

Chapter 22

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers


Andrés Domínguez-Almansa

University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Tania Riveiro-Rodríguez


University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

José Monteagudo-Fernández

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2680-7622>

University of Murcia, Spain

Ramón López Facal

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4147-5024>

University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

ABSTRACT

This study shows that the professional competence of trainee teachers improves when social aptitudes are accepted as a key dimension guiding their training and the education of their pupils within the social sciences field. In the initial phase of the training of several cohorts of students of primary teaching degrees in Spain, work has been carried out on uncomfortable pasts, discovering hidden memories in everyday places. Taking this to be both a civic and educational problem, a process was begun to integrate emotion and critical rationality and to give meaning to the students' educational experience both at university and, later, in the primary classroom. Here, results are presented in relation to the impact on trainee teachers of a training method incorporating conflictive memory, heritage education and emotional education. Secondly, the results of transferring this training to the primary classroom during periods of teaching practice in schools are shown.

DOI: 10.4018/978-1-7998-1978-3.ch022

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

INTRODUCTION

This study is a continuation of previous research (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2016, 2017; Domínguez-Almansa & Riveiro-Rodríguez, 2017). Via the analysis of a significantly larger group of participants than in the afore-mentioned studies, the objective is to verify and establish how the assumption of a civic, critical and active conscience concerning issues which generate social controversy improves the professional competence of trainee primary teachers. This is the case both in terms of their capacity to reflect on whether their teaching is appropriate and to elaborate proposals which are coherent with this thinking, as well as their ability to apply it in the real context of the classroom, in their teaching practice with primary schoolchildren.

The historical memory surrounding the extreme political violence perpetrated in Spain within the context of the 1936 coup d'état, the Civil War and the beginning of the prolonged Francoist dictatorship is an extremely controversial issue (Aguilar, Balcells & Cebolla-Boado, 2011; Aguilar & Ferrandiz, 2016; Gassiot & Steadman, 2008). According to the data published by the ARMH (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory) (114,266 legally documented cases), Spain is the second country in the world, after Cambodia, with the highest number of enforced disappearances, victims of the Francoist genocide. The hegemonic civil and educational approach to this issue since the end of the dictatorship to the present day has gone from oblivion to an equidistance which ends up equating victims and perpetrators (Aguilar, 2008). However, in broad sectors of today's society, there is an awareness that past wounds have not been healed and that the existence of thousands of mass graves, in which lie the history and memory of an uncomfortable past, implies a significant democratic deficit, an attack against human rights (Ferrandiz, 2010; United Nations, 2014). Therefore, it is impossible to consolidate necessary values and attitudes, via a history education focused on the knowledge of human suffering (Cuesta, 2014, 2015; López-Facal, 2016), in times when the ghosts of the past are reappearing with renewed totalitarian verve.

For its part, this educational experiment is integrated in the perspective of heritage education (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2017) via a form of intangible heritage (memory) which attempts to re-signify groups or places which have long remained invisible or have been hidden. Based on this civic conception of heritage (Cuenca, Estepa & Martín, 2017; Lucas, 2017), the aim is to open up processes of heritage appropriation in the classroom, linked with processes of the construction and consolidation of identities in favour of a democracy with greater human quality in that social responsibility is assumed with those who suffer injustices or exclusion.

This research encompasses several cohorts of students studying the third year of a degree in primary education teacher training (Teacher Training Faculty, USC-Campus Lugo). It is attempted to demonstrate the capacity of trainee teachers to develop their professional competence by dealing with a controversial issue such as historical memory by way of reflection and teaching proposals, associating it with the field of heritage education. These perspectives must be transferred to the primary classroom in order to prove their capacity to progress from theory to real practice.

Our specific objectives are that: a) the trainee teachers evaluate the sense of historical knowledge and the methods for dealing with more significative learning, integrating memories and places, emotion and reason; b) they question their representations of heritage and the Spanish Civil War and reflect on the need to investigate their surroundings and open up heritagisation processes; c) they acquire social and civic competences by carrying out work on controversial topics; d) they understand collaborative work as an essential part of their teacher training and develop civic and cognitive competences among their primary pupils.

*Confictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers***AGAINST OBLIVION: EDUCATION, MEMORY AND RECOGNITION. NEW HERITAGE POSSIBILITIES**

A Japanese army medic, repentant of the barbarities which he had committed during the Second World War, stated that when he carried out these atrocious act, he did not feel a sense of guilt, he was not inflicting suffering on true human beings, rather, he was only carrying out experiments on “waste” and “scum” (Rees, 2001). His testimony shows us a sensitive human being, not a monstrosity, whose nature had begun to be forged in the education system via discourse in which, without any possibility for dissent, indoctrinated students in the racial superiority of the Japanese, giving them the right to conquer and submit others to their rule (Masaaki, cited in Lowe, 2017).

There is an ethical imperative for education to deal with past exterminations (Adorno, 1998) in order for the politics of violence to be prevented from occurring again. Crimes against humanity have been committed pointing at the guilt of the opponent in a scenario of confrontation between states or as a collective evil with hints of atonement, making atrocities palatable without attributing guilt. In other cases, instead of remembering, the tendency has been to forget, or, as has recently occurred in Spain, to speak with neutrality tinged with equidistance (López-Facal, 2011; Domínguez-Almansa & Santiago-Arnoso, 2014).

The explanation for this marginalisation, concealment or educational manipulation of uncomfortable history in the context of political democracy lies in the fear that the democratic narrative may become delegitimised, along with the education model which serves to uphold it, spreading an official history in which there is no room for alternative types of memory (Álvarez-Junco, 2007; Carretero, 2007; Paula-González, 2008; Mate, 2003). This fear is accentuated when dealing with acts of extreme terror against humanity itself, which have taken place in recent history. This proximity makes it possible to transfer the knowledge of the past to the conflict of the present, to the extent that it can alter peaceful consensus which are extremely debatable both ethically and civically.

The case of Spain, with its mass graves, missing people and the cultural and social sediment left by a long dictatorship, is unique. However, the Holocaust could also form part of this controversy, not only due to the current increase in “revisionism” but also because of the tendency to officialise the collective guilt and shame via complicity between the population and the Nazi State, leaving significant gaps in this traumatic memory (Mate, 2003). What is more, in Japan, the systematic sexual exploitation of women by the imperial army in the territories it occupied during the Second World War is glossed over. Among those women are the Koreans, vindicated by the official memory of their homeland without mentioning, however, the role of Korean society itself in this exploitation, which continued over a long period of time in changing contexts but always with the same victims, a situation which has been denounced by feminist organisations in Korea (Lowe, 2017). The United States and France also participate in this social and educational policy of concealment. The former with omissions which range from slavery and racism to Vietnam (Lowen, 1995), even leading to significant controversies when attempts are made to address actions in the field of informal education which allow for different perspectives of events, such as the dropping of the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Carretero, 2007). As far as France is concerned, among other issues, a biased memory of the liberation from Nazi occupation has been presented and studied, systematised from De Gaulle’s first speech in liberated Paris, in which he put to one side the leading role of international anti-Fascism, including the significant contribution of the “Spanish Republicans” (Gildea, 2015).

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

It is easy to demonstrate that, both in dictatorships and in democracies, attempts to hide certain topics or approaches in the elementary and compulsory education of the citizenship respond to dominant political interests. Such interests, in prominent cases such as that of Spain, appeal to the idea of protecting children from unnecessary pain and safeguarding society from the virus of past conflicts. However, dealing with such issues in the classroom, from the point of view of human rights, can contribute towards necessary critical thinking upon which a better understanding of the past can be consolidated in order to apply this thinking to the present and project it into the future, thereby resulting in a civic culture of higher quality, along with the skills and competences required by historical and social education (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2017; Estepa & Martín, 2018).

Addressing the issue of the coup d'état and the subsequent war and dictatorship, to the extent that it takes in memory with all its weight in terms of identity, can and must be related to heritage. In this case, it occurs from a critical social perspective, integrated in current paradigms of heritage education, in which sentimental and symbolic issues gain prominence in relation with the identification of human groups (Ballart, 2001; Fontal, 2003; González-Monfort, 2007). Thus, ideas such as heritage in conflict (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2016, 2017) or anti-heritage (Estepa & Martín, 2018), serve to reflect the possibility of establishing emotional links with the victims of barbarity, whose memory can stimulate processes of heritage identification with an intangible asset with the capacity to substantiate itself in material elements, be they visible (Feliú & Hernández, 2013) or hidden, even in the ordinary spaces and landscapes of everyday life.

This orientation connects with the Place-Based Education (PBE) learning method, which is understood as a process which, based on educational experiences in local places, encourages the resolution of social problems and makes it possible to establish more solid links with the surrounding area and the community (Sobel, 2004). In addition to improving the academic performance of learners (Smith & Sobel, 2014), its application in different educational spaces and contexts on a worldwide scale seems to provide good results (Gruenewald & Smith, 2014; Riveiro-Rodríguez, Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, in press).

Along these lines, the discovery of hidden places and landscapes related with the forgotten killings and disappearances of the Spanish Civil War would make it possible to recover memory, to build up the conscience of the citizenship with an ethical foundation and to re-signify spaces susceptible to being shaped as heritage assets, which, in turn, become educational contexts facilitating historical knowledge (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2017; Kerr & Huddleston, 2016). An educational process is promoted which joins together emotion and reason, one in which empathy, motivation, involvement and rigour are consolidated in phases which range from attributing meaning to the place discovered to pursuing the civic dissemination of the learning which is acquired (Domínguez-Almansa & Riveiro-Rodríguez, 2017).

The building of this construct must take as its starting point a disciplinary and educational training of teachers which promotes reflection on their ethical and social involvement in relevant and conflictive social issues, the value of emotional aspects applied to the knowledge of history and the need to innovate in accordance with these criteria. All of this implies becoming involved in a model of education which is critical in nature, what Cuesta (2011) calls *history with memory*, based on the problematisation of the present depending on how knowledge of the past is approached, making history public knowledge, fostering a truly democratic citizenship, along the lines proposed by Habermas (1992).

Training teachers based on this point of view is no easy task, particularly if one takes into account the fact that a significant proportion of them understand history as a type of knowledge which is aimed at the study of processes led by great events and figures. History is not a social science in which there is

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

much room for the experiences of everyday people. A lesser degree of importance is normally attributed to the Francoist coup d'état of 1936 and all that derived from it in comparison with other events or periods of the history of Spain. Therein originate the erratic interpretations and the absence of reflection of the majority of students today (Arias et al., 2019). However, there are more open interpretations on this issue based on personal experience. Therefore, since 2013, students in the third year of their primary education teacher training degrees have been asked what they consider to be the most momentous event in the history of Spain. The answer is unanimous: The Civil War. This is a perception which, more than on historical knowledge, is based on their experience of citizenship. It is not in vain that this topic has not been introduced into the social debate. In accordance with the proposed approach, this implies an excellent opportunity to introduce the issue of history, memory and oblivion with a heritage dimension into the initial training of those who, before long, will be responsible for dealing with the teaching and learning of social issues among young learners.

INNOVATING FOR RESEARCH: METHOD, ACTION AND RESULTS

Method

This study is grounded in the tradition of qualitative research (Flick, 2007, Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) whilst taking into account interpretative analysis (Erickson, 1986; Tesch, 1990). It has been structured in two main levels of action (teacher training classes and the primary classroom) and took place in two different phases.

Phase 1: Carried out between September and December 2016 as part of a subject in the field of the social sciences in the third year of the primary education teacher training degree. It was inspired by two previous projects carried out in the same context (2014 & 2015), which have been analysed in previous studies (Domínguez-Almansa & López-Facal, 2016, 2017). In all three processes, the teacher showed a commitment to a critical model of education (Giroux & McLaren, 1986; Johnston, 2006) which necessarily implied learning based on discovery and emotion. To the pilot sample of 2014 with 69 volunteer participants and the incidental sample of 2015 with 74 can now be added 62 individual narratives/reflections corresponding to the trainee teachers who participated in the 2016 experiment. These have not previously been analysed or published and, along with the preceding samples, are interpreted by way of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Trinidad, Carrero & Soriano, 2006) as the methodology of analysis in social research, giving continuance to certain ideas established in the previous studies and implementing new proposals.

Phase 2: Centred on two teaching projects of trainee teachers during teaching practice in primary schools in rural Galicia (Spain). These experiments were designed for the 4th, 5th and 6th years (children between 9 and 12 years of age), freely inspired by what they learned during the subject taught as part of their degree programme (2015 and 2016, unpublished). Both experiments were based on case studies (Stake, 1994), grounded in the ideas generated in phase 1. The tools employed for gathering data were recordings, observation diaries and the work produced by the primary schoolchildren.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

First Level of Action

The aim here was to stimulate the interest of the trainee teachers through sessions which balanced discovery, emotion and curiosity. Materials other than the closed presentation of contents were employed, such as the carrying out of research in the surrounding area, guided dramatizations, the use of the website *nomesevoc.es*, working with different sources (oral, written and photographic), audio-visual materials, field trips and talks by students from previous cohorts, all of which inspired and added value to the reading of research papers on the issue. Collaborative work in small groups was employed with the aim of encouraging research, reflection on the experiment and the proposal of possible activities for primary teaching. The outcomes were presented and debated in a large group format. In 2015, the trainee teachers were instructed to write a narrative-reflection in each small group, along with another individual piece, regarding the possible difficulties of dealing with the issue in the classroom. In 2014 and 2016, this was synthesized into an individual contribution with the aim of carrying out an analysis and evaluation of the process employed, making reference to the issues which they considered to be most relevant.

Each of the 62 pieces of work produced in 2016 are identified with an A followed by their corresponding number (A1, A2, etc.). The 69 reflections from the 2014 pilot are identified as P1, P2, etc. The 74 individuals from 2015 are named S1, S2, etc., and the group work from 2015 is identified as GA, GB, etc. Sampling was carried out on the first 10 unpublished reflections from 2016, chosen randomly, in order to find the greatest number of incidences for their categorisation. From the analysis of the 62 pieces of work, 29 codes emerged, separated into 8 categories, which are summarised in Table 1. In the saturation process, 664 quotes were created, many of them with shared code. The reflections of the previous experiments were implemented on this foundation, offering balanced examples of all the reflections in the empirical data of this research.

Second Level of Action: the Primary Classroom

After the work done at university, the trainee teachers expressed interest in putting into practice similar initiatives in the classroom. Two of these initiatives, in which three students took part, were oriented towards heritage. They followed an open structure with the aim of obtaining results of the experimentation carried out in the primary classroom.

Action 1: Two of the trainee teachers carried out their teaching practice in the same school at the same time in two successive academic years. One worked with pupils from the 4th and 5th years (9-10 years of age) and the other with the 5th and 6th years (11-12 years of age). 27 primary pupils took part (this is a low number of children due to the depopulation of rural areas in Galicia). Together, they designed a project which took into consideration several local elements of heritage, paying particular attention to a landmark in remembrance of the local victims of the terror employed by the Francoist regime from 1936 onwards. The pupils were previously unaware of this element, in spite of its proximity. The trainee teachers showed their pupils images and prepared material linked to this topic, making connections between the past and the present. The pupils' interest became evident in their reflections on the issue of political repression, in a field trip to the monolith in the first year and the public performance of a play in the second year.

Action 2: This action was carried out by one trainee teacher over the course of two successive years with pupils from the 5th and 6th years (10-12 years of age). 53 pupils from a coastal area took part. Her

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers*Table 1. Categories, codes and number of quotes ascribed to each code (in brackets)*

| | Categories | Codes |
|---|--|---|
| A | Method of work | Positive assessment of learning by discovery (76). Rejection of traditional teaching (29). Critical reflection on new technologies (10). Active participation in their teacher training (22). Experiments between different cohorts (31). |
| B | Work with sources | Positive assessment of alternative sources (66). Negative assessment of traditional sources (37). Positive assessment of oral history/memory (37). Positive assessment of surrounding area (35). |
| C | Alternative education in social sciences | Reflection on teaching role (59). Importance of critical education (78). Active role of pupils (24). New vision of history (50). Revision prior training in social sciences (24). |
| D | Development of critical conscience | Critical teachers (38). Critical learners (37). Reinforcing critical conscience (29). |
| E | Historical memory in the classroom | Interest in hidden memory (65). Desire to teach conflictive issues (77). Emotion/empathy (44). |
| F | New dimension of heritage | Broader view of heritage (53). Victims and sites of victimisation – heritage (56). Educational role – heritage (48). |
| G | Educational limitations | Teachers and families (43). Age of pupils (16). Personal limitation (33). Lack of knowledge (14). |
| H | Collaborative work | Positive assessment of collaborative work (79). Desire to teach via collaborative work (51). |

project was focused on local areas, substituting recurring points of reference of official heritage with landmarks related to the memory of the violent and traumatic past of the Francoist uprising of 1936. She also included in her project the ruins of an old religious school and a monastery, which were used as concentration camps during the Civil War and the post-war period. She employed debates, audio-visual material, photographs, individual and group research tasks, primary sources, the writing of texts and field trips aimed at a critical model of heritage education.

Both projects stressed the idea of memory as a means of re-signifying places, subjectivising them in the form of landscape and opening up processes of heritage identification.

Following the model of categorisation and coding employed with the reflections of the trainee teachers in the university class (see Table 1), the work produced in the primary classroom was analysed as follows: Observation Diaries for action 1 A and B (D1A and D1B); for action 1 C and D (D1C y D1D), and for action 2 A and B (D2A and D2B); Recordings for action 1 (R1.1 and R1.2); Work produced by individuals/groups in action 1 (aa, ab, ac / ga, gb, gc) and 2 (a1, a2, a3 / g1, g2, g3), without specifying the school year.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Discovering to Think, Thinking to Take Action: Results From the University Classroom

Assessment of the Work Method

1. Discovery learning was assessed. The work carried out about the surrounding area making use of memory generated greater interest in the topic, connecting it with the present.

The methodology [of discovery learning] ... seemed very interesting and appropriate ... it enabled us to reflect on our surroundings and awakened a curiosity to know more ... dealing with the topic by putting a face to the victims makes you reflect on the injustices and appreciate the current situation. (A38)

It was totally constructivist, by means of a guided discovery. (GQ)

As a future teacher, I will try to help my pupils to develop meaningful learning via discovery. I will teach them to select what interests them and to build their own ideas to manifest to society. (S1)

Individual reflection was encouraged, along with investigation into local contexts.

I evaluate the method positively ... thanks to the concerns which arise within us, we think and reflect in our homes, it makes us want to know more. (A52)

Dealing with this topic made us think a lot, awakening a deep interest. (GB)

We were given a research activity to do ... we went into the street as a group to ask people about the big hotel ... I think it was a good idea ... I liked the idea of investigating by ourselves, actively participating in what we are learning about. (P60)

This model was adopted as an example of a future model of teaching.

I wanted a subject in which I could enjoy what I was listening to and learning ... one which reminded me why I am studying to become a teacher ... I was able to fill myself with ideas for my future career. (A2)

2. Traditional models were rejected, opting instead for the model adopted in the experiment.

I am going to do everything possible so that, in the future, my classes will be immersed in processes which reject the methodology of transmission-reception, where conflicts are taken advantage of as a tool for learning and the opinion of the children is heard. (A2)

I think it is of no use to take a textbook to class. (S2)

If we forgot about textbooks ... the results would be better. (P25)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

The idea of tackling conflictive issues was valued highly.

The view that I was taught at school of these events was the traditional narrative in which there were two sides fighting, no mention was made of ideas. The victims were treated as mere numbers, setting to one side people's feelings and trivialising the barbarity which marked the present of thousands of people and which continues to leave its mark on our society. (A3)

It is really sad that this remains hidden ... justified by the political stability brought about by the transition to democracy. (GH)

3. The balanced use of new technologies was supported.

New technologies offer us many educational resources, but it is necessary to know how to select and use them ... We must develop an active, critical and realistic attitude towards technology, understanding its strengths and weaknesses and respecting ethical principles in its use. (A62)

4. Importance was attached to participating actively in the learning process as a means for quality teaching.

Teacher training faculties need to employ these methodologies, methods and guidance for us to know how to transmit these types of educational methods and include them in our teaching. (A2)

It is sad that we get to university without knowing anything about the victims. (GE)

We are continually being told that we have to do meaningful activities with the children to deal with topics in class. This experiment has been a great example of how we can do that. (P21)

5. Knowing about collaborative teaching experiments from previous years was appreciated as they served as inspiration.

... they gave me hope, I wanted to be in their place ... empathy, I liked what they had done ... seeing two students involved in and committed to their work. (A6)

[M and P's proposal] was in no way inferior to those of any professional teacher. (A39)

Assessment of Working with Sources

6. The use of sources and alternative resources was valued as a means of acquiring solid knowledge.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

With the sources ... I could see myself reflected in the eyes of that girl with the shaven head and I could feel the sadness felt by that mother when she read her son's letter in which he said goodbye to her because the day he would be shot was approaching. (A2)

I would teach this topic in class using films, songs, poems ... anything which connects emotionally with the children, which will make them think and encourage them to go on learning. (S16)

... we can use other sources of information, from which we can obtain a large amount of data about historical events. (P22)

7. Traditional resources were rejected, particularly the dominance of textbooks, which do not promote a critical reflection on the contents.

Closed texts, such as textbooks, lead us to become unable to think about or reflect on a topic. Rather, we accept the truth which we are presented with without questioning it, accepting a neutral position or a truth which, in reality, is not true. (A57)

None of the materials we are used to seeing in school could better relate what these people narrated with their tears. (GQ)

We are tired of the typical history class in which the teacher reads from the book and the children listen ... then they have to memorise what is in the textbook and regurgitate it in an exam ... it is of no use to them. (P45)

8. The use of oral sources was highlighted due to their capacity for establishing an empathic connection with the topic, resorting to the memories of their elders.

My great-grandfather went to the war with his two brothers, but I didn't really appreciate what it meant. After doing this subject, one day I sat down with my grandmother and grandfather and asked them to tell me about it ... some episodes which my family experienced related with the history of Spain. (A41)

We used the oral sources to immerse ourselves in the story ... It was interesting for me to work on a subject like this ... it is essential to transmit memory within the family. (P69)

9. The importance of presenting their future pupils with their surrounding area was emphasized as a way of getting to know it, thinking critically about it and reclaiming it.

Classes should be closely linked with the surroundings; children must know about the place where they live in order to be critical agents in the future who stand up for its rights and can protect the heritage which surrounds them. (A32)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Taking advantage of the surrounding area to explore outside of the classroom, seeing places which we have passed by hundreds of times but whose history we are not aware of. (S10)

After learning the hidden history of the Gran Hotel (a former site for executions) I will look at the area around me from a different point of view. It is interesting to know what used to be there and what happened in the place where you live. (P3)

Assessment of an Alternative Model of Education in the Social Sciences

Students were asked to reflect on the role of the teacher which should, necessarily, be oriented towards an education in values and attitudes.

The most important thing is to understand the problems of society today, to adapt them to the classroom, to the surrounding area, to learn about different points of view, to draw conclusions in a critical way, to have an open mind and to go on learning good values ... If I manage this someday, I will be satisfied. (A40)

... to improve the ethical and civic education of the future. (S21)

The future of a society lies in the respect among its members, in justice, equality and freedom. And what better tribute to all those who died due to the barbarity of the war than to remember them ... and to try to work towards peace and coexistence. (P27)

10. The idea of educating with the aim of promoting critical social attitudes, leading to a fairer society, was emphasized.

Children must know about their past in order to understand the present and fight for a better future ... one in which the rights to freedom, equality, justice, tolerance and hope for all humanity are respected. (A33)

... acquiring a greater social conscience and critical thinking. (GQ)

We will show them images of what the surrounding area looked like after the war, the explosions, the poverty (for some) and the hunger. We must instil in them from the beginning that reaching that point can never be an option. (P31)

The students reflected on the need to develop a critical professional competence in the primary teaching degree.

One of the most serious problems of education is that recently qualified teachers totally lack a critical conscience ... we need more classes and more teachers to awaken the conscience of future teachers. (A61)

11. A key role was attributed to the active participation of primary schoolchildren.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

We have to change our methodology, to give an active and participatory role to the pupils in the activities which we propose. This will lead to an extremely positive evolution in their education. They will feel what they are doing, get involved and, above all, learn. (A28)

I would ask the children what they know ... tell them to investigate their surroundings ... I would take them to discover places ... to talks. (S9)

An interesting way to introduce the topic in class would be to make them investigate on their own initiative. (P21)

12. The idea of teaching history based on events, dates and leading figures was rejected and value was given to counter-history and the emotions which it brings forth.

History is not only made by the great political leaders, kings and powerful people ... it does not consist of medals, battles won or lost or borders. History is made by people of all classes and conditions, it consists of tales of valour, love, disobedience, friendship, solidarity, hate, frustration, suffering, impotence ... History is emotion. And all of these things must be taught in the classroom. (A32)

Children must know about the hidden events ... they must see the usefulness of history ... We were taught to memorise a lot and to feel little ... they must put themselves in the shoes of the victims ... and understand that it is in their hands to ensure that these things never happen again. (GG)

It is unrealistic for children to know all the [episodes] of the history of our country, but to hide part of it from them ... is unthinkable to me. (P2)

History was not conceived of without memory and the students empathised with the victims.

A different type of history teaching can be carried out in which justice is truly done to those who fought for this world to be a little better. Memory is entirely necessary to ... make society aware and to ensure they are not forgotten. (A39)

As a future teacher, I am sure that ... the uncertain past only serves to open the wounds more and that memory must be responsible for closing them. (S1)

... the pupils must empathise with the difficulties of that time and realise that ... people died unjustly, [empathise] with the dark times experienced by Spanish society. (P64)

13. The learning process in the field of social sciences was reviewed. Many of the students considered themselves to be victims of the system.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Throughout my education, the social sciences ... did not stimulate a critical opinion, they did not give rise to reflection. Rather, they quashed any kind of individual thinking ... I consider that I was just another product of our education system. (A9)

Over the course of our school years, we did not receive a decent history education ... focused on what was lost, but on who won and recognising who were the victims. (S11)

The notions that we have on the topic [the Spanish Civil War] are minimal ... because when we came into contact with it, all we had to do was to memorise concepts. (P25)

Assessment of the Development of a Critical Conscience

14. Acquiring the capacity for critical thinking was considered essential for teaching primary children.

If we want our pupils to become active citizens with a critical conscience ... who are not satisfied with what society imposes upon them, we need critical and active teachers. (A2)

We have to encourage our pupils to ask questions, to show an interest in learning, in wanting to gain knowledge ... but if we want this to happen, first of all, it is us, the teachers, that have to be critical in our knowledge. (S23)

We, the next generation of teachers, must treat it [the topic of the Civil War] as one more part of our history, we must understand it and reflect critically on it. (P59)

15. It was considered necessary for primary pupils to develop the capacity to think critically.

The pupils should think about the things that occurred in society, they should put themselves in the place of others and be critical, they should ask questions and, due to this, create their own personality ... and not let themselves be manipulated. (A10)

We should give them information about what happened at that time and let them choose their position ... we must open their minds. (S8)

Schoolchildren should have this type of knowledge in order to develop critical thinking about the issue and not simply look at it superficially. (P59)

16. The idea of the validity of the pupils' critical conscience was defended as an element of social transformation.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Our explanations have to spread ... By infecting our pupils, they will spread their desire for change in their homes, to their neighbours, to the surrounding villages ... Until we achieve the eradication of violence and injustice from the education system. (A2)

I think that after studying this topic in class, the pupils will go home and ask their families about it. (S12)

Assessment of Historical Memory in the Classroom

17. Interest was shown in hidden memory, highlighting its value in a democratic society and its possible significance at school.

A society without memory, which does not want to remember or preserve the past, is condemned to failure and will be an ignorant society with no prospects. (A30)

The memory of those that suffered both directly and indirectly is extremely important. (S1)

I know it is hard to speak about the permanent scars left by the Civil War in Spanish society, but it is necessary. (P14)

18. The students expressed their conviction about teaching conflictive issues in their future professional activity as a means of guaranteeing a more democratic citizenship.

After studying this subject and becoming familiar with this type of history topic, I would love to carry out a project based on a similar topic, with a format which is attractive for the pupils, one which gets their attention and interests them and leads them to ask questions about historical, social and political events. (A32)

I think this topic should not be allowed to be ignored and should be dealt with in class so that children are aware of the suffering and injustice which took place in our country, ensuring that they will not allow it to happen again. (S13)

The Spanish Civil War is a complex issue ... even so, I consider that it is important to tackle it in the classroom. (P66)

This conviction led the trainee teachers to reflect on their own training and a desire to improve.

I would be able to do it, but first I would have to learn a lot about what happened and gain knowledge which I currently lack ... I am sure that if I prepare the lessons well, I could do it. (A23)

19. Emotion and empathy were highlighted as two fundamental pillars for solid learning which will last over time.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

I was able to understand the reality of an era, I could see myself reflected in the eyes of that girl with the shaven head and I could feel the sadness felt by that mother when she read her son's letter in which he said goodbye to her because the day he would be shot was approaching. (A2)

The project awakened an interest in me to know more and a motivation to learn about what I had not previously experienced. (S8)

We can recreate situations ... how the anti-Francoists that escaped lived so that children can understand what took place in the War and the post-war period. (P24)

Assessment of a New Dimension of Heritage

20. The view of heritage exclusively focused on elements of monumental, aesthetic or symbolic value was rejected and a greater importance was attributed to other elements of minimal institutional significance but with possible social value.

We were always told that heritage consisted of monuments and highly valued assets ... which are used as points of reference or symbols ... with no value in the present ... without looking at the ideas, feelings and values which are hidden within them. (A53)

21. Victims and the sites of their victimisation were considered to be elements of heritage.

The victims and the sites of their victimisation could be considered as heritage ... If these victims fought for a better future, which I enjoy today, I can identify with them and consider them as my own, they can be heritage. (A57)

It is all well and good organising events to remember victims, but it is not enough because the new generations do not know the history behind the plaques. (GO)

... being aware of our heritage and giving it the importance which so many victims deserve, whose lives were destroyed by inhumane and irrational acts. (P17)

Places known to the students, which had previously gone unnoticed, gained significance.

I read a report about the concentration camp in Arnao. I spend all my weekends in that area and had never heard it mentioned ... Now it means something to me, I relate it with the people of my area, their suffering, the feelings they had, and I even relate it with what I am now and what I want to be in the future. (A4)

We learned to really look at Lugo ... we discovered its hidden memory ... which is not half as recognised as that of its glorious Roman past. (GN)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Investigating the hidden cemetery under the foundations of the present-day hotel was an extremely positive experience because we could see how the area had changed and that history is all around us in these places. (P19)

22. The role of school in demonstrating the value of this nearby heritage and its recovery was re-evaluated.

I believe that school plays an exceptional role in relation to historical memory and should make children aware of this type of intangible heritage, seen from the perspective of the emotions. (A18)

As a future teacher, I cannot change what occurred but what I can do is change the way in which the topic of the Civil War is taught at school. (S19)

... school must be ... a forum for critical debate and not a place related with repression and the silencing of the people. (P1)

It was understood that the pupils' perspective of heritage could be broadened, re-signifying local elements and groups of people.

If we manage to get children emotionally involved in history and to empathise with the victims, by introducing them to execution sites, they may take these sites in as their own heritage and act so that the passing of time does not condemn what happened there to oblivion. (A35)

Assessment of Educational Limitations

23. The students considered that their families and colleagues could be an obstacle to innovative projects related with controversial topics. However, they did not consider this obstacle to be insurmountable.

Such topics are delicate and not everyone shares the same point of view ... families and colleagues are often the first to put obstacles to such projects. However, I consider that if the project is well thought out and explained coherently ... it is also possible to sensitise these people. (A3)

It is a taboo issue which will make families uncomfortable. (S4)

I don't understand why some people say this should not be taught at primary school ... the issue is not what certain people want or don't want ... but rather the way in which it is taught. (P57)

24. The possibility of meeting opposition to working on such topics due to the young age of the pupils was considered.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

... there are no topics which are inappropriate for small children. The only thing which is not appropriate is the way in which they are sometimes taught. We have seen a lot of material ... which can enable us to teach whatever we want to schoolchildren without causing them any trauma, as many people think. (A31)

People think that the children are not old enough ... that the teachers should be doing other things. (S2)

This topic cannot be taught in the same way to children in the 1st year as to those in the 6th year ... but a simple register can be employed ... and in higher years it can be looked at in more detail. (P13)

25. The students agreed that the only limitation to carrying out committed teaching was professional competence.

We are the main problem ... we should ... think more about the children's needs and try to make the rest of the staff understand the need to adopt this critical model of education. (A16)

If the teacher is convinced of the whys and wherefores, it will be very easy to defend its application. (S5)

26. The idea of a form of teaching requiring a greater degree of effort and training was defended.

We have to make a big effort and with good training we will be able to achieve everything that we propose ... with enthusiasm and effort it can be done. (A50)

We would have to start by looking for information about possible sites near the school in order to bring the topic to an area they can relate to, I would take them on trips. (S9)

I have never been fully aware of this topic, merely because I was never told about it until I found out about it in a book. (P21)

Assessment of Collaborative Work

27. The experience of carrying out collaborative work on the subject was evaluated positively. It was considered to be a method requiring more effort but one which provided greater satisfaction.

Working in groups is the most rewarding and satisfying thing I have done during my degree ... sharing opinions and feelings and transmitting them as a group, setting ourselves a challenge. (A27)

Collaborative work was considered to be the best way to guarantee better academic and social results.

Working as part of a team is essential in our profession, with our colleagues and with our pupils ... transferred to real life [teamwork] avoids individualism and draws us closer to a communal and global view of life, one in which nobody is left behind. (A6)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

28. The students expressed their desire to use collaborative work in their future careers.

Once I have finished my degree ... I think that it would be a method that I would use, not only for the social sciences but in all subjects. (A59)

We must have the courage to unite. Although there will be just one of us in each school, we must support each other so that we can change things step by step. (S10)

Discovering to Take Action, Taking Action to Transform: Results in the Primary Classroom

The positive evaluation given by the trainee teachers regarding the benefits of a committed model of education has been corroborated in their teaching practice in primary schools. In order to verify this, the capacity to generate innovative teaching integrated in the places of the surrounding areas and developing cognitive and social competences among their pupils have been assessed.

Capacity to Generate and Reinforce a Framework of Innovation

The students were able to design complex projects on the victims of 1936 and their memory, both in terms of methodology and subject matter, with a heritage orientation aimed at the re-signifying of victims and the sites of their victimisation in the surrounding area.

To speak of memory ... is to speak of a kind of history which is silenced at school, one with no references when it comes to teaching it ... it should be based on an immediate context, which is significant for the pupils. (D1C)

They referred to heritage landmarks close to the school, which are disconnected from the community.

Ah! It's that enormous building which is falling down, isn't it? (a2)

My parents have never taken me to the monastery, they say there's nothing to see there. (a5)

They applied a discovery learning method and collaborative work, supported by their own experience at university.

A connection is established between the classroom and the surroundings, leading the children to take ownership of these sites. (D1D)

The pupils add value to the sites in a cooperative way. (D1B)

A prior investigation about the surrounding area was designed collaboratively ... looking for resources connected with the memory of the extermination carried out in 1936 against the community. (D1A)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Competence was shown in the use of sources and resources, generating new dynamics in the classroom and reinforcing emotional aspects.

I told them that the first thing they had to do was to put away their textbooks and notebooks ... they were surprised and confused. (D2A)

The photographs of the 2nd Republic showed joy, happiness and freedom. Those of the coup ... obedience, fear, respect, sadness, humiliation. (D2A)

They gave importance to oral sources, including those closest to home, appealing to the emotions.

Whilst preparing this route, the oral sources were essential ... Within this research, I was able to learn about a part of my heritage, the cousin of my great-grandmother, a republican mayor ... detained and shot because of his ideas. (D2A)

The images which we had talked about in class had to be complemented by the opinions of their families and neighbours. (D1A)

The use of closed contents and activities was rejected, reinforcing the idea of a critical education as a means of integrating memory and history.

After telling them about the harsh experiences of a local person, silence fell over the class. (D2B)

It's not a matter of laying a foundation for it to be forgotten. Rather, we must teach them that ... there are lessons which are learned by working and from children we can learn that we only have to let them speak. All we have to do is listen to them. (D1B)

They planned educational trips, establishing a relationship between the place and the traumatic memory.

We went into the prisoners' area ... a cold, damp room ... It was an incredible moment to experience with the children ... all we had to do was to close our eyes and imagine the thousands of people who had passed thorough this place. (D2A)

They showed a capacity to include other members of the community.

One of the mothers came to tell the story of her grandparents during the Francoist repression. (D1C)

The parish priest was critical of the Church during the dictatorship. He mentioned that there were priests who collaborated with the regime ... there were a few leftist priests who resisted as best they could. (D1C)

One local told the children about her experiences as a girl among the prisoners. (D2B)

They promoted initiatives which gave them professional satisfaction.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

When I saw A. taking notes on what the local woman was saying about the monastery ... I asked him why ... His answer was "so I can tell my mum" ... That showed that it was worth all the effort. (D2B)

They learned to overcome the initial mistrust of their teaching practice tutors.

My tutor, a senior teacher, asked about the topic ... because it creates conflict. (D1B)

He asked about the project but never questioned it. (D1A)

They were able to integrate pupils who normally show no interest in their education or those with special needs which lessen their capacity of attention.

L. used drawing as an escape valve, taking an active role both in class and in his work group. (D2A)

Some children had difficulties doing activities in other subjects but when drama was used, they stood out due to their participation and the quality of their performances. (DIC)

Children diagnosed with ADHD ... showed much more interest ... They saw that their contributions were valued and became more motivated. (DIC)

Capacity to Generate Competences in Primary Schoolchildren

The primary children were captivated from the outset, leading them to question their prior learning.

Has the class finished already? That was quick! (a5)

Can't we do things like this in other subjects? (a4)

What we did in social sciences before was really boring. These topics were interesting for us. (a7)

They stimulated autonomous research in the surrounding area.

F. arrived wanting to tell me that he had gone with his mother to the site of the mass grave in the cemetery. (D2A)

G. brought a book and a documentary about the Jesuit school ... for his classmates to see. He had already seen them. (D2A)

Others did not have the opportunity to speak to family members, but they looked for information on the Internet. (D2B)

They motivated their pupils to transform leisure time into learning time. In Action 1, they decided to rehearse the play in break times, and, in Action 2, they planned a trip to the monastery on a Friday afternoon.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

We had to find a good time to visit it, but none of the teachers wanted to “waste their time”. When we explained the situation to the pupils, they suggested going on the trip on a Friday afternoon. It is difficult to describe the excitement and enthusiasm that they showed. (D2B)

In many cases, they detected banal representations of the Civil War and of heritage, considering certain elements valuable due to the number of visitors. They showed the capacity to generate new perceptions and reflections via the experiences of the pupils themselves.

How can that old building have anything to do with us? (a7)

After investigating and visiting the memorial, the pupils unanimously decided to choose it as the monument which best represented their town. (D1A)

Before, I thought it would just be a stone like any other, but now I know that it represents an important moment in history. (R1.1/ad)

They promoted empathy towards silenced stories and awakened the capacity of being moved by them.

During the visit ... they expressed an interest in getting to know the place and the life led by the prisoners. (D2B)

... became emotional, even shedding tears and asking “That teacher could have been you, couldn’t he? (D2A)

I remember that I investigated how the teacher was killed ... It wasn’t just an injustice, it also made me very afraid. (ad)

They generated enthusiasm for autonomous work with new resources, giving value to the oral sources in which a form of education based on empathy could be found.

The children accepted the challenge of rebuilding the story through images with a great deal of emotion. (D2A)

The story told by the pupil’s grandmother surprised all the class. The repercussion was so great that they decided to write it on the blackboard and to leave it there permanently. Then, they decided to write it down in their notebooks so they wouldn’t forget it. (D1A)

They succeeded in making group work a permanent demand of their pupils.

They wanted to carry on applying the method beyond the completion of the contents ... in part due to the cooperative initiatives. (D1C)

We’re going to play a team game without it being a competition. (ga)

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

They fostered a higher degree of camaraderie, leaning on the topic being studied and the group dynamics.

They were not keen on working together. However, with the group work and the performance of the play, the situation changed. In the rehearsals, a connection was formed between the two year groups ... to the point that, at the end of the play, they shouted "Hurray for the 5th and 6th years!" (D1C/D)

They managed to develop civic attitudes towards the surrounding areas, fostering a higher degree of identification with them.

What could we do to protect our area? ... They decided to create a vigilante patrol ... They started a voluntary project ... during break times to pick up litter and raise awareness of the problem ... They were prepared to miss their breaks when it was their turn ... they saw it as a way of learning and playing. (D1A)

They managed to encourage the appropriation and recovery of certain places of memory.

I would love it if a lot of people supported the idea of its renovation but not everybody knows what it feels like to know that someone important for you was there. (a4)

It should be renovated ... so that when people go in, they can see what it was like before and know that a lot of people suffered there and how they lived ... They have to be aware of how many people would like to visit that place but can't because it is closed. (g3)

I think that they should put a plaque in the playground saying what that building used to be so that everyone that goes there can know. (a1)

A lot of people from the town studied there and it used to be a concentration camp. (g5)

Although it is almost forgotten, it should be a very important place for everyone. (g4)

If someone came from outside, I would show them the memorial before any other monument because it shows that people were killed unjustly. (R1.1/ae)

They managed to make the pupils identify with the victims and with the sites of their victimisation.

It represents the events and the people of the town, as it was these people that were killed. For me, it represents something significant which happened in the past. (R1.1/ag)

It is right that the people that died unjustly be remembered. (ae)

They encouraged the dissemination of the learning as a means of social transformation.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

I would tell them that when Franco ruled, many people were killed and that this shouldn't have happened ... I would tell the story of our people. (R1.1/ag)

We cannot lose this. We have to write a book about it or tell people about it somehow. (R1.1/ac)

We would tell others about the terrible events which took place there. (g6)

They got their pupils to relate the lessons of the past with lessons for the present, taking in the importance of human rights and social justice.

One pupil decided to speak to add the following idea: the people that appear in the pictures may have had homes, but they had to leave them because the war was going on around them and the houses were being bombed. That's why they had to escape. (R1.1/af)

They have to be let in, because we are all human beings, and anyone can have problems and need the help of others. (R1.1/ad)

They are coming to escape from war, not to hurt anyone. (R1.1/ac)

Some are sad because they have no freedom, while others are happy because they do. (D1.1)

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When trainee teachers work with controversial topics, they come into contradiction with their own representations of how to understand the past, which have been ingrained throughout their own primary and secondary education. This occurs in two ways. First of all, they become fully aware of their lack of knowledge regarding the victims and the barbarity of the Francoist regime beginning in 1936. In their prior reconstruction of these events, there was merely a political and military conflict with two opposing sides; one the winner and the other the loser. Secondly, they discover the extent of the neglect and lack of remembrance, which allows them to exercise a credible settling of accounts with the past (Cuesta, 2007). They have appropriated the concept of counter-memory, employing it as a new way to analyse the past and the present and to reflect on their own memory. This may consist of researching their own family history or questioning their past education, by comparing the methodologies which they are discovering with what they have previously experienced. This situation is also evident when they transfer their practices to their primary school pupils. Children of 9 to 11 years of age come to develop a certain level of critical thinking about the past by converting sterile contents into reflections via emotion and empathy with the victims. The trainee teachers have noted the construction of the present on a hidden past, with a memory which has been stolen. They assume a model of school history which is more humanised, developing social values and attitudes based on the defence of universal human rights.

The trainee teachers confer value on everyday places which have previously passed unnoticed in their surroundings, transforming them into points of reference by integrating within them hidden memories and their own experiences. As a consequence, in their teaching activity they reclaim the memory of places close to the schools in which they work. Their activities could be framed within Place-Based Educa-

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

tion, which encourages teachers to plan and put into practice educational projects with transversal civic objectives, establishing an emotional connection between the learners and their local area (Gruenewald, 2003; Gruenewald & Smith, 2007). They became aware of the educational possibilities of this type of work, transmitting it to their pupils, who ended up adopting it in the same way. They were able to understand that, extending beyond their aesthetic values and their institutional recognition, it was possible to establish a positive relationship with them, to the extent that a greater degree of social involvement was assumed (McInerney, Smyth & Down, 2011).

The trainee teachers were able to broaden their own concept of heritage by re-signifying places and heritage elements from new dimensions. In their educational designs, constructed via collaborative investigation, they conferred on places close to their pupils a value which joined together the past and the present, in order to generate processes of identification and heritage appropriation. The primary children understand that these new places (which were hidden) take on new meaning as they are taught critically, as has also been observed in other studies (Estepa & Martín, 2018; Domínguez-Almansa & Riveiro-Rodríguez, 2017). They want to learn more as a way of doing justice to a past which they consider to be unacceptable. They contribute towards establishing a greater degree of citizen involvement and an ethic of caring for their surroundings (Smith, 2007), which become new heritage, based on the recovery of the memory which must be preserved. The work on the monolith and the former concentration and death camps was not traumatic for the schoolchildren. Rather, it proved to be a means of broadening their understanding of heritage based on human rights.

Several successive cohorts of trainee teachers have reflected on a critical teaching method which obliges civic involvement and a greater level of professional competence in the handling of a broad range of resources. In this process of sensitisation regarding their own professional role, a revision of their own history education has taken place. Upon remembering themselves as primary and secondary schoolchildren, subjected to the forced memorisation of a history devoid of emotion and empathy, they sympathised with their future pupils and, as a consequence, showed a greater degree of responsibility in approaching their education. Furthermore, they were able to verify that by transferring what they had learned to their teaching practice with primary children, similar experiences were reproduced. Their pupils were moved by this history with memory, which they could see come alive in the places around them and about which they aspired to tell their communities as a way of fighting against oblivion. In order to achieve this, the method employed was fundamental due to the fact that competence and method become key aspects when working with controversial topics. The experiments in the teacher training classes and in the primary classroom showed the value of discovery learning and the benefits of collaborative work (Johnson & Johnson, 2009). Compared with an individualistic education system, collaborative work, guided by teachers (van Leeuwen & Janssen, 2019) has fostered better interpersonal relationships, greater interest in learning, more solid knowledge and better abilities in terms of information seeking and problem solving.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Certain aspects could be advanced by future research. The sample obtained from the teacher training degree was significant, although it would be interesting to implement a greater number of case studies in primary schools in order to see whether these results are confirmed in other contexts. It would also be interesting, within this line of history with memory and counter-memory, to incorporate more recent

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

topics, such as the transition to democracy in Spain, not only due to its greater proximity in time, but also because it is still in living memory. The political success of this period should not hide serious infringements of human rights and the imbalance between victims and perpetrators. In this regard, it would be wise, as has been done in this study, to establish a link between educational innovation and historical research which delves into hidden memory.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown, it is possible to establish a new education model which enables trainee teachers to generate new dynamics in the classroom and to promote social and civic competences among their pupils. The more the teachers questioned their own model of learning, the more they considered themselves capable of integrating alternative resources concerning controversial issues into their teaching. Upon feeling actively and emotionally invested in this new model, their vocation to put it into practice in the classroom was reinforced. They proved that they were capable of critically reviewing their own history education and implementing a different model integrating places and memory in the classroom. They understood that it was necessary to investigate the local area in order to offer better quality sources and educational resources. In this context, the need to design innovative proposals which would motivate primary-age children was understood. It has been shown that such projects can indeed be taught, and that they multiply the competences of trainee teachers, as well as the cognitive and civic capacities of primary schoolchildren. This accumulation of experiences, supported by the benefits of collaborative work, has enabled the re-signification and appropriation, by means of reason and emotion, of everyday places and landscapes via new, more critical and socially responsible perspectives, which do not avoid conflict, as a tool for generating ethical and more socially accepted consensuses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research has been supported by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness and by ERDF funds. It is part of the COMDEMO project [EDU2015-65621-C3-1-R] Social competences for a democratic citizenship: analysis, development and assessment.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. W. (1998). *Educación para la emancipación*. Madrid, Spain: Morata.
- Aguilar, P. (2008). Transitional or Post-transitional Justice? Recent Developments in the Spanish Case. *South European Society & Politics*, 13(4), 417–433. doi:10.1080/13608740902735000
- Aguilar, P., Balcells, L., & Cebolla Boado, H. (2011). Determinants of Attitudes Toward Transitional Justice: An Empirical Analysis of the Spanish Case. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(10), 1397–1430. doi:10.1177/0010414011407468

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Aguilar, P., & Ferrandiz, F. (2016). Memory, media and spectacle: Interview's portrayal of Civil War exhumations in the early years of Spanish democracy. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 17(1), 1–25. doi:10.1080/14636204.2015.1135599

Álvarez Junco, J. (2007). Prólogo. In M. Carretero (Ed.), *Documentos de Identidad. La construcción de la memoria histórica en un mundo global* (pp. 11–16). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Arias, L., Egea, A., Sánchez, R., Domínguez, J., García, F. J., & Miralles, P. (2019). ¿Historia olvidada o historia no enseñada? El alumnado de Secundaria español y su conocimiento sobre la Guerra Civil. *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 30(2), 461–478.

Ballart, J. (2001). *El patrimonio histórico y arqueológico: valor y uso*. Barcelona, Spain: Ariel.

Carretero, M. (2007). *Documentos de Identidad. La construcción de la memoria histórica en un mundo global*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Paidós.

Cuenca López, J., Estepa Giménez, J., & Martín Cáceres, M. J. (2017). Heritage, education, identity and citizenship. Teachers and textbooks in compulsory education. *Review of Education*, 375, 136–159.

Cuesta, R. (2007). La enseñanza de la historia como contramemoria crítica. In S. Leoné & F. Mendiola (Coords.). *Voces e imágenes en la historia. Fuentes orales y visuales: investigación histórica y renovación pedagógica* (pp. 151–184). Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra.

Cuesta, R. (2011). Historia con memoria y didáctica crítica. *Con-ciencia social: anuario de didáctica de la geografía, la historia y las ciencias sociales*, 15, 15–30.

Cuesta, R. (2014). Genealogía y cambio conceptual: Educación, historia y memoria, *Archivos analíticos de políticas educativas*, 22.

Cuesta, R. (2015). La venganza de la memoria y las paradojas de la historia. Salamanca, Spain: Llulo.com.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London, UK: Sage.

Domínguez Almansa, A., & López Facal, R. (2016). Invisible landscapes-heritage in conflict: memories of the Spanish Civil War: elementary education and teacher training. *International Journal of Historical Learning. Teaching and Research*, 14(1), 55–66.

Domínguez Almansa, A., & López Facal, R. (2017). Patrimonios en conflicto, competencias cívicas y formación profesional en educación primaria. *Review of Education*, 375, 86–109.

Domínguez Almansa, A., & López Facal, R. (2017). Teacher training and Heritage education. *Estudios Pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, 43(4), 46–68.

Domínguez Almansa, A., & Riveiro Rodríguez, T. (2017). Lo emocional y lo racional en la enseñanza de las ciencias sociales. In R. López Facal, P. Miralles, & J. Prats (Eds.), *Enseñanza de la historia y competencias educativas* (pp. 49–66). Barcelona: Graó.

Domínguez Almansa, A., & Santiago Arnos, B. (2014). La respuesta está en el viento: reflexión para una nueva docencia de la Guerra Civil. In L. Fernández Prieto & A. Artiaga (Eds.), *Otras miradas sobre golpe, guerra y dictadura. Historia para un pasado incómodo* (pp. 300–322). Madrid: La catarata.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative Methods in Research on Teaching. In M. Wittrockk (Comp.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (pp. 119–161). New York: MacMillan.

Estepa, J., & Martín, M. (2018). Competencia en conciencia y expresiones culturales y educación histórica: patrimonios en conflicto y pensamiento crítico. In P. Miralles, & C. J. Gómez-Carrasco (Eds.), *La educación histórica ante el reto de las competencias: métodos, recursos y enfoques de enseñanza* (pp. 75–86). Barcelona: Octaedro Editorial.

Feliu Torruella, M., & Hernández Cardona, F. X. (2013). *Didáctica de la Guerra Civil española*. Barcelona, Spain: Graó.

Ferrandiz, F. (2010). De las fosas comunes a los Derechos Humanos: El descubrimiento de las desapariciones forzadas en la España contemporánea. *Revista de Antropología Social*, 19, 161–189.

Flick, U. (2007). *Designing Qualitative Research*. London, UK: Sage Publications. doi:10.4135/9781849208826

Fontal Merillas, O. (2003). *La educación patrimonial. Teoría y práctica en el aula, el museo e internet*. Gijón, Spain: Trea.

Gassiot Ballbe, E., & Steadman, D. W. (2008). The Political, Social and Scientific Contexts of Archaeological Investigations of Mass Graves in Spain. *Archaeologies*, 4(3), 429–444. doi:10.1007/11759-008-9081-9

Gildea, R. (2015). *Fighters in the shadows: a new history of the French resistance*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. doi:10.4159/9780674496132

Giroux, H. A., & McLaren, P. (1986). Teacher-Education and the Politics of Engagement. The Case for Democratic Schooling. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(3), 213–238. doi:10.17763/haer.56.3.trr1473235232320

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. USA: Aldine Transaction.

González Monfort, N. (2007). *L'ús didactic i el valor educatiu del patrimoni cultural* [doctoral thesis]. tesisenred.net.

Gruenewald, D. A. (2003). The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical pedagogy of Place. *Educational Researcher*, 32(4), 3–12. doi:10.3102/0013189X032004003

Gruenewald, D. A., & Smith, G. A. (Eds.). (2017). *Place-based education in the global age: Local diversity*. New York: Psychology Press.

Habermas, J. (1992). Ciudadanía e identidad nacional: Consideraciones sobre el futuro europeo. *Debats*, 39, 11–17.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (2009). An educational psychology success story: Social interdependence theory and cooperative learning. *Educational Researcher*, 38(5), 365–379. doi:10.3102/0013189X09339057

Johnston, M. (2006). The lamp and the mirror. Action Research and Self Studies in the Social Studies. In K. C. Barton (Ed.), *Research Methods in Social Studies Education. Contemporary Issues and Perspectives. A volume in Research in Social Education* (pp. 57–83). Greenwich: Information Age Publishing.

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

Kerr, D., & Huddleston, T. (2016). *La enseñanza de temas controvertidos*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte.

Loewen, J. W. (1995). *Lies my Teacher Told me. Everything your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

López Facal, R. (2011). Aprender de los conflictos. *Íber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 69, 5-7.

López Facal, R. (2016). La “historia con memoria” como herramienta de futuro. *Con-ciencia social*, 20, 151-155.

Lowe, K. (2017). *The Fear and the Freedom: How the Second World War Changed Us*. UK: Penguin Random House.

Lucas, L. (2017). *La enseñanza del patrimonio y de la ciudadanía en las clases de Ciencias Sociales. Un estudio de caso en ESO [tesis doctoral]*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva.

Mate, R. (2003). *Auschwitz. Actualidad moral y política*. Madrid: Trotta.

McInerney, P., John Smyth, J., & Barry Down, B. (2011). ‘Coming to a place near you?’ The politics and possibilities of a critical pedagogy of place-based education. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 39(1), 3–16. doi:10.1080/1359866X.2010.540894

Paula González, M. (2008). Memoria, historia reciente y escuela. Notas sobre el caso argentino. *Íber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 55, 54-62.

Rees, L. (2001). *Horror in the East: The Japanese at War 1931-1945*. London, UK: BBC Books.

Riveiro Rodríguez, T., Domínguez Almansa, A., & López Facal, R. (in press). “Place-Based Education” en la formación del profesorado. Resignificar los lugares próximos. In Enseñar y aprender didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales: la formación del profesorado desde una perspectiva sociocrítica. 30 Simposio Internacional de Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales. Lisbon, Portugal: AUPDCS.

Smith, G. A., & Sobel, D. (2014). *Place and community-based education in schools*. New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203858530

Sobel, D. (2004). Place-based education: Connecting classroom and community. *Nature and Listening*, 4(1), 1–7.

Stake, R. E. (1994). Case Study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 236–247). London, UK: Sage.

Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools*. New York: The Falmer Press.

Trinidad, A., Carrero, V., & Soriano, R. M. (2006). *Teoría fundamentada. “Grounded Theory”*. *La construcción de la teoría a través del análisis interpretacional*. Cuadernos Metodológicos, 37.

United Nations. (2014). Informe del Grupo de Trabajo sobre las Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias. Recovered from: http://www.congreso.es/docu/docum/ddocum/dosieres/sleg/legislatura_12/spl_24/pdfs/6.pdf

Conflictive Memory and Heritage Education in the Initial Training of Primary Teachers

van Leeuwen, A., & Janssen, J. (2019). A systematic review of teacher guidance during collaborative learning in primary and secondary education. *Educational Research Review*, 27, 71–89. doi:10.1016/j.edurev.2019.02.001

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

1936 Coup d'État: A military coup led by Francisco Franco, carried out in Spain in 1936 against the democratically elected 2nd Republic.

Collaborative Work: Group work with well-defined objectives in which ideas, materials and knowledge are shared.

Discovery Learning: Learning methodology in which the learner, guided by a teacher, takes an active role in information seeking and knowledge acquisition.

Heritage Education: Discipline centred on the dissemination of heritage in both formal and informal educational contexts.

Place-Based Education: Educational theory developed in the 1990s focused on the re-signifying of places in the learners' immediate surroundings.

Sites of Victimisation: Memorials which remember the victims of civil conflicts and genocide.

Social Sciences Education: Academic discipline centred on the process of the teaching and learning of geography and history.

Spanish Civil War: Civil conflict in Spain between 1936 and 1939, resulting from the failed coup d'état of 1936. Fought between the insurgent Nationalist side and Republican forces. The triumph of the insurgents led to the dictatorship of General Franco, who remained in power until his death in 1975.

Spanish Mass Graves: Unidentified graves, located all over Spain. After Cambodia, Spain is the second country with most enforced disappearances. These graves contain the bodies of victims of retaliation during the Civil War and in the immediate post-war period.