text and image sources in textbooks should (1) always be presented with sufficient meta-information and (2) be followed by learning activities that students can

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analyze historical contents in them. As previous studies have shown, Korean textbooks use text and image sources as historical evidence for the grand national narrative. In contrast, German textbooks use text and image sources as a means for students to experience multiperspectivity and to be able to analyze sources independently.

Therefore, the historical media/sources should be provided with sufficient meta-information which is needed for the source work along with the content of the material itself. Sufficient external information about the material means for instance: whether it is reconstructed or reproduced, when it was created or produced, who produced it or for what purpose, and where and how it was discovered. The authenticity of each source should be judged by the student for their genre competence (see Section 3.3).

For example, in textbooks, the 『*Samguk yusa*』 is presented as a historical source for the *Dangun* myth of *Old Chosŏn* (2333 BC?-108 AD). This ancient history book describes that it is true based on the *Samguk yusa* that *Dangun* founded *Old Chosŏn* in 2333 BC. This is definitely false history education. A textbook should give information about who, when, why, and what kind of document it was written. The *Samguk yusa* was written in 1281, almost 3000 later according to oral tradition, written by a Buddhist monk with the intention of resisting Mongolian rule in *Koryŏ* Korea, and is a collection of literary works dealing with folk tales, which makes this source reference really questionable. If students had this meta-information, they would certainly form a very different picture of this story. Therefore, the authors must offer each source enough meta-information.

Moreover, the data should not be limited to emphasizing its existence but the content of the data should be analyzed by students. For example, the writing of a historian who argues for the history of *Old Chosŏn* and the writing of a historian who denies the history of *Old Chosŏn* can be juxtaposed as textual data. With learning questions that require students to compare the two views and take their own positions, students can learn to critically analyze the content of textual material on their own. Instead of just emphasizing that *Jikji* is the oldest print in the world (see Section 7.3), textbook authors can introduce students to some of the research that deals with the actual analysis of *Jikji*. These scholarly studies often mention that there is no other information about how the *Jikji* was printed. This source of historical research offers students the opportunity to do their own fact-based thinking about the relic.

Third, it is necessary to increase evaluative questions that allow students to judge and assess the past up to 25% of all questions. The analysis results of this study are consistent with those of previous studies that Korean textbooks currently rarely include evaluative questions for students. In contrast, German textbooks contain about 30% of learning questions in which students must evaluate the past or make judgments in light of their own circumstances (Bae & Yoon, 2022).

Learning questions that allow students to put themselves in a historical situation or judge the past from the perspective of their own situation could be the sample questions below. The following questions in the German textbooks could be applied to South Korea.

(1) Questions that evaluate the importance of the past in terms of the present or the importance of the present in terms of the past:

- Did the early farmers have a more comfortable life than the gatherers and hunters?
 - Evaluate how the Internet has changed the way knowledge is communicated based on the two journalists' differing views of Wikipedia in Sources 1 and 2.
 - The invention of the Internet is said to have changed the world, just as the printing press did. Conduct an interview with your parents or grandparents and ask them what they think of the Internet and how it changed their lives.
 - Should we learn about prehistoric people today?
- (2) Questions that provide an opinion or argument about a particular story and ask for students' perspectives on it:
- 'Neolithic times in primitive Europe', 'Egypt where civilization begins'. What do you think about these?
 - Evaluate the statement: "Egypt is not a gift of the Nile! Egypt is the gift of the Egyptians!"
 - Evaluate the following statement: "The ancient civilization of Egypt was a generator of ideas for the Neolithic and Iron Age societies of present-day Europe." Idea Givers.
- (3) Questions asking for opinions about the pros and cons, advantages and disadvantages, and causality of historical topics.
- Discuss the benefits and risks of spreading typography.
 - Discuss the connection between the Reformation and the media revolution.

9.2.3 Assessment

The main differences in comparing the examinations were found in the test form, international relations, and forms of government. In the CSAT history exams, for Korean/East Asian/World history, in South Korea, the format of the exam is that all questions are multiple-choice with 5 options, and 20 questions should be solved in 30 minutes. In contrast, the German Abitur is a "history exam" in which four essay questions are written in 270 minutes. Three suggestions for history assessment are as follows. History exams are needed to (1) change the form from multiple-choice tests to essay tests, (2) change the content from hostile international relations to international cooperation and coexistence, and (3) change the content from ancient dynasties to the process of democratization. Following are suggestions with detailed descriptions.

First, the form of the examination must be changed to the essay form, which requires students' judgment and thoughts. Korean CSAT exam is a multiple-choice exam with the goal of nationalist history teaching, which does not allow for any historical interpretation other than the grand national narrative that students are required to recognize only a given correct answer as "correct." The essay form test has not been widely used in South Korea since 1945, and the teachers who teach have never experienced or administered such a test. There is neither experience nor widespread knowledge among Korean teachers about this testing procedure. Although this fundamental change is not possible within a few years, the initiation of a change process can be brought about in order to make these changes possible in the long term. Since the same multiple-choice test is also used in Japan and the United States, it is helpful to get together examples from Germany and France, which have been using this form of essay test. In South Korea, there have been only two studies to date on the introduction of the essay form modeled on the

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German history Abitur test in 2012(Yi) and 2021(Bae), and these studies on German Abitur history exams should be published much more widely in South Korea so that they can be adopted more widely. For this, a joint German language studies and history didactics project in South Korea could also be productive. In order for this type of test to be administered in schools, all teachers concerned must be trained to be able to write evaluation questions themselves and to evaluate student essays objectively. Even the teacher appointment test should be changed in this direction.

Second, the content of history tests should be deliberately used for peace education. In other words: In history exams, the foreign invasions, wars, and colonial rules from the national perspective should be refrained from the contents, and be replaced by cases of international cooperation. Building and promoting enemy images inevitably lead to disturbing international relations and are one of the main features of nationalist history teaching. In order to end international conflicts and find a new way of reconciliation and cooperation, selectively emphasizing the history that divides and sets people against each other across borders should be dismissed. Therefore, the number of issues dealing with the war and colonial rule should be significantly reduced, and the history of joint cooperation and reconciliation should be increased instead. In this way, diplomatic conflicts can be reduced and the possibility of future coexistence could be increased.

Third, the question of past dynasties and kings should be replaced by the variety of lifestyles and experiences of the ordinary people who lived at that time. In Germany, as shown in the findings of *Chapter 8*, the history test plays not a value-neutral passive role, but an active role in "democracy education." In South Korea, where the same democratic political system operates, history education should also contribute to consolidating democracy in society through history education. The history of past dynasties and kings should be reconsidered, if the content has nothing to do with today's life and social problems, and those contents should be boldly removed. Instead of the personalized history of great men such as kings, generals, and elites, it is necessary to present the personified history of the average lives of ordinary people. Moreover, the development process of democracy should be treated from the historical perspective of world history. In doing so, one can learn that the history of the past was perceived and experienced differently by people from different places, and not only from the perspective of one nation.

9.3 Strengths and Limitations

The academic contribution of this dissertation is to figure out the characteristics of nationalist history teaching from the pedagogical point of view and to propose alternatives. Numerous studies of humanities and history didactics have analyzed and highlighted the problems of nationalistic history teaching and the distinctive characteristics of historical narratives. This pedagogical research defined the characteristics of nationalistic history teaching by comparing of subject structure, learning activities, and test. It also suggested some alternatives. The theoretical contribution of this research is synthesizing strategies of nationalist history teaching and alternatives to overcome the national perspective. These

theoretical considerations in *Chapters 2 and 3* can be viewed as the basis for further research on this topic.

The methodological contributions of the study are as follows: This study has expanded the scope of research on history didactics. Previous studies have compared the content of history education in geographically close countries or have shared experiences of the same historical event. Although the two countries are not geographically neighboring and share a common past, this study compared them focusing on the didactical aspects of history education. The purpose of learning was compared by classifying the learning goals by grade level using Bloom's taxonomy. Learning activities in history textbooks and test questions were compared by classifying them into three cognitive domains: Knowledge Reproduction, Data Reorganization, and Historical Judgment and Suggestion. In addition, this study explained the differences in the characteristics and role of examinations in relation to the German and Korean school systems and the university admissions system, and this understanding may be useful for the future comparative education research.

The practical contributions of this dissertation are as follows. First, it supplements the grounds that the goal of history education should be transformed from 'systematic understanding' to 'historical consciousness as critical thinking'. The edifying character of history education in South Korea, which forces the acceptance of the grand national narrative, has been demonstrated. The results of the study reinforce and extend the existing studies that argued the need for improvement. Second, the study empirically examined the contents of history teaching in relation to the multiperspectivity, present relevancy, and personification, and in doing so, it enabled to find ideas on which procedures should be particularly emphasized to reduce nationalism. This research on German history education has been proven that it has implications for discussions in South Korea. Four articles written in the process of this research were published in peer-review journals. Two articles introducing the history competencies of the curriculum in Germany (2018) and the analysis of world history contents (2022) are the published in the *Journal of Curriculum and Evaluation*, a journal of KICE. This national research institute administers the national curriculum and CSAT in South Korea. Two articles on German Abitur history test (2021) and subject competencies and history content for primary school in Germany (2021) were published in the two prestigious history didactics journals '*The Korean History Education Review*', '*Studies on History Education*,' respectively.

This study has the following limitations: First, it deals with the theory and practice of German history education and focuses on alternatives to nationalistic history education, so it did not address critical discussions of German history education such as Eurocentrism, gender equality, and/or racism. Second, this study did not deal with the discussion of previous studies of history teaching in Northeast Asian countries such as North Korea, Taiwan, and Mongolia, although it is a study that seeks solutions to historical conflicts in East Asia. Third, teachers' teaching practices may not reflect or follow the contents of the curriculum, textbooks, and examinations. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize that the German and Korean history learning contents confirmed in

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this study are the teaching-learning contents practiced in the classroom. Fourth, when comparing curricula, textbooks, and university entrance examinations in Germany and South Korea, which have different political systems, school systems, and educational climates, the topics and contents were not strictly controlled. Although the test's purpose in South Korea is to provide an objective and reliable ranking rather than a valid evaluation due to their university ranking system, this study compared the contents and didactical aspects. In addition, under the federal political system in Germany, education in states vary significantly. Therefore, the results of this study are difficult to generalize as the German case, because it only refers to the cases in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Nonetheless, history education in German states has commonality due to standardization measures such as the EPA regulations of the KMK and the common publishers of textbooks when it comes to comparison to South Korea.

9.4 Future Directions

Three follow-up studies are recommendable: First, an analysis examining how other countries mediate the topics of ancient people, cultural heritage, international relations, and forms of government is needed. By doing so, the characteristics of nationalistic history teaching found in this dissertation can be verified and then substituted by its alternatives. Once the didactical features of repetition of the grand national narrative and indoctrinating them into historical knowledge through convergent questioning are found in regions with international historical conflicts, including East Asia or Eastern Europe, generalization of this knowledge would be possible. Second, an interview and/or questionnaire research on teachers' perceptions can confirm the practical aspects of history teaching. Curricula, textbooks, and test are under the control of the MoE, and thus are influenced by the nature of the ruling party. Since many history teachers in South Korea take a critical stance toward the formal curriculum, a comparative study is needed that looks at teachers' perceptions to examine the official and what is being taught and learned in schools. Third, in South Korea, research on the development of historical learning materials to replace existing content on national history is needed. Until the military dictatorship of the late 1980s, nationalist history education materials were produced considerably. Learning materials that meet the principles of multiperspectivity, present relevancy, and personification are needed. Also, studies on teachers' assessment competency for essay-type tests are needed. Assessment through multiple-choice questions does not require assessment competency of teacher. For the state to introduce essay tests, teachers must be able to evaluate student essays in a valid and in an objective manner. Studies that examine the theory for assessment and cases of Abitur tests in Germany where experience and expertise in essay assessment have been accumulated are strongly recommended.

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When American professor Keith Barton, a known history didactician, visited Seoul in 2017, he gave a lecture that criticizing nationalistic history education. As it was ending, a South Korean history teacher in the audience commented that "East Asia is different." He said that conflicts between East Asian countries are complicated and deep-rooted in a long history. I briefly thought of China, Mongolia, Khitan, and Japan's invasions and the suffering of Korean people under Japanese colonial rule, and it became unavoidable to agree with the comment. The Q&A session ended awkwardly, as if the Korean teacher was tentatively correct. Thinking back to that time, I would like to ask why the teacher, I, and we Korean see history only from the perspective of our own nation? Stemming back to my parent's generation, all Korean teachers taught and all Korean students learned history from a tainted national historical perspective, and it is still being so today. I want to say loudly. National history is not the whole history. Current history education in South Korea presents the history of Korea as if it were the whole of history and brainwashes people to believe that conflicts between countries are inevitable. This teaching practice must be changed immediately.

Hatred based on nationalistic sentiments promotes interstate conflict, and it develops into political and diplomatic condemnation or leads to war. Condemnation undermines the possibility of coexistence, cooperation, and prosperity. War is the synonymous with loss of lives and irreversible suffering. Nationalism provides the logic to justify conflict between countries worldwide. There are countless examples from the past where an undemocratic dictatorship promoted nationalistic history teaching, and this continues to be the case now on. The most recent example can be seen in Russia's attack on Ukraine in 2022, which shocked Europe and the world, is in part due to Russian nationalism. Putin's claim, contrary to the wishes of more than 440,000 Ukrainians, that Russians and Ukrainians constitute one nation and that the countries should find a way to integrate (AP News, 2019). Nationalist sentiments are a useful tool for authoritarian regimes to gain legitimacy, namely the support of citizens while making inhuman claims.

The aim of this study was to identify the didactical characteristics of nationalistic history teaching, which is the cause of conflicts between countries that perpetuate the impossibility of peaceful coexistence of humanity. This study aims to go a step further by proposing didactic alternatives to reduce nationalism in history teaching. To this end, South Korean history education, in which one constantly confronts historical conflicts in East Asia, has been compared with that of Germany, which has been leading the historical reconciliation and integration of Europe. Germany has consistently held discussions on history textbook contents with neighboring countries such as France and Poland, and these efforts have led to the revision of textbook contents in each country and the publishing of joint textbooks. South Korea, which has changed into a democratic industrial nation while facing the communist bloc of North Korea and China during the Cold War, is geographically located midway between China and Japan. The measures in South Korea, which aim at historical reconciliation between neighboring countries

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beyond nationalism, will contribute to peace and prosperity in East Asia. Overcoming nationalism in South Korea, the only country that speaks the same language as North Korea, is also important for future reunification which might need the dismantling of the overly-nationalistic historical narrative under dictatorship. Based on the assumption that German history teaching is a non-nationalistic democratic history teaching and Korean history teaching is a nationalistic one, this study compared the current history curricula, textbooks, and tests quantitatively and qualitatively.

Although the comparison of history teaching in two countries with different school systems and pedagogical traditions bears the limitation that strictly controlling the scope and contents for comparison is not possible, the cross-cultural comparison enabled revealing the didactic differences in the goals, principles, and methods of history education. Comparison enables finding new perceptions of occurrences. Comparative educational research, which refers to the international comparison of educational phenomena, follows four steps: Description, Interpretation, Juxtaposition, and Comparison, and has the following two goals: providing generalizability of educational phenomena and ideas to solve educational problems. This study compared empirics of history education in Germany and South Korea cross-culturally and identified characteristics of nationalistic history education from a new perspective. The methodology of comparative education was suitable to find ideas for South Korea to reduce nationalistic history teaching by examining the didactical implications from the German case.

The theoretical part examined the social phenomenon of nationalism, the characteristics of nationalist history education, and the purpose, principle, method, and competency-based learning of German history education. Special attention was paid to the principles of history education as alternatives to nationalistic indoctrination, which has been established in German history didactics since the 1980s. Essential elements are the historical consciousness and historical culture as the goal of history education, the analysis of historical media as a learning method, the multiperspectivity as an essential principle of history teaching, the present relevancy as a criterion for the selection of the contents, and personification, which means dealing with ordinary peoples' average life. Finally, in the context of "competency-based learning," which functions as a practical goal of current German history education and the new paradigm of school education in the 2000s, various history competencies and models were discussed.

Each topic above presented related discussion in South Korea, respectively. Since the 1990s, the criticism on nationalist history teaching in South Korea has continued. Studies revealing the characteristics of nationalist history teaching, school practices for analysis of historical materials, multiperspectivity, and the introduction and application of history competencies have been continuously published. These studies frequently introduce the German theory of history didactics and empirical cases. History didactics in Germany is internationally recognized not only in South Korea but also in Europe and the United States. This study which compares the empirics through comparative educational methods complements and extends the previous studies that searched for alternatives of nationalist history education.

The overall results indicate that history teaching, which serves nationalism, emphasizes the systematic understanding of the grand national narrative, which is interpreted from the monoperspective of a nation, and various didactic means for this purpose follows. The unrelenting explanation of national history repeated in elementary, middle, and high school, and the process of confirming the knowledge as the "correct answer" in the textbook and test questions let students have no choice but to accept an identity as an appendage of the state. It is very difficult for an ordinary student, who has trusts in the school, teachers and society, to denying this overwhelming knowledge system and beliefs. As a result, the national history replaces human history in the student's mind, and they assume conflicts based on borders are natural and inevitable. All the results show a process in which history education in South Korea has used various means repeatedly to force students to understand the interpretation of the past from a national perspective as a historical fact. It seems that ordinary children and adolescents internalize national and ethnic identities through this process and it might construct their beliefs well into adulthood. In comparison, in Germany, students learn to analyze historical data independently, and experience the multiperspectivity of history repetitively, and exercise justifying their judgments and assertions. The history didactic alternative to the understanding of historical knowledge is competency-based history education. History competencies such as method-, judgment-, knowledge-, narrative-, and orientation competencies can be set as the purpose of history education. In addition, the list of operational verbs can be used to systematically apply these competencies to grade-specific learning goals. The list of operational verbs provides definitions, explanations, and examples for each verb so that they can be used in setting goals in curriculums and writing textbooks. Developing a list of operational verbs in the Korean language can help to realize and practice various historical cognitive goals of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation in the teaching/learning process. History education may not unilaterally force one to accept the interpretation of the past written from the national perspective but should pursue developing critical historical consciousness and history competencies to build desirable historical culture.

Now moving toward the end of this dissertation, I recall a saying often heard in South Korea: "History is not a knowledge-oriented subject that simply understands and memorizes knowledge about the past." After five years of constantly thinking about this topic, it became understandable why this reasonable criticism is so empty and meaningless. In South Korea, history is a subject that requires acceptance of the grand national narrative as historical knowledge unilaterally and memorizing them without raising questions. From the curricula, to textbooks, to exams history subject repeatedly and persistently convinces students to accept and memorize the grand national narrative. As a result, Koreans and history teachers also develop a solid sense that the conflicts between East Asian countries are deep-rooted in history and that reconciliation is impossible. At least, it is true in the current national curriculum, in-use textbooks, and CSAT history test.

History is the humanities and sociology, the process of thinking and the experience itself. It should be taught as living thoughts, not as dead knowledge. This study compared history didactics theories and practices in Germany, where this common sense is realized,

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with that of South Korea. The statement above sounds obvious and like common sense, but it is far from reality in South Korea. Hopefully, this study will serve as a small stepping stone so that this statement will become the reality of history education in South Korea and in all regions of the world where there are conflicts between countries as soon as possible. History teaching should support that the younger generation can design their present and the future with peace and prosperity, rather than ruminating on the conflicts and antagonisms of the past from a national perspective.

** Reference Note*

This dissertation uses the APA style seventh edition. Yet the titles of Korean books and journal articles that are not using the Latin alphabet are written in Korean letters instead of pronunciation in the Latin alphabet. This is for the accuracy and in consideration of Korean readers. After the original Korean titles, translations into English are placed in square brackets, [...]. The translated English titles were named by the authors of the original works since authors in South Korea usually publish Korean literature with additional English titles. For the titles of South Korean journals, the official English titles of each journal registered in the Korea Citation Index (KCI) are rigidly applied instead of writing the original title in Korean letters. (www.kci.go.kr)

To increase the accessibility to the literature of South Korea, literature without the link of the International DOI Foundation (IDF) is provided with a digital object identifier supported by the Research Information Sharing Service (RISS) that is short in length. RISS is administered by the Korea Education and Research Information Service (KERIS), a public institution of MoE South Korea.

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12 Appendices

12.1 Operational Verbs

Table 33 shows a list of operational verbs of the history curriculum of Baden-Württemberg, which is the translation of Table 17 in Section 7.2. These verbs can help organizing learning-goal sentences in curriculum and questions in textbooks.

Table 33 Operational Verbs list in Korean language

Operational verbs (수행지시동사)		Accounts (설명)		AF (요구수준)
1	기술하다	beschreiben	내용을 논리정연하게 옹기다	I - 개념 [인]
2	그리다, 시각화하다	bezeichnen	내용을 표, 그림, 그래프, 지도로 역사 개념을 사용하여 나타내다	
3	나열하다	nennen	내용을 기준에 따라 선별하여 간결하게 제시하다	
4	분석하다	analysieren	내용을 체계적으로 살펴보고 평가하여 정리하다	
5	근거를 제시하다	begründen	주장이나 입장을 지지하는 사례나 증거를 들다	
6	특징짓다	charakterisieren	사실을 전형적인 특징으로 찾고 이를 열거하다	
7	서술하다	darstellen	구조적이고 일관되게 사실과 맥락을 설명하다	
8	분류하다	ein-, zuordnen	자료를 기준에 맞게 체계 하에 일관되게 할당하다	II - 제구 연
9	설명하다 I	erklären	이론, 모델, 법, 규정, 기능, 전개 상황 등을 사실에 기반을 두어 논리정연하게 인과관계를 제시하다	
10	설명하다 II	erläutern	역사적 맥락을 구체적인 사료의 증거를 들어 설명하다	
11	제작하다	erstellen	내용을 역사 개념을 사용한 표, 그래프, 마인드맵, 설명 그림(Schaubild) 등의 형태로 제시하다	
12	정보를 찾아내다	herausarbeiten	주어진 자료에서 질문과 관련한 모든 정보를 찾다	
13	비교하다	vergleichen	기준과 관점에 따른 공통점과 차이점을 찾고 결과를 도출하다	
14	판단하다	beurteilen	상황, 제언, 제안, 대책에 대해 판단 기준을 제시하고, 근거에 기초한 사실 판단을 제시하다	
15	평가하다	bewerten	상황, 제언, 제안, 대책의 가치를 판단하고 적용한 가치를 공개하다	III - 작 원·제 언
16	제안하다	entwickeln	주어진 또는 자신이 설정한 문제에 대해 근거를 들어 해결방안을 제안하다	
17	논하다	erörtern	주어진 명제에 대한 찬반양론을 비교한 후 근거를 들어 자신의 입장을 제시하다	
18	작성하다	gestalten	주어진 문제에서 요구하는 정보를 역할 또는 수신인을 상정하여 제시하다	
19	확인하다	überprüfen	발언, 제안, 대책이 사실에 부합하는지 확인하고 그 결과를 근거를 들어 제시하다	

12.2 Page overviews of history textbooks

This section presents full-page overviews of German and South Korean history textbooks.

Figure 16 Page overview of German textbook - 1 (grade 5/6 - ancient people)



Ancient Egyptian vs. Ancient Central European in 'Forum Geschichte 5/6', Cornelsen (2016), p. 66, 67

Note: The double-page principle including author's text/materials/learning activities, *Personification* focusing on ordinary people (long house), the *Present-relevancy* (Smart phone for media revolution), historical materials as the object for sourcework analysis.

Figure 17 Page overview of German textbook - 2 (grade 7 - letterpress)

Wende zur Neuzeit

Eine Erfindung verändert die Welt

61

Wende zur Neuzeit



M2: Druckerwerkstatt: Johannes Gutenberg, 1474

werden. Durch dieses neue Verfahren konnten in kurzer Zeit viele Exemplare eines Buches gedruckt werden.

denk mal

Heute geschieht die Verbreitung von Wissen und Informationen häufig digital. Die meisten Menschen haben Zugang zum Internet.

Inwiefern ist die Bedeutung von Tablets und Smartphones heute im Hinblick auf die Verbreitung von Wissen mit der Erfindung des Buchdrucks vergleichbar?



1. Vergleiche in Form einer Tabelle die Entstehung eines Buches vor der Erfindung Gutenbergs und zur Zeit Gutenbergs in M1 und M2.
2. Bewerte die Erfindung des Buchdrucks für die Verbreitung von Wissen.

60

Pergament

eine leicht bearbeitbare Tierhaut, die zum Schreiben verwendet werden ist.

M1: Mönch im Skriptorium (Buchmalerei), 15. Jh.

Von der Handschrift zum Druck

Bis 1450 wurden Bücher vor allem von Mönchen in den Klöstern mit Feder und Tinte auf teures Pergament geschrieben und reich verziert. Eine Bibel auf diese Art abzuschreiben dauerte Jahre. Ein Exemplar kostete 500 Gulden, das entsprach einem Wert von 30 Ochsen. Nur reiche Adelige oder Kaufleute und Klöster konnten sich ein solches Buch überhaupt leisten.

Den Gelehrten dieser Zeit war Bildung ein wichtiges Anliegen. Sie strebten danach, Wissen weiterzugeben und einer größeren Zahl von Menschen zugänglich zu machen. Dies konnte nur durch Verbreitung von Schriften geschehen.

Die Lösung erfand schließlich der Goldschmied Johannes Gutenberg aus Mainz. Er entwickelte 1450 ein Verfahren, einzelne Buchstaben als Lettern aus Metall herzustellen. Nach dem Druck konnten sie wieder auseinandergenommen und neu verwendet

Webcode

Weitere Informationen über Gutenberg findest du unter SUK-35701-204

Starthilfe

Denke hierbei an die benötigte Zeit, die Person, die Aufwand ...

61

Wie entsteht eine Druckseite

Das erste Buch, das Johannes Gutenberg mithilfe des neuen Verfahrens druckte, war die Bibel. Sechs Setzer, zwölf Drucker und weiteres Hilfspersonal waren fast drei Jahre damit beschäftigt, die über 1000 Seiten herzustellen. Damit die gedruckte Bibel den bisherigen handgeschriebenen möglichst ähnlich sah, ließ Johannes Gutenberg die Ränder der einzelnen Seiten aufwendig bemalen. Dennoch kostete ein Exemplar nur 50 Gulden, ein Zehntel des bisherigen Preises. Selbst diesen Preis konnten zwar nur wenige Menschen bezahlen, dennoch verbreitete sich die Druckkunst nach dem von Gutenberg entwickelten Verfahren in wenigen Jahren über ganz Europa. Schon 50 Jahre nach der Erfindung gab es in 250 europäischen Städten mehr als 1100 Druckereien. Von den 189 gedruckten Bibeln Gutenbergs sind heute noch 48 erhalten.

Q1: Papst Alexander nahm 1501 Stellung zum Buchdruck.

- Da wir erkannt haben, dass durch die Buchdruckeranstalt sehr viele Bücher in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt ... gedruckt worden sind, die viele Irrtümer und der christlichen Religion feindliche Lehren enthalten, verbieten wir ... allen Buchdruckern ... in Zukunft Bücher zu drucken, ohne vorher ohne ausdrückliche Erlaubnis der Bischöfe oder ihrer Stellvertreter zu haben.
- Diesen machen wir zur Pflicht, das zu Druckenke sorgfältig zu prüfen und darauf zu achten, dass nichts gedruckt wird, was dem Glauben widerspricht oder gottlos ist.

Q2: Begründe die Entscheidung Gutenbergs, die Bibel nach dem Druck handbemalen zu lassen.

Q3: Gestalte einen Brief aus der Sicht eines Buchdruckers, indem du dich bei Papst Alexander beschwerst (Q1).

61

Webcode

hier findest du die komplette Bibel der Druckerei von Johannes Gutenberg anschauen SUK-35701-204

Winkelhaken

Vorsichtung, in die die Lettern eingespannt werden und so eine Zeile bilden

Starthilfe

Bedenke, dass jedes Buch, das du nicht drucken darfst, ein geringeres Einkommen für dich bedeutet. Dein Brief könnte so beginnen: „An Eure Heiligkeit, Papst Alexander ...“

61

Gutenberg'book printing in 'denk|mal Geschichte 7/8', Westermann (2017), p. 12, 13

Figure 18 Page overview of South Korean textbook - 1 (grade 5 - ancient people)

고조선에는 법 조항 여덟 개가 있었는데 현재는 세 개만이 전 해지고 있다. 이 법 조항을 보고 당시 사람들의 생활 모습을 짐작 할 수 있다.

고조선의 법

사람을 죽인 사람은 사형에 처한다.

문제는 법으로 엄격하게 다스려야 할 수 있어


남에게 산채를 빌린 사람은 두 배로 갚는다.

법의 공정을 통민 사람은 해마다 노리로 삼으며, 죄를 면하려면 50만 번을 세야 한다.


1 고조선의 법 조항을 오늘날의 법 조항과 비교해 보고, 공통점과 차이점이 생기는 까닭을 생각해 봅시다.

고조선은 우수한 청동기 문화를 바탕으로 다른 부족을 정복하거나 통합하면서 세력을 확장했다. 그리고 고조선만의 독특한 문화를 발전시켰는데 그중에서도 미송리식 토기, 비파형 동검, 탁자식 고인돌이 고조선에 대표하는 문화유산이다. 이 유물들의 분포 지역으로 고조선의 문화 범위를 짐작할 수 있다.


사백과 부도 2쪽




미송리식 토기
(고려대왕고 박물관)
민무늬 토기의 하나로, 관백 유 무늬에서 채색을 비롯하여 미송리식 토기 특징이 나타난다.



비파형 동검
(국립중앙박물관)
중국 영기인 비파형 넓은 동검이다.



탁자식 고인돌(안양주시 강화군)



1 나라의 동강과 발전 • 13

Old Chosun in primary school 「Social Studies」, MoE South Korea (2019), p. 12, 13

Figure 19 Page overview of South Korean textbook - 2 (grade 9 - ancient people)

3 우리 역사상 최초의 국가, 고조선이 성립하다

이 단락을 배운 뒤, 고조선의 건국와 관련된 내용을 공부할 수 있다.
* 고조선의 사회 모습을 살펴볼 수 있다.

고조선의 건국과 성장

한국의 한반도의 서북부에서는 청동기 문화를 바탕으로 여러 부족이 나타났다. 부족들은 서로 세력을 경쟁하였고, 이 과정에서 우리 역사상 최초의 국가인 고조선이 성립하였다(기원전 2333). 고조선은 파스나그 지방에서 농경을 바탕으로 독자적인 청동기 문화를 이루었다. 기원전 5세기경에는 철기 문화를 받아들였고, 기원전 4세기경에는 '왕'이라는 칭호를 사용하였다. 고조선은 중국의 연과 맞설 정도로 성장하였지만, 연의 침입을 받기도 하였다. 기원전 2세기경 위만 이 집권한 이후 고조선은 본격적으로 철기 문화를 수용하였다. 철기의 사용으로 농업이 발전하였고, 세력이 커졌다. 고조선은 중국의 한과 한반도 남쪽 나라들 사이에서 중계 무역으로 경제적 이익을 얻었다. 한편, 고조선 사회는 지배층과 피지배층이 나뉘어 있었다. 지배층은 권력을 맡았고, 사회 질서를 위해 법률을 만들어 적용하였다. 당시 만들어진 6개의 법조 항목 3개의 조항이 남아 있어 고조선의 사회 모습을 알 수 있다.

한국의 청동과 고조선의 발달

중국의 한 무제는 철학 활동을 하며 고조선을 침략하였다. 고조선은 한이 침략하면 수도가 함락되면서 멸망하였다(기원전 108). 한은 고조선의 옛 땅에 군현을 두고 통치하고자 하였다. 이에 고조선의 유민들은 다른 곳으로 이주하거나 대항하였고, 한 군현은 점차 사라졌다.

청동기 시대의 대표적인 무물, 비파형 동검과 새형 동검

- 새형 동검은, 곡면의 비파형 동검과 달리, 곡면이 완만하고 무늬가 없다. 비파형 동검은, 곡면이 완만하고 무늬가 있다. 비파형 동검은, 곡면이 완만하고 무늬가 있다. 비파형 동검은, 곡면이 완만하고 무늬가 있다.
- 고조선의 문화와 함께 비파형 동검과 새형 동검이 한반도 남부 지역으로 유입되어 널리 사용되었다.

생각을 깨워!

고조선의 건국 이야기와 밑으로 본 사회 모습

2-1-1 삼국유사에 기록된 단군의 건국 이야기

황민(하늘의 신의 아들) 환웅이 하늘 아래에 뜻을 두고 인간 세상을 건설하려 하고자 하니, 환웅이 아들의 뜻을 알 고 아래의 삼해(해물)를 고사 하니 인간을 이롭게 할 만하 였다. — (삼국유사 권제 1, 우사신단 제 1, 우사 단군) 환웅이 하늘에서 내려와 환웅이 아들을 낳았으니 이름은 단군(檀君)이라고 하였다. * 단군은 단군왕 하나임을 지칭한 표현이다.

2-1-2 고조선의 법

새를 쫓던 자는 사형에 처한다.

남에게 상해를 입힌 자는 과인으로 같이 한다.

1 2-1-1의 ㉠~㉣에 대한 분석이 포함된 것을 찾아 검토해 보자.

- ㉠. 고조선은 제정법이 시행되었다.
- ㉡. 고조선이 건국하면서 당시는 농경 사회였다.
- ㉢. 고조선에는 특정 동물을 숭배하는 신앙이 있었다.

2 2-1-2를 통해 알 수 있는 고조선의 사회 모습을 서술해 보자.

스스로 생각해 보자

다음 설명이 맞으면 'O'가 틀리면 'X'가 맞는 것을 표시해 보자.

- 구석기 시대의 사람들은 도끼와 화살촉을 만들어 사용하였다.
- 청동기 시대에는 농기구와 같은 일상 도구를 청동으로 만들었다.
- 신석기 시대의 사람들은 청동과 철을 고쳐서 기계를 사용하였다.
- 고조선 사회는 기원전 108년경에 멸망하였다.
- 고조선은 청동기 문화를 바탕으로 성장하였고, 철기 문화를 수용하여 법을 제정하였다.

1. 신라 문화의 고조 17

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