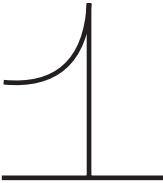




His toria scholas tica



2025
11

Mezinárodní časopis
pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělání

International Review
for History of Education

Národní pedagogické muzeum
a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Praha 2025

Historia scholastica

Číslo 1, červen 2025, ročník 11

Number 1, June 2025, Volume 11

Šéfredaktor Editor-in-chief

prof. PhDr. Tomáš Kasper, Ph.D.; PhDr. Jan Šimek, Ph.D. (jan.simek@npmk.cz)

Zástupkyně šéfredaktora Deputy Editor

PhDr. Markéta Pánková; Mgr. Jakub Seiner (seiner@npmk.cz)

Redakční rada Editorial Board

prof. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)
doc. PhDr. Dana Kasperová, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)
prof. PhDr. Jiří Knapík, Ph.D. (Slezská univerzita v Opavě)
prof. PhDr. Milena Lenderová, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)
prof. PhDr. Karel Rýdl, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)
doc. Mgr. Jaroslav Šebek, Ph.D. (Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd ČR)
doc. PhDr. Růžena Váňová, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze)
Mgr. Magdaléna Šustová (Muzeum hlavního města Prahy)
prof. Dr. Marta Brunelli, Ph.D. (Università di Macerata)
prof. Dr. Antonella Cagnolati (Università di Foggia)
prof. Dr. Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt Universität Berlin)
prof. Dr. Lucien Criblez (Universität Zürich)
prof. Andreas Fritsch (Deutsche Comenius Gesellschaft)
prof. Dr. Gerald Grimm (Universität Klagenfurt)
prof. Dr. Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich)
prof. PhDr. Blanka Kudláčková, Ph.D. (Trnavská univerzita v Trnavě)
prof. Dr. Eva Matthes (Universität Augsburg)
prof. Dr. András Németh (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest)
prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers (Emeritus Professor Universität Zürich)
prof. PhDr. Jaroslav Pánek, DrSc., dr.h.c. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)
prof. Dr. Simonetta Polenghi, Ph.D. (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano)
prof. Dr. Edvard Protner (Univerza v Mariboru)
prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. Ehrenhard Skiera (Univ. Prof. a.D. Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Výkonná redaktorka Executive Editor

Mgr. Lucie Bortová (bortova@npmk.cz)

Vydavatel Publisher

Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského
Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, Česká republika, IČ 61387169, www.npmk.cz

Obálka a grafická úprava Cover and Graphic Design

Pavel Průša

Sazba Type Setting

Mgr. Lucie Bortová

Tisk Printed by

Tiskárna PROTISK, s. r. o., Rudolfovská 617, 370 01 České Budějovice, Česká republika
Časopis Historia scholastica vychází 2× ročně. *Historia scholastica is published twice a year.*

Indexováno v Indexed in

SCOPUS, ERIH+, DOAJ, EBSCO, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

ISSN 1804-4913 (print), ISSN 2336-680X (online)

Číslo registrace MK ČR E 22258

Obsah *Contents*

Úvodník

Editorial

Studie

Studies

— Jan Šimek

- 9 The Copernican Turn of Franco's Secondary Education Policy. A Paradoxical Case of the Global Architecture of Education

— Antonio Fco. Canales

- 29 The Discontinuity of the Left-oriented Pedagogical Paradigm after the Second World War in Slovenia on the Example of Jože Jurančič

— Edvard Protner

- 51 The State's Uncertain Custody. Educational Care in Special Schools in Post-war Czechoslovakia

— Jan Randák

- 73 Education Trapped in the Communist Ideology and Collective Indoctrination

— Snježana Šušnjara

- 99 Reconstructing the Narrative: History of Education in Post-Soviet Space (Latvia, 1990–2004)

— Edgars Bērziņš & Iveta Kestere

- 125 Exploring Negotiations of Belonging. Social Positionings of Children Born of War in Family and Society

— Flavia Guerrini

- 149 Education of Lithuanian Roma in the Context of Creating the New Soviet Man

— Ingrida Ivanavičė & Irena Stonkuvienė

- 177 Examining the “Deprofessionalization” of Secondary Teacher Education in Hungary – A Systematic Literature Review

— Imre Garai

**Studie
Studies**

- 211 The Evolution of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the Soviet Union in the First Half of the 20th Century
—— Ievgen Nelin
- 231 Native Language Instruction Reflected in Composition Writing by Visually Impaired Students in the Historical Context of Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic in the Period of 1968–2000
—— Klára Eliášková & Martina Šmejkalová

Úvodník

Editorial

The first issue of *Historia scholastica* Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

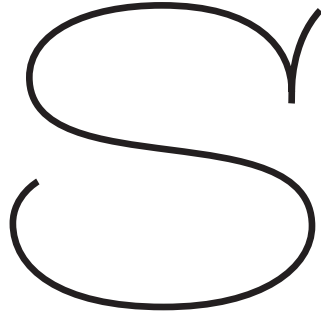
I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



Studie *Studies*

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 9 | Antonio Fco. Canales |
| 29 | Edvard Protner |
| 51 | Jan Randák |
| 73 | Snježana Šušnjara |
| 99 | Edgars Bērziņš &
Iveta Ķestere |
| 125 | Flavia Guerrini |
| 149 | Ingrida Ivanavičė &
Irena Stonkuvienė |
| 177 | Imre Garai |
| 211 | Ievgen Nelin |
| 231 | Klára Eliášková &
Martina Šmejkalová |

S Reconstructing the Narrative: History of Education in Post-Soviet Space (Latvia, 1990–2004)

Edgars Bērziņš^a

Iveta Kestere^b

^a Faculty of Education Sciences and Psychology, University of Latvia, Latvia
edgars.berzins@lu.lv

^b Faculty of Education Sciences and Psychology, University of Latvia, Latvia
iveta.kestere@lu.lv

Received 7 January 2025

Accepted 10 March 2025

Available online 30 June 2025

DOI 10.82130/hs2025-01-005

Abstract The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 bridged a profound transformation across the Baltic states – Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – as they emerged from authoritarian control into democratic governance. This “zero hour” offered both liberation and challenge. Historians of education confronted the task of dismantling Soviet-imposed narratives and constructing new national histories. These new narratives were intended to facilitate the reclamation of national identity, whilst incorporating knowledge from the files of archives and libraries that had previously been subject to communist censorship. Our study showcases the reshaping of historical narrative during the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic setting, focusing

on two central components: plot/storyline and actors. Drawing upon a comprehensive content analysis of 8 monographs, 4 article collections, and 4 doctoral theses, all of which were authored in Latvia between 1990 and 2004, the study explores the evolution of narratives of the history of education. The findings indicate several developments pertaining to narrative plot and actors: (1) the liberation from a class-focused educational paradigm; (2) the introduction of actors who were banned, forgotten, and marginalised during the Soviet regime; (3) the liberation from trivialised Marxism in the methodology of history research. By unpacking evolving narratives, the article sheds light on the complexities of rewriting history of education in a post-authoritarian society and underscores the enduring interplay between history, politics, and identity in building democratic futures.

Keywords history of education, narrative, transformation, democratization, Post-Soviet historiography

Introduction

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, three Soviet republics – Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia – regained their statehood and became independent European countries for the second time after their independence in the inter-war period until 1940. Emerging from the authoritarian Soviet space into a democratic world brought a list of new rules for the development of political, socioeconomic, scientific, cultural – all areas of public life – at the Baltic region. This era of change was enchanting and challenging at the same time. For the academic community, including historians of education, “zero hour” meant breaking from Soviet-imposed ideologies, reintegration into global academic networks, as well as a critical review of existing research. Historians have been particularly busy by re-evaluating historical narratives in light of their newfound freedom.

The collapse of the old system left a vacuum that required immediate attention to ensure the construction of the new national narratives in a new political context, and there was no time for debate as the chaotic transition from Soviet rule to independence happened *here and now*. The sudden lack of the centralized Soviet control opened opportunity for history to be actively debated throughout society, and historical facts were used as arguments by both critics and defenders of the Soviet system. New national narratives were constructed to show the national unity and the triumph over Soviet dictatorship, marking a break from the past, and were formed and shared among the vast audiences at the time (see Ķestere, 2016).

This period of change in the history of education, not only in the Baltic States but throughout the former Soviet zone of influence, the so-called Eastern Europe, has not been widely discussed. Baltic, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Slovak scholars have some respectable publications (e.g., Ķestere, 2016; Nobik, Ķestere & Gulczyńska, 2019; Ķestere, Stonkuvienė & Varik, 2020; Kudláčová, 2016; Kudláčová, 2022, Kasper, 2022, Gulczyńska, Rébay & Kasperová, 2023), but their work does not analyse the new history narrative as a systemic entity. Therefore, the intention of our study is to use narrative theory to analyse the actors and plot of the story of the past.

According to the narrative studies, the interaction between actors, plot and language facilitates the development of narratives that are both individually significant and collectively meaningful (see White, 1973; Bruner, 1990). The application of narrative theory is particularly salient in this context, as it provides a framework for analyzing how meaning is not only represented but actively produced through storytelling. White (1973) asserts that historical narratives are not neutral recountings of events but rather epistemological constructs that impose coherence and causality on historical processes, thereby shaping collective memory and ideological frameworks. Building on this, Bruner (1990), drawing from cognitive psychology, similarly contends that narrative constitutes a fundamental mode of human understanding, mediating perception, structuring experience, and fostering cultural continuity. While traditional historiography of education has often been concerned with tracing institutional reforms, policy shifts, or pedagogical advancements in a linear manner, narrative theory allows for a more intricate examination of the ways in which educational histories are developed by narrative structures. White (1973) explains how historians, consciously or unconsciously, impose narrative forms onto historical accounts, thereby influencing how educational change is perceived and understood. Likewise, Bruner's (1990) insights into narrative cognition shows how history is not merely records of the past but cognitive constructions that reflect broader cultural, ideological, and psychological frameworks.

Three components – actors, plot and language – are not merely constituent elements; rather, they constitute the foundation upon which the history of education was redefined and through which it continues to be interpreted and conveyed in contemporary discourse (White, 1987; Grever & Van der Vlies, 2017). We will analyse two of the three components of narrative, as the third – language – requires a different and specific methodological approach and its use is beyond the scope of this article.

The objective of our study is to reveal how and what changed in the narratives of the history of education produced during the transition

from the authoritarian to the democratic regime by focusing on the two narrative components – plot and actors.

Our research sources are 8 monographs, 4 collections of articles and 4 PhD theses in the history of education written from 1990 to 2004 in Latvia. The selection process was guided by the relevance of works to the chronological framework of the article, their scholarly impact, and contribution to historiographical discourse. The limited scope of research on the history of education in Latvia must also be considered. Given the small “market” for such studies, we utilized almost all available sources produced by academically trained historians of education during the period under research. For the overview of the history of education in Soviet Latvia, the press was used as a source, as monographs and collections of articles were rare at the time.

The authors of our sources are either professionally trained historians or academics who received their doctorates in the history of education. Most of them started their research careers during the Soviet occupation and the change of political power required them to rethink both their ideological convictions and the content of their research “overnight”. We will consider the impact of the Soviet past on the historical narrative of independent Latvia later in this text: in order to reveal the continuities and changes in the field, we will analyse the Soviet narrative in more detail in the second chapter of this article. The new generation of researchers in the history of education was represented by four defended dissertations during the period under research.

Given this complex historiographical landscape, a rigorous methodological approach is necessary to trace both the ruptures and continuities within educational narratives. To achieve this, the data analyses from the sources will follow Braun and Clarke’s (2006) thematic analysis steps: (1) the data exploration and primary coding using two narrative components: plot and actors; (2) search for subthemes in the primary codes; (3) subtheme analysis; and (4) research review.

Context: the Narrative of History of Education at the Times of Change

The immediate aftermath of the Soviet collapse or “zero hour” was a period of the transition from Soviet dictatorship to democracy indicating a definitive break with the past in the Baltic region (Kestere & Ozola, 2014). A new request was received from the public or from “below”, namely there was a hunger in society to regain the national identity that had been suppressed under Soviet rule, which tried to fuse all the ethnicities of the Soviet republics into a single Soviet nation (Kestere & Kalke, 2020). A new interpretation of history became an important instrument for rebuilding national self-confidence.

The absence of Moscow’s leadership left Baltic scholars without clear guidance on research topics and methodologies, which had previously been strictly controlled (Kestere, Rubene & Ozola, 2021). This shift from Soviet ideologized research space requested historians and educators to reassess the narratives and methodologies of their creation, moving toward an autonomous understanding of the national past. The history of education was a part of this identity recovery movement and scholars sought to explore local and national histories that had been systematically marginalized under Soviets. This period of change was a continuous process of intellectual liberation for historians of education in the Baltic states (Kestere, 2016; Kestere, 2014). Yet the emergence of these new narratives called for new information.

The Soviet regime maintained severe control over information: access to archives and library collections was strictly censored (Strods, 2010). The state sought to suppress dissenting narratives and maintain a monopoly on historical interpretation; the ideological campaigns against perceived “capitalist ideological subversives” exemplified this control (Zake, 2010, p. 6). The Soviet narrative was homogeneous with Russia and Soviet achievements in the center, marginalizing local perspectives. The historical narrative was designed to install loyalty to the Soviet state, legitimise its existence. History became a tool for ideological indoctrination and propaganda rather than critical inquiry (Wezel, 2016; Bērziņa et al., 2023). Consequently, this approach created

a historical framework disconnected from the realities of Latvian identity and heritage. As research on post-socialist transformations in educational historiography across Central and Eastern Europe has shown, similar challenges were encountered in other countries of the region, where scholars had to rebuild academic disciplines and redefine research priorities (Gulczyńska, Rébay, & Kasperová, 2023).

Thus, the democratisation of access to information, which was facilitated by the declassification of archives in the 1990s, was a crucial factor in enabling the re-evaluation of history. It was not solely academics who initiated the process of reclaiming the history from the shadow of Soviet propaganda; rather, it was a nationwide endeavour. (Fitzpatrick, 2015). In this context, as noted by Gurova (2017), historians of education focused on restoring the continuity of narratives that had been distorted or suppressed.

The role of the Latvian National Archives in the democratization of information was significant. Documents were digitized and collaboration with educational institutions was organized to promote awareness of the national cultural heritage. Initiatives of Archives not only facilitated academic research but also encouraged public engagement with history. The most important was the discovery of information hitherto available only to a small circle of Soviet historians, e.g., about Latvia's first period of independence often referred to as the "Promised Land" in Latvian collective memory (Ķestere, 2014) and, very importantly, information about Latvians in Western exile, where they had gone during World War II to escape the Soviets (see Daukste-Silasproģe, 2022). This new information aimed to acknowledge the complexities of Latvian history, including themes of victimhood and resilience, essential for fostering a sense of national pride and identity (Wezel, 2016; Ķešāne, 2023). With new sources, scholars were able to explore previously marginalized voices, as well as discover the long-standing connections between the Baltics and Europe (Ķestere et al., 2020).

As indicated previously, the methodology of historical research established by Soviet scholars also had to be liberated. The Soviet interpretation of the history of education was based on the ideological

underpinnings declared by the state, i.e. trivialised Marxism. This approach entailed an examination of the world from the positions of social order and struggle for dominion. As Berger (2015) explains: communist historians were instructed to develop new Marxist-Leninist historical national master narratives. They did so by merging the Marxist class paradigm with traditional forms of national history writing (Berger, 2015, p. 354): exploited *versus* exploiters, workers *versus* bourgeoisie, peasants *versus* kulaks, revolution *versus* counter-revolution, socialism *versus* capitalism, etc. This formula, which explained the world in a very simplistic way (Russel, 1932/1993), was extremely trivial and ideologised (Kestere, 2014).

The departure from the “class approach” that typifies Soviet historiography engendered a shift towards more open-ended interpretative approaches in the study of the history of education. Gradually, historians of education in Latvia discovered the social science theories that had long been established and accepted in Western countries. The evolution of the history of education as a multidisciplinary field has enabled a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between education and society (Kestere et al., 2020). In Hungary, for example, textbooks on the history of education since 1990 reflect a similar transition, demonstrating both the shift away from Soviet-style narratives and the challenges of integrating new historiographical perspectives (Nóvik, 2024).

However, the learning curve for the new research methodology was not fast. The dominance of descriptive narratives in historical research remained strong, as scholars continued to prioritize historical context over theoretical frameworks. The fact-based recounting of history soon became uninteresting to the public, particularly students, who craved deeper interpretation and connection of historical events with present-day issues in social spheres, including education (Kestere & Vejins, 2021). History of education lost its place in university curricula and consequently the field of historical research suffered too. The slow integration of social science methodologies into educational research reflects a broader trend in the post-Soviet context, where scholars faced the challenge of researching new, rich historical

facts while at the same time learning to engage with current theories in the facts' interpretation that could contribute to understanding the histories of the newcomers in Europe (Parkin, 2021).

New Narrative on the History of Education

Brief Overview of the Soviet Narrative

The narrative on the history of education in Soviet Latvia, similarly to other republics of the USSR, was shaped by the studies produced in Moscow, published in Russian, and sometimes translated into national languages. Until the early 1990s, no general history of education was published in Latvian. The history of European and international education was the monopoly of scholars from the centre of the empire, Soviet Russia, while in the provinces or Soviet republics academics studied the development of education in the confines of their ethnicity, within the strict framework of Soviet methodology and ideology. The task of the researcher in the history of education was to demonstrate and relentlessly remind of class inequality in the field of education, from which the Baltic nations were saved by the Soviet power. This turned the history of education into a Soviet propaganda weapon (Tamm, 2016, p. 138), the aim of which was to denigrate the years of independence of the Baltic States as opposed to the “happy” but, in reality, violent absorption into the Soviet Union in 1940.

The narrative on the history of education in Soviet Latvia was set soon after World War II when in 1949, an article from the central Soviet newspaper *Teachers' Gazette* (Učitel'skaja Gazeta) was reprinted in Latvian. The article had a telling title – “Against slavish kowtowing to bourgeois pedagogy” (Pret verdzisko..., 1949). The anonymous author criticised the dominant books on the history of education published so far in Moscow for not sufficiently displaying the “qualitatively new character” of Soviet pedagogy, and for devoting too much attention to “narrow-minded bourgeois pedagogy” as represented by Herbart, Dewey, and Spenser. The article tasked the history of education with further promoting the “progressive pedagogical experience of the Soviet school, which has not emerged from thin air, but rather embodies the

best of past pedagogical experience” (Pret verdzisko..., 1949). The ideological message of the article is explicitly clear: the history of education must attest that education in the Soviet Union is the triumph of the socialist economy and communist ideology over everything that has happened in the past and is happening now in other countries outside the USSR and its satellites. Thus, the function of history as a propaganda weapon was clearly announced in the academic landscape of Soviet Latvia. For Latvians, this Moscow setup meant also the disruption of research continuity as its historical narrative became isolated from the European context and artificially added to the Soviet narrative centred on the education in Russia.

The Russian education narrative became the model for national narratives. The story of Russian education history foregrounded and/or glossed over certain storylines and made certain actors “invisible”. The narrative focused on people’s education, meaning mainly the schooling of peasants’ and workers’ children, and thus, on what was, in fact, the basic level of education. On the other hand, secondary schools and universities, as institutions of education for the wealthy classes, were mentioned as schools beyond the reach of the people or as the exception, i.e. the educational achievement of certain children of the lower classes who had been industrious and determined enough to overcome the class barrier. By and large, the main actors of the narrative were men concerned with the education of the nation’s lower social strata. As education of the people was an important part of Russian politics after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, communist politicians Lenin, Stalin, Lunacharsky, and others were hailed as prominent educators. Prior to 1917, the ideological foundations of Soviet education were set by Marx and Engels, and in Russia by Herzen, Tolstoy, and others. The analysis of the achievements of each actor in the history of education – politician, philosopher, teacher – emphasised their concern for “the people”, i.e. the lower social strata, their leftist or “progressive” views, their struggle against traditional enemies of the communists, i.e. the rich, the bourgeois, the capitalists, and the like (see Ganelin & Golant, 1947).

The publications on the history of education in Soviet Latvia were modelled on those in Soviet Russia, weaving into their narrative long-standing links with Russian culture, as well as the joy of the sovietization of Latvia as a triumph of progress and enlightenment (Ozola, 2014). It was in this vein that one of the first collections of articles in the history of education, “People’s Education in Latvia Then and Now” (Miķelsons, 1966) was prepared. The title of the collection already indicates that pertaining to the Soviet tradition the main storyline will be related to the schooling of the lower social classes. The two parts of the collection are given the laconic titles ‘Education in Bourgeois Latvia’ and ‘Education in Soviet Latvia’, thus revealing the black-and-white orientation of the collection’s narrative. The collection demonstrates the clash of good and bad, since everything associated with the word “bourgeois” is bad, while everything associated with “Soviet” is decidedly good. The titles of the chapters in the collection are equally eloquent, e.g. “Education – the privilege of the wealthy”, “The bourgeois school – the breeder of reactionary ideology”, while the Soviet school is praised in the chapter “For the youth – for the future of our country”. The content of the collection consists of biased selection of documents, which are given titles that indicate how the historical sources should be interpreted: for example, the discussion on the Law on Education of Independent Latvia of 1919 is given the title “Demagogic Promises of the Bourgeoisie” (Miķelsons, 1966, p. 14), while Soviet educational documents are placed under the titles that announce the growing number of schools and universities, scholarships for students, opportunities for workers to study, and the like.

Other collections in the history of education published in Soviet Latvia spin a similar story, although the tone of the language gradually becomes more academic, it is no longer so overtly didactic and attacking; for example, in the collection of 1969 the chapter titles are already quite neutral – “Development of Pedagogical Science in Latvia”, “Development of Pedagogical Thought”, etc. (Miķelsons, 1969). The narrative of the articles naturally remains the same: it emphasises “the anti-national educational policy of the Latvian nationalist bourgeoisie”

(Mikelsons, 1969, p. 50), which contrasts with the success of the Soviet authorities in educating the working class.

The main actors in the history of education in Soviet Latvia are also imported from Moscow: above all, the politician Lenin and his associate Nadezhda Krupskaya. According to Soviet etiquette, Lenin's opinion, regarded as that of a prominent educator, is sought and referenced at the beginning of any study on education and the history of education to establish its theoretical foundations, even if the work is devoted to family pedagogy (e.g., Zelmenis, 1981). Krupskaya's life and pedagogical views were regularly the subject of articles in the Soviet Latvian press: in the central newspaper for teachers, *Teachers' Gazette* (*Skolotāju Avīze*), between 1948 and 1989, Krupskaya was the subject of 406 articles (Periodika.lv). The Soviet pedagogue Anton Makarenko was even more actively promoted in Soviet Latvia, being mentioned 690 times in *Teachers' Gazette* during the same period (Periodika.lv).

The choice of Latvian national educators for the narrative on the history of education was highly restricted: the educator had to conform to the image of a people's teacher and express political views that were left-wing and for which they had been persecuted in Russia during the tsarist period or in independent Latvia. The statistics on only three prominent educators who belonged to the left-leaning political camp during the interwar years show how inconvenient Latvian national educators were: Leons Paegle was mentioned 68 times in *Teachers' Gazette* between 1948 and 1989, Jānis Grete was mentioned 49 times and Kārlis Dēķens was mentioned 23 times (Periodika.lv). In 1975, a book about Kārlis Dēķens was published (Ūsiņš, 1975), and in 1983 – about Leons Paegle (Ūsiņš, 1983). Both books, to the extent possible, emphasised the “progressive” or leftist views of the educators, for example, in the preface Paegle is introduced as the founder of the Soviet Latvian school and an active propagandist of Soviet pedagogy (Ūsiņš, 1983, p. 4). Thus, the “correct” political position was an integral criterion in the choice of actors for the narrative on the history of Soviet education.

Alongside individual personalities, the communist children and youth organisations – the Young Pioneers and the Komsomol – also

functioned as actors in the history of education in Soviet Latvia. Their storyline covers semi-legal or illegal activities in independent Latvia, the “struggle against bourgeois rule” (Miķelsons, 1966, p. 109), the struggle against the Nazi occupiers during World War II, and the massive propaganda of the Soviet regime after World War II (Špona, 1969). The history of communist organisations featured a number of specific actors – children and young people who were proclaimed heroes. Russian pioneers and Komsomol members were, of course, central to this gallery, while national actors were assigned a more modest role (see Kestere & Strazdiņš, 2023).

Consequently, the legacy that education historians received after Latvia’s independence in 1991 was a Soviet narrative centred on people’s education in Latvia between the wars and the Soviet period. The schools in “bourgeois” Latvia, with an emphasis on unequal access to education, and contrasted with democratic schooling for all the people in the Soviet Union, were presented in bleak and grim tones. The selection of subject matter and actors was strictly censored, resulting in the exclusion of facts and individuals deemed inconvenient for the Soviet authorities from the narrative. Thus, an array of hidden, marginalised, and forgotten voices was engendered in the history of education. Communist politicians and Russian pedagogues became the central actors, while the legacy of Latvian educators was subject to strict selection criteria, where a person’s political views and actions were prioritised.

Storylines in the New Narrative on the History of Education

The plot or storyline in a historical narrative is a structuring element that organises events in a chronological and logical order, giving them meaning and interpreting their significance in the context of a particular era and society. White (1987) argues that the storyline is essential because it serves to bind seemingly disparate events into a cohesive narrative, thereby endowing facts of history with significance.

The construction of a new narrative following the restoration of Latvia’s independence may be likened to the conception of a theatrical production. In this analogy, the establishment of the stage or the

creation of the historical context would be analogous to the initial steps in the formation of the new narrative. Considering the experience of the Soviet years, it is not surprising that historians of Latvian education have focused on two main chronological periods: the first period of Latvia's state independence (1918–1940) and the period of Soviet dictatorship (1940/1941, 1944/1945–1991). The interest in Latvia's first period of independence is rationalised by the historical context, as outlined previously, this period, akin to other historical periods preceding the annexation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, could be presented only from an overly disapproving vantage point under Soviet censorship. Whereas, in private, in the memories of living eyewitnesses, the first era of Latvia's independence was shrouded in the aura of romanticism. Thus, since one of the key tasks of historians is to "demythologise the past" (Depaepe, 2020, p. 241), the researchers in the history of education have turned to the stories that unfolded in independent Latvia and have tried to frame the first reflections on recent history – the Soviet past.

The analysis of our research sources reveals that the early 1990s were marked by the following 5 main storylines in the narrative on the history of education: (1) pedagogical ideas (4 monographs, 2 edited collections, 1 dissertation); (2) school history (4 monographs); (3) teacher education institutions – teachers' seminaries and institutes (3 monographs, 1 edited collection); (4) pedagogy/didactics – curriculum, teaching methods (3 monographs and 2 dissertations); (5) educational organisation, educational administration (4 monographs, 1 dissertation). It should be noted that the same source covers several storylines.

It is evident that the history of pedagogical ideas is the most prevalent storyline (e.g. Anspaks, 2003). This paradigm can be attributed to several factors: firstly, pedagogical ideas opened up the Western world to the Latvian audience and revealed that the field of education was not as limited to a monochrome spectrum as the Soviets claimed it to be. The liberation from Marxist dogmas allowed researchers to analyse the pedagogical ideas expressed by the actors of the past beyond the confines of the class struggle. However, it became apparent that there was as yet no other framework to replace Marxism. Therefore,

the presentation of pedagogical ideas in our sources is often descriptive or difficult for the reader to grasp due to a weak or largely missing framework for the analysis. Secondly, the analysis of pedagogical ideas allowed the audience to engage with the bearers of these ideas – oftentimes figures who were marginalised or banned during the years of Soviet censorship.

The school history storyline, conversely, is inherited from the Soviet-era historical scholarship. The persistence of this storyline in democratic Latvia is quite rational since key Latvian historians of education have continued to work on their research initiated during the Soviet years, for example on the development of different types of schools in Riga from the Middle Ages onwards (Staris, 2000). The process of identifying and analysing sources pertaining to the history of schools is a time-consuming endeavour, thus it is only logical that the research undertaken during the Soviet period was continued after the change in the political system and met its reader in a markedly different Latvia. The presentation of school history followed a chronological sequence, reminiscent of the Soviet period. However, it was devoid of the Soviet propaganda overlay and was characterised by a freely determined selection of facts. The references to historical revisionism, as consistent with the requirements of the new, democratic Latvia, were largely inconspicuous. One exception is the title of a chapter in a book on the history of schools in Riga: “Flourishing of People’s Education in Riga during the First Free State” (Staris, 2000, p. 119). As this example demonstrates, the Soviet-period term “people’s education” is retained, but the reader is immediately alerted to an important historical detail: namely, that education “flourished” in Latvia during the period of its first independence.

The storyline of teacher education is another legacy of the Soviet era. The story of the sons of Latvian peasants who, from the first half of the 19th century onwards, despite all the obstacles of social class, surmount adversity and become teachers of the children of the lower classes, peasants and craftsmen, was a great example of class inequality and struggle. This story, albeit tinged with a different, now national, ideology, persisted in the Latvian educational space – the image of the

national teacher is a testament to the Latvian yearning for education, the triumph over foreign (German and Russian) biases and the dawn of the Latvian intelligentsia (Šmite, 2001).

The research on the history of didactics has also changed little in terms of content. Didactics in the Soviet period was the least politicised branch of education science (unlike educational theory), hence studies in the history of didactics traditionally continued to deal with, for example, mathematics and physical education curriculum and methods, naturally discarding Marxist ideology and Soviet (especially Russian) didactic school propaganda. For example, Ilma Neimane (1993) in her dissertation focused on the curriculum and methodology of the subject of mathematics in the 1920s and 1930s.

The introduction of New School movement (*Reformpädagogik*), which was mentioned only in passing in the Soviet narrative, and even invisible in Latvia, is a novelty. At the end of the 1980s, Latvians were permitted to learn of the Montessori system, whilst Waldorfschools were given a more gradual and cautious introduction (Beļickis, 2001).

The research on the history of educational organisation and administration has not been extensive: one dissertation (Saleniece, 1994) was defended on the subject and subsequently published in a monograph (Saleniece, 2002). Other publications in this field focus mainly on two themes: language in education and women's schooling.

The references to schooling opportunities for the poor classes, which became the source of criticism of political systems other than the Soviet one and thus highly popular in the Soviet period, have almost disappeared from the new narrative. In the politics of educational language, however, scholars have taken the opportunity to dispel the Soviet myth that Latvian schools in the 1860s fell solely under the influence of Germanisation, openly addressing the severe consequences of the Russification of the 1880s. The use of Latvian in schools was completely forbidden, and in parts of Latvia even schoolbooks were printed in Latvian using Cyrillic characters (Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000). Since the Russification of Latvians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could have been likened to the situation in the Soviet Union, this story was excluded from the history of education in Soviet Latvia.

The re-examination of the context and themes in the history of education led further to the evaluation of the past actors in the field of education.

Actors in the New Narrative on the History of Education

Tosh (2015) maintains that actors are central to narrative as they not only embody historical processes but also create interpretations of events and reveal their meaning. In this capacity, actors help researchers to reconstruct the layers of a narrative, showcasing diverse experiences and unveiling the societal values and ideals that characterised specific eras through the lens of the individual. In a manner akin to narrative storylines, actors contribute to the structuring of historical events, infusing them with meaning. The workings of actors in a storyline can be considered at three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Actors interact with each other, sometimes acting on several levels simultaneously. We will employ this theoretical division to explain actor research in the history of Latvian education (Rüsen, 2004).

The term ‘primary actors’ is employed to denote individuals who exert a direct influence on the field of education. These are the education policy – or decision-makers. In the new narrative of Latvian education history, the primary actors are largely the ministers of education and members of parliament (Saeima) in inter-war Latvia. It is this group that Irēna Saleniece’s dissertation and the subsequent monograph *School Politics in the Republic of Latvia 1918–1934* focus on. The author analyses the actors’ motivations, the direct influence of political ideas and disagreements on the educational process but acknowledges that no actor could take decisions unilaterally during this period (Saleniece, 2002, p. 116), unlike in subsequent periods of authoritarian rule. The novelty of the study lies in the author’s ambition to capture the subjective opinion of policy makers, “the very understanding of the meaning of historical events by the actors themselves” (Saleniece, 1994, p. 15). This approach would have been ill-advised in Soviet historical scholarship, where all historical events had to be viewed “objectively”, from the outside, from the standpoint of the contemporary, which led to the “greatest sin of historians – presentism” (Depaepe, 2020, p. 241).

Although Saliniece as a researcher maintains the most neutral stance possible, the introduction to her dissertation compliments the politicians of the First Free Latvian State: “political leaders not only shaped school policies but also embodied democratic values that served as a source of inspiration for future reforms” (Saleniece, 1994, p. 14).

Other historians of education have focused on two of the most popular primary actors, namely the poet and presidential candidate Rainis and the teacher, writer, and victim of the Soviet regime Atis Ķeniņš (Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000; Anspaks, 2003). However, they are presented rather as secondary actors, i.e. as the exponents of pedagogical ideas.

The secondary actors in the history of education are individuals whose ideas and intellectual labour have influenced contemporary educational processes and have not been consigned to oblivion. Secondary actors are theorised to function as a conduit between the agenda of the ruling power and pedagogical practice. These actors fall into several groups in our selected sources: people active in Latvia, people in Western exile, and European and American educators. Researchers have undoubtedly shown a marked preference for teachers and university lecturers of Latvian origin (e.g. Anspaks, 2003). The “long-livers” of this group are the aforementioned social-democrat teacher Kārlis Dēķens and the poet Rainis, who have been the subject of numerous studies during the Soviet years and in independent Latvia (Ūsiņš, 1975; Ūsiņš, 1983; Anspaks, 2003). Both actors suited all political contexts, for who would dare to oppose their convictions, particularly their firm advocacy for educational equality.

The pedagogical thought of educators who worked in Latvia between the wars, many of whom emigrated to the West at the end of World War II for fear of the communists, and the educators who worked in Soviet Latvia after World War II, thus experiencing all the restrictions imposed by the Soviet authorities and the privileges granted to a loyal elite has been analysed in three special dedicated collections (Staris, 1994, 1998, 2004). These collections contain neutrally written biographies of the actors and excerpts from their works expressing their views on education.

The most innovative of the three collections is undoubtedly the one dedicated to Latvians in Western exile (Staris, 2004). While the Soviet period permitted the reference to one or other educator of the first Latvian state at least as a negative example of bourgeois pedagogy or a fighter against capitalism, Latvians living behind the Iron Curtain were a taboo subject. Their publications were destroyed or placed in classified archives and libraries. Consequently, the research into the life stories and pedagogical legacy of these actors in independent Latvia started from scratch and the collected papers themselves have become a bibliographical rarity in Latvia.

As mentioned above, another group of secondary actors comprises the exponents of pedagogical ideas beyond Latvia's borders, the "classics of education" whose names appear in education history books throughout Europe and are present in the Soviet narrative as well. The most popular among them are Locke, Rousseau, Comenius and Pestalozzi. In independent Latvia, this list has been complemented by Dewey, who was greatly disliked by the Soviet authorities. However also the Russian pedagogues Ushinsky and the writer Leo Tolstoy have retained their positions in the monographs (Anspaks, 2003; Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000).

The tertiary group of actors in the narrative on the history of education comprises teachers and pupils – the everyday doers of educational work, the representatives of school practice. These are the people Aldrich (2002) advocated bringing out of obscurity. This group is represented in the research period by Baiba Kaļķe's dissertation and subsequent monograph *Teachers – Writers in Pedagogy Theory and Practice in Latvia from 1900 to 1940*. In this study, the author describes the biographies of 28 teachers who were also well-known writers of their time and reveals their pedagogical views, such as their propositions for educational methods that were innovative for their time. Kaļķe's study, which could also be called the first prosopography in the history of Latvian education, treats all the protagonists of the narrative with equal favour and no criticism, creating a romanticised image of the teacher. Latvian teachers are described as the driving force of education, educators of society, bearers of the values of the era, maintainers

of national identity, and shapers of history (Kaļķe, 2002, p. 60). The role of the teacher is similarly treated in Irēna Upeniece's dissertation on the history of physical education: the teacher is portrayed as the developer of new methodological approaches that promote the all-round development of children (Upeniece, 1995).

The annual collection in the history of education, *Era and Personality*, which was launched in 2000 (Krūze, 2000), made a special contribution to the research on the tertiary group of actors, but in the first four years of its existence, the collection did not publish the research of professional historians of education, only the research of graduate students of education. The narrative portraits of educators published in this collection are an eloquent example of the romanticisation of the teaching profession (Nobik, Kestere & Gulzynska, 2019).

Actors of Latvian origin dominate at all three levels, and this is understandable, since historians of education were fulfilling the public commission to nurture national identity and thus to produce national heroes. Yet Latvia has always been a multinational country. The research on the educational heritage of actors of Baltic German, Jewish and Russian origin emerged only after 2004.

Conclusions

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of Latvia's independence, historians specialising in education embarked on a process of re-evaluation, challenging the prevailing narrative that had been shaped by communist ideology and constrained by a narrow methodological framework. This process was necessitated, on the one hand, by public demand for a new national historical narrative and heroes and, on the other, by the open access to archives and libraries after years of Soviet censorship, which revealed previously withheld information.

During the period of transition from authoritarianism to democracy, historians of education were compelled to discard the hegemonic historical narrative that had been promulgated in the Soviet Union, which placed undue emphasis on the educational achievements of Russia and the USSR, as well as on historical actors who were predicated on ideological considerations. During the Soviet regime, the main actors

of the narrative were members of the communist political elite, who were depicted as the primary agents responsible for the development of an education system that was egalitarian in nature and accessible to individuals across all social strata. Educators of Latvian origin were included in the narrative only if their stance could be “adjusted” to the needs of Soviet ideology.

The new narrative on the history of Latvian education required contextualisation and the inter-war period, when Latvia first declared its independence, gained the most attention. This period was portrayed as the romanticised flourishing of the Latvian nation. Likewise, the studies on the history of education contain the first reflections on the recent past under Soviet dictatorship.

The selected contexts were marked by four main storylines: pedagogical ideas, development of Latvian schools, education of Latvian teachers, history of didactics and educational organisation. These storylines featured three groups of actors: decision-makers in education, carriers of pedagogical ideas and actors in practice – teachers and pupils.

Since most of the researchers in the history of education were already active during the Soviet years, the new narrative of education did not differ much from the traditional narrative on the history of Soviet education in terms of its storylines and groups of actors. This is an obvious continuity between the Soviet and independent Latvian narratives. However, several new features emerged, including (1) a shift in focus from the emphasis on class struggle in the field of education, even though narratives on education history remained predominantly focused on the education of the lower classes (particularly the Latvian peasantry). (2) Furthermore, audiences were introduced to actors who had been banned, forgotten and marginalised under the Soviet regime, and who were now freed from staticism and depicted as flesh-and-blood human beings. Conversely, certain actors who were suitable for all political systems retained their position and continued their narrative in the history of education. (3) Finally, the research methodology in the field of history of education broke free from trivialised Marxism. Due to the isolation behind the Iron Curtain which prevented researchers in Latvia from experiencing the historical revisionism of the 1960s

and the inflow of new social science theories into the field of history, the dominant historical description was still that of “acts and facts”, but these were pure facts, and their selection was not determined by communist ideological considerations.

Once the transit period was over, the subsequent decades of education history in Latvia brought along new storylines and new actors. Among these developments, the research on the history of higher education and education sciences in Latvia emerged as a prominent area of focus. Alongside Latvians, the educational narratives of other Latvian nations also made their presence felt in the field of education.

Sources and literature

- ALDRICH, Richard, 2003. The Three Duties of the Historian of Education. *History of Education*. Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 133–143. DOI 10.1080/00467600304154.
- ANSPAKS, Jānis, 2003. *Pedagoģijas idejas Latvijā*. [Pedagogical Ideas in Latvia]. Rīga: Raka. ISBN 9789984155487.
- BELICKIS, Inārs, 2001. *Izglītības alternatīvās teorijas*. [Alternative Theories of Education]. Rīga: RaKa. ISBN 9789984153636.
- BĒRZIŅA, Ieva, KRŪMIŅŠ, Gatis, ŠILIŅŠ, Jānis & ANDŽĀNS, Māris, 2023. History Perceptions and National Identity Among Latvian Youth: Entrapped Between Narratives of Latvia and Russia? *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 700–717. DOI 10.1111/nana.12930.
- BRAUN, Virginia & CLARKE, Victoria, 2006. Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. Vol. 3, pp. 77–101. DOI 10.1191/1478088706qp0630a
- BRUNER, Jerome, 1990. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ISBN 0674003616.
- DAUKSTE-SILASPROČE, Inguna, 2022. The Lost Place of Childhood: Writer Indra Gubiņa's Memories, Life and the Literary Geographical Aspect. *Colloquia*. Vol. 50, pp. 29–46. DOI 10.51554/coll.22.50.03.
- DEPAEPE, Marc, 2020. Why Even Today Educational Historiography Is Not an Unnecessary Luxury. Focusing on Four Themes from Forty-Four Years of Research. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*. Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 227–246. DOI 10.14516/ete.335.
- FITZPATRICK, Sheila, 2015. *On Stalin's Team: The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. DOI 10.1080/09546545.2016.1168998.

GAŅEĻINS, Šoloms & GOLANTS, Jevgeņijs, 1947. *Pedagoģijas vēsture. Mācību grāmata pedagoģiskām mācību iestādēm* [History of Pedagogy. Textbook for Pedagogical Institutions]. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība.

GREVER, Maria; VAN DER VLIES, Tina, 2017. Why National Narratives Are Perpetuated: A Literature Review on New Insights from History Textbook Research. *London Review of Education*. Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 286–301. DOI 10.18546/LRE.15.2.11.

GUROVA, Galina, 2017. Soviet, Post-Soviet And Neo-Liberal: Governing Russian Schools Through Quality Assurance And Evaluation. *Policy Futures in Education*. Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 398–415. DOI 10.1177/1478210317743648.

GULCZYŃSKA, Justyna, RÉBAY, Mónika & KASPEROVÁ, Daniela, 2023. History of Education in Central and Eastern Europe: Past, Present and Future. *History of Education*. Vol. 52, No. 2–3, pp. 355–398. DOI 10.1080/0046760X.2023.2166597.

KALĶE, Baiba, 2002. *Skolotāji – rakstnieki pedagoģijas teorijai un praksei Latvijā no 1900. līdz 1940. gadam*. [Teachers – Writers for Pedagogical Theory and Practice in Latvia from 1900 to 1940]. Rīga: University of Latvia. Doctoral Theses. Available at: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/532>.

KASPER, Tomas, 2022. The Field of History of Education – from Development to Stagnation, Crisis and Perhaps a “New” Beginning: the Czech Example. *Paedagogica Historica*. Vol. 58, No. 6, pp. 920–943. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2022.2055968>.

ĶESTERE, Iveta, 2014. History of Education and the Struggle for Intellectual Liberation in Post-Soviet Baltic Space after the Fall of the Berlin Wall. *Paedagogica Historica*. Vol. 50, No. 6, pp. 844–851. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2014.948010>.

ĶESTERE, Iveta, 2016. The “Nation” in the History of Education from an European “Postness” Perspective. *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education*. Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 109–111. ISBN 978-815-2088-2.

ĶESTERE, Iveta & KALKE, Baiba, 2020. Learning National Identity outside the Nation-State: The Story of Latvian Primers (Mid-1940s – Mid-1970s). In: DANIELA, Linda (ed.). *Human, Technologies and Quality of Education*. Rīga: University of Latvia Press, pp. 33–50. DOI 10.22364/htqe.2020.03.

ĶESTERE, Iveta, RUBENE, Zanda & OZOLA, Iveta, 2021. Educational Sciences Between “Real” Moscow and the “Imaginary” West: The Case of Latvia (1989–1999). In: VAN RUYSKENSVELDE, Sarah; THYSEN, Geert; HERMAN, Frederik; VAN GORP Angelo & VERSTRAETE, Pieter (eds.). *Folds of Past, Present and Future*. Oldenburg: De Gruyter, pp. 249–267. DOI 10.1515/9783110623451-015.

- ĶESTERE, Iveta, STONKUVIENE, Irena & VARIK, Veronika, 2020. History of Education as a Changing Research Field. In: ĶESTERE, Iveta; SARV, Ene-Silvia & STONKUVIENE, Irena (eds.). *Pedagogy and Educational Sciences in the Post-Soviet Baltic States, 1990–2004: Changes and Challenges*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, pp. 261–275. DOI bahp-pes.1990-2004.17.
- ĶESTERE, Iveta & STRAZDINS, Arnis, 2023. Between Nostalgia and Trauma: Representation of Soviet Childhood in the Museums of Latvia. In: HERMAN, Frederik; BRASTER, Sjaak & DEL MAR, María (eds.). *Exhibiting the Past*. Oldenburg: De Gruyter, pp. 77–90. DOI 10.1515/9783110719871-004.
- ĶESTERE, Iveta & VEJINS, Reinis, 2021. Between “Acts-And-Facts History” and “Edutainment” in the History of Education Study Courses: The Case of University of Latvia. In: DANIELA, Linda (ed.). *Human, Technologies and Quality of Education*, pp. 150–164. DOI 10.22364/htqe.2021.11.
- ĶEŠĀNE, Ilze, 2023. National Pride and the Insecure Social Bond between People and the State: The Socio-emotional Context of National Identity in Post-Soviet Neoliberal Latvia. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 52, No. 5, pp. 1173–1192. DOI 10.1017/nps.2023.71.
- KONSTANTINOVŠ, Nikolajs, MEDINSKIS, Jevgenijs & ŠABAJAVA, Marija, 1968. *Pedagoģijas vēsture. Mācību grāmata augstākajām pedagoģiskajām mācību iestādēm* [History of Pedagogy. Textbook for Higher Educational Institutions]. Rīga: Zvaigzne.
- KONSTANTINOVŠ, Nikolajs & SMIRNOVS, Vasiļijs, 1957. *Pedagoģijas vēsture. Mācību grāmata pedagoģiskajām skolām* [History of Pedagogy. Textbook for Pedagogical Schools]. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība.
- KRŪZE, Aida (ed.), 2000–2004. *Laikmets un personība. Rakstu krājums. I–V*. [Era and Personality. Collection of Articles. I–V]. Rīga: RaKa. ISBN 9789984463360.
- KUDLÁČOVÁ, Blanka, 2016. History of Education and Historical-Educational Research in Slovakia through the Lens of European Context. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*. Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 111–124. DOI 10.14516/ete.2016.003.001.7.
- KUDLÁČOVÁ, Blanka, 2022. History of Education as Study Subject and Academic Discipline: The Case of Slovakia. *Paedagogica Historica*. Vol. 58, No. 6, pp. 944–959. DOI 10.1080/00309230.2022.2103385.
- NEIMANE, Ilma, 1993. *Dažas pedagoģiskās atziņas matemātikas saturā un apguves organizācijā 20. gadsimta 20.–30. gados Latvijā* [Some Pedagogical Insights Into the Content and Organization of Mathematics Learning in the 1920s–1930s in Latvia]. Rīga. University of Latvia. Doctoral Theses. Available at: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/54106>.

- NÓBIK, Attila, 2024. Textbooks on History of Education in Hungary Since 1990. In: ANDRZEJEWSKA, Ewa, MATTHES, Eva, SCHÜTZE, Sylvia & WIELE, Jan van, eds. *Bildungsmedien für Erwachsene*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, pp. 141–151. DOI 10.25656/01:32031; 10.35468/6126-10.
- NÓBIK, Attila, ĶESTERE, Iveta & GULZYNSKA, Justyna, 2019. History of Education Journals and the Development of Historical Research on Education in Eastern Europe (1990–2016). *International Journal for the Historiography of Education*. Vol. 2, pp. 141–155. ISBN 978-3781523036.
- OZOLA, Iveta, 2014. *Pedagoģijas zinātnes ģenēze Latvijā no 20. gadsimta 20. gadiem līdz 60. gadu sākumam* [The Genesis of Pedagogical Science in Latvia from the 1920s to the Early 1960s]. Rīga: University of Latvia. Doctoral Theses. Available at: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/4935>.
- PARKIN, Robert M. & RUNCE, Inese, 2021. Introduction. *Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies*. Vol. 4, pp. 9–10. DOI 10.7592/ybbs4.00.
- Pret verdzisko klanīšanas buržuāziskās pedagoģijas priekšā. [Against Slavish Kowtowing to Bourgeois Pedagogy]. *Skolotāju Avīze*. 01.04.1949. Available at: *Skolotāju Avīze*, No. 13 (01.04.1949).
- Periodika – Latvijas Nacionālā digitālā digitālā bibliotēka* [Periodika – Latvian National Digital Library]. Available at: <https://www.periodika.lv>.
- RUSSEL, Bertrand, 1932/1993. *Education and the Social Order*. London/New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0415487351.
- RÜSEN, Jörn, 2004. Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development. In: SEIXAS, Peter (ed.). *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 63–85. ISBN 9781442682610.
- SALENIECE, Irēna, 1994. *Latvijas Republikas skolu politika 1918–1934*. [School Policy of the Republic of Latvia 1918–1934]. Daugavpils: University of Daugavpils. Doctoral Theses. Available at: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/2576>.
- SALENIECE, Irēna, 2002. *Latvijas Republikas skolu politika: (1918–1934)* [School Policy of the Republic of Latvia 1918–1934]. Daugavpils: Saule. ISBN 9789984141664.
- STARIS, Alfrēds, 2000. *Skolas un izglītība Rīgā: no sendienām līdz 1944. gadam* [Schools and Education in Riga from Ancient Times to 1944]. Lielvārde: Lielvārds. ISBN 9984110338.
- STARIS, Alfrēds (ed.). *Pedagoģiskā doma Latvijā. 1890–1940* [Pedagogical Thought in Latvia. 1890–1940]. Rīga: Zvaigzne. ISBN 5405012475.
- STARIS, Alfrēds (ed.), 1998. *Pedagoģiskā doma Latvijā no 1940. gada līdz mūsu dienām*. [Pedagogical Thought in Latvia from 1940 to the Present]. Rīga: Puse.

- STARIS, Alfrēds (ed.), 2004. Rietumu trimdas latviešu pedagoģiskā doma (1944–1990) [*Latvian Pedagogical Thought in Western Exile (1944–1990)*]. Rīga: RaKa. ISBN 9984155900.
- STRODS, Henrihs, 2010. *Politiskā cenzūra Latvijā, 1940–1990* [*Political Censorship in Latvia, 1940–1990*]. Rīga: Jumava. ISBN 9789984387741.
- ŠMITE, Anita (ed.), 2001. *Skolotāju izglītība Latvijā: vēsturiskās pieredzes rakstu krājums* [*Teacher Education in Latvia. Collection of Articles on Historical Experience*]. Rīga: RaKa.
- ŠPONA, Ausma, 1969. Pionieru un komjauniešu organizācijas skolā [Pioneer and Komsomol Organisations at School]. In: MIKELSONS, Roberts (ed.). *Skolas un pedagoģiskās domas attīstība Padomju Latvijā* [*The Development of School and Pedagogical Thought in Soviet Latvia*]. Rīga: Zvaigzne, pp. 77–85.
- TAMM, Marek, 2016. Displaced History? A New “Regime of Historicity” among the Baltic Historians in Exile (1940s–1960s). *Storia della Storiografia/Histoire de l’Historiographie/History of Historiography/Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung. Rivista internazionale. Revue internationale. International Review. Internationale Zeitschrift*. Vol. 69 No. 1, pp. 129–145. DOI 10.19272/201611501009.
- TOSH, John, 2015. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*. 6th ed. London/New York: Routledge. DOI 10.4324/9781315728131.
- UPENIECE, Irēna, 1995. *Fiziskās audzināšanas teorijas un prakses attīstība Latvijas skolās no 19. gs. otrās puses līdz 1940. gadam* [*The Development of Physical Education Theory and Practice in Latvian Schools from the Second Half of the 19th Century to 1940*]. Rīga: University of Latvia. Doctoral Theses. Available at: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/31395>.
- ŪSIŅŠ, Vladimirs, 1975. *K. Dēķena pedagoģiskie uzskati* [*Dēķens’ Pedagogical Views*]. Rīga: Zvaigzne.
- ŪSIŅŠ, Vladimirs, 1983. *Leons Paegle un pedagoģija* [*Leons Paegle and Pedagogy*]. Rīga: Zvaigzne.
- WEZEL, Katja, 2016. The Unfinished Business of Perestroika: Latvia’s Memory Politics and its Quest for Acknowledgment of Victimhood in Europe. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 560–577. DOI 10.1080/00905992.2016.1142520.
- WHITE, Hayden, 1973. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN 0801817617.
- WHITE, Hayden, 1987. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN 978-0801841156.

ZAKE, Ieva, 2010. Soviet Campaigns Against “Capitalist Ideological Subversives” During the Cold War. *Journal of Cold War Studies*. Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 91–114. DOI 10.1162/JCWS_a_00007.

ZELMENIS, Voldemārs, 1981. *Pedagoģija ģimenē* [*Pedagogy in the Family*]. Rīga: Zvaigzne.