Historical Encounters

A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education

Volume 5 | Number 1 | 2018

HERMES
History Education Research Network
ISSN 2203-7543

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Historical Encounters is an open access, interdisciplinary journal, dedicated to the empirical and theoretical study of:

- historical consciousness;
- historical cultures; and
- history education.

OPEN ACCESS POLICY

As an open access journal, all content published within *Historical Encounters* is available free of any charge to the user or their institution. You are permitted to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of articles in this journal without asking prior permission from either the publisher or the author.

PEER REVIEW POLICY

All published content has been subject to double blind review, which means that author identities are concealed from reviewers, and reviewer identities are concealed from authors. Complete journal policies can be located on the journal website.

COPYRIGHT

ISSUE DOI

doi.org/10.52289/hej5.100

PUBLICATION DATE

28 June 2018

JOURNAL ISSN

2203-7543

CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE

CONTACT DETAILS

E: admin@hej-hermes.net
W: www.hej-hermes.net

EDITORIAL TEAM

PUBLISHER

Historical Encounters is published by the **HERMES History Education Research Network** concentrated at the University of Newcastle, Australia.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
Volume 5 | Number 1 (2018)

The Olympics, footy and Aboriginal sporting heroes: Enfranchising national narratives 1-15
Claus Haas

Historical thinking, causal explanation and narrative discourse in trainee teachers in Spain 16-30
Jorge Sáiz Serrano, Cosme J Goméz Carrasco, Ramón López Facal

Identity and instrumentality: History in the Scottish school curriculum, 1992-2017 31-45
Joseph Peter Smith

Exploring pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, the present and the future in history teaching 46-67
Dick van Straaten, Arie Wilschut, Ron Oostdam

Knowing one big thing: Jewish students, Holocaust testimonies and historical consciousness 68-75
Sally Cove

Student understanding of causation in History in relation to specific subject matter – causes behind the scramble for Africa 76-89
Anders Nersäter

An Arctic encounter with Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth as pedagogy for historical consciousness and decolonizing 90-101
Heather Elizabeth McGregor

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

The Olympics, footy and Aboriginal sporting heroes: Enfranchising national narratives in Australia[1]

Claus Haas
Aarhus University, Denmark

ABSTRACT: Interviews with Australians have revealed a paradox. While the interest in and consumption of popular history is booming laypeople's interest in official and formal national narratives is limited, or totally absent. Most people consider formal national narratives as "prescribed and disconnected from their everyday lives" (Clark 2016, p. 2.). In this article, I present a narrative of sporting heroes and events that exemplifies how the national reluctance might be overcome, if one takes the use of history within the sphere of popular culture as the principal didactical outset for historiy education.

KEYWORDS: National narratives; Australian sporting heroes; Popular Culture; History education.

Introduction

Teaching the nation's history is an enduring and widespread formal obligation of history teachers. In different ways, national history make up the formal and narrative backbone of most history curricula and history teaching. In that regard, the Australian historian Anna Clark has uncovered an interesting paradox. Interviews with Australians revealed, that while the interest in and consumption of popular history is booming - i.e. in the shape of local history groups, genealogical societies, television programs, films and heritage tours - ordinary people's interest in official and formal national narratives is very limited, or totally absent. Most people consider formal national narratives as "prescribed and disconnected from their everyday lives" (Clark 2016, p. 2.). One respondent expressed it like this: "in an official sense – I feel totally disconnected from what it means to be an Australian" (Clark, 2016, p. 4-5). Clark concluded.

> This research confirms the historical contradiction that sees intimate and personal histories generating genuine, tangible engagement (as revealed in the interviews), while official histories frequently struggle for relevance and attachment in the community more general. (Clark. 2016, p. 4)

However, Clark also added a qualification to this schism. She remarked that most people do not really engage with national historical narratives and sentiments, "unless they intersected with their own family or community histories" (Clark, 2016, p. 3). From this qualification, Clark pose a pertinent question: Can we use personal and intimate historical connections, in people's everyday life, to overcome the national historical reluctance? (Clark, 2016, p. 4). Clarks own answer to the question is this.

PLEASE CITE AS: Haas, C. (2018). The Olympics, footy and Aboriginal sporting heroes: Enfranchising national narratives in Australia. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 1-15.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

> Political and public pressure to connect with the Australian history story does not resonate with an otherwise historically minded community unless it speaks to, and enfranchises them. These intimate historical connections should not be dismissed as unhistorical – they are *deeply* rooted in history. Historians and educators do not need to 'overcome' personal connections in order to facilitate historical thinking but understand that connectedness as a critical component of historical thinking. (Clark, 2016, p. 6)

Following Clark, production and use of history outside the sphere of formal history education might be a key to engagement with more official versions of national narratives inside schools. In the daily life of many laypeople and communities, consumption of, or participation in, popular culture, for instance sport, play a significant role. To varying degree, most of us have participated in sports – more or less actively and freely of course. In addition, most of us watch sport as part of our highly commercialized media-driven consumption of entertainment – on screens or as audiences at sport venues. Often, sport is an activity that foster powerful personal and collective feelings – and therefore engagement and identification – precisely those socio-cultural incitements that formal national narratives seem to lack, according to Clark. In the Australian case, this perspective seems even more important to take into account due the place of popular culture and sport in Australian society.

> Australians have generally bypassed the establishment of a national identity through constitutional change (such as freeing themselves from the connections to Britain by becoming a republic, or by adopting a new flag). Instead, they have adopted popular cultural symbols as markers of nationalism. Constructing a sense of nation includes creating significant symbols both of common identity and difference from others (…) Sport is one the few arenas in which Australians display patriotic symbols such as flags and songs. (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001, 259-58)

Below I seek to answer following question: Can the use and production of history and memories within the area of sport function as a relevant source to overcome the above-mentioned national historical reluctance? My answer will be a qualified yes. To underscore my argument, I present an empirical case study, consisting of a short narrative about sporting events and sporting heroes in Australia - from the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956, via the Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000, to performances in two games of Australian Rules Football in 2013 and 2015. I follow Bruce & Hallinans' theoretical clue – adopting popular culture with the aim of creating national symbols and narratives include both common identity and difference. I have chosen to structure the narrative around an Aboriginal / non-Aboriginal nexus of identity/difference. I do so because this nexus for several decades has been interpreted as one of the most complex and precarious sites of historical struggle in Australia – both inside and outside formal and official versions of national history.[2] As Bruce & Hallinan and other commentators below show, sport has functioned as one of the main arenas for these struggles.

The case study concerns three overlapping versions of Australian national history, highlighted through the Aboriginal / non- Aboriginal nexus: assimilation, national unity in diversity, and the politics of recognition and difference. My key empirical sources consist of official videos and written texts produced by Olympic authorities, and two video clips from Australian Rules Football games, all to be found on YouTube. I will analyze the material in accordance with a constructivist and interpretative approach, in line with the cultural turn (Bruner 1996, Hall 1997a, Hall 1997b). I interpret the sporting events and performances as symbolic practices through which representation, meaning and language operate, and through which national identities and communities of belonging are constructed and contested. In the course of my analysis, I will include the points of view of various Australian scholars who can help in shedding light upon the meaning and controversies, which I elicit from the material.

Even though Bruce & Hallinan point out that adopting popular cultural symbol as markers of nationalism is a particular Australian phenomenon, it is also a global phenomenon. So, even though my case study concern an Australian narrative, I believe it reveals some general

issues concerning the possible role of popular culture within history education and history didactics – a point I will shortly touch upon in my conclusion.

Forgotten history

The Australian sprinter Shirley Strickland de la Hunty convincingly won the 80 m. hurdle race at the Melbourne Olympic Games in 1956 – in 10,7 seconds, setting a new world record. However, as most sporting stars, she represented more than a champion of the tracking field. What that might be is indicated if one looks at how her victory was depicted in a film produced by the Melbourne Olympic Committee in 1956.[3] As she crosses the finish line, the other runners of the race congratulate her. Following the medal award ceremony, the film shows de la Hunty's, positioned in a garden, with smiling face and lipstick, clad in a white dotted yellow dress, and matching earrings. She looks to the sky, and the voice asks – "you remember her now, waiting for her guests to arrive? The next sequence shows two white females, looking at store window in Melbourne. The voice over comments – "it's only natural for female athletes to go shopping". At first glance, these sequences seem very prosaic, by closer look they signify more than that.

At the time, the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956 were by some distance the largest international sporting event in Australian history, and the first Games to be held in the southern hemisphere and outside Europe or the United States. The Games have also been called "The Friendly Games", symbolized by the closing ceremony where the athletes walked in as one, signaling togetherness and friendship – a tradition that remains part of the scenography of Olympic Games to this day. If one watches video clips and looks at pictures from the opening ceremony the total absence of athletes of Aboriginal descent is evident. [4]

Besides a résumé of the opening and closing ceremonies and highlights from the various sporting competitions, the viewer of film mentioned above is also introduced to the city of Melbourne in the opening sequences. As the camera glides through the streets, we are told that Melbourne is just a town, spontaneously founded by an English traveler, John Batman, exactly 120 years prior to the Games. To underpin this statement, the camera focuses on some kind of an artistic constellation, seemingly showing Batman positioned in a natural environment. Just behind him are two dark-skinned figures, one of them kneeling with a spear in front of him and looking directly into the camera. As the camera re-focuses on the backdrop for this constellation, the natural landscape shifts to a modern cityscape, in a slow unfolding motion, seemingly depicting the transformation of what was once wilderness into the modern city of Melbourne. As the camera pans out, the viewer realizes that the constellation is situated above the entrance to what might be a shopping mall. The part of the film about Melbourne ends with a depiction of sunny suburban life, where it turns out that one of the white female Australian athletes lives - Shirley Strickland de la Hunty. She is filmed with two children in a well-kept front garden, looking to the sky, where flights are bringing in athletes from all over the world.

Aboriginal people were ascribed a specific role by the Melbourne Olympic Committee, not as Athletes, but represented as anonymous relics of a natural landscape that no longer exists, kneeling behind the white colonial entrepreneur and founder of Melbourne, and symbolically depicted as something rendered obsolete in the process of urbanization and modernization of Australia. Shirley Strickland de la Hunty is relegated to a double role: As a gold medalist and thus a national sporting star and as a symbolic female representation of what is often characterized as the Australian dream – the civilized and comfortable life as a housewife in middleclass suburbia (Haebich 2008)

The Department of the Interior in Canberra, likewise symbolically represented aboriginals in a publication called *Australia – Your Host: The XVIth Olympiad, Melbourne*. This publication was intended to be a kind of tourist brochure, where the city of Melbourne and other parts of Australia were presented to visitors to the Games (Australian News and Information Bureau 1956). The second half of the brochure presents a narrative centered on the carrying of the Olympic torch across the country to its final destination at the Olympic stadium in Melbourne for the opening ceremony. On this journey, the reader is introduced to natural landscapes, urban architecture, agriculture, industrial production, leisure activities, residential areas, and so forth. The brochure is richly illustrated, especially with images representing Australia as a modern, prosperous and industrialized society within which people live carefree and harmonious lives, especially in the suburbs. Australia is depicted as consisting of a jovial, apparently mono-cultural population sharing a consensual and de-politicized national identity, living without cultural and racial differences and conflicts. However, upon closer inspection, markers of racial and Aboriginal identities are ambiguously reproduced in three images: of an Aboriginal person seemingly polishing a vehicle belonging to the Darwin Firefighters Brigade; of another Aboriginal person depicted at work in a pineapple field; and, on the very last page, of a group of Aboriginal people from Kimberley. This latter image depicts an Aboriginal woman and three Aboriginal children as well as two white men, one of them a police officer. They are all gathered around a radio placed on the hood of a car, listening to a broadcast from the Olympic Games on the other side of the country. The woman and the three children are not explicitly presented as Aboriginals, but indirectly referred to as "outback people".

> Essential work and the difficulties of travel in the north denied most of them the opportunity of attending the Games but for that they were no less interested, and no less proud of the name of Australia is inscribed for all time in the record of Olympic hosts. (ibid., p. 60)

In contrast to the film about the Games, in *Australia: Your Host* Aboriginals are visually depicted as living persons: as black people doing ordinary jobs or as "outback people", presumably filled with same national pride as everyone else as they listen to radio broadcasts from the Olympic Games. However, other than a photo of three Italian athletes holding a boomerang, there are no representations signifying the existence of a discrete Aboriginal culture. In *Australia: Your hosts* Aboriginal people are not represented as part of a natural landscape vanquished by the onset of Australian modernity, but as part of modern Australia. Similarly, *Australia: Your Host* does not directly project white racial supremacy in the same way as the aforementioned image of John Batman and his two unnamed Aboriginal companions, but the assimilation of Aboriginals is presented as a positive and successful aspect of Australian cultural citizenship.

According to one observer, the text could be regarded as part of a federal and state monitored propaganda campaign that took place during 1950s and 1960s (Haebich 2008). The aim of this propaganda was to promote a profound shift in Australian cultural citizenship: From racial exclusion and discrimination to images of harmonious national unity among settlers, old and new, and Aboriginals. This shift also implied "a shift from race to culture as the dominant unifying ideology, and a move from race-based laws and controls to cultural assimilation as the dominant process for managing diversity" (Haebich 2008, p. 65); or, formulated in other terms, from strategies of biological absorption to cultural assimilation (Moran 2005). The assimilative notion of cultural citizenship also involved a specific way of producing historical consciousness.

> This vision turned its back on the past and proposed a new beginning in the form of an affluent, classless, mono-cultural society: the poor would forget their former privations; migrants would forget Europe; and Aborigines would forget their past. In return all would enjoy the 'Australian

> way of life' which (…) had replaced race and national type as the basis for Australian identity". (Beckett 1988, p. 201)

The strategies for the cultural assimilation of Aboriginals were complex and contradictory (Haebich 2008, Moran 2005). However, following Beckett, cultural assimilation also fostered a specific production of historical consciousness, which was predominantly oriented towards the present and future rather than the past. Aboriginals were supposed to forget their identities and cultural heritage in order to pave the way for the vision of a modern Australian mono-cultural nation in the present and in the future. In this way, the strategies of assimilation also initiated a politics of forgetting (Connerton 2008).

I now turn to the Olympic Games held in Sydney in the year 2000, where narrative of socio-cultural assimilation was turned on its head. Less than half a century after the Melbourne Games, Aboriginal people's and Torres Strait Islanders' histories and cultural heritages were to be remembered and celebrated – and, according to some observers, incorporated into a new narrative of historic healing and reconciliation. According to other interpretations, meanwhile, this narrative was more ambiguous than it first appeared.

Healing history

The stadium is packed with 110,000 expectant spectators. At the running track are eight female runners preparing for the 400 m final at the 2000 Sydney Olympics. One of the runners is clad remarkably differently from the others. She wears a green- yellow- gold colored and hooded full-body skin suit. As she moves towards the starting blocks, she puts on the hood. In the seconds before the starter's pistol, the huge crowd is almost hushed – as if, for a moment, everybody stops breathing. As the runners leave their starting blocks, the spectators erupt in an enormous roar. As they enter the home straight, the noise is staggering. The runner in the body suit gradually moves into the lead and, after a final sprint, she eventually passes the finish line in 49.11 seconds - enough to gain a convincing victory and the Olympic gold medal. The exultation of the crowd is immense.

Most athletes would immediately begin celebrating such an extraordinary victory. This champion does not. She takes off her hood, bends down, shakes her head lightly, and bites her top lip – before eventually sitting down. She looks as if she cannot comprehend what she has just accomplished. One of the other runners bends down and embraces her. The tears in the eyes of the winner, Cathy Freeman, are clear for all to see. She has since explained her reaction:

> Relief was an overwhelming emotion, you know, something that I have dreamt about ever since I was ten years old. It just meant so much to me, to my family, to my people, to my country. It was always a dream of mine, not only to win an Olympic gold medal, but to do the victory lap with both flags. I hold the Aboriginal community in such a high place in my heart. I'm very proud of my indigenous roots.[5]

As Cathy Freeman regains her self-control, she starts to celebrate her victory. She runs the traditional victory lap around the stadium, a recurrent ritual at the Olympics – receiving ovations, saluting the crowd, embracing family and friends – and, not least, she drapes herself in both an Australian and an Aboriginal flag.

The scenes I have just described are part of an official video about the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, produced by the International Olympic Committee. [6] This video was part of a carefully orchestrated narrative about cultural citizenship in Australia, exhibited and acted out as a globalized spectacle (MacAloon 2006). Contrary to the Melbourne Games,

Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples and cultures were given a central role in the manuscript. Moreover, Cathy Freeman was the main act, which reached its climax as she draped herself in the two flags.

However, the act was already inscribed in the scenography of the Sydney Games before they had even started. This can be seen in the opening scene of the video, which depicts a sunrise over Uluru, accompanied by a soundtrack of melodic and dramatic strings and didgeridoos. The camera then pans through grandiose landscapes and pastoral sceneries, the soundtrack now supplemented by a male and a female voice reciting the poem *My Country*, written by Dorothea Mackellar, first published in 1908. The poem is a romantic celebration of, or rather an emotive declaration of love for Australia – in a romantic spirit personified as 'her' or 'she'. At the end of this opening sequence, we see a piece of traditional Aboriginal art, followed by body painted Aboriginals dancing around a fire, depicted in slow motion, in dim and mysterious yellow and red tinted images.

As the recital of *My Country* ends, we see another Aboriginal Olympic athlete, Nova Peris-Kneebone, who runs bearing the burning Olympic torch – with Uluru and the clear blue sky in the background. This scene signals the transition to the next part of the video - the carrying of the Olympic torch through Australia, a narrative similar to the film about the Melbourne Games. The first to follow Peris-Kneeborn, still at the foot of Uluru, is an Aboriginal man; the third torchbearer is transported in a canoe, doubtless illustrating the contribution of Torres Strait Islanders to the ritual. All of this is a build-up to the lighting of the Olympic cauldron; the finish and climax of the official opening ceremony. A number of female Australian Olympic medalists are celebrated as they carry the torch on the final legs of its journey to the cauldron. One of them is Shirley Strickland de la Hunty. The last one is Cathy Freeman. She ignites the Olympic cauldron, accompanied by grandiose choral music.

Draped in both Australian and Aboriginal flags, Cathy Freeman interpreted her post-victory lap at the Olympic Stadium as a way of expressing pride in her Aboriginal descent and identity; a symbolic gesture she also made when winning gold at the 1994 Commonwealth Games (Elder et al. 2006, p. 191). But according to some observers, Freeman's Olympic victory, and her role in the opening ceremony, signified more than that.

> The Olympic events contributed to the awakening of a new identity for many Australians, by providing an arena for multiple voices to speak of history, of dreams, of rights, and of wrongs. The fantasy of a nation that values the knowledge of its indigenous people, and who sees them as part of- not marginal – to its history (…) has the capacity to provide an uplifting experience. For many Australians, it provided an opportunity to shed the shame of racism and bigotry in a burst of euphoria. It also gave political activists a forum to communicate with the indigenous people, fellow white Australians, and the rest of the world about their views of the sort of identity that the Australian nation should take into the new millennium (…) As a site of democratic engagement, it can be argued that these events have more power than the ballot box (…) The narratives built during the games provided positive and productive images of the place of indigenous people in the Australian nation, by bringing them to center stage, in the most forthright, wide-reaching, and articulate rewriting of Australian history that has been voiced since Australians landed on *Terra Nullus* (McCarthy & Hatcher, 2001, p. 56-57).[7]

Freeman had become the embodiment of national reconciliation - "the joining of two key parts of Australia's psyche: the first inhabitants and the white settlers / invaders", which cemented Freeman as "the most potent symbol of Australia's desire for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples" (Bruce & Hallinan 2001, p. 257-258). Cathy Freeman herself further contributed to her position as the prime symbol of national reconciliation. A few months before the Sydney Games, she publicly connected her personal life story and family history to one of most controversial and debated issues of reconciliation and of Australian history in general (Attwood 2009, Attwood 2011, Manne 2000, Windschuttle 2009). Freeman's grandmother, Alice Sibley, was part of the stolen generation –

one of an estimated 100,000 Aboriginal children taken take from their mothers as a consequence of state and federal assimilation initiatives (Gordon, 2003, p. 223).

Ambiguous history

As I indicated above, according to some observers, on closer inspection the narrative of historic healing and reconciliation was more ambiguous than it otherwise appeared. To some extent, Greg Gardiner (2003) regards Cathy Freeman's performances as unique acts of historic healing and national unification. He adds that the appeal of Freeman's personae were their symbolic capacity to be stretched in multiple directions - "to connect audiences to both past and present and to symbolize the future" (ibid., p. 252). Thus, Freeman's victory pointed towards a multiracial future, with Freeman herself an exemplary representation of Australian diversity and modernity. However – Gardiner claims - this symbolic status was not without conditions.

> At Sydney, Cathy Freeman's circling of the national stadium after her victory was greeted as a turning point in history, making it whole and complete where it had been divided and incomplete, providing a kind of quasi-absolution for the wrongs of the past. In this discourse, then, Aboriginality - its difference – is defined as a service to the nation, a healing running force that unites the country, and the issue of Aboriginality as a source or state of sovereignty in its own right is either downplayed or obscured (ibid., p. 251)

Aboriginality as a source of sovereignty was obscured, Gardiner remarks. The healed and reconciled history was subsumed to an agenda of nationalization, within which the historically asymmetrical power relations between Aboriginal and non–Aboriginal peoples still prevailed. As Gardiner notes, Aboriginals performed the reconciliation while "whites" sat comfortably, watching and applauding. He concludes, in stark contrast to McCarthy & Hatcher, that the intentions of reconciliation were primarily symbolic, and thus superficial, rather than real. A point also made by Catriona Elder, Angela Pratt and Cath Ellis (2006). The Sydney Games were a way to discipline Indigenous people to fit a conservative understanding of reconciliation, which did not challenge the power imbalances between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

Tony Bruce and Emma Wensing (2009) also point to the fact that not everyone interpreted Cathy Freeman's performances as acts of historic healing and national unity. On the contrary, their analyses of newspaper letters show that, for some, Freeman's embrace of her Aboriginal culture was seen as divisive and un-Australian, rather than as an act of reconciliation (p. 95). Three years later, Bruce and Wensing (2012) performed another analysis of media texts, which pointed in different directions. On the one hand - they stressed - we should not underestimate the fact that Freeman's elevation to a national sporting hero would once have been inconceivable. On the other hand, the overall embrace of Freeman by the media was an expression of what they term "enlightened racism".

> The apparent desire of many white Australians to symbolically absolve themselves of their racist history without necessarily giving up the privileges they have gained from it is most evident in the way media coverage revolved around a fantasy of the future, rather than the more common nostalgia for the past (ibid. 493).

The same ambiguous interpretation of the Games and of Freeman's role is present in a recent study by Leanne White, seen from the perspective of heritage studies (White 2013). On one hand, White also concludes that Freeman became part of Australia's heritage iconography, and as such the personification of the hope of a reconciled nation – a "microcosm for nationalism in Australia" and an "infinite promise and potential of what a reconciled nation might look like" (p. 167). On the other hand, she also concludes that Freeman's lighting of the Olympic cauldron and the staging of Aboriginal culture throughout the Games was gestures

made by event organizers to appease the world's media and a global audience - a smokescreen to cover the reality of the continuing marginalization and sidelining of Aboriginal peoples.

Recently, Christine O'Bonsawin continues the critical line of interpretations, but in an even more deconstructive and pessimistic tone (O'Bonsawin 2015). Cathy Freeman's performances – she claims - symbolized an apolitical vision of a reconciled and conflict-free nation, and as such exemplified the liberal democratic illusion that sport can function as the great equalizer. Freeman provided white audiences with relief from responsibility, because her performances illustrated that Aboriginals, like all Australians, have opportunities for success if they are only willing to take them (ibid, 210). So, in O'Bonsawin's interpretation, Freeman as the symbolic embodiment of reconciliation and of the nation's history and heritage turned out to be a deception.

> (…) the selection of Freeman to light the cauldron proves to be a well-calculated and decisively tokenistic strategy used to censor truths of on-going political oppression and racial tyranny directed toward Indigenous people in Australia (O'Bonsawin 2015, 211).

However, O'Bonsawin also positions Freeman within a wider historical context of political activism within sport. At the Olympic Games in 2012 in London, the Australian boxer of Aboriginal descent, Damien Hooper, entered the ring wearing a T-shirt inscribed with the Aboriginal flag. Like Freeman, Hooper wished to honor his culture and Indigeneity. However, in contrast to Freeman, Hooper was accused of violating the Olympic Charter, which prohibits political, religious or racial propaganda (O'Bonsawin 2015, p. 212). Consequently, Hooper refrained from wearing the T-shirt during the rest of Games. O'Bonsawin compares the threat to exclude Hooper to the harsh condemnations of the notorious podium demonstration at the 1968 Olympics by the two African-American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos, and by the Mohawk, Alwyn Morris, who represented Canada at the Olympics games in 1984. These incidents have proved – O'Bonsawin asserts – that the Olympic Games are caught up in a precarious political ambiguity: According to official discourse, they are a "non-political space", but in reality a space where

> (…) the political interests of the colonial nations such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States are sustained and upheld (…) The Olympic movement lacks the capacity and desire to engage in meaningful humanizing and decolonizing efforts (…) Indigenous athletes such as Morris, Freeman and Hooper have to accept the identity of a colonizing settler citizenry, thereby further validating the political authority of illegally imposed governing structures (O'Bonsawin, 2015, p. 215).

Dividing history

The interpretations of Cathy Freeman's performances at the 2000 Sydney Olympics point in very different directions. At one end of the spectrum, they are seen as a representation of a reconciled and healed national narrative, and as such as invoking a promise of a new democratized and post-racial national narrative. At the other end, we find almost the opposite set of interpretations: the healed history was a smokescreen for the continuation of postcolonial racism and nationalism. As such, the same events are interpreted as both a history of cultural reconciliation and unification, and as a reinvention or reproduction of deep cultural and racial divisions. Both perspectives are also present as we turn our attention to performances by another sporting star in the year 2015.

In a YouTube video, it is possible to watch another remarkable example of sporting celebration[8]. An Austalian Football League (AFL) player is celebrating a goal and runs towards the stand behind the goal of the opposing team. Or rather, he is sidestepping, while alternately slapping a hand on the opposite forearm, or clapping his hands. It is impossible to hear exactly what he is shouting while doing this, but it is presumably directed towards the

spectators behind the goal. As he gets close to the crowd, he suddenly makes a rotating movement with his right arm, then lifts it above his head and makes a gesture that looks as if he is throwing an imaginary spear towards the crowd. Some of the spectators cheer him, some just looked astonished. As the player turns around and starts to run back onto the pitch, he is met by a teammate, who embraces him.

The player shown in the YouTube video is Adam Goodes, the most decorated Aboriginal man to have played at the highest level of the game (Judd & Butcher, 2016, p. 75). Goodes even received the Australian of the Year award in 2014. However, what was Goodes communicating as he celebrated his goal? The title of the YouTube video gives a hint: *Adam Goodes war cry celebration*. The war dance could be interpreted as an entertaining way of incorporating a more or less archaic residue of Aboriginal heritage into the contemporary popular culture of sport. According to this interpretation, the war dance was an innocent historical and folkloristic re-enactment of a ritual stemming from a pre-colonial Aboriginal culture. However, there was something about the way Goodes performed the war dance, as if he was trying to express something else.

Adam Goodes' war dance contained an implicit reference to an incident in 2013. In another YouTube video, Adam Goodes, clad in his red and white Sydney Swans kit, is filmed as he slowly passes the opposing home crowd of Collingwood behind the goal.[9] He stops abruptly and immediately points his finger at a young girl among the Collingwood supporters. It is impossible to hear Goodes' exact words as he shouts at her. At the same time, he is communicating with security officials. After some time, the security officials enter the stands and escort the girl out of the arena. It turned out that Adam Goodes had taken offense. The 13-year-old girl had shouted 'ape' at Goodes. He met the press the day after the incident. He interpreted the girl's cry as an act of racism**.** Following this incident, he was booed during games. The booing continued throughout 2014, into the 2015 season, the same year Goodes received the honor as *Australian of the Year*. As a consequence of the persistent booing and harassment, Goodes chose to retire from his footy career in 2015.

Adam Goodes' performances have also been interpreted as different expressions of cultural citizenship. In 2016 the journalist Stan Grant published his book *Talking to my country* in which Grant, himself of Aboriginal descent, and his youngest son drive through New South Wales. Grant wants to revisit and tell his son about the places and towns where Grant himself grew up as a child and young man. It was time – Grants remarks – that this son "learned the truth about our history". It is a deeply ambiguous narrative. On the one hand it is a narrative about Grant's affection for Australia, and particularly his sense of belonging and deep socio-cultural ties to his family and kin – and to Aboriginal land, culture and people as a whole, or "my people" as he refers to them. However, it is also a narrative of continuing and severe hardship among Aboriginals, which forced Grant's own family to live a kind of nomadic life at the lowest socio-economic level of Australian society. As such, *Talking to my country* also presents a harsh indictment of what Stan Grant considers to be the socio-economic deprivation, racism and cultural exclusion of Aboriginal people that remains prevalent even today. This marginalized reality – Grant underlines – stands in stark contrast to the promises of the opposite from prosperous white Australia, even if he himself has been able to realize some of these promises as a cosmopolitan and successful journalist and intellectual. Grant uses the histories of Cathy Freeman and Adam Goodes to pinpoint his analyses.

> We watched her [Cathy Freeman] through different eyes as she took her place in the starting line. To Australians victory for this Aboriginal woman on this night would tell the world we had buried old enmities. The stain of settlement could be wiped clean. We – my people, Cathy's people - saw her as a symbol of survival. She told the world we were still here. For the woman herself this was a race like so many others – a track starter's gun and a finish line – but then it was unlike any other. When she crossed that line there was just the earth and she sank into it. She stared into space

> seemingly oblivious to the crowd – unburdened. Then she rose to her feet and here was the moment when the flag of our people was unfurled. Red, black and yellow flew in this stadium and its image was beamed around the world. I thought back to the opening ceremony and how I felt alone and now how proud I was. I felt transformed that night in the Olympic stadium. Our people had been on the losing end of history but Cathy made us feel like winners. But this was a myth and myths can crumble at the touch. The myth of Cathy Freeman could never truly sustain us. She was a runner who became a champion but '*cos I'm free* does not mean her people are. Gold – even this most precious and dazzling gold – ultimately dims. Cathy's glory is frozen in time but as the memories fade of that stunning night our people are still a nation without an anthem or a flag that can fly at the Olympic Games (Grant, 2016, p. 171-172).

For Stan Grant, Cathy Freeman's victory had also symbolized a narrative of national unity, racial reconciliation and historic healing. But it failed and turned out to be a myth. This point is revealed in Grant's own language. The "we" who watched the race are divided in two – Australians and "we, "our people", presumably not Australians. Grant highlights this interpretation by recounting Adam Goodes' personal life story and AFL career, which resembles his own successful life story (Grant 2016, p. 195-205). But Goodes' destiny is also, Grant claims, a symbolic signification of the failure of healed national cultural citizenship in Australia that Cathy Freeman represented. The booing of Goodes in 2013 was not just another expression of the widespread racism within the limited confines of AFL culture. It was an expression of the deep racist foundation of Australian society and history at a more general level.

> In the winter of 2015 we turned to face ourselves. It happened in the place most sacred to us: the sporting field. Adam Goodes, an indigenous footballer, one of the greatest players of his generation, was abused and humiliated until he could take it no more. As this man retreated from the field we were forced to confront the darkest parts of this country – black and white we are all formed by it. This wasn't about sport; this was about our shared history and our failure to reconcile it. Some sought to deny this, others to excuse it, but when thousands of voices booed Adam Goodes, my people knew where that came from (Grant, 2016, p. 5).

The sport historians Barry Judd & Tim Butcher (2016) likewise interpret the Goodes controversy as an expression of prevailing racism, but add other perspectives. The central historical reference among Aboriginal sporting heroes is not the performances of Cathy Freeman, but the Aboriginal ALF - player Nicky Winmar. In a game played 17 April 1993, Winmar and his St. Kilda team played against Collingwood. Throughout the game, Winmar was exposed to continuous racial vilification. The day after the game, a newspaper published a photo showing Winmar lifting his St. Kilda jersey and pointing to his chest, symbolically declaring "I'm black and I'm proud" (Klugman & Osmond 2013). The photo has gained a somewhat iconic status, including a reference to the aforementioned iconic sporting photo showing the black power salute of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Mexico Games (Judd & Butcher, 2016, p. 72; see also Klugman & Osmond 2013). Goodes' and Winmar's gestures signified Aboriginal struggle against racism and to be treated equally to their non-Aboriginal teammates. However, according to Judd and Butcher, Goodes' performances also signified an even more wide-reaching attempt to further a Aboriginal cultural citizenship.

> (…) whereas previous bounded and highly targeted struggles to end racism sought to assert the right of Aboriginal peoples to participate in football as though they were Anglo-Australians according to a principle of civil equality, contemporary struggles seek to assert the right of Aboriginal people to be recognized as culturally distinct groups within the Australian game according to the principle of political difference (Judd & Butcher 2016, p. 70) (…) The negative public reaction to Goodes is not based on his personality but rather is based in insistence that Aboriginal culture be recognized and acknowledged as having a place in both the national game and the Australian nation (Judd & Butcher, 2016, p. 82).

Judd & Butcher suggest that Goodes' performances indicate a paradigmatic shift in the ways sport, and in particularly football, and Aboriginality have been related to the struggle

surrounding cultural citizenship in Australia: from anti-racism and racial equality to the politics of cultural recognition and difference. And further – Goodes' insistence on the right to be culturally different can be seen as part of general Aboriginal political struggle for Indigenous nation building; struggles – Judd & Butcher suggest – which also include Aboriginal claims to sovereignty as a prerequisite for any treaty process. Goodes' war dance reminded non-Aboriginal Australia that the right to be culturally different "is based on the irrefutable historical fact that their occupation of the continent pre-dates the contemporary Australian state by thousands of years" (Judd & Butcher, 2016, p. 82).

Conclusion

The analysis above showed three interconnected narrative threads of Australian identity, seen from the perspective of the chosen Aboriginal – non- Aboriginal nexus: assimilation, national unity in diversity, and the politics of recognition and difference. All three – and their metamorphoses – concern a narrative of national identity and belonging in Australia. Performances and interpretation of sporting events and heroes represent an ambiguous and contested national narrative of both national unity and consensus, and cultural differences and political struggles.

The same dynamic can be revealed in more formal and official national narratives. However, following Anna Clarks (2016) analysis, most ordinary people – or laypeople - find themselves alienated from these narratives. Laypeople find that these narratives are disconnected from their everyday lives, and eventually from what it means to be an Australian. Hence, an advantage comes to fore, if one take performances of sport heroes and sport events, and the narratives and the myths told about them, as the didactical outset. Sport heroes and their performances function as some of the cultural stuff and the symbolic idioms, out of which national histories and identities are constructed, renewed and struggled about in late modern popular culture. A narrative of sport heroes and events can function as points of collective identification and national history and myth telling, which are unmatched to other kinds of consumption of popular culture. Moreover, a narrative of sport heroes and performances, and popular culture in general, connect to the use of history within the life-worlds of laypeople.

Taken sport and popular culture in peoples' everyday life as a didactical outset, and as a central narrative component of history teaching does not ignore or erode national narratives. It makes them more complex, multi-stranded and ambiguous – and of course also more subjective and situational. Just a few clicks away on YouTube, or media platforms, alternative narratives are available. Other narratives about the Aboriginal/ non-Aboriginal identity nexus are already circulating within our globalized media networks. In that sense, the realm for production of historical consciousness within popular culture is radically decentralized. A situation that some probably fear will leave history educators – and eventually the students – without a well-structured, scholarly-based understanding of official national history.

However, this situation might also function as a productive didactical advantage. It does offer what Anna Clark mentioned as the need for enfranchisement "of otherwise historically-minded communities" (Clark, 2016, p. 6). It invites people to be participators, to be active producers of historical consciousness and national narratives, when related directly to daily life cultural consumption and identity construction. Potentially, the situation also open up for a radical democratization of production and use of history, where official national narratives – or scholarly-based history for that sake – play a subordinate role, if any role at all. However, it has to be underlined – a state of democratization and enfranchisement, which is highly ambiguous. As I have exemplified above, the use of history within medialised sport and

popular cultures are regulated by economic, socio-cultural and commercial forces far beyond any popular or democratic control.

My argument is not that history educators should ignore or debunk official national narratives, or scholarly-based history research, in favor of popular culture and lifeworld experiences of laypeople. I argue – in accordance with Anna Clark - that somehow these dimensions have to come into interplay with each other. Above, I have tried to contribute to that endeavor. If it does not happen, I doubt that history educators will be able to overcome the national reluctance that Anna Clark has revealed as the dominating approach among Australians. From the perspective of history education, the critical didactical challenge is to reflect upon these and related question. (i) Do laypeople's use of popular culture and history, and official national narratives, work together and consequently interfere with each other? (ii) If not, how and why do these two dimensions exist without any notable contact with each other? (iii) Do the two dimensions operate in a more or less concealed conflict with each other?

In order to answer these questions, history educators have to take the use and production of history by laypeople and popular cultures into account. Not as an appendix to formal or scholarly-based national narratives, but - as I see it – as the principal outset for history education.

References

Attwood, B. (2011). Aboriginal history, minority histories and historical wounds: The postcolonial condition, historical knowledge and the public life of history in Australia. *Postcolonial Studies, 14*(2), 171-186.

Attwood, B. (2009). In the age of testimony: The stolen generations' narratives, "distance", and public history. *Public Culture, 20*(1), 75-95.

Australian News and Information Bureau (1956). *Australia – Your Host: The XVIth Olympiad, Melbourne.* Canberra: Department of the Interior.

Beckett, J. ed. (1988). *Past and Present. The construction of Aboriginality*. Maryborough, Vic.: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Beckett, J. (1988). The past in the present; the present in the past: constructing a national Aboriginality. In: Beckett, J. ed. (1988). *Past and Present. The construction of Aboriginality*. Maryborough, Vic.: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Bruce, T & Hallinan, C. (2001). Cathy Freeman. The quest for Australian identity. In Andrews, D. L. & Jackson, S. L. eds. *Sport stars. The cultural politics of sporting celebrity*. London: Routledge.

Bruce, T. & Wensing, W. (2009). The Olympics and Indigenous peoples: Australia. In. Lenskyj, H. & Wagg, S. (eds.). *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*. Palgrave: Macmillan.

Bruce, T. & Wensing, W. (2012).'She is not one of us': Cathy Freeman and the place of Aboriginal people in Australian national culture. *Australian Aboriginal Studies, 2*, 90-100.

Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press.

Clark, A. (2016). Private lives, public history: Navigating historical consciousness in Australia.

Clark, A. H. (2008). *History's children: History wars in the classroom*. Sydney, UNSW Press.

Donnelly, D. & Parkes, R. J. (2014). Changing conceptions of historical thinking in history education: Australian case study. *Revista Tempo & Argumento, 11*(6),113-136.

Elder, C, Pratt, A. & Ellis, C. (2006). Running race. Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of sport, 41*(2), 181-200.

Gardiner, G. (2003). Running for country. Australian print media representation of Indigenous athletes in the 27th Olympiad. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues. 27*(3), 233-260.

Gordon, H. (2003*). The time of our lives. Inside the Sydney Olympics*. St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.

Grant, S. (2016). *Talking to country*. Melbourne: Scribe.

Groot, Jerome de (2009). *Consuming history. Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture.* Abdington, UK: Routledge.

Harris, M., Nakata, M., & Carlson, B. (2013). *The politics of identity: Emerging indigeneity.* Sydney: UTS Press.

Carlson, B. (2016). *The politics of identity. Who counts as Aboriginal today?* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Hay, R. (2003). Last night of the Poms: Australia as a postcolonial sporting society. In J. Bale, & M. Croning (eds.). *Sport and postcolonialism*. Oxford: Berg.

Judd, B. & Butcher, T. (2016). Beyond equality: the place of Aboriginal culture in Australian game of football. *Australian Aboriginal Studies, 1,* 68-81.

Haebich, A. (2008*). Spinning the dream. Assimilation in Australia 1950-1970*. North Fremantle: Freemantle Press.

Hall, S. (1997a). The centrality of culture. Notes on the cultural revolution of our times. In K. Thompson (ed.), *Media and cultural regulation*. London: SAGE.

Hall, S. (1997b). The work of representation. In S. Hall (ed.), *Representation. Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: SAGE.

Judd, B. & Butcher, T. (2016). Beyond equality: the place of Aboriginal culture in the ganme of Australian football. *Australian Aboriginal Studies, 1*, 68-84.

Klugman, M & Osmond, G. (2013). *Black and proud: The story of an iconic AFL photo*. Sydney: New South Publishing.

MacAloon, J. J. (2006). The theory of spectacle: reviewing Olympic Ethnography. In: Tomlinson, A. & Young, C. eds. *National identity and sport events. Culture, politics, and spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

McCarthy, P. & Hatcher, C. (2001). Performing identity: Australian Dreaming at the Sydney 2000 Olympics. *World Communication, 30*(¾), 39-60.

McIntyre, S. & Clark, A. H. eds. (2003). *The history wars*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.

Manne, R. (2001). In denial: The stolen generations and the right. *Quarterly Essay, 1,* 1-23.

Moran, A. (2005) White Australia, Settler Nationalism and Aboriginal Assimilation. *Australian Journal of Politics and History, 51*(2), 168-93.

Moran, A. (2017). *The public life of Australian multiculturalism: Building a diverse nation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Bonsawin, C. (2015). From black power to Indigenous activism: The Olympic movement and the marginalization of oppressed people (1968-2012). *Journal of Sport History, 42*(2), 200-219.

Parkes, R. J. (2014). No outside history: Reconsidering postmodernism. *Agora, 49,* 4-10.

Parkes, R. J. & Sharp, H. (2014). Nietzschean perspectives on representations of national history in Australian textbooks: what should we do with Gallipoli? *ENSAYOS, 29*(1), 159-181.

Rowse, T. (2016). Indigenous heterogeneity. *Australian Historical Studies, 37*(8), 297-310.

Somers, M. (1995). Narrating and naturalizing civil society and citiznehip theory: The place of poltical culture and the public sphere. *Sociological Theory, 13*(3), 231-274.

White, L. (2013). Cathy freeman and Australia's Indigenous heritage: a new beginning for an old nation at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 19*(2),153-170.

Windschuttle, K. (2009). *The fabrication of Aboriginal history. Vol. 3. The stolen generations 1881-2008*. Sydney: Macleay Press.

Video links

Melbourne 1956 Olympic Games. Official Olympic Gilm
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EDA5BvvtDsM

The Sydney 2000 Olympics: The complete film.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7xHMsL6sSLQ

Adam Goodes' War Cry Celebration
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBljMnLw9-4

Girl Makes Racist Comment to Footballer; He Calls Her Out.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6Sq62YPnsU

Notes

[1] The preparations for this article were done during my time as a visiting scholar at University of Newcastle, NSW, Australia, during Fall 2016. I thank the Hermes, History network group there, and especially Dr. Robert J. Parkes for, for invaluable inspiration and for hosting me.

[2] See for instance, Beckett (1988), Attwood (2009), Attwood (2011), Windschuttle (2009), Rowse (2016), Harris et al. (2013), Carlson (2016), Manne (2001), Moran (2005), Donnelly & Parkes (2014), Parkes & Sharp (2014), Macintyre & Clark (2003), Clark (2008).

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EDA5BvvtDsM

[4] The first Athlete of Aboriginal descent to compete in the Olympics was in 1964, with Michael Ah Matt representing in Basketball, and Adrian Blair and Francis Roberts in boxing
http://corporate.olympics.com.au/olympic-feature/indigenous-stars

[5] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7xHMsL6sSLQ

[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7xHMsL6sSLQ

[7] See also Hay (2003, p. 23), and Gordon (2003, p. 221ff) for the same point.

[8] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBljMnLw9-4

[9] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6Sq62YPnsU

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

Historical thinking, causal explanation and narrative discourse in trainee teachers in Spain[1]

Jorge Sáiz Serrano
Universidad de Valencia

Cosme J. Gómez Carrasco
Universidad de Murcia

Ramón López Facal
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the historical thinking skills of 283 students studying a Primary Education degree in Spain. In order to achieve this objective, we analysed texts they had written on a substantive historical event: the Christian expansion into the Muslim-ruled territories of the Iberian Peninsula. We employed a qualitative methodology in order to determine the level of presentational complexity according to the knowledge demonstrated, the second-order concepts included in their texts and the way in which the causal application of the process was expressed. This was combined with a quantitative assessment of the levels of complexity and their relationship with the cognitive levels of the texts according to the SOLO taxonomy. The results, demonstrated in the task, confirm that trainee teachers have extremely limited skills relating to history and a simplistic model of causal explanation, based on the contrast between union/hegemony and disintegration/weakness. This discourse is inherited from the national narrative imposed since the times of 19th century historiography.

KEYWORDS: Historical thinking, narrative analysis, causal explanation, history teaching, teacher training

New approaches to the teaching of history: historical thinking, narrative analysis and causal explanation

A significant amount of recent scientific literature on the teaching of history defends the need for learning based on skills which allow pupils to interpret the past, going beyond mere factual or conceptual knowledge and the memorisation of dates, characters and events (Lévesque, 2008; Peck and Seixas, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). Such research makes a distinction between two types of historical content. On the one hand, there are substantive contents, also known as first-order contents. These are contents which make reference both to concepts or principles and to dates and specific historical events. On the other hand, there are strategic contents, also known as second-order contents, which are historical metaconcepts or methodological concepts. These are related to the skills of the historian, how historical sources

Please cite as: Serrano, J. S., Gómez Carrasco, C. J., & Facal, R. L. (2018). Historical thinking, causal explanation and narrative discourse in trainee teachers in Spain. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 16-30.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

are sought, selected and dealt with and his/her empathy and historical perspective (VanSledright, 2014; VanSledright and Limon, 2006).

Second-order contents are related to the definition of historical thinking which has been forged over the course of recent years. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), historical thinking is the creative process performed by historians in order to be able to interpret sources from the past and to generate historical narratives. In order to develop such skills, six key concepts must be taken into consideration: *historical significance*; *historical evidence*; *change and continuity*; *causes and consequences*; *historical perspectives* and the *ethical dimension of history*. The influence of research carried out in USA, Canada and England on the definition of these concepts and their research proposals and application in the classroom cannot be denied (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson, 2004; Lee, 2005; Monte-Sano, 2010; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001).

These studies agree on the need for teachers to question the model of cognitive learning in the case of history (VanSledright, 2014). They consider that historical thinking is acquired by means of gradual participation in the practice of the historian (Gómez, Ortuño and Molina, 2014). In this context, recent studies have focused on the argumentation and narrative representation of the past. In fact, this process derives from historiographic discussions regarding the value of narration in the explanation of history (Ankersmith, 2001). As has been pointed out by Carretero and Van Alphen (2014), historical knowledge and the construction of narratives are intimately linked.

Narrative thinking is the basic mental operation which gives meaning to the historical past and enables it to be organised (Carretero and Atorresi, 2008; Ricoeur, 1987; Rüsen, 2005). If we ask a student to produce a written synthesis, we can observe what he/she knows about different processes and how he/she represents and organises them. Historical narratives are a relevant source to carry out research on historical knowledge and the ability to provide it with meaning, as has been demonstrated in studies such as those of Barca (2015), Henríquez and Ruíz (2014), Kropman, Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2015), Lévesque, Croteau and Grani (2015) and Sáiz and López Facal (2015 and 2016). The analysis of social representations of the past by means of narratives is a transcendental topic which reaches beyond mere academic curiosity, as has been stated by Klein (2013). It becomes a crucial issue when the narrators are trainee teachers as they are susceptible to reproducing certain stereotypical social representations of the past and of collective memory in their future teaching careers (Pavié, 2011; Souto, 2014). Detecting these elements in the training period of these students will help to improve history teaching and the understanding of social phenomena.

In addition to the social representation of the past, it must be remembered that the use of the temporal dimension, the establishment of causal nexus and a moral perspective are implicit in narrative discourse. Therefore, the use of narratives allows us to reflect on history as a construction (Bage, 1999; Topolski, 2004). Resorting to the construction of narratives is precisely what can enable us to assess the internal processes of historical thinking. According to Bruner's theories (1986; 1990), both the level of substantive knowledge (the enumeration of certain contents regarding an event) and the level of awareness or the level of second-order contents (what is known about beliefs, motives, emotions and will in events which occurred in the past) can be discerned. At the same time, the texts provide information on the progression of learning and the students' ability to organise and understand the past. As McAdams (2006) has shown, the structure of the text, the justifications, causality and paradoxes reflected in the narrative composition are all clear indicators of the maturity of the thinking.

The idea appears to be widespread that the explanation of history is characterised by an allusion to causal explanation (cause and consequence); in other words, to the multiplicity of

causes which intervene in a complex manner in the course of historical facts and which, in turn, give rise to the consequences which make up historical evolution (Buxton, 2016; Woodcock, 2011). Chapman (2013) distinguishes between categories of a descriptive nature (those with temporal content and duration) and those which are explanatory in nature (function and importance). Along the same lines, Seixas and Morton (2013) establish five guidelines regarding what should characterise causal historical explanation: the origin of the change is found in the multiplicity of causes and results in a multiplicity of consequences; the influence or repercussion of the causes is variable; the historical events are explained by the interrelation of the historical characters concerned and the social, political economic, etc. conditions; the possibility of there being unpredictable consequences and that events in history were not inevitable.

Taking the proposals of Seixas and Morton (2013) as the analytical basis for historical thinking, a series of categories of methodological concepts have been chosen in order to analyse the texts produced by the students of the Primary Education degree: *historical significance*, *causes and consequences*, *change and continuity* and *ethical dimension*. A further field of analysis derived from SOLO taxonomy, used to establish levels of cognitive complexity in narratives from higher education (Biggs, Tangs, 2007), can be added to these categories. We have also used these narratives to analyse the most widely-used model of causal explanation and the continued existence of the national narrative inherited from the 19th century when articulating the causes and consequences of that process.

Methodology

Objectives

The objective of this study is to identify levels of historical competence and models of causal explanation in texts written by trainee primary education teachers. In order to achieve this aim, five specific objectives were proposed:

- To ascertain the use of methodological historical concepts in their narratives as indicators of *how* they organise the contents historically.
- To classify the complexity and coherence of their discourse employing the SOLO taxonomy.
- To determine the level of substantive contents which they present in their texts.
- To analyse the typology of causal explanation employed by the trainee teachers in their texts.
- To recognise the characters of the national narrative present in their writing by means of the aforementioned causal explanation.

Population and sample

The study population are students from a Primary Education degree studying the last obligatory subject of the area of social science teaching in the universities of Murcia and Valencia. The sample was probabilistic in nature: all of the groups which studied the subjects had the same probabilities of being selected. It was a non-stratified sample. Six groups of fourteen students studying these subjects were selected, making up 42% of the total population.

	Frequency	**Percentage**
University of Murcia	151	53.4
University of Valencia	132	46.6
Total	283	100.0

Table 1: Participants in this research

Analytical tools and categorisation

The university students were asked to write a text synthesising the process of the Christian conquest of Muslim territory in the Iberian Peninsula during Medieval times. This task was to be carried out during class time of a subject on social science teaching at the beginning of the academic year (September-October 2013). They were given no instructions regarding length, content or structure in order to minimise interference in their discourse. This type of master narrative is an appropriate tool for assessing methodological historical concepts and for analysing social representations of the past and their relationship with collective memory. The requested contents (the Christian expansion into Muslim-ruled territories in the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula) have been a key element in Spain's national narrative from its origin as a metanarrative in the 19th century (Sáiz, 2015).

The validity of the data gathering tool (a narrative of historical synthesis) in order to achieve the proposed aims was based on studies such as those of Bage (1999), Carretero and Bermúdez (2012), Carretero and Van Alphen (2014) and López, Carretero and Rodríguez-Moneo (2015). In spite of the dominance of qualitative methods, from the perspective of social psychology, advances are being made by combining them with quantitative methods which allow social representations to be investigated by way of narratives. Studies such as those of Fülöp and Lázsló (2013), László (2008), Liu and Lázsló (2007), McAdams (2006) and Schiff (2007) make detailed analyses of social representations of history and the use of tools for making inferences and valid interpretations by means of narrative research. The pertinence of this tool has been validated by experts in the teaching of social sciences from three Spanish universities, according to the steps proposed by Alfageme, Miralles and Monteagudo (2010). The qualitative data was gathered and analysed in the Filemaker Pro database, which allowed us to improve the formulation of the categories and the limits between them as we worked. The quantitative data was then codified in the SPSS v.19.0 statistical package.

The next step was to establish different categories of data, which were, in turn, divided into levels. In order to examine the methodological historical concepts presented in the texts, the four categories for classification established by Seixas and Morton (2013) were used, in order to distinguish different levels of progression (null, low, medium and high). The first methodological concept analysed was historical relevance; the evaluation of the degree of importance attributed to a historical phenomenon. Secondly, the concept of causality was examined, which implies the capacity to explain the historical phenomenon by resorting to the complex network of multiple causes and consequences on which it is based. Thirdly, historical time (change and continuity) was examined. This consists of describing changes via the appropriate use of sequencing. Finally, we analysed the concept of ethical dimension, which implies the ability to make explicit or implicit ethical value judgements on the phenomenon.

The pilot empirical analysis enabled us to codify four levels of complexity in markers of historical thinking. Level 0, or null, implies the absence of methodological concepts, coinciding

with a lack of substantive information and/or considerable historical errors. Level 1, or basic, was attributed to the texts which were limited to describing a minimum level of historical information, presented in a linear way or with at least one marker of historical thinking, albeit with an extremely low level. Level 2, or medium, corresponds to writing employing at least two markers of historical thinking, one with a medium level and the other with a low level. Finally, we established level 3 for texts demonstrating a high degree of historical thinking by integrating one or more markers with a high level of consolidation in terms of explanation. Table 2 summarises these levels and their respective criteria.

	LEVEL 0	**LEVEL 1**	**LEVEL 2**	**LEVEL 3**
Causality	The narrative does not contain any causes or consequences of the historical process.	The narrative contains one cause of the evolution of the historical process.	The narrative contains several causes which justify the historical process, though without establishing a hierarchy.	The narrative visualises the ability to explain the historical phenomenon by resorting to a complex network of multiple causes and consequences in an integrated and hierarchical way.
Historical time **(Change and continuity)**	The narrative contains no allusion to the changes and continuities which were brought about by the historical process in society.	The narrative contains some kind of allusion to a significant change from which the historical process originated.	Several significant processes of change are presented in the narrative and reference is made to long-term continuities.	The narrative visualises an appropriate use of sequencing. Flexible criteria of periodisation have been employed and temporal interconnections in the changes and continuities alluded to have been established.
Historical relevance	The narrative contains no allusion to the relevance of the historical phenomenon in terms of understanding social, economic or political processes.	The narrative contains some degree of allusion to the relevance of the historical process, although neither its significance nor the scope of its relevance is determined.	The narrative mentions several elements of the significance of the historical phenomenon in differing social, economic or political spheres, albeit without establishing a hierarchy.	The narrative demonstrates the importance of the historical phenomenon in understanding society today and historical changes. These narratives show the connection between the specific historical process and others.
The ethical dimension of history	The narrative contains no value judgements on the historical phenomenon.	A certain degree of implicit value judgement is made in the narrative regarding the historical phenomenon, although it is not correctly explained.	The narrative contains explicit value judgements on the historical phenomenon, although no temporal or explanatory interconnection is established.	The narrative contains explicit ethical value judgements on the historical phenomenon. The texts relate the historical process with the present whilst still understanding it within its own context.

Table 2. Levels of complexity in the methodological concepts of the narratives

As far as the substantive contents are concerned, four additional levels were established. Level 0 corresponds to those texts which contained significant historical vacuums, the absence of or serious errors in information, either due to not providing any data or by presenting irrelevant information. Level 1 refers to texts which merely present descriptive information with a linear organisation, providing information regarding certain events or facts in a correctly ordered manner. Basically, this level is concerned with selected political and territorial events, from the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 to the Christian conquest of the kingdom of Granada in 1492. Level 2 consists of texts containing the same basic narrative of political events but which combine the former with social, economic and cultural information and, even, evaluations of the Muslim legacy or of the period itself. Level 3 corresponds to those texts containing a greater wealth of information, integrating explanations of political contents with other, well-structured, information of a more socio-economic and cultural nature.

Finally, the analysis was completed by examining the level of complexity of the narratives according to the SOLO taxonomy (Biggs and Tangs, 2007), employing the categories established in this model: pre-structural (level 0), uni-structural (level 1), multi-structural (level 2) and relational and extended abstract (level 3).

Analytical methods and techniques

Due to the nature of the research topic and the data gathering tool, it became necessary to adopt a methodological design combining techniques and strategies which can be classified as non-experimental methods. More specifically, this design lies within the framework of a mixed, or holistic, model as it integrates both qualitative and quantitative methodological perspectives and allows for proposals for improvement to be made based on the systematic, rigorous, credible, trustworthy and valid gathering of information and evidence (Lukas and Santiago, 2009). With this approach, the comprehensive-transformative potential of qualitative research is brought together with the explanatory-predictive value of quantitative research (Sabariego and Bisquerra, 2012). The most important research on history teaching from this area of knowledge also insists on the complementary nature of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Barca, 2005; Barton, 2005 and 2012).

The research began with an exploratory cross-sectional design via a group (15% of the data gathered). Following this initial exploration, we moved on to a descriptive cross-sectional design. Quantitative analysis techniques were applied via the codification of the categories which allowed for this, using the SPSS statistical package: the analysis of frequencies, averages, percentages, chi-squared tests, contingency tables and the analysis of the dependence between variables. The aim of this analysis was to reveal the underlying structure of the subjects' narratives and to verify the different contrasts between the thematic categories which we considered to be of interest.

From this holistic approach, qualitative methodology was also integrated from a phenomenological point of view. This concerns describing, comparing, explaining and understanding the reality being studied from the point of view of the participants (in this case future primary school teachers). By carrying out the phenomenological study, we attempted to discover those aspects linked to the problems of our research which appear to be pertinent and significant in the perceptions, beliefs, feelings and actions of the socio-educational agents following an inductive procedure, as recommended by Sandín (2003) and Sabariego, Massot and Dorio (2012).

The handling of the qualitative data was carried out via an analysis of the conceptual and narrative complexity of the students' writing and its later codification via the aforementioned markers (see table 2). In order to achieve this in the case of this study, it was deemed appropriate to carry out an open codification when determining the content of the discourses and to be able to determine the levels within the categories and the analytical concepts taken into consideration, thereby following strategies derived from *grounded theory* (Strauss and Corbin 1991; Flick, 2007), which have also been used in other studies on history teaching based on narratives (Barca, 2005 and 2010; Barca and Schmidt, 2013).

Results

The historical thinking skills of future teachers

An initial reading of the results obtained (tables 3, 4 and 5) reveals the low level of knowledge regarding history of the students studying the Primary Education degree, both in the data extracted from the University of Murcia and in that of the University of Valencia. First of all, this can be observed in the lack of substantive contents, *what* they know regarding the historical content they were asked to reproduce, in spite of the fact that this should come from their basic education and be present in their informal knowledge. Secondly, this can be considered to be due to the absence of skill in organising a narrative in terms of history, *how* they narrate or present such content. More than half of the students did not provide any information worthy of mention and the same percentage did not have a minimum level of presentational skills. These narratives (around half of the sample) lacked a logical narrative structure and were full of historical errors.

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Null (0)	142	50.2
Basic (1)	107	37.8
Medium (2)	33	11.7
High (3)	1	0.4
Total	283	100.0

Table 3. Level of historical contents in the narratives

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Null (0)	139	49.1
Basic (1)	119	42.0
Medium (2)	24	8.5
High (3)	1	0.4
Total	283	100.0

Table 4. Level of concepts of historical thinking in the narratives

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Pre-structural	131	46.3
Uni-structural	120	42.4
Multi-structural	31	11.0
Relational	1	0.4
Total	283	100.0

Table 5. Level of the narratives according to the SOLO taxonomy

If we focus the analysis on historical thinking skills (table 4), only 9% of the students have shown in their texts that they have control of one or several second-order concepts in a consistent manner (levels 2 and 3). It is significant that 91% of the students do not appear to have knowledge of, and, therefore, do not make appropriate use of historical metaconcepts or the capacity of organising their discourse (the accumulated percentage of levels 0 and 1). This group of students largely coincides with the 88% who demonstrated lower levels of presentational complexity in their discourse according to the SOLO taxonomy (table 5); the accumulated percentage of narratives classified as pre-structural (with a null or erroneous approach) and uni-structural (with a simple, linear narrative focused on just one concept).

In the texts produced by the students there is a great scarcity of such basic second-order concepts as the explanation of the causes and consequences of a historical process or the allusion to the social, economic, political and cultural changes and continuities. As can be observed in table 6, 70% of the narratives contain no markers to show the relevance of the historical process in their discourse, 85% do not allude to the causes and consequences which led to the advance of the Christian kingdoms into Muslim-ruled territory or to the different temporal rhythms of the process. In the same way, 86% of the narratives do not present contents regarding the changes and continuities associated with the historical process in question and 96% do not show any markers associated with the concept of the ethical dimension of history. In other words, they do not employ value judgements which interconnect past facts with the present-day social, economic, political or cultural context. Furthermore, the students who did use these historical metaconcepts in their narratives did so, on the whole, at a very low level.

Categorisation	**Relevance**	**Causality**	**Historical time**	**Ethical dimension**
Null	198 70%	243 85.8%	244 86.2%	272 96.1%
Low	66 23.3%	25 8.9%	31 11%	7 2.5%
Medium	19 6.7%	14 5%	8 2.8%	4 1.4%
High	0 0	1 0.3%	0 0	0 0
Total	283 100%	283 100%	283 100%	283 100%

Table 6. Second-order concepts in the narratives

The causal explanation

As can be observed in table 4, only 15% of the narratives introduced some element of causal explanation, with the lower levels of use being clearly predominant. The most common profile was the presentation of a single cause with a clearly simplistic model. In order to explain the Christian expansion over Muslim territory or the arrival of the Muslims, the concepts of union/hegemony are used in comparison to dispersion/weakness. Hegemony, which is based on the territorial advance of Christians or Muslims, is linked to union and a strong central power. On the other hand, the weakness of both sides is associated with dispersion, the decentralisation of the territory and the loss of a strong central control. This explanatory model must be linked to the continuation of a traditional interpretation of the history of Spain inherited from the 19th century (López Facal and Sáiz, 2016), a national narrative in which traditional historiography associated the idea of strength with territorial union and a centralising authority with sweeping powers. On the other hand, this type of historiography links periods of political, social and economic decadence to the division and disintegration of the territory (the Taifa Kingdoms against the Christian advance or the division of the Visigoth Kingdom against the Muslim invasion). This aspect can be appreciated in some of the narratives:

> First of all, mention must be made of the decadence of the Visigoth Kingdoms which occupied the Peninsula. This favoured the progressive invasion of the Muslims which culminated in the Caliphate of Al-Andalus...Secondly...a second phase must be highlighted, which can be referred to as the 'Reconquista', in which the Muslim caliphates were weakened by internal struggles. This was taken advantage of by the Christians in order to reconquer the occupied territories (Ref. 42 UV).

> The disputes between the different caliphs led to the Muslim Kingdoms gradually losing power as many of these kingdoms were divided into smaller ones (taifas) and, therefore, they became less powerful, both in economic and in military terms. This was taken advantage of by the different Christian Kingdoms, which, on many occasions, joined forces and began to reconquer the territory (Ref. 43 UV).

> The Muslims invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 711. The speed with which they conquered the territory was due to the fragmentation of the territory of the Peninsula at the beginning of the 8th century (Ref. 45 UM).

It is also necessary to highlight the fact that the models of causal explanation presented in these narratives show a view of the historical processes which is related to Todorov's (2003) proposal. There are four ideal types for the analysis of narratives in the model proposed by Todorov: the benefactor (in which the narrator presents him/herself or his/her social group as the one who acts correctly); the evildoer (in which the one who does wrong is represented; the beneficiary (who is the receiver of the good action from a passive perspective; and the victim (who receives the evil from the others). There are two positive elements in these types: the hero (the one who does good) and the victim (who has a moral complaint). The other two types have a negative character (Chapman, 2016). In the narratives analysed, we can observe a sense of identification with a specific group (the Christian Kingdoms as opposed to the Muslims). Furthermore, when moral arguments are used in providing causal explanations, the Christians regularly appear as victims of the Muslims in the justification of the "reconquest" of lost territory. On the other hand, when mentioning the causes which explain the Muslim advance, mention is only made of the disintegration and lack of union of the Visigoth kingdoms. It is also significant to point out that, in many of the narratives, the Catholic Monarchs are considered as "heroes", to whom a fundamental role in the process of territorial conquest is attributed. This leading role is justified, in several of the narratives, by the atrocities and immoral actions carried out by the Muslims towards the Christians. These narrative views of history show the strong influence of

moral preconceptions and prejudices regarding "us" and "them" which are in agreement with Rüsen's (2015) approach to narrative analysis:

> The Christians rebelled because the Muslims wanted to impose their religion, their culture and their customs. The Catholic Monarchs completed the reconquest in Granada (Ref. 52 UM).
>
> The Catholic Monarchs conquered the territory for the Christians because the Muslims forced the Christians to convert. If not, they were killed, without consideration for whether they were adults or children (Ref. 117, UM).

Conclusions

The results indicate that the trainee teachers who participated in our research have not received an adequate level of education in terms of history as far as both substantive contents and historical thinking skills (causal explanation among them) are concerned. Therefore, they can hardly be considered to be in a suitable state to teach history with the minimum level of disciplinary and educational sufficiency, at least according to the standards currently accepted by researchers in the field of social science and history teaching (Wineburg, 2001; Barton and Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2014). This problem is derived both from the design of the curriculum of Primary Education degrees in Spain and from the irregular and insufficient level of history teaching received at school. In both primary and secondary education, a model of history teaching prevails which is derived from the memorisation of factual and conceptual contents. This model is explicitly reflected in one of the narratives we analysed:

> The Muslims who had settled in the Peninsula years before were invaded by James I and his troops. I don't remember anything else because I was taught to learn by heart and I had to throw it up onto an exam paper at the time. At least I suppose that is what happened because I really don't remember having studied this (ref. 130 UV).

In this text, the memorisation of contents as the basis of prior history education is explicitly recognised; contents which simply cannot be recalled are not known and, therefore, cannot be easily explained in terms of their cause. The learning of history at school is derived from a model of learning by heart for an exam, which either consists of short questions or of remembering academic texts, which are normally determined by the activities and the contents of the school textbook. This situation allows us to understand perfectly the limited control of causal explanation demonstrated in the narratives of these future primary education teachers. In order to pass their history exams, they have not been required to make arguments or to construct narratives resorting to causal explanation. They have not learned these skills and, therefore, have not shown them in their texts, nor will they be able to teach them. A change to a curriculum based on basic educational skills would hardly have modified this model of learning history, which has become a routine belonging to the disciplinary code of history as a subject, its validity in textbooks (Gómez, 2014; Gómez, Rodríguez and Miralles, 2015; Sáiz, 2013 and 2015) and the practices of teaching such as exams (Fuster, 2016; Gómez and Miralles, 2015; Sáiz and Fuster, 2014).

Many studies have shown the educational potential of teaching skills relating to strategic contents and historical thinking in primary education. The studies of Cooper (2013), Levstik and Barton (2008) and VanSledright (2002) point the way towards making use of sources, research methods, reflection and historical reasoning based on causal explanation. However, the epistemological idea of history as closed knowledge is deeply rooted in countries such as Spain, where the teaching of this subject is based on a linear narrative of past facts which have been previously selected by the official curriculum, the textbook, the teaching programme of the school and, finally, by the teacher. Faced with this situation, it is necessary to intervene transversally in order to increase the presence of history education (in terms of substantive contents and historical skills, which are both intimately related) in the early stages of education

(primary and secondary), a factor which must be complemented by training future teachers in these matters.

References

Alfageme, B.; Miralles, P. and Monteagudo, J. (2010). Diseño y validación de un instrumento sobre evaluación de la geografía y la historia en Educación Secundaria. *Enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales. Revista de investigación, 10,* 48-60.

Ankersmit F. R., (2001). *Historical representation*. Stanford University Press

Bage, G. (1999). *Narrative Matters. Teaching and Learning History through story*. New York: Routledge.

Barca, I. (2005). "Till new facts are discovered": Students' ideas about objectivity in history. In R. Ashby, P. Gordon and P. Lee (Eds.), *International review of history education*, Vol. 4: *Understanding history: Recent research in history education* (pp. 68-82). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Barca, I. (2010). Narrativas e consciencia histórica dos jovens. *Enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales*, *10*, 23-29.

Barca, I. and Schmidt, Mª A. (2013). La consciencia histórica de los jóvenes brasileños y portugueses y su relación con la creación de identidades nacionales. *Educatio Siglo XXI*, *31*(1), 25-45.

Barton, K. C. (2005). "Best not to forget them": Adolescents' judgments of historical significance in Northern Ireland. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *33*, 9-44.

Barton, K. C. (2012). Applied research: Educational research as a way of seeing. In A. McCully, G. Mills and C. van Boxtel (Eds.), *The professional teaching of history: UK and Dutch perspectives* (1-15). Coleraine, Northern Ireland: History Teacher Education Network.

Biggs, J. and Tang, C. (2007). *Teaching for Quality Learning at University. What the Students Does*, Berkshire, McGrawHill.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual Minds. Possible Worlds.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Buxton, E. (2016). Historical Causation: Counterfactual Reasoning and the Power of Comparison. In C. Counsell; K. Burn and A. Chapman (Eds). *MasterClass in History Education. Transforming Teaching and Learning* (pp. 23-42). London: Bloomsbury.

Carr, D. (1986). Narrative and the Real World: An Argument for Continuity. *History and Theory*, *25*(2), 117-131

Carretero, M., and Atorresi, A. (2008). Pensamiento narrativo. In Carretero, M. and Asensio, M. (Eds.) *Psicología del pensamiento* (pp. 269-289). Madrid: Alianza.

Carretero, M., and Bermúdez, A. (2012). Constructing Histories. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology* (625-646). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carretero, M. and Van Alphen, F. (2014). Do Master Narratives Change Among High School Students? A Characterization of How National History Is Represented, *Cognition and Instruction, 32 (3)*, 290-312, DOI: 10.1080/07370008.2014.919298

Carretero, M., López, C., Fernanda, M. F. and Rodríguez-Moneo, M. (2012). Students historical narratives and concepts about the nation. In M. Carretero, M. Asensio and M. Rodríguez-Moneo (Eds.), *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (153-170). Charlotte CT: Information Age Publishing.

Chapman, A. (2016). On the diagnosis and treatment of narrative vices. *Public History Weekly* 4 (37) DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1515/phw-2016-7659

Cooper, H. (2003) (ed.). *Teaching History Creatively. Learning to Teach in the Primary School Series.* New York: Routledge.

Cooper, H. (2014) (ed.). *Writing History, 7-11. Historical writing in different genres.* New York: Routledge.

Flick, U. (2007). Introducción a la investigación cualitativa. Madrid: Morata.

Fülöp, E. and Lázsló, J. (2013). Emotional Processes in Elaborating a Historical Trauma in the Daily Press. In Cabecinhas, R. and Abadia, L. (Eds). *Narratives and Social Memory. Theoretical and methodological approaches* (pp. 46-60). Braga: Universidade Do Minho.

Fuster, C. (2016). (2016): *Pensar históricamente: La evaluación en las PAU de Historia de España*. Doctoral thesis, Valencia, Universidad de Valencia.

García-Fitz, F. (2010). *La Reconquista*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

Gómez, C. J. (2014). Pensamiento histórico y contenidos disciplinares en los libros de texto. Un análisis exploratorio de la Edad Moderna en 2º de la ESO. *Ensayos. Revista de la Facultad de Educación de Albacete, 29*(1), 131-158.

Gómez, C. J.; Ortuño, J. and Molina, S. (2014). Aprender a pensar históricamente: Retos para la historia en el siglo XXI. *Tempo e Argumento. 6*(11), 1-25.

Gómez, C. J. and Miralles, P. (2015). 'Pensar históricamente o memorizar el pasado': La evaluación de los contenidos históricos en la educación obligatoria en España, *Revista de Estudios Sociales, 52,* 52-48.

Gómez, C. J., Rodríguez, R. and Miralles, P. (2015). La enseñanza de la Historia en Educación Primaria y la construcción de una narrativa nacional. Un estudio sobre exámenes y libros de texto en España, *Perfiles Educativos, XXXVII* (150), 20-38.

González, Mª F. and Carretero, M. (2013): Historical narratives and arguments in the context of identity conflicts. *Estudios de Psicología*, *34*(1), 73-82.

Henríquez, R. and Ruíz, M. (2014). Chilean students learn to think historically: Construction of historical causation through the use of evidence in writing. *Linguistics and Education*, *25,* 145-167

Klein, O. (2013). The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think About History. In R. Cabecinhas, & L. Abadia (eds), *Narratives and Social Memory. Theoretical and methodological approaches* (pp. 25-45). Braga: Universidade Do Minho.

Kropman, M., Van Boxtel, C. and Van Drie, J. (2015). Small country, great ambitions: Prospective teachers' narratives and knowledge about Dutch history. In A. Chapman, & A. Wilschut (eds.), *Joined-up history: New Directions in History Education Research* (pp. 57-84). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

László, J. (2008). *The Science of Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Psychology.* London: Routledge.

Lee, P. (2005), Putting principles intro practice: understanding history. In M., Donovan, J., Bransford (eds), *How students learn: History in the classroom* (31-77), National Academies Press, Washington

Lee, P., Ashby, R. and Dickinson, A. (2004). Las ideas de los niños sobre la historia. In M. Carretero, & J. Voss (eds), *Aprender y pensar la historia* (217-248), Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.

Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking historically. Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Levstik, L. S. and Barton, K. (2008). *Doing History, Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools.* New York: Routledge.

Liu, J.H. and László, J. (2007). A narrative theory of history and identity: Social identity, social representations, society and the individual. In G. Moloney and I. Walker (eds), *Social representations and identity: Content, process and power* (pp. 85-107). London: Palgrave Macmillan

López, C.; Carretero, M. and Rodríguez-Moneo, Mª (2015). Conquest or reconquest? Students' Conceptions of Nation Embedded in a Historical Narrative. *Journal of the Learning Sciences.* 1-33, DOI: 10.1080/10508406.2014.919863

López Facal, R. and Sáiz, J. (2016) "Spain: History Education and Nationalism Conflicts. In Guyver, R. (ed.), *Teaching History and the Changing Nation State. Transnational and Intranational Perspectives (*pp. 201-215). London: Bloomsbury

Lukas, J.F. and Santiago, K. (2009). *Evaluación educativa*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial

McAdams, D. P. (2006). The role of narrative in personality psychology today. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 11-18.

Monte-Sano, C. (2010). Disciplinary literacy in history: An exploration of the historical nature of adolescents' writing. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *19*(4), 539-568.

Mora, G. and Paz, R. (2012). El modelo de educación histórica. Experiencia de innovación en la educación básica de México, *Enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales*, *11*, 87-98.

Paez, D. and Liu, J.H. (2011). Collective memory of conflicts. In D. Bar-Tal (Ed.) *Intergroup conflicts and their Resolution: Social Psychological Perspectives (*pp. 105-124). New York: Psychology Press.

Pavié, A. (2011). Formación docente: hacia una definición del concepto de competencia profesional docente. *Revista Electrónica Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado, 14*(1), 67-80.

Peck, C. and Seixas, P. (2008). Benchmarks of Historical Thinking: First Steps. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *31*(4), 1015-1038

Ricoeur, P. (1995). *Tiempo y narración.* Madrid: Cristiandad.

Ríos, M. F. (2011). *La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI-XIX).* Madrid: Marcial Pons

Rüsen, J. (2005). *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*, New York, Berghahn.

Rüsen, J. (2015). *Teoria da História. Uma teoria da história como ciencia*. Curitiba (Brazil): Ed. Universidade Federal do Paraná

Sabariego, M. and Bisquerra, R. (2012). El proceso de investigación (parte I). In Bisquerra, R. (coord.), *Metodología de la investigación educativa* (89-125). Madrid: La Muralla.

Sabariego, M., Massot, I. and Dorio, I. (2012). Métodos de investigación cualitativa. In Bisquerra, R. (coord.), *Metodología de la investigación educativa* (293-328). Madrid: La Muralla.

Sáiz, J. (2013). Alfabetización histórica y competencias básicas en libros de texto de historia y en aprendizajes de estudiantes. *Didáctica de las Ciencias Experimentales y Sociales, 27,* 43-66.

Sáiz, J. (2015). *Educación histórica y narrativa nacional*, Doctoral thesis, Universidad de Valencia.

Sáiz, J. and López Facal, R. (2015). Competencias y narrativas históricas: el pensamiento histórico de estudiantes y futuros profesores españoles de Educación Secundaria. *Revista de Estudios Sociales, 52,* 87-101.

Sáiz, J. and López Facal, R. (2016). Narrativas nacionales históricas de estudiantes y profesorado en formación. *Revista de Educación*, *374*, 118-141.

Sáiz, J. and Fuster, C. (2014). Memorizar historia sin aprender pensamiento histórico. Las PAU de Historia de España. *Investigación en la escuela*, 8*4,* 46-57.

Sandín, M.P. (2003). *Investigación cualitativa en la educación: Fundamentos y tradiciones*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill/Interamericana de España.

Schiff, B. (2007). The promise (and challenge) of an innovative narrative psychology. In M. Bamberg (ed.), *Narratives. State of the Art (*pp 27-36). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing

Seixas, P. and Morton, T. (2013). *The big six historical thinking concepts*. Nelson, Toronto.

Stearns, P.N., Seixas, P. and Wineburg, S. (eds), (2000). *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, New York-London, New York University Press

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1991), *Basics of Qualitative Research – Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Newbury Park: Sage.

Souto, X.M. (2014). Formación del profesorado y didácticas específicas en la Educación Básica. *Revista Electrónica Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado*, *17*(1), 33-56. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.6018/reifop.17.1.198831

Todorov, T. (2003). *Hope and Memory: Reflections on the 20th Century*. London: Atlantic Books.

Topolski, J. (2004). La estructura de las narrativas históricas y la enseñanza de la historia. In Carretero, M. and Voss, J. (comp.), *Aprender y pensar la historia* (101-120). Buenos Aires: Amorrortu

VanSledright, B. A. (2011). *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education. On Practice, Theories, and Policy.* New York: Routledge.

VanSledright, B. A. (2014). *Assessing Historical Thinking and Understanding. Innovation Design for New Standards.* New York: Routledge.

VanSledright, B. and Limón, M. (2006). Learning and teaching in social studies: Cognitive research on history and geography. In P. Alexander, & P. Winne (eds), *The Handbook of Educational Psychology* (545-570). Mahweh, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical Thinking and Other Unnaturals Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press.

Wineburg, S. Martin, D. and Monte-Sano, C. (2013). *Reading like a Historian. Teaching Literacy in Middle & High School History Classrooms*, New York, Teachers.

Woodcock, J. (2011). Causal explanation. In I. Davies (ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 124-136). London: Routledge.

Endnotes

[1] This paper is the result of research project EDU2015-65621-C3-R "Competencias sociales para una ciudadanía democrática: análisis, desarrollo y evaluación"; EDU2015-65621-C3-2-R "La evaluación de las competencias y el desarrollo de capacidades cognitivas sobre historia en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria"; EDU2014-51720-REDT RED 14 "Red de investigación en enseñanza de las ciencias sociales.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

Identity and Instrumentality: History in the Scottish School Curriculum, 1992-2017

Joe Smith
University of Stirling, UK

ABSTRACT: This paper explores changes in the Scottish history curriculum over the last quarter-century and interprets these in the context of wider debates about Scottish nationhood. By comparing the framing of history within Scotland's two national curriculum documents[1] of this period (5-14 Guidelines and Curriculum for Excellence) it is argued that an implicit narrative of national identity has emerged. This curricular nationalism is not the nationalism of separatism, but rather of a national sense of self which informs both how the past is viewed, and Scotland's future relationship with the world. The paper develops this contention using concepts proposed from Arnott and Ozga (2010) regarding an 'inward-facing' discourse of heritage and citizenship and the 'outward-facing' discourse of employability and global competitiveness While this emergent curricular nationalism has paralleled growing support for self-determination, the paper does not posit a causal relationship between the two. Instead it implies that both are consequences of the discursive spaces opened by devolution and the recreation of the Scottish parliament in 1999.

KEYWORDS: History Curriculum; History Education; Nationalism; Scotland.

Inntroduction

In 2002, Scottish Education Minister, Cathy Jamieson, called for a 'National Debate on Education'. Three years earlier, the Scottish parliament had convened for the first time since 1707 following a s referendum on devolution of powers. Although education in Scotland had always been distinct from the rest of the UK, the existing de facto curriculum – the *5-14 Guidelines* (SOED, 1993) – had been published by the 'Scottish Office' of the UK Parliament, an authorship which implied a somewhat colonial relationship between Scotland and London. The new parliament provided an opportunity for Scotland to assert its autonomy; in the words of Jamieson, The National Debate was to "sharpen the focus of what Scotland wants from its schools in the 21st century" so that the government might "carefully plan how to realise that vision from where we are today" (Scottish Executive, 2002, p. 5). Although focused on education, these debates can be seen as proxies for larger questions about the Scottish nation as a whole: How did a devolved Scotland see itself? What kind of future did Scotland want? What was Scotland's place in the world? As Green reminds us, education is "both parent and child to the nation state" (1997, p. 1).

The curriculum which emerged from the National Debate was titled a *A Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Executive, 2004) and differed markedly from the previous *5-14 Guidelines*. This paper looks closely at the framing of history in the two curricula and explores the nature of these differences and offers an explanation for them. It is argued that *Curriculum for Excellence* was conceived at a historic moment where two powerful (and seemingly

PLEASE CITE AS: Smith, J. (2018). Identity and Instrumentality: History in the Scottish School Curriculum, 1992-2017. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 31-45.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

antagonistic) discourses converged. The first of these was the flowering of national self-belief that came with the recreation of the Scottish parliament. The second was a supranational trend for education systems in the west to homogenise and coalesce around an instrumental business-friendly approach to education (Avis, et al., 1996; Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Priestley, 2002). While Green (1997) has argued that the processes of globalisation inevitably diminished nationalism in the school curricula of advanced economies, Scotland stood apart from this: as an emerging nation, its nationalism fused with its globalism.

Following Arnott and Ozga (2010; 2016), it is suggested that these pressures created a form of civic nationalism consisting of an *inward* discourse which emphasises national 'flourishing' and an *outward* discourse which "foregrounds economic growth and references skills, smartness and success' and 'competitiveness'" (2010, p. 344). Although Arnott and Ozga associate these discourses with the Scottish National Party, it is argued that the same national self-image is evident in *Curriculum for Excellence* which aspires to the creation of successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors (Scottish Executive, 2004). These discourses are, in turn, manifested in the changing shape of history in the Scottish curriculum. In the shift from *5-14* to *Curriculum for Excellence*, Scottish history and identity has been given greater prominence but so too have employability skills and citizenship.

The paper will begin with a brief comparison of how History is framed in the *5-14 Guidelines* and *Curriculum for Excellence*. It will then move to an outline description of the kinds of nationalism implicit in the later curriculum, before exploring three dimensions of this nationalism (heritage, employability and citizenship) in more forensic detail.

History in the *5-14 National Guidelines* (1993-2008)

The 5-14 Guidelines document (SOED, 1993) is sometimes referred to as Scotland's first national curriculum (Kirk & Glaister, 1994), but, unlike the prescriptive English National Curriculum which was conceived at the same time, it had no statutory force. In terms of history, the curriculum largely affirmed the Scottish tradition of an interdisciplinary 'social subjects' approach (McGonigle, 1999). In the guidelines, historical learning was covered by a strand within social subjects termed, 'understanding people in the past'. The social subjects were themselves, in turn, considered a subset of a larger curriculum area called Environmental Studies.

Although the nested position of history implied that it had been accorded a lowly status, the content and framing of the curriculum suggested a sophisticated discipline-oriented approach. As well as the need for "adopting methods of historical enquiry" (SOED, 1993, p. 34), the aims of 'understanding people in the past' were stated, as outlined in table 1.

Studying people, events and societies of significance in the past in a variety of local, national, European and world contexts.
Developing an understanding of change and continuity over time, and of cause and effect in historical contexts.
Developing an understanding of time and historical sequence.
Developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence by using a range of types of evidence to develop and extend knowledge about the past.
Considering the meaning of heritage and the influence of the past upon the present.

Table 1: Aims of 'Understanding People in the Past' (SOED, 1993, p. 34).

These aims outlined a procedural definition of the subject: that the purpose of a historical education was not simply to develop a knowledge of the past, but also an understanding of how historians make sense of the past. In this respect, history in *5-14* shared a common intellectual ancestry in the Schools' Council for History Project (Schools' History Project, 1976; Rogers, 1979) with the contemporaneous English *National Curriculum.* This can best be seen in the way the 5-14 Guidelines conceived progression in history. In keeping with the approach outlined by Coltham and Fines (1971) *5-14* assumes progression in conceptual understanding across the whole age range. Thus, a focus on 'change and continuity' is emphasised throughout school, but whereas a child of 7 is expected to understand "changes affecting their own and other people's lives"; at 11 this has become "changes which have taken place over a period of time and comparison… with the present"; and at 14 'why some features change while others show continuity' (p. 34).

5-14 also avoided prescribing which periods should be taught. Instead students were required to "experience a broad range of historical study" in "five main historical eras" (i.e. Ancient, Medieval, early modern, 1700-1900 and the Twentieth Century). Students were also explicitly expected to encounter "some studies which trace particular developments across time" (p. 34). The result was a curriculum which afforded considerable autonomy to teachers (although this autonomy was not always recognised (MacDonald, 1994; Priestley & Minty, 2013). It was also a curriculum which differed markedly from elsewhere in the UK – in their comparison the history curricula in the four nations of the UK, Phillips, *et al.* (1999) suggested that the 'organising principles' of the Scottish curriculum were 'Autonomy, choice, flexibility' in contrast to the English emphasis on 'citizenship' and 'central control'.

Several writers have proposed that interdisciplinary teaching of social studies militates against effective disciplinary history teaching. Osborne (2004) argues that social studies inevitably foregrounds social cohesion, while Levesque (2008) suggests that the existence of a social studies tradition in North America prevented the adoption of a disciplinary approach there until the late 1990s. The framing of history within 5-14 would seem to stand in opposition to this: combining a sharp disciplinary definition and a social subjects focus.

History in *Curriculum for Excellence* (2008-present)

The *5-14 Guidelines* underwent review between 1998 and 2000 (LTS, 2000), but no substantive change was made to either the status or content of the history curriculum. The review did contain nods towards greater independence for each subject, including the suggestion that strands (of which 'Understanding People in the Past' was one) 'should be the main organizational features for planning' and that 'pupil attainment should be reported on in a way that aids progression in each of the social subjects' (p. 1). Despite these suggestions, historical education in Scotland remained under the umbrella of both Social Studies and Environmental Studies, and interdisciplinary planning and teaching was encouraged.

However, the modesty of these changes masked the more fundamental constitutional change arising from Scottish devolution. In 1999, the first Scottish Parliament since 1707 was formed (then known as The Scottish Executive) and in March 2002, a 'National Debate on Education' was announced by Education Minister, Cathy Jamieson. The consultation process attracted some 1,500 responses (Munn, et al., 2004) and in 2004 the outline document of *A Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Executive, 2004) was published. The National Debate had shown the Scottish public to be fairly conservative in their aspirations for the new curriculum (Munn, et al., 2004, pp. 440-448), but there was a shared view among policy makers that curriculum review had to mean more than a simple updating of *5-14* (Scottish Executive, 2003; 2004).

CfE was based around four 'capacities' or aims: the development of successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors (Scottish Executive, 2004). Initially, policy makers gave the impression that this approach was incompatible with traditional subject disciplines with Minister for Education, Peter Peacock, saying of history "perhaps we will not be teaching it in the same way in a timetabled slot marked history, but as a contributor to broader forms of learning" (Munro, 2005). However, History's place in the curriculum (albeit under the title 'People, past events and societies') was assured after a campaign by the Scottish Association of Teachers of History (Henry, 2006). History remained a 'social subject', and would be expected to contribute the four capacities. A 2006 document, *Principles and Practice*, defined exactly what this contribution would be in terms of the 'experiences and outcomes' to which a child was entitled. In this way, history was instrumentalised by stealth – permitted to retain its unique identity, but placed in the service of broader educational aims.

New Nationalism and *Curriculum for Excellence*

Given the narrow defeat for independence (45%-55%) in the 2015 referendum, it is tempting to conflate Scottish nationalism with Scottish separatism. However, although the terms are not mutually exclusive, they are most definitely not interchangeable. In the pre-devolution era, Nairn clarified this when he wrote that politics in Scotland has turned into an orthographic battle between [nationalism in] the upper and the lower cases' (Nairn, 1995). While upper-case Nationalism called for "Scots to abandon their silent way and recover voice and presence as a nation-state", lower case nationalism proposes that culture and identity are sufficient to sustain nationality. As Nairn reminds us, when defined in these terms "almost everyone is some sort of nationalist."

Despite rising support for Scottish independence and electoral victory for the separatist SNP in the 2011 and 2015 Scottish elections, it is this 'lower case' nationalism which has seen the biggest gains. Research by Paterson *et al.* (2001, p. 105) indicated that the 1999 referendum which re-created the Scottish parliament caused a surge in people self-identifying as 'Scottish' as opposed to 'British'. The most recent surveys concluded that that 52% view their identity as primarily Scottish, 29% as equally Scottish and British and just 8% as primarily British (Scotcen, 2016). This weaker form of nationalism pervades *Curriculum for Excellence,* and represents a consensus view of nationhood which crosses party-political divisions: this was a curriculum written under a unionist Labour/ Liberal Democrat coalition which was adopted wholesale by the separatist SNP following their 2007 election victory.

As Billig (1995) has argued, nationality is usual a 'banal' characteristic, taken for granted much of the time and which is only becomes overwhelming in certain circumstances (such as migration or war). However, nationalism, even in Nairn's lower case, is underpinned by a view that there is something unique and valuable about a particular country. In the case of Scotland, a distinctive language, culture, landscape and traditions buttress national identity. Scotland's education system offers a good example of this distinctiveness. Supposedly underpinned by values of inclusivity (Paterson, et al., 2001) and breadth (Davie, 1961), it is often contrasted with the narrow elitism of England by proud Scots (McCrone, 1992). Like all national myths, it is debateable whether these principles are reflected in reality, but it is, nevertheless, part of the narrative which shapes Scottish identity.

However, the nationalism which guides *Curriculum for Excellence* is something more than nostalgia, it is coupled with a belief that Scotland and its people have a unique contribution to make to the world. The education system, therefore, is both a site of identity construction and the vehicle through which this identity can be mobilised. It is the self-confidence conferred by

nationhood and patriotism which enables Scotland to take its place on the global stage. The remainder of this paper will substantiate this argument by analysing the way in which three themes (heritage, employability and citizenship) are treated differently by *5-14* and *Curriculum for Excellence.* A comparison of the two curricula will show a considerable shift in emphasis: heritage moves from something to be critiqued to something which is to be appreciated, while employability skills and citizenship move to the forefront.

Curriculum Change in Focus – Case Study 1 –Heritage and identity

As McCrone (1997) has argued, "Heritage has uncommon power in Scotland because it is a stateless nation" (p. 43). However, heritage in Scotland is more than a mystical component of national identity, it is also a source ofconsiderable income. The Scottish brand has extensive global recognition both in its tangible produce (whiskies, salmon and shortbread) and the intangible 'Scottishness' of moorland, tartan and bagpipes. Scotland has marketed its national identity effectively, and vies with Ireland for the title of small country with greatest global reach. Heritage is not in itself harmful, but it is not to be confused with history; instead, it is the use of history to support an aim in the present (Lowenthal, 1996).

The presence (or absence) of Scotland's own national history in its curriculum has long been a cause for debate (McLennan, 2013; Hillis, 2010; SCCC, 1998). As in many other countries, young people's perceived ignorance about the historical canon of their nation has been interpreted as *prima facie* evidence of the inadequacy of the curriculum. The only major empirical Scottish work in this area (Wood & Payne, 1997) is now some twenty years old, but it revealed misconceptions about Scotland's past which Wood was later to blame on the lack of core content in the *5-14 Guidelines* (1998; 2003). Wood argued that the absence of a coherent core of Scottish history had allowed a narrative of English dominance and Scottish subjugation to develop. Consequently, Wood argued, children's ignorance of the past was not random, but followed a pattern of powerlessness and victimhood, which fostered resentment towards Scotland's southern neighbour. Wood also argued that this identity also pervaded the media and many heritage sites (Wood, 2003, p. 76).

Writing about *5-14*, Wood argued that "The school curriculum should play a crucial part in enabling future citizens to recognise media images of the past for what they are: at present the evidence suggests that it is failing to do this" (1998, p. 214). Wood's proposed solution was a common core of Scottish history which would enable Scots to be more critical of everyday representations of historical events. However, whatever the value of a common core, perhaps this is a cure for a misdiagnosed disease. As McCrone argues, "being able to show that heritage is not 'authentic'… is not the point. If we take the Scottish example of tartanary, the interesting issue is not why much of it is 'forgery' but why is continues to have such cultural power" (McCrone, 1997, p. 51).

McCrone provides a neat summary of the value of a focus on historical interpretations in the school curriculum; that is, the need to teach children how the past is mediated for consumption. Seixas (2000) has been particularly insistent on the need for children to engage with questionable accounts of the past in order to provide a 'resource' from which children can construct multi-layered identities. In the context of the Scottish curriculum, the answer is not to wish away heritage or dismiss it as frippery, but to induct children to an intellectual community which assesses heritage in its own terms: as a creative industry with frameworks and aspirations very different from academic history.

A brief anecdote might serve to contextualise this. In 2008, the Scottish Nationalist Education Minister, Fiona Hyslop, turned her attention to the history curriculum, describing *Flower of Scotland* (the unofficial national anthem) as "a wonderful combination: a stirring

anthem and a history lesson. What a marvelous achievement it would be to arouse the same passion in people about the rest of this proud nation's history" (Hyslop, 2008). While it is not uncommon to hear a politician speak of using the history curriculum 'to arouse passion' for 'this proud nation's history', Hyslop's choice of example is curious. Although *Flower of Scotland* is superficially about the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn, it contains no account of the battle itself. The song, in fact, bemoans the loss of the spirit of national resistance which motivated the Scots at Bannockburn – it is not a song about Bannockburn, but a song about the *spirit* of Bannockburn. The song is, however, an important historical artefact in another regard: written in the 1960s when Scottish separatism was a minority view, it evokes a Scotland of 'hill and glen' and calls on Scots to 'rise now and be the nation again'. If *Flower of Scotland* is a history lesson as Hyslop claims, it is surely an object lesson in how interpretations of the past can be used to foment ideas of nationhood.

Curriculum for Excellence provided the opportunity to introduce this kind of critical awareness of interpretations. However, the context of rising nationalism in the post-devolution era meant there was little popular demand for such a change. Instead, the Scottish Association of History Teachers (SATH) seemed ambivalent on this subject with its President writing,

> Let me say, unequivocally and unashamedly, that SATH will continue to advocate the central importance of history in the curriculum… because we believe that as Scotland develops as a country with its own Parliament in the twenty-first century, it is essential that its young people have a sense of their heritage and identity (Henry, 2006, p. 35).

The need to ensure young people had a 'sense of heritage and identity' meant that teaching of heritage became *less* critical in the transition from *5-14* to *CfE*.

5-14 Guidelines (1993-2008)	Curriculum for Excellence (2008 – present)
"the meaning of heritage and ways of preserving selected features of the past' and 'the background and issues in preserving an aspect of local or national heritage" (SOED, 1993, p. 35). Make informed judgements about the value for themselves and others of respecting and preserving particular aspects of community heritage. (SOED, 1993, pp. 44-45)	"develop my understanding of the history, heritage and culture of Scotland, and an appreciation of my local and national heritage within the world" (Scottish Government, 2006, p. 1).

Table 2: References to teaching of heritage from 5-*14* to *CfE*

In *5-14*, heritage was not assumed to have an intrinsic value. Instead, value was to be judged by the child, not only in terms of its worth to the child himself, but its potential worth to other communities or individuals. In other words, children had to engage with questions of what aspects of the past matter to which people and why; the historical concept of significance (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wrenn, 2011). While no empirical data survives to recount how this was enacted in the classroom, the notion of exploring 'the issues in preserving an aspect' of heritage opens the door to intriguing questions about what it means to preserve something, how heritage ought to be contextualised, the appropriate balance between conservation and restoration. In short, there existed in the *5-14 Guidelines*, a basis upon which a more sophisticated idea of historical interpretations could have been built.

Instead, in *Curriculum for Excellence* the idea of heritage shifted from one which children were expected to interrogate, to one which they were supposed to 'appreciate'. Furthermore,

there is a linguistic slip which implies 'my' national heritage is interchangeable with 'the heritage and culture of Scotland'. In this formulation, heritage is a feature of place, not a feature of identity and leaves confused the position of new arrivals who might find that 'my national heritage' is different from that of the country in which they now live.

In one sense, this parallels the view espoused by pro-independence campaigners that Scottish nationality is civically, rather than ethnically determined. However, as Hearn (2000, p. 194) writes:

> 'nationalism's civicness is culturally determined… This is not to say that it is irrational, but simply that its rationality… is culturally embedded, transmitted and sustained'. Inevitably, this cultural and linguistic capital are more readily accessible to 'ethnic' Scots, than to the recently arrived – perhaps undermining the sharp ethnic/ civic distinction.'

Paterson et al. (2001, pp. 156-157) make a similar point:

> cultural transmission is both a means by which incomers are brought into the national community and a way in which that community's values are sustained… But by the very fact of being associated with Scottish national identity, that community becomes an ethnic fact about Scottishness. And therefore, potentially excluding those who – despite the open invitation to do so – refuse to identify with Scottishness.

In other words, an emphasis on heritage can inadvertently become a kind of assimilationism.

To be clear, my argument is not that the treatment of heritage in *Curriculum for Excellence* is regressive or exclusionary, but simply that it is less critical than in the curriculum it replaced. In part, this is because learning about the past in *Curriculum for Excellence* is not simply studying history, but an aspect of the development of the 'responsible citizens' and 'effective contributors' demanded by the curriculum.

Curriculum Change in Focus – Case Study 2 – Employability

Curriculum for Excellence has been subject to considerable academic attention as an archetype of twenty-first century curriculum design (Priestley & Biesta, 2013). Of particular interest are the aims of the curriculum, the so-called four capacities, which aspire to develop children: as successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors (Scottish Executive, 2004). These capacities have been criticised variously for their epistemic vacuity (Priestley, 2011); their narrow conception of citizenship (Biesta, 2013b); their individualisation of learning (Biesta, 2006); and as social control (Watson, 2010). Clearly Scotland is not unique in this respect, competencies have become the dominant model for framing curricula all over the world and, as Moore and Young (2001) have argued, demonstrate a shift towards a utilitarian instrumentalist conception of knowledge in advanced economies.

It is not the intention to repeat these arguments here, but to consider the case of Scottish children's historical education in this regard. Just as the shift from *5-14* to *CfE* saw changes in the way national history was presented, so the wider purpose of history in the curriculum changed too. Where *5-14* had emphasised a disciplinary understanding of the subject, in *Curriculum for Excellence* historical learning is conceived as just one of many areas in which children can demonstrate generic skills or competencies which affirm their work-readiness or good citizenship.

The employability discourse has become so hegemonic in Scottish education, even history educators are held in its thrall. In a chapter on the current state of history education in Scotland, the former president of the Scottish Association of History Teachers (SATH) wrote,

> Foremost in the minds of History educators is that the study of history develops young people with the essential, skills, knowledge, attributes and personal dispositions to succeed in learning, life and work (McLennan, 2013, p. 574).

In this short extract, the key tropes of modern technical-instrumentalist discourse are evident: education is a private good which allows the individual to succeed economically. However, the statement gives no indication of the distinctive and unique contribution that an understanding of the past might confer. Even if one agrees with the stated aims, we might very well ask whether these skills ought to be 'foremost' in the mind of history educators. Or why such generic skills must be developed through a specifically historical education?

Curriculum for Excellence proceeds on the basis that education confers competence rather than conceptual understanding; in other words, it focuses on what children should be able to do rather than on what they should know (Biesta & Priestley, 2013b). However, while competency-based education might be effective in professional and vocational learning (where there is a close correlation between knowing and doing), these linkages do not hold true when applied to more conceptual learning and create distorted progression models. In *5-14*, teachers were told what children's 'studies should involve'; however, in *CfE* this approach is replaced with learner-centred 'I can' statements. Priestley & Humes (2010, p. 353) have described this approach as "an artifice devised by the planners, rather than a true reflection of the learning process" (2010, p. 353). But it is an artifice that is far from neutral in effect.

The effects can be seen in the way the two curricula treat 'evidence'. In *5-14* children were expected to "develop an understanding of the nature of *historical* evidence"; however, in CfE evidence is not something that is *understood* but something that children show they can *do*. Consider the following progression which is to take place between the ages of 7 and 13 in *CfE*:

- I can use primary and secondary sources selectively to research events in the past. SOC 2-01a
- I can use my knowledge of a historical period to interpret the evidence and present an informed view. SOC 3-01a
- I can evaluate conflicting sources of evidence to sustain a line of argument. SOC 4-01a

As I have argued elsewhere (Smith, 2016), these competencies are in reverse order of historical complexity. Level Four has nothing uniquely historical about it, while Level Two describes the day-to-day work of a researcher in a university history faculty. Indeed, Level Four embodies a common fallacy, that an ability to use evidence is a generic competence to which history can contribute and that what counts as 'evidence' – or, by extension, proof - means the same thing in different disciplines. Ashby (2011) is clear that this reconceptualisation of evidence as a 'skill' has been detrimental to history's disciplinary integrity in school curricula,

> Treating evidence as a skill, focusing only on the routine interrogation of sources and limiting historical enquiry to the construction of personal opinions have left history justifying its place on the curriculum in ways that underplay its value as knowledge (p.137).

In the *5-14 Guidelines*, evidence was understood as a concept in relation to history as a discipline, in CfE *using* evidence is a generic skill that history can help improve.

The borrowing of 'I can' statements from vocational education has a further effect: it elevates the demonstration of understanding above the understanding itself. The result is a performative curriculum: one which asks children to show that they can *do* things, rather than showing they can *understand* things. The range of verbs used is impressive: children must present, assess, use, express, describe, explain and investigate. But while understanding can be shown through demonstration; demonstration does not in itself necessarily imply understanding. By reframing understanding as competencies, the continuum of superficial to complex understanding is replaced by the binary can/can't. Consider the following:

> I can present supported conclusions about the social, political and economic impacts of a technological change in the past. (SOC 4-05a)

As a fourth level competency, this is considered the highest level that a child aged 13 might achieve, but it contains no suggestion that conclusions might be more or less sophisticated. Furthermore, the emphasis here is not on understanding change as a concept but a specific instance of change in the singular. Ormond (2016) has shown how similar formulations in the New Zealand curriculum have had unintended consequences, encouraging teachers to concentrate on smaller and smaller units of the past so that they can demonstrate that they have met the competence without reference to broader contextual knowledge which, while crucial to understanding, are 'superfluous' in the pursuit of showing what one can do.

The emphasis on singular instances rather than broader understanding has an even more distorting effect when CfE specifies substantive concepts. Haenen and Schrinjnemakers (2000) propose three kinds of substantive concept: everyday (e.g. 'fashion), unique (e.g. D-Day) and inclusive (e.g. king, parliament), of which the last is the most complex. Inclusive substantive concepts are complex because, although kings and parliaments can be found throughout history, the precise nature of these differ by time and place. Children can only develop sophisticated understandings of these concepts by encountering them in a range of geographical and temporal contexts and by assimilating these examples into a general schema, a process which van Drie and van Boxtel (2003) call "negotiation of the meaning of concepts." *Curriculum for Excellence*'s reliance on 'I can' statements leads to the use of single examples to stand for the inclusive concept: for example, students should investigate *a* meeting of cultures (SOC 4-05c); attempts to resolve *an* international conflict (SOC 4-06c) and *a specific instance* of the expansion of power (SOC 4-06d). In this way, instances come to stand for the conceptual – power becomes an example to be learned, rather than a mutable historical concept. The danger with exempla is that they can become *exemplum*, morality tales which make a universal claim. But when history becomes parable in this way, the moral of the fable determines the examples that are chosen.

Curriculum in Focus - Case Study 3 – Citizenship

The employability agenda exerts a distorting influence on the presentation of history, but so too does the emphasis on citizenship which emerged between the *5-14 National Guidelines* and *Curriculum for Excellence*. Citizenship as a curricular aim is often distinguished from with 'civics' or 'political literacy'. While civics education develops a familiarity with the institutions of the state and civil society, citizenship education implies an induction into this society. Citizenship education therefore, is inherently uncritical; it assumes the rationality of existing practices and socialises the student to conform to these. As Osborne (1991) pointed out, it is noticeable how frequently the word 'responsible' occurs in citizenship education discourse as a synonym for obedient.

In *5-14*, civics education was wholly contained in a strand called 'People in Society' which covered topics such as 'social rules, rights and responsibilities' and 'economic organisation and structures' (SOED, 1993, pp. 36-37). In *Curriculum for Excellence*, the purview of 'People in Society' was extended as it was reframed 'People in Society, Economy and Business.' Alongside this, a greater integration of social subjects was pursued – citizenship education would not be siloed in a single curriculum strand, but would be an overarching aim for all social subjects.

> The promotion of active citizenship is a central feature of learning in social studies as children and young people develop skills and knowledge to enable and encourage participation (Scottish Government, 2006, p. 3).

In this example, citizenship is not something that one learns about, but something one embodies – active citizenship is to be promoted and participation is to be encouraged, not just in

citizenship lessons, but in all social subjects. This extract exemplifies Watson's (2010, p. 99), argument that CfE "is concerned with setting out not what children are expected to know, but how they should be" and that "CfE is aimed at producing the 'good subject', the 'entrepreneurial self', for and within the control society."

History can only be turned towards this kind of socialisation, if its disciplinary integrity is compromised. Consider the following outcome which is specified within the domain of 'People, Past events and societies' (History),

> I can make reasoned judgements about how the exercise of power affects the rights and responsibilities of citizens by comparing a more democratic and a less democratic society. SOC 4-04c (Scottish Government, 2006).

The phrasing here is tortured because of the need to frame historical learning in terms of the genericised 'rights and responsibilities of citizens'. The problem, of course, is that the rights and responsibilities of citizens throughout history have been influenced by factors far larger than the prevailing constitutional arrangements, not least time, wealth and geography. It is difficult to see what children could profitably learn from comparing the participatory democracy of the Iroquois with Stalin's Russia. Furthermore, the curriculum assumes that ideas of 'more and less democratic' are settled concepts, but 'democracy' has no fixed definition: was ancient Athens more democratic than Victorian Britain? How democratic were the United States before 1865? Was Britain a democracy during World War Two as elections were suspended, newspapers censored and soldiers conscripted? The overarching curriculum aim to promote active citizenship and encourage participation, overrides the need to ask these difficult, but vital questions. Again, the idea of democratic is treated - like power in the earlier example - as an unproblematic universal concept. *Curriculum for Excellence* calls history into service when it is perceived to be of use in bolstering its societal aims.

Conclusions

Scottish education has long conceived of history in terms of 'social subjects', but the implications of this definition has changed over time. Under the aegis of the *5-14 National Guidelines*, 'social subjects' was a curriculum organiser which meant little in practice – history had a clear disciplinary identity which defined educational outcomes in terms of conceptual historical understanding. Although *Curriculum for Excellence* continued the language of social subjects, history became something of a *socialising* subject. History is now used variously to assert national identity, promote an employability discourse and to socialise children as responsible Scottish citizens. This is not to say that the curriculum has become a sinister exercise in behaviour modification, but that the curriculum embodies widespread assumptions about the kind of society modern Scotland sees itself as, and the kind it aspires to be. In this sense, Scotland is far from unique. As Priestley and Biesta (2013) have shown, governments around the world have adopted competency based curricula as a policy which both invests in individuals and facilitates economic growth. In Scotland, however, this discourse of growth must be reconciled with the fact that Scotland is not an independent sovereign nation (at least, not yet).

In this respect also, Scotland is not unique; studies of history teaching in sub-national jurisdictions are commonplace (for example in Flanders (Van Havere, et al., 2017), Quebec (Levesque, 2017) or Catalonia (Sant, 2015)). However in each of these jurisdictions, there exists a strong linguistic dimension to national identity. In contrast, only 1.1% of the Scottish population reported an ability to speak Gaelic in the 2011 census, while Scotland's other native language, Scots, struggles for linguistic recognition. Scotland, therefore, reaches for other

markers of identity and finds them in its history curriculum. In the process, the unique contribution of history has been lost.

In *5-14*, Scotland possessed a curriculum which defined history as a way of knowing about the past; in doing so, it made few assumptions about what should be taught and why. Clearly, this approach is not perfect and relies on skilled interpretation by teachers, but it was at least a curriculum which understood something of the complexity of learning about the past. In contrast, an ahistorical confidence pervades *Curriculum for Excellence*: history is presented instead as preparation for the challenges of the twenty-first century. In the curriculum, history has value insofar as it supports children's ability to contribute to Scotland's development as a dynamic economy on the global stage.

The historical method provides a route to minimising presentism in our thinking and to making our claims about the past cautious and contingent. Children learn a vital lesson from history: that just as what seems strange now once felt familiar, so today's familiarities will one day seem strange. Ironically, it is precisely C*urriculum for Excellence's* appeal to the discourse of modernity which has already begun to date it.

References

Arnott, M. & Ozga, J. (2010). Education and Nationalism: the discourse of education policy in Scotland. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education,* 31(3), 335-350.

Arnott, M. & Ozga, J. (2016). Education and nationalism in Scotland: governing a 'learning nation'. *Oxford Review of Education,* 42(3), 253-265.

Ashby, R. (2011). Understanding Historical Evidence: Teaching and Learning Challenges. In: I. Davies, Ed. *Debates in History teaching.* Abingdon: Routledge, 137-147.

Avis, J. et al. (1996). *Knowledge and Nationhood: Education, Politics and Work.* London: Cassell.

Biesta, G. (2006). *Beyond Learning: Democratic Education for a Human Future.* Boulder CO: Paradigm.

Biesta, G. (2013). Responsible Citizens: Citizenship Education between Social Inclusion and Democratic Politics. In: M. Priestley & G. Biesta, eds. *Reinventing the Curriculum: New trends in Curriculum Policy and Practice.* London: Bloomsbury, 99-116.

Biesta, G. & Priestley, M. (2013). Capactities and the Curriculum. In: M. Priestley & G. Biesta, eds. *Reinventing the Curriculum.* London: Bloomsbury, 35-49.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism.* London: Sage.

Brant, J., Chapman, A. & Isaacs, T. (2016). International Instructional Systems: social studies. *The Curriculum Journal,* 27(1), 62-79.

Bruner, J. (1960). *The Process of Education.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Chancellor, V. (1970). *History for their Masters: Opinion in the English History Textbook 1800-1914.* Bath: Adams and Dart.

Coltham, J. & Fines, J. (1971). *Educational Objectives for the Study of History.* London: Historical Association.

Crawford, K. (1995). A History of the Right: The Battle for Control of National Curriculum History. *British Journal of Education Studies,* 43(4), 433-456.

Davie, G. (1961). *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her universities in the Nineteenth Century.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Department for Education,. (2013). *Proposed Programmes of Study for 2014 National Curriculum,* London: Crown Copyright.

Green, A. (1992). *Education and State Formation* (1st ed.). London: MacMillan.

Green, A. (1997). *Education, Globalisation and the Nation State.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Haenen, J. & Schrijnemakers, H. (2000). Suffrage, feudal, democracy, treaty… history's building blocks: learning to teach historical concepts. *Teaching History, 98*, 22-29.

Hallam, R. (1970). Piaget and Thinking in History. In: M. Ballard, ed. *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History.* London: Temple Smith, 162-178.

Hansen, J. (2012). De-nationalize history and what have we done?. In: M. Carretero, M. Asensio & M. Rodriguez-Moneo, eds. *History Education and the Construction of National identities.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 17-31.

Hearn, J. (2000). *Claiming Scotland: National identity and Liberal Culture.* Edinburgh: Polygon.

Henry, S. (2006). 'Bruce! You're History.' The Place of History in the Scottish Curriculum. *Teaching History,122*, 34-36.

Hillis, P. (2010). The position of history education in Scottish schools. *Curriculum Journal, 21*(2), 141-160.

Hyslop, F. (2008). Learning about Scotland's past will help to shape our future. *The Scotsman*, 20 January, Retrieved from: http://www.scotsman.com/news/learning-about-scotland-s-past-will-help-to-shape-our-future-1-1074700 Accessed [6th May 2016].

Kirk, G. & Glaister, R. (1994). *5-14: Scotland's National Curriculum.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century.* Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Levesque, S. (2017). History as a 'GPS': On the uses of historical narrative for French Canadian students' life orientation and identity. *London Review of Education,* 15(2), 227-242.

Lomas, T. (1990). *Teaching and Assessing Historical Understanding.* London: The Historical Association.

Lowenthal, D. (1996). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* London: Viking.

LTS,. (2000). *The Structure and Balance of the Curriculum: 5-14 Guidelines.* Edinburgh: Learning and Teaching Scotland.

MacDonald, A. (1994). 5-14: Themes and Subjects. In G. Kirk & R. Glaister (Eds.), *5-14 Scotland's National Curriculum.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 50-68.

McCrone, D. (1992). *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a stateless nation.* London: Routledge.

McCrone, D. (1997). Scotland - The Brand: Heritage, Identity and Ethnicity. In R. Jackson & S. Wood (Eds.), *Images of Scotland.* Dundee: Northern College, 43-54.

McGonigle, J. (1999). An Integrated or Discrete Approach. In P. Hillis (Ed.), *History Education in Scotland.* Edinburgh: John Donald, 157-169.

McLennan, N. (2013). History Education. In T. Bryce, W. Humes, D. Gillies & A. Kennedy, (Eds.), *Scottish Education: Referendum.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 573-579.

Moore, R. & Young, M. (2001). Knowledge and the Curriculum in the Sociology of Education: Towards a Reconceptualisation. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 22*(4), 445-461.

Munn, J. (1977). *The structure of the curriculum in the 3rd and 4th years of secondary school.* Edinburgh: HMSO.

Munn, P., Stead, J., McLeod, G., Brown, J., Cowie, M., McClusky, G., Pirrie, A., & Scott, J. (2004). Schools for the 21st Century: The National Debate on Education in Scotland. *Research Papers in Education, 19*(4), 433-454.

Nairn, T. (1995). Upper and Lower Cases. *London Review of Books, 17*(16), 14-18.

National Curriculum History Working Group. (1990). *Final Report.* London: Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office.

Ormond, B. (2016). Curriculum Decisions - the challenges of teacher autonomy over knowledge selection for history. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 49*(5), 599-619.

Osborne, K. (1991). *Teaching for Democratic Citizenship.* Toronto: Our Schools, Our selves.

Osborne, K. (2004). History and Social Studies: Partners or Rivals. In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies.* Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 73-89.

Ozga, J. & Lingard, B. (2007). The emergence of a global education policy field. In B. Lingard & J. Ozga (Eds.), *The Routledge Reader in education policy and politics.* London: Routledge, 65-83.

Paterson, L., Brown, A., Curtice, J., Hinds, K., & McCrone, D. (2001). *New Scotland, new politics?*. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Peterkin, T. (2009). Field Trips spark new Battle of Bannockburn. *The Scotsman*, 9 September, Retrieved from: http://www.scotsman.com/news/field-trips-spark-new-battle-of-bannockburn-1-774157 Accessed [16 May 2016].

Phillips, R. (1998). *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State.* London: Cassell.

Phillips, R., Goalen, P., McCully, A. & Wood, S. (1999). Four Histories, One Nation? History teaching, nationhood and a British identity. *Compare: A journal of Comparative and Internaional Education, 29*(2), 153-169.

Priestley, M. (2002). Global Discourses and national reconstruction: the impact of globalization on curriculum policy. *Curriculum Journal, 13*(1), 121-138.

Priestley, M. (2011). Whatever happened to curriculum theory? Critical realism and curriculum change. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 2*, 221-237.

Priestley, M. & Biesta, G. (2013). *Reinventing the Curriculum: new trends in curriculum policy and practice.* London: Bloomsbury.

Priestley, M. & Humes, W. (2010). The Development of Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence: Amnesia and deja vu. *Oxford Review of Education, 36*(3), 345-361.

Priestley, M. & Minty, S. (2013). Curriculum for Excellence: 'A brilliant idea, but…'. *Scottish Educational Review, 45*(1), 39-52.

Rogers, P. (1979). *The New History - Theory into Practice* (1st ed.), London: The Historical Association.

Sant, E. (2015). How do Catalan students narrate the history of Catalonia? *McGill Journal of Education, 50*(2/3), 389-412.

SCCC. (1998). *Scottish History in the Curriculum.* Dundee: Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum.

Schools' History Project. (1976). *A New Look at History.* Edinburgh: Homes MacDougall.

Scotcen. (2016). *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey: From Indyref1 to Indyref2? The State of Nationalism in Scotland,* Retrieved from: http://natcen.ac.uk/media/1361407/ssa16-2fr8m-1ndyref-2-1ndyr8f-tw0-two.pdf. [Accessed 24th May 2017]

Scottish Executive. (2002). *The National Debate on Education: Briefing Pack,* http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/158359/0042897.pdf [Accessed 5th May 2016]: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive. (2003). *Educating for Excellence: Choice and Opportunity.* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive. (2004). *A curriculum for excellence – The curriculum review group.* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive

Scottish Government. (2006b). *Building the Curriculum 1.* Retrieved from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/building_curriculum1_tcm4-383389.pdf. [Accessed 11th September 2015]

Scottish Government. (2006). *Social Studies: Principles and Practice,* Retrieved from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/learningandteaching/curriculumareas/socialstudies/principlesandpractice/index.asp [Accessed 29th September 2015]

Scottish Government (2008). *Building the Curriculum 3.* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Seixas, P. (1996). Conceptualizing the growth of historical understanding. In D. Olson & N. Torrance (Eds.), *The Handbook of Education and Human Development.* Oxford: Blackwell, 765-83.

Seixas, P. (2000). Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Post-Modern History Have a Place in Schools. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas & S. Wineberg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History.* New York: New York Univeristy Press, 19-37.

Seixas, P. & Peck, C. (2004). Teaching Historical Thinking. In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies.* Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 109-17.

Slater, J. (1995). *Teaching History in the New Europe.* London: Cassell.

Smith, J. (2016). What remains of History? Historical Epistemology and Historical Understanding in Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence. *The Curriculum Journal 27*(4), 500-517.

Smout, T. (1994). Perspectives on the Scottish Identity. *Scottish Affairs 6*, 101-113.

SOED. (1993). *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5-14.* Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Trevor-Roper, H. (2008). *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Drie, J. & Van Boxtel, C. (2003). Developing conceptual understanding through talk mapping. *Teaching History 110*, 27-31.

Van Havere, T., Wils, K., Depapepe, V. J. & Van Niewenhuyse, K. (2017). Flemish students' historical reference knowledge and narratives of the Belgian national past at the end of secondary education. *London Review of Education,* 15(2), 272-285.

Watson, C. (2010). Educational Policies in Scotland: inclusion and the control society. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education 31*, 93-104.

Wood, S. (1998). Issues of National Identity and the School Curriculum in Scotland. In J. Arnold, K. Davies & S. Ditchfield (Eds.), *History and heritage: consuming the past in contemporary culture.* Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 213-221.

Wood, S. (2003). The School History Curriculum in Scotland & issues of National Identity. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research 3*(1), 75-80.

Wood, S. & Payne, F. (1997). In search of a Scottish identity? Pupils' knowledge of and attitudes towards Scottish History. *Education in the North New Series 5*, 11-15.

Wood, S. & Payne, F. (1999). The Scottish school history curriculum and issues of national identity. *The Curriculum Journal 10*(1), 107-121.

Wrenn, A. (2011). Significance. In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching.* London: Routledge, 148-158.

Endnotes

[1] The 5-14 Guidelines, while never a statutory curriculum, were the first attempt to standardise the curriculum across Scotland and were widely implemented in schools. It can therefore be considered a de facto national curriculum, if not strictly de jure.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

Exploring pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, the present and the future in history teaching

Dick van Straaten
University of Amsterdam & Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences

Arie Wilschut
Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences

Ron Oostdam
University of Amsterdam & Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences

ABSTRACT: Using the past to orientate on the present and the future can be seen as one of history's main contributions to educating future citizens of democratic societies. Because tools for pursuing this goal are scarce, this study explores three pedagogical approaches that may help teachers and students to make connections between the past, the present and the future: working with longitudinal lines, with enduring human issues and with historical analogies. The efficacy of these approaches was examined in three case studies conducted in two Dutch secondary schools with eighth- to tenth-grade students (N=135) and their teachers (N=4) as participants. Explorations took place within the boundaries of the existing history curriculum and in close collaboration with the teachers who participated because they felt a need to motivate their students by means of a pedagogy to make history more useful. Findings suggest that working with longitudinal lines and enduring human issues in a traditional history curriculum with chronologically ordered topics is more complicated than working with historical analogies. The historical analogy approach appears to have most potential to encourage students to use the past to reflect on present-day affairs. In terms of students' appraisals of the relevance of history, the application of the enduring human issue approach showed positive effects.

KEYWORDS: History Teaching; School Subject Relevance; Curriculum Innovation; Secondary School Education.

Introduction

In standards for history teaching, connecting the past to the present and the future is frequently being regarded as a means to prepare students for their future role as citizens in society (ACARA, 2015; DFE, 2013; NCHS, 1996; Seixas & Morton, 2013; VGD, 2006; Wilschut, 2015).This rationale for school history is usually translated in broadly defined goals in preambles of curriculum documents, without further elaborations of the kinds of relationships between the past, present and future that may be supportive for students' inclusion as citizens in society. Content descriptions in these documents focus almost entirely on understanding the

PLEASE CITE AS: van Straaten, D., Wilschut, A., & Oostdam, R. (2018). Exploring pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, the present and the future in history teaching. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 46-67.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

past and mastering historical thinking skills as aims in themselves. Standards specify which historical knowledge students should learn without exemplifying possible relationships with meaningful contemporary contexts. The compilers of curriculum documents apparently assume that learning about the past yields insights into the present and future as a matter of course, taking knowledge transfer beyond subject-specific contexts for granted without any explicit learning activities directed at achieving this aim.

Such expectations may not be justified. In the wake of philosophical studies about historical consciousness and the temporal dimension of the human condition, an increasing body of empirically based knowledge is available about ways in which students (and people in general) use the past to orient on the present and the future. For example, a survey conducted by Rosenzweig (2000) showed that although the past had a strong influence on the way people think, very few people derived meaning from history taught at school. Findings from the project Usable Historical Pasts, conducted by Foster, Ashby and Lee (2008), revealed that only a small number of students referred to history while reflecting on contemporary issues. In Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands, a large proportion of 14-year-olds in the 1990's thought that history is 'dead and gone and has nothing to do with my present life' (Angvik & Von Borries, 1997, p. B26). Studies in England and North America suggest that students have limited views on the purposes and benefits of history and have difficulty to articulate why studying the past matters (Barton & Levstik, 2011; Biddulph & Adey, 2003; Harris & Reynolds, 2014; Haydn & Harris, 2010; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). In short, there are ample reasons for actively linking the past to the present and the future to enable students to construct narratives that make sense to them. 'Usable historical pasts' may enhance student motivation as well, as recognising the utility of classroom tasks in terms of applicability in 'real life' is what encourages students to learn and what they deem important in valuing the usefulness of school subjects (Brophy,1999; Pintrich, 2003).

Given the fact that students are not inclined to attribute meaning to history of their own accord and therefore need guidance, the question arises how teachers may help them pursuing this goal. In earlier work, we have distinguished three pedagogical approaches for making connections between the past, present and future (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2016). In this study, we explore the efficacy of these approaches in a traditional history curriculum with chronologically ordered topics and a strong focus on memorising historical data. Our aim is to find out whether the approaches can be applied effectively in existing educational settings or whether major curriculum revisions are required. We use three indicators to examine this issue: (1) the extent to which students apply historical content knowledge while reasoning about current affairs; (2) teacher's experiences with the approaches in view of student learning and meeting curriculum demands; and (3) students' beliefs and attitudes vis-à-vis the relevance of history.

Obstacles to connecting the past, present and future

Several factors may explain why students are not inclined to link the past to the present and the future. First, a lack of readily available knowledge probably plays an important role. Discerning long-term historical developments that have shaped the present, for example, puts high demands on the amount of historical knowledge that students have at their disposal.

In their Usable Historical Pasts project, Foster, Ashby and Lee (2008) asked students in Year 10 and 11 to consider the question whether the USA would always be the most powerful country. Only a small number of students made references to the past while answering the question, most of whom appeared frustrated by their lack of substantive knowledge. Students also offered vague or incomplete responses when asked to write the story of British history in

the last 2000 years. One student commented: 'I can't do this. My knowledge does not stretch out as far as 2000 years' (Foster, Ashby, & Lee, 2008, p. 6).

Second, linking the past to the present and future requires thinking in long-term patterns of continuity and change and the ability to generalize, for example by comparing what people in the past and people in the present have in common. There is abundant evidence showing that students' epistemological beliefs about the past may present an obstacle for this kind of mental operations (e.g. Barton, 2008; Blow, 2009; Lee, 2005; Maggioni, Alexander & VanSledright, 2004; Sandahl, 2015; Shemilt, 2009; Stoel, Logtenberg, Wansink, Huijgen, Van Boxtel, & Van Drie 2017). For example, students perceive images of the past as 'fixed', i.e., as a closed entity of given dates and facts about a world 'out there' that bears little relation with the 'real' world; it seems difficult for them to grasp the notion that history is the product of constructing narratives that serve contemporary needs and interests. Their historical thinking is hallmarked by events following each other in a causal chain without alternatives, not by the interplay of change and continuity. They look for historical explanations in people's actions, not in conditions, developments or changes.

Third, many history curricula are based upon chronologically ordered topics which are usually separately taught, leaving little room for teaching developmental lines from the past to the present or comparative, generalizing learning activities that may help students to attribute meaning to the past (Carroll, 2016). Blow (2009), among others, propagates a radical reshaping of existing history curricula aiming at teaching large spans of time ('big pictures') rather than single topics offering a mass of details which are inapplicable in multiple contexts and impede students' ability to generalise. Useful tools in teaching 'big pictures' are, according to Blow (2009) and Lee (2005), a well-developed vocabulary of second order concepts (e.g., change, continuity, cause and effect) and the deployment of historical analogies as a means to empower abstract thinking (Blow, 2009; Lee, 2005).

Pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, present and future

Based on the problem analysis described above and on research literature in the field of history education, we have identified three pedagogical approaches that may help students and teachers to use the past to orientate on the present and the future (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2016):

- Working with *enduring human issues* (EHI) that have been addressed by people in past and present times either in similar or different manners, such as social inequality or issues of crime and punishment.
- Working with *longitudinal lines* (LL) describing long-term political, socio-economical or cultural developments, for example, the emergence of national states or the process of secularization and scientification leading to the 'disenchantment of the world' (MacKinnon, 2001).
- Working with *historical analogies* (HA) between the past and the present, for example, in the context of European unification, an analogy between the Roman Empire and the European Union.

These approaches are not new, however, empirical data about their efficacy is scarce, which was one of the incentives to undertake this study. We will discuss the three approaches in a summary manner.

Enduring human issues

History is about mankind in other times: very different from today, but also similar because people have always shared fundamental aspects of being human. Dressel (1996) distinguishes eleven basic human experiences: space and time, religion, family, food, dealing with nature, the human body, sexuality, labor, conflicts, gender and encounters with strangers. Such issues are common to all human beings, but the way in which people have dealt with them differs from time to time. Studying contrasting examples of dealing with the same enduring issue may expand students' frames of reference.

There have been several proposals for designing a curriculum based on enduring human issues. For example, Hunt (2000) put forward a curriculum based on 'ageless social, moral and cultural issues' (p. 39) to be studied with key concepts and key questions, such as why people obey laws or why governments levy taxes. Barton and Levstik (2011) suggest that history education may become meaningful if students are confronted with 'enduring themes and questions' (p. 3), such as the interaction between man and his environment, or the development of cultures and societies. Obenchain, Orr, and Davis (2011) developed teaching about 'essential questions' in cooperation with teachers – for example: the question of the grounds on which freedom may be curtailed. In similar projects, teachers and researchers have designed curricula based on 'big ideas' (Grant & Gradwell, 2010) or 'persistent issues' (Brush & Saye, 2014). In English history teaching it has become increasingly common to build lesson units around 'enquiry questions' that can promote the study of problems instead of periods (Carroll, 2016). What all these examples have in common is the use of the past in reflections on enduring human issues.

Longitudinal lines

Longitudinal lines should not be confused with historical overview knowledge without any explicit organizing principle or specific question to the past. Overview knowledge without an explicit narrative structure probably does not serve the purpose of making connections between past, present and future. Shemilt (2009) proposes synoptically described, millennia-wide lines of change under themes such as modes of production, or political and social organization. Lee and Howson (2009) also argue for diachronic narratives about certain themes or topics. They assume that by using these kinds of frameworks, students will not only be able to extrapolate long lines of developments into the future, but also reflect upon their own future role as (e.g.) an office employee compared to a stone age hunter, a medieval farmer, a 16th-century craftsman or a 19th-century factory worker.

So far there have been only a few empirical studies focusing on the practical applicability of the framework-approaches suggested by Shemilt, Lee and Howson (e.g. Carroll, 2016; Nuttall, 2013; Rogers, 2008). Nuttall (2013), for example, presented a comprehensive chart of 20th-century history to 14- and 15-year-old students, structured by six periods on one axis (e.g. 1919–1938, 1946–1989) and three main questions on the other axis: What is the big story of the 20th century? What is the story of the empires? Who is the most powerful? In the resulting cross table, students could compare the six periods from three guiding viewpoints, thus creating longer lines in 20th-century history. Although Nuttall's study was small-scale and explorative, students seemingly were triggered to switch from past to present, as became apparent in their spontaneous conversations on issues like the emergence of China or civil wars in Africa. Because they saw the 'whole picture' and perceived different lines connecting the past and the present, they were put in the position to understand that the present could have been different if developments in the past had taken a different course.

While Nuttall's experiment only encompassed the history of the 20th-century, Carroll (2016) designed a lesson unit focusing on the topic of slavery from the beginnings of humanity to the present. Students first took notice of the 'whole story' of slavery and then studied the Haitian Revolution in depth driven by the question whether this revolution should be remembered of forgotten. This procedure, combining a millennia-wide framework with attributing significance to a specific historical event, allowed investigations on how students tend to use a pre-taught framework. It appeared that students were able to construct coherent long-termed narratives of slavery, although some were distracted by specific topics and details. Relying on their overview knowledge, students considered the Haitian Revolution significant because in the 5000-year history of slavery, it was one of the unique occasions in which a slave rebellion succeeded. Furthermore, they drew lines from the Haitian Revolution to later historical episodes and their own life, for example by stating that the revolution had paved the way for the 18th century abolitionist movement or for present-day human rights which they deemed to be of great value.

Historical analogies

Analogic thinking can be described as the ability to identify similar features and connections between them across cases or examples (Gentner, 2010). Analogic thinking has proven to be a powerful learning tool and an effective way to facilitate transfer of knowledge to novel situations (Alfieri, Nokes-Malach, & Schunn, 2013); it may therefore be a useful teaching strategy for making connections between the past, the present and the future.

If analogies are drawn between something comparatively known and something comparatively unknown, the first is called 'source' or 'base' and the second 'target' (Holyoak & Taggart, 1997). Three types of analogies are usually applied in history classes: (1) something mundane from the present as base and a historical phenomenon as target, for example, a marriage of interests and the Concordat between Mussolini and the Pope (Laffin & Wilson, 2005); (2) historical events that show similarities, such as the failed attempts of Charles XII of Sweden, Napoleon and Hitler to conquer Russia (Mugleston, 2000); and (3) something from the past as base and something from the present as target, for example, Japanese kamikaze pilots during World War II and the terrorists who committed the attack on New York in 2001 (Robbins, 2004). The limited number of studies available suggests that teachers prefer using the first two of these types (Ata, 2009; Myson, 2006). The third type seems to be less common than the other two types, probably because it is more complicated.

If using the past to orientate on the present and future is what history education should pursue, making analogies of the first two types may be useful if they reveal general features of phenomena. For example, Boix-Mansilla (2000) made students compare the history of the Holocaust with the history of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. This comparison induced students to think about human nature and the circumstances in which atrocities like these can occur. In their zeal to find an explanation for the genocide in Rwanda, many students disregarded the differences between the two genocides. Therefore, it should be pointed out that in making analogies not only the similarities may be illuminating, but also the differences. Taking differences into account may prevent students from generalizing in a simplistic way.

Although the three pedagogical approaches are presented as three separate categories, they have something in common because all three focus on the use of historical knowledge in present-day contexts and all embody some element of comparison. Yet there are good reasons to keep them apart. Longitudinal lines concentrate on processes of change and development which are extrapolated into the present and the future, enabling students to orient in time. Enduring human issues and historical analogies aim for similarities and differences between past and present phenomena, not so much for patterns of change and development. Enduring

human issues entail developing moral opinions, whereas historical analogies foster the understanding of phenomena.

Study design and research questions

Implementing the three pedagogical approaches may require profound curriculum revisions. For example, drawing longitudinal lines calls for a diachronically ordered curriculum rather than a curriculum of separate chronologically ordered topics. Enduring human issues may require the use of generic concepts instead of learning factual knowledge specifically confined to topical contexts. For this study, however, we decided not to reshape the curriculum for the sake of research purposes only. We wanted to stay close to daily teaching practices and took the extant Dutch history curriculum as a starting point. Teachers have to operate within the limits of this curriculum and will be interested in research results applicable to existing educational settings. We applied a design research approach (McKenney & Reeves, 2012) implying that lesson interventions were constructed in close collaboration with teachers. To be able to reach a maximum of ecologically realistic exploration, the interventions were conducted within the boundaries of existing lesson programs with a minimum of changes and adapted to specific classroom settings after extensive consultations with the teachers. This practice-orientated approach in which researchers and teachers collaborate in authentic school settings may contribute to narrowing the gap between educational research and practice (Broekkamp & Van Hout-Wolters, 2007).

Table 1 specifies the assignment of the pedagogical approaches to the student groups. Because the groups varied in grade and were taught different topics, explorations of the approaches took place in different classroom settings. Therefore, contextual conditions being relevant, the explorations are to be understood as case studies. Analysing data across settings was not possible in the way it would have been in a multiple case study because of the difference in classroom settings (Yin, 2014). Taking this into account, we formulated research questions that were identical for all three case studies:

1. To what extent do students apply knowledge about the past in their orientation on current affairs?
2. How do teachers experience applying the approach in their daily teaching practice, i.e., within a traditional history curriculum organized around chronologically ordered topics and focusing primarily at memorising historical data?
3. Does application of the approach affects students' appraisals of the relevance of history?

These questions serve the main purpose of this study, i.e., to explore whether employing the three pedagogical approaches within the boundaries of existing programs is feasible without major curriculum revisions. They can be seen as indicators of effectiveness. If students hardly refer to historical knowledge while contemplating present-day issues or if teachers notice serious implementation problems, for example, we assume limited effects and take major curriculum adaptations into consideration. The third question seems to be less imperative in this respect. 'Relevance' is conceived here as recognising what history has to do with oneself, with today's society and with a general understanding of human existence (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2016). Based on educational philosophical and constructive learning theories on meaningful learning elaborated in earlier work, we assume that through connecting the past to the present and the future, students might see the relevance of history more clearly (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2016). In other words, students' appraisals of the relevance of history are indicative for the effectiveness of the applied approaches.

Case	Description	Participants	Context
1 Enduring Human Issues (EHI)	Studying issues common to all humans by means of various historical examples (e.g., about paying taxes, crime and punishment, resolving conflicts).	School A Ninth-graders (*N*=56; two groups) One teacher	In the context of history lessons about the Cold War: focusing on the extent to which imposing value systems with a universal validity claim can be justified.
2 Longitudinal Lines (LL)	Describing long-term political, socio-economical or cultural developments (e.g., the emergence of national states).	School B Tenth-graders (*N*=20, one group) One teacher	Studying four aspects of the emergence of citizenship in western societies from ancient to modern times: citizen who obey; citizen who govern; civil rights and freedoms; civic duties.
3 Historical Analogies (HA)	Comparing historical situations or developments from different periods or the present to study differences and similarities.	School B Eighth-graders (*N*=59; two groups) Two teachers	Using knowledge of the First and Second World War to assess whether the war between the so-called Islamic State (IS) and the anti-IS-coalition can be called a world war.

Table 1. Three case studies on pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, present and future.

Method

Educational context

The case studies were conducted in three tracks of Dutch secondary education. i.e., lower secondary pre-vocational education (VMBO), middle level general secondary education (HAVO) and pre-university secondary education (VWO). Pivotal to the Dutch history curriculum in these tracks is a frame of reference knowledge organized around ten eras, beginning with the 'era of hunters and farmers' and ending with the 'era of television and computer' (Wilschut, 2009, 2015). Each era has its characteristic features, e.g., 'feudalism' for 'the era of monks and knights' (early Middle Ages), or 'industrial revolution' for 'the era of citizens and steam engines' (19th century). This frame of reference knowledge is designed to enable students to orientate in time and space, i.e., to contextualize historical data. Aspects of historical thinking, such as causation, empathy and change, are also part of the curriculum.

In daily teaching practice, the eras and their features are usually taught separately without drawing longitudinal lines, historical analogies or discussing enduring human issues. Teachers rely on history textbooks which give factual descriptions of the eras and their characteristics. History tests usually question factual mastery of the reference knowledge frame which is a requirement in the central examination that finalizes history in secondary education. This implies that in Dutch history teaching, emphasis lies on memorization and recall of historical facts and on understanding the past as an aim in itself. In the context of this study it is also important to note that 'the use of history'- a substantive component of the Swedish and Norwegian curriculum (Nordgren, 2016) - does not appear in the Dutch curriculum. Given these

educational conditions, this study's pedagogical approaches for connecting past, present and future were innovative practices for both students and teachers.

Participants and settings

Because the interventions consisted of additions to the regular curriculum, we only describe the alterations that were made in the context of this research. Students used their history textbooks in all three case studies. Additional lesson materials were written by the first author, who also formulated the statements students had to comment on in order to measure the extent to which they used historical knowledge (RQ1). All statements are presented in Appendix A.

Case study 1 was conducted in two student groups from a secondary school located in a mid-sized city in the eastern part of the Netherlands. The participants were 56 ninth-graders from middle level and pre-university education (18 males, 38 females; mean age 14.20 years, *SD* = .45). In this group we explored the enduring human issues approach. In accordance with the era framework, students studied the history of the Cold War (with standard topics such as the Truman Doctrine, the Korean War and the nuclear arms race) in eight textbook lessons of 50 minutes each. To this standard programme we added teaching instructions, texts and tasks about an enduring human issue related to the Cold War, i.e., the extent to which imposing by the authorities of value systems with a universal validity claim can be justified. After all, the Cold War can be seen in terms of a clash between two inherently expansionistic value systems (Gaddis, 2005). The issue of imposing value systems has played a role throughout history and has lost none of its significance, which makes it an enduring human issue.

In the first six regular lessons about the Cold War subject matter related to the enduring issue was highlighted, for example, Truman's motives to announce his 'doctrine', McCarthy's to prosecute communists or Ulbricht's to fence East Germany. Prior to these lessons, the issue was introduced to the students with a brief text (specifically written for this purpose) about covert CIA-operations during the so-called War on Terror. After reading this text, students were instructed to execute a writing task that consisted of commenting on statements related to the enduring issue. After completing the lessons, they had to reconsider their initial comments. To see whether they would use historical knowledge spontaneously, students were not prompted to refer to content knowledge. The remaining two lessons addressed the rise of communist China and the collapse of the Soviet Union. After completing these lessons, students had to consider the viability of communism in China. They had to write a comment of approximately 250 words on the statement that 10 years from now China would no longer be a communist state. In preparation for this writing task, they read a text about current socio-economic and political affairs in China. The students were explicitly instructed to refer to historical content knowledge to see if that would make any difference.

Case study 2 was conducted in a secondary school located in a suburbanized area in the western part of the Netherlands. In this study, we examined the application of the longitudinal lines approach in a group of tenth-grade students from the middle level track ($N = 20$; 7 males, 13 females; mean age 15.85 years, $SD = .81$). These students had completed the reference knowledge frame (from 'hunters and farmers' to 'television and computer'), so working with longitudinal lines enabled them to review overview knowledge. In 12 lessons of 50 minutes each, they focused on four aspects of the development of citizenship in western history (Isin & Turner, 2002): subjects who obey; citizens who govern; civil rights and freedoms; and civic duties. For example, 'citizens who govern' addressed the development of ideas about self-government from ancient Greece to Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century. 'Subjects who obey' discussed the subjection of people and nations to higher authorities, for example, in

Mesopotamian city states, in France during the reign of Louis XIV or in Germany during Nazi rule. For each of the four aspects, the focus was on long-term developments and patterns of change and continuity in history. These developments were described for the purpose of this study in order to enable the teacher to support her lecturing. Students were given worksheets with chronologically ordered writing spaces (one worksheet for each aspect of citizenship). During the teacher's lectures, the worksheets enabled students to arrange their notes in such a way that it became possible for them to identify long-term developments of citizenship. The students used the regular textbook as a reference work, for example, to retrieve historical knowledge needed to understand the lectures. They were given the task to write comments on general issues related to the four aspects of citizenship. They were explicitly instructed to refer to historical content knowledge.

Case study 3 was carried out in the same school as the one for case study 2 but with different teachers and different students. In this study the historical analogy approach was explored in two groups of eighth-grade students from the lower pre-vocational track ($N = 59$; 32 males, 27 females; mean age 13.57 years, $SD = .68$). These students studied the First and Second World War in regular history classes (eight lessons of 50 minutes each). Under supervision of their teachers, they drew several analogies between the World Wars and present-day phenomena. Our data consist of analogies made by students between the World Wars and the war of the US-led coalition forces against the so-called Islamic State (IS) which began in 2014. Students had to decide if the war against IS can be considered a world war and if knowledge of the military ending of the Second World War can be useful for contemplating how the war against IS might end. In addition to their textbooks, they read a text (specially written for this study) about the contemporary situation of the Middle East conflict.

Data collection and analysis

We used mixed methods combining quantitative data collected by means of closed format questionnaires and qualitative data collected from writing tasks and semi-structured and open-ended interviews (see Table 2).

Research questions	**Measures**
1 To what extent do students apply knowledge about the past in their orientation on current affairs?	Writing tasks Semi-structured interviews
2 How do teachers experience applying the approach in their daily teaching practice, i.e., within a traditional history curriculum organized around chronological ordered topics and focusing primarily at memorising historical data?	Closed format questionnaire Open-ended interviews
3 Does application of the approach affects students' appraisals of the relevance of history?	Closed format questionnaire

Table 2. Research questions and measures.

RQ 1 | In all three case studies, writing tasks were used to measure the extent to which students employed historical content knowledge while orienting themselves to current affairs. Students commented on statements related to the topics of these studies (see Appendix A). The writing tasks of case studies 1 and 2 were used in a pre-test-post-test design. For each session,

completion took approximately 20 minutes and was guided by the teacher. In the post-test, the teacher returned the pre-test writings to the students and asked them whether they wanted to make any changes to their initial comments. Both students who made changes and students who stuck to their comments had to explain their choices. These explanations were analysed by counting the number of students who referred to content knowledge. The same method was applied in case study 3 in which the writing task was used in a post-test setting only. For determining whether or not students referred to historical knowledge, we looked for explicit wordings of content knowledge. For example, in case study 1 only comments which contained substantive concepts pertaining to the history of the Cold War were counted as historical knowledge references. Thus, the comment '[…] you have to do it without violence otherwise you will get a Cold War again' on the statement whether countries have the right to defend their own way of life was considered as a reference whereas 'everyone is entitled to their own way of living and thinking […]' was not.

A coding scheme was used to analyse the writing task about the viability of communism in China (see Table 3). Two main categories ('historical knowledge' and 'generic knowledge') were divided into subcategories arising from the contents of the writings, which enabled us to analyse student reasoning in more detail. Two raters, being the first two authors, coded a randomly selected set of 12 writing tasks. With Cohen's Kappa varying from .56 to 1, interrater reliability was between moderate and very strong (Landis & Koch, 1977). Agreement was reached by deliberation in cases where the assignments of the raters did not correspond.

Finally, 14 randomly selected students participating in case study 1 were interviewed. They were asked to explain why they had or had not referred to the Cold War in their comments. The students were interviewed in groups (three groups of four and one group of two) to make them feel at ease and to encourage engagement and stimulate a richer response (Frechtling & Sharp, 1997). Each interview took approximately 20 minutes. The interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and analysed bearing the key question in mind.

RQ 2 | A closed format questionnaire (see Appendix B) was used to find out what motivated the teachers to join the research project and whether they thought participation was useful in view of their daily teaching practice. The questionnaire was implemented anonymously by means of an online survey tool. All teachers responded. The teachers who participated in case studies 2 and 3 were interviewed. The teacher involved in case study 1 reported in writing on her findings with the lesson intervention. The teacher interviewees were asked to respond to the research findings that were presented to them. We assumed that by explaining these findings, they would be triggered to talk frankly about students' performances and motivation during the intervention lessons. The second part of the interviews addressed teachers' experiences with the pedagogical approaches. The guiding question was whether they thought implementing these approaches in the regular curriculum was desirable and feasible. Each interview lasted 50 minutes. The interviews were recorded and transcripts were analysed, keeping in mind the above-mentioned topics.

RQ 3 | The Relevance of History Measurement Scale (RHMS) was used to examine possible effects of the lesson interventions on students' appraisals of the relevance of history (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2018). The RHMS is a 24-item questionnaire measuring history relevance perceptions in view of (1) building a personal identity (e.g., developing own values, opinions and ideals), (2) becoming a citizen (e.g., understanding current social and political affairs) and (3) understanding the human condition (e.g.: becoming aware of the temporal dimension of human existence and one's own historicity). Item examples in the order of these strands of relevance are: 'history helps me to get to know myself better'; 'history is of little use if you want to understand the news'; 'history enables you to imagine what will happen in the future'. The 24 items are to be assessed on a six-point Likert Scale varying from

'completely disagree' to 'completely agree'. The RHMS has been validated in a large-scale study involving 1459 Dutch students (Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2018).

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE		
Code	**Code description**	**Student example**
Communism and capitalism κ = .56	Arguments based on features of communist and capitalist systems in theory and practice, e.g., free market economy versus state controlled economy; democracy versus party state.	(Agree) 'Communism wants a classless society, but in China, differences between rich and poor are very large. (…) The rich of China are not happy with communism. They must give up their money and possessions for the realisation of that classless society.' (V22)
Cold War: international relationships κ = 1	Arguments based on events, phenomena, developments or persons that are related to conflicts between East and West, e.g., containment policy; Korean War; arms race; Vietnam War.	(Agree) 'In 1947, US Secretary of State Marshall came up with the idea to lend money to Europe. In this way he persuaded many communists to switch to capitalism (…). Now if the US trades a lot with China, probably many communists change their minds to capitalism.' (H21)
Soviet Union κ = .56	Arguments based on events, phenomena, developments or persons in the domestic history of the Soviet Union, e.g., Bolshevik revolution 1917; Stalin; communism under Gorbachev.	(Agree) '[Gorbachev] did not intend to abolish communism, but to reform it. However, people in the Soviet Union were fed up with communism. They got an inch (reforms), but took an ell (abolishing communism).. I see the same thing happening in China.' (V5)
China κ = .83	Arguments based on events, phenomena, developments or persons in the domestic history of China, e.g., revolution of 1949; Mao; Deng Xiaoping; student protest in 1989.	(Disagree) 'All protests will be beaten down, think of the demonstration in 1989 in Beijing, where hundreds of protesters were shot and put in prison.' (V17)
GENERIC KNOWLEDGE		
Code	**Code description**	**Student example**
Chinese population κ = .75	Arguments based on the needs and wants of the Chinese people, e.g., longing for change as a result of lesser economic growth, environmental pollution or oppression.	(Agree) 'Chinese civilians want total freedom. Already, the one-child-policy is abolished, so they are in the midst of getting more freedom.' (V19)
Foreign pressure κ = .75	Arguments based on pressure on the Chinese regime exerted by foreign countries, e.g., criticizing the Chinese government for violating human rights.	(Agree) 'Other countries will push China to become capitalist, so they can trade without government interference.' (H7)

Table 3. Coding scheme for analysing writing tasks about the viability of communism in China (statement: I think that within 10 years China will no longer be communist). Cohen's Kappa's in the left column (κ).

The RHMS was administered in a pre- and post-test setting in all three case studies. Each session took approximately 20 minutes and was supervised by the teacher. Cronbach's alpha values, calculated with pre-test scores, indicated sufficient internal consistency of the subscales (.72 for building a personal identity, .85 for becoming a citizen and .73 for human condition). The overall alpha was .91. Paired-samples t-tests were run to analyse differences between pre- and post-test outcomes of the RHMS in case study 1 and 2. Because the RHMS was applied anonymously in case study 3, it was not possible to run a paired-samples t-test. Instead, an independent-samples t-test was used to measure differences between pre- and post-tests.

Results

RQ 1 | Application of historical knowledge by students

Case study 1. In the pre-test comments on statements related to the applied enduring human issue (imposing value systems with a universal validity claim), many students formulated general considerations of a moral kind, for example, condemning the use of violence or upholding personal freedoms. In the post-test, 36 students (n = 54; 67%) stuck to their initial comments without referring to historical content knowledge in their explications. Sixteen students (29%) wrote new comments that were not very different from the comments they had written in the pre-test. They just added a few words or stronger wordings to their initial comments to confirm what they had been thinking in the first place. Two students (4%) referred to the Cold War in general terms. For example, one of them said that 'if you want to impose things you will easily use violence and then it might go wrong, like with communism and capitalism'.

Table 4 shows the results of the coding procedure of students' writings (n = 51) about the viability of communism in China. In total, 163 propositions were identified by means of the coding scheme. Out of this total, 109 propositions (67%) were 'historical', which may not come as a surprise because students were explicitly asked to use their knowledge of the Cold War. In spite of this instruction, 54 propositions (33%) were labelled as 'generic knowledge'. Most of these (74%) related to political and socio-economic stability as predictors of the viability of communism in China.

Historical knowledge	**Propositions**	**Percentage**
Communism/capitalism	34	31%
Soviet Union	32	29%
China	28	26%
Cold War	15	14%
Total	109	100%
Generic knowledge	**Propositions**	**Percentage**
Chinese population	40	74%
Foreign pressure	14	26%
Total	54	100%

Table 4. Code analysis of students' writings about the future of communism in China (case study 1).

The students who were interviewed generally failed to give an explanation for not using historical content knowledge, seemingly because it was the first time they considered the possibility of using history in this way. One student declared that the Cold War had only confirmed his criticism on United States policy, and although he had not explained his opinion on paper, historical content knowledge certainly had influenced his opinions. Because students hardly commented on specific statements, we asked them more generally whether Cold War knowledge (in the context of discussing the present enduring human issue) could affect their

points of view. Talking about the expansion of communism, one student put forward how the Cold War had altered his opinions about Russia:

> I always think Russia is bad and the United States is good, but that's not always true. They [United States] say "yes, all countries must be democratic". But when communism is democratically elected, then they forbid it. Regarding the Ukraine it seems clear that Russia is bad, perhaps it is true, but you can't take that for granted. The Russians are not always to blame.

Many interviewees thought that history teaches us lessons. For example, four students talked about Stalin expanding communist rule at the expense of millions of victims. One student explained that he would be more aware of the risk of violence 'next time someone tries to impose an ideology'. Another student put forward that 'people in politics' are aware of this because 'they look at what happened in the past'. Elaborating on this issue, two students said history could be useful 'to make the right decisions to solve problems' and 'to know what the future will look like'.

Case study 2. In spite of instructions to use historical content knowledge in their post-test writings, seven students (n = 16; 44%) did not make any reference to it and more or less copied the comments they gave in the first round. Some gave clear reasons for not using historical content knowledge: 'I did not learn things that could help me to respond to this question differently', 'The lessons do not play a role here' and 'Just some lessons will not change my opinion about this.' The other nine students (56%) referred to content knowledge in a very general way. None of them mentioned historical events, persons, phenomena or developments. For example, regarding statement 2 ('people cannot handle too much freedom and need authority: a strong government that tells them what to do'), one student changed from 'neutral' to 'agree' because 'you see in history too much freedom, which is not good. Everyone needs a little leadership so there is structure.'

Case study 3. Out of a total of 57 students, 26 students (46%) agreed and 31 disagreed (54%) with characterizing the war against so-called IS as a world war. Most students (65%) explained their choice by referring to the First and Second World Wars. For example, students who agreed came up with comments such as 'countries from different continents participate' and 'people from all over the world have joined IS'. Students who did not refer to the First and Second World Wars (35%) produced less articulate answers like: 'I think the war against IS is not a world war because it is never good to wage war' or 'I think it is not a world war because there is no quarrel, they only want IS to stop.' A majority of students (54%) believed that knowledge of the military ending of the Second World War was not helpful in predicting how the war against IS would unfold. Their comments contained expressions like: 'IS is just a new group', 'it is a totally different war' and 'it is a very different time'. Students who believed that historical content knowledge was useful derived general lessons from history, e.g., with comments like: 'I agree. Alliances are very important in a war. Usually you cannot succeed if you are alone. You can also learn things from each other like fighting tactics or exchange weapons and technology.' Students who reasoned more straightforwardly came up with explanations like: 'I agree, because the US and Great Britain bombed Germany and that is what they are doing now with IS (bombard the enemy)'.

RQ 2 | Teachers' experiences

Three teachers considered practice-orientated collaboration between researchers and teachers 'important' and one teacher 'a little important'. All but one teacher stated that students showed more interest in lessons with a focus on connecting the past, the present and the future. All

teachers found participation in this project useful in view of their teaching practice. Three teachers indicated that because of the project they were better able linking the past to the present and the future. The project inspired one teacher to continue to make these types of linkages.

The teacher involved in case study 1 was pleased to note that the selected enduring human issue suited the regular lesson content well. According to her, the students had no difficulty with the additional texts and tasks, except with commenting on the viability of communism in China, apparently because they were not used to arguing about possible futures in history lessons. The teacher noted major differences between her two student groups. Students of the (higher) pre-university track were more inclined to relate past events to the present while discussing about the enduring issue than students of the (lower) middle level track, who focused more on mastering the historical content as an aim in itself. In this group, the teacher experienced a tension between complying with curriculum demands and her wish to make meaningful connections between the past, present and future. Furthermore, these students seemed to have difficulty relating factual historical knowledge to the applied generic issue.

The teacher of case study 2 (longitudinal lines approach) put forward that her students had difficulty in addressing long-term developments and jumping from event to event over large spans of time ('from Egyptian pharaohs to Louis XIV and then to Hitler'). She believed this was due to a lack of knowledge, which came as a bit of a surprise to her, because students had just completed a curriculum which had mainly been focussing on overview knowledge. Some students had difficulty understanding that 'good' developments in the course of history (19th century democratization) can be followed by 'bad' developments (20th century totalitarianism). According to the teacher, these students were struggling with 'decline' and 'setbacks' in history. This was a bit disappointing to her, because she considered this kind of fluctuations one of the most attractive aspects of the longitudinal lines approach. She challenged students to extrapolate long-term political developments to the present and the future, but without much success. She surmised that teaching longitudinal lines might have been too abstract and not inspiring enough to motivate students. They were not used to this type of history teaching:

> These students like to have topics which are firmly anchored in a short period of time and organized in an event-based storyline, one with a beginning and an end. Just a real story in one line. With a head and a tail, they like it […]. They found it very difficult and were really happy when we started with a regular theme.

According to the teacher, working with longitudinal developments stretching from ancient to modern times fitted well with the national curriculum which was after all chronologically organized around ten eras. However, she had to spend a considerable amount of time on regular subject matter, because students appeared to have knowledge deficits and had to prepare themselves for tests. Hence, she noted that curriculum demands affected proper application of the longitudinal lines approach.

The two teachers involved in case study 3 (historical analogy approach) declared that making analogies motivated their eighth-grade students. The students were eager to compare past and present events and to elaborate on meanings of content knowledge. One teacher said:

> These students are difficult to motivate, but they just started to work […]. They thought it was really fun to draw these parallels. Yeah, they really had fun in doing these tasks, it surprised me even a little bit. I did not expect that they would work so enthusiastically. They worked in silence and students asked me to do this more often.

Both teachers noticed that the historical analogy approach made students spontaneously discuss meanings and applications of general concepts (e.g., world war, propaganda). One teacher said:

> This came as a surprise, because I found it very interesting what happened. In my class, for example, there was a debate on concepts. Never thought my students could do this. They pondered what a war

> actually is and discussed the definition of the concept of war. Debates arose out of drawing analogies and students referred to what they had learned in other school subjects. I liked this very much.

The teachers did not experience any problems with implementing historical analogies in a sequence of eight regular lessons. Because of the positive effects on students' involvement and motivation in class, they intended to apply this teaching strategy more often but were afraid to be impeded by tight time schedules. One of them said:

> Actually, we focus on current affairs quite often, but these lessons were obviously much better prepared, I would like to do this more often. The problem is proper planning, that remains difficult. Even now I was running out of time. These were ready-made analogy tasks, but it takes time to design tasks suitable for this purpose ourselves. It can be done, but it requires different ways of planning and teaching.

RQ 3 | Students' appraisals of the relevance of history

	Case study 1 (*n*=51)				**Case study 2 (*n*=20)**				**Case study 3 (*n*=47)**			
	pre	*post*			*pre*	*post*			*pre*	*post*		
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*
building a personal identity	3.29 (.76)	3.66 (.79)	3.061**	50	3.30 (.76)	3.34 (.62)	0.267	19	3.47 (.76)	3.61 (.85)	0.815	87
becoming a citizen	3.52 (.77)	3.86 (.83)	3.926***	50	3.56 (.75)	3.55 (.62)	0.076	19	3.22 (.66)	3.41 (.64)	1.391	87
under-standing the human condition	3.55 (.95)	4.08 (.85)	4.235***	50	3.51 (.86)	3.50 (.73)	0.068	19	3.19 (.88)	3.44 (.99)	1.256	87

Note: Scores in case study 3 based on independent samples t-test calculations.

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 5. RHMS-scores for students' appraisals of the relevance of history, pre- and post-test. Six-point Likert scale: 1= completely disagree; 2=disagree; 3= a little disagree; 4= a little agree; 5 agree; 6= completely agree.

Table 5 presents the RHMS-scores for the three domains of the relevance of history: building a personal identity, becoming a citizen and understanding the human condition. In case study 1, the mean scores in the post-test are higher than the mean scores in the pre-test for all three domains, meaning that students were more positive about the relevance of history after the lesson intervention. As the mean scores differences between pre- and post-tests are statistically

significant for all three domains, this positive effect may be attributed to the application of the enduring human issues approach. Apparently, making connections between past, present and future by considering an enduring issue in the context of the Cold War allowed students to recognize ways in which history can be relevant. Students in case study 2 hardly changed their relevance perceptions as a result of working with longitudinal lines pertaining to the historical development of citizenship. Mean scores differences for all three domains are minimal and statistically insignificant. In study 3, post-test scores were higher than pre-test scores, implying that students became more positive about the relevance of history. However, as the mean score differences are not statistically significant (which may have been due to the impossibility to apply a paired-sampled t-test), this positive effect cannot be attributed with certainty to the implementation of the historical analogy approach.

Conclusion and discussion

The extent to which students used historical knowledge in their orientating on current affairs appeared to be influenced in the first place by whether they were explicitly instructed to do so. Their spontaneous inclination to apply historical knowledge was negligible, and even when prompted, not all students did so. However, the picture is mixed. During the interviews, some students declared that content knowledge had reaffirmed or changed their initial responses to the statements. When asked directly and after rephrasing the question, students came up with different examples of ways in which they thought historical knowledge could be useful. Furthermore, the type of pedagogical approach seems to be influential. Enduring human issues and longitudinal lines are usually abstract and generic in nature, which probably makes knowledge transfer more difficult, as is, above all, apparent from our results in case study 2. In case study 3, on the other hand, 37 out of 57 students (65%) explicitly referred to knowledge of the World Wars. This may be explained by the less complicated nature of the assignment to draw an analogy between concrete events.

Teachers' experiences varied depending on the applied pedagogical approach. While the longitudinal lines approach appeared to be adaptable to the existing curriculum, content wise, this approach was rather demanding and not very motivating for the students. The historical analogy approach, on the other hand, was not only easy to implement but also elicited students' engagement and enthusiasm, and the teachers were surprised by the competences their students appeared to have. The approaches helped the teachers make connections among the past, present and future and as such were useful in view of their daily teaching practice; however, they noted tension between using the approaches and complying with curriculum demands within the given time.

The RHMS data of case study 1 show that it is possible to positively influence the perceptions of students on the relevance of history. Despite the absence of control groups, there are indications that the lesson intervention (which, it must be emphasized, was aiming at relating historical content knowledge to present-day realities and not at teaching students about the relevance of history) influenced this shift of relevance perceptions. First, the analysis showed the largest mean differences between pre- and post-test scores precisely for the relevance domain to which the enduring human issue approach applies most ('understanding the human condition'). Second, the interviewed students involved in case study 1 reasoned about the usefulness of history in terms of dealing with societal problems and foreseeing possible futures, two aspects that were well represented in the applied enduring human issue approach and writing tasks.

Several limitations of the three case studies should be taken into account. First, they were explorative, relatively small-scale and confined to particular situations, so we should be careful

in generalising conclusions based on their findings. Second, we did not examine the situational interest of the students. Affection or disaffection with historical topics may have influenced the results. Third, although the varying quality of students' writings suggests that ability and knowledge levels were important variables in students' performances - which would be in line with empirical findings on this matter (Blow, 2009; Lee, 2004; Means & Voss, 1996) - we did not conduct knowledge or ability tests. Last, in order to determine if students used historical knowledge in their comments on statements, we took exact content knowledge wordings as a rule of thumb. Because this analysis method pertains to the written assignments, there was no opportunity to ask students to elaborate their reasoning. Thus, we had to take this rather rough criterion, realising that students who did not use exact content knowledge wordings may have had history in mind while reasoning about present-day affairs, although this seemed unlikely given the general nature of their answers. Being beyond the scope of this explorative study, it would be worthwhile to further research eventual discrepancies between students' writings and thinking, also in order to learn more about the nature and depths of the use of historical knowledge by students.

One of the main purposes of this study was to examine whether the three approaches fit well with existing educational settings or whether their implementation demands major curriculum revisions. Two indicators for considering this question will be discussed here: students' use of content knowledge and teacher's experiences in view of curriculum demands.

As we have seen, students were not inclined to apply historical content knowledge spontaneously and only showed a rather ephemeral processing of lesson content which is in line with previous research (Foster, Ashby and Lee, 2008; Mosborg, 2002; Lee 2004; Shreiner, 2014). One of the reasons may be that the lesson content referred to 'impersonal' topics such as politics and citizenship, making it difficult for students to identify and engage. This observation would comply with studies showing that students: (1) tend to reason with personal rather than non-personal explanatory factors (Den Heyer, 2003; Halldèn, 1998); tend to relate the past to the present when they are personally involved (Grant, 2003; Seixas, 1994); and (3) show interest in topics that involve emotions, morality and personal judgments in circumstances that are familiar to them (Barton, 2008). This tallies with the findings of case study 3 in which the topic of the historical analogy was morally laden and students were very engaged. In sum, to increase the likelihood of students using knowledge of the past in contemporary contexts, the pedagogical approaches chosen should offer opportunities for identification and engagement. Further research should take this into account.

The embedding of the pedagogical approaches in an existing curriculum to which only small alterations were added may also provide an explanation for students' limited use of historical knowledge. Some students did not perceive content knowledge as a tool for substantiating their views on enduring human issues, apparently because it never occurred to them that history could be used for that purpose. Accustomed to history teaching with an emphasis on memorising historical knowledge, it seemed that students associated history lesson content primarily with the past and enduring human issues primarily with the present. These observations are consistent with educational research on knowledge transfer in general and on seeking meaning beyond the history content in particular, which indicates that these mental operations do not easily occur in situations in which knowledge is acquired in an educational setting predominantly focused on lecturing and replication (Illeris, 2009; Russell & Pellegrino, 2008). Lifting the barriers may also be difficult because enduring human issues and longitudinal lines are of a generic nature whereas topics in traditional curricula are often shaped as chains of events with meanings that apply only in particular contexts. To switch between historical facts and human issues or longitudinal lines, intermediators would be welcome, for example overarching concepts that students can use for deducing general meanings from descriptive knowledge (Milligan & Wood, 2010; Thornton & Barton, 2010).

In conclusion, working with historical analogies can be easily implemented within a traditional curriculum and seems to be a promising approach for encouraging students to use history beyond school. It remains to be seen, however, whether embedding the longitudinal lines and enduring human issues approaches in extant curricula will be suitable, even if requirements like the ones described above are met. Our case studies pointed out that combining these approaches with a curriculum that serves other purposes (such as strong focus on memorising topical knowledge) is audacious and puts a strain on the available class time and teachers' priorities. As for the enduring human issues approach, instead of working with issues in given contexts that are difficult to mould, it may be a better idea to take them as an organising principle around which subject matter is selected. This would require major curriculum revisions, as becomes clear glancing at 'good practices' of conceptually framed history curricula that study problems instead of periods (Grant & Gradwell, 2010; Obenchain, Orr & Davis, 2011). It would be worthwhile to further investigate the effects of these types of curriculum revisions on the efficacy of the three pedagogical approaches for connecting the past, the present and the future.

References

ACARA (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority), 2015. *Senior Secondary Curriculum, 7-10 History.* http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/humanities-and-social-sciences/history/rationale. Accessed 15 June 2017.

Alfieri, L., Nokes-Malach, T.J. & Schunn, C.D. (2013) Learning through case comparisons: A meta-analytic review. *Educational Psychologist*, *48*(2), 87-113.

Angvik, M., & Von Borries, B. (Eds.) (1997). *Youth and History: A comparative European survey on historical consciousness and political attitudes among adolescents*. Hamburg, Germany: Körber Stiftung.

Ata, B. (2009). The Turkish prospective history teachers' understanding of analogy in history education. *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, 8, 6–19.

Barton, K. C. (2008). Research on students' ideas about history. In L. S. Levstik & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social studies education* (pp. 239–258). New York, NY: Routledge.

Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2011). *Doing History: Investigating with children in elementary and middle schools*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Biddulph, M. & Adey, K. (2003). Perceptions v. reality: pupils' experiences of learning in history and geography at key stage 4. *The Curriculum Journal*, *14*(3), 291-303

Blow, F. (2009). How pupils' conceptions of the relationship between past and present impact on the ways they make sense of the history taught. In K. Nordgren, P. Eliasson & C. Rönnquist (Eds.), *The processes of history education* (pp. 125-155). Karlstadt, Sweden: Karlstadt University Press.

Boix-Mansilla, V. (2000). Historical understanding: Beyond the past and into the present. In P. N. Stearns, S. Wineburg, & P. Seixas (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 390–414). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Broekkamp, H. & van Hout-Wolters, B. (2007). The gap between educational research and practice: A literature review, symposium, and questionnaire. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *13*(3), 203-220.

Brophy, J. (1999). Toward a model of the value aspects of motivation in education. Developing appreciation for particular learning domains and activities. *Educational Psychologist, 34,* 75–85.

Brush, T., & Saye, J. (2014). An instructional model to support problem-based historical inquiry: The persistent issues in history network. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Problem-based Learning, 8*(1), 39–50.

Carroll, J.E. (2016). Exploring historical 'frameworks' as a curriculum goal: a case study examining students' notions of historical significance when using millennia-wide time scales, *The Curriculum Journal*, *27*(4), 454-478

Den Heyer, K. (2003). Between every "now" and "then": A role for the study of historical agency in history and citizenship education. *Theory & Research in Social Education 31*(4), 411-434.

DFE. (2013). *National curriculum in England: History programs of study*. London: Department for Education. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study . Accessed 2 March 2018.

Dressel, G. (1996). *Historische Anthropologie, eine Einführung* [Historical Anthropology, an Introduction]. Vienna, Austria: Böhlau Verlag.

Foster, S., Ashby, R., & Lee, P. (2008). *Usable historical pasts: A study of students' frameworks of the past: Full research report ESRC end of award report*. RES-000-22-1676. Swindon: ESRC.

Frechtling, J., & Sharp, L. (Eds) (1997). *User-friendly handbook for mixed method evaluations*. Arlington, VA: National Science Foundation.

Gaddis, J.L. (2005). *The Cold War*. London: Penquin Books.

Gentner, D. (2010). Bootstrapping the mind: Analogical processes and symbol systems. *Cognitive Science*, *34*, 752–775.

Grant, S.G. (2003). *History lessons: Teaching, learning and testing in U.S. high school classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grant, S. G., & Gradwell, J. M. (Eds.) (2010). *Teaching history with big ideas: Cases of ambitious teaching*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Halldén, O. (1998). Personalization in historical descriptions and explanations. *Learning and Instruction, 8*(2), 131-139.

Haydn, T., & Harris, R. (2010). Pupil perspectives on the purposes and benefits of studying history in high school: A view from the UK. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 42*(2), 241–261.

Harris, R., & Reynolds, R. (2014). The history curriculum and its personal connection to students from minority ethnic backgrounds. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 46*(4), 464–486.

Holyoak, K.J. & Thagard, P. (1997). The analogical mind. *American Psychologist*, *52*(1), 35-44.

Hunt, M. (2000). Teaching historical significance. In I. Arthur & R. Phillips (Eds.), *Issues in history teaching* (pp. 39–54). London: Routledge.

Illeris, K. (2009). Transfer of learning in the learning society: How can the barriers between different learning spaces be surmounted, and how can the gap between learning inside and outside schools be bridged? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *28*(2), 137-148.

Isin, E.F. & Turner, B.S. (Eds) (2002). *Handbook of citizenship studies*. Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.

Laffin, D., & Wilson, M. (2005). Mussolini's marriage and a game in the playground: Using analogy to help pupils understand the past. *Teaching History*, *120*, 18–24.

Landis, J., & Koch, G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, *33*(1), 159–174.

Lee, P. (2004). 'Walking backwards into tomorrow.' Historical consciousness and understanding history. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, 4*(1), 69–114.

Lee, P. (2005). Putting principles into practice. In M. S. Donovan & J. D. Bransford (Eds.), *How students learn: History in the classroom. National research council how people learn* (pp. 31–78). Washington, DC: The National Academies Press

Lee, P., & Howson, J. (2009). 'Two out of five did not know that Henry VIII had six wives': History education, historical literacy and historical consciousness. In L. Symcox & A. Wilschut (Eds.), *National history standards: The problem of the canon and the future of teaching history* (pp. 211–265). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

MacKinnon, M.H. (2001). Max Weber's disenchantment. *Journal of classical sociology, 1*(3), 329-351.

Maggioni, L., Alexander, P. & VanSledright, B. (2004). At a crossroads? The development of epistemological beliefs and historical thinking. *European Journal of School Psychology*, *2*(12), 169-197.

Means, M.L., & Voss, J.F. (1996). Who reasons well? Two studies of informal reasoning among children of different grade, ability, and knowledge levels. *Cognition and Instruction*, *14*(2), 139-178.

McKenney, S. & Reeves, T.C. (2012). *Conducting educational design research*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Milligan, A. & Wood, B. (2010). Conceptual understandings as transition points: making sense of a complex social world. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *42*(4), 487-501.

Mosborg, S. (2002). Speaking of history: how adolescents use their knowledge of history in reading the daily news. *Cognition and Instruction 20*(3), 323-358.

Mugleston, W. F. (2000). Parallels in history. *OAH Magazine of History*, *14*, 44–47.

Myson, I. (2006). Helping students put shape on the past: Systematic use of analogies to accelerate understanding. *Teaching History*, *122*, 26–33.

NCHS. (1996). *National Standards for History*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA/National Center for History in the Schools. http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/history-standards. Accessed 3 March 2018.

Nordgren, K. (2016). How to do things with history: Use of history as a link between

historical consciousness and historical culture. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *44*(4), 479–504.

Nuttall, D. (2013). Possible futures: Using frameworks of knowledge to help year 9 connect past, present and future. *Teaching History*, *151*, 33–43.

Obenchain, K. M., Orr, A., & Davis, S. H. (2011). The past as a puzzle: How essential questions can piece together a meaningful investigation of history. *The Social Studies*, *102*, 190–199.

Pintrich, P.A. (2003). A Motivational science perspective on the role of student motivation in learning and teaching contexts. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 95 (4), 667-686.

Robbins, D. (2004). Learning about an 800-year-old fight can't be all that bad, can it? *Teaching History*, *117*, 44–48.

Rogers, R. (2008). Raising the bar: Developing meaningful historical consciousness at Key Stage 3. *Teaching History*, *133*, 24-30.

Rosenzweig, R. (2000). How Americans use and think about the past. Implications from a national survey for the teaching of history. In P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 262–284). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Russell, W., Pellegrino, A. (2008). Constructing meaning from historical content: a research study. In *Journal of Social Studies Research, 32*(2), 3-15.

Sandahl, J. (2015). Civic consciousness: A viable concept for advancing students' ability to orient themselves to possible futures? *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education*, *2*(1), 1-15.

Seixas, P. (1994). Students' understanding of historical significance. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 22*, 281–304.

Seixas, P., & Morton, T. (2013). *The big six historical thinking concepts*. Toronto, Canada: Nelson Education.

Shemilt, D. (2009). Drinking an ocean and pissing a cupful: How adolescents make sense of history. In l. Symcox & A. Wilschut (Eds.), *National history standards. The problem of the canon and the future of teaching history* (pp. 141–211). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Shreiner, T. L. (2014) Using historical knowledge to reason about contemporary political issues: An expert-novice study. *Cognition and Instruction, 32*(4), 313-352.

Stoel, G., Logtenberg, A., Wansink, B., Huijgen, T., Van Boxtel, C. & Van Drie, J. (2017). Measuring epistemological beliefs in history education: An exploration of naïve and nuanced beliefs. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *83*, 120–134.

Thornton, S.J., & Barton, K. (2010). Can history stand alone? Drawbacks and blind spots of a "disciplinary" curriculum. *Teachers College Record, 112*(9), 2471–2495.

Van Straaten, D., Wilschut, A., & Oostdam, R. (2016). Making history relevant by connecting past, present and future. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *48*(4), 479–502.

Van Straaten, D., Wilschut, A., & Oostdam, R. (2018). Measuring students' appraisals of the relevance of history: The construction and validation of the Relevance of History Measurement Scale (RHMS). *Studies in Educational Evaluation, 56,* 102–111.

VGD (Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands) (2006). *Bildungsstandards Geschichte, Rahmenmodell Gymnasium 5.-10. Jahrgangsstufe* [History standards, framework for secondary education, age 10-16. National association of history teachers in Germany]. Schwalbach, Germany: Wochenschau Verlag.

Wilschut, A. (2009). Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference? In L. Symcox, & A. Wilschut (Eds.). *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History* (pp. 117–139). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Wilschut, A. (2015). Testing frame of reference knowledge in national examinations: report on an experiment in the Netherlands. In A. Chapman & A. Wilschut (Eds), *Joined-up history: new directions in history education research* (pp. 85-115). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research. Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zhao, Y. & Hoge, J.D. (2005). What elementary students and teachers say about social studies, *The Social Studies*, *96*(5), 216-221.

About the Authors

Dick van Straaten is a historian and history teacher educator at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (AUAS), Faculty of Education. He is also a PhD researcher at the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) at this university. His main interest in teaching is historical consciousness, for which he has edited a textbook that is used in many universities in the Netherlands and Belgium. He is co-author of a handbook on history teaching for student teachers in the Dutch speaking area. His PhD research focuses on the implementation of pedagogical tools for making knowledge about the past meaningful to students.

Arie Wilschut is a historian and professor of Social Studies Education at the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (AUAS). He has played a leading role in the reshaping of the Dutch history curriculum, which is now based on ten associative eras supporting students' orientation in historical time. His main research interests are consciousness of time in teaching history, on which he published the study *Images of Time* (2012), the relevance of history for students (with a focus on citizenship) and the role of language in teaching and learning the social sciences.

Ron Oostdam is professor of Learning and Instruction and research director of the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (AUAS). He is also professor of Educational Studies at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education (RICDE) of the University of Amsterdam (UvA). He is (co)author of many articles and books - both nationally and internationally – and was manager of several international research projects. His research topics include differentiation in learning and instruction, motivation, cognitive processes for (language) learning, (early) literacy development, child care and development, parental involvement, test anxiety and learning potential. Many of his research projects include preschool, primary and secondary education.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

Knowing one big thing: Jewish students, Holocaust testimonies and historical consciousness

Sally Cove
Sydney Grammar School

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the power or attraction of certain unitary historical meaning(s) that can be generated by Holocaust education. More specifically, it argues that forms of historical consciousness developed by a group of Australian-Jewish teenagers (and accessible herein through a collection of essays written using Holocaust testimony) can be used as evidence of the nature of their engagement with Holocaust history and, as such, revealing examples of the ways in which engagement with Holocaust history has shaped historical consciousness in service to personal and social (communal) needs.

KEYWORDS: Holocaust Education; Historical Consciosuness; Witness Testimony.

In his *Essay on Tolstoy's View of History*, Isaiah Berlin used a remnant of the work of the Greek poet Archilochus in order to differentiate between the historical-philosophical totalisers and those whose perspective on history is, as Berlin suggests, centrifugal, diverse, multitudinous. "The fox," Berlin reminded us, "knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing" (Berlin, 2014). Holocaust education in the contemporary world appears in multiple forms – classrooms, museums, special programs such as *The March of the Living* – and arguably presents as a struggle between foxes and hedgehogs. On the one hand Holocaust education constructs unitary meanings from the past that claim, amongst other things, to have the power to tackle xenophobia and racism, act as a preventative against future genocide, help to generate ethical character, assert a core Jewish identity. On the other hand, the Holocaust is also, for most teachers, a historical topic amongst many that they cover and their role is that of Berlin's fox: to meet the demands of the history classroom as a site of historical inquiry and analysis that acknowledges the complex, considers the varied, and confronts the horrifying record of this chapter in human history more prepared, perhaps, to accept the lesson that Berlin regarded as Tolstoy's greatest torment – that history comprises the reality of individual human experience, too often a "spectacle of human impotence and irrelevance and blindness" (Berlin, 2014, p. 21) which cannot be ignored in favour of a single, reassuring idea, however great the desire for salvation. The contemporary world thus extends seemingly opposing demands on Holocaust education with regards to student experience and educational outcomes – a demand for many things to be known, but also the demand for one big thing to be known. I would like to argue, however, that there is a form of resolution to be had if one attends to opportunities presented by a philosophy of history that considers text metahistorically; in other words, an

PLEASE CITE AS: Cove, S. (2018). Knowing one big thing: Jewish students, Holocaust testimonies and historical consciousness. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 68-75.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

approach that studies the meanings constructed by students using the historical record and historical testimonies as being themselves indicative of what it is that history can tell us about the formation of historical consciousness. Berlin might have said that this approach is that of the fox who studies the hedgehog, rather than attempts to devour him.

The empirical base for this study is a nine-year record of Holocaust research, testimony use and personal reflection by Australian-Jewish teenagers of the 10th grade (aged between fifteen and sixteen years), developed between 2005 and 2014 at Emanuel School in Sydney. This is an ongoing and thus ever-expanding archive of the Holocaust in the contemporary world of young Australian-Jews. It stems from an essay competition funded by a survivor, Paul Drexler, in memory of his father Eugen, who died during the war – killed during a bombing raid, but ultimately a victim of the Nazi forced labour program. Paul Drexler himself, a Slovakian-Jew, survived Theresienstadt as a child along with his mother, emigrated to Australia after the war, and sent his children to Emanuel School – a pluralist, co-educational Jewish day school. The essay contest is mandatory for all students; all essays have to meet set marking criteria and are completed within the same time frame and within the same age cohort. The essays are thus a coherent and defined body of work. They provide a ready source for discussions involving generational change and awareness, issues relating to notions of collective as well as individual identity and memory, and insights into the pedagogical advantages and shortcomings of such an approach to Holocaust education. They also provide a remarkable opportunity for the researcher to access the historical knowledge and understanding, as well as familial, community and personal aspects of students' relationships to the subject of the *Shoah*. Each essay is different – it takes as its starting point a different survivor story, works with the testimony in different ways, and the students perform at varying levels when it comes to historical research, synthesis and exposition. However, what is fascinating about these works is that they almost invariably develop one of a small selection of singular ideas about the Holocaust that they draw from the history that they have constructed. This idea is incorporated either as a form of personal expression that occurs externally to a historical narrative, or is incorporated into the essay either as a device to shape the way in which the narrative proceeds or as a way of bringing an always harrowing story to a conclusion that really does communicate closure and thus, by implication, the understanding of a meaning to this Jewish history. I have loosely categorised these unitary meanings (constructions of discrete forms of historical consciousness) under the headings of agency, *Zakhor,* absence and identity.

Agency is perverse from a historical perspective, but from a philosophical perspective it serves as a poignant reminder of how strongly we resist acknowledging the intense vulnerability of the human body when subjected to historical forces such as war and genocide. It describes the students' determination to see survival as a consequence of human agency – the consequence of acts of self-preservation made possible by strength of character and will. Writing in 2005 about his Hungarian-Jewish grandmother, J.S. notes several times in his opening paragraphs that this was the story of "the determination of one woman to survive," "a strong-willed woman [...] able to physically and mentally persevere during the *Shoah*" (J.S., 2005). In 2006, student N.G., describing her great-grandmother being brought to a selection with a shoulder infection that would see her selected and gassed, wrote that "[she] had failed to battle the conditions of the camp," (N.G., 2006) as though it were an absence of will power that wrought the infection and brought her under the scrutiny of Mengele. In 2007, J.K. asserted that "the truth" was that one could survive by "focusing on survival, and by using one's resources" (J.K., 2007). A 2010 essay by A.K., concluded that her grandmother possessed "raw survival instincts," (A.K., 2010) useful during a war that saw her make her way alone, on foot, from Poland to the Soviet Union in 1942. These are a small sample, but they serve as exemplars for this particular idea. Its popularity with students is understandable. First, they are often recounting the stories of grandparents that they admire and love generally, and whose survival

they admire and respect specifically. They know the character of their grandparents and that character becomes a part of how they then understand their story of survival. Second, they are dealing with an element of the testimony that they are working with. There is no doubt that survivor testimony offers examples or claims of agency – deliberate acts, expressions of willpower – and there is no need to doubt, for all of Tolstoy's impotence, irrelevance and blindness, that there were times when it made a difference. The essay's sponsor, Paul Drexler, tells his story to the students each year, before they commence their research, and part of his narrative is a reflection on his mother's role in his survival. Her determination for her son to survive the conditions of Theresienstadt was, for the son, evident in her efforts to house him with her and feed him as much as she could lay her hands on – at no doubt great personal risk. Her efforts alone can't account for his survival, which obviously relied on factors far beyond her control (the failure of the German war effort, the advancing Red Army, and so on); but it no doubt contributed. J.K.'s convictions about the ability to survive being dependent on personal resourcefulness are in part attributable to the testimony that he was using, that of his grandfather. However his grandfather's testimony does not necessarily lead most obviously to J.K.'s rather empowering assertion. The grandfather's testimony reads, "We could not think of escaping [...] In those times you are an animal. You are just trying to survive, trying to be" (J.K., 2007). There is something essential and bare about the grandfather's testimony, the comparison with an animal suggesting an entity stripped of the capacity for decision making and driven only by a primal instinct, that does not make its way into the grandson's conclusion – that his grandfather had been resourceful and focused; that he had used his "resources" to survive. Even the grandson's question that gave rise to the response – whether his grandfather had ever considered trying to escape – suggests a desire to believe in a capacity for action unknown and unknowable for most of those who found themselves in a Nazi concentration or death camp.

This leads to a third consideration of student searches for and claims of agency against appalling odds and in impossible situations – what, borrowing from Nietzsche, might be dubbed a will to power. The desire to perceive the human capacity to force action and outcome through strength of will, personal resourcefulness, determination, courage, and so on is frequently a feature of this source material. Of course Nietzsche was a hedgehog, as Berlin himself observed, and an ahistorical one at that, claiming that "Insofar as history stands in the service of life, it stands in the service of an unhistorical power," and, further, that "with a certain excess of history, living crumbles away and degenerates" (Nietzsche, 1957). Regarding the fox-like historian as incapable of living dynamically – being too burdened by the knowledge of human history – Nietzsche leads us to the paradox observed herein: that, discursively, the will to power exists (in the examples used by these students) as an act of resistance against, and thus absolutely as a product of, detailed, complex, relentless history. What leads these students to their claims of agency is not an ignorance of history, although in some cases their knowledge is certainly sketchy, but an act of resistance to the inexorable lesson it seems to be communicating – that in this time individuals, whole families, entire communities were destroyed because they lacked the power to counter or overcome the actions of a state that had committed itself first to war and then to genocide; *ergo,* that a modern state has the power to subject people to physically intolerable conditions, to collect them, organise them, transport them and murder them. It is thus, of itself, a historical phenomenon (although no doubt it is also claimed by sociology and psychology); an observable reaction amongst these young Jews to their engagement with the historical record and testimonies of the Holocaust.

This phenomenon is also, of course, connected to the second category – *Zakhor*. To remember, *Zakhor*, is not a historical act. Indeed, in the biblical tradition it is obligation more than it is chronicle, a keeping of faith more than a preservation of records: "[...] the Hebrew Bible seems to have no hesitations in commanding memory. Its injunctions to remember are

unconditional, and even when not commanded, remembrance is always pivotal" (Yerushalmi, 1996). Moreover, Yerushalmi (1996) goes on to note, "Only in the modern era do we really find, for the first time, a Jewish historiography divorced from Jewish collective memory and, in crucial respects, thoroughly at odds with it" (p. 93). Once again we discover tension as Jewish historiography is positioned in contrast to the act of sustaining – and indeed selecting - memory. This tension has only increased as the profession of the historian has become less inclined towards the search for a total history that could suggest laws of development, or overarching, spiritually and culturally gratifying principles, and more inclined to embrace not only the necessarily fragmented and imperfect explanatory role, but also the critical role, deconstructing the edifices of collective memory along with everything else. However, in the writing of these teenagers there exists the un- or anti-cynical conviction that history remains a task filled with the obligation to remember, an obligation made acute by the subject material with which they deal.

In 2009, L.B. began her essay with a quote from Douglas Adams: "Human beings, who are almost unique in having the ability to learn from the experience of others, are also remarkable for their apparent disinclination to do so." However, half a paragraph later L.B. remarks about the quote only that it demonstrates "the value of sharing experiences," (2009) Adams' cynical caveat is ignored or lost to the writer's desire to see in her work a commitment to the collective enterprise of remembrance. J.S. is perhaps the most moving and adamant example of a sense of obligation, writing that "Whilst my grandmother never spoke to me of the details involving the death of my great grandmother, and my great-great grandmother, it is my responsibility to convey the inhumanity of the Nazi gassing chambers, to ensure the world learns the lessons from history and never repeats them" (J.S., 2005). J.S.'s sense of his own role leads to an exhortation that is historical in context, moral in conviction, and deeply personal in tone. In the text it does not sit as a piece of reflective writing at the beginning or end of the essay, but rather erupts out of a passage describing the process of selection at Auschwitz. It reads like a moment of irrepressible anger; a sudden tirade against the events he is forced to recount. It also communicates a sense of taking up the task that his grandmother refused – bearing witness to atrocities that she chose not to discuss. Perhaps this is the extension into a new generation of what Marianne Hirsch dubbed 'post memory' when describing the experience of the children of survivors who lived the Holocaust as a pervasive narrative in their lives, but one the trauma of which – because it predated their own birth – they had no immediate claim to, in spite of its very real and ongoing effects. However there is little sense in any of the texts examined to suggest that this new generation feels itself enmeshed in the trauma. Rather they configure their role as one of recording and remembering. As J.S. demonstrates, this is not a dispassionate act, and it is not without a sense of personal responsibility, but it occurs observationally - from outside the narrative, rather than from within.

E.M., writing in 2012, recognises the ongoing impact of trauma in the lives of her grandmother and great-grandmother, stating that "Long after the war had ended, Eva feared another confrontation and the threat of persecution hung over both her and her daughter. They always felt a sense of unease around government officials and found it difficult to trust authority. Holocaust survivors are burdened by the memories of their experiences..." (E.M., 2012). However, at no point does E.M. imply that she has been personally affected in the same way by her family's experience. Her essay is a comprehensive record constructed without a clear articulation of its part in 'remembering.' It stands in contrast to the work of J.S., in which his grandmother's traumatic experience is clearly linked to his own imperative to write as he claims, "I have written my grandma's story as a historical text that ensures the atrocities of the *Shoah* will never be forgotten" (J.S., 2005). J.S.'s invocation to remember, his sense of responsibility to convey events, the insistence or fear that forgetting will lead to repetition, all suggest somewhat irresistibly the reading of this text as seeking empowerment in the same way

as the idea of agency seeks empowerment. In this case it is gained by positioning history as a bulwark against further inhumanity - by accepting the responsibility to remember because remembrance is a weapon against forgetting, and forgetting, as J.S. sees it, is what allows for "Holocaust deniers" – which his own work is "a piece of evidence against." And, finally, he concludes that "Those who do not learn lessons from history will be forced to relive them" (J.S., 2005).

Students such as J.S. or L.B. do not stop to reflect on whether there is any evidence to suggest that human history demonstrates the capacity of history itself (as a knowledge system) to divert societies away from catastrophe, anymore than they consider the contradiction between their own conclusions about agency and their subjects' conclusions about luck, chance, accident or, in the case of N.G.'s subject, a belief that a mother, killed by the Nazis, acted as spiritual protection for her daughter. Agency and the demands of memory and the memorial role of history – shorthanded here as *Zakhor* - are ideas that the essays have in common, and they are defensive ideas, ideas suggestive of the students' need to assert a sense of their own power; a sign of their conviction that they can act with consequence, including the act of writing history with the consequence of ensuring memory and thus establishing protection against history repeating itself. As such, they are hedgehog ideas, not only unitary (condensed into a single idea they communicate faith in the power of the individual to control and even thwart historical development) but also acting as a perfect, spiny, singular defence system against the cynical fox.

However, if agency and recall can help students repel the possibility of powerlessness, they seem to do little to offset conclusions regarding the absence generated by the events of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, absence, I would argue, is an idea that extends from *Zakhor*, just as *Zakhor* would appear to extend from agency. Absence is at the core of the obligation to remember. N.G. writes that "Listed in the Torah it states to kill someone is to kill their whole line [the] long linking thread they may have had" (N.G., 2006). The thread metaphor is used throughout her essay, drawn from a poem by her grandmother. N.G.'s preoccupation is with the absence of "Six million threads cut off forever," the promise that they "will forever be remembered," and the recognition that lives that should have been never were because whole lines were ended. Absence, therefore, is not only the absence of the victims, but also the absence of generations unborn. A.O-V, writing in 2008, concluded his essay with a reflective passage drawn from the testimony of his grandfather that presents essentially the same idea: "One of the things I get from being immersed in the study of all this is a sense [of] being constantly reminded of the absence of many millions of people – and now, 60 years later, many more millions of people would have been. And among them my relatives, all of them" (A.O-V., 2008). The creation of a void (an unbearable paradox) is of course an idea evident in a number of forms in Holocaust remembrance and commemoration. In physical form it is perhaps best represented by Daniel Libeskind's Holocaust tower of the Axis of the Holocaust in the Berlin Jewish Museum. What the architect describes as a "voided void" is redolent with the sense of absence that students try so hard to communicate, tripping a little over their metaphors as they attempt to come to terms with what, somewhat abstractly, they name "the six million," or as they seek to define legacies never established by lives never lived in an effort to effectively communicate nothingness.

In order to counter absence with something tangible and positive, the students seem to rely on two connected ideas: the presence of the survivor and the survivor's family and the strengthening of Jewish identity. N.G. concludes of her grandmother's survival that it meant that she could "begin a new life and connect her threads of a warm woollen jumper, a family, a continuation of the six million who could not continue" (2006). Absence, for N.G. is negated by presence. Survivors continue, they are present, and they can fill the void with new generations. Family, continuation, often serves an ameliorative function in the students'

understanding of how their family stories should conclude; in other words, how the Holocaust recedes as family is restored. J.K. concludes his work with the remark that "Jeno [his grandfather] is very lucky to have such a big and close family that has regular Shabbat dinners" (2007). The importance of survivors' families, indeed the importance of family Shabbat dinners specifically, is a regular feature of the essays, acting as a counterbalance to absence and frequently linked directly to the strength of the Jewish identity. After his remark about family, J.K. concludes with a line from his grandfather's testimony: "I was born a Jew and I will die a Jew" (2007). A.K. similarly asserts in her conclusion that family and a strengthened Jewish identity are two key aspects of her grandmother's survival story: "Today, Lena is the centre of a loving family," and "Lena does not feel [a] stronger [connection] to Judaism, as a result of the War, [one assumes here that A.K. is referring to religious conviction] however she does feel a stronger connection to her Jewish identity, and what it means to be Jewish" (2010). In his essay "Who is a Jew?" Isaac Deutscher worried over this kind of Jewish identity. For Deutscher, unlike the students studied herein, the strengthening of the Jewish identity appears, initially, the very opposite of an affirmation that can be used to counter or at least balance absence. He asks, "When one raises the question of the Jewish identity, one starts from the assumption of the existence of a positive identity. But are we entitled to make such an assumption?" (Deutscher, 1968) For Deutscher, the assertion of a Jewish identity strengthened by calamity is reactive rather than positive; with his usual frankness Deutscher claims, "I would have preferred the six million men, women, and children, to survive and Jewry to perish" (1968). Nevertheless he offers a declaration of his Jewish identity, in spite of his regarding it as reactive, that is not at all dissimilar to the conclusion A.K. reaches about her grandmother, exclaiming that he is "a Jew by force of my unconditional solidarity with the persecuted and exterminated. I am a Jew because I feel the Jewish tragedy as my own tragedy; because I feel the pulse of Jewish history..." (Deutscher, 1968).

In the end, therefore, history, it seems, is the tie that binds; it is history that frightens us into making unrealistic claims about human agency, it is the pulse of Jewish history that commands remembrance and compels the belief that remembrance will be enough to offset further history, it is history that becomes the keeper and the redeemer of the "voided void," and it is history that consolidates identity. Students' conclusions about the meanings sustained by the Holocaust are, from a philosophical standpoint, entirely understandable historical artefacts – they are made by humans in a particular context for a particular purpose and they turn to the one big thing for the same essentially historical reason that Tolstoy, according to Berlin, tried to be a hedgehog all his life – because to be a fox is much harder; there is less consolation in being a fox, there is less capacity for defence against the excruciating past. But even if, as educators, we can resolve the opposing demands of Holocaust education by regarding all outcomes as possessing historicity of a sort and certainly produced through historical engagement, I would like to make, as a concluding thought, a kind of plea for the fox. A.K., writing in 2014, is not a hedgehog. He is one of the few students whose work I have read who does not describe an obligation to remember, see himself as stationed against cyclical historical development, comment on absence or legacies, consider human agency to have amounted to much during the years of the Holocaust, or made the suggestion that it has given rise to a firmer Jewish identity. Rather, he delivers a historical narrative stripped of all unitary ideas as he offers one appalling development after another in the story of Lilly Wolf.

When recalling Lilly's final conversation with her father A.K. writes, "He asked her what she wanted to be when she grew up. Lilly responded that she wanted to be a ballerina and her father immediately called the local ballet school and organized lessons for her. That was the last time Lilly saw her father" (A.K., 2014). A.K. then traces the fate of Lilly's father as he leaves for Belgium, becomes trapped there by the start of the war, and dies after being deported to Auschwitz. For A.K., the poignancy of the last encounter – the doting father doing something

caring yet prosaic, never to be seen again – speaks for itself and what it says is entirely singular: a specific girl, Lilly, who possessed an individual, very human goal, to be a ballerina, lost her specific father, Otto, to a sequence of historical events and developments that neither could predict nor have the power to prevent. The whole essay is written in this way. A.K. intersperses the governing (and changing) historical context with the impact that it has on Lilly; he follows her story through the German occupation of Hungary, the turning of the tide with Operation Bagration, an encounter with Raul Wallenberg, the Russian arrival in Hungary. A.K. draws no redeeming meaning from the way in which Lilly's story develops or the fact of her survival. He writes of the Russian arrival in one sentence, in the next he writes of the phenomenon of mass rape ("While the Soviet Army liberated Hungary, Russian soldiers raped an estimated fifty thousand women"), in the next sentence he describes Lilly being cornered by three Russian men before concluding "Lilly was one of those women" (2014). He recounts a sexual relationship with a Hungarian detective who promised protection in exchange for sex. It is a demonstration of the harsh reality of Lilly's experience made without reference to fortitude or resilience of spirit. (2014) He speaks of her bribery of officials and farmers as necessary devices to deal with the immediate situation in which she found herself, rather than a consequence of her will to survive. Without a shred of rhetorical flinching he writes about soldiers laying scrap paper over those who died by the wayside during the forced march from Budapest and Lilly ripping the paper from the bodies in order to roll it around tea as a makeshift cigarette. Such telling moments offer the horror and complexity of both Lilly's experience and her character, a view that is compounded by A.K's admission that "Lilly remembers being very bored while in the ghetto," (2014) an admission that is entirely unusual in this collection. Students routinely focus on the ghetto as a place of deprivation and victimisation, rarely stopping to consider something as ordinary as the tedium of forced inactivity. A.K.'s ability to resist the temptation to skip over aspects of Lilly's story that are deeply human, rather than transcendent, or find hope or offer redemption in the face of appalling history is touching in its willingness to brave the crumbling of life that Nietzsche predicted.

The essay concludes, "She [Lilly] searched the entire ghetto [Budapest] except for one area. Many bodies had been moved into the old *Mikveh* that had no more water in it. The entire *Mikveh* was full with bodies. Lilly could not bear to look for her brother in there and this is where she suspects her brother was. This was in early 1945. Hungary had been liberated. [...] Lilly had survived" (2014). Brutal in its frankness, it leaves the reader almost longing for some of that fifteen-year-old brash sense of agency and empowerment, stretched metaphors and unifying principles. But it is also, perhaps, a necessary lesson that should be delivered to all students; a lesson about the power of these stories to generate meaning without requiring the offering of a unitary or unifying idea. By resisting the additional temptation to draw from Lilly's own account (or his treatment of it) a connotation clearly contingent on his own sense of what her story means (or what he needs it to mean) A.K. is confirming the autonomy, the individuality of Lilly and her experience. In doing so he is developing a form of historical consciousness that arguably defines the invaluable contribution of the fox. Viktor Frankl, neurologist, psychiatrist and Holocaust survivor, concludes his thoughts on *Man's Search For Meaning* with the words,

> In view of the possibility of finding meaning in suffering, life's meaning is an unconditional one, at least potentially. That unconditional meaning, however, is paralleled by the unconditional value of each and every person. It is that which warrants the indelible quality of the dignity of man. Just as life remains potentially meaningful under any conditions, even those which are most miserable, so too does the value of each and every person stay with him or her (2008).

A.K., by allowing Lilly to be the centre of her own story, without adding the exigencies of his own need for a sense of empowerment, or his own role in fostering awareness, or the demands of Jewish identity, has allowed focus to remain squarely on the individual historical experience

and, importantly, Lilly's dignity remains simply a consequence of her own personhood – her value as a single person – not a consequence of her capacity to act in a certain way, or offer lessons or meanings that we can benefit from, or add to the sum total of Jewish collective identity or memory. What the fox offers is thus the inverse sensibility of Nazism: the recognition of individuality; of the value and the dignity of every human life.

References

A.K., (2010). Drexler essay: Sydney: Emanuel School.

A.K., (2014) Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

A. O-V., (2008). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

Berlin, I. (2014). *The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History*. N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Deutscher, I. (1968). *The Non-Jewish Jew and other essays.* N.Y.: Hill and Wang.

E.M., (2012). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

Frankl, V. (2008). *Man's Search for Meaning. London: Rider*.

J.K., (2007). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

J.S., (2005). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

L.B., (2009). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

Nietzsche, F. (1957). *The Use and Abuse of History*. N.Y.: Macmillan for the Library of Liberal Arts.

N.G., (2006). Drexler essay. Sydney: Emanuel School.

Yerushalmi, Y. (1996). *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

Student understanding of causation in History in relation to specific subject matter – causes behind the scramble for Africa

Anders Nersäter
Jönköping University

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to contribute with knowledge for what students might need to learn to master casual reasoning regarding specific subject matter (the scramble for Africa). The History-didactical framework originates from the Historical Thinking tradition. Data has been derived from a Learning Study and consists of a total number of 138 pre- and post-assessments. Results showed the following aspects to be critical for the participating students' ability to reason on causation in relation to the scramble: *1. Discern that the scramble had causes. 2. Discern that claims for what caused the scramble need support from evidence. 3. Discern that the scramble had both long-term and short-term causes. 4. Discern the chronological structure relating to the scramble not to confuse causes and consequences. 5. Discern that the scramble had composite causes of differing importance. 6. Discern that the scramble was caused by interaction between societal structures and the actions from historical actors.* A value in these findings is that they can contribute with empirically tested knowledge for what students might need to learn when causation is investigated in relation to specific subject matter. Another value is that the critical aspects found are extracted through a combined analysis of the character of the ability, curricular demands and the analysis of students' conceptions before and after research-lessons. Thereby they can hopefully support planning and implementation of teaching.

KEYWORDS: second-order concepts; causation; student conceptions; critical aspects

Introduction

A qualitative History-education has to transmit a solid foundation of historical knowledge to students, but our demands must extend beyond that. Sadly international, as well as Swedish, research shows that teaching all too seldom conveys the methodology of the subject or its interpretive nature. Instead, History is often treated as a fixed narrative of a nation's past that students are expected to memorize and reproduce on examinations (Barton & Lestvik, 2001; Rosenlund, 2016; VanSledright, 2010). This approach creates various problems. One originates in the very nature of the subject; due to its interpretive character it is hard to decide what actually is the "best" or most "truthful" narrative. Another problem is that memorizing large portions of historical knowledge without understanding the methodology of the subject could lead to cramming and a lack of meaning. Finally, and maybe most seriously, students are thereby denied the subject´s rich potential to advance their interpretive and critical capabilities (Seixas, 2000; VanSledright, 2010).

The problems outlined above makes a strong case that to empower students, teaching should be structured around second-order concepts[1]. This in turn raises an important educational

PLEASE CITE AS: Nersäter, F. A. (2018). Student understanding of causation in History in relation to specific subject matter – causes behind the scramble for Africa. Hist*orical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 76-89.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

question: what specifically do students need to learn to master such concepts? The purpose of this paper is to shed light on some aspects of that question by presenting findings for what upper secondary students might need to learn to reason on causation in History regarding specific subject matter - the scramble for Africa?

History-didactical framework

The overarching aim within the Swedish History Curriculum is to develop students` Historical Consciousness. Teaching should advance their knowledge of the past, ability to use historical methods and create an understanding for how History can be used (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011). In the ambition to familiarize students with the methodology of History, the curriculum connects to the disciplinary oriented Historical Thinking tradition (Eliasson, 2014). Lee and Shemilt (2009) argues that progression in students' capability to construct historical explanations should be viewed as an advancement of their Historical Consciousness. The reason being that it will increase their possibility to analyze and act in present society and give them a readiness for future developments. That historical explanations are a vital part of History education also finds support in Swedish Curricula document where it is stated that teaching should address explanatory models that help explain causes behind change (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011). Causation, one of the second-order concepts within the Historical Thinking tradition, is a useful disciplinary tool to show students the methodology and interpretive nature of History, but what characterizes this capability according to literature?

Causation could be defined as proceeding events that themselves significally increase the probability that other events will occur (Mccullagh, 2004). For historians it is problematic to reason about causation according to principles found in the natural-sciences. They instead argue from a viewpoint of probability, look for combined factors, and use a limited time-span for their explanations (Evans, 1997). Sometimes historians argue for intentional explanations, and these serve to explain human actions based on the intentions of significant actors. They have their limitations in that they cannot say much about hidden agendas. Nor can they explain consequences from individual actions, because intentions and actions can have unforeseen consequences. Another category is structural explanations that emanate from societal and economic systems. Events are then explained by their role within a specific system. Nor can structural explanations on their own be considered as complete, since they do not take into account ideological beliefs and individual actions (Mccullagh, 2004). Historians often use a combination of causes to explain past events and changes where individual actions and societal structures interact and affect each other. Various explanatory models could thereby support each other and give different perspectives on past events (Evans, 1997; Mccullagh, 2004). From a History-didactical perspective Seixas and Morton (2013) have defined what they consider to be developed thinking on causation among students. They argue that it is essential that teaching shows that historical change is caused by multiple factors that differ in importance and that these can be of both a long-term and short-term character. They also emphasize that causes and consequences should not be viewed as a chronological chain, where actions of an individual by necessity leads to a certain outcome. Students should instead be able to discern the complex interaction between actors and structures causing change.

Student understanding of causation – Earlier research

Earlier research on causation predominantly has a British origin. Just as for other second-order concepts this has largely presented results concerning student understanding from a content free perspective and, contrary to this paper, not focused on the capability in relation to specific historical content. Originating back to the School Councils History Project (SCHP) and

Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches (CHATA), researchers have been able to identify students' conceptions of History. One outcome from this rich and pioneering research is the development of empirically based progression-models that illustrate qualitative differences in students' understanding for second-order concepts (Ashby, Lee, & Shemilt, 2006; Lee & Shemilt, 2011; Shemilt, 1983; 1987). Even though causation was not an explicit focus, Shemilt (1983) early on managed to show that students in the least developed category of understanding did not see any need to explain change and/or events. In the next category changes/events were explained, but from a mechanical standpoint, and the behavior of historical actors was not situated in context.

Within CHATA, the other major research project in Britain, conclusions drawn about students' conceptions of historical accounts corresponds closely to the SCHP results. This was the case even though the group of pupils who participated in the project were younger (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lee & Shemilt, 2004). More recent research (Lee, 2006; Lee & Shemilt, 2009) has led to the development of a progression-model for historical explanations similar to the one from the SCHP project. Just as for narratives, students in category 1 do not see any need to explain historical events and processes of change and often consider explanations as either true or false. Within category 2 the outcome of historical events is seen as identical to the intentions and actions undertaken by individuals. Students often consider powerful individuals as responsible for change and view the same type of causes useful for all kinds of explanations, regardless of time and context. In the less developed categories, some consider History as being a chain. Even though they realize that events and change are caused by multiple causes and could happen due to unforeseen events that preceded them, they still see History as already decided and steadily on its way to the present. Therefore different events by necessity have to be linked together (Lee & Shemilt, 2009).

In relation to the perceived importance of individuals as agents behind change, it is possible to draw parallels with Halldéns research (1997; 1998). He has shown that students tend to personalize social institutions that in reality are rooted in societal structures. He also found that they tend to explain historical change as the sum of all individual actions and do not use societal structures in their explanations. The importance of explicitly addressing actors as well as structural conditions when teaching historical accounts is also emphasized by Lilliestam (2013). Carretero et al (1994) investigated how History graduates and novices of different age-groups viewed intentional and structural explanations. Participants were given cards consisting of different causes for the 'Discovery of the Americas' and were asked to rank these according to significance. Results showed that History graduates made use of structural explanations to a much higher extent compared to novices who tended to use intentional explanations. Problems dealing with multiple causes have been shown by Voss et al (1994) who allowed 32 undergraduate and graduate students to write an essay on the causes for the downfall of the USSR. Among the results were that many participants did not use long-term causes, lacked relevant historical content and did not see that multiple causes in combination led to a certain outcome. Finally, on a more general level, Stoel, Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2016) stress the importance of explicit teaching-strategies concerning second-order concepts, in an environment characterized by inquiry tasks, to advance students capacity for casual-reasoning. Their research also highlights the necessity to address students' epistemological beliefs.

Contrary to much previous research this paper focuses on causation in relation to specific subject matter. Research has been undertaken through a composite analysis originating from the nature of the subject, curricular demands, and analysis of students' conceptions before and after research-lessons. Based on these differences in approach, the ambition is to add new knowledge regarding what students might need to learn to master casual reasoning in relation to specific subject matter (Specifically, the scramble for Africa).

Causation in relation to the subject matter – the Scramble for Africa

In this section, the ambition is to demonstrate how causes for the scramble can be understood from a disciplinary perspective. Usually when historians try to explain this development they emphasize economic causes in combination with political and ideological ones. It can be argued that the era labelled as "New Imperialism", and whose nature maybe most clearly is illustrated by the scramble for Africa, was triggered by the British intervention in Egyptian politics. Egypt had longstanding economic and military ties with Great Britain and had received huge loans to finance investments in infrastructure. Simultaneously, Egypt depended on her agricultural export to Europe, and expensive loans combined with European tariffs pushed the country into a financial crisis and the eventual risk of state bankruptcy. To protect her interests, especially the strategically important Suez channel, Britain intervened and acquired formal political control over Egypt. These events can be considered a tipping-point; military force had been used to enforce trade agreements before, but in this case a Western power now secured formal political control over another country (Fergusson, 2003).

"New Imperialism" came to define international relations during the last decades of the 19th century up to the First World War. It was enforced with military means built on industrial strength in which European domination was exercised by the formation of colonial administrations. Conditions were favorable since Europe experienced a rapid industrialization and a strong increase in population. The latter, combined with the modernization of European agriculture, caused unemployment. Hence, governments saw emigration as a partial solution to domestic social problems (Darwin, 2008; Fergusson, 2003).

Industrialization fueled a need for cheap raw materials; simultaneously European companies were in need of larger deployment markets. The easiest way to fulfill these needs were considered to be through the possession of colonies. Some of these incentives had existed before the era of "New Imperialism": one new component however, was the extent of investments made in the colonies. These investments required protection through laws and political institutions. Since the colonies had a shortage of capital, investors could receive high profits on invested capital (Fergusson, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1997). The British economist John A. Hobson argued that private investors prompted the imperialist agenda and that these policies were disadvantageous for European countries. This was because the costs were state-funded, while the profits went to private capitalists and never reached the majority of the population. Hobson claimed that the cyclical shortages of demand in capitalist countries instead should be solved through social reforms and progressive taxation. Lenin's analysis was more radical: he argued that the explanation lay in a dysfunctional capitalistic system, where a continuous decrease in profit from invested capital drove capitalistic states into a desperate search for new investment markets (Munkler, 2007).

According to Herfried Munkler (2007), many historians tend to overestimate the importance of economic causes at the expense of others. Peripheral weakening was of great importance, and political factors such as the pursuit of balance of power and prestige are also important causes behind the development. It is hard to state definitely whether rivalry between European powers was a consequence of, or an impelling cause for the scramble, probably both. Just a few years after the British intervention in Egypt, European states, on Bismarck's initiative, met at the Berlin Conference 1884-1885. There they agreed on spheres of interest and set the rules for the division of Africa. One decisive principle was that territorial claims required full control of the area in question. Aggressive nationalism is another element that could explain colonial rivalry. To raise domestic political support, European governments encouraged nationalistic

sentiments. This in turn reinforced popular distrust against neighboring countries and was also used to legitimize the conquest of colonies (Darwin, 2008; Fergusson, 2003). Nationalism was also reinforced through the teachings of Social Darwinism. According to the latter, since Western societies were at the top of the development ladder, people in the colonies would benefit from colonization and develop along Western lines. Colonies were thus considered as the "white man's burden" and Europeans had the duty to spread civilization to those who were not white. Racial arguments that Europeans were superior and consequently had the moral right to conquer non-Europeans countries were also advocated (Darwin, 2008; Fergusson, 2003; Magnusson, 2002).

Looking at the expected demands regarding this explanation, student performance obviously has to be judged in relation to the academic requirements that could be expected at upper secondary level. Implementing this subject matter, the ambition should be to allow students to practice a disciplinary approach to causation; however, the intent should not be to educate mini-historians (Lee, 2011).

Theoretical Framing, Data and Analysis

Theoretical assumptions concerning perspectives on student learning stem from Variation theory, a theory that views learning as ways of experiencing. It assumes that learning requires a simultaneous discernment of certain necessary aspects regarding phenomena's we encounter in our environment which in turn is made possible by experiencing variation (Marton, 2015). In an educational context such phenomena's are labelled as objects of learning (O.L) and they consist of a subject capability and related subject matter, (in this case causation in relation to the Scramble for Africa). Every object of learning contains a set of aspects that needs to be discerned for learning to progress in relation to the capability and subject matter. Some of these aspects are critical for students' ability to master the object of learning in the desired manner. Within a group of students some may have discerned these aspects and some have not. Hence, teachers need to be receptive for how students understand an object of learning and try to identify aspects that are critical for their understanding. According to the theory, teachers should design learning activities based on patterns of variation that allow students to discern these aspects (Marton, 2015). The identification of critical aspects cannot be derived at solely from what teachers consider to be the essential characteristics of a capability and related subject matter. Neither can they single handedly be concluded through an analysis of the misconceptions that students could show in relation to the same capability and subject matter. Critical aspects should be regarded as relational, and they are possible to identify through a combined analysis of the nature of the capability, related subject matter, curricula definitions, teacher's professional experiences and the conceptions that a specific group of students under investigation could show (Pang & Ki, 2016).

Data for this article originates from a Learning Study, an iterative and collaborative research method for analysis and enhancement of teaching and learning. In a Learning Study researchers and teachers, based on interviews, pre and post assessments, disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge, jointly try to identify critical aspects for what students need to learn in relation to an object of learning (Marton, 2015). The original study investigated students' capability to reason on causation, interpret and use sources (Nersäter, 2014). However, in this paper only findings that relate to causation are addressed. Research was undertaken in a Swedish upper secondary school and include three classes with 16-year-old students. All studied History 1b, a mandatory course for all university preparatory programs. Data consists of a total of 138 pre and post assessment essays in which students were asked to discuss the causes for the scramble of Africa. They were presented with two maps depicting colonial possessions on the continent in the year of 1878 and the year of 1914 respectively, and asked to discuss the causes behind

the rapid colonization-process. Both assessments also contained two different historical sources that related to the colonization. In this article, possible effects on student learning by explicit teaching-strategies based on identified critical aspects are not in focus. Therefore pre and post assessments are treated as one pool of data. Results instead focus on what characterizes qualitatively different ways of casual reasoning in relation to a specific subject matter.

Analysis of student answers has been carried out in several steps. First during the actual implementation of the study. A second and deeper analysis was performed writing the research report (Nersäter, 2014). The Learning Study which contributed with data for this report was modelled as a document based component consisting of context-material and accompanying sources framed on the scramble for Africa. The research interest focused student understanding of historical explanations and how efficient teaching practices might be designed in this regard. For this paper, a reanalysis of all data from pre and post assessments has been undertaken. Similarities and differences concerning student conceptions are in the focus for the analysis. Categorization of student statements has emerged inductively based on the pool of data from pre and post assessments. In the analysis of student statements considerations has also been taken to desirable subject-specific qualities justified by the nature of the discipline and curricular demands. To adapt to demands of transparency rich excerpts of data are presented together with accompanying analysis. The ambition is to clarify on what basis categories have been constructed, conclusions drawn and thereby show how critical aspects eventually were identified.

Results – Categories

Analysis of data resulted in four qualitatively different categories. Below follows a compilation of typical excerpts with accompanying argumentation for the conclusions drawn concerning each category:

Category A

Conceptions in this category are characterized by a lack of consistency regarding the historical context and the argumentation is not always coherent. It is also typical that students consider change/events taking place with no clear reason. The historical process moves ahead and it does not seem that changes/events need any explanation. If causation at all is addressed it is connected to vague discussions about power. In the excerpt below the student argues that all Africans at the time of colonization were already slaves. It seems that this student therefore thinks that it was natural that Africans should work for the Europeans.

> I think it was because all black people were slaves and they just got there and said you are going to work for us and they said OK.

In regard to chronology this sometimes leads to students mistaking causes and consequences, which is exemplified in the following statements, showing conceptions where European demand for rubber caused industrialization, and wars caused colonization:

> When they discovered rubber it started to transform towards an industrial society and Africa began to split up.

> These changes took place at the time of WWII and they, these countries, were very strong during the war and as a consequence Africa became colonized.

Since students holding these conceptions often confuse chronology, they tend to confuse different epochs. The Age of Discovery is mixed-up with Modern Age Imperialism; and WWI is sometimes seen as a cause for colonization. In one statement, technology developed during

the 1950s is viewed as a cause for colonization, and the US and USSR are considered to be the countries responsible for colonizing Africa. To summarize, the evidence-base in this category of conceptions is often faulty and the line of argumentation not coherent in relation to context, chronology and causation.

Category B

Here conceptions correspond with the historical context and even though the line of argumentation can be a bit vague, one or some relevant causes are addressed. The reasons behind colonization are sometimes understood as European states wanting to expand geographically and increase their power:

> I guess it was some sort of power urge for land. It´s not surprising that a bigger and more developed country wants to conquer a smaller one that's rich on natural resources.

Usually students discuss one or two causes. The most common ones are of a materialistic character. Causation is often reduced to a European drive for natural resources as seen below:

> About 1870- 1880´s large deposits of natural resources were found in Africa, diamonds, iron ore, gold, exotic timber and much more. All this created a great boom for a colonization of Africa.

In some cases European industrialization is seen as both a condition, and a cause. These students address European technical superiority and their search for natural resources:

> Due to the industrial revolution society and companies became more advanced […] they soon noticed that Africa possessed diamonds and different minerals […] The Europeans also had better artillery, weapons, riffles than the African population.

Just as with category A, many answers rely heavily on the evidence that could be found in the sources that accompanied the task. A common denominator in this category of conceptions is however that the line of argumentation is coherent and that answers have an explanatory value.

Category C

Here ways of reasoning are characterized by composite causes that correspond with the historical context. Often background conditions are intertwined with a discussion of causes and consequences as shown in the excerpt below. First the student discusses causes and conditions:

> After the breakthrough of the Industrial revolution there were a great demand for manufactured goods […] to make these you obviously need natural resources […] African populations were easy to conquer since they hadn't progressed as far as the Europeans in technological development in terms of weapons and other things.

They then continue with a description of consequences - how Africans were affected by colonization, and how this was justified by the colonizers:

> But in newspapers back home the story depicted was that native populations were in need of rescue from their barbaric life.

In comparison with category B, it is more common that causes of an idealistic nature complement the materialistic interpretations. Phenomena like Nationalism, Racism, ideas of 'the white man's burden' and Christian mission are addressed as causes behind colonization:

> The used the excuse that they should Christianise the savages. They didn't consider Africans as their equals rather like animals, and you could not allow animals to govern a whole continent, that was not Gods will. Hereby they could justify the enslavement and killing of thousands of people in search of the riches of Africa.

The statement refers to some of the methods used by Europeans. Methods are also addressed in other cases, sometimes from the perspective of power-politics. The agreement to divide Africa

reached at the Berlin Conference is a common example of this. Several students also describe how African tribes were tricked to hand over large areas of land to settlers:

> Many chiefs were tricked to agree to colonization because they didn't understand what the Europeans leaders wrote on their papers. In exchange they often received a bible and were forced to convert to Christianity.

In several cases students discuss long-term consequences of colonization and address contemporary issues as poverty, border conflicts and other problems they view as legacies of colonization:

> White people has had the power down there up until the present. It´s not until 1995 that Apartheid is dismantled.

In this category of conceptions all students add own knowledge to their explanations, since they are not restricted to the evidence found in the task. Evidence is used to back up the arguments and synthesized with their own knowledge about the historical context. Their line of argumentation is coherent and the answers have a high explanatory value.

Category D

Just as for category C, students present complex arguments there causes correspond with the historical context. Causes are recognised as composite and to some extent their relative importance is discussed. Often background conditions are intertwined with a discussion of causes and consequences. Typical for this category of conceptions is that students also discuss long-term, short-term causes and/or the importance of actors and structures:

> After the Industrial revolution Europeans had the edge in weaponry and thereby an easier task taking over African areas. They did it because they needed raw materials and new markets to sell manufactured goods on. Cheap labour was also a factor. Nationalism was strong and it meant prestige to possess many colonies […] Individual capitalists also realized that the capital revenue could be higher in the colonies […] Social Darwinism was a lie, they argued that they wanted to help and civilize the Africans but that was not the real reason.

In this statement, technical superiority based on the conditions created by the Industrial Revolution is addressed. This student also views the Industrial Revolution as a cause behind colonization. Historical actors in the shape of industrialists are seen as important because they can profit on colonization. Causes of a more idealistic character are also used to explain the scramble. There is no explicit reference to the term structure, but it is obvious that this student describes Europe as heavily influenced by ideas of Nationalism and Social Darwinism, ideas that definitely affected and helped to shape the societal structure. Also in the next excerpt, technical superiority related to the Industrial Revolution is addressed. The statement is also representative for how students evaluate which causes they consider to be most important:

> The most important cause was to get hold of natural resources.

Then follows a description of the colonization process, conditions and its consequences from an African perspective. The student continues with an explanation for how colonization was justified:

> The Europeans didn't consider that they did anything wrong, they made up a lot of excuses.

This is supported with references to one of the sources from the task:

> They had no doubt that they would need to use force. But since they considered Africans of less human value, hardly as humans […] lacking intelligence […] They claimed that they did something good when they enslaved them just to take their natural resources […] An example is the Brit, Cecil Rhodes who viewed the British as the perfect people […] something which gave them the right to conquer Africa.

These statements are typical for conceptions in category D. From the excerpt, we can conclude that this student presents an explanation, there causes of a materialistic character are intertwined with idealistic ones. In the category, the latter ones are often used to explain how Europeans justified colonization. In their explanations historical actors are present, act within the societal structure and also influences the same. In all statements within the category there is a synthesis of own knowledge and evidence from the sources. Arguments and value-laden judgments are supported with references to the sources. Their line of argumentation is coherent and answers have a high explanatory value.

The identification and characterization of critical aspects

By analyzing student conceptions four categories were found, comparing differences and mutual relations between these allowed for the identification of critical aspects (see figure 1 below). Analysis showed that many students in category A described the scramble without attempting to explain it in terms of causes. For them colonization just happened. Such attitudes can be understood as they perceive History as moving forward by itself, and do not discern that historical changes have causes. A similar phenomenon in the same category is those conceptions that focus only on conditions and argue that the conquest took place because Europeans possessed the necessary technical abilities. These students do not seem to consider it necessary to provide any further arguments relating to causation. There were also those who did express clear opinions concerning causes, but did not support these claims with evidence (also category A). Neither did most students discern any long-term causes for the scramble; instead they focused on short-term causes surrounding the events (see category A, B). In some answers, especially within category A, there were also clear signs of chronological confusion with the effect that causes and consequences were confused. Analysis also showed that many restricted their arguments to one cause. Among those, the absolute majority advocated materialistic arguments as the cause for colonization (category A, B). That the scramble occurred due to multiple causes of both materialistic and idealistic nature were discerned by students within category C and D. However, it was only the conceptions within category D where students managed to discuss the internal importance of these causes.

Finally, in the pre-assessments almost none addressed the importance of historical actors (category A, B, C, D). Surely, explorers, politicians and media were mentioned, but how these interacted with the societal structure at the time did not become clear in their essay-answers. Based on analysis of pre and post assessments the following aspects, as presented in the diagram below, were concluded as critical for our students' capability to reason on causation in relation to the scramble for Africa:

Identified critical aspects		**Corresponding categories**
1	Discern that the scramble had causes	A
2	Discern that claims for what caused the scramble need support from evidence.	A
3	Discern that the scramble had both long-term and short-term causes.	A, B
4	Discern the chronological structure relating to the scramble not to confuse causes and consequences	A, (B)[2]
5	Discern that the scramble had composite causes of differing importance.	A, B, C
6	Discern that the scramble was caused by interaction between societal structures and the actions from historical actors.	A, B, C

Table 1. Critical aspects and corresponding categories

Discern that the scramble had causes (C. A 1)

That some students described the colonization process but did no attempt to reason about its causes becomes plausible if one imagines a student who view causes as equivalent to a given and/or unproblematic course of events. In such a case the student might not see any need to discuss what the possible reasons behind events were, or what the processes of change had been. A related problem were the conceptions that argued that colonization took place just because European countries had the practical means to enforce it. Superior technical ability was considered reason enough and students did not provide any real explanation for the conquest. To show developed understanding for the scramble, or other events in the past, it is not enough to account for the development in itself. For a developed capability it is crucial that students can present and assess different causes for why certain events or processes of change has occurred (Lee & Shemilt, 2009).

Discern that claims for what caused the scramble need support from evidence (C. A 2)

Pre-assessments showed that some students neither used evidence from the accompanying sources or presented own contextual knowledge to back up their arguments. Arguing a case for what caused a specific event or a process of change to take place without presenting sound evidence is just opinion making and does not constitute a valid explanation. In some cases students tried to use sources to back up their claims but tended to treat them as unproblematic information and suggest interpretations that often were literal and uncritical.

Discern that the scramble had both long-term and short-term causes. (C. A 3)

In the discipline of History, events and processes of change for natural reasons exist in a temporal dimension. The existence, meaning and importance of causes shift depending on time periods and, of course, also depends on what particular phenomenon we put an interest in explaining. The scramble for Africa is an example of a historical phenomenon that at least traces its roots back to the Age of Discovery. To some extent it can be explained by the patterns of trade and a growing capitalistic system that spread in the wake of these discoveries. Few students addressed any such long-term causes for the scramble; they instead focused on the situation surrounding the actual event.

Discern the chronological structure relating to the scramble not to confuse causes and consequences (C. A 4)

In some conceptions students confused causes and consequence relating to 19th and 20th century chronology. In pre assessment essays, there were students who stated that European demand for rubber led to Europe's industrialization, that WWI caused the scramble, that the colonies were conquered during the 1950s, and that the US and the USSR were the dominant colonial powers. Clearly, a student who lacks, or confuses, historical content while attempting to reason on causation for a specific event will also run the risk of confusing causes and consequences.

Discern that the scramble had composite causes of differing importance. (C. A 5)

Results illustrated that many students restricted their reasoning to one cause, which most frequently was of a materialistic character. Students more often than not need to recognize

composite causes to explain past events and processes of change (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lee & Shemilt, 2004; 2009; Levesque, 2009; Seixas & Morton, 2013). The scramble for Africa is no exception, and our students therefore need to discern and evaluate causes of both a materialistic and an idealistic nature. The causes for the scramble can partly be explained by economic factors. European governments and companies had a need for natural resources as well as markets for investments and export (Fergusson, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1997). But, just as for many other events and processes in the past, to understand and explain the colonization process, students also need to handle phenomena of a more idealistic character. These include mentalities, values and belief system of the particular time-period at stake (Ashby, Lee, & Shemilt, 2006; Lee & Shemilt, 2009; Portal, 1987; Shemilt, 1983; 1987).

Discern that the scramble was caused by interaction between societal structures and the actions from historical actors. (C. A 6)

When our students reasoned on causation in the pre-assessment-essays historical actors were often invisible. If actors at all were part of their argumentation nothing in the responses illustrated how these actors interacted with the societal structures of the time-period. A qualitative explanation of the scramble for Africa needs to involve both societal structures as well as the European industrialization process and its effects, and also the interests and actions of important historical actors, such as Bismarck and Rhodes.

Conclusion

For students to understand the methodology and interpretive nature of History it is crucial that teaching deals with second-order concepts in an efficient manner. To do so we have to understand what students need to learn to develop a deeper understanding in relation to these concepts. This article has tried to give some answers to what they need to discern to master the concept of causation. A strength in the findings is that they are based on a composite analysis originating from the nature of the subject, curricular demands, and analysis of students' conceptions. The capability has been investigated in relation to specific subject matter (the scramble for Africa) which could complement British results which have predominantly presented student understanding of causation from a content free perspective. However, there are still similarities between earlier research and these results. That some students do not see any need to explain events or processes of change and see History just as events unfolding (C.A 1) has also been shown in the SCHP project and later research (Shemilt, 1983; Lee & Shemilt, 2009). This underlines how important it is that teaching clearly emphasizes that events and changes in the past have causes, something that risks being seen as too obvious. That events/processes of change depend on multiple causes of differing importance and duration (CA 5) has also been shown within the SCHP project (Shemilt, 1983) and in the research of Voss et al (1994). There is however nothing in their results that indicates that students predominantly have a tendency to advocate materialistic factors. A possible explanation for why our students did so might be found in the specific subject matter studied. This stresses the importance of explicitly addressing idealistic causes that relate to mentalities and values when teaching the scramble for Africa (or modern imperialism in general). Another finding that does not directly correspond with earlier research concerns the role of historical actors causing events/change. Halldén (1998) showed that students had a tendency to personalize explanations and did not make use of structures. Even though many of our students did not make use of societal structures in the pre-assessments, it was more common that individual actors were nonexistent in their explanations (C. A 6). A possible reason is that many lacked enough contextual knowledge to

do so. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that to a much higher extent they managed to deal with interaction between actors and societal structures in the post-assessments.

Our results also clearly indicate that teaching must illustrate that historical changes and events usually occur due to composite causes of differing character and importance (C. A 5). Using the Scramble for Africa to illustrate this, the colonization process can partly be explained by materialistic factors. Powerful interest groups saw a need for natural resources, cheap labor and deployment markets. However, as stated earlier, there is also the need to take into consideration phenomena of a more idealistic character that relates to mentalities, values and beliefs. During the scramble such idealistic factors can be associated with Social-Darwinism, Nationalism etc. One finding that showed similarities with earlier research (Barton & Lestvik, 2001) was that some students confused causes and consequences (C.A 4). Based on this it is not far-fetched to conclude that teaching needs to offer some sort of structured chronological and contextual framework for the specific subject matter when students are expected to reason on causation. The same applies for the need to back up explanatory claims with evidence (C.A 2). If we want students to work with sources while constructing explanations, we need to offer them a contextual framework for the historical phenomenon that they are expected to analyze in terms of cause while interpreting the sources. One remaining question is to what extent these findings are possible to generalize to other components of subject matter in History? A hypothesis could be that several identified critical aspects are of a general nature and necessary to master regardless of historical content. That several of them coincide with earlier findings despite different cultural contexts, research environments and applied methods strengthens that argument. That, however, is a matter for further research to explore.

References

Ashby, R., Lee, P., & Shemilt, D. (2006). Putting Principles into Practice: Teaching and Planning. In S. Donovan, & J. Bransford, *How Students Learn History, Mathematics, and Science.* Washington: The National Academic Press.

Barton, K., & Lestvik, L. (2001). Committing Acts of History: Four Ways People Use the Past. In W. Stanley, *Critical Issues in Social Studies Research for the 21st Century.* Ohio State University.

Carretero, M., Jacott, L., Limon, M., Lopez-Manjon, Ascuncion, & Leon, J. A. (1994). Historical Knowledge: Cognitive and Instructional Implications. In M. &. Carretero, *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences.* New York: Routledge.

Darwin, J. (2008). *After Tamerlane. The Rise And Fall Of Global Empires 1400- 2000.* New York: Bloomsbury Press.

Eliasson, P. (2014). Historieämnet i de nya läroplanerna. In K. Karlsson, & U. Zander, *Historien är närvarande historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning.* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Evans, R. J. (1997). *In Defense Of History.* London: Granta Books.

Fergusson, N. (2003). *Empire, How Britain Made The Modern World.* London: Penguin Group.

Halldén, O. (1997). Conceptual change and the learning of history. *International Journal of Educational Research, 8*, 131-139.

Hallden, O. (1998). Personalization in Historical Descriptions and Explanations. *Learning and Instruction, 27*(10).

Hobsbawm, E. (1997). *Ytterligheternas tidsålder - Det korta 1900-talet: 1914-1991.* Stockholm: Nordstedts.

Lee, P. (2006). Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History. In S. Donovan, & J. Bransford, *How Students Learn History, Mathematics, and Science* . Washington: The National Academic Press.

Lee, P. (2011). History Education and Historical Litteracy. In I. Davies, *Debates in History Teaching.* New York: Routledge.

Lee, P., & Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7 - 14. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History.* New York: New York University Press.

Lee, P., & Shemilt, D. (2004). Progression in understanding about Historical Accounts. *Teaching History, 117*, 25–31.

Lee, P., & Shemilt, D. (2009). Is any explanation better than none? *Teaching History, 137*, 42- 49.

Lee, P., & Shemilt, D. (2011). A scaffold not a cage. *Teaching History, 113*, 13- 23.

Levesque, S. (2009). *Thinking Historically - Educating Students for the 21st Century.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lilliestam, A. L. (2013). *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning. Om utveckling av elevers historiska tänkande.* Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.

Magnusson, L. (2002). *Teorier om imperialism och globalisering.* Stockholm: Prisma.

Marton, F. (2015). *Necessary conditions of learning.* New York and London: Routledge.

Mccullagh, C. B. (2004). What do historians argue about? *History and Theory, 43*(1), 18–38.

Munkler, H. (2007). *Empires.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nersäter, A. (2014). *Att konstruera historiska förklaringar: Vad elever kan behöva lära för att kunna resonera om orsak samt tolka och använda källor inom gymnasieämnet historia.* Jönköping: Högskolan för lärande och kommunikation.

Pang, M. F., & Ki, W. W. (2016). Revisiting the Idea of "Critical Aspects". *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 60*(3), pp. 323- 336.

Portal, C. (1987). Historical emphaty. In C. Portal, *The History Curriculum for Teachers.* Barcombe, East sussex: Falmer Press.

Rosenlund, D. (2016). *History Education as Content, Methods or Orientation?* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH.

Seixas, P. (2000). Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools? In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg, *Knowing Teaching & Learning History. National and International Perspectives.* New York, London: New York University Press.

Seixas, P., & Morton, P. (2013). *The Big Six - Historical Thinking Concepts.* Canada: Nelson Education Ltd.

Shavelson, R. J., Phillips, D., Towne, L., & Feuer, M. (2003). On the science of education design studies. *Educational Researcher*.

Shemilt, D. (1983). The Devils Locomotive. *History and Theory: The Philosophy of History Teaching, 22*(4), 1- 18.

Shemilt, D. (1987). Adolescents ideas about Evidence and Methodology in History. In C. Portal, *The History Curriculum for Teachers.* Barcombe, East Sussex: Falmer Press.

Stoel, G. L., van Drie, J. P., & van Boxtel, C. A. (2016). The Effects of Explicit Teaching of Strategies, Second-order concepts, and Epistemological Underpinnings on Students' Ability to Reason Causally in History. *Journal of Educational Psychology*.

Swedish National Agency for Education. (2011). *Ämnesplaner för gymnasiet.* Retrieved 03 01, 2012, from Ämnesplaner Historia: http://www.skolverket.se/forskola-och-skola/gymnasieutbildning/amnes-och-laroplaner/his

VanSledright, B. A. (2010). *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education.* New York: Routledge.

Voss, J., Carretero, M., Kennet, J., & Silfies, L. (1994). The Collapse of the USSR: A Case Study in Casual Reasoning. In M. Carretero, & J. Voss, *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences.* New York: Routledge.

About the Author

Anders Nersäter is a PhD candidate at Jönköping University, Sweden. He finished his licentiate thesis in 2014 where he investigated what upper secondary students need to learn to be able to construct historical explanations while working with sources. Besides research focused on history education he works part time as lecturer within the International Baccalaureate Program at Per Brahegymnasiet in Jönköping.

Endnotes

[1] These are the disciplinary tools that makes understanding and construction of History possible. Independent of chronology and subject matter they relate closely to the historians trade of phrasing questions, interpret sources and construct narratives (Lee, 2011).

[2] Most common in category A but to some extent also present in B.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education
ISSN 2203-7543 | Peer-Reviewed Open Access Journal

An Arctic encounter with Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth as pedagogy for historical consciousness and decolonizing

Heather E. McGregor
University of Ottawa, Canada

ABSTRACT: In this article I reflect on a pedagogical encounter that occurred during my research with a program called Students on Ice, a ship-based expedition to the Arctic with youth and adults, including a large number of Indigenous Northerners. Together, we visited a National Historic Site and confronted part of Canada's history of colonization. I frame this powerful pedagogical encounter with Dwayne Donald's (2012) theory of decolonizing education, wherein processes of decolonizing and historical consciousness are deeply linked. I work to identify the dimensions of this encounter that produced such a powerful learning opportunity in service of both historical consciousness and decolonizing. I found that as students learned how people are differently historically conditioned, they did not resort to voyeuristic distance, but rather recognition of connection, and from that, "ethical relationality" (Donald, 2012) may flow.

KEYWORDS: history education; Indigenous studies; decolonization; Arctic; Students on Ice.

Introduction: Questions about Decolonizing and Historical Consciousness

Widespread conversations about Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations are resulting in significant changes to public school programs, post-secondary institutions, and other, even non-formal, learning contexts in Canada. Some changes were inspired or bolstered by the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC).[1] For example, the TRC issued concrete Calls to Action, such as for new history curricula in schools. This call is one, albeit important, part of the increasing consensus that educational change must reference Indigenous peoples' histories, and at the same time, exposure to Indigenous histories contributes to educational change. Such efforts raise questions of historical consciousness, or how we understand links between the past, present and future. They also raise questions of decolonizing, or what it looks and feels like to pursue learning goals that depart from colonizing legacies, and what counts as *enough* change in educational settings (see also McGregor, 2017a).

It is important to acknowledge that for many Indigenous educators, scholars and leaders these conversations—about the relationship between history and decolonizing education—are not new, even if they are reaching wider audiences now. Elsewhere (McGregor, 2015; 2017a) I engage with theory on decolonizing education from a broader selection of literature. Here, I focus attention on Dwayne Donald's (2012) contributions to

PLEASE CITE AS: McGregor, H. E. (2018). An Arctic encounter with Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth as pedagogy for historical consciousness and decolonizing. *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education, 5*(1), 90-101.

ISSN 2203 7543 | © Authors | Publication Date: 28 June 2018

theorizing why processes of decolonizing education are warranted and how to go about them in the Canadian context. I highlight his ideas about the myth of the fort or separation between Indigenous peoples and other Canadians, the perpetuation of colonial frontier logics, the purpose of confronting colonial histories with an eye to interconnections, and ultimately the pursuit of ethical relationality. These theoretical reference points provide a frame for the pedagogical encounter I describe, and the generative dimensions of pedagogy that I work to identify. My choice to focus on Donald's article, "Forts, colonial frontier logics, and Aboriginal-Canadian relations," is not intended to discount the increasingly voluminous literature on decolonizing education published in and outside of Canada. Instead, it is intended to closely attend to the kernels of meaning that emerged from placing this particular research and learning story within this particular theoretical frame.

Having read Donald's article in 2012, I wondered what pedagogy informed by this theory might look like and feel like. Unexpectedly in 2016, I found myself in the midst of just such a learning opportunity. Although the emergent pedagogy I describe here was not informed by Donald's theory in advance, I found that in retrospect his ideas could help me to make sense of its significance.

This encounter occurred during my research with a program called Students on Ice, a ship-based expedition to the Arctic with youth and adults, including a large number of Indigenous Northerners. Together, we visited a National Historic Site and confronted part of Canada's history of colonization. We witnessed the abandoned village of Hebron, a real place where evidence of colonization cannot be hidden or ignored. Our learning community—the people we arrived, visited and left with—included people, especially youth, directly impacted by that very history of colonization. The focus of our visit became the intergenerational effects of colonization, including the contemporary suicide epidemic in Inuit communities. The presence of the past in the lives and relationships of participants could not be denied. Being on a journey together also provided for percolation, or the opportunity for participants to return to thinking about their experience as it set in over the days and weeks afterwards, along with others who had experienced it too. Through comments from research participants I found that as they learned how people are *differently* historically conditioned, they did not resort to voyeuristic distance or settle into separate realities, but rather recognized *connection*, and from that, "ethical relationality" (Donald, 2012) may flow. Thus, my observations of this pedagogical encounter, and the conversations I had with youth who reflected on it through my research, help to enliven Donald's theory of decolonizing education.

Histories that convey separate realities and decolonizing education in Canada

The premise of Donald's (2012) article is that Canadians and Canadian education systems have not taken seriously the implications of colonialism for our shared society. He points to the prevalent and problematic assumption that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples inhabit separate realities, thus denying our multi-layered and long-time relationality in the country we have come to call Canada. I, too, am interested in Canadian tendencies towards constructing, or at least perceiving, separate realities within our borders. Perhaps this has been a survival tactic in such a huge country marked by significant regional differences, but it has also resulted in deep alienation on the part of those whose realities are marginalized.

In relation to the Canadian Arctic—the region with which I identify and where my research is based—at least three dimensions of separateness are at play: rurality and remoteness in contrast to urban life; predominantly Indigenous populations rather than non-Indigenous; and, Northern environments, in the real, geographic sense rather than the cultural sense (such as referring to Vancouver as Hollywood "North"), and their intense influence on human

experience. Sherrill E. Grace (2007) explores cultural and discursive evidence of this separateness through her book *Canada and the Idea of the North*. She notes a 1967 radio documentary by Glenn Gould, the famous Canadian musician, called "The Idea of North," in which Gould, said:

> I've been intrigued for quite a long time... by that incredible tapestry of tundra and taiga country... I've read about it, written about it occasionally, and even pulled up my parka and gone there. But like all but a very few Canadians, I guess, I've had no direct confrontation with the northern third of our country. I've remained of necessity an outsider, and the north has remained a convenient place to dream about, spin tall tales about sometimes, and, in the end, avoid. (Grace, 2007, p. xxv)

I suggest that a great deal of ignorance and intrigue, and very little "direct confrontation" as Gould puts it, characterizes most Canadians' relationship with the Arctic even now. Questions of how to overcome perceptions of separateness, and the invisibility of Indigenous peoples, are very real for Arctic peoples for many reasons, not the least of which is their ability to bring attention to, and mediate, how climate crisis is already deeply affecting human lives (Watt-Cloutier, 2015).

Also speaking of confrontation, with regard to reforming Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations, Dwayne Donald (2012) suggests, "The possibility for decolonizing educational philosophies in Canada can only be realized through confrontation with contentious colonial legacies" (p. 93). Here Donald raises questions of historical consciousness—how the way we understand the past affects our perspective on the present and future. Using the example of the fur-trading fort, Donald shows how versions of history become not only interpretations of events, but they "morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of the dominant groups" (p. 95). Of the mythic national symbol of the fort, Donald says:

> In Canada, the wildness of the land and the Indian are similarly valued, but there is also much pride in the ways the land was civilized and how civilization was brought to the Indians. The fort, as a colonial artifact, recapitulates the development myth of the Canadian nation by symbolizing this civilizing process—transplanting a four-cornered version of European development into the heart of the wilderness. (p. 95)

While there are few forts in Arctic Canada, there were both fur-trading posts and churches or mission stations of several denominations that defined the landscape—and humanscape—in new ways. Just as with forts, these posts and churches delineated where one could find, as Donald says, "civilized and industrious people working in the interest of building a new nation from *terra nullius*" (p. 100). The arrival and "gift" of Christianity to the Indigenous peoples was seen, and, many would argue, is still seen, as a civilizing, progressive, even ultimately charitable process of change. The remaining old Hudson's Bay Company posts and churches stand across the Arctic as a testament to that hegemonic value structure and worldview.

The work of decolonizing education, according to Donald, involves confrontation with the past and revisiting history with an eye to interconnections. In his words:

> The process of decolonizing in Canada, on a broad scale and especially in educational contexts, can only occur when Aboriginal peoples and Canadians face each other across deeply learned divides, revisit and deconstruct their shared past, and engage carefully with the realization that their present and future is similarly tied together. What are required are curricular and pedagogical engagements that traverse the divides of the past and present. Such work must contest the denial of relationality by asserting that perceived civilizational frontiers are actually permeable and that perspectives on history, memory, and experience are connected and interreferential. (Donald, 2012, p. 102)

He goes on to describe the characteristics of ethical relationality that emerge from these pedagogical engagements to traverse the divides of the past:

> [...] this form of relationality carefully attends to the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a person or community understands and interprets the world. It puts these considerations at the forefront of engagements across frontiers of difference. This concept of relationality instantiates an ethical imperative to acknowledge and honour the significance of the relationships we have with others, how our histories and experiences position us in relation to each other, and how our futures as people in the world are tied together. (p. 104)

In another of Donald's articles he describes the work of facing colonial histories as an "ethic of historical consciousness," saying, "This ethic holds that the past occurs simultaneously in the present and influences how we conceptualize the future. It requires that we see ourselves related to, and implicated in, the lives of those who have gone before us and those yet to come" (2009, p. 7).[2]

Thus, in this theoretical frame the goal of decolonizing education is to pursue ethical relationality through historical consciousness. The important constructs include coming to know the past differently, overcoming perceptions of separateness, and relational processes of reforming historical consciousness with decolonizing aims. It is important to note that Donald theorizes primarily from Blackfoot and Cree territory in what is now called the province of Alberta. What I have tried to show here is that some of the same constucts may translate, albeit with some adaptations, to Inuit territory in the Arctic, the context to which I now turn.

Context of confrontation with coloniality: Hebron, Nunatsiavut

Hebron was a Moravian mission station located on the north coast of Labrador, in a region now officially recognized as the Inuit homeland of Nunatsiavut. Hebron was established in the 1830s; not the first mission station in Labrador, but early in comparison to European settlement in other parts of Inuit territory across the Canadian Arctic. The German missionaries delivered religious instruction, supported Inuit language literacy, celebrated Christmas and Easter, started church bands and choirs, and provided medical and commercial services to Inuit. In turn, Inuit increasingly settled nearby the mission station, ultimately creating a permanent community. This situation continued for more than 100 years, and Labrador eventually became part of Canada in 1949.

In 1959 the provincial government of Newfoundland, which governed Labrador at the time, decided with the Moravians that supplying the remote location of Hebron was too expensive. During an Easter church service, community members were informed that they would be relocated elsewhere in Labrador. It is important to note that in the Moravian church dissent was not tolerated; thus Inuit were not consulted or given any choice in the matter. An Inuit leader wrote to the government begging not to be removed from the land those Inuit families knew as home, but he was not successful in his appeal. The relocation that followed was deeply painful, and the integration of Hebron families into other communities to the south was not well supported, causing what is now recognized as significant intergenerational trauma (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2016).

Hebron is an engaging place to visit, partly because of the site's natural beauty and the good possibility of seeing evidence of polar bears. The Moravian church and mission house are well-built, prominent buildings that remained partially intact despite abandonment. Hebron was declared a National Historic Site in 1976. In 2005 the Newfoundland & Labrador government officially apologized to the families who were relocated away from Hebron. In 2009 a monument was erected at Hebron, depicting the government apology and a response to the apology from affected Inuit. Over the past several years the Nunatsiavut (local Inuit) government has funded restoration of the mission house and church. Inuit families who continue to feel ancestrally connected to Hebron are voluntarily conducting this restoration

during the summer months, and taking care of the site. It is no longer decrepit or devoid of human connection.

To understand the story of Hebron, then, is to confront the early processes of missionary contact with Indigenous peoples in Arctic Canada and the gradual changes to Inuit life that followed. It is also to confront the manipulations of Indigenous lives by colonial governments in the 20th century under the welfare state, the complicity of the church in efforts to control Indigenous life on Eurocentric terms, and the drastic, deepfelt pain caused as people were forcibly disconnected from their homelands.

Pedagogical encounter: Taking youth to the Arctic

In the summer of 2016 I visited Hebron with 120 youth and 80 adults participating in a program called Students on Ice (SOI). SOI is a non-profit foundation based in Gatineau, Quebec that takes students aged 14-24 from around the world on ship-based educational expeditions to the Arctic and Antarctic. Over the course of SOI's history, since it was founded in the year 2000, multi- and interdisciplinary learning has increasingly characterized its education program. Whereas climate, environmental and biological sciences took centre stage in the past, more recent expeditions—especially to the Arctic—feature the arts (music, theatre, visual arts), social sciences (history, economic development, healthy communities) and Inuit culture (sewing, drumming, politics). The central aim of youth leadership development is deeply embedded in the themes of the education program and purpose of the expedition experience.

On Arctic expeditions, SOI strives for 30%, or greater, rate of participation by youth from the Arctic including Alaska, Canada (Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik/Northern Quebec, Nunatsiavut/Labrador), Greenland or other circumpolar countries. I refer to these as the "Northern" youth, a majority of whom are Indigenous, mostly Inuit. On the expedition in 2016 there were 45 Northern youth, including 6 from the region of Nunatsiavut/Labrador, which we visited. Most Northern youth are between the ages of 16-18, and in 2016 there were 33 females and 12 males. I refer to the other 75 youth participants as "Visiting" students; they come from across Canada, the United States, and other countries around the world. SOI facilitates a robust funding program through which all Northern students are provided with scholarships, reducing cost barriers to participation. SOI also involves Inuit Elders, northern leaders, and northern residents as onboard staff.

SOI's program in 2016 involved a 2-day pre-program specifically tailored for Northern youth in Ottawa, followed by a 2-day pre-program for all youth participants and 80 staff. Then, the participants flew to Iqaluit, Nunavut where we embarked on the *Ocean Endeavour*, an ice-class cruise ship. The expedition lasted two weeks, and involved visiting the north Labrador Coast, crossing the Davis Strait and visiting multiple locations in southwest Greenland.

Researcher on board

I consider myself a Northerner in Canada, and that is largely how I came to conduct a research project with Students on Ice in 2016. I was born in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories and grew up in Iqaluit, Nunavut where my parents still live, the place I consider my "heart home." I am non-Indigenous; my ancestors settled on lands now called Canada and the United States at the invitation of invading governments. My parents moved to the Arctic as young teachers in 1973 and have worked towards being allies to Indigenous peoples in education over the many years since then.

My academic studies have mainly focused on Inuit education in the eastern Arctic (now Nunavut), including educational history in the 20th century and analyses of decolonizing goals in the Nunavut school system in the 21st century. In general, my research has been concerned with documenting ways educational change can be pursued to enhance school responsiveness to the vision of education held by Inuit families and communities.

This research project came about soon after my parents and I travelled through the Northwest Passage with the tour company Adventure Canada on board the *Ocean Endeavour* (the same ship used by SOI) in the summer of 2015. Having travelled extensively, and considering myself knowledgeable about the Arctic, I was nevertheless deeply affected by the expedition. I became much more intensely aware of climate crisis, more sensitive to my own, and my parents' mortality, more in love with the Arctic, and concerned about making a meaningful contribution to addressing climate change through my research and work.

Shortly after this trip, I arrived at the University of Ottawa to begin my postdoctoral fellowship. Upon speaking about my cruise experience, several colleagues recommended I connect with Lisa (Diz) Glithero, former Education Director of SOI and now Adjunct Professor. Following an encouraging conversation with Diz I began to imagine a research project that would help me investigate the powerful learning experience I had tasted through my own expedition, while at the same time contributing to a program that is increasingly oriented to supporting Northern youth.

I proceeded to meet with SOI senior staff and the founder and Executive Director, Geoff Green. We discussed our shared questions and interests, and they considered my proposal to develop a research plan focused on the Northern youth experience on SOI. Following several more meetings we developed a research plan that was thought to be within scope, useful to SOI, and not disruptive to their program experience or culture, particularly for the youth who would have an opportunity to participate.

The research questions I asked are much larger in scope than the research story featured here conveys, but I share them here to provide context. I asked:

> What dimensions of the SOI experience (before, during and after) have the most significant impacts on Northern youth and educators, especially in terms of (but not limited to):
>
> - supporting personal growth, education and leadership skills?
> - encouraging engagement with and ongoing dialogue regarding important Arctic issues, such as (but not limited to) climate change?
>
> What dimensions of the SOI experience best facilitate learning from the perspectives of Northerners about the North?
>
> Based on the experiences and perspectives of Northerners, how can SOI improve its programs to increase responsiveness to Northern peoples and communities?

To investigate these questions I used the following methods: participant observation throughout the entire duration of the expedition (including the Northern student pre-program), analysis of program documents collected by SOI (student applications and feedback forms), small group interviews with students, one-on-one staff interviews, workshops with students that produced reflective worksheets and follow-up phone interviews with students. More detail can be accessed through my final research report (McGregor, 2017b).

The youth perspectives shared later in this article came from small group interviews. The interviews were designed to provide youth participants with an opportunity to reflect on and describe their learning experiences during SOI. The interviews were held during supper, so that youth did not miss out on another activity in order to participate. Supper is a plated and served meal on the ship (as opposed to buffet), meaning meals take longer and there are few reasons to get up from the table or disrupt the conversation. In the regular course of the

program students generally recognize supper as a time when they meet new people because they are actively encouraged not to sit at the same table each evening.

To recruit students I announced at expedition briefings and to specific student groups that I was looking for participants and asked volunteers to approach me. I invited Visiting youth to participate alongside Northern youth, so as not to be exclusive, and to try and provide for the exchange of perspectives between them. On several occasions small group interviews were coincidentally held with one Northern youth, one southern Canadian youth and one American youth, because that was the combination of participants that expressed interest that day. Those who participated often had not talked with each other much before their participation in the research, and some had not even met. Participants included: 9 Northern youth (all female) and 13 visiting youth (6 female, 7 male) consisting of 6 Canadians, 6 Americans and 1 International student. 3 students were 20 years or older, 14 students were aged 17-19, and 5 students 16 or under.

To help students remember the events of the expedition I used a map of our itinerary and a diagram of the ship as prompts. I began the interviews by reviewing where we had been and inviting students to identify their most positive moments, and then their most challenging moments, by placing a sticker on the map or ship diagram corresponding to their experience. The stickers were very well liked and students often wanted to place multiple stickers and tell multiple stories. Students were generous and thoughtful in taking turns, listening closely to one another, acknowledging each other's responses and also finding unique things to share from their own perspective. For the most part conversation flowed easily, students spoke freely and seemed to enjoy being given the attention and opportunity to share their feelings and reflections.

Facing the Past: Forced relocation, suicide, and getting to hope

Hebron was not originally on the SOI expedition itinerary for 2016. Due to unusual ice conditions that summer we were pushed farther south than planned, and we targeted Hebron only days before arriving. Canada's national Inuit representative organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), coincidentally planned to launch the *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy* (2016) at Hebron that same week and invited us to attend the event. Natan Obed, President of ITK, is descended from a family that formerly lived at Hebron. He chose it as the site to launch the suicide prevention strategy in honour of the deep anguish felt by the people of Nunatsiavut, and the ongoing struggle with suicide in that region, where rates are highest among the Inuit homelands.

Unfortunately, due to foggy conditions Natan Obed and other dignitaries who intended to launch the strategy could not arrive by plane. Having arrived at Hebron by ship, SOI decided, with Obed's encouragement, to hold its own impromptu ceremony to recognize suicide as a legacy of the site's colonial history. We filed into the partially refurbished church and sat, as Moravians traditionally did, with men on the right side and women on the left side. We filled the space, every bench seat taken, and with many students sitting on the floor and staff standing around the perimeter.

During the ceremony that unfolded, Inuit youth representatives read aloud the provincial government apology for the relocation, and the official Inuit response to the apology. An address from Natan Obed about the importance of suicide prevention was given in his absence. A moment of silence for victims of suicide was held. Many tears were shed as participants thought of people they had lost or who had struggled from other effects of historical trauma. Inuit Elders sang and played instruments. SOI's staff musicians performed. An Elder drum danced along with an Inuk student, and several young women performed Inuit

throatsinging. A youth from Labrador performed the Nunatsiavut anthem. We were told that throatsinging and drumdancing would never have been allowed in church in the past, but on this day we overturned that restriction and became part of reclaiming Inuit tradition, perhaps renewing the sacredness of the space. Students were given time after the ceremony to tour the abandoned buildings, the monument and the nearby cemeteries. They also connected with the Inuit families who were caring for Hebron over the summer. One of the caretakers, descended from a family who had lived there, said the ceremony we assembled was the happiest thing that had ever happened in the church.

The day was about recognizing the historical injustices that occurred at Hebron specifically, as well as the contemporary struggle with suicide among Inuit across Canada. It was intended to celebrate Inuit culture and language rather than allowing it to be suppressed, as it was during colonization. The day inspired hope for the future as participating youth mobilized around the idea that Inuit communities *can* rise out of the intergenerational trauma of their ancestors.

Learning in the experiential encounter: Youth voices on visiting Hebron

As noted earlier, part of my research methods involved asking SOI youth participants—those who volunteered to join small group interviews—what event during the entire expedition had been most challenging for them. Many, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, mentioned the visit to Hebron. Here are three examples of what they said:

A 17-year-old Inuk from Nunavut said the following of her experience:

> [A] hard thing was when they were speaking of how we [Inuit] know how to heal, but for me I don't really see it. For me being here [in Labrador] that's one step closer, helping our parents and grandparents heal. My granny and my mom went to residential school. My great-granny—they were relocated to [Nunavut community]. I try to help them move on but when we try, they just get mad at us. Hard for me to understand why. My generation is having to hold all of it on our shoulders, we want to move on but we're trying to help our parents to heal. Sometimes their judgment comes onto us and we go into a small shell.

A 23-year-old international student explained that there is more than one Hebron in the world.

> Hebron really hit home for me. [...] In Palestine, we have a Hebron. I was there and things aren't going well. It used to be my favourite city and now it is desolate, a completely different city. Hearing the stories here brought back those feelings. People have similar kinds of attachment or detachment from a place. I cried in the church, and when we got back, and that night. But by the end of it, I was supported and felt so good to be part of their celebration and apology.

A 16-year-old non-Indigenous participant from Atlantic Canada shared connections he made.

> [The] Most special and significant [moment] was at Hebron; there was a lot of reconciliation and truth. In New Brunswick there is no longer very many Aboriginal students and Elders where I'm from. There were Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and Métis. Having that emotional connection with Inuit students was very special because I couldn't experience it where I'm from. [The] theme of suicide and how it affects Aboriginal students [is] close to me because my closest friend's brother committed suicide and my friend found him. It was very emotional for the entire community.

Further, he added, "I didn't [choose Hebron as the most challenging moment] because I don't think it was a challenge for me to feel the way I did that day, I felt I could experience everything that I was feeling very openly and everybody surrounding me was having many of the same feelings."

In these student reflections I see expression of the difficult feelings that bubble up in encounters with historical trauma caused by colonization. However, the students are not simply voyeurs or those learning *about* Indigenous people and their separate realities. In these three quotations I see students from different backgrounds coming to think and feel *alongside*

the people directly affected by Hebron. In each case they draw connections to their own context of colonialism, and the challenge of healing from it. The student from Nunavut speaks of the parallel impacts of residential schools and Inuit relocations on her family, and the parallel challenges with intergenerational healing. The student from Palestine speaks of displacement and decay, where once there was a vibrant community. The student from Atlantic Canada is concerned about the absence of Indigenous people, as they have been pushed off their traditional territories, therefore he feels a lack of connection. And yet, he shows commonality in the grief associated with suicide. Each acknowledges the experience of Hebron as a healing one, saying it was "one step closer" to healing, noting "I was supported," or concluding "I could experience what I was feeling openly and we shared it."

During another research interview I spoke to an SOI staff member who is a mental health counselor, born and raised in the North, and someone who was keenly tuned into the students' experiences of Hebron. I asked her why she thought it was such a provocative experience. She said:

> In years past [during SOI expeditions] suicide has been touched upon, like the statistics when someone was giving a presentation. But with Hebron it was more experiential. You got to go to this place, you got to see with your own eyes, touch with your own hands, and smell with your own nose. You got to experience this place, and there was a sense of reality. Statistics are statistics... but what does that mean? What I loved about Hebron was, yes, it was 'these are statistics, etc. etc.,' but then 'these are the strengths.' It was that beautiful movement of 'This is what has happened, this is how Inuit have been affected, this was where we are and where we're going.' I think that letter of forgiveness by the people of Labrador was pretty impactful.

This quotation clearly evokes the powerful nature of experiential learning, of visiting real places. Any history teacher comparing what they usually do in four-walled classrooms to establish a connection to the past would undoubtedly point out the uniqueness of a pedagogical encounter such as the one I have described. That is certainly true, it was just about as emergent, sensory and immersive as learning ever gets. It was incredibly unique.

But, what might have been as important as *being there* in the place where colonial confrontation happened, were the relationships established between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous visitors to the place. We arrived, witnessed, felt, and left together.

Decolonizing through recognition of difference *and* connection in educational experiences

As outlined in the Introduction, Donald's (2012) theory of decolonizing education involves inviting Canadians to "face each other across deeply learned divides, revisit and deconstruct their shared past, and engage carefully with the realization that their present and future is similarly tied together" (p. 102). He asks to consider that, "perspectives on history, memory and experience are connected and interreferential" (p. 102). Moves toward ethical relationality demand that we carefully attend to "the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a person or community understands and interprets the world" (p. 104).

I saw something like this relationality built during our visit to Hebron. There were more than a few token Indigenous representatives on this journey, more than a guest speaker or one tour guide at the site. A third of our youth group and many adults were Northern, Indigenous people whose lives continue to be affected by historical trauma made real by the place called Hebron. The community that was built among the Northern youth, and with the students who were seeing the North for the first time, produced a sense of difference. But, at the same time, it produced a strong bond and a sense of the importance of equity in the present and future so as to recover, and so as not to perpetuate injustice.

You can hear this acknowledgement of both difference and connection in another quote from the aforementioned 16-year-old youth from Atlantic Canada, when I asked him what he'd learned about the Arctic:

> Having the realization that the way that I'm experiencing the Arctic in the typical Western British-descent way—Like, "Whoa, it's a great vast expanse of mystery and adventure, and craziness, and we don't know anything about it, it's all brand new to me." The realization that that is so much different from how the Inuit students treat it—as more of a homeland, and everything here has cultural meaning to them. It doesn't have the same meaning for me as somebody who didn't grow up living in it. I hadn't expected that disconnect. Making that realization that it is so much more intertwined with their culture than it is with typical white, British, Western mindset. It was pretty crazy.

This student clearly "attends to the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a person or community understands and interprets the world," (2012, p. 104) as Donald suggests is needed. This exemplar reinforces the idea that if decolonizing education is the process of deconstructing taken-for-granted notions of the past and present, and reconstructing them with more fulsome attention to Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationality, then decolonizing and historical consciousness are deeply linked.

Decolonizing historical consciousness

To my understanding, which I have detailed in greater depth elsewhere (McGregor, 2015), historical consciousness is thinking with the awareness that both *what* we think about, and our own *way* of thinking, are historically conditioned. In the Gadamerian sense of historically "effected" consciousness, processes of knowing are never objective (Gadamer, 1975/2013). Rather, experiences, and the forces that shape our experiences such as place, time, identity, and relationships, always shape processes of knowing. If we accept this premise, then we also accept that knowledge can, and must, be remade as experience shifts—in response to place, time, identity and relationships. The openness to such shifts in knowing, and to shifts in ourselves as a result, is the same openness warranted in advancing decolonizing. What we "know" about Canada and its history, what we "know" about Indigenous people, should never be static, never fixed, never secure in a single narrative or a single experience. We must recognize the extent to which our perspectives on Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations are historically conditioned.

The question then emerges, how do educators help youth become aware of how their consciousness is historically conditioned, and will this contribute to their ability to participate in decolonizing Canada? Confrontations with coloniality, in the presence of others who see places in the same moment, and yet know them differently, help to make this real in the learning experiences of youth. In my view, educators are called to invite youth to become aware, and then remember, that everyone's view of the world is historically conditioned—particularly by identities, places and relationships. How teachers go about this in decolonizing teaching and nurturing historical consciousness will likewise depend on their identity, place and relationships. And yet, perhaps there are some dimensions of pedagogy that hold particularly valuable potential.

The first significant dimension is an embodied encounter with a real place that strongly elicits the history of colonization in Canada. Second, the place likely would not have held such potential in the absence of group of individuals still affected by that very history, those who show that the past comes with us into the present. Third, the focus of our visit was the suicide epidemic in Inuit communities and the extent to which this challenge flows from intergenerational trauma linked to reolcations such as the one from Hebron. Fourth, the context of being on an expedition offered space, time and relationships within which the

encounter percolated, or set in, especially through dialogue among peers. The journey allowed the youth and adults who had all been there, a new community of learners, to reflect on and discuss the meaning of the encounter in the days and weeks afterward. This reflection was demonstrated through, but certainly not limited to, the students' participation in my research.

This pedagogical experience involved moving together through time and space, and changing conditions. The conditions we encountered were familiar for some participants (the Northern youth) and very foreign to others (the Visiting youth). Processes of forming community, made up of many new, networked bonds, framed our journey. We literally came to see the world anew, but not all in the same way. Students seemed to recognize that we came with our own lenses, but nevertheless could learn and grow side-by-side. I suggest that these conditions of the encounter helped to mirror, and nurture, learning that serves purposes associated with historical consciousness and decolonizing. The illumination of historical conditions, of difference and of connection, also may help overcome the perceived separateness of Northerners and other citizens of Canada and the world.

Confronting realities associated with histories of colonization can bring out emotion, and for us at Hebron, it certainly did. But without the chance to acknowledge these truths that surround us, we cannot work towards the healing that is needed within us and between us. As demonstrated by student remarks, the holistic, experiential learning journey to Hebron touched many individuals deeply. While the emergent pedagogical encounter will never be repeated exactly, I hope it stands to show that educators can continue to seek and facilitate learning experiences associated with difficult histories and contemporary challenges, and mobilize Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth to stand along side each other in understanding, respect, solidarity and resilience.

References

Donald, D. (2009). Forts, curriculum, and Indigenous métissage: Imagining decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian relations in educational contexts. *First Nations Perspectives, 2*(1), 1-24.

Donald, D. (2012). Forts, colonial frontier logics, and Aboriginal-Canadian relations: Imagining decolonizing educational philosophies in Canadian contexts. In A. A. Abdi (Ed.), *Decolonizing philosophies of education* (pp. 91-111). Rotterdam: Sense.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2016). *National Inuit suicide prevention strategy.* Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

Gadamer, H. (1975/2013). *Truth and method* [Wahrheit und Methode.] (J. Weinsheimer, D. G. Marshall Trans.). London: Bloomsbury.

Grace, S. (2001). *Canada and the idea of North.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

McGregor, H. E. (2015). *Decolonizing the Nunavut school system: Stories in a river of time* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

McGregor, H. E. (2017a). One classroom, two teachers?: Historical thinking and Indigenous education in Canada. *Critical Education, 8*(14), 1-18.

McGregor, H. E. (2017b). *Northern Perspectives On Board Students on Ice, and Beyond: A Report on the 2016 Expedition.* Report prepared for Students on Ice and supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Postdoctoral Fellowship Program. University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON.

Watt-Cloutier, S. (2015). *The right to be cold: One woman's story of protecting her culture, the Arctic and the whole planet.* Toronto: Allen Lane.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge the funding support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the support of the Students on Ice program and the contributions of research participants.

About the Author

Heather E. McGregor is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Ottawa. She is the author of *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (2010) and has published articles in the areas of history of Inuit education, curriculum change, decolonizing research methodologies, and historical thinking in relation to Indigenous perspectives.

---

[1] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015) resulted from the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, and was part of a comprehensive response to the harmful legacy of Indian Residential School system. Their final report identified 94 "Calls to Action," primarily on the part of government agencies across the country in fields such as child welfare, education, health care and justice. The final report can be found at: http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=890

[2] In his 2009 article, Donald goes on to describe a "curriculum sensibility" called Indigenous métissage, which endeavours to provide the place-based, ecological, relational approach to learning that better serves decolonizing goals. For the purposes of this article, recognizing the emergent nature of the encounter, I have maintained focus on his explanation of the conditions that warrant such an approach rather than application of métissage itself.