Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research

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Abstract

This essay gives an overview of major trends in history and social studies textbook research focusing on issues such as textbook revision, identity construction, methodology, textbooks and other educational media, textbooks and society, and the theory and history of educational media. Since textbook research does not exist as a specific academic field it seems to be more correct to speak of textbook-related research that encompasses a wealth of diverse forms. Its high research output and methodological plurality stands in contrast to its low institutional basis in universities and other academic institutions. The main deficit of the current literature of textbook-related research is the lack of empirical findings on the usage, reception, and effects of textbooks in the classroom and a widespread atheoretical approach to textbook analysis. However, the field is expanding which is reflected by a variety of research approaches conducted from different disciplinary perspectives.

Introduction

Textbook research is something of a chimera. While over the last forty years the textbook has become the subject of scientific analyses, with diverse methodological approaches and disciplinary contexts, it is still far from becoming a clearly defined object for research. The likelihood of textbook research becoming established as a university discipline seems as small today as it was when the field first emerged in Europe in the 1970s. It would therefore be more correct to speak of *textbook-related research* rather than *textbook research*, the former existing in a wealth of diverse forms, yet in the absence of a common denominator for individual research projects. Furthermore, "textbook researchers" frequently abstain from referring to themselves as such, preferring to define their work in terms of their disciplinary orientation. Consequently, an outline of current research results that have been mainly published within Europe as well as of future trends within the field cannot take the research object – the textbook – as its point of departure; rather, it must begin with the various thematic, methodological and disciplinary contexts from which such trends emerge (Nicholls 2006; Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon 2010). Yet in an overview of the numerous defining works of the past four decades a key deficit becomes apparent, one that has repeatedly been the subject of critique: a lack of empirical knowledge on the impact of textbooks as well as on the transformation of knowledge

between textbooks and students, and the frequent lack of contextualisation (Lässig 2009). My presentation provides a brief overview of the most recent studies from the field of history and social studies textbook-related research in the light of these shortcomings. The overview does not aim to provide a complete list of studies from the last decade produced in Europe, but rather to give examples of relevant literature. It also does not include research on specialist didactic research on individual subject areas, which may refer to the textbook as a medium yet do not analyse it as their primary object.

Textbook Revision and Textbook Research

It appears fairly obvious that textbook research and textbook revision are closely related. Up until today, textbook revision has been dominated by its aim to liberate textbooks from nationalistic, chauvinistic and biased interpretations in order to contribute towards peace and international understanding (Pingel 2010a). Especially in its early days, textbook research was deeply influenced by this normative and, in many cases, highly political nature of textbook revision. At the same time looking over past historiography it is clear that textbook research has always been subject to significant political and thus normative constraints. Textbook research has been marked by the tension between normative assumptions (e.g. that the improvement of textbooks has a direct impact on learning outcomes), political expectations (e.g. that a good textbook makes a good citizen), and academic objectivity (Pingel 2010b). This tension has been shaped by comparative textbook analysis from the very beginning, whether by the League of Nations during the interwar period, or by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and bilateral textbook conferences in the post-war era (Fuchs 2005a; Fuchs 2005b). Even though the majority of textbook-related research today has distanced itself from this normative and political point of departure, the latter continues to play a key role, particularly in cases of war-affected or post-conflict societies. Here, textbook research – primarily analyses of stereotyping and enemy images in textbooks and other teaching materials – provides political recommendations for the revision of such materials. At the moment, this is most relevant for three regions: the Balkans, East Asia, and the Near and Middle East. There is very recent research on all three regions, ultimately serving to support political and social processes of reconciliation and the reification of textbook contents (Dimou 2009; Helmedach 2007; Dorschner and Sherlock 2007). In the case of the Near and Middle East, research aims both to support the dialogue between the Arab states and, in the context of Israel and Palestine, to contribute to a mutual understanding of different interpretations of history, objectifying their portrayal (Firer et al. 2004). East Asia is another region that has been marked by textbook conflicts for a long time. Since 2001 historians and educators have been discussing controversial issues and developed various bi- and multilateral textbooks and teaching material. East Asian textbook revision activities have caused fierce political debates but have also been a tool to enhance the academic communication between China, Japan, and South Korea. The ways in which textbook activities and

academic historical research have contributed to coming to terms with the region's past has been widely analysed over the last decade (Nozaki and Selden 2009; Richter 2008; Saaler 2005).

The highly explosive political nature of textbooks and research pertaining to them is, however, not only relevant for cases of textbook revision in contexts of social conflict. A multitude of textbook conflicts – especially in relation to history textbooks – have resulted in so-called "history wars", waged on a national level within a specific society (Liakos 2008). These conflicts are essentially disputes over the formation of a national tradition, the securing of legitimisation processes, and the construction of national identity. It is no longer the historical profession that exclusively determines the way in which a nation ought to remember its past but a wide public that uses digital media to resonate about controversial historical events well beyond the context of the specialised academic discourse. Over the last decade, there has been a worldwide increase in public disputes of this kind surrounding the interpretation of historical events and the question as to which interpretations should be included in history textbooks (Repoussi 2008; Popp 2008). The Armenian genocide in Turkey, the textbook debate in Greece (Repoussi 2006), the colonial past in France (Bickerton 2006), the role of indigenous population in Australia (McIntyre and Clark 2003), or the Enola Gay debate in the USA (Linenthal and Engelhardt 1996; Bender 2009) are but a few examples.

As a general rule, it can be said that the experience of the globalising world and increasing demands to account for the histories of hitherto "unheard voices" from socially, religiously and ethnically disadvantaged groups, have contributed to a questioning of the dominating national narrative. The challenges of the multi-ethnic classroom, as well as attempts to construct supra-national identities, reveal the limitations of a master narrative purely based on national history. On the other hand, it appears impossible to ignore the neo-conservative trend that seeks to uphold traditional national history and prescribe certain identity constructions with a view to sustaining particular national values. This is tied to attempts by national governments as well as the EU to enforce specific readings of history by law (Cajani 2008). Overall, textbook conflicts are not confined to conflict-affected countries or societies in transition where textbook revision plays an important part in enhancing reconciliation. In addition, globalization has led to a new understanding about the nation, the role of historical scholarship and the public awareness of the political dimension of memory production and, therefore, has a major impact on textbook issues. Textbook research has started to contextualize the analysis of textbooks and educational media within these developments.

Patterns of Perception and Identity Constructions

Firstly, work in this area picks up the thread from traditional textbook research.

Content-related analyses on single historical events continue to define a large percentage of textbook-related studies. A glance over the last ten volumes of the journal *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/ International Textbook Research* reveals that the majority of contributions address the portrayal of specific historical phenomena in textbooks, such as the bombing raids during World War II, the Ottoman Empire, or the First World War. While these studies will continue to bring new insights to the field in future, their significance is diminishing in the light of new research questions that address contextual aspects of textbooks.

Secondly, the last few years have seen an unwavering focus on the question as to how textbooks contribute to national identity construction. National identity forms a strong point of reference here, textbooks being generally understood as key media via which nation-state history policy is reconstructed and conveyed. While scholars called for an analytical distinction between (normative) textbook work and (objective) textbook research as early as in the late 1970s, normative approaches nevertheless continue to dominate, creating a direct link between bi-polar identity construction and conflict solution (good versus evil) and thus often neglecting self-contradictory 'underlying assumptions' within the narrative (Stojanović 2004; Furrer 2004).

Identity research on the basis of textbooks reaches beyond the national dimension and is increasingly drawing upon Europe itself as a point of reference. This heightened interest in Europe stems from the concept of a standardised and authoritative European history textbook such as that published in 1992 (Delouche 1992; Stobart 1999). This project, for the most part politically motivated, has met with a great deal of scepticism from academia. The diverse and fragmented concepts of Europe appear to have been melted down into one singular compulsory historical narrative, and this textbook neglects the dramatic differences in learning cultures and didactics to be found between the various European countries. It thus appears that dealing with the topic of Europe is based on a need to register similarities and differences in perceptions of Europe, within Europe. The aim, therefore, cannot be to construct a supra-national historical master narrative or to establish a unified geographical area, but rather to sensitise pupils to the diversity of European memory and the interpretative patterns of neighbouring countries (Fuchs and Lässig 2009; Langer, C. 2009; Maier, R. 2009). Textbook research has taken up this issue and investigates not only the diverse representations of Europe and Europeanness to be found in contemporary textbooks, but concurrently pursues a historical interest in changes to textbooks from a comparative perspective and thus the converging and competing perceptions they provide of self and other with respect to Europe. However, research still remains primarily limited to studies investigating how Europe, particularly the EU, is mentioned in textbooks and curricula (Jackson and Iris 2002; Kotte 2007; Natterer 2001; Schissler 2003; Riemenschneider 2001). Only very first steps are being taken to contextualise this question within the issue of European identity construction and the

contradictory nature and diversity of often competing representations of Europe (Soysal 2002).

Thirdly, within the context of identity construction, textbook-related research is approaching the topic of colonialism, understood by historical scholarship for some years as a European phenomenon. Traditional and biased master narratives about the motherland and colonies have been inspired by Postcolonial Studies, calls for a transnational perspective, and the cultural turn. Many are challenged by an emphasis on contradictions, ambivalences and a "shared history". While textbook related research is still primarily concerned with questions of perception—namely, the portrayal of Africans, of imperial and colonial history, and of stereotypes or geographical boundaries (Poenicke 2002; Reichart-Burikukiye and Oetting 2006; Vinck 2004; Briffaerts et al. 2003)--it is gradually opening up in places like Belgium and Germany to transnational and post-colonial theories and concepts (Van Gorp and Depaepe 2009; Otto 2011).

Fourthly, and finally, there is the dimension of world or global history, which has also become relevant to textbook research in light of recent debates within history didactics considering its inclusion in school instruction. Although contemporary research indicates that the concepts of national identity continue to dominate over their local, regional and global counterparts in the messages imparted by textbooks to the next generation, it also shows that these national master narratives are increasingly located within global contexts (Fuchs 2005a; Schissler et al. 2005; Popp 2008; Middell et al. 2003).

Diversity of Research Approaches

Over the last few years, textbook-related research has broadened its methodological repertoire. Firstly, textbook analysis as discourse analysis is based on the assumption that textbook texts are hybrid texts containing a variety of subdiscourses that relate to one another in some way via tension, contradiction and/or competition, even though they are located within the same meta-discourse. This incoherence within a single narrative is examined using discourse analysis, which thus moves beyond a merely thematic approach (Crawford 2001; Klerides 2010; Höhne 2008).

Secondly, the analysis of images has gained a great deal of ground following the *iconographic turn*. Although education has long since "discovered" the potential of images, the media revolution has led to a flood of pictures that have found their way into multi-modal textbook in various European countries and thus given rise to new didactic challenges. Although studies on cognitive theory of multimedial learning have increased, there is not much known yet about the impact of the multi-modal textbooks on teaching and learning processes compared to traditional textbooks. In general, recent research

on visual literacy is ambivalent (Pettersson 2010). However, it not only a question of traditional ideas concerning images in textbooks, which in some cases have been reduced to purely illustrative material accompanying the text, it is also an issue of altered analytical methods. Images are no longer examined in terms of content, but rather the performative processes of meaning and constructions inspired by these images, which are now explicitly combined with textual analysis (Matthes and Heinze 2010; Maier 2004; Kaufmann, G. 2000). This means that the "image discourses" are interwoven with textual and other social discourses. This brings us to a further issue: the question of how pupils are equipped to "decipher" these images. This requires image-orientated didactics to examine processes of visual appropriation in the classroom, the complexity of the images, and their reception by pupils.

Thirdly, methods from the social sciences are becoming increasingly significant. Empirical research on the impact and reception of textbooks in the classroom is still in its initial stages and tends to form part of more general studies on history and geography didactics (Von Borries, B. 2005; Von Borries 2006; Gautschi et al. 2007; Rauch and Wurster 1997). Yet, there is a growing interest in how textbooks are implemented in the classroom and the extent to which they can influence the emergence of a historical consciousness in the pupils. These studies reveal several key points: a) textbooks remain the dominant media for knowledge conveyance in the history classroom; b) their implementation is primarily teacher-centric; c) they bear relatively little significance for pupils outside of the classroom; and d) they fail to meet the qualitative expectations of pupils and teachers alike in terms of multiple perspectives and controversy. Very little is known, however, about the real impact of textbooks, especially in the contexts of other media and societal agents (Foster and Crawford 2006).

In contrast to the above, international macro-sociological comparative studies on trends in textbook and curriculum research, which seek to explain global developments pertaining to textbooks and curricula, are well established. Particularly theories and research committed to a neo-institutional approach have, in empirically convincing studies, diagnosed the development of a dynamic "world culture" that serves as a model for conforming trends worldwide within education policy, institutions and materials. From this perspective, school curricula no longer serve primarily as media via which to legitimise national regimes or local policies, but rather as means of adopting globally standardised education norms (Ramirez et al. 2000; Ramirez & Meyer 2002; Kamens et al. 1996; Benavot et al. 1991). Recent neo-institutionalist studies of textbook contents also reveal a stronger focus on human rights and environmental issues in textbooks on a global scale since the 1970s, in general studies textbooks more so than in history books. This focus, it is claimed, goes hand in hand with a more pupil-centred didactics (Bromley et al. 2011). At the same time it appears that the stronger a country's international establishment, the more emphasis it will place on human rights education. A similar trend can be ascertained for the topic areas of *global citizenship*, cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism (Ramirez et al. 2010;

Meyer et al. 2010).

Finally, textbook-related research is being shaped by approaches from cultural studies. Here, issues pertaining to memory cultures are of particular importance. Such aspects became enormously influential in the 1990s. In the meantime there has been a rise in similar studies on individual, communicative and cultural memory. Over the last few years, however, research has moved away from relatively static interpretations of allegedly homogenous memory cultures. This aspect is becoming increasingly significant for textbook research, especially for the subject areas of history, geography and social studies, as well as in debates about European memory and the question as to how it might be incorporated into national textbooks and curricula (Anklam and Grindel 2010).

Textbooks in the Context of other Educational Media

The media revolution, beginning in the 1990s, not only brought new challenges for schools, it also influenced the ways in which education is acquired and conveyed. This goes hand in hand with public, didactic, educational and academic debates on the purpose and impact of these new media on educational processes (Köck 2006). Educational media research has concentrated, for example, on the potential and limitations of new media in knowledge gain, conveyance and communication via innovative technologies. A key factor here is the question of design and the implementation of integrative learning environments. Textbooks only play a minor role within this field. The mutual relationship between new media and the textbook, user behaviour, and their impacts on learning processes has not been dealt with yet in textbook research, although the *International Association of Research on Textbooks and Educational Media* (IARTEM) has addressed this issue (Bruillard et al. 2006).

In contrast, the relationship between curricula and the textbook has been of interest to researchers for a long time. Modern curriculum research, however, which links curricula with political, scholarly and education-related discourses, is still in its early stages in Europe, and has hardly been established at universities. There has been a particularly striking lack of research on the social construction of school (book) knowledge (Künzli and Hopmann 1998) and internationally comparative studies (Garcia and Leduc 2003; Héry 1999). Curricula are held to be appropriations by educational institutions such as the state, society and academia, and, more recently, as reflections and products of societal transformation processes. Based on questions of curricula legitimisation, this research analyses the processes of debate via which learning contents are determined and defined as relevant knowledge for schools. These studies thus move beyond critical analyses of curricula to include the discursive structures in which their practical development is executed. For example, one research area is orientated towards civic education, examining how human rights or citizenship concepts influence curricular developments and thus ultimately the contents of textbooks, especially with regard to patterns of inclusion or

exclusion (Keating et al. 2009). An especially interesting discovery here has been that while curricula themselves have been subject to a process of Europeanisation, the actual textbook implementation in the classroom has been diversely national in character.

Alongside curriculum studies, other school-relevant media such as wall charts, classroom posters and educational films are becoming focal points of interest. Research by Walter Müller (Würzburg) has produced impressive results on the history of classroom wall charts, posters, and how they relate to textbooks (Müller 2003), an aspect not yet considered by research on educational film, which is still in its very first stages. Researchers in Leuven (Belgium) and Birmingham (United Kingdom) have started to work on documentaries on schools. There are also some isolated studies that have not emerged from genuine textbook-related research that nevertheless examine other media in relation to textbooks, such as children literature or youth journals (Liedtke 2003).

Textbooks and Society

Until now, there has been a distinct lack of systematic studies locating textbooks within their wider social contexts. Only recently scholars have started to explore this new terrain by comprehensively examining textbooks in relation to society, education policy, academia, educational practice and the economy, from the perspectives of scholarship, didactics, educationalists, textbook authors, education policy representatives, and publishing houses (Fuchs et al. 2010; Cajani 2008). Textbook-related research has also responded to current societal developments. Education systems in Europe find themselves faced with the challenge of addressing the increasingly cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of school classrooms in the light of more heterogeneous (im)migration societies (Schiffauer et al. 2002). This especially affects curricula and teaching and learning materials, which have a particularly crystallising effect on issues of inclusion and exclusion. Textbook-related research has begun to explore the extent to which constructions of cultural difference can be found in textbooks and on which social contexts these might be based (Höhne et al. 2005; Körber 2001; Chikovani 2008). This is connected to the fact that multicultural issues are addressed by textbooks today, unlike the 1980s, when textbooks practically ignored this matter altogether. Recently, scholars have started to ask how textbooks construct "otherness", and how they address the dichotomy of self and other as well as diversity and interculturality, and whether all these constructions contribute to cultural integration. Here new issues emerge in textbook-related research—for example, the issue of difference in textbooks, as well as its complex subject matter, classroom implementation, subject orientation, and educational objectives (Matthes and Heinze 2004; Helgason and Lässig 2010).

Studies also examine the relevance of textbooks in current education reform processes–for example, juridical questions pertaining to textbook approval, or the impact

on textbooks of debates on standards and competencies (Johannesson 2002; Braslavsky and Halil 2006). The problems inherent here are particularly visible outside of the West. The significance of textbooks in the context of "Education for All", for example, cannot be overestimated – be it in relation to textbook approval, their contents and quality or their availability in newly industrialised countries – despite the fact that studies of this issue have tended to remain on the fringes of the field (Braslavsky and Halil 2006).

Theory and History of Textbook-Related Research

While the unique character of textbooks and the specific methods for their analysis have been of interest to generations of textbook researchers, no consensus has yet been reached as to their defining aspects. If we consider that textbooks and research questions pertaining to them are unpredictable and constantly changing objects, then this comes as no surprise. At the same time textbook-related research lacks self-reflection and semantic, theoretical and methodological issues connected to textbooks--and other educational media--are only addressed in isolation. Three examples from the past decade appear particularly significant.

The German scholar Thomas Höhne seeks in his book to develop a theory of the textbook (Höhne 2002). In doing so, he follows approaches from the sociology of knowledge, discourse analysis and media analysis, in which (textbook) knowledge forms the leading category and the social processes of negotiation surrounding such knowledge are described by the term "discourse arena" (*Diskursarena*). He thus moves beyond the standard and normative definition of the textbook by examining the processes via which textbook knowledge is constructed, structured and transformed. He describes the textbook in multi-dimensional terms as an "informatorium", a "pedagogicum", a "politicum" and also as a "constructorium". In this sense, the textbook is regarded as a medium of social observation within a multimedial world. Textbook knowledge, defined as knowledge both in and about textbooks, can be distinguished from other media via its didactic structure, yet cannot be reduced to this feature. It must be decoded (analysed) in terms of its semantic structure, function and form in order to be defined in terms of socio-cultural knowledge.

The Belgium scholars Angelo Van Gorp and Marc Depaepe (2009) do not seek to develop a theory of the textbook, although they do attempt to open up new perspectives of textbook-related research via processes of definition. They define the textbook in terms of its content, style and physical aspects. Its content-related dimensions include the "elementary" and "pedagogical" nature of the instruction material. "Style" refers to the question as to whether its contents are presented in a manner suitable for the age of the learners and whether they motivate the latter to learn. The extent to which a textbook can be considered child-centred is determined by its physical components such as its design,

cover, layout, and so on, which are peculiar to all textbooks regardless of cultural context. However, with their question as to what constitutes a "true textbook", Van Gorp and Depaepe themselves fall into the normative trap and their approach remains a pragmatic one: they seek to raise the interest of third-party funding and politicians in textbook research and textbook libraries (Van Gorp and Depaepe 2009; Pandel 2006; Crawford 2003 and 2006; Nauman et al. 2006).

The history of textbook research shows a distinct lack of systematic studies (Depaepe & Simon 2003). Portrayals of the development of textbooks from the end of the Middle Ages into the Early Modern Period appear only in isolation and refer to studies of individual countries or specific topics (Jonker 2010). The 20th century has been examined more thoroughly, especially the National Socialist era in Germany (Meissner 2009; Furrer 2004; Neidhart 2004; Dierkes 2010). The reception of Ibero-American historiography has been limited until now (Ossenbach Sauter and Somoza 2001; Rodriguez, M. & Fernández, P. D. 2010), and the same applies to East Asian research, not least due to the fact that the important scholarly publications are not available in English (Saaler 2005). The wealth of individual studies in this genre indicates that the history of the textbook is an important subject for textbook-related research. In this regard, the International Society for Historical and Systematic Research on Schoolbooks, based in Augsburg, deserves particular recognition, having consistently included a historical section in their book series.

Overall, existing approaches lack theoretical orientation and social contextualisation. From this point of departure, the German textbook researcher Carsten Heinze (2010) proposes to contextualise historical textbook research in reference to the "grammar of schooling" concept developed by the Americans David Tyack and William Tobin. The Swiss educationalists Daniel Tröhler and Jürgen Oelkers (2005) also follow this approach, locating the textbook within its relevant historical context of the school and instruction. An international project on the history of international textbook revision conducted by researchers from Umea University in Sweden and the Georg Eckert Institute seeks to examine the history of the textbook within the context of international transfer processes and network development, rather than in that of the school (Lindmark 2008; Fuchs, E. & Tatsuya, Y. (Eds.) 2010). A history of textbook research historiography itself, however, remains to be written, and indeed would appear essential in view of the necessity for critical self-reflection within this field (Graves 2001).

Conclusion

What then is the current status of textbook-related research? A response to this question would reference the main dichotomies I have mentioned: normativity versus a scientific approach; and content analysis versus impact research.

Firstly, scientific textbook-related research has distanced itself from textbook revision to minimize the influence of political and normative trends. This is not to deny the numerous points of overlap between the two. Particularly in and about societies marked by violent conflicts and in post-conflict societies, textbook revision still constitutes an important means with which to reify the dialogue. While textbook research provides the scholarly basis here, as well as politically relevant assessments by experts and recommendations for intervening in education policy, these are not its only objectives. If textbook related research is to maintain its scholarly character, its analyses must follow academically sound criteria that move beyond normative based assumptions. At the same time, however, it must respond scientifically to current challenges as well as to societal needs and public debates, such as that on the role of textbooks in processes of identity within heterogeneous societies, or on the future of the textbook (Witlof 2002).

Secondly, textbook research has been emancipating itself from traditional content analysis, pursuing two new paths with a view to methodological diversity. The first involves locating textbook contents within specific contexts – of society and politics, specialist research and of other educational media – thus gaining access to a wealth of specialised discourses, even while the educational dimension of the textbook nevertheless remains a central aspect (Matthes and Heinze 2003). Textbook research draws on approaches from discourse theory, media studies, the social sciences and cultural studies, using the tools of conflict-, memory-, or transnational research. Self-reflection on the theory of the textbook and the status of textbook research, however, remain a rarity. Textbook-related research, on the other hand, is pursuing a promising path, especially as it seeks to fill a gap in the area of empirical research on impact and reception. There are also methodological studies that use methods from textbook research and subject them to critical self-reflection (Mikk 2000; Crawford 2000; Lebrun 2006) such as those visualising the historical dimension of textbooks as educational media that have altered over the centuries.

Finally, textbook-related research has recently turned its attention to mechanisms of textbook production and approval, as well as their impact in the classroom. Although textbook research has only taken initial steps in this area thus far, it has succeeded in opening up a new area of research.

While the textbook itself may be "in trouble", textbook-related research is not (Tobin et al. 2008). Textbooks should be contextualised in diverse ways, taking into account the relationship between textbooks and other, particularly more recent, media, in the nexus of social, historical and communicative relationships in which school knowledge is represented and imparted. They should also be placed in the context of processes via which textbook contents are negotiated and of the actors involved in them; the interaction between state influence and textbook production, approval and use; pedagogical

perspectives on textbooks, the economic dimension of textbook production, and the impact of the market on textbook quality (Lässig 2009). Textbook-related research has been, and will continue to be, a broad and diverse field, which provides a huge variety of scholarly routes, all of which call out for sustained exploration.

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