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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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Civic consciousness: A viable concept for advancing students' ability to orient themselves to possible futures?

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Abstract: In history didactics the concept of historical consciousness has become an important theoretical framework in developing a meaningful history education. One significant aspect of historical consciousness is to give students a "usable past" to orient to possible futures. Previous research has shown that history is important when students think about the future but that their use of history in meaning-making is simplistic and based on present-day-thinking. Much research has focused on advancing students' ability to use history in orientation to possible futures, but less attention has been focused on contemporary studies and its role in the process of orientation. By introducing a tentative concept, civic consciousness, the issue of students' orientation is explored by studying students' perspectives on democracy in past-present-future. The data consists of 142 narratives and reveals a pattern of normative stances, process orientation and action orientation. These aspects are considered to be important components of civic consciousness and these have implications for how social studies educators should address the challenges of preparing students for the future.

Keywords: historical consciousness, history education, history didactics, civic consciousness, social science, social studies, citizenship education, civics

Introduction

> The argument is that teaching is primarily intended to equip people to live a good life now and in the future. In order to do this we need to deal with a number of existential challenges that we as humanity face. The challenges are existential in the sense that they are related to mankind's continued existence. Such threats are unfair distribution of resources, climate change, war, terrorism and pandemics. These are challenges that new generations have to address.
>
> (Tønnessen & Tønnessen 2007:98, translated by the author)

In history didactics the concept of historical consciousness has become an important theoretical framework in developing a meaningful history education (Körber 2011). The theory declares that history education needs to focus on advancing students' ability to construct meaningful and coherent narratives that have practical use for them, so that students can orient themselves to possible futures (Jensen 1997). Predominantly, it helps students to orient in time, understand their own and others' identities, give tools for political action and be used for moral judgement (Karlsson 2004: 27-30, Rüsen 2005).

Research has shown that history is important when people think about the future (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998); history is a part of a meaningful story, but often simplistic and

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based on present time ideas (Barton 2008). Much research has focused on how history education can help students construct more advanced narratives that do not over-simplify the past and are based on historical knowledge. Such means are tools to interpret the past through second order concepts (e.g. Lee 2005) and deconstructing different uses of the past (e.g. Karlsson 2011). However, the question is if history educators are alone in the process of advancing students' ability to orient themselves to possible futures?

In order to orient ourselves we ask questions both to the past and the present. Thus, we do not only understand the present in light of historical experiences; we also interpret what happens now in search of answers. In school, it is not only history teaching that contributes with the means to understand the present, but also subjects such as social science, social studies or civics (Cf. Sandahl 2013): subjects that aim at understanding the present and the future. Future perspectives in teaching have been described as a "missing dimension" (Bateman 2012, Hicks 2006) and its potential has been highlighted, especially for advancing students' ability to deal with possible, probable and preferable futures (Rubin 1998).

An important part of a contemporary aspect is the ability to understand and analyse competing ideological and political ideas that offer very different perspectives on the future. In short, we need to understand politics and how our own evaluative standpoints on current political and ideological trends influence how we see possible futures. The narratives we produce as political beings are important aspects of how we orient ourselves and how we relate to the surrounding society. In order to discuss these contemporary aspects, this article introduces a tentative concept: *civic consciousness*.

The aim of this article is to explore and discuss possible components of civic consciousness and how it relates to historical consciousness in a school context. Moreover, it aims to problematize how history and social studies educators can help students advance their ability to orient themselves to possible futures. Using a so-called snowball sampling technique (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981), 457 surveys were collected from eleven upper secondary schools. Out of these answers, 142 contain longer narratives allowing the researcher to analyse how students reason about past-present-future concerning one specific topic: democracy.

The Theory of Historical Consciousness

The radicalisation of political thinking in Germany in the 1960's paved the way for a critical discussion of the purpose of history education; this debate gave, in turn, birth to new theoretical approaches to historical learning and what should be in focus in schools' history teaching. These theorists were critical of a history education that focused on memorising the past. Instead, teaching should put *historical consciousness* in the heart of history education. In the words of German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann (1997:42), historical consciousness expresses a "connection of interpreting the past, understanding the present and perspective of the future". The Danish historian Bernard Eric Jensen (1997:58) writes that we as human beings always make sense of our lives by interrelating our interpretation of the past with our understanding of the present and expectations of what is to come. Therefore, understanding history cannot only be limited to understanding the past but must also include the present and the future. In fact, history should be seen as part of contemporary studies and give students competency in orienting themselves to possible futures.

As we are historical beings, both shaped by history and in the process of shaping history, no one can lack a historical consciousness. Jensen (1997) argues that a historical consciousness can be more or less advanced in different individuals, ranging from pre-conscious to fully conscious, where the interrelation between past-present-future is explicitly

part of a person's thinking. In order to advance students' historical consciousness, Jörn Rüsen (2005) described different components of what he calls a narrative competence. This is the ability to construct coherent narratives that are based on empirical historical knowledge, as well as normative positions that create meaning for our contemporary life. The components consist of experiencing the past by studying it, interpreting the past and using the past to orient ourselves, chiefly in an attempt to make sense of contemporary times by developing our identities and guiding us in moral issues. Also, orientation could be used to guide and prepare for future challenges. The Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson (2004: 27-30) has pointed out the importance of advancing students' historical consciousness so that they can use it to orient in time, understanding their own and other peoples' identities and give tools for political action.

The theoretical discussions over historical consciousness have been, somewhat unjustly, criticised concerning their lack of practical use for teaching history in school. However, in later years, substantial research has been focusing on how historical consciousness could be used as a guide in schools' history education (Cf. Körber 2011) and for explaining how students' historical consciousness could be advanced through history teaching. Such examples are tools to deconstruct different uses of the past (e.g. Karlsson 2011) as well as how historical second order concepts (Lee 2005, Seixas & Morton 2013) can be used to advance students' competence in experiencing and interpreting the past (as discussed by Nordgren & Johansson 2014). The goal is to give students a "usable past" (Cf. Wills 1996:385).

Studies on Students' Historical Consciousness

With the fall of the Berlin wall, Francis Fukuyama (1989:3) declared the "end of history" in his famous paper. Contrary to Fukuyama's belief, the world witnessed the "return of history" with border disputes, new nations and civil wars in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Tägil 1993:5-6). Therefore, beginning in the mid 1990's, many researchers turned their interest towards people's relationship to the past. In Europe and North America, historians and history educators conducted surveys and interviews both inside and outside of school in order to collect data. Many, but not all, studied the data through the lens of historical consciousness in order to understand how people related to history and how it mattered to them.

In the United States, historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen (1998) collected more than 1,500 stories from people about their reflections of how the past influenced their daily life and hopes for their future. The data revealed a strong pattern: The past was strongly present in people's thinking and it mattered to them in the present and so that they could charter their lives to come. The researchers could also see different approaches to history in how people constructed narratives; race and ethnicity had a strong impact. However, this past was disconnected from school history, and few of the participants found meaning in the history presented in school. Rosenzweig and Thelen concluded that their research had profound implications for history teaching; teaching needed to be rethought if we want students to engage with the past in a meaningful way.

In Europe, a similarly ambitious study was conducted in the *Youth and History* survey (Angvik & von Borries 1997). European students showed the same pattern as in the American study: They had a stronger interest in personal or family history than in "school history". However, the most striking result in the study was the impact of students' geographical setting. The researchers found mutual understanding and interpretation of the past in different parts of Europe. The collective notion of an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991:5-7) seemed strong in people's view of history. One such distinct example has been presented by a

group of Canadian researchers (Létourneau, Lévesque & Gani 2013). Jocelyn Létourneau collected more than 4,000 written narratives where students described their perception of Québec's history. The researchers found striking patterns of an imperialist Anglophone narrative and a surviving Francophone narrative. Students' narratives were simplistic, but served a purpose: For identification as a struggling minority and for understanding of their contemporary life.

In conclusion, there is a strong common notion in history education that students shape their historical consciousness outside school and that they bring strong narratives to school that offer meaning to them. Furthermore, these narratives are often simplistic and dependent on the national context (Cf. Barton 2008). Therefore, history education should be designed to include students' perception of the past, present and future as well as a school history that matters to the students. This can be an emphasis on history to facilitate democratic participation by discussing, especially, human agency (Barton & Levstik 2004, Barton 2012), or to advance students' historical consciousness (Ahonen 2005), all with the common goal of giving students a "usable past". Naturally, the focus of these studies has been on how to transform history teaching in order to make students advance their ability to interpret *the past*; fewer, however, have addressed the issue of advancing students' ability to prepare for *the future*.

Is There a Need to Define a Civic Consciousness?

The theory of historical consciousness declares that history education needs to focus on advancing students' ability to construct meaningful and coherent narratives that have practical use for them to orient themselves to possible futures (Rüsen 2005). Primarily, it will help students to orient in time, understand their own and other peoples' identities, develop moral judgement and give tools for political action (Karlsson 2004: 27-30, Jensen 1997, Rüsen 2005). In history didactics there is a significant amount of research on how history education can help students move from simplistic to more advanced narratives. Also, there is strong evidence that history is important when people think about the future (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998, Barton 2008, Barton and McCully 2010). Still, the question is if history educators are alone in the process of advancing students' ability to orient themselves to possible futures?

Debra Bateman (2012) argues that curriculum often is "biased towards the past" and that future perspectives are described as a "missing dimension" (Cf. Hicks 2006), but Bateman's (2012 & Harris & Bateman 2008) research indicates that futures enrich practise in history and social sciences. Contemplating the future in school is somewhat precarious as students might form bleak images of what the future might be like, perhaps influenced by dystopic narratives in popular culture (Cf. Sandahl 2013). Nonetheless, Bateman (2012) and other scholars (Hicks 2012, Cf. Rubin 1998) argue for future perspectives in history teaching as well as other subjects, where students can address possible, probable and preferable futures. For Anita Rubin (1998), the future is important because it reveals peoples' view on the present and orients them towards what is to come. Rubin argues that these future perspectives are rooted in both past and present:

> The human idea of the futures is not only based on sharp analysis of a single moment or action and its varying factors; it is also affected by emotions, fears, hopes, personal history, and experiences, as well as by the general views, values, and opinions shared by society and the environment. (Rubin 1998:498)

Consistent with Rubin's argument, Koselleck (2004:272) argued that our expectations are "future made present". However, one could argue that in our efforts to know what to expect we do not turn only to the past. In fact, past experiences can be seen as obsolete (Koselleck

2004:254). Moreover, I would even argue that it is not strictly history education that contributes to advancing students' ability to understand and interpret contemporary times and orient to possible futures. Different social sciences contribute with their theoretical and empirical knowledge, sometimes integrated with history, sometimes in specific subjects (Solhaug 2013, Sandahl 2013).

In previous work (Sandahl 2011 & 2014) I have highlighted a number of social science second order concepts that students need in order to advance their reflexive interpretation and understanding of contemporary issues, and facing challenges ahead. These concepts are not just procedural concepts on how social scientists epistemologically work with evidence, inference and causality when they organise, analyse and critically review societal issues. The concepts also concern how societal issues can be interpreted through different intercultural and ideological perspectives while discussing the evaluative dimensions of societal issues; when students study, analyse and discuss political and economical matters in contemporary society their understanding is not just about describing how things *are*, but how they *could* and *should* be (Lundholm & Davies 2012, Cf. Sandahl 2014). Thus, considering different understandings of society and its development is crucial for materialising different possible futures. The argument here, and allow me to paraphrase Sam Wineburg, is to understand both people on the other side of the millennium and on the other side of the tracks (Wineburg 2001:24). I would argue that getting to know the world around us requires both historical and contemporary understanding of human life.

As humans we try to understand what is going on and we ask questions both to the past and the present. Thus, we do not only understand the present, but also interpret the present in search of answers. An important part of this contemporary aspect is the ability to understand and analyse competing ideological paths that charter very different futures. We are all part of society, whether we want it or not. It is not possible for us to turn away from societal affairs; we need to relate to what is going on around us. Furthermore, our own evaluative standpoints on current political and ideological trends influence how we see possible futures; they are important for how we create meaning (Cf Rubin 1998). Reflections on contemporary times can be more or less advanced, but we are all conscious about the societies we are part of. These characteristics are parallel to important aspects of historical consciousness. In line with this argument, I propose a concept that focuses on these contemporary processes: *civic consciousness*.

The notion of consciousness, rather than literacy, is important because it provides personal meaning-attribution and not merely knowledge and cognisance (Cf. Ahonen 2005). Previously, the concept of civic consciousness has been used by political scientists interested in political socialisation and not much by educationalists. Just like historical consciousness, the concept of civic consciousness refers to an individual process of orientation in social and political life. Civic consciousness combines elements of reason, self-criticism and political commitment with themes such as social identity, personal habits, knowledge and values (Janowitz 1983:x-xi Cf. Lange & Onken 2013). In education these processes are sometimes referred to as social consciousness where students' relation to the world around them is in focus and aimed at advancing students' understanding of the surrounding world and helping them explore available alternatives (Schlitz, Vieten & Miller 2010). However, social consciousness is a concept referring to a generic process of widening students' frameworks from presocial to social consciousness (Schlitz, Vieten & Miller 2010). Hence, the concept of civic consciousness will be used in this article by focusing on students' understanding of contemporary political life and political alternatives. The article aims to explore what civic consciousness might mean in a school context by studying aspects of how students create a personal meaning of the political and social world around them.

Aim of Research

The aim of this article is to explore and discuss possible components in civic consciousness and how it relates to historical consciousness in a school context; it also aims to problematize how history and social studies educators can help students advance their ability to orient themselves to possible futures. In contrast to previously mentioned studies, focus is aimed at students' understanding of contemporary society and their view of the future on one specific topic: democracy. The question raised is: *What stands out as important aspects in students' perceptions of Swedish democracy and how do they see its future?* The research question aims at describing the role of present understandings in students' perspective of the future. However, students' historical explanations are also included in the data, but they were asked to do so at the end of the survey to avoid triggering their "historical thinking".

Methods of Research

With the research questions in mind a survey was designed, focusing on one specific topic: democracy. Democracy was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, it is an important topic in the Swedish Social Science syllabus for grades 7-9 and in the History and Social Science syllabus for grades 10-12. Secondly, it is known to be one of the most frequent topics taught in Social Studies (Swedish National Agency for Education 2005). Thirdly, the concept of democracy is open to different understandings. In political science, definitions of democracy are often referred to as minimal or maximal. The minimalist definition stands for "elitist" democracy focusing on the system, that is to say, effectiveness in government and political rights. The maximalist understanding includes more political dimensions, mainly stressing social justice and peoples' participation in democratic life (Bühlmann, Merkel, Wessels & Müller 2008). In the survey, I wanted to give room for different understandings on a topic well known to the students.

Three open questions were constructed: one asking students to write a phrase or word describing their perception of Swedish democracy, one question asking them to describe how they think it will be in the future and one asking them to highlight historical factors they consider to be important in order to understand the development of democracy. They were also asked to explain their choice of phrase or word. The order of the questions was not randomly chosen. In contrast to other research focusing on students' ideas about history (such as Foster, Ashby & Lee 2008 & Angvik & von Borries 1997), I wanted to avoid "triggering" students' historical thinking. Alongside the open questions was also a questionnaire where students could fill in basic information such as gender, age, school and ethnicity. The survey was piloted with 45 students with the researcher present, in order to investigate time consumption and students' confusion when answering the survey. The students were given different kinds of designs, and after a preliminary analysis, it was clear that students understood the questions, and that the design with readymade lines and a start-off-sentence (for example, "In the future Swedish democracy will be") was the most efficient and triggering design.

An informal network of researchers in education was initially used to make contact with active and experienced teachers in different parts of Sweden. Following a so-called snowball sampling technique (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981), the contacted teachers were asked to name other teachers that might be interested in doing the survey, preferably in other parts of the country. A snowball sampling technique is often used to reach hard-to-reach populations (Spreen 1992), but in this case the method was a successful way to collect samples from a wide social network. The aim was to collect around 200 answers in order to have enough samples with longer answers to analyse. However, the snowball effect was stronger than

anticipated, and in the end, over 600 surveys were sent to urban and rural schools across Sweden.

A risk using this technique is that the selected sample is biased. However, the aim of this study is not to draw conclusions on how Swedish students' manifest their civic or historical consciousness in general. Rather, the samples were collected to give qualitative indications on how students' can think about one specific issue in terms of temporality. In total, 457 surveys were collected. Out of the 457 answers, 259 (57%) were labelled as short with answers with phrasing or word only. 142 (31%) were labelled as longer answers with explanations for the phrase or word. 56 (12%) of these were considered as missing data; these surveys were left blank in a closed envelope or with basic information filled in. Others had written gibberish or jokes instead of answers.

The students' answers were categorized into each temporal dimension showing patterns of similar phrasing. However, it was hard to draw clear conclusions from the phrasing when short answers were compared to long answers. When democracy was described, the phrase "unjust" could be explained as concerning the distribution of wealth or voting rights. The phrase "inclusive" could be described as inclusion in decision-making or social inclusion in general. The answers were analysed in order to reveal common patterns in the descriptions of democracy in the present, the future and the past.

Results

When students wrote about democracy few answers were descriptive and neutral only. The vast majority wrote evaluative opinions about how it is and how it should be. Overall, the students' views were predominantly positive with a strong support for democratic ideals, but they also expressed concern for its future. The students' answers were in general process- and action-oriented and they saw themselves as actors in contemporary democracy. Students' understanding and interpretation were, for the most part, based in the present-day.

Democracy Perceived as a Normative Stance

One of the most common answers when students described present democracy revolved around inclusion in the political processes. In this context, democracy was seen as something fair or unfair. The most frequent example was that minors were not allowed to vote. One student gave a typical answer:

> [The Swedish democracy is] Unfair. It's not always easy to make yourself heard and even though it's understandable that people below 18 are not allowed to vote I think that younger people have more long-term thinking and are more politically active than people over 18. (BC042)

The students' answers can mainly be understood in terms of a maximalist understanding of what democracy is and how they perceive its future. There were many minimalist answers as well, such as positive descriptions of the majority rule, Sweden's well-developed transparency and specific political rights. However, this "elitist" approach towards democracy was less common than the students' maximalist understanding. The problems that Swedish democracy is facing were closely linked to issues of social justice, such as inclusion of minorities in general society and unequal possibilities for its members. Hence, democracy was understood as politics and the students recognised it as something they want to change according to their own political interest.

In students' understanding of democracy now and in the future there was a strong presence of their own political will. However, students were not always conscious of what ideological preferences that political will contained. Some wanted a more elitist rule with "experts"

governing, while others were blunter in what kind of political change they wanted to see. One student characterised future democracy in Sweden as corrupt, xenophobic, week, segregated and without a welfare system. She elaborated about the welfare system in the following way:

> When you realise that capitalism is just about pillaging, e.g. the cutting down of rain forests and inequalities in the free market you realise that it's too late to go back to a more fair society because all of the resources are gone. Some are there of course but man is self-centred and shaped by capitalism. You can't change that in a generation. (BC016)

For this student, the political cry was for a more socialist government to change society into something she wants. These kinds of frank political hopes and fears were not always present, but social justice issues and hopes for a better society were pervasive among students' views.

When students wrote about the future the evaluative tendency became even more manifested. Most answers included phrases such as "I hope" and "I fear"; the students' perspectives of the future were either hopeful or crestfallen. This 18-year-old gave a typical answer:

> In the future democracy is threatened. Threatened is not the word I'm looking for here, but I can't think of any better word. What I'm saying is that it's going the wrong way right now. Instead of talking gender equality we're talking about closing our borders to immigrants. That's contrary to what I've been hoping. It doesn't look bright if it continues like that. (SC013)

Overall, most students were hopeful when they thought about the future. Their stories of hope often included social justice, particularly the income gap between different social groups in society. In the students' perspective, decreasing income gaps would lead to more inclusion in society and "poor people" could raise their voice in the political debate. The crestfallen stories were often connected to a threat from populist parties such as the Sweden Democrats, and many believed that we would see more xenophobia in the future. In general, issues such as active citizenship, the environment, gender equality and social change dominated the students' narratives. Some of the answers were very personal in their demand for a better tomorrow:

> I need to believe (in order to survive) that society will be more gender equal. That we will have the same opportunities as men. (BC042)

Democracy as Process and Action

In general, the negative descriptions were not positioned against democracy; they rather acknowledged that there was room for improvement. Many of the answers described problems that should be addressed in order to improve democracy. A 17-year-old girl, critical concerning exclusion in present democracy, gave one such answer:

> I think it is functioning well, at least when you compare to many other countries. We have a high turnout in the elections, low corruption etc. (…) Society needs to be more inclusive. Many groups need to be included and able to practise their democratic rights and have a full citizenship. They should be assisted and encouraged to do so (…) Democracy isn't a static state – it's a process. I believe that Swedish democracy should develop and improve. (BC048)

This kind of description, first describing the positive side of Swedish democracy and then criticising it, was common and could be seen as an inner tension between acknowledging a well functioning democracy as well as addressing its challenges. In fact, one frequent notion in the surveys was that Sweden's democracy is better than the democratic systems of other countries. There were different ways of expressing this view. Some referred to Sweden as a "role model" and others described the Swedish system as "superior". Among some of the students this picture was contested and described as something that Swedes flaunt with:

> It's something we flaunt with, and that's not really fair. It's often told that we're such a good example and that "Sweden is so democratic". Still, we are facing huge problems like unfair distribution of wealth and other skewed power relations. (BC044)

It seems as if present day democracy has triggered students to think politically and to be evaluative in their answers. Furthermore, when they described present or future democracy, students were process oriented; democracy might be good or bad and it will change, for better or worse. This process-oriented understanding was not as clear and present when students gave historical reference.

The most common history oriented answer in the survey was the combined answer of "universal suffrage" with the explicit mention of women's' suffrage in 1919/1921. The majority of the answers specifically mentioned single events and not processes. Some described the process of democratisation, but singled out either the universal suffrage or "when the king lost his power" as the instance of this. Students referred to single events rather than describe the lengthy process of establishing Swedish parliamentarism between 1809-1974. In the following example the student described an understanding where the single event stands as particularly important:

> One important factor in history is] when the king lost his power. The birth of democracy is an important event. If it had happened one hundred years later we wouldn't be such an equal society. (SC006)

The most common process-orientated condition was the rise of Social democracy and the labour movement in the late 1800's. Other examples were the enlightenment, industrialisation and secularisation.

Among students, there was also a recurring feature that emphasised engagement. Many were worried by the lack of civic engagement and that people have become politically numb caring only about their own well-being. People do not really get involved in politics for the questions that matter to students; mainly social justice, the environment and xenophobia. Many of the students also hoped that a new generation would change the political agenda and put these issues in the centre of the political debate:

> [The Swedish democracy] might be in jeopardy. What I mean is that democracy is in jeopardy when people are not aware of their democratic obligations (…) The development is that we for a very long time have been comfortable and we are consuming simple truths. We're just thinking about our own well being and vote on single issues and not about the bigger issues. (SC001)

> [In the future Swedish democracy is] Better than now. The people of Sweden perhaps will think more on what's important for society/the future. Things like the environment, the sick and so on. That might lead to things better than just for themselves. (RC009)

Democracy as a Contemporary Narrative

Overall, historical references were scarce in the material until the students were asked explicitly to give examples of historical impact on the democratic development. Most answers were closely linked to contemporary society and did not include direct historical reference. This typical answer gave a view of the future that was deeply rooted in contemporary issues:

> [In the future the Swedish democracy will be] different. I can't really say that I can predict it. Seeing the growing xenophobia and racism, sexism, gay bashing and also the development of scarce resources with peak-oil and the greenhouse effect I can't really see a development towards the kind of democracy we have today. (However, the growing movement for social justice that we see today gives me some hope...). (BC021)

This does not mean that all students lacked historical reference. Some were very aware that Sweden has a long tradition and that this is important in order to understand the stability of the Swedish democracy now and in the future. "Sweden is tied to history" as one student put

it, but there was a common denominator when students described history: the view that we are evolving towards a better future and that set-backs are considered as "going back in time". This student talked about her desired future, but also included historical references when she described the journey that Swedish democracy has undertaken:

> I hope the future is better. I believe that Sweden has made a journey of freedom in the last 100 years, which includes everything from being able to attend school and be admitted to the university. I hope that this journey will continue. That there will be freedom for individuals and every person's individual talent will decide a child's future rather than the size of their parent's wallet. (SC001)

Students' process orientation looked forward, rather than to the past. Even if they mentioned and discussed historical events, their normative stance was important to them, both in using the past and seeing the future. This student elaborated on the meaning for contemporary society by referring to a historical process, and also its impact on times to come:

> [One important factor in history is] the emergence of a labour movement that made Sweden a "leftish" country with a relatively bigger focus on welfare and collective values. Due to the Social democratic welfare state the modern Sweden was founded. This will be important in the future as well because welfare and class inequalities will continue to be important questions that shape the political agenda. (BC013)

This kind of elaborate answer that relates history to the present and the future were quite rare. This does not mean that students disconnected history from the future, but rather that history simply "happened". What has happened in the past was important for understanding the present time, but when they described their perception of the future they articulated their own political will and talked about change. Thus, agency is mostly considered as something contemporary and most students do not consider agency in the past. Others, however, did see the past as process and intertwined agency in past and present:

> [One important factor in history is] that people have been engaged. Without strikes and demonstrations we'd never be where we are today. At the same time I think it's important that we don't become comfortable. Democracy can always be improved. (BC045)

> [One important factor in history is] public protest. I don't think anyone with power ever wants to give it away. You need to fight for democracy! (SC013)

The historical references were in most cases connected to single events and not underlying processes in history. Many times, these events were seen as lessons that we have learned from our past and that we are better off now. This was particularly apparent when students referred to World War II, which was a "lesson learned" for humanity. For some students these lessons were not enough:

> [One important factor in history is] The Holocaust. Acknowledged and remembered. The holocaust and the oppression of Jews have led to greater acceptance or that particular ethnic group. Perhaps it's an eye-opener for oppression against "new" groups. Still there's a lot of oppression against some groups in Sweden. (BC038)

Conclusions and discussion

When students were asked to write about democracy, it triggered them to think politically about present-time democracy. Overall, they showed a maximalist understanding of democracy (Bühlmann, Merkel, Wessels & Müller 2008) and they did not explain it in a neutral and descriptive way. Instead, the data demonstrates that students gave an evaluative account for how they understood it. It was seen as good, bad, improvable and superior to give some examples. This view was even stronger when students gave account for how they perceived the future. The future they saw was often described in political terms: how they would like the future to be according to their own political will or how they fear it to be in

contrast to their political will. The students were generally process oriented when they thought about democracy; it was changing and they were a part of that change. This process-oriented account was not as present when students thought about historical factors that might explain the way Sweden's democracy has developed. Students put more emphasis on single historical events than on underlying historical processes. When students described the present and their view of the future they saw themselves as agents and engagement was emphasised. Generally, this was not the case when students discussed historical events where human agency was more or less absent in their understanding of the past.

The process orientation of the students' answers looks to the future, rather than to the past. Also, the normative stance was important in their interpretation of the past and what possible futures they saw. Alongside a historical narrative, here manifested mainly as a master narrative about the rise of Swedish Social democracy, was a contemporary narrative. This narrative was strongly influenced by their own political stance and what future they hope or fear.

Civic Consciousness: A Viable Concept?

The theory of historical consciousness states that humans, in order to make sense of their lives, interrelate their interpretations of the past with understandings of the present and expectations of what is to come (Jeismann 1979, Jensen 1997, Rüsen 2005). This thesis is not contested. What is suggested is that an important part of this interrelation is found in students' being rooted in contemporary times. Parallel to historical consciousness is a process of making (political) sense of the present and the future. An important part of this process is students' own political preferences and how they use ideology to create meaning. Ideology and politics are not always salient, but are always present. In this meaning-making they see themselves as part of a process towards different possible futures (Cf. Bateman 2012, Rubin 1998). Students are political beings with ideological views on how society ought to be, and that has significance for their perspectives on the future. Based on this finding, I suggest that there is a parallel concept to historical consciousness, namely 'civic consciousness', that involves elements of normative stances, process orientation and political engagement. In the overarching process of orienting towards the future, interpretation is not just limited to the past but is also an important part of making sense of the present and possible futures. Furthermore, civic consciousness is an important conceptual tool that can be used to better understand how students construct meaning in their narratives, and not just in contemporary narratives, but also in historical narratives. As Debra Bateman (2012) has previously argued, future perspective enables students to make stronger connections between learning and their own meaning-making.

The views of students presented in this article manifest civic consciousness in their attempt to understand and make sense of contemporary and future democracy. Ideology and their own political will seem to be just as important in their interpretation and understanding of the present as it can be in their understanding of history (Cf. Létourneau, Lévesque & Gani 2013). In order to advance students' ability to orient themselves to possible futures, we need tools other than the ones found in the historians' toolbox. Such tools should advance their way of understanding and interpreting the present as well as giving perspectives on the future. We need to advance both their historical thinking and their social science thinking.

The students' view of history, as found in the data where historical processes are simplified, is personified in single individuals and shaped by a national context, and well documented in history didactic research (Létourneau, Lévesque & Gani 2013, Barton 2008, Lee 2005). In previous research, it is also recognised that students tend to interpret the past

from present perspectives (Seixas & Morton 2013). This might be a problem for history educators, and the material in this study indicate that students seem to distance themselves from the past and do not consider humans as agents in the past as they do when they discuss the present and the future. However, this article suggests that we need to understand students' interpretations of the present in order to advance their ability to orient to possible futures. This could be done by more in-depth studies of students' contemporary master narratives.

Implications on Teaching Past-Present-Future

History education can give an important contribution in order to help students construct narratives that they can use in their lives to make moral decisions, be a guide in their search for an identity and give them tools for political action. Engaging with the past requires historical thinking and the ability to understand the different uses of history that we encounter in our lives. Still, students are rooted in the present and when they look towards the future they involve interpretations and analysis of the society around them. In order to advance this interpretation they need tools other than historical ones. Social science theories and methods are needed in order to understand contemporary political, social and economical settings. Students need tools that help them advance their ability to use ideological and intercultural perspectives on societal issues and how they themselves are a part of shaping the future, just as people were in the past.

To advance their contemporary narratives, there is a need to engage with social science second order concepts. Examples of such concepts are how social scientists create inference, how they use perspective taking and what evaluative dimensions are rendered by societal issues (Cf. Sandahl 2011, 2013 & 2014). In the same way that students show simplistic historical narratives in history, they tend to present simplistic understandings of contemporary society. In the effort of advancing students' ability to make sense of the future, both history educators and social science educators can be seen as stakeholders. The goal is not just a usable past, but also a usable present. The tools (such as second order concepts) are not the same, but the goal is similar: for new generations to understand that they too have choices when they address challenges that are threatening our existence. Understanding human agency has, and continues to be, an important part of meeting those challenges.

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About the Author

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Historical consciousness and metaphor: Charting new directions for grasping human historical sense-making patterns for knowing and acting in time

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ABSTRACT: In adding on to narrative as one dominant means of studying and analysing expressions of historical consciousness, this paper attempts to explicate two potential roles of metaphor for fully capturing human historical sense making patterns as they pertain to living life. By bringing together cognitivist viewpoints regarding conceptual metaphors and their underlying mappings of core life concepts with more literary uses of metaphor as a central means of re-describing reality through paranarrative readings of textual extracts, a potentially novel way of looking at the operations of historical consciousness emerges – one where conventionalized conceptual metaphors underlying the logic of history seem to embed the conditions under which individuals either rely on pre-given significations of the past for knowing and acting in time, or rather seek plausible-like meanings instead. The author illustrates his ideas through an analysis of Milan Kundera's embellished commentary on the ironies regarding the politics of remembering and forgetting during Czechoslovakia's communist period in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. In recognizing the experimental nature of his endeavour, the author nonetheless calls for further exploration and empirical research, particularly with real world human participants, to develop metaphor as a respected medium of research in the area of historical consciousness.

KEYWORDS: Historical Consciousness; Metaphor; Historical Sense-making; Narrative Studies.

Introduction

Today, one dominant means of studying and analysing expressions of historical consciousness is by looking at its narrative underpinnings, particularly at those narrative uses that speak to how humans engage with the past for knowing and acting in time (Rüsen, 2005; Straub, 2005a). Most scholars seem to agree that examining the narrative formulations of historical consciousness is one of the best suited approaches to better understanding the cognitive functioning of humans' capacity to account for temporal change – "by organizing [past] events and happenings into frames of meaning" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 5) –, and to moreover intentionally orient themselves "in present practical life by means of the recollection of past actuality" (Rüsen, 2004, p. 69). By looking at the content of the past as well as the logic and direction behind individuals' thought processes driving these expressions, it is believed that human historical sense making patterns, as they pertain to living life, will come to fruition. Such a perspective presupposes that humans are storytelling animals who draw on narrative

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resources from personal cultural toolkits for constructing reality and for configuring a sense of identity and agency (Polkinghorne, 1988, 2005; Bruner, 1996; Wertsch, 2004).

While theorists have not excluded the possibility of other analytical mediums for explaining the operations of historical consciousness, most thinking in this domain has largely been confined to mulling over its narrative articulations and competencies (Rüsen, 2005; Straub, 2005a). Discussions on alternative means of empirical investigation have nonetheless been initiated and have specifically problematized the "sufficiency of narrative as an organizing concept for understanding […] the range of phenomena that […] potentially" are of interest to historical consciousness (Simon, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 204). A recorded dialogue between Roger Simon and Jörn Rüsen points to this, highlighting what James Wertsch qualified "the inherent limitation of narrative as a kind of textual resource" (Wertsch, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 209). Of interest, Simon questioned narrative's "fantasy of wholeness between past and present" (den Heyer, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 203) problematizing its faith in its representational capacity and aptitude for valid knowledge claims through a "logic of synthesis" whereby coherent configurational statements regarding the past are made (Simon, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 208). Without discounting the existence of "trans-narrative elements" for adequately taking historical consciousness into account, Rüsen in return addressed the difficulty of identifying concepts other than narrative for connecting disjointed elements emerging from the past – for replacing or complementing the "temporal mental structural" quality of narrative that permits effectuating temporal connections for configuring lived realities (Rüsen, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 205). As it stood, giving meaning to the past still required a reliable medium for making such historicizing meaningful, legible and comprehensible.

While the limits of narrative acts of meaning construction, though conceivable, have yet to be clearly outlined in terms of historical consciousness research, they admittedly are not the only fathomable means of empirically accounting for this mode of thinking. Another kind of textual resource does exist, one providing a corollary space for making sense of the past for knowing and acting in time. In this paper, as a response to Simon's call and Rüsen's recognition, I put forth metaphor as one such means of complementing narrative analyses of historical sense making. I present such an approach via a discursive essay that attempts to "conceptualize" how metaphor can be employed for empirically examining historical consciousness – which to my knowledge has yet to be duly acknowledged and developed. As a call for a deeper study of the nature of metaphor in the operations of historical consciousness, I argue for the need of analysing the interactive link between metaphor and narrative in such expressions with the aim of better describing and explaining the interplay between the impact of plot and structuring life concepts on individuals' sense of knowing and acting in time.

In what follows, I outline two potential ways in which metaphor adds on to narrative.[1] The first relates to developing conceptual mappings of key organizing concepts, such as Time, that underlie the workings of historical consciousness and that serve to better grasp individuals' historical sense making patterns and the larger socio-cultural influences that order them. To the ends of explaining temporal orientation, metaphorical mappings can enrich narrative's reliance on plots, templates, or scripts by outlining conventionalized conceptual understandings that populate individuals' historical consciousness and that emerge from processes of group socialization. The aim here would thus be to take stock of the core conceptual metaphors that structure historical consciousness and to better understand their cultural workings – to see which and how metaphorical concepts actualize historical consciousness, to discern the metaphors that people use when interacting with and imagining the workings of the past, for drawing experiential similarities and acting upon them, or at the very least for getting at the "mundane choices of everyday life" that temporally guide humans

(Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 243). The second potential of metaphor relates to discerning the conceptual structures that underlie individuals' inclinations to accepting pre-given significations of the past for knowing and acting in time, to seeking plausible understandings instead, or to moving back and forth between the two. If pushed, metaphor can help understand the working conditions under which individuals navigate from a reliance on pre-given elements to criticizing and seeking more plausible avenues for adapting these elements to perceived changing social realities. As a result, we can better appreciate the underlying cultural or life concepts that mirror and actualize four central ideal-type tendencies of historical consciousness. To illustrate these potentials, I employ excerpts from Milan Kundera's (1999) novel, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. Providing a rich commentary on the ironies behind communist Czechoslovakia's politics of remembering and forgetting, insight into the metaphorical workings of historical consciousness come to light.

Setting the Ground: Historical Consciousness, Narrative, and Reading Temporal Orientation

My conception of historical consciousness is greatly influenced by that of Jörn Rüsen's, who I believe has set the contemporary foundations for moving beyond merely describing aspects of (historical) identity to seizing its impact on notions of human agency – individuals' capacity to think and to act in the world. In following Rüsen's logic, historical consciousness comprises an object of inquiry for understanding human meaning making processes when individuals interact with temporal change for knowing and acting in time. In helping to locate oneself in the larger scheme of things, historical consciousness offers a sense of cohesion between past, present, and future, enabling sense-making of who one is, where one fits, how one should act, and what one's destiny should be. In providing guidance, it specifically constitutes an ability to mobilize significations of the past – both the narrative configurations of the past and the interpretive filters used to make sense of temporal change – for effectuating the necessary moral decisions to orient oneself in given social relationships (Rüsen, 2005). In such historicizing, the significations of the past individuals refer to are usually embedded in the collective consciousness of one's group(s) and wider culture(s) of belonging, and are constantly established, refined and transmitted through the various processes and outlets of group socialization (Seixas, 2004; Straub, 2005a). On this view, individuals actuate their actions in the world by manipulating and mobilizing already-available forms of knowing and doing (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Ricoeur, 2004; Chartier, 1988). In terms of power and control, these negotiations are particularly located in struggles among cultural trendsetters (those persons and entities in positions of influence) keen on controlling the conceptual resources – patterns of thought, symbols, stories, images, terms, and ideals – that individuals employ for giving meaning to and partaking in social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; den Heyer, 2003; den Heyer & Fidyk, 2007; Rapport & Overing, 2007). Mediating between such conceptual resources is:

> paramount [for individuals], for they filter and organize information from the physical and cultural realms [of human existence] and transform it into meanings that make up human knowledge and experience. On the basis of this constructed experience, [they] understand [themselves] and the world, and [they] make decision[s] and plans regarding how [they] will act (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 158).

In viewing the materialization of historical consciousness as narrative competency, historical sense making constitutes narrative acts of meaning-construction for human understanding and action (Polkinghorne, 1988; Bruner, 1996; Wertsch, 2004; Ricoeur, 2004; Rüsen, 2005; Straub, 2005a). By accessing and studying the content and form of the narratives humans use for making sense of reality, insight into how they perceive, explain, and give meaning to

events and life experiences can be gained, as can the manner in which they negotiate coherency, connectedness, situatedness, belonging, and intentionality for living their lives (Polkinghorne, 1988; Bruner, 1996). At a cognitive level, such narrative acts of historical meaning making designate the mental operations or speech actions that produce an internal "coherence [between] interpretations of the past, understandings of the present, and perspectives on the future" (Jeismann, 1985, as cited in Straub, 2005b, p. 52). The underlying task consists of "organizing human experiences [actions, happenings, and their particular outcomes] into temporally meaningful episodes" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 1) – which is realized through the process of emplotment. As a means of fulfilling narrative's role of orientation, emplotment "gives meaning to events by identifying their role in and contribution to an outcome" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 5) – "by weaving together individual elements into the whole cloth of an entire period, and thereby display[ing] the parts as contributors to an episode's outcome" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 6).

As a means of reading the potential directions of individuals' temporal orientation, a recently-developed repertory of parallel and equal ideal-type tendencies of historical consciousness can help distinguish four central means by which individuals interact with pre-given narratives of the past for knowing and acting as members of given cultural, conceptual, or symbolic groups (Zanazanian, 2010, 2012). The name and definition of each tendency, but not their structuring interrelationships, have been borrowed from Jörn Rüsen's (2005, pp. 28-34) own ontogenetic typology of historical consciousness. According to the logic of the repertory, these four forms of historicizing hold equal weight of importance, thereby suggesting that not one type or tendency is more preferable than the other, particularly since they consist of human choices for living life and because human meaning making is fluid, highly complex, and can vary according to time, space, and context. In presenting four ideational standards with which to compare individuals' interactions with the past – with the reality of the impact of their historical consciousness fundamentally existing between these ideal-types –, this repertory permits reading individuals' different uses of history (as a mode of reflective thinking) for mobilizing aspects of pre-given narratives (as content, memory) for making sense of reality.

The first two ideal-type tendencies mirror a strong reliance on pre-given significations of the past for knowing and acting in time. In reaffirming elements of such significations (key historical markers; interpretive filters; narrative scripts, templates, or symbols) that connect individuals to their larger cultural/ conceptual group(s) of belonging, the 'Traditional' tendency relates to employing pre-given narrative understandings of the past *as is* without its portrayed accuracy being questioned for assessing reality. The second, 'Exemplary' tendency refers to using the past as direction for legitimizing social roles and values. To construct reality and to guide conduct accordingly, unquestioned rules of life patterns that extend across similar (historical) contexts emerge from and give meaning to the past. The remaining two ideal-type tendencies point instead to anticipations of plausible-like understandings of the past – through contradicting pre-given significations and seeking fuller understandings of the past –, and thus represent two important mindsets for demonstrating tolerance (acceptance) of differing perspectives on the past and for potentially exhibiting openness to new or alternative ways of knowing and acting in time (Zanazanian 2010, 2012). The 'Critical' tendency involves discrediting and transgressing dominant historical narratives as handed down through various processes of group socialization. Problematic aspects of the pre-given past are identified and their irrelevance for understanding the present is justified. Finding meaning through the notion of change, the 'Genetic' tendency goes further. Individuals recognize that their ethical stance when interacting with the past could and should vary in time for historical contexts and impending present-day realities evolve. The complexity of reality is acknowledged, as is the consequent need of seeking its fuller understanding if they are to act

in an informed and educated manner. Openness to acquiring a diversity of viewpoints thus surfaces for trying to grasp reality in all its totality (Zanazanian 2010, 2012).

What is Metaphor and How Does it Work?

In their seminal work *The Metaphors We Live By* (2003), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced a cognitivist turn to the study of metaphor. They moved beyond classical understandings that mainly viewed metaphor as a linguistic device or distinct trait of figurative language – wrought purely with creative, literary, and aesthetic virtues and qualities – to conceptualizing it as central to how humans experience, think, and act in the world (Schön, 1993; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Biebuyck & Martens, 2011). More than a poetic linguistic expression where words are employed "outside their normal conventional meanings" to convey similarities between them (Lakoff, 1993, p. 202), linguistic cognitivists now sought metaphor's governing generalizations deemed central to account for "our perspectives on the world: how we think about things, make sense of reality, and set the problems we later try to solve" (Schön, 1993, p. 137). Metaphor came to be seen as a matter of thought, as part of humans' mental schemes for knowing and acting in time, and not solely a matter of poetic language.

Irrespective of these approaches' differing end-goals, the full benefit of metaphor emerges when intertwining aspects of the two. When viewed as expressions and embodiments of conceptual thought, metaphor can help account for how everyday individuals think about and see the world (Kövecses, 2010). As a literary device, it can open new avenues of thought and possibilities in narrative acts of meaning making. Brought together, adequate understandings of the workings of metaphor in historical consciousness can be better grasped.

On this view, it becomes clear that metaphors impact human constructions of reality. They help give meaning to the general or abstract ideas that individuals use for understanding and acting in the world (Stambovsky, 1988; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Cook-Sather, 2006; Kövecses, 2010; Badley & Van Brummelen, 2012). Of commonplace usage, metaphors constitute conceptual tools or frames of reference or schemes that permit reflecting on and making sense of one's experiences, rapport with others, negotiations of right or wrong, and sense of insertion in the flow time, linking past, present, future together (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Docherty, 2004; Cook-Sather, 2006; Kövecses, 2010). Uses of metaphor moreover rely on "social and cultural practices" as well as on individuals' embodied interactions in their physical environments (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 247).

As individuals' system of ideas or thought processes for making sense of reality work metaphorically, orientations for agency result from meanings inferred from the metaphors that individuals use and that are based on everyday experiences. As Lakoff and Johnson (2003) state:

> In all aspects of life, […] we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors. We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans, all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor (p. 158).

At its core, metaphor consists of an interaction of at least two life concepts and it operates following a principle of inference, where understanding and experiencing one form of a given life concept is done through understanding and experiencing that of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Kövecses, 2010). A life concept refers to a conceptual domain, or "any coherent organization of [a life] experience" (Kövecses, 2010). In this process, from the start, both concepts do not necessarily need to be related to each other and can possess different understandings. The perceptual structures that emerge from one concept however lead to

reflecting and concluding on the workings of the other (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). The source domain is the life concept from which metaphorical expressions to understand the other life concept are drawn, and "the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). The perceptual structures that emerge from the source domain – in which "metaphorical reasoning takes place and that provides the source concepts used in that reasoning" – thus lead to reflecting and concluding on the workings of the target domain – which is constituted by "the immediate subject matter" that one is trying to understand (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 265). In uniting and relating at least two different conceptual domains of knowing and acting, metaphors not only provide new understandings of the target domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), but also of both terms (Cook-Sather, 2006). Depending on the type of concepts that are brought together, "the juxtaposition of the seemingly unrelated terms of metaphor prompts us to rethink both terms, to re-conceptualize both spaces, to think about what the pull between the two might be" (Cook-Sather, 2006).

A now classic example, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) bring in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR to illustrate the principle of inference. Everyday English language users partly conceptualize "arguments in terms of battle [, which] systematically influences the shape arguments take and the way we talk about what we do in arguing" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 7). For example, everyday language expresses arguments in the following ways: "Your claims are *indefensible*," "He *attacked every weak point* in my argument," "His criticisms were *right on target*" (drawn from Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 4 – emphases are theirs), or in the dialogue referred to in this paper's introduction, where Rüsen mentions to Simon, "So this is *my offer* to you *to come to a peace treaty*!" (Rüsen, c.f., in den Heyer, 2004, p. 208 – emphasis mine).

> Even if you have never fought a fistfight in your life, much less war, but have been arguing from the time you began to talk, you still conceive of arguments, and execute them, according to the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor because the metaphor is built into the conceptual system of the culture in which you live (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 63-64).

"We [thus] talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way – and we act according to the way we conceive of things" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 5). A similar example can be seen regarding the target domain Time, which Zoltán Kövecses (2010) construes as an object that moves, with the TIME IS MOTION conceptual metaphor or, more specifically, with the TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT demonstrated in such linguistic uses as, "The time will *come* when…" "Christmas is *coming up* soon, "Time *flies*," "In the *following* week," and "Time *goes by* fast" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 26). Here the way we reason about motion or movement helps us reason about Time; the same knowledge of the workings of one is used for grasping the workings of the other.

Built on systematic correspondences between them, the relationship between target and source concepts (i.e. their conceptual correspondences) are usually referred to as mappings (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Following this logic, (conceptual) metaphor amounts to a cross-domain mapping or more specifically, "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system," where everyday conceptual metaphors are embedded in our life experiences and our (cultural) means of knowing and acting in reality" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 203). These mappings can be numbered in the hundreds, especially since target domains, which usually comprise abstract notions – such as "psychological and mental states and events (emotion, desire, morality, thought), social groups and processes (society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication), and personal experiences and events (time, life, death, religion)" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 27) –, are highly complex and can be understood through many source domains – which generally relate to "concrete physical experiences," such as Journeys, Wars, Buildings, Food, and Plants (Lakoff, 1993, p. 205; Kövecses, 2010). To illustrate, several conceptual mappings of Time exist. Some examples include: TIME IS SOMETHING

MOVING TOWARD YOU ("Three o'clock is approaching"); TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH ("Thanksgiving is looming on the horizon," "Within the week"); TIME IS A PURSUER ("Time will catch up with him"); TIME IS A CHANGER ("Times heals all wounds," "Time made her look old," "Time had not been kind to him"); and so forth (Lakoff et al., 1991, pp. 76-79). Each of these mappings partly structure how time is understood and acted upon metaphorically. They however don't have to be present each time individuals think about time. They form part of our repertoire of conventionalized metaphorical means of knowing and doing that exist in our cultural toolkits that we can reach out to for making sense of and acting in reality.

Positioning Metaphor in Historical Consciousness

Examining the metaphors individuals use when engaging with the past and referring to key underlying concepts related to the functioning of history can tell us quite a bit about culture(s) of belonging and how these effect the workings of historical consciousness. I propose that a thorough understanding of the impact of metaphor depends on the conventional metaphorical mappings or systematic set of correspondences that emerge between various components of source and target domains that underlie individuals' thought processes when making sense of history and history's interpretive filters. Such a focus would help to not only better grasp the conceptual or symbolic content matter of individuals' cultural toolboxes that populate and impact their historical sense making patterns, but to also connect their narrative understandings of reality to the larger cultural processes of consciousness and thinking that they partake in. To get to these ends, it would suffice to investigate the give and take between one's larger cultural level of group socialization, where conceptual metaphors and their uses have become conventionalized in a given language, and one's individual means of temporal orientation, where metaphors for making sense of and acting in reality available to group members are negotiated and actuated in given communicative situations. The choices behind individual uses of metaphor, the creation of new ones for articulating historical consciousness, the types of settings the metaphors are employed in, and the form of narrative acts of meaning they inform can come to the fore (Kövecses, 2010).

A starting point for grasping these metaphoric workings of historical consciousness would be to discern the mappings that structure its core life experiences or conceptual domains (target domains). Since several source domains can help understand the workings of a single target domain, such mappings are not always a given. As empirical mappings of core conceptual metaphors that structure key human life experiences (how humans know and act in time) already exist, one way of attaining a deeper understanding of historical consciousness would be by looking at the basic target concepts that refer to history as an "anthropologically universal function of orienting human life," which in and of itself comprises an everyday life concept and accounts for primary understandings of historical sense making (Rüsen, 2005, p. 2).

In using an excerpt from Milan Kundera's novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, I offer a snapshot of how conceptual metaphors, in a western perspective, could possibly work, as they relate to historical consciousness, and what they could moreover look like (descriptively) in narrative texts that provide insight into the functioning of history for human existence. The aim here is to provide a basic underlying logic of what I'm trying to say, and not an exhaustive analysis of all the metaphorical workings of history at a conceptual level in the text. In the following excerpt, history is portrayed through several metaphorical expressions, which correspond to key conceptual metaphors that underlie central life concepts pertaining to human existence.

> At a time when history still made its way slowly, the few events were easily remembered and woven into a backdrop, known to everyone, before which private life unfolded the gripping show of its adventures. Nowadays, time moves forward at a rapid pace. Forgotten overnight, a historic event glistens the next day like the morning dew and thus is no longer the backdrop to a narrator's tale but rather an amazing adventure enacted against the background of the overfamiliar banality of private life (Kundera, 1999, p. 10).

From this piece, at a general level, history can be understood through such emerging ideas as change, motion, memory, a tapestry (something that is woven), a backdrop involving adventurous lives, and time. Change relates to a switch from "at a time" to "nowadays." Motion speaks to the speed of historical change, from "making its way slowly" to "moving forward more rapidly." Memory could be seen as entailing the acts of remembering and forgetting. The tapestry refers to the idea of historical events being configured into some kind of whole fabric, into a backdrop to peoples' lives. And life could be seen as consisting of adventures, different episodes that structure peoples' experiences.

While these metaphorical expressions, each taken separately, say quite a bit about the workings of history through descriptive evocations, a look at the excerpt's underlying conceptual metaphors help instead to grasp the reasoning behind how history functions in the text – the conventionalized uses of history, which are taken for granted, and which permit Kundera to use his metaphorical expressions related to remembering and forgetting, and so forth. To systematically grasp this excerpt's metaphorical uses of history as they have become conventionalized in everyday language and now comprise expressions of embodied and culturally based experiences of lived reality, it would suffice to distinguish its core conceptual metaphors from its other more linguistic ones.

One main conceptual metaphor that emerges from this excerpt, within which the more literary or metaphorical expressions are embedded, and which comprises one fundamental concept for understanding history, and hence historical consciousness, relates to TIME. The abstract notion of TIME comprises one of humans' basic life concepts and has a rather conventionalized way of being understood and acted upon by English-language (or western) users. Grasping its conceptual correspondences with its relevant source domains would thus provide us with insight into how Kundera has employed a conventional understanding of time for giving meaning to the workings of history, for lyrically elaborating on history, and for even manifesting the operations of his own historical consciousness through his writing.

Lakoff (1993, pp. 216-217) offers a detailed account of the different mappings that have been empirically developed for the target domain of Time. This depiction will help illustrate history as understood as time, and how it impacts historical sense making as expressed by Kundera. In this excerpt, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MOTION comes to mind, or more specifically, TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT. Understood here both in terms of a thing and movement, time (history) is an entity that is moving, while its witness, the observer, is standing still in a given fixed location. The pace of time (history) that is passing the observer, whose present time is also moving – but from a situated vantage point –, has a speed that is however relative to the observer. Time here is "oriented with [its] front[-end] in [its] direction of motion." Basically, the future (as an entity) is in front of the observer, while what once was is behind him or her. Following this logic, it would thus not be wrong to assume that one of Kundera's underlying conceptualizations of history is that of a forward-looking, linearly moving object whose speed varies according to a fixed observer who is witnessing it pass in front of him or her. The excerpt's other metaphorical or literary expressions that serve to qualify history are located within this conventionalized understanding of time. This would suggest that Kundera's (or his protagonist, Mirek's) grasp of the workings of history is unconsciously/ inadvertently informed by this metaphorical conceptual understanding of time. Similar to key narrative scripts or templates that inform individuals' historical consciousness,

or how it is expressed and enacted, TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBECT influences Kundera's/ Mirek's historical sense making.

Positioning Historical Consciousness Through Metaphor

In importing a more textual reading to its cognitive frame, metaphor's second potential for grasping the workings of historical consciousness becomes clear. When examining the narratives they are located in, metaphors can help determine individual inclinations towards either relying on pre-given significations of the past for temporal orientation or on seeking alternative yet plausible understandings of what once was instead. If deeply examined, the conditions under which such inclinations occur could possibly come to light. Such a focus could particularly develop an understanding of the key factors that compel individuals to problematize and adapt pre-given significations to evolving social realities – those concrete moments when individuals are open to adjusting the implications of their meaning-making for living life. At heart here is recognizing metaphor's two working interactions with narrative structuring; that of helping to reinforce imposed visions of reality, and hence of fostering a reliance on pre-given means for temporal orientation, and that of re-describing reality in instances of plausibility quests, serving to critically and conscientiously reorient consciousness from spaces of confinement to those of wider horizons (Hanne, 1999; Docherty, 2004; Biebuyck & Martens, 2011). Michael Hanne's (1999) ideas regarding such uses of metaphor have been useful here, as has his employment of Milan Kundera's novel for operationalizing metaphor's power of re-description. I too refer to Kundera, but unlike Hanne, my focus is on demonstrating metaphor's potential for better grasping the workings of historical consciousness as outlined above.

Regarding the first interaction with narrative structuring, metaphor helps to reinforce pre-given aspects of narrative reality by enhancing them, or by making their central structuring markers more visible (Hanne, 1999; Docherty, 2004; Biebuyck & Martens, 2011; Kimmel, 2011). When faced with pre-given significations of the past, individuals are presented with particular visions that seek to encompass how it once was and that aim to impact a certain sense of how it should have been and ought to be, to thereby assign certain roles and responsibilities to individuals who abide by them. These pre-given significations usually reflect the main content knowledge and the dominant means promoted for interpretively filtering the past as required to preserve the status quo or to rectify the potential slips that could lead to a change in the given power balance. Alternative perspectives would consequently be largely absent in such attempts to enhance the more dominant group's vision of past experiences and future expectations (Zanazanian, 2010; 2012). Such "grand claims" through the form of storytelling ("grand narratives," master narratives, official state histories) tend to "impose (a singular) form on the shapeless heterogeneity of reality, excluding those data and perspectives which do not [suit their] purposes" and instead favour "a highly selective, apparently unified, and consequently persuasive account" that lends to "shape, select, exclude, [and] tidy the events" deemed important for recounting the past (Hanne, 1999, p. 42). As Michael Hanne (1999) indicates, metaphors – particularly "grand metaphors" – are also "capable of capturing broad stretches of discursive territory with their sheer singleness" (p. 45). They can be used to reinforce dominant visions of the past for recounting the nation or for knowing and acting in time in given social relationships where one refers to the past for temporal orientation. In instances of hate and bigotry, for example, the metaphors chosen (like "vermin" or "parasites") can be rather decisive on how minority or marginalized groups are treated, with horrific consequences sometimes, as history has already unfortunately shown (Hanne, 1999, p. 40).

In terms of its second interaction, when assisting to re-describe reality or reality's main underlying features, metaphor holds the possibility of enabling individuals to visualize the life world under a new light or from a different angle (Hanne, 1999; Biebuyck & Martens, 2011). The generative force of metaphor, conducive to innovation and creative thinking, directs the mind to new unexplored directions and breaks "traditional moulds, [because of] its acceptance of the impossibility of pinning down singular meaning" (Hanne, 1999, p. 44). Individuals' capacity to negotiate alternative means for employing history emerge here, going beyond imposed norms and beliefs. Individuals would problematize and complicate their historical understandings and uses of the past, and seek news ways of accounting for how it once was and should be. In highlighting its political nature, metaphor's transformational capacities would however depend on the user's capacity to recognize its potentials and his or her willingness to act accordingly.

In following this logic, a deep analysis of individuals' critical thought processes could particularly help to compare and contrast the literal meanings that metaphors evoke in their transformative possibilities. Understandings unconsciously or inadvertently taken for granted (of the self, of others, of their surrounding contexts, and of the past) could be elucidated, and in measuring them against larger cultural processes of group socialization, so too could underlying power structures, political implications, and conceptual privileging come to light. Through the use of metaphor, alternative or counter narratives can thus become explicit, enabling readers "to make category shifts – essentially metaphorical leaps – within the narrative realm" (Hanne, 1999, p. 42), thus serving to break narrative's monolithic control over accounting for reality. "By inviting a comparison of the phenomenon of which one is exploring [with] some other apparently *incongruous* phenomenon, [metaphor can] direct one's attention in what are likely to be hitherto-*unexplored* directions" (Haack, 1994, as cited in Hanne, 1999, p. 44). As such, metaphors have the power to produce change or to help adjust grand narratives and metaphors by offering perspectives individuals may have never even thought of.

One way of envisioning how metaphor can enable individuals to go beyond core storyline meanings of given narratives for temporal orientation is through how Benjamin Biebuyck and Gunther Martens (2011) differentiate between epinarrative and paranarrative for understanding the impact of narrative on human meaning making. Whereas epinarrative refers to a given text's primary narrative meaning that surfaces from its event/ action based sequencing, paranarrative relates to those (powerful literary) metaphors and other figures of speech that are present in the same text and that hold the potential for providing "an additional layer of narrativity" (Biebuyck & Martens, 2011, p. 65). As a derivative narrative, the paranarrative confers a new way of reading the epinarrative, enabling to look at it from a different perspective, while unfolding side by side with it (Biebuyck, 2007). Through its paranarrative use, metaphor can thus be seen as relating and being parallel to a narrative's main storyline (same story world and same characters; relying on the ongoing reordering of (textual) information about the story world), while holding the potential to expand "its actional, temporal, spatial, and aspectual scopes in ways that are not necessarily congruent or equivalent to those in epinarrative" (Biebuyck & Martens, 2011, p. 65). As such, metaphor as paranarrative permits a figurative reading of unexplored aspects of social reality that emerge from the epinarrative. It "allows the reader to gain access to alternative segments of the story world and opens up a complementary spectrum of perspectives" (Biebuyck & Martens, 2011, p. 66). In doing so, metaphor as paranarrative displays new narrative agency through offering supplementary dimensions of the primary narrative. Biebuyck and Martens point out that the capacity to read paranarrative, however, requires an intensified implication on behalf of the readers of the text (i.e. individuals), and thus is not something generalizable to everyone (Biebuyck & Martens, 2011). It is in paying close attention to individuals' paranarrative

interactions with epinarrative that Biebuyck and Martens seem to be suggesting that cognitive researchers would be able to grasp the impact of "the fundamentally reflexive and cooperative nature of metaphor comprehension" (or use, for my purposes here), which ultimately would vary from person to person (Biebuyck & Martens, 2011, p. 66).

Kundera's novel can again serve to illustrate metaphor's influence on narrative structuring and how this can offer insight into the workings of historical consciousness – by way of those metaphoric understandings that lend to seeking more meaningful plausible-like understandings of the past for knowing and acting in time. I focus again on Part One of the novel, "Lost Letters," and narrow in on Kundera's key metaphors of a *Bach fugue*, – as the orderly structuring of a utopic vision of society –, its *musical notes*, – as the individuals who function within and contribute to the society –, and the *stains* that could arise through suppressing those individuals that dare to challenge it. The emerging story here is about Mirek, a dissident during Czechoslovakia's Communist Regime, who basically comes to terms with who he is and his resulting destiny. He initially supported the regime, but upon speaking out against certain inconsistencies, eventually paid the price for it. Against the background of the historical changes that were taking place in his country and of his fellow citizens' enthrallment with the regime's initial promises (which eventually took a life of their own), Kundera through Mirek emphasizes the ironic workings of memory – of remembering and forgetting – and of how the (political and power) dynamics between the two lent, for better or for worse, to reinforcing the aura of promise or of an utopic vision of society that the communists provided. Against the backdrop of this history are Mirek's own personal issues of remembering and forgetting, where he is trying to come to terms for having loved an ugly girl (Zdena), which he seems to have been ashamed of, and was trying to rationalize, explain, justify, and repress. At the end, Mirek realizes that he is the same, just like the Communist regime and other humans, trying to create an ideal memory that best suits their present purposes or needs. In coming to terms with this similarity, and eventually for having loved Zdena, Mirek seems to come to peace with going to prison for his dissidence, wearing it like a badge of honour – being proud of the stain that he has left on that national utopic dream.

To grasp the mindset and attitudes of pro-communist forces in Czechoslovakia after the end of the Second World War, Kundera offers a literary metaphor (a sort of grand metaphor), which he introduces through an Exemplary mindset of historical sense making – where the past serves to legitimize social roles and values by way of unquestioned rules of generalizable life patterns. In aspiring, as all humans do, to an harmonious, utopic realm of social justice, the communists and their supporters manage to bring this state of consciousness about through a "sublime Bach fugue."

> I emphasize: *idyll* and *for all*, because all human beings have always aspired to an idyll, to that garden where nightingales sing, to that realm of harmony where the world does not rise up as a stranger against man and man against other men, but rather where the world and all men are shaped from one and the same matter. There, everyone is a note in a sublime Bach fugue, and anyone who refuses to be one is a mere useless and meaningless black dot that need only be caught and crushed between thumb and finger like a flea (Kundera, 1999, p. 11).

Eventually that utopic vision develops a life of its own, and becomes enthralled with its own existence, developing its own means of sustaining itself through violence and repression, and seeking to forget such rectifying "stains" in order to cleanse itself of sentiments of culpability – which of course could never be the case in the fugue. Kundera further espouses a Critical leaning mindset to introduce the attempted interruption to the regime's utopic vision through the Prague Spring. Here he goes beyond the "old formula" by discrediting a regularity of human actions in similar historical circumstances and by opening an alternative means of engagement, thereby problematizing the fugue and highlighting its irrelevance.

> Historical events mostly imitate one another without any talent, but it seems to me that in Bohemia history staged an unprecedented experiment. There, things did not go according to the old formula of one group of people (a class, a nation) set against another, but instead, people (a generation of men and women) rebelled against their own youth …That is the period commonly referred to as the 'Prague Spring' […] notes were escaping from the enormous Bach score for everyone to sing in his own way (Kundera, 1999, p. 19).

However, as order was restored, so too were the attempts at forgetting the ensuing repression.

> And because not even the shadow of a bad memory should distract the country from its restored idyll, both the Prague Spring and the arrival of the Russian tanks, that stain on a beautiful history, had to be reduced to nothing. […] those who rose up against their own youth are carefully erased from the country's memory, like mistakes in a schoolchild's homework (Kundera, 1999, p. 19).

Through such a process of realization, Mirek eventually comes to terms with his own "abuses" of history regarding his attempts to truly suppress his real feelings for Zdena, which Kundera again expresses through mostly an Exemplary mindset – how humans, like societies, seek to always control their own history, and hence their own destiny:

> Mirek rewrote history just like the Communist Party, like all political parties, like all peoples, like mankind. They shout that they want to shape a better future, but it's not true. The future is only an indifferent void no one cares about, but the past is filled with life, and its countenance is irritating, repellent, wounding, to the point that we want to destroy or repaint it. We want to be masters of the future only for the power to change the past. We fight for access to the labs where we can retouch photos and rewrite biographies and history (Kundera, 1999, pp. 30-31).

Mirek finally accepts the price he has to pay for his dissidence and the threat that he posed to the Bach fugue. While understanding its appeal to his fellow citizens, and recognizing his own "abuses" of history, he nonetheless accepts his end with a sense of honour as well as within a Critical mindset.

> But in prison, even though entirely surrounded by walls, is a splendid illuminated scene of history. […] For all of the past year, he had been drawn irresistibly to the glory of prison. […] No, Mirek could not imagine a better ending for the novel of his life. They wanted to efface thousands of lives from memory and leave nothing but an unstained age of unstained idyll. But Mirek is going to land his small body on that idyll, like a stain (Kundera, 1999, p. 33).

As the Bach fugue represents a sort of ideal history that the communist supporters were trying to create in order to preserve the utopic status quo that they had developed, alternative voices, such as Mirek's, were repressed through violence and then through erasure, through erasing such stains and their repression from the pages of history. At the end Mirek is at peace with being a stain and with paying the price for it. In following Biebuyck and Martens' (2011) notion of (metaphor as) paranarrative, an additional layer of narrativity holding the potential to move the reader beyond the primary understanding of the text to new horizons emerges. A closer reading points to how Mirek adapts his own life's narrative to his current day circumstances so as to accept change in how he sees and acts in the world. He does so in recognizing that he too, at a personal level, was trying to do what the fugue was doing for society. While understanding the workings of the fugue through an Exemplary mindset, and both the Prague Spring's and his reaction to it via a Critical one, he seems to adapt the perspectives of the dominant utopic vision (those of the "other") to his own realities through introspection and a realization that he isn't much better. Mirek thus problematizes the impact of the Bach fugue, but comes to terms with it (by putting it into larger context), and is proud of going to jail by way of accepting that different perspectives and different ways of doing things do exist, and co-exist, and that it is okay to be different and to pay the price for it.

Through the metaphorical workings of a Bach fugue, through the notion of staining beautiful histories, and through recognizing that humans want to be masters of the future only for controlling and erasing the past, one possible emerging condition for leaning towards

plausible-like understandings of the past for knowing and acting in time surfaces. Resulting from a paranarrative reading of Kundera's text, this emerging condition refers to those moments where individuals come to recognize their insertedness in time as historical and moral actors, who accept that others, just as oneself, seek to use the past for giving meaning to their lives, and for extending the raison d'être of one's existence beyond the limiting confines of one's own temporality, to a more convincing and representational narrative of one's life. At moments when consciousness of the workings of larger history are intersected with that of the operations of one's personal history, an inclination to recognizing the temporality of human forms of thought, and thus of the complexity of human life, arises, thereby suggesting a quest for plausible-like understandings of temporal change for knowing and acting in reality.

Final Thoughts

In this discursive essay, I have sought to present metaphor as a means of gaining fuller access to the workings of historical consciousness; one that complements narrative approaches to accounting for historical sense making among humans. I have done so by bringing two main uses of metaphor together. In outlining the operations of conceptual metaphor and its logic of systematic mappings, I have tried to demonstrate metaphor's potential for helping grasp the interplay between larger cultural and individual processes of meaning-making – through highlighting the impact of conventionalized metaphorical means of knowing and acting that are usually hidden from language users. In using Kundera to illustrate, I attempted to show how one way in which he unconsciously/ inadvertently thinks about history is through the underlying logic or reasoning processes related to the conceptual metaphor: TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT. Through a more literary, textual use of metaphor, I have also tried to initiate one way of discovering those moments when individuals move beyond the regulating functions and impositions of pre-given narrative and metaphorical structures, by permitting attentive readers to re-describe the world, or to seek more plausible-like understandings of the past and its uses. Again through Kundera, Exemplary and Critical leaning mindsets of historical consciousness seem to have been used for sharing the interpretive workings of history and for narrating the history of communist Czechoslovakia. But it is through a paranarrative reading of the epinarrative that a better sense emerges of how Mirek, the protagonist, has employed a more Genetic-leaning type of mindset for coming to terms with who he is as a person and where he fits in the larger scheme of things. It is through realizing the similarities of his own abuses of history, similar to that of the communist supporters' attempts at erasing their own stains on the past, that Mirek as a person changes and adapts to his realities and current circumstances, accepting his fate with his head held high. Through the story's paranarrative uses of metaphorical expressions, the interpretive reader holds the possibility of coming to the same realizations and workings of history as Mirek does, and of even going beyond them. Through the experiences of Mirek, the reader learns more about oneself, and how one's historical sense making impacts one's own sense of identity and temporal agency. From a privileged outside position, the reader can moreover come to conceptualize history's potential for human renewal and, as a result, may indeed come to espouse such a mindset for better navigating the complexities of one's own realities.

In bringing the two uses of metaphor together, a potentially novel way of looking at the operations of historical consciousness thus emerges, one that would definitely have to be looked at critically in order to build upon the exploratory assumptions that I have laid out above. Based on my preliminary analysis in this paper the following idea can nonetheless be seen as surfacing. On the one hand, while one condition for re-describing and re-appropriating the world seems to be through coming to terms with one's own historical trajectory and through recognizing one's own insertedness in time as a moral and historical actor, on the

other, it would seem that the realization of such workings seem to happen through an understanding of history as a forward-looking, linearly moving object that goes from the past into the future at varying speeds. In this logic, when the workings of larger history intersect with those of more personal ones, individuals make the necessary connections like fixed observers who witness these happenings passing in front of them, from a fixed location, but one where their present-time is constantly moving in correlation.

Questions immediately spring to mind. Do conceptual metaphors (that underlie our conventionalized understandings of history's operations for living life) really matter regarding humans' historical sense making for temporal orientation? To what extent do the conceptual metaphors that inform our understandings, uses, and practices of history play a central role in how we make sense of temporal change and act in social reality? In what manner do they inform our historical sense making patterns? Are there certain mappings of history's underlying concepts that count more than others? What are they and how do they work? How would such life concepts, other than Time, like Change, Events, Actions, Life, Death, Morality, Emotions, Religion, Society/ Nation (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 23-26), to only name a few, work, interact, and influence how we give meaning to history and employ it? What mappings from each would be necessary for grasping history and historical consciousness? What kind of larger interrelated system do they form? What would they say about "western" means of knowing and acting based on historical sense making? In extending this to humans' metaphorical capacity to re-describe the claims of dominant narrative understandings of the world, how would such a systematic working of historical consciousness, which would be embedded in social and cultural practices as well as in embodied interactions in physical environments, impact individual inclinations to seeking more plausible-like understandings of the world for knowing and acting in time? What would the pedagogical implications be? If metaphors, similar to the narrative templates that underscore our means of navigating the world, were to be better attended to, to what extent would we be able to develop the necessary conditions for encouraging deeper knowledge and appreciation of genetic ideal-type inclinations for living life, greatly needed for fostering positive change and improving the world?

In what I have presented, I have tried to offer the reader a modest attempt at explicating two potential roles of metaphor in helping us better understand the workings of historical consciousness. By no means is what I have advanced exhaustive, but rather preliminary, exploratory, or even experimental with the hopes of generating dialogue on the subject matter and of discovering new mediums for adding on to narrative as a means of fully capturing human historical sense making patterns as they pertain to living life. Further exploration is needed, one that goes beyond literary texts and into real world situations with everyday humans, before the verdict can be made on metaphor and its promises for historical consciousness.

GLOSSARY OF KEY CONCEPTS

Conceptual metaphor

Through a process of inference, a conceptual metaphor comprises the understanding and experiencing of a given conceptual domain, or of a notional idea that encapsulates a coherent organization of human experience, through the understanding and experiencing of another conceptual domain. From a cognitive perspective, such an understanding arises from a cross-domain mapping or from a set of systematic correspondences between the two conceptual domains. In its most basic form, a conceptual metaphor consists of both a target and source

domain. The target domain refers to the conceptual domain that one is keen on understanding and experiencing. The source domain is the life concept from which the metaphorical expressions for grasping the target domain are drawn. Since target domains are highly complex and can be understood through many source domains, cross-domain mappings can be numbered in the hundreds.

Epinarrative

Epinarrative refers to a given text's primary narrative meaning that surfaces from its core storyline and event/ action based sequencing. It relates to the text's narrative that unfolds according to its story world and characters. In terms of a reader-text interaction, it is the narrator or the actions of the protagonist that lead the logic of the text's sequencing, which the reader follows, basing him or herself on the narrative's textually supplied information for making sense of its depicted reality. The meaning of epinarrative's main function emerges through its basic role of helping to better illustrate the workings of paranarrative.

Literary metaphor

A literary metaphor is a distinct trait of figurative language that offers creative, poetic, and aesthetic virtues and qualities for conceiving how humans experience, think, and act in the world. As a poetic linguistic expression, a literary metaphor usually serves to convey similarities between two unrelated concepts or ideas by going beyond the normal conventional meanings that the two of them usually convey. As a literary device, metaphor can help develop understandings that lend to opening up new avenues of thought and possibilities in narrative acts of meaning making.

Metaphorical mapping

A metaphorical mapping refers to the set of systematic conceptual correspondences between target and source concepts that emerge when trying to understand and experience the first domain from the workings of the second. Such cross-domain mappings can be numbered in the hundreds because of the complexity of target domains and of their many correspondences to source domains. The mapping between the target domain and a source domain partly structures how the target domain is understood, thereby necessitating other mappings in order to attain a fuller understanding of the target domain. Mappings constitute part of humans' repertoire of conventionalized metaphorical means of knowing and acting that populate their cultural toolkits and that they use for giving meaning to and acting in reality.

Paranarrative

Paranarrative refers to an engaged reading of a given text's powerful literary metaphors and other tropes, whereby a committed reader goes beyond that text's primary meaning, or epinarrative, and opens up its story world to alternative realities by looking at what is happening from a different perspective and offering a new reading of it. As an additional layer of narrativity, paranarrative unfolds in parallel to the text's epinarrative and holds the potential of expanding the text's actional, temporal, spatial, and aspectual range. It does so in a manner that opens up new meanings and directions for making sense of social reality as it emerges from the text, and not by simply offering a figurative reading of the text that directly follows its sequential ordering. Paranarrative thus takes a text's metaphorical reading to a

different or higher level of understanding or consciousness through exploring the narrative extensions that its metaphors/ tropes hold.

Source domain

The source domain is the conceptual domain/ life concept, or the coherent notional organization of human experience, from which metaphorical expressions are drawn for understanding and experiencing the corresponding target domain. The source domain's perceptual structures is where the metaphorical reasoning for making sense of the latter, and hence for reflecting and concluding on its workings, takes place. According to cognitivists, source domains usually refer to concrete physical experiences, which serve as a basis for developing the corresponding meanings that are transferred onto the target domain. Examples of source domains include Journeys, Wars, Buildings, Food, and Plants.

Target domain

The target domain refers to the conceptual domain/ life concept that is understood and experienced by way of its corresponding source domains that are systemized through conceptual mappings. The target domain basically comprises the immediate subject matter or the coherent notional organization of human experience that one is trying to grasp. In contrast to source domains, the target domain usually is an abstract notion that can vary from a psychological and mental state and event (emotion, desire, morality, thought), a social group and process (society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication) to a personal experience and event (time, life, death, religion).

ENDNOTES

[1] Please refer to the text's glossary for a definition of the key terms used in this paper.

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About the Author

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Understanding agency and developing historical thinking through labour history in elementary school: A local history learning experience

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ABSTRACT: Local history has been much neglected in many social studies curricula, in spite of its potential for providing students with authentic and proximal objects of study for the development of historical thinking and understanding of historical agency. This paper presents the results of a collaborative research endeavour, conducted with two teachers and their fifth grade students, and centred on a learning unit about local history. The unit included a field enquiry and role-play based on the use of primary source evidence. Results show that the unit favoured the development of some structural concepts of historical thinking and helped students see themselves as historical agents.

KEYWORDS: social studies, local history, elementary school students, historical thinking, historical agency.

Introduction

Since 2001, the official curriculum in Québec combines history with geography and citizenship education, from grade 3 to 6, in order to promote students' openness toward the world, help them "develop the ability to put things in perspective and to look at them objectively, which are the first steps toward an informed understanding of social and territorial phenomena" (MEQ, 2001, p. 165), and become aware of the value of individual and collective involvement in social choices and its impact on the course of events.

Such aims converge toward the prospective function of history long identified by historians and educational researchers alike. They are also aligned with the concept of agency, defined as the capacity to act upon the world, and to see oneself as a historical actor/subject (Barton, 1997). By examining how historical actors bring on change in their society, students therefore can imagine how their own actions can contribute to their community. Such an understanding of agency calls upon the confrontation of a diversity of viewpoints from which history, as an

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interpretative discipline, is constructed. It distances students from conceiving of history as the linear march to progress driven by the actions of "great white men" (Barton, 1996; Barton, 1997; Ethier, 2000; Plekhanov, 1898/2010; VanSledright & Brophy, 1992), in part through the analysis and problematization of plurivocal primary sources, which further the plausible narrative construction of historical phenomena by students.

Recent research on history teaching in Québec, as elsewhere, tends to portray teaching practices that are incompatible with the attainment of the above-described aims. For one, teaching practices from elementary to secondary school have remained "transmissive" and rooted in an objectivist conception of history as an accumulation of facts, as well as "techniques" to master and apply (how to read a map, for example) (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Colby, 2007; Demers, 2012). Textbooks further reinforce this view of history by presenting a single narrative and few, if any, source documents (Boutonnet, 2009). Students' tasks as presented in textbook paratext most often involve short, objective-type questions, which can be answered through the reproduction of text.

In this perspective, historical knowledge is not the object of learning but of memorisation and its sources not submitted to interpretation and may even be completely absent from the historical narrative presented to students as fact (Lebrun, 2009). Knowing history then becomes a problem for elementary school students as it disengages them from processes of constructing knowledge and disregards the developmental dimensions of cognition (Foster & Yeager, 1999; VanSledright, 2002). As Levstik and Barton (2005) point out, memorisation cannot contribute to either conceptual understanding or the efficient organisation of concepts for use in interpreting social phenomena. Furthermore, the transmission of a single "true" historical narrative does little to develop either epistemic or historical agency in students (Audigier, 1995).

Research conducted on elementary school students' historical cognition nevertheless tends to show that they can develop complex historical ways of thinking at a young age. Some research indicates that students as young as 8 or 9 can employ historical thinking's structural concepts to construct a reasoned interpretation of historical phenomena and are able to profit from epistemic agency, understood as the power to interpret, validate and evaluate propositional knowledge (Cooper & Capita, 2004; Cooper & Dilek, 2007; Pontecorvo & Girardet, 1993). Hence, Barton and Levstik (2005) conclude that elementary school students can construct plausible interpretations of historical phenomena and develop historical thinking when the phenomenon is accessible, its problematization is relevant to them, and narrative construction requires the use of primary and secondary sources (which are also problematized). Through the lens of teaching practices, it is possible to identify some epistemic dispositions and processes, which have resulted in historical thinking (or epistemic agency) by students. Exploring research conducted on one or the other of Seixas's (1996) structural concepts of historical thinking identify to what extent elementary school students may benefit from such activities.

Barton and Levstik (2004) refer to the identification stance as the process through which students associate themselves or their social group with actors, institutions and social groups in the past. Learning situations that problematize historical phenomena in a way that relates them to students' concrete experience allow students to understand the relevance of studying a particular historical phenomenon (Cooper & Capita, 2004). Students can also establish the significance of historical phenomena when their impact is part of their ambient history. Clarke and Lee (2004), as well as Coles and Welch (2002), suggest that using public and local historical resources as authentic sources may allow students to reconstruct personal, meaningful and engaged interpretations of the past and help them identify continuity and change. Elementary school students interact with history in everyday life, according to

Cooper (1995) and Seixas (1996), in part through material culture (historical buildings, technology, monuments, for example). Learning situations which ask students to identify changes in material culture in order to explain the impact of historical phenomena (such as industrialisation or urbanisation, for example) seem to offer students the opportunity to define continuity and change through general, transferable, yet concrete concepts (Cooper & Capita, 2004; Levstik & Barton, 2005).

Research on history teaching in the elementary grades illustrate that historical change is still presented by teachers and textbooks alike as the consequence or product of great historical figures' actions (Barton, 2001; Barton & Levstik, 2004). The curriculum section relating to the period of industrialisation in Québec (between 1820 and 1905) for its part only identifies two figures as having had influence on historical change, both of whom are politicians who worked to bring about the Canadian Confederation. Workers, farmers, and union leaders are absent from "essential knowledge" regarding the phenomenon of industrialisation. As noted by Levstik and Barton (2005), such a conception of history hinders the understanding of its plurivocal and problematic nature, in addition to being an obstacle to students' adopting an identification stance and envisioning the diversity of choices and interests at the core of historical agency. Yet research shows that primary school age children are capable of historical empathy, of placing themselves in the shoes of actors of the past in order to better understand their motivations, interest and actions while taking into account contextual societal constraints (Colby, 2007; Pontecorvo & Girardet, 1993). Levstik and Barton (2005) conclude that elementary school children can enter the past through imagination, in role-play supported by sources (eye-witness accounts, biographies, iconography, and others) originating from a variety of social groups and susceptible to help students understand how those who experience historical phenomenon make meaning of it and act as subjects of history. Understanding historical agency is thus within the reach of elementary school students.

Students are capable of applying procedural and cognitive action relevant to the use of primary sources in order to solve historical problems and elaborate their own narrative (Colby, 2007; Cooper & Capita, 2004). They understand how to source, corroborate, and contextualise known elements of sources. Younger students, however, more rarely rely on evidence from sources, have trouble explaining differences in perspectives, as well as understanding the constructed and interpretative nature of sources (VanSledright, 2002). They are nonetheless able to formulate plausible hypotheses if source analysis is performed with the teacher (Cooper & Capita, 2004). The results presented above suggest that studying historical phenomena from a local perspective might afford the conditions required to take into account the developmental dimensions of historical cognition and support the attainment of normative aims associated with agency.

Local history, defined as the study of the past as experienced locally or regionally (Danker, 2003), takes into account students' historical position (notably internalised cultural and family influence) that mediates their understanding of the phenomena studied in school (Barton, 2001; VanSledright, 2002). Local history can be viewed as ambient history and its material manifestations as historical documents to be analysed and interpreted through the "lens of the familiar" (Danker, 2005). It consequently offers the possibility for elementary students to build a repertoire of concrete conceptual markers or guides, and to call upon prior knowledge as well as their *cultural tool kit* (Wertsch, 1998), composed of familiar and culturally contextualised concepts. Such tools of intelligibility can be elements of vocabulary (idiomatic expressions, for example), family cultural references, beliefs and conceptions pertaining to the role played by family or community members in society.

We believe local history may serve to provide students with significant and relevant learning situations. We also believe that they may help students take on and debate socially controversial, engaging and emancipatory issues and thus afford them the opportunity to see themselves as agents of change in their community. As the dominant teaching practice of transmitting historical knowledge as accumulation of objective fact cannot possibly lead to understanding agency and promoting historical thinking, alternative teaching practices must be identified.

In light of the results presented above, we sought to understand how a historical enquiry based in local history and the evolution of its material culture might help students conceptualise in a transferable way the concepts of industrialisation, urbanisation, unionisation, and social class, as well as promote the understanding of collective historical agency. We also aimed to contribute to the professional development of two newly certified elementary school teachers.

Objectives

This research, conducted in 2011, originates from and finds its relevance in the professional needs of two of our former initial teacher education students. Dissatisfied with what they experienced as dissonance between their social studies methods course in university, the dominant teaching practices they observed during their professional induction, and the teaching material available to them, these teachers asked to be accompanied in the planning of a teaching unit which would be relevant to their grade five students.

In a collaborative research perspective (Desgagné, 1997), this research strove to reach three objectives:

1. Respond to the immediate needs of elementary school beginning teachers, emerging from a problem related to their social studies teaching practice;
2. Collaborate with these teachers in a process of inquiry and shared knowledge production about the contribution of local history to the development of historical thinking and agency by elementary school children;
3. Develop these teachers' professional competencies in regards to teaching social studies.

Method

This study was designed in a collaborative research and training experience perspective (Desgagné, 1997) associated with the shared work of teachers and researchers creating a reflective community. Heron (1996) maintains that investigating knowledge issued from experience and practice is essential because it is most likely to generate transformative learning – that is to transform how participants structure meaning making and action. Practical reflection also serves as a starting point for formalising, contextualising, and transforming practical knowledge that can then be reinvested in practical contexts with the potential to enrich such knowledge.

Collaborative research and training experience allows for the problematization of practitioners' practical epistemology and its confrontation with empirical research results in the reconstruction of practical knowledge. It also provides research with practical and contextual dimensions and considerations, which are difficult to ascertain with traditional research designs.

Finally, collaborative research participates in refining epistemic tools and concepts associated with disciplined inquiry and knowledge production (through the use of a scientific

discipline's standards, procedures, and methods), including those associated with the practice of history.

Participants/co-researchers

The participants in this study, who also act as co-researchers, are two fifth grade teachers from two different school boards in Western Québec. This is an intentional sample as these teachers chose to engage in a process of co-construction of knowledge and reflective practice. They also agreed to keep a written record of their observations and reflections. The researchers are also participants, though their roles differ from those of the teachers. Their tasks included finding resources such as primary source documents, research articles and any other resource which might help participants co-construct the learning situation, as well as analysing the data collected throughout the research and training process.

The research progressed in three steps. The first step involved the analysis of a problem issued form teaching practice and training needs identified by the teachers.

The two teacher participants hoped to better acquaint themselves with and develop historical thinking and content knowledge, in order to insure their ability to transpose them to the classroom. There also remained issues relating to epistemology. Experienced colleagues' practical epistemology generated doubt as to whether students could or indeed should develop historical thinking – new teachers were confronted with the idea that elementary students were inherently incapable of historical cognition and that current conditions did not allow for such an approach to social studies. Finally, the imperative of standardised testing weighed heavily in teachers' decision to transmit "facts" for students to memorise.

The second step of the study/training experience required that all participants build a shared understanding of what developing historical thinking and agency may mean for children, and what research reveals about this process. In light of this understanding, participants then established learning objectives for the unit (developing dimensions of historical thinking and agency), identified the content knowledge, which was to be the object of study (concepts, phenomena, historical enquiry procedures and tools to reflect on how history is constructed). The teaching unit was then planned out and tasks were assigned to each participant.

The third step consisted of evaluating the experimentation of the unit and adjusting the planning sequence and resources according to student and teacher needs. Participants relied on research articles, written record of reflective practice, and classroom observation. The project was concluded with an analysis of student work, which was confronted with the original learning objectives. Participants also collectively reflected on the knowledge constructed during the collaborative research process.

Results

Description of the learning situation co-constructed by researchers and teachers The learning situation centred around a historical enquiry in two stages, focused on the following historical problem: why do Francophones and Anglophones live in Western Québec?

In the first stage of the learning unit, students engaged in a field enquiry in the historical district of the city of Gatineau, the urban centre of the Outaouais (Western Québec). The elements of the field enquiry are presented in Table 2. This enquiry aimed to help students

establish the historical significance of industrialisation, establish connections between ambient history and their everyday life, promote conceptualisation through the use of primary sources issued from the material culture (notably historical buildings), and allow students to identify continuity and change in their community by comparing urban sites as they are today with how they were in the nineteenth century (though period illustrations and photographs). At various moments during the field enquiry, teachers and researchers shared first-person accounts of events shaping the industrialisation period, including those of Irish immigrants, lumber barons, parliamentarians, labourers (loggers and industrial workers), particularly the women who worked in the Eddy match factory.

This field enquiry led students to define historical concepts (Conquest, Loyalists, merchants, industrialisation, urbanisation, social class, labour union, etc.) in their own words. They were then asked to formulate a hypothesis to the question posed at the beginning of the enquiry relating to the establishment of Francophone and Anglophone communities in Western Québec.

Element	**Objectives**	**Structural concepts of historical thinking developed**
Formulation of initial questions Saint-James Anglican Cemetery (Hull)	▪ Engage students' prior knowledge (relating to New-France around 1745 and its subsequent conquest by the British); ▪ Generate students' questioning of the period.	Establishing historical significance.
"Source" heuristics at Saint-James Anglican Cemetery	▪ Allow students to establish facts by using tombstones as primary source evidence; ▪ Identify patterns and differences in the evidence found on the tombstones; ▪ Formulate hypotheses to explain these patterns and differences.	Using primary source evidence; Adopting a historical perspective.
Exploration of the historic bourgeois district (also known as Eddyville) Exploration of the historic industrial district Exploration of a working-class neighbourhood	▪ Promote the "reading" of historic architecture and the characteristics of its environment, geographical location, relation to other elements of the urban landscape by presenting students with a repertoire of architectural reading "keys"; ▪ Allow students to compare the present state of the urban landscape with iconography from the past and documents containing the historical analysis from historians at the Canadian Museum of Civilisations; ▪ Encourage students' use of historical concepts and provide them with contextual clues to help define the concepts; ▪ Engage students in formulating increasingly precise and complex questions and in validating their hypotheses regarding continuity and change.	Using primary source evidence; Adopting a historical perspective; Identify continuity and change; Understand the motivations, interests and actions of collective actors; Evaluate the impact of human action on social change; Conceive of oneself as the subject of history.

Table 2. Elements of the field enquiry

In the second stage, students were invited to participate in a role-play activity in class. They were asked to build a character based on the local history explored during the field enquiry. They were then asked to identify the character's social class (bourgeoisie, working class or religious order) and were divided into groups according to class. Research participants had put together a series of primary and secondary source documents describing life in nineteenth century Québec and these were handed out to students who proceeded with identifying aspects of their character's daily life, their role in society, motivations, interests, and possible actions. The teacher's role was to confront students with a variety of events and phenomena from the period and ask them to narrate how their character would react. As teams of workers, bourgeois, members of the clergy, students thus reacted to the agricultural crisis, Irish immigration, industrialisation, the advent and expansion of the railway, poor working and living conditions, unionisation, among others. For each event or phenomenon confronting them, students used primary and secondary source evidence to identify their character' interests and take position in his or her name. They worked as individuals and as teams, exchanging on possible courses of action and solving disagreements.

Source analysis generated lively discussion, which was overseen by co-researchers. Sources were first presented on an interactive whiteboard and teachers lead students in analysing the source and its context, as well as evaluating its validity. The first sources presented to students were early photographs of farmers at work and industrial workers in factories. Students in both classes were more interested in the date and location of the photograph to ensure it was an appropriate source, than in its framing and purpose, insisting at first that it was not possible to manipulate information through photography because contrary to a painting or drawing, photography was "true" and "real". This claim was further reinforced by the idea that "Photoshop didn't exist back then" (C1E8). Drawing attention to differences between photographs presenting an idealised rural life and illustrations presenting poverty among the peasantry did however make students question whether framing and perspective had an impact on the "truthfulness" of photographs as reliable historical sources. Students also felt that written documents allowed for more manipulation of the "truth" or "reality" than did photographs. Most students believed that testimonial accounts were more reliable than newspaper articles as primary sources, "because the person is telling their story in their own words, as they lived it, whereas the journalist has to change the words and shorten the story to present it" (C2E12), but that the most reliable primary source texts were those from government sources "because they aren't allowed to lie" (C1E23).

In general, results indicate that the learning situation allowed for a majority of students in the two classrooms to establish the historical relevance of nineteenth century French-Canadian society, to establish connections between the phenomena that were studied and their daily life (especially in regard to the recognition of individual rights and freedoms and the preservation of the French language), but also with their family history. Students were able to adopt a form of historical perspective, but moral judgment of some historical actors and the moral norms used to evaluate historical events at times became an obstacle to the plausibility of students' narrative construction. For example, in one class, the students associated with the clergy during role-play were indignant at their lack of social and intellectual freedom and had suggested they should strike to demand more independence from the church hierarchy. This may have been a result of a lack of cultural referents regarding organised religion, and notably the Catholic Church.

Students showed that they were able to identify continuity and change, particularly in regards to the recognition of rights and some aspect of parliamentarianism. The suppression of the Governor's veto, for example, was seen by most students in one class as a turning point by all social groups during role-play, as an opportunity have some political influence: "our demands, as French Canadians, will be heard because the British won't be able to overturn the

decisions of the assembly" (C1E14). In the other class, however, workers and farmers felt that the bourgeois group continued to hold more influence than they did "they have all the money anyway, and they are the ones sitting in the assembly" (C2E12). While this oversimplifies the dynamics of political structure and alliances, it does show that some students had an understanding of issues of power and agency in social change. Almost all students were comfortable with recognising territorial transformation (such as the colonisation of northern Québec and its ensuing impact on forestry industries) and technological change (such as the mechanisation of sawmills), as historical rupture points. They were particularly adept at pointing out differences between period photographs, and between these photographs and *in situ* analysis of historical sites (electrification, for example, was identified as a major turning point both for accelerating industrialisation and for transforming urban living conditions). Students also noticed that whereas the main street had been used for more community-oriented activities in the nineteenth century (with the post office, cathedral, city hall, municipal court room and schools all situated within walking distance of each other and processions, marches, demonstrations having been held there), that street was now geared toward business (restaurants, business offices and shops).

However, students' explanation of historical change was mostly mono-causal and driven by the will and interests of one group or the other (namely the group with which they had associated their character during role-play: industrialisation occurred "because the bourgeoisie invested in technology to increase profits" [C2E12], for example) and by material change (such as technological innovation). In this regard, students manifested an understanding of social groups' historical agency in historical change. The traditional "great historical figure", with the exception of the Governor, was mainly absent from their explanations for social change.

The impact of the local history-learning situation on the development of some structural concepts is examined in more detail in the following section.

Historical relevance and identification stance. The local dimension of the objects of study appears to have contributed to students adopting an identification stance, which in turn promoted connections between historical phenomena and their daily lives. Many students connected elements of their family's history to local history: an Irish ancestor who had settled in the Outaouais in the nineteenth century, or the involvement of members of their family with the forest industry and logging (a surprising number of students), in the Eddy mills and factories, for example. Some students also established connections to the urban landscape with which they come into contact everyday: from physical manifestations such as the railroad, abandoned factories or historical homes to familiar idiomatic expressions (mostly related to logging) and characters from local mythology like Ezra Eddy (an English-speaking owner of a large pulp and paper company and match factory) or Jos Montferrand (a French-speaking logger, strong man, and working class hero), whose names were given to streets or public buildings. They had some knowledge of these elements of ambient history within their cultural toolkits.

Students expressed that they believed the industrialisation period was a relevant object of study and significant because of how workers had been able to organise into unions, have their rights recognised, and consequently improve the lives of all workers. They felt particularly inspired by the first hand accounts of the women who made matches for the Eddy Match Company and whose strikes were instrumental in changing labour laws in Canada. The impact of this historical phenomenon was identified by many students: "now we… women have maternity leave and the workweek only lasts 40 hours because of workers' strikes during the 1900's" (C2E8).

Agency and historical empathy. Most students constructed explanations and narratives that placed collective historical actors at the centre of historical change. They were able to adopt their characters' point of view and understand their motivations and interests as well as those of their classmates' characters from other social groups. For example, students representing the French clergy and the working class in one class demanded that the British-appointed Governor's veto be rescinded and that a responsible elected government controlled the colony's expenses. When the British government (represented by one of the researchers) refused, students whose character was from the working class decided to take up arms to chase the British from Lower Canada. Students representing the clergy opposed this and tried to talk them out of it by telling them "you anger God when you defy authority. You can't do whatever you want. Taking up arms and violence, God and the Church don't like this" (C1E12). Some propositions for action were less plausible, however, like the idea of seeking help from Ireland and France against the British.

In the other classroom, when faced with poor work conditions imposed by the bourgeois owner of a factory, students whose character was from the working class decided to form a union "like the match makers" and demanded that their work hours be reduced, as well as better wages. Students playing farmers decided to support their classmates and refused to sell their crops to the bourgeois.

These positions were not only plausible, but also supported by references to examples from the field enquiry.

Source heuristics and understanding of the constructed nature of history. Students demonstrated their ability to analyse and compare elements from material culture (factories, houses, grocery stores, cemetery, public places, tramway rails, etc.) and connect them to social phenomena and specific concepts. They nonetheless required much teacher support and repeated "reading" keys or clues to do so.[1] The impact of the field enquiry was evident throughout the role-play activities, as students repeatedly stated that "material" sources (such as buildings or tombstones) were the most valid and important sources for reconstructing history. They placed period photographs and historical actors' first-hand accounts second in validity and importance. They believed these sources to be "true" because they felt that such documents could not be altered or manipulated. It might be postulated that because students found these types of sources easier to interpret, they appeared to them to be more valid and relevant. In general, students identified books and the Internet as the best means of corroborating historical sources. Ultimately, though, the teacher's word had the most legitimacy for the students. Teachers were seen as those "who know".

Students had most trouble interpreting documents that presented statistics, and caricatures. Thematic maps, such as a map showing the development of the railroad, also seemed to stump students. They seldom used political or legal texts, socioeconomic data, or historians' interpretations to support their narrative. They often pointed out that they did not understand the words used in these documents and felt it was easier to rely on more accessible sources.

Generally, students relied more strongly on elements from the field enquiry than on the written documents handed out in class to support their explanations and hypotheses. A minority systematically read through all the documents before taking position in regards to the various phenomena presented. In order to decide on a course of action for their characters, students drew more heavily from historical imagination and their understanding of the motivations and interests of their character's social group, which they deduced mostly from the first-hand accounts studied during the field enquiry.

Students' use of historical imagination at times seemed to be a hindrance to their elaboration of plausible explanations. Students whose characters were members of the clergy, for example, began the role-play by wishing to pressure the Church into paying them for their

work. Students who represented the bourgeoisie overwhelmingly decided that their role should be limited to watching their employees, establishing their work conditions, and forging profitable alliances. The remainder of their time was dedicated to leisure. Students sometimes seemed to forget that they were to act as if living in a particular historical context, namely the nineteenth century. As a result, their decisions where sometimes decontextualized.

Finally, students raised some socially controversial issues, such as those concerning social class and political-economic power. For some, there appeared to be a dissonance between what they believed to be an "egalitarian" contemporary Québec society and references to the continuity of social struggles in the present, notably in public sector cuts, the retreat of social measures such as unemployment insurance, and hunger in schools. Students struggled with the transfer of what they had learnt about the causes of inequality in the nineteenth century (such as social class interests, or capitalism) to contemporary social problems, though the solutions they proposed were inspired by the collective actions they associated with the learning activity (workers going on strike, for example). They also clearly saw themselves as having a role to play in bringing about social change.

Discussion

Results of this research establish the relevance of using local history to promote the development of some dimensions of historical agency and thinking from concrete and proximal benchmarks, such as proposed by Peck and Harding (2013), namely those related to historical relevance and perspective, and the identification of continuity and change. These results converge with results obtained by Barton (1996, 1997, 2001). However, students retained a very confused conception of historical time and their interpretation of causes of historical phenomena remained simplistic and mono-causal. Furthermore, the use of labour history, which explores the daily life, struggles and actions of everyday people, appeared to promote an identification stance.

The field enquiry, while providing students with primary source evidence they felt comfortable using, seems to have distorted the relationship they have with sources in general, leading them to assign greater importance and legitimacy to sources from the material culture than to written sources. This suggests local field inquiry might prove effective as an introduction to source analysis if epistemic processes are transferred through analogy to other types of sources. Results show that written documents should be carefully selected for age-specific accessibility. Some written sources may indeed have been set aside because the vocabulary used was less accessible to students than that used in testimonial accounts. We hypothesise that this also partly explains why students were reluctant to use historians' interpretations as sources to interpret the phenomena under study.

As was the case for Cooper and Dilek (2007), Lee (1998), Barton (1997) and Brophy and VanSledright (1997), we conclude that students have some difficulty in interpreting written sources, evaluating their validity, and understanding differences in actors' points of view about the same events. Students' reliance on testimonial accounts, which are characterised by emotion, may have stimulated the students' empathy. Lerner (1997) suggests that affectivity can act as an accessible means of introduction to historical phenomena. It may however conceal or distract from contextual elements essential to interpretation and generally obstruct understanding of causal links associated with interpretation. The activities conducted in the two classes did not succeed in bringing students toward a balance between empathy/affectivity and using a variety of primary source evidence or historians' interpretations. We conclude, however, that local history may be successfully used as an

introduction to historical phenomena and that the study of material culture as a primary historical source may also initiate students to historical thinking.

We also hypothesise that the "newness" of the field inquiry may have made it more engaging and significant to students than analysing written documents, which might also explain their preference for material rather than documentary sources. Reading and interpreting texts is a recurring, familiar task in school and students are conditioned to formulate interpretations which conform to very clearly defined answer keys and reading strategies not associated with history's epistemic tools. It is possible that the possibility of using other source material and their own historical imagination to complete their interpretation proved more enticing than doing what they are asked to do on a regular basis.

It should be noted, in closing, that these classroom experiences greatly benefitted from significant time and organisational investments from teachers. Their sustained support of students work was only achievable because teachers had planned in an interdisciplinary perspective which must be further explored as a solution to time constraints for teaching social studies in elementary school.

Endnotes

[1] Source analysis was accompanied by simplified "reading" cues based on Lefebvre's (1974) urban organisation model, which postulates that the organisation of urban spaces is a symbolic representation of power relations based of modes of production and directs analysis to the social practices associated with urban sites, what is produced within the site, by whom and in whose interest. Eco's (1997) architectural semiotics was also used to "read" the social norms, values and structures symbolically represented in period architecture. Students were asked to hypothesise what the choices in building layout, material, landscaping, geographical location revealed about living conditions, daily life, etc.

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Source criticism in the classroom: An empiricist straitjacket on pupils' historical thinking?

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Abstract: The concept of source criticism has long had a central role in Swedish history curricula. In this essay, the concept is analysed in three contexts. First, a growing epistemological discrepancy is identified over time with regard to the ways in which the aim of history teaching and the use of source criticism is set down in school curricula. The aim of teaching history has changed towards a more post-structuralist approach, while the concept of source criticism is still described from a more empiricist, epistemological stance. In a second context, Swedish history textbooks are found to use the concept of source criticism in an empiricist, epistemological way. In a third context, upper secondary pupils seem to be confused, navigating between two incompatible epistemological views of historical knowledge. The essay ends with a discussion on how to convert the use of source criticism - from the strait jacket it seems to put on pupils historical thinking, to the necessary and helpful tool it should be.

Keywords: History education; source criticism, epistemology; evidence.

Introduction

Introducing pupils to historical sources is important according to history education scholars. The value of such an enterprise is said to be that historical sources are the foundation on which historical knowledge is built; without them, no history. Teachers report that it can be a fruitful enterprise, and one that is rewarding for pupils, but equally it can be a troublesome and frustrating process for everyone involved (Barton 2005, 750). This essay addresses some problems that arise when sources are used in Swedish classrooms, discussed mainly in relation to the Swedish upper secondary school, but applicable to compulsory school as well.

In a history assignment developed on the behalf of the Swedish National Agency for Education, pupils in upper secondary schools were asked to draw conclusions, based on historical sources, about the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. In an answer to this assignment, one pupil evaluated a paragraph from the *Communist Manifesto*; 'The source is not trustworthy according to the tendency criteria, since it is written from a communist perspective. The source is from the *Communist Manifesto*. Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels have written it in a way that makes capitalism look bad. They are not neutral.' In the conclusion the pupil, referring to the *Manifesto*, claims that: 'The process of industrialization was not good for the working class since conditions were bad in the factories.' This is

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interesting since the pupil first dismisses the source, stating that it is biased and thus not trustworthy, but then goes on to use it to draw conclusions about the situation of the working classes during the Industrial Revolution. How can a source already declared untrustworthy be used to arrive at conclusions? The assumption is made that this might be a result of how pupils have been taught to use the concept of source criticism in history education; that it is taught in a manner that is contradictory to the way the subject of history is justified in curricular descriptions.

In order to address this question, the concept of source criticism will be presented and how the concept is defined in Swedish history curricula will also be described. The way the practice of source criticism is handled history textbooks will be presented, after which a more detailed examination of pupil examples will be discussed. In a final section, possible explanations and alternatives to the present strategies will be put forward.

Pupils and historical sources

The use of historical sources in the classroom has been examined from various perspectives. Of particular interest here is the research that touches on pupils' epistemic cognition in relation to sourcework in the classroom. Epistemic cognition is understood in the way it is used by Maggioni, how pupils perceive the nature of historical knowledge and how such knowledge can be justified (Maggioni, VanSledright et al. 2009, 188). This specific angle has largely been discussed from a normative and theoretical angle (Seixas 2000; Barton 2005, 747; Chapman 2011, 96–97; Lee 2011, 65). Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt (2003, 2004) have constructed empirically based progression models in which a well-developed epistemic cognition is crucial for the highest levels. A common trait among most scholars addressing issues that relate to epistemic cognition is the idea that it matters that schools move away from a history education that presents historical knowledge as objective facts; instead, they advocate that pupils are made aware of the interpretative nature of historical knowledge. The rationale for this position is that pupils, if they are given such competence, will have a greater ability to handle conflicting accounts about the past.

Methodology and theoretical considerations

In order to get hold of some of the factors that can have an influence on pupils' epistemic cognition and how the concept of source criticism is used and taught in Swedish history classrooms a comparative approach is used in this study. A curricular perspective on the aim of history education and source criticism is compared with the way the is formulated in history textbooks for the Swedish upper secondary school. The curricula included in the study are from 1970, 1980, 1994 and 2011. The history textbooks are all published after the last reform of the history curriculum in 2011. The pupil responses presented in this study comes from the construction of a history assignment on behalf of the Swedish agency of education. There is a geographical and socio-economic distribution in the sample of teachers and pupils participating in the construction of this assignment. The comparison between curriculum and textbooks is used as the basis for a discussion aimed at an increased understanding of the problems that may surface when pupils engage in sourcework.

In order to classify the material and clarify the discussion two ways of viewing the status of historical knowledge will be used. One where historical knowledge is regarded as objective facts - a stance very similar to an empiricist epistemology that claims that historical knowledge produced in accordance with methodological demands is a bias-free and correct reflection of the past. The historical method thus becomes a guarantee of objective

knowledge. The other view holds that historical knowledge must be seen as interpretations and that truth claims on historical knowledge is more demanding than a rigorous use of the historical method; it also involves theoretical and methodological assumptions (both conscious and unconscious) held by the historian. This view on historical knowledge is similar to a more post-strucuralist view on the status of historical knowledge (Brown 2005, 16–18, 80). For the sake of clarity the two ways of understanding the nature of historical knowledge are labelled as empiricist and post-structuralist epistemological stances on historical knowledge and used are used as heuristic tools in the study. Even if it can be hazardous to distinguish between these two epistemological stances such a distinction is made for analytical reasons in this study.

Source criticism and the nature of historical knowledge

One concept that is central when addressing historical sources is source criticism. This concept was an important part of the professionalization of the historical discipline in the early nineteenth century. In a discussion about the concept in a Swedish context, historian Arne Jarrick has outlined its historical development. As a concept it relies, Jarrick claims, on three basic assumptions: that it is possible to make true statements about the past; that it is the historian's task to make such statements; and that the testimonies on the basis of which such statements are made can be false. According to Jarrick, a source-critical procedure involves a scrutinizing attitude towards a source in order to determine whether the information it offers is true or false. In a Swedish context, he traces the source-critical criteria to the nineteenth century, when scholars dealing with historical sources started to view sources concurrent with an event as more trustworthy than other, less concurrent sources. Under the influence of Ranke and others, the second half of the nineteenth century saw Swedish historians incorporate such source-critical elements as tendency (whether a source is biased), dependency (whether a source repeats information from another source), and authenticity (whether a source is what it claims to be) into their methodology. Jarrick claims that these source-critical elements were used with some arbitrariness to begin with, something that changed at the beginning of the twentieth century under the influence of Lauritz and Curt Weibull. They advocated and gained widespread support for the strict application of the four source-critical aspects (Jarrick 2005, 2–14).

How can this description of the concept be understood epistemologically? The cornerstones of source criticism were established and developed in the era of empiricism, when history was established as a scientific discipline. This meant that a method of historical research was established that required the interrogation of historical sources. The result of historical, empiricist research is seen as a reflection of the past as it actually was. If the historical method is correctly applied to the historical sources, the truth about the past can be revealed (Gunn 2006, 5). Considering Jarrick's presentation of source criticism, it is reasonable to conclude that the concept today still can be embedded in an empiricist epistemology.

There is an ongoing debate within the historical discipline about the epistemological status of historical knowledge. The positions in the debate can placed along a continuum with empiricists on one end and post-modernists on the other. The empiricists, clinging closely to the concept of source criticism, argue that sources can serve as direct link between the present and the past. The post-modernists on the other end of the continuum claiming that it is not possible to view sources in this way; historical knowledge is a creation of the present and all connections to the past is nothing more than a construction. In between these two positions are those that would argue that it is possible to construct true stories of the past, but that these

constructions are contingent on historians' methodological and theoretical considerations (see for example Edenheim 2010, Jarrick 2005 and Torstendahl 2005).

Sources in Swedish history curricula

In what kind of epistemological environment have the subject of history and sourcework been embedded for the last fifty years or so? This is easiest to grasp by comparing the epistemology that underpins sourcework and history in the curriculum for the theoretical strands of the Swedish upper secondary school. In the curriculum of 1970, Lgy70 (Skolöverstyrelsen 1971), it is stated that the subject of history consists of a content to be mediated to pupils, and that education should give pupils a framework of facts. These facts, it is noted, should be treated with respect, and an analysis of historical events must be based on a concrete reality. Historical sources should be included as part of history education, because they help to enhance pupils' ability to make critical and nuanced evaluations of information, contexts, and problems in the past and the present, since they can help pupil distinguish between facts and opinions. The use of sources is also a way to teach pupils to objectively judge historical processes in their historical settings.

Given this, it would seem there was a congruent epistemology in both aspects of the curriculum. The call for criticism and nuance can be seen as placing historical sources in an interpretative, post-structuralist context. The clarifying formulations in the document problematize such a view. Since the curriculum stresses the existence of historical facts and relates them to opinions, it is an indication of primarily an empiricist epistemology. The formulation of objective judgements is also an indication that the curriculum is characterized by an empiricist epistemology. The general view on the subject of history is similar to the one on historical sources (Skolöverstyrelsen 1971, 287). It seems safe to conclude that the 1970 curriculum viewed the subject of history from an empiricist stance, as it does not in any way problematize the content of history education.

In 1981, a supplement to Lgy70 was issued in which the view of history as a subject had changed somewhat. The shift away from an empiricist view is evident in the instruction that biased documents and contradictory statements should not be avoided. Another indication of the shift was the section entitled 'Conceptions of history', which stressed that it can be worthwhile studying certain historical processes on the basis of different conceptions of history. There was also a section in which historical periodization was relativized (Skolöverstyrelsen 1981, 6 & 8). With regard to historical sources, there were no signs of a similar shift. The empiricist orientation was still as it was originally stated—that the source-critical aspects of authenticity, tendency, dependence, and concurrency should be illustrated in a manner so that the pupils can distinguish between historical facts and falsifications. There are thus indications that the epistemological view on history as a subject had shifted between 1970 and 1981. The 1981 curriculum recognizes history as an interpretative subject, which means that there had been a movement away from the empiricist view of history that had been prevalent in 1970; this shift, however, was not visible in the formulation about sources, which was the same as in 1970.

There was a new curriculum for upper secondary school in 1994, Lpf94 (Skolverket, 2001), in which the epistemological stance was very similar to 1981. The wording about the subject of history in 1981 is there in 1994, with its adherence to the view that there are various conceptions of history and that the past can be studied from a wide range of perspectives. The similarity between the curricula is also noticeable in relation to sources. The stated aim of the subject is said to be to enhance pupils' ability to take a critical stance towards historical sources. It is further said that pupils should develop the ability to evaluate the reliability of

historical sources. The same ambiguity as in the 1981 curriculum is thus visible in Lpf94. On the one hand, the empiricist heritage about sources is still very much there; on the other hand, the subject of history is described in a way best described as post-structuralist.

The post-structuralist approach is also represented in the curriculum issued in 2011. When defining history as a subject, it states that knowledge of different interpretations and perspectives on the past is central to historical understanding. This approach is further underscored, as it spells out that pupils should develop knowledge about events and processes from different interpretations and perspectives, and that they should develop the ability to work with historical questions from various perspectives. The historical question, and its dependency on theoretical considerations, is also given the central role, since pupils are supposed to develop 'the ability to use different historical theories and concepts to formulate, investigate, explain, and draw conclusions about historical issues from different perspectives'.[1]

When looking at the curriculum formulations about historical sources, though, the duality in the earlier curricula is still visible in 2011. There are indications of a movement away from empiricism. True, the empiricist approach is visible in the description of sources as having immanent properties—pupils are supposed to examine and evaluate historical sources, a formulation that is possible to interpret as meaning that sources could be evaluated in isolation, independently of any historical question. The shift away from an empiricist epistemology comes in the use of the verb 'to interpret' in relation to sources, which can be construed as meaning that it is possible to extract different kinds of information from a source, depending on the question asked. It is possible, however, to construe the use of 'to interpret' in an empiricist way as well, meaning the act of extracting information that is inherent in the source—information that corresponds directly to past reality (Skolverket 2011, 67).

It is thus possible to identify an epistemological shift from empiricism towards post-structuralism in the way the subject of history is described in Swedish curricula. The curricula from 1980 onwards all have an interpretative view on the nature of historical knowledge. They all have elements that emphasize the existence of different perspectives that have to be considered. This kind of post-structural epistemology is most obvious in the 2011 curriculum, in which the concepts of 'perspective' and 'interpretation' are used frequently. The 1971 curriculum had no post-structuralist elements of the kind evident in the three subsequent curricula. With regard to the use of historical sources, though, it is debatable whether such an epistemological movement has begun, or whether the curriculum in this case still is rooted in an empiricist tradition. The way in which sourcework is presented in the curricula indicates that the strong empiricist tradition still pertains when it comes to historical sources. Despite the shift away from empiricism in the subject in general, a corresponding shift cannot be seen when it comes to sourcework, with the possible exception of a passage in the latest curriculum.

This implies that there is an inconsistency in the curricula from 1981 and onwards. On the one hand the description of history as a subject has shifted but a similar shift in the way source criticism is described can only be glimpsed in the curriculum from 2011. A common definition of sourcework is that it is the criticism of sources as such. Sources are not explicitly placed in a context where they are used in order to construct historical knowledge. The reason this is interpreted as a part of an empiricist epistemology is that it implies that sources hold information independently of the context in which they are used.

Sources in school history textbooks

One way of studying how a certain concept is used in an educational setting is by examining school history textbooks. In this section the approach to the concept of source criticism in some of the most popular textbooks in Sweden will be described.

The aim for historians, according to the textbook *Perspektiv på historien 1b* ('Perspectives on History 1b', Nyström et al. 2011) is to find out what actually happened by the use of source criticism. Thus, it is implied, source criticism is what pupils should expect to learn. Its central role is further underscored by the chapter on source criticism, which deals solely with sources, defining the four elements of the source-critical method in detail. Authenticity is said to highlight the need to establish whether a source is genuine or not; concurrency is presented as if it is relevant for any kind of source, but by definition it only addresses the issue of memory and there is no discussion of the ways in which it might be relevant to different kinds of sources; for dependency, it stresses the importance of dealing with first-hand information; and when discussing tendency, the argument is that tendentious sources all deliberately set out to influence the reader (Nyström et al. 2011), enforcing the view that it turns on whether the source is true or not.

In another textbook, *Samband historia* ('History Connections', Ericsson & Hansson 2009), source criticism is given a similarly central role, with a chapter of its own at the beginning of the book. In the presentation of the concept of source criticism, it is defined as a means of deciding what is true and what is false. The book goes on to state that the basic assumption in source criticism is that everyone is lying. The more detailed description of the cornerstones of source criticism is similar to the one in *Perspektiv på historien 1b*.

In a textbook named *Historia 1a1* ('History 1a1', Öhman 2010) the structure is identical to the two already described. This book is more explicit, though, about the consequences the four elements of source criticism have for the usefulness of the sources. With regard to concurrency, Öhman states that a source written long after an event is unreliable and that a contemporary source always is more reliable than a source from a later date. With regard to tendency, it states that tendentious material should not be used in historical studies. The questions of authenticity and dependency are not addressed.

The more advanced courses in Swedish upper secondary schools (years 2 and 3) are directed at the methodological and theoretical parts of the subject. In a textbook intended for these courses (Larsson et al. 2012), the role of source criticism is described as a method for deciding which sources that are useful and trustworthy, and which can be used on all sources that contain elements that can be true or false. Authenticity is not mentioned in the discussion of source criticism; dependency and concurrency are described in the same way as above; but tendency is treated in a slightly different manner. It is said that the best source is one completely free of bias. If there are tendencies in a source, this information must be compared with other sources.

There are some interesting patterns in the textbooks with regard to epistemology. All of them state that it is possible to make a useful distinction between information that represents the truth and that which does not: source criticism, rather than helping the pupil distinguish between different perspectives, exists to separate truth from falsehood. Since the textbooks signal that a source-critical evaluation of a source, correctly done, can result in a statement about what actually happened in the past, it is reasonable to label the epistemological stance in the textbooks as empiricism.

Source criticism as an obstacle

What strategies do pupils use as they approach historical sources? Examples of such strategies presented here are taken from pupil answers to a task focusing on historical sources. The responses were collected as a part of the process of putting together material to support upper secondary teachers in their pupil assessments on behalf of the Swedish National Agency for Education. The material consists of a task for the pupils—to use a set of sources to draw conclusions about the consequences of the Industrial Revolution—accompanied by instructions for the teachers' assessments. The pupil responses are in the author's possession.

The responses show that a large proportion of the pupils use source-critical criteria in a mechanical way to evaluate the sources without regard to actual historical questions. The concurrency criterion, for example, is often interpreted as if relevance and trustworthiness automatically decreases as the temporal distance grows between an event and the time when the source was created. One pupil writes that a specific source 'has a good place in time', and that another source 'does not have a good place in time'. The latter source is problematic, according to the pupil, and 'is not so good to use, really, since it was written in 1972, 100 years after the start of the Industrial Revolution.' The source the pupil was referring to is a thesis about the spread of cholera in Sweden in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the source that was deemed trustworthy because of its temporal proximity was the excerpt from the *Communist Manifesto* mentioned earlier. This rather mechanical way is also used with reference to the other criteria. One pupil, discussing two sources in the material in terms of dependency, states that 'none of them are dependent on any other source, which is a good thing'. Another pupil draws the same conclusion: 'It is not dependent on any other source which makes it a good one.' In these very typical answers, an absence of dependency automatically makes the source trustworthy.

One pupil's analysis of an excerpt from a farmer's diary about a summer of drought in the mid nineteenth century strengthens the impression that pupils use the criteria in an mechanical manner. The source seems to be treated in the same way as the excerpt from the *Communist Manifesto*: the pupil claims that the source is relevant 'because it is a diary excerpt'. This pupils and others ascribe certain properties to the sources, without discussing the relation between the source and the question that they are about to answer.

Tendency is used by many pupils to dismiss sources. One example comes in a pupil's discussion of the excerpt from the *Communist Manifesto*: 'The source has an interest in what it says, it is biased to the author's advantage. This source, because of that, is not trustworthy according to the tendency criterion.' Much the same is said by another pupil: 'Because of that [tendency] I think that, even if the situation was hard, the information must be taken with a pinch of salt.' These two examples show a similar approach to epistemology as found in the textbooks: bias is not seen as something that can reveal a certain perspective, but as something that disqualifies a source altogether.

There is one striking similarity between several pupils with regard to how they apply the criteria in their sourcework: they all dismiss a source based on a source-critical analysis, but then go on to use it when answering the assignment. Witness the following quote: 'Then there are the kids. Kids had to work at this time and they had a problematic situation. They got a lot of diseases, and had to work long hours, and sometimes several shift a day, we can see that in source G. This source is not trustworthy, though, considering that it is biased, since it is not written by the one who experienced it. It is also bad in relation to the concurrency criterion, since it was written 30 years after the event.' The pupil first uses the source to say something about children's circumstances during the Industrial Revolution, then dismisses the source as untrustworthy. Another pupil applies a similar strategy when dismissing a diagram—

'Unfortunately the source was made in the late 1980s, with the result that it is not so trustworthy'—and then using it nevertheless, concluding that 'Source C shows positive while the others are showing negative. That means that the Industrial Revolution was both positive and negative.' The pupil decides that the diagram is not trustworthy based on the concurrency criteria, but still uses it to conclude that industrialization was positive in the long run. These two responses indicate that while some pupils use sources to answers questions, at the same time they have to dismiss them because of their view that the sources are either trustworthy or not. One possible reason to this contradiction may be that these pupils have been taught to use the concept of source criticism in a way similar to how source-critical method is explained in the school history textbooks.

The fact that pupils rate the sources as trustworthy or not, as 'good' or 'bad', without any reference to the historical question being asked, makes it possible to say something about their epistemic cognition, as expressed in the answers. When pupils reject some sources as being untrustworthy, highlighting others instead, it gives the impression that they are looking for a source that makes it possible to say what actually happened. Bias is not considered as a possible perspective, but as an attribute that disqualifies a source. This kind of reasoning suggests an epistemic cognition close to a more empiricist epistemology, since they are looking for an answer that is an objective reflection of past reality.

A tentative explanation

The source-critical criteria entered Swedish historical research in the era of empiricism. The view shared by most historians at the time was that the results of empirical research could result in a true reflection of past reality. What impact has the source-critical method had in a Swedish context? According to Torstendahl (2005), the concept of source criticism has come to be treated in a fundamentalist manner in Sweden, the signs being that many historians equate the discipline of history with the use of source criticism, as defined above by Jarrick, and do so without any philosophical or epistemological reflection. The result is that many historians forget to ask themselves what kind of knowledge and results will be the end product of using their chosen method. This fundamentalism also has the effect of making historians treat source criticism as *the* method, instead of one method among many (Torstendahl 2005, 2–10).

The same conviction that source criticism is the sole method can be detected in Swedish school curricula and in school textbooks. It is no exaggeration to say that source criticism plays a central part whenever the school subject of history is discussed. So, how has the focus on source criticism been transferred from academics to educators and textbooks? In order to explain why certain content is covered in school history, Jensen (1990) refers to a trickle-down mechanism. He argues that knowledge created by academics trickles down to the classroom via textbooks and teachers, in a one-way communication in which the quality of textbooks and classroom activities are judged by their resemblance to their respective disciplinary equivalent (Jensen 1990, 132–3). In this context, the trickle-down mechanism is one factor that can help explain why curricula and history textbooks promote source criticism as a tool characterized by an empiricist epistemology. The mechanism does not, however, help us understand why the debate within the historical discipline has not had any impact on how the concept of source criticism is described. To do this one can turn to Jack Schneider since the concept seems to have some of the characteristics he uses to understand why certain ideas from academia are incorporated into the practice of teachers; perceived significance, philosophical compatibility, occupational realism and transportability (Schneider 2014, 32). The concept can be viewed as relevant because it has been in the curricula for a long time. That the concept can be viewed as philosophical compatible may be due to its well-known

connection to the historical discipline. A perceived realism and transportability may be due to the criteria included in the concept, that can be construed as relatively easy to, in a superficial way, teach and assess in the classroom.

The empiricist view of epistemological matters is shared by a smaller proportion of historians today than it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is common today for historical research to be seen as an interpretative endeavour (Gunn 2006, 16–18). This shift has its parallels in the curricula, where a similar change can be identified in the way the aim of history education is described. When it comes to source criticism, only fragments of a post-structural epistemology is visible in the most recent curriculum. The combination of these two different epistemological views in the curriculum, together with the unambiguous empiricist stance towards sourcework in the textbooks, seems to put some pupils in an educational bind: they have to negotiate the clash between using empiricist tools in a post-structuralist environment. Pupils are supposed to apply source-critical criteria, which they are instructed to use in an empiricist manner. These criteria will be applied in an educational environment that often asks questions based on an interpretative, more post-structuralist epistemology.

A reason for the persistent description of source criticism from an empiricist epistemological angle, with a possible shift in 2011, and textbooks might be found in the relationship between the three contexts described in this article; the historical discipline, the process of constructing curricula and the educational context, including textbook authors. Further research might look into if and how the ambivalence within the historical discipline has had an influence on the construction of curricula and the writing of textbooks. These are very interesting questions that are not possible to address in the scope of this study.

What is the alternative?

There are two major factors that must be considered in order to help pupils come to grips with the handling of historical sources. The first is the issue of aiming for a consistent epistemology in the educational context. Since the overarching epistemology stated in the Swedish history curriculum is described in a post-structuralist manner, it is recommended that teachers adapt to such a stance in their teaching—and that includes sourcework. This is possible since the 2011 curriculum can be construed as meaning that sourcework is an interpretative endeavour. In the present context, that would mean that sources should not be treated as if they have an inherent value, irrelevant of the question at hand; rather, they should be chosen depending on the possible information pupils can elicit from them given the historical question they are to 'answer'. The issue of historical questions brings us to the second factor to be considered: what is the purpose of bringing sources into the classroom? Considering the ability that pupils are supposed to develop in upper secondary school, there should be more to it than mere source criticism. The relationship between a historical question and the sources is central in the curriculum. The concept of source criticism can be problematic in this context - if it is used as described in the textbooks and curricula. It might be more efficient to start off with the question of how we create knowledge about the past. The act of doing history in the classroom would then shift from an empiricist dismissiveness to a more constructive, interpretative engagement with the sources in order to answer historical questions. The criteria that constitute the concept of source criticism must not be forgotten, however, since they definitely have a role to play in a post-structuralist environment. But in order to contribute in a constructive way, they have to play a more secondary role. That would be possible if they were incorporated when determining sourcing and contextualization, as discussed by some scholars (Wineburg et al. 2011, v–vi; Seixas 2013, 42–7; Ashby 2011, 137–41); the source-critical criteria would then be incorporated in a more constructive approach to historical inquiry, facilitating the inquiry instead of being the

concept around which the inquiry revolves. How these ideas best can be communicated from the ivory tower to the classrooms is a very important question.

Bringing historical sources into the classroom has many advantages. It is an essential part of pupils' education about how historical knowledge is created, for it gives them the possibility to develop the ability to use historical questions to transform historical sources into evidence. Sources are also good way to bring agency into history education, combining the prevalent structural perspective with the history of ordinary people. Connected to the issue of agency is the role of empathy in history teaching. The use of sources can facilitate the inclusion of emotive aspects in the classroom. In order to make historical sources the effective tool they can be, it is necessary to rethink the epistemological considerations underpinning the concept of source criticism. Pupils are given assignments that are very difficult to solve, since they are based on a post-structuralist stance on historical knowledge and the tools with which pupils are expected to handle the assignment are loaded with empiricist assumptions. One such new approach might be to listen to Torstendahl and view source criticism not as *the* method of historical research but rather as one element, relevant when asking good historical questions of a set of sources. That would make the various elements subsumed in the concept of source criticism a helpful tool for Swedish pupils, instead of the straitjacket they otherwise can be for their historical thinking.

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About the Author

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[1] The official translation of the Swedish concept *historisk frågeställning* as *issue* is questionable. *Historical question* or *historical problem* might be more appropriate.

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On genocide and the Holocaust in Swedish History teaching[1]

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Abstract: Teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides is emphasized in Swedish History teaching. In Sweden there is a public authority commisioned to work with issues related to tolerance, democracy and human rights. It is this context and under these conditions, that Swedish History teachers select a variety of topics for their students to learn, as part of the History curriculum. In addition to the Holocaust, they teach about crimes against humanity committed under communist regimes, the genocide of Tutsies in Rwanda, and mass murder and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. Teachers use a multiplicity of uses of history and teaching methods. They conduct a scientific use of history when focusing on the historical contexts and explaining the background, motives and consequences of genocide. Teachers also stress the students' personal reflections and standpoints in a moral use of history. The teaching aims at developing understanding and empathy among students.

Keywords: History teaching, genocide, Holocaust, teachers, uses of history, Sweden.

Introduction

"We still live in the shadow of the Holocaust."[2] These are the words of the Hungarian Auschwitz survivor, author and Nobel Prize Laureate, Imre Kertész. Today the narrative of the Holocaust is present in our society. Seventy years have passed, but the Holocaust is still relevant because while itplace in the past, it is still present today, because the event is interpreted from our own understandings and also because knowledge about this traumatic event influences our societies as well as us as individuals. We question the past from our present perspective and condemn the Holocaust. In the European context, to condemn the Holocaust has become almost synonymous, and a non explicit requirement, to being a European. However to condemn is more than a stance. It creates a community based on shared values (Judt, 2005, p. 804). This means that our shared values are part of our collective identity. Accordingly, the Holocaust is present in our historical consciousness and makes a bridge between the present and the past. Not least is this evident in popular culture, such as in movies and in the media.

Teaching about the Holocaust was strongly emphasized in Swedish schools after the release of a startling report from Centre for Research About Immigration (CEIFO) in 1997. The report argued that adolescents were not quite sure if the Holocaust had really happened (Lange et al., 1997, p. 56). Based on these findings, the Swedish government launched the *Living History Project* (later The Living History Forum), which was a major investment to improve education about the Holocaust in Swedish schools (discussed by Karlsson, 2000).

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Schools have a special responsibility to teach its students about good values and ethics (Heater, 2004); therefore most people (in the Western world) think that it is obvious that schools should teach about the Holocaust and other genocides. However it might not have been enough.

There are few detailed or systematic studies on what History teachers teach about genocide, how they teach or how students understand and interpret the content (see, for example, Wibaeus 2010; Cole 2007; Totten et al 2004; Lange 2008; Husbands et al 2003). The limited research about teaching in practice is a problem when it comes to understanding how genocide is handled in schools and how it might be enhanced. We need more and alternative studies with different theoretical tools and a variety of methods. This article is focused on the 'supply-side' of teaching; that is, what teachers teach about and how they do it. This paper describes and, in the light of theories from history didactics, analyses how Swedish teachers teach about genocide. The questions concern central aspects of didactics and provide a good picture of teachers' intentions and thoughts about content and form in teaching (Ammert, 2011). Such questions can in practice-based didactic research be framed by the concept Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK), which means that both knowledge of the content *and* knowledge about the students and the situation in the actual teaching and learning are important (Schulman 1987; Geddis, 1993). The main theoretical framework in my analysis is Karlsson's *uses of history* model (1999 and 2008) to categories the uses of history on the empirical results of the research that informs this paper.

There are two main sets of questions addressed in this paper. First, how do teachers define genocide, what content do they teach, and what are their aims? Second, how is the specific content treated and how do teachers explain genocides?

Method

The method used in my investigation is called the Delphi-method and has previously been used to obtain feedback and to present different possible descriptions and scenarios from experts. The method has also been used for educational research (Lindqvist & Nordänger 2007; Wiersam & Jurs, 2005). It operates by the researcher sending questions to a number of participants who answer anonymously. The answers are put together and the researcher can identify general patterns as well as idiographic opinions. Later, the informers get the possibility to read the compilation and verify them. In this case, participants were approched, viato answer in a narrative form and to justify their responses.

The participants were chosen from among teachers who have supervised student-teachers in secondary schools or in upper secondary schools in Sweden. It was assumed that these teachers are interested in didactic questions, aware and reflective of how they teach and probably rather dedicated to their work; although, of course, there can not be guaranteed. From this group of teachers, 40 were selected who had varying experiences of teaching, of different sexes, and employed in municipalities of different sizes and varying geographical locations. 28 of these teachers accepted to participate and completed the study. Due to the small population, the results are not representative with certainty, but the study is comprehensive and focused.

Genocide – definitions and selection

Before the results of the study and how the teachers define the concept of genocide are presented, it is appropriate to give background information regarding how it is defined in international conventions and in previous research. The very definition of genocide is to kill

an identified category of people. This is an act of punishment defined by the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. The definition is problematic and has certain weaknesses. One is that it comprises "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group [...]" while social or political groups are excluded (Bring, 1994, pp. 74, 88). There is an obvious risk that organized violations of human lives will be excluded, and therefore the crime of genocide could be defined differently. This must be discussed and analysed in history teaching.[3]Some of the participants in this study discuss its definition in a similar way:

> To me genocide means to exterminate all or a part of a people due to their religion, culture, ideology, ethnic identity and so on. […] The Holocaust is the persecution of Jews by the Nazis during the 1930s and the 1940s, when Jews, homosexuals, dissidents, disabled and others were executed in working camps and death camps. (Participant C, 2008-10-22)

In general, the participants define the concept when they exemplify:

> To me [the] Holocaust is the intended extermination of the Jewish people in the countries the Nazis had invaded during World War II. […] The Nazi extermination of Jews is even a genocide. (Participant Z, 2008-10-20)

In addition, some participants discuss and reason in their answers: "Another question is when persecutions become genocide, is that when a sufficient number of people from a group have been murdered? I suppose so, but the question is interesting" (Participant B, 2008-10-26). One teacher at an upper secondary school uses the definition from the UN convention, but she problematizes the definition with her students. This concerns a discussion similar to that raised above regarding which categories can be defined as victims of genocide (Participant L, 2008-11-22). The same participant stresses the focus on the 20th century, which she means is obvious in the UN convention.

Participant V answers in an ideological way when she says that "the Holocaust is considered worse than other genocides (even if that is not a fact!). The Swedish government has been very friendly to Israel and this project is a result of that" (Participant V, 2008-10-22).

Another part of this study deals with the selection process, meaning what the teachers choose to teach about, including what events, regimes or epochs were included in teaching about genocide. The results show that most of the teachers answer in a similar way. In almost every answer, the teachers say they teach about the Nazi regime, the Holocaust of the Jews, crimes against humanity committed under communist regimes, the genocide of Tutsies in Rwanda and mass murder and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. The selection is justified by the teachers' words that the above mentioned genocides are important historical events for students to learn about in order to understand the world today. In addition, several participants argue that it is also important to teach about more recent crimes against humanity in order to show that genocide is not only crimes committed in the past. Another frequently used justification is that it is better to concentrate on fewer examples than to just give an overview of many examples (Participants Z, 2009-01-23;Y, 2009-01-26; and D, 2008-05-11), privileging depth over breadth.

Apart from the examples mentioned above, there are also several other crimes against humanity presented in History teaching. Among two of these events there is consensus as to the importance of teaching them: the Armenian genocide in 1915 and the European colonial conquests and treatment of South and Latin America during the 15th and 16th centuries. Occasionally participants also present other examples, but none of these are commonly recognized as genocides in Swedish History curriculum. For example the crusades, the inquisition by the Catholic Church, the US military treatment of native Americans in North

America, Mao and the cultural revolution in China, and "genocide in the name of Allah" Participant F, 2008-12-02).

Some upper secondary school teachers, as well as secondary school teachers, refer to a lack of time when explaining why they put genocide as one topic among others:

> The time available differs from occasion to occasion. Without belittling genocide as such I would have a bad conscience when answering questions such as, 'What ethnic minorities do you teach about?' or 'How do you accentuate aspects of gender in history education?' (Participant L, 2008-11-22. See also Participant B, 2008-10-26)

Aims

In this study, the aims of teaching can be divided into three main groups of goals. The first, and dominant set of answers, contains aims similar to the aims in the national curricula.[4] In general, the aims in the national curricula from 1994 expressed general historical knowledge. These were often vague with descriptions such as the students should be orientated about central historical events and should be able to explain the course of events and how that influences the present time. The answers are a bit surprising, because due to the Swedish national evaluation of compulsory school (NU03), two-thirds of the History teachers state that neither the curriculum nor the syllabus are decisive for the subject they are teaching (Skolverket, 2005).

In the second cluster of aims, teachers stress individual skills of the students, especially critical thinking. A typical answer is this, saying: "The student must, in my opinion, learn how people in powerful positions manipulate ordinary people and that they´ll stop at nothing to reach their goals" (Participant Z, 2008-10-20). In this second group, I have also placed those who stress that History education is about showing students how ordinary people have fought oppression and refused to conduct outrage. The point is to develop skills that enables you to see through propaganda and be critical towards information that you get. This is, in other words, a kind of "instrumental" vaccination against dictatorship and violations against human beings.

The third group is characterized by an ambition of deep reflection. This type of education aims at convincing students to acknowledge human values and the respect of human life. One teacher (Participant O, 2008-11-05) stresses the importance of gaining approval for human and civic responsibility among students. In some cases the approval passes on from teaching to encourage action. Another participant says: The goal is "to analyze and exemplify how to solve problems before they appear and afterwards to go on in societal life" (Participant F, 2008-12-02).

There are no prominent differences in the answers between teachers at secondary school and upper secondary schools. A general observation is that teachers present fairly vague definitions of aims for their teaching. The aims are similar to national aims and they are neither explicit nor explained. The subdivision into three groups of aims overlap with how aims in the national syllabi have traditionally been grouped. These can be characterized as orienting, approving or developing. *Orienting* means that History teaching aims at conveying an overview or a context; while *approving* means to anchor human values and a consciousness of involvement in common cultural heritage. *Developing* comprises the ability to interpret and understand society in order to review critically information from different kinds of sources (Ammert, 2008, pp. 3-4). Thus, the results of this study shows that History teachers follow these three types of aims presented in the national Syllabus.

Didactic concerns on how to teach

To introduce a theme, or a section, is of huge importance to many History teachers. The teachers in this study introduce the study of genocide in a variety of ways. The majority of the participants state that the background and interest are built from the historical context at the time of the end of World War I and from the time between the wars. The teachers also say that movies are very important in their work. Several teachers show the movie *Swingkids* to students in ninth grade. *Swingkids* shows how society was transformed and how young people were affected by ideological movements and sociological mechanisms during the Nazi era (Participant S, 2009-02-22). The film is chosen for other reasons as well – it is antipcated the students will identify more readily with a film about young people and their lives. Another film often mentioned is *Varför förintelsen?* (Why the Holocaust?). This is a documentary describing the lead up to the Holocaust. From the answers in this study, it seems as if teachers give priority to providing background and context in their teaching. Participant Y (2009-01-24) argues that background knowledge is crucial for students to understand that the Holocaust did not take place in a vacuum.

In the collected responses, there are descriptions from three teachers that diverge from the majority of their colleagues. The major difference is that they do not teach along a chronological time line towards a particular genocide, and they do not organize the commonly used theme with genocide, human values, and the conveying of democracy. One of these teachers instead describes a clear genealogical perspective in her relations to the past and the present; genealogical in the sense of taking a starting point in the present and freely over time seeking anchoring, patterns, and answers to questions (see Karlsson, 2003, pp. 29). This teacher, who works at a secondary school, introduces teaching about the Holocaust each year on the day of remembrance of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp in January 1945. With a starting point of the impact and the sense for present day of the Holocaust, the teacher turns to the past and asks questions about why there is a special remembrance day, why the Holocaust is considered a unique and decisive event, why this is important in Swedish History teaching and how such a terrible thing could happen (Participant O, 2009-02-17).

Another one of these teachers (Participant N), who works at an upper secondary school, provides a different perspective. She explains she adapts her History teaching to the program in which the students attend. She illustrates with students who study Natural Science how they can focus their study about genocide on medical and biological aspects of race and medical experiments. Social Science students, on the other hand, can concentrate on ideologies, while students in cultural alignment study expressions from art, for example with the film *The Architecture of Doom.*

Different teachers emphasize different content and various elements in their teaching. Some of the teachers choose to illustrate how propaganda was used and expressed, and how people were affected. They explain that propaganda is a method to change people's thoughts with the aim to turn society in a direction desirable for the regime (Participant V, 2009-02-06).

Some of the teachers describe and give examples of several exercises, in which students are to check and compare historical sources. It is thus practising skills to analyze sources by working with texts with a context that engages students. Others, mostly teachers in upper secondary school, describe a critical approach, but in this case in a more analytical way. One method used is teachers and students searching together for tools to help make systematic comparisons between different events (Participant E, 2009-01-31). One of the participants uses categorisation and categories such as 'perpetrators' and 'victims', as well as 'motives' and 'contexts'. Several teachers discuss how to relate historic contexts to the present time.

That is a good motive, but it has to be done with accuracy. To make comparisons over time on a scale of 1:1 is risky and often results in anachronisms.

There are also examples of how the participants teach in practice. As already mentioned, movies are very common in History teaching. Some teachers stress the importance of discussions, but very few explain how these discussions take place and what kind of topics they discuss. Interestingly enough, only a few say something about web sites. Teachers who do use the web in their teaching are more likely to teach in upper secondary school. They describe the internet as an important complement and actually an accepted source of information, since most of the students use the Internet for information and communication (Participant C, 2009-01-29). The most frequently used learning material are movies (including newly released feature movies) and documentary films. Examples of the latter are *Swingkids*, *Ninas resa* (Nina's Journey), *The Pianist* and *Schindler's List*. Upper secondary school teachers also mention films on later genocides, for instance *Hotel Rwanda*. Participant L mentioned a program-related media on the history subject, and says that one film she is showing to her students is *The Architecture of Doom*. This movie is about beauty and evil in the Third Reich. Some teachers demonstrate attempts with great ambition and creativity, when they tell that they have taken pieces from various programs with documentary pictures that are shown on TV in order to give a clear picture of different genocides.

A different kind of History teaching aims at developing understanding and empathy among the students. Teachers, especially those teaching in secondary schools, express such aims. For example, in an exercise, which is at the same time an examination, the students are told to write a letter from a time and a place where genocide has been commited to a receiver in the present time. Students may not simply use arguments from our time, but must also try to put themselves in the historical context. When it comes to exercises that discuss values and ethical issues, several teachers describe so-called four corner-exercises in which the students must take a stand on ethical issues and place themselves in positions that symbolize the different stances. However, it is not clear if and how teachers explain the direct relationship between ethical views of our time and industrial mass murder carried out under a dictatorial regime.

One common denominator is for schools to invite a Holocaust survivor who visits the school and tells about his or her experience. Several teachers explicitly mention that Holocaust survivor Benny Grünfeld visited their school to lecture and talk with students. A more expensive, but supposedly even more stimulating and horrifying, way to get a close experience of the Holocaust's cruel settings, is to visit one of the former camps that is open to the public. Among the participant in this study, there is only one teacher who tells about such a visit. In this case the visit was to Stutthof in northern Poland. The teacher is very positive about the trip and the insight the students got from visiting the place.

Can the unbelievable be explained?

Extraordinary events, such as genocide, are seeminly impossible to explain because they are so extreme. People have a hard time accepting the fact that behaviours of such a kind could be carried out. On a base level, it can be explained rather disrespectfully as "Zeitgeist." That is not an explanation in itself, but it is a basis for the ideal that reigned during the 1920s-30s, namely, efficiency, speed, strength, power and in its wake, elitism and distain for the weak or deviant. Some teachers say that "we also place the events in their historical context." (See also Fernstein, 2004). Without further detail, however, this does not describe anything real. Sociological explanations also function in a similar way on the same fundamental level. In

this study the teachers mainly mention thoughts comparable with Zygmunt Bauman (1989) about a bureaucratic system built on and rewarding efficient and rational actions and solutions, where every cog in the wheel is important, as an explanation to how the Holocaust could be carried out.

If one follows an imaginary line from the general and more universal toward the more specific and culturally as well as politically unique, an descriptive level surfaces, based on ideological explanations. The teachers are dealing with such contextual differences when comparing Hitler's and Stalin's genocides. The teachers' responses, nevertheless, provide no clarification on the issue of what the differences actually are and how these can be explained. Comparisons are made, apparently, but they are made unreflected (Participant N, 2009-02-20). These comparisons show, however, similarities in form: both genocides were legitimized for ideological reasons and both thought that certain people must be cleared out of the way in order for a new and ideal society to emerge. Ideology is also the main explanation when the teachers say how dictators legitimized the fact that they suppressed or did away with those opposing the State. It could also be that acting in the name of the ideology was an important symbol of action for resorting to extreme methods, as was done in terms of both Communism and Nazism. The symbol would lie in showing the importance of ideology. In some of the teachers' stories the actual dictatorial ideologies appeared clearly evil and inhumane (for example, Participant E, 2009-01-31).

More precise and concrete explanations deal with the importance of certain individuals. It is, however, very uncommon for the teachers to clearly pick out individuals. A connection to the personal level exists, nevertheless, when the teachers describe the value exercises that are commonly used when studying genocide in school. Several teachers link the actions on the immediate level – the importance of standing up for human dignity when encountering another human being – to the actions on the greater scale – to meet groups of people in the same way as one meets people on a local level. On a specific and concrete level the participants also explain how it was possible in practice for the dictators to control society and people's perceptions in their direction. In this context they emphasize propaganda's importance as a tool in this effort. The words "propaganda" and "passivity of the masses" appear in several responses (Participant C, 2009-01-29).

Uses of history

The function and task of history didactics is to study and analyze the encounter between humans and history, in this case, the meeting with historical events such as genocide. Since this study has concentrated on the teachers' perspectives, the results are analyzed in the light of a theoretical model that deals with how history is used – the *uses of history*. The historian Klas-Göran Karlsson's typology is based on the uses of history being analyzed and systematized in terms of need, utility, user, and function. Karlsson's typology (2008, p. 56) presents seven different possible uses of history, which are briefly presented here: The *scientific use* discovers, uncovers and reconstructs the past. It deals with verifying and interpreting events and developments. The *existential* and *moral uses* are about connecting time dimensions, and orienting and anchoring people in history and hence in the present. The *moral use*, however, seeks consciously to re-discover oppressed groups or iniquities in the past in order to reach reconciliation and rehabilitation. A *political-educational use* is often employed by political elites in order to illustrate and influence. History becomes an instrumental tool to reach and influence people. The *ideological use* has the same function of constructing history, for instance to legitimize the existence of a state. *Non-use* of history also has the same function, except this time by concealing or blurring historical narratives,

traditions and artefacts from the public historical culture (Karlsson's last use of history, a *commercial use*, is not relevant here).

In this study, a scientific use appears particularly distinct, primarily in three distinguishable contexts: the first is in the formulation of objectives where the teachers emphasize that students should be able to see, interpret and explain how the past has influenced contemporary society. The second context is in the evaluation basis and concretized grading criteria. The following quotations are examples found in my study:

> We check that you have knowledge of:
>
> - The basic facts about *why* the Holocaust could happen,
> - *Who* were persecuted and murdered,
> - How it was that nobody did anything about the tragedy during WWII.
>
> (Participant O, 2009-12-17)

Third, the teachers also put emphasis on the importance of comparing different genocides. One of the participants emphasizes the importance of students being able to put events in a context and explain how and why genocide was able to take place. She believes that students should find out facts about, and compare, the circumstances and background of Nazi Germany, the former Soviet Union and Cambodia (Participant L, 2008-11-22). In similar terms, another teacher (Participant H) reasons about the importance of students studying and learning about the mechanisms that are the conditions and driving force for genocide.

A large proportion of the teachers' responses fall under the category political-educational use in a sense to illustrate, debate and even convey or influence questions of values and perception of history:

> In addition to the pure teaching in the classroom, we have at my upper secondary school for the ninth year in a row, a democracy day, where survivors from Nazi and Communist concentration camps appear for our ninth graders. We also usually tend to invite to that day a former neo-Nazi, who now tries to help young people with destructive behavior. (Participant Z, 2008-10-20)

It is interesting that clear connections are made between a willingness to be democratic today and to have survived a concentration camp in the past. The teachers thus counts on the students drawing the conclusion that a dictatorship has a view of humanity that does not agree with the one we have today, and therefore democracy is the best governance today as well as and in the future. In fact, the context is probably even greater, because that feeling which the survivors convey is more a question of basic human dignity and respect for human life. A survivor of a concentration camp is most likely, but doesn't have to be, a defender of democracy. Another point to raise is whether success is achieved by introducing former neo-Nazis to disenfranschised young people who exhibit destructive behaviours, in order for self-reflection to occur on their current situations. Neo-Nazis in Sweden have often been a small band of uneducated, delinquent men who take out their problems on immigrants (Brottsförebyggande rådet 2009, p. 124).

In the teachers' descriptions of how they use history, there is a clear normative tone. The rhetoric deals with convincing students that the Nazis were inhuman. The teachers seem to believe that it is important "to learn so that it does not happen again." (Participant Y, 2008-10-22). In the political-educational use of history, some teachers say that it is possible to learn from the past and that this is a priority. What is described here is a linear and instrumental approach towards historical development and a strong belief in history's educational effect and expediency.

The third type of use of history by which many teacher responses can be characterized is the moral use. One example of this is an answer such as teaching genocide is about

understanding the victims and feeling empathy for their situation. Another example is the value exercises which several teachers speak about: "Then we summarized the discussion and continued with value exercises about how one treats one another and how one can let things happen" (Participant O, 2009-02-17). Another teacher says she wants "to show that every person has a responsibility towards his or her fellow human beings. It was ordinary people who contributed to letting the Holocaust happen" (Participant O, 2008-11-05). Thus, moral and value emerge very clearly in the teaching, as can be evidenced from the following statement:

> […]At the same time I usually discuss with the students that the same thing that happened in Germany could happen here, and try to get them to understand that it could happen here if we stop thinking for ourselves and stop being so typically Swedish level-headed and let prejudices, fears and blinders take control. Connecting back to ourselves is, in other words, at least as important when we're talking about genocide. (Participant B, 2009-10-26)

The last sentence is the most important in this context: the importance of connecting the content to a time and a context which the student can understand and identify with, in other words an existential use of history.

In the teaching description of teacher S, she demonstrates on several occasions how the content relates to the students. She makes a film selection that is appropriate for the students' age and their interests in life and in the past. Her use of the movie *Swingkids* illustrates the situation during the interwar period and the class discusses how young people can be attracted to dictatorships (Participant S, 2009-02-22). Other examples show that the students write personal letters to the above mentioned survivor Benny Grünfeld, in which they reflect on what they have learned about the Holocaust. This also emphasizes that the individual's relationship to the past is important and makes sense. Another teacher says: "The goal is that students will understand events in the past and today and the consequences of them, be able to see the historical perspective" (Participant M, 2008-11-06).

To sum up, the different categories of teaching identified in this study will be elucidated. The results refer to teaching in a Swedish context, but they are likely to apply to teachers all over the world, because ethical values and moral issues are central in History teaching. The German historian Wolfgang Mommsen describes this as obvious when writing:

> [t]he historian deals constantly with values, ideological positions and different normative systems – these are the very fabric of what he studies, and their mutual confrontation constitute in a way, the dynamism of the historical process. (Mommsen, 2000, p. 48)

Teaching a content with ideological or ethical overtones is challenging. The challenges are probably different in different countries, but the results in this article provide fuel for further discussions.

In contemporary Europe, where the narrative of the Holocaust is omnipresent, Swedish History teachers emphasize teaching about genocide and especially the Holocaust. They also teach about crimes against humanity committed under communist regimes, the genocide of Tutsies in Rwanda and mass murder and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. From the results, three categories or types of teaching are identified. In the first category, teachers stress the historical context and explain the background, motives and consequences of genocide; this is a scientific use of history and an example of traditional history teaching. A context and content based teaching that is also identified in an American study (Trombino, 2010), in which teachers also reported more exposure to historical thinking skills in content courses than in methods courses. In previous research the mutual significance between ethical values and a vital historical consciousness has been expressed (Rüsen, 2000, p. 61).

In the second category, teachers stress the students' personal reflections and standpoints. The characterization is likely valid also in countries other than Sweden. In History teaching it

is crucial to connect the context to the students for reflection and to evoke empathy. This category is characterized as a political educational use of history. There are also examples showing how teachers emphasize connections or encounters between the past and the present. When the students encounter education that aims at making them reflect upon their own responsibility this provides an example of moral and existential uses of history.

The third category of teaching is focused on historical lines and systematic studies on how human lives and human rights have been violated in different cultures and in different times. This category of teaching requires previous knowledge and is more common in upper secondary school. Cultural encounters may enable intercultural perspectives and wider interpretations, which are significant in a globalized world.

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[1] The article is based on my book *Om vad och hur må ni berätta?* – undervisning om förintelsen och andra folkmord, Stockholm: Forum för levande historia 2011.

[2] Dagens Nyheter 2007-11-07. Kertesz describes the Holocaust's importance in the European historical culture with the following words: "One wants to join Europe and it hurts a little to know that Europe is not just about a common market and customs union, but also about the spirit and mindset. And anyone who wants to share in this spirit must alongside everything else undergo the test of fire by looking at the Holocaust morally and existentially in the eye."(translated from original in Swedish) Kertesz, Imre, *Det landsförvisade språket: Essäer och tal,* Stockholm: Norstedts 2007, pp. 58-59. See also Spiegel, Gabrielle M "Revising the past/Revisiting the present: How change happens in historiography" In *History and Theory, Theme Issue 46,* Weslyan University 2007, pp. 1 and 11, and Fine, Ellen S, "The absent memory: The act of writing in post-Holocaust French literature" in Lang, Berel (ed.), *Writing and the Holocaust,* Ithaca New York: Cornell University Press 1988, p. 44.

[3] Tomislav Dulić uses the concept "Mass Killing" and allows the aspects Intent, Systematics and Magnitude to be influential. See Dulić, Tomislav, *Utopias of nation: Local mass killing in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1941-42,* Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2005, p. 12 and 21ff. The American political scientist Benjamin Valentino defined the concept mass killing (mass murder) as "deliberate killing of large numbers of people who are not carrying out acts of war." Valentino, Benjamin A, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century,* Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 2004, p. 10. This discussion about the concept of genocide is carried out in detail in Gerner, Kristian & Klas-Göran Karlsson, *Folkmordens historia,* Stockholm: Atlantis 2005, p. 49ff. See also Totten, Samuel, "Wrestling with the Definition of Genocide" in Totten, Samuel, (Ed.), *Teaching about Genocide: Issues, approaches and resources,* Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing 2004, p. 57 ff.

[4] *Om vad och hur må ni berätta?* was published in 2011, before the new curriculum was implemented.

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Finnish high school and university students' ability to handle multiple source documents in history

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ABSTRACT: This article presents a study where the command of historical literacy of both Finnish high school students (N=18) and university students (N=11) was examined. Both groups were in their final year of study. The high school students had a strong tendency to interpret historical sources rather one-sidedly: only a few were able to "read between the lines." These students were thus on a novice-level when it came to interpreting these sources. However, the university students showed a higher command of historical literacy. They were not only able to differentiate between primary and secondary sources, but could also evaluate the origin of the source and the effect that might have had on the reliability of the source. University students were also able to make comparisons between the different sources while evaluating their credibility. In addition, some of them could view the case in question in a larger social context as well. In this article we will reflect on these differences between high school students and university students regarding their historical literacy skills. We will also discuss how the goals of history teaching in high schools are met in the light of our findings.

KEYWORDS: Historical Literacy, Sources, Secondary School, University, Students, Finland.

Introduction

The teaching of history in Finnish schools is based on the nature of history as a discipline. In practice this is visible, for example, in the way the multiperspectivity of historical information is emphasized in the national curricula and how historical thinking skills are highlighted already in the comprehensive school. Those students who have been evaluated as having good skills in history are expected to be able to differentiate between sources and their interpretations of them after only two years of studying history.[1] During their final year in comprehensive school, when the students are 15 years old, the students are expected to be capable of using various historical sources and capable of interpreting them in order to form their own opinions of historical events. In high schools, chosen by half of Finnish adolescents as their secondary education,[2] the aim is to improve the historical thinking skills of these 15 to 18 year-old students. The students are expected to know how to acquire information about the past and also how to evaluate that information critically. The high school students should be able to understand that historical information is by nature multiperspectival, relative, and contains complex cause and effect relationships. Information about historical events should not be evaluated only from a present day perspective. The students' interpretations should be

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based on the given historical time period and the viewpoints of that time. In other words, students should master historical empathy.

On the level of the national curricula the aims of studying history in Finnish schools are rather ambitious: historical thinking skills, or so-called procedural knowledge, should be emphasized over content knowledge. In this study we will examine whether this emphasis on historical thinking skills is visible in the participants' interpretations. At the beginning of the study an interpretive task was given to two groups of students. The first group consisted of 17 to 18 year-old high school students, who were in their final year of study. The other group included 22 to 33 year-old students from the University of Helsinki. All the university students were studying to become either class teachers or subject teachers and they had already completed most of their studies. In our study these groups will be analyzed both separately and in relation to one another, thus making comparisons between the two groups.

The focus of our research is on historical literacy. This concept emerged originally in the United States at the end of the 1980s, when the historian Paul Gagnon first coined the term in *Historical literacy: The case for history in American education* (Gagnon, 1989). At first it was mainly used to refer to the skill of acquiring factual information on historical events from written sources. Later on, the various approaches used in historical research strongly influenced usage of the term.[3] This development is partially connected to the changes that have taken place within the research community focusing on the processes of teaching and learning history. The research community has slowly reached a wide consensus on the main aims of teaching history: instead of repeating national narratives, history teaching should focus on providing tools for critical thinking. This requires combining the approaches used in history teaching with those used in historical research (e.g., Fordham, 2012; Perfetti, Britt, Rouet, Georgi, & Mason, 1994).

In our study the definition of historical literacy is based on the work of Australian researchers Tony Taylor and Carmel Young, and Canadian professor Peter Seixas. According to Taylor and Young (2003), linking history teaching to history as a science refers to the ability to interpret historical sources, to analyze historical events based on these sources, and to find the explanatory factors behind the events. In addition, they combine this with the ability to examine history from both moral and ethical viewpoints (Taylor & Young, 2003). In the historical thinking project led by Peter Seixas, historical literacy in history teaching has been defined in more detail: When using original sources the students should be able to view that information in the light of the situation and perceptions of that time. Reflecting on the intentions of different actors and comparing various sources are also highlighted (Seixas & Colyer, 2012). Even though the concept of historical literacy itself is relatively new, historical documents have been examined in history teaching for a long time. In the United States using historical sources in the classroom can be traced back to the end of the 19th century (Reisman, 2012b). However, using these sources in the classroom was only emphasized in the *Amherst History Project* in the 1960s. The following decade saw the rise of inquiry-based learning in Britain (Booth, 1994). Consequently, today the use of historical documents in the classroom is especially active in both the United States and Britain.

Using primary and secondary sources when teaching history is crucial, which is also visible in the national curricula of many countries including Finland (Brown, 1996; Cannadine, Keating, & Sheldon, 2011; Rantala, 2012; VanSledright, 2011; Wils, 2009). However, the ability of high school and university students to use and interpret these sources has not really been studied in Finland. Even on an international level the research on how young people interpret different historical sources is quite rare, despite the fact that using different sources in history teaching has gained prominence all over the world (cf. Reisman, 2012b; Rouet, Britt, Mason, & Perfetti 1996).

According to the CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches) project – which was implemented in Britain and aimed at investigating the historical thinking of young people – the adolescents classified as novices approached historical documents as stories containing true, factual information about the past (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005). The adolescents who were one stage higher in their thinking did not perceive the information as one-sidedly as the novices, but rather deduced that the information they had about past events could not be considered as being completely reliable because they had not been there themselves to witness the events. However, according to Bruce VanSledright and Peter Afflerbach (2005, p. 15) even these young people believe in the existence of a true past. It is characteristic of this group to perceive all historical sources as equal and as narratives that are more or less biased (a naïve relativist position). As a result of such perceptions, the comparison between different sources and their credibility can be completely neglected. In contrast, the young people representing higher-level cognitive historical thinking understand that the interpretations depend on the interpreters and the choices they make. These students comprehend that the various interpretations stem from the processes of choosing or interpreting sources. They can also compare and evaluate sources (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005).

There are still different views among researchers regarding the age when children are capable of carrying out challenging interpretive tasks. So far the researchers have not been able to define categorical age limits (cf. Lee & Ashby, 2000; Ofsted, 2011; Coté & Goldman, 1999). According to VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005), children in primary school are not yet capable of interpreting difficult historical sources (also cf. Brophy & VanSledright, 1997). They state that with young children it is insufficient literacy skills that will hinder the interpretation of sources. Furthermore, Sam Wineburg (1991) has proven that even high school students have difficulties in understanding and interpreting historical sources. However, many researchers, including VanSledright and Afflerbach, believe that even young children are capable of using historical sources if they have been tailored for the age group in question (e.g., Barton, 2008; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Petri, 2010; VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005). Keith Barton and Linda Levstik (2010) are also convinced that using historical sources in the classroom can be made familiar to children already in primary school. They state that meaningful study of history is not possible if the nature of historical knowledge is not introduced to the students right at the beginning of their studies.

In addition, using historical sources in the classroom has other valuable benefits. It is considered to develop, for example, the general information-processing skills that are crucial in the modern information society. If students are to be raised as active and participating citizens, then educators should also provide them with tools for critical thinking so that they can assess and evaluate different types of present-day information. In this light, moreover, it is important to keep in mind that the tools for critical thinking do not develop on their own. Hence, the question as to how and when these critical thinking skills should be introduced and taught is of crucial importance.

It should be kept in mind that the development of interpretive skills is also linked to the student's linguistic abilities in his or her native language, especially when it comes to textual skills. We can make two assumptions concerning the textual skills of our student groups. Firstly, Finnish high school students in the final phase of their studies should be able to understand the complexity and multiperspectivity of historical information as they have been familiarized with that from primary school onwards. They have also focused on polishing their textual skills in Finnish classes. Secondly, the competences of the university students regarding the critical processing of information could be assumed to be more highly developed than that of the high school students, given that they have had to familiarize themselves with various text types during their studies. However, as the critical reading of

texts is heavily emphasized in high schools, our hypothesis was that there would not be major differences between the two groups regarding their historical literacy skills.

Implementing the study

The empirical part of the study began in autumn 2012. The interpretive task that was our tool for gathering information about the participants' historical literacy skills was then given to the high school students.[4] The data regarding the university students was collected in 2013.

In order to gain knowledge on the participants' abilities to understand the multiperspectivity of historical information we examined their ways of interpreting different documents. As our first group we chose third-year students from the Normal Lyceum of Helsinki. 13 girls and 5 boys from two ongoing history courses were randomly selected in this group. The other group consisted of both class teacher and subject teacher students from the University of Helsinki. The class teacher students (8) were studying to become primary school teachers (grades 1–6) with educational science as their main subject. The subject teacher students (3) were doing their pedagogical studies in the Normal Lyceum of Helsinki 2013–2014. Even though this study is not representative of average high school students or university students,[5] we can draw some conclusions on the differences between these two groups.

The participants were given the same documents of a court case from the early 19th century, which had been abridged in the same way for them (cf. Reisman, 2012a). The implementation was similar for both groups. Before the actual interpretive task Marko van den Berg introduced the details of the case to the participants. The case which was used for measuring participants' historical literacy concerned a parish clerk Matias Saxberg who assaulted and killed a young girl, for which he was then later condemned to death. However, in his case the highest court commuted the sentence to a fine. This caused quite a stir and it gave rise to a lampoon, in which the parish clerk was described as a depraved man who mistreated the poor. In addition to this lampoon, court records about the case were preserved. After going through the case with the participants they were told about the Finnish judicial practices at the beginning of the 19th century. The different sources concerning the case were also introduced. This was done to make sure that the participants could view the information in a larger context. At the same time their knowledge of the historical context was assured, being made familiar with the concepts related to a Finnish agrarian community in the 19th century and their understanding of the social roles of the different historical actors.

The court case in question should be a typical way to learn history, if teachers follow the National Core Curriculum for history. According to the curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003, p. 180) instruction in history should concentrate on the "critical analysis and interpretation of information and aim to take the diverse perspectives on different phenomena into account." The court case itself was not significant but the way it was implemented was expected to be typical for history teaching at high school. The case gave us an opportunity to evaluate students' historical literacy in a context unfamiliar to them.

After going through the above-mentioned material together as a group the participants analyzed the documents individually. They read the given texts, stopping at marked points in the text to think aloud. After each document the participants answered questions related to the credibility of the documents and to the intentions of the different actors involved. At the end of the task, participants evaluated the evidentiary values of the documents. In the think-aloud method they attempt to verbalize their thoughts as accurately as possible (cf. Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995; Wineburg, 1991). This method was not familiar to the students so they were instructed on it during the task. Many of the high school students seemed to be shy of

verbalizing their thoughts after reading the texts and they had to be instructed during the entire exercise. In some cases the high school students were able to use the method without any further instructions from the interviewer. The university students were able to complete the task with considerably less help from the interviewer.

With both student groups the time used for the interpretive task was 45 minutes. Some of the interviews were done immediately after the interpretive task, but some of them were conducted as late as two weeks later. However, according to the participants they did not have difficulties in remembering the details of the case. We recorded the process and, accordingly, we used this data to evaluate their abilities to interpret historical evidence and to understand the complexity and multiperspectivity of historical information.

Our aim was to find out whether participants were able to "read between the lines" and to reflect on the credibility of the different actors, as well as their intentions and motives (cf. Bertram, 2012; Wineburg, 1991). A skilful reader takes into account the information provided by the sources but also notices what is left unsaid, which we call reading between lines. In practice this means that the interpreter takes into account, for example, the social background and status of a certain actor as well as the general operational environment of a certain era. Our study borrows the framework of VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005), which they used in order to study students' abilities to interpret historical sources. According to VanSledright and Afflerbach, there are four cognitive activities related to evaluating sources: 1) attribution, 2) identification, 3) perspective, and 4) reliability. The first two activities are related to defining the origin and nature of the source whereas the activity requiring the highest cognitive skills shows whether the student is able to take the original context into consideration. We used this division by VanSledright and Afflerbach as a framework for our own analysis by examining how we could place the participants on the above-mentioned scale.

According to VanSledright and Afflerbach, historical skills are related to age. For example a primary school student has not yet developed the ability to "read between the lines" and draw conclusions based on historical evidence. Some students are, for instance, unable to differentiate between evidence and information (cf. also Shemilt, 1987). In order to understand the origin and nature of different sources as well as the motives behind them requires understanding the intentions of the creators of these sources and the ability to make comparisons between sources (cf. Wineburg, 1991). The latter is usually considered to be characteristic of higher-level historical thinking. An expert is capable of "reading between the lines," reflecting on the intentions behind the sources and evaluating the credibility of the sources, whereas a novice tends to understand historical evidence as information.

In a previous study of US 8- and 9-year-old children's historical literacy it was shown that children have the tendency to view the information provided by historical sources as neutral, not as contextual or as an artefact produced by someone (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005). This takes us to the the first cognitive activity related to historical understanding: *attribution*, which refers to understanding that historical sources have been created by someone for a specific purpose. On the scale by VanSledright and Afflerbach the person reaching the second level (*identification*) is able to identify the nature of the source and can distinguish between primary and secondary sources. Reaching the third level (*perspective*) requires understanding the historical context and the other possible sources related to the case. In order to reach the highest level (*reliability*), a person must be able to compare different sources regarding their credibility; something which can be considered challenging even for historians. It is possible to distinguish between these different levels of cognitive understanding, even though the same person might show signs of several levels at the same time (VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005). As VanSledright and Afflerbach have noticed, especially *attribution* and *identification* appear to work together. Sometimes an interpreter of the documents begins by identifying the

documents, other times he or she starts with attribution. The whole think-aloud process, however, reveals which category the interpreter can be placed.

The interpretive task used to collect data

The students were given three documents related to the case: 1) an extract from Lydia Hällfors' memoirs of her mother, 2) the testimony of the parish clerk Saxberg from the district court and 3) an extract from the lampoon about the case, written in the 1840s. The extract from Lydia Hällfors and the lampoon are secondary sources whereas the witness testimony from the court is a primary source.

The participants started by reading the extract from Lydia Hällfors' memoirs. Lydia Hällfors was a daughter of a clergyman and her autobiographical work was published in 1924. In it she tells about the killing of the girl and the court case after that. The murder had happened before Hällfors was born but she heard a story about the case when she was little, unsurprisingly since the case had caused quite a stir. According to the story, the parish clerk Matias Saxberg had been angry at a servant girl who had brought her cows to graze on his field. Saxberg had threatened to kill the girl if she ever brought her cows there again. The following day the girl was again in the field and the parish clerk had his hired man catch the girl. The story tells that the parish clerk threw the girl to the ground, broke her chest with his knees and tore the hair off her scalp. The girl died in the process and the clerk reported to the rural police chief.

The extract contained marked points, in which the students were supposed to stop to think aloud about what they had just read. At the end of the extract the participants were supposed to think about the purpose and aim of the text. After this they read the witness testimony of the parish clerk Saxberg. According to the testimony, the clerk had pulled the servant girl's hair and smacked her on the face, which had caused the girl to fall on her knees. After this the clerk claimed that he had asked his hired man to check that the girl was not harmed.

This witness testimony contradicted the information of the first source. This should promote argumentative reflection from the interpreter of the source (cf. Rouet et al.,1996). When a student received a contradictory source, he or she recognized a conflict between the accounts. Proceeding in the task required him or her to reconcile disparate accounts and that was implemented at the think-aloud process. We had also marked the second source with points where the students were supposed to think aloud. We made it clear to the participants that the origin of this source was directly after the incident whereas this was not the case with the first source. After reading this second document the participants answered questions regarding the purpose of the document and the intentions of the writers of the document.

The third document given to the participants was an extract from the lampoon written in the parish where the murder incident happened at the beginning of 1840s. Apparently the local tailor had written the lampoon. The lampoon depicts how the hired man was supposed to obey the parish clerk and how it was the clerk who murdered the servant girl. This lampoon with its poem-like structure turned out to be difficult to read for many of the high school students. The lampoon contained footnotes with explanations that helped the students to understand it better. This was visible in the way students would return to these explanations when they had to think aloud. After reading the lampoon the students reflected on the purpose of it and the aim of the writer. At the end of the task the participants were asked to evaluate the reliability of all the three sources.

Our process of collecting the data should be taken into account when analyzing the results of this study. Even though the students were familiar with working with historical sources, especially the high school students were nervous about thinking aloud and being recorded. It

has been noted in similar studies that readers tend to slow down their reading pace when the text is demanding (cf. Wineburg, 1991). However, we did not notice any differences between the students' reading of the instructions and the documents. They seemed to be familiar with the language of the documents (cf. Coté & Goldman, 2004), the only exception being the lampoon whose structure required the students to read it differently. We can assume that especially the high school students would have concentrated more on their reading if they had not been recorded, which could have then influenced the interpretation as well.

The results: high school students and university students as interpreters of historical sources

We analyzed the recordings looking for the four cognitive activities of VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005). In addition to these four classes of activities we added an activity characteristic of interpreters on a beginner's level, in which the interpreter cannot distinguish between evidence and information (cf. Shemilt, 1987; Wineburg, 1991). In our search for the different activities we focused on the think-aloud parts of the recordings. We selected extracts from the data that were characteristic of each activity and then holistically classified each high school student as representing one of the four activities. As the basis for our interpretation we used the findings of earlier studies regarding the characteristics of novice and expert-level interpreters (e.g., Rouet et al., 1996; Shemilt, 1987; VanSledright & Afflerbach, 2005; Wineburg, 1991). These characteristics are visible in our analysis. In the following paragraphs we explain the classification of the data and how the students interpreted the documents.

Cognitive level	High school students	University students
Novice	7	-
Attribution	3	2
Identification	6	6
Perspective	2	2
Reliability	0	1
All together	18	11

Table 1. The high school students and the university students and their the cognitive levels.

Beginner's level: Novice interpreters (evidence understood as information)

To a novice interpreter of historical information it is typical to focus on the information of the documents without reflecting on the intentions of the person or persons behind the document. The novice interpreter is unable to recognize the purpose of the source and considers the information to be a fact.[6] None of the university students were seen to represent the novice level. However, several high school students were classified as novice interpreters. Some of these students did not recognize the conflicting information of the sources whereas some did, but considered the source containing more information as more reliable than the other ones. It was also typical of these students to evaluate the documents from the modern perspective without considering the historical context.

According to our analysis, seven high school students – Terhi (F),[7] Riku (M), Raija (F), Elina (F), Heli (F), Matti (M) and Armi (F) were classified as novice interpreters. Most of them showed some characteristics of other cognitive activities as well but not enough for them to be classified as anything but novice level.

The "purest" form of novice interpretation was shown by Armi, who interpreted the historical documents consistently from her modern perspective. She was for instance unable to understand why the parish clerk had been so angry about the cows in the field. When she was pondering about this she said that "the cows weren't probably doing any harm there."[8] She also thought it was bizarre that the clerk had killed the girl because of cows. According to her the violence would have been more understandable if the field had had more value for the clerk. Thus she was unable to understand the financial and the symbolic value of a field in an agrarian community in the 19th century.

With the first document it also surprised Armi that it was a church employee who acted violently: her perception of church employees was that they are good and kind people. The student did not really reflect on the motives of the parish clerk. She noticed the conflicting information in the sources, for example the information regarding the actions of the hired man, but did not speculate on them any further. When two of the sources framed the events approximately in the same way, she considered them to be more reliable than the third, conflicting source. Another novice interpreter, Terhi, also interpreted the sources as straightforward and factual accounts of the incident. She did not recognize the purpose or the aim behind different sources nor did she differentiate between the sources. Hence she evaluated the case directly based on the information provided by the sources without reflecting on their reliability.

This was similar to the interpretation of Riku, who thought Lydia Hällfors had written her memoirs simply to maintain a record of her memories. He had a narrow view of other documents as well and he did not really understand the lampoon. He saw the lampoon as being openly mocking and did not consider it to have any function more complex than that. "It's like the 1840s then they wouldn't have had any developed hidden agendas at that time." Like Terhi he also saw the lampoon as depicting reality literally.

It was characteristic of this group that they identified the documents' different approaches of telling the same story but could not analyze the reason behind that. However, some of the students like Heli for instance, did not really pay attention to the conflicting information provided by the documents. They viewed a new document as containing more current information and thus replacing the old one.

In the think-aloud processes of some of the students we could identify thinking related to the different cognitive activities. However, we still classified these students as novices as they only showed traces of other cognitive activities. For example Elina was able to analyze the nature of the lampoon and the testimony with a few phrases at the end of the task. Otherwise she only focused on the information in the documents. She analyzed the lampoon as aimed at pitying both the servant girl and the hired man as the lampoon had instances of "poor hired man" and "poor servant girl" in it. Even though the parish clerk Saxberg is described as a murderer in the poem, Elina did not see the connection between that and the purpose of the lampoon. Her weak understanding of the evidence is also visible in the way she analyzed Lydia Hällfors' memoirs and their relevance to the case. She analyzed the text as possibly being written by Saxberg's mother, which shows that she had not really understood the text and did not think about the motives of the writer.

Level 1: Attribution

We classified three high school students and two university students in this upper level. These interpreters were capable of seeing the purpose of the sources and were also able to reflect on the different contexts related to each document. The high school students, Laila (F), Kerttu (F) and Ari (M), could also identify the nature of the sources but could not analyze the differences between primary and secondary sources on a deeper level.

Laila focused on the function of the sources and she was also able to place the authors of the sources in a historical context. She recognized Lydia Hällfors' memoirs as a secondary source and could think about the problems related to secondary sources. She considered primary sources to be more reliable than secondary sources and she also saw authenticity as a synonym for reliability, which is visible in the way she analyzes the testimony of Saxberg: she described the testimony as reliable because it had been "written down during a court session."

On the other hand, Laila was able to analyze the use of the sources quite precisely. She understood that the effect of the lampoon was related to its structure and the way it was supposed to be performed: this rhythmical poem had easily been transformed into a song that was then performed in different gatherings. According to her, this made the lampoon easy to remember and this had then caused people to see Saxberg as an evil man. She could also recognize the function of both the memoirs and the testimony. However, she did not "read between the lines" nor did she focus on the motives of the different actors.

In a similar fashion Kerttu was able to understand the characteristics of the lampoon and the court testimony: the lampoon was effective because it was exaggerated whereas the testimony was an official record from the authorities. The possibility of Saxberg having lied while giving the testimony weakened the reliability of the testimony for Kerttu, and she also understood that the memoirs and the memories of the case itself might not be very accurate. She also pondered on whether the time between the source and the incident itself had any effect on the reliability of the sources. Even though both Laila and Kerttu also showed instances of identification in their interpretations, it was clear that they should be placed in the category of attribution, since their interpretation of the sources was fumbling and they were unable to distinguish between the natures of the different sources. From the university students we classified Helena (F) and Pia (F) as belonging to this category. Both understood the difference between primary and secondary sources but, on the other hand, both fumbled in their understanding of the natures of the different sources. Helena for example considered the Hällfors memoirs and its account of the case as some kind of a warning and a moral story on how the lower classes were not allowed to defy the higher classes in the society of that time. Pia saw the mockery in the lampoon directed at the servant girl, not at the parish clerk.

Level 2: Identification

We identified the high school students Mira (F), Irma (F), Peppi (F), Linda (F), Pilvi (F) and Vappu (F) as belonging to this level. For example Mira identified the difference between primary and secondary sources and reflected on the problems related to different types of sources. When analyzing the memoirs she took the time gap between writing the memoirs and the incident into consideration and also the possible unreliability of a second-hand source. She did not necessarily consider a primary source as more reliable than a secondary source. She understood that the authors of the sources must have had certain aims in mind but she did not focus on what these might have been. Consequently, she did not reach the perspective level.

Linda was also able to differentiate between primary and secondary sources and to take the time gap into consideration. However, her interpretation of the events was on many accounts quite straightforward. As an example of this she considered Saxberg's testimony to be quite

reliable. She did not view the violent punishing of the servant girl in the historical context but considered it somewhat understandable that the parish clerk "wanted to keep his lands untouched."

Similarly Irma focused first on the information provided by the sources without stopping to think about the motives behind them or the nature of the sources. As the task continued she started to interpret the sources more profoundly. She recognized the sources as being different in nature and could differentiate between primary and secondary sources. She attempted to "read between the lines" to some extent, which showed in the way she analyzed the objectives of the lampoon: "He has wanted to sort of tell what has really happened and to say something about the power relations." However, reflecting on the intentions of the different actors remained narrow, as did the evaluation of the reliability of the sources.

Peppi, on the other hand, represented a more profound interpretation of the sources as, in addition to the information, she pondered on the different possibilities for interpretation and the characteristics of the sources. She identified the authors of the sources and their function, although she mistook Saxberg's witness testimony as an account of the events provided by the district court. Peppi noticed the contradictions between the sources and was able to see the differences between the memoirs, lampoon and the testimony and their functions. However, Peppi did not consider the intentions of the authors of the sources. She did think about why Saxberg's actions were exaggerated in the memoirs and in the lampoon, but to her the explanation lay in the nature of these sources: in a memoir events can be dramatized and the aim is to appeal to the reader's emotions whereas a lampoon is meant to be entertaining. Despite this she did not think about why Hällfors or the writer of the lampoon would intentionally smear Saxberg's character. Therefore Peppi's thinking cannot be classified in the category of perspective, since she did not "read between the lines" or reflect on the intentions behind the sources.

Pilvi was also able to differentiate between the memoirs, the witness testimony, and the lampoon as well as the different characters of these sources. She also thought about the differences between primary and secondary sources. She saw Saxberg's witness testimony as reliable but doubted the truthfulness of it.

As regards the university students, we classified six participants in this category. All the students belonging to this group could easily see the difference between primary and secondary sources. All of them also took into consideration the time gap between the incident and the origin of the sources. For example Ella (F) viewed Lydia Hällfors' memoirs as less reliable since they included detailed information of events that the writer had not witnessed herself. With the exception of Heidi (F), all the university students in this category considered the memoirs to be the most reliable source. Ella and Tuulikki (F) were wondering why the sources did not depict the events leading to the situation itself in more detail, since they thought those might have explained the clerk's strong reactions. This can be considered as a sort of reading between the lines. However, the university students classified in this category had difficulties in explaining the motives of the different actors. For example Sanna (F) thought about the relationship between the clerk and the tailor who had written the lampoon but did not consider this in a larger societal context. Tuulikki saw the case as "horror story-like" and that was why she thought it had been so strongly memorized by the writer. Taru (F) was unable to see the dispute concerning the field in the historical context as she wondered why the clerk got so upset over a field. This lack of understanding of the motives of the actors and the inability to see the historical context influenced our decision to categorize these students as belonging to identification, even though their interpretations also included some characteristics of perspective.

Level 3: Perspective

Timo (M) and Ossi (M) were the only high school students that we categorized in this group. They identified the nature of the sources and were able to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. They also reflected on the motives behind the sources. Timo for instance understood that the aim of the lampoon was to get justice for the common people that had not received that justice in court. He also reflected on the motives of writing the memoir, although his motives reflected a modern perspective as he thought Lydia Hällfors wanted to become famous or to increase the sales of her book. He did not think whether she had any reason to write negative things about Saxberg. Timo's interpretations were also naïve to some extent. The clerk's testimony contained details of the clerk reporting to the police about the incident, which Timo thought was a sign of the clerk seeing nothing wrong with his actions. He did not consider the fact that the case had several eye witnesses and that the clerk might have reported only because he had to; the police would have been notified about the case in any case.

Ossi also viewed the lampoon as a reminder for the community concerning Saxberg's violent act. He also evaluated the content of the documents by focusing on the motives of the actors. The fact that the hired man verified the clerk's story in court could be explained by the hired man being financially dependent on the clerk. Ossi thought that the man had been afraid of losing his job if he had witnessed against the clerk. Thus Ossi is showing signs of "reading between the lines."

Undoubtedly Timo and Ossi qualify for *attribution* and *identification*. They recognized the authors of the sources and the nature of the documents and were able to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. They also attempted to understand the motive behind the case which is typical of interpretation with perspective. Of these two high school students, only Ossi showed signs of "reading between the lines." However, Timo compensated for this by focusing on the motives behind the sources and using comparisons to do so.

However, both Timo and Ossi and all the other high school students had limited skills when it came to comparing the different sources regarding their reliability. Timo understood the reliability problems with the memoirs, that being a secondary source. In contrast he viewed the witness testimony of the clerk in the light of authenticity: "It's been done in the district court, then it's a bit more reliable. Then it has … all the dates and stuff." Ossi, on the other hand, compared the reliability of the sources quite narrowly by making a distinction between primary and secondary sources.

From the university students two were placed in this category, Tuomas (M) and Diana (F). They did not have problems in distinguishing between primary and secondary sources. They both showed developed interpreting skills when evaluating the reliability of the sources by comparing the sources to each other. They were also able to deduct the function of the sources. Tuomas' interpretation could, however, be seen as containing naïve characteristics as well. At first he thought that the memoirs of Lydia Hällfors could be seen as a quite objective account of the events. When he was thinking about the motives of Hällfors, he suggested that the writing process could have been a personal process to help Lydia deal with the traumatic event. This stems more from modern day context than historical thinking. However, during the interview Tuomas evaluated the sources in a more critical fashion and showed that he could make a difference between primary and secondary sources. After familiarizing himself with the other sources he took a more critical viewpoint of the memoirs as well. He paid attention to the date when it was written and that the writer had only heard about the incident, not witnessed it.

Although Tuomas' interview contained signs of many categories, we decided to place him in the third category as he showed the ability to interpret the sources from different perspectives, especially towards the end of the interview. He also paid attention to the

contradictions between the witness testimony and the memoirs' account of the events. With the lampoon he also recognized another, communal function: the depicted poem as being "told around the campfire." Thus he did not consider the lampoon as factual information about the events but rather a story. On the other hand, he was able to take into account the historical context. He pointed out the tensions between different social groups at the time and he depicted the lampoon as the "common people" in a poorer social standing getting compensation for the clerk not being properly punished. Diana also noted the social status of the actors and how that might have influenced the events. She depicted the village as most likely being "controlled" by the influential parish clerk.

Level 4: Reliability

No high school students were analyzed as fitting into this category. Only one of the university students, Leila (F), was classified in this category. What made her different from the other participants was that, not only was she able to reflect on the motives of different actors in a versatile manner, she could also question the different accounts of the events by comparing them to one another. She also consistently showed signs of "reading between the lines," which is characteristic of highly developed historical interpreting skills. She reflected for example on why the sources left some things unsaid and with the way other things gave too narrow a picture of the events in question. Leila pointed out that as the lampoon and the memoirs talk about the clerk in a negative manner, the same sources also depict the servant girl and the hired man as passive victims. Leila was interested in the earlier actions of both the hired man and the servant girl. She thought it would have been interesting to know how much the servant girl provoked the clerk during or before the incident. Even though Leila did not view the hired man's testimony as completely reliable, she understood that the testimony was linked to the power relations of the time. This hired man did not probably have a chance to question his master. In other instances as well Leila showed the ability to take into account the historical context. She understood for example the importance of the field and the power relations related to owning land at that time.

In comparison to the other participants, Leila also had a more profound interest in the relationship between the clerk and the writers of the other sources. She was interested for example in the relationship of the writer of the lampoon, most likely the local tailor, and the parish clerk and whether there might have been any old grudges in the background. When she was analyzing the overall view of the events, she continued pondering on the nature of the sources and also compared them to one another. Even though she considered the view that the sources gave of Saxberg as being one-sided, she did not think the clerk's testimony was very reliable. She stated that the testimony itself had probably been written down exactly as it was said. However, she noted that when evaluating the reliability of the statement the position of Saxberg should be taken into consideration: the aim of the clerk was to defend himself, not necessarily tell the truth. All in all Leila's interpretation included taking into consideration the historical context and the circumstances, comparing the sources to one another and reading between the lines (cf. Seixas & Colyer 2012). Thus we decided to place her in the highest category.

Discussion: the challenge of historical literacy

In our study, most of the high school students had either beginner's or novices' interpreting skills. None of them reached the expert level. This is understandable, given that this level is demanding for historians as well. The results of the university students were considerably higher than those of the high school students but some of them struggled with the critical

reading of the texts as well. However, none of the university students were placed on the novice level. VanSledright and Afflerback (2005) as well as Wineburg (1991) have all studied the interpretive skills of different age groups using the think-aloud method. Although the results of these studies are not widely applicable due to the small number of studies and their small samples, they offer an interesting level of comparison for our study. Our results are similar to that of Wineburg (1991), when he studied American high school students. Similar results have been found in other studies concerning this age group (e.g., Britt, Perfetti, Van Dyke, & Gabrys, 2000; Monte-Sano, 2011; Reisman & Wineburg, 2012).

Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin and Chauncey Monte-Sano (2011) criticize the way in which American high school students read written documents, such as diaries and letters. They state that the young people do not have the ability to consider the intentions of the writer of the document and to place the text in the context in which it was written. According to Wineburg (1991), the young do not see the hidden information in the text because they are so focused on the direct information provided by the text. This was clearly visible in our research as well. Especially the high school students viewed the documents as sources of information without paying sufficient attention to the status of the authors. In this respect the university students were more sophisticated.

Wineburg has studied the different ways of interpreting documents by experts and novices. By comparing high school students and historians he has come to the conclusion that the students lack the ability to interpret sources like historians. Wineburg states that the high school students are like the jury in a court of law: they listen to the witness statements but are unable to cross-examine the witnesses. Historians, on the other hand, are like the prosecutor: they pose questions concerning the documents, compare different documents to each other, and reflect on the motives behind them (Wineburg, 1991; see also Wineburg et al., 2011). This was visible with our students as well: only a few high school students compared the documents with one another and attempted to understand the reasons behind the conflicting information. Both of these activities were more prominent in the interpretations of the university students.

The high school students' way of thinking is probably linked to the idea of historical information being constant and unchanging. According to the curriculum, the students should have a good command of historical information but they should also understand the origin of the information. Historical thinking, which is one of the goals of history teaching set by the curriculum, requires mastering both content knowledge and procedural knowledge, the ability to "make history." Procedural knowledge in history refers to historical thinking skills, such as historical perspective, historical significance, empathetic understanding, cause and effect, change and continuity, in addition to primary source analysis (Bertram, 2012; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Seixas & Morton, 2013). The high school students seem to have a good command of the content knowledge, since that has traditionally been taught in schools. In comparison, history teaching focusing on historical skills does not have a long tradition in Finland, which has been visible in the students' poorer mastering of procedural knowledge (Rantala, 2012). This is also reinforced by this study. The better results of the university students can be explained by the fact that they have had to evaluate many different types of texts in seminars and other studies. Studying at a university also includes a systematic orientation toward the basic principles of scientific thinking. Even though our participants majored in educational sciences instead of history, we can assume that studying these bases of scientific thinking has given them tools for the critical interpretation of information as well.

In earlier studies there have been promising results from introducing document-based methods in the history classroom. Avishag Reisman recently conducted a wide-ranging study which was based on the approach *Reading like a historian.* In Reisman's (2012b) study

American high school students were taught to work like historians for six months while studying the normal topics introduced in the curriculum. The results of the study were compared to the national average in the United States. The results of the high school students participating in the experiment had improved but they had also surpassed the national average both in general text reading skills and in the command of historical information. It is worthwhile to note that also the poorer students' results were considerably improved.

The skills required for interpreting sources can thus be developed with systematic training that includes giving the students several, conflicting documents on the same topic. Without the teaching being particularly aimed at teaching these interpretive skills the students will not benefit from the texts (Stahl, Hynd, Britton, McNish, & Bosquet, 1996). However, are students given enough opportunities to become good interpreters of sources? According to American studies, the average high school student rarely uses other material besides the textbook in history lessons (cf. Britt et al., 2000). Presumably the situation is the same in Finland (Gullberg, 2010). The publishing houses offer some extra material but there is no evidence on how much that is used. We can also assume that the teachers consider using documents as time-consuming and only adding to their workload, especially when they have to proceed quite quickly in the lessons to cover all the topics required by the curriculum. Avishag Reisman (2012b) emphasizes that in order to adopt new methods we also have to train the teachers. In the above-mentioned study, the high school history teachers had several days of training before the actual study started.

Reisman (2012a) has also paid attention to the general learning abilities such as the poor literacy skills of American teenagers that then challenges the reform of history teaching. In Finland this should not be a hindrance for teaching historical thinking skills, especially when it comes to high school students in their final year. Finnish teenagers do very well in the international literacy tests, such as the PISA studies (cf. OECD, 2010, 2013). According to these assessments the Finnish adolescents are able to understand what they read and to answer questions about the texts. But how critical are the Finnish readers? In the light of our research this still leaves room for development. Gaining more profound interpretive skills would require adopting methods focusing on skills rather than knowledge, such as the ones introduced in the American *Reading like a historian*.

What can we then conclude from the high school students' results? Partly the explanation might lie in what Will Fitzhugh (2004) pointed out when studying American high school students: the students have not been familiarized with any other text besides the textbook and they have not conducted any historical research of their own. Similar explanations to the differences in the thinking skills of university students and high school students have been offered by Jean-François Rouet, Anne Brit, Robert Mason, and Charles Perfetti (1996). According to them, the high school students gain their information from textbooks that shy away from conflicting information whereas the university students focus on different types of sources in their studies (also Rouet, Favart, Britt, & Perfetti, 2009). This probably explains some of our results as well.

When it comes to teaching we should think about the correlation between the novice-level interpreting skills and the teaching material used in classrooms. The danger lies in the material depicting history as a ready-made mass of knowledge rather than a research process. It is difficult to develop critical reading skills if the texts offered by the textbooks are static and the origin of the information is not clear. Hence other sources besides the textbook should be introduced in the classroom, thus familiarizing the students with the multiperspectivity of historical information. We should also pay attention to training the teachers and developing good-quality exercises based on different sources. We should also be ready to consider

changes in the curricula: using different source-based material requires sufficient time resources which could mean having to cut back on the contents of the courses.

However, simply working with historical sources in the high school classroom will not help the students in becoming critical readers. The students should be familiarized with different text types as well. Practicing text-related skills and especially the critical evaluating of information is needed in school on a more general level as well, as shown by the study of Carita Kiili (2012). Practicing text-related skills should first start with introducing the typical text types of the given discipline (Moje, 2008; see also Monte-Sano, 2011). In the American *Reading like a historian* orientation the focus of teaching is on developing the literacy skills of the students alongside the contents studied in history (Reisman, 2012a). American researchers have stated that this developing of text-related skills cannot be done solely in the language and literature classes as the students are trained to understand the complex texts required on a university level (cf. Reisman, 2012a). This should be emphasized more in Finland as well.

Even though the critical thinking skills have been clearly visible and emphasized in the curricula since the 1990s, there is not enough time to practice them in the classroom. In the Finnish system the matriculation exam, which is the final nation-wide exam at the end of high school, strongly guides the teaching. Thus it is obvious that it requires more than changing the curricula to develop critical thinking skills in high school. The content of the teaching has to be changed in practice as well. In order to reach this goal we should pay attention to developing the matriculation exam as well.

The issue of developing the text-related and interpretive skills in history teaching can also be linked to a larger societal context. In Finland young people have a very good command of societal knowledge according to international studies. In contrast the same studies show that the attitudes of the young people towards societal issues are passive and indifferent. This is then visible in the poor enthusiasm for voting and general passiveness in society (see Eränpalo & Karhuvirta, 2012). Critical reading skills are an essential part of active citizenship, which makes it even more crucial to practice these skills in schools.

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Endnotes

[1] In Finland students usually start studying history in the 5th grade when they are approximately 10 years old.

[2] High school is not compulsory in Finland (not part of the Finnish comprehensive school system). Students must make formal applications to a high school of their choice, if they wish to attend. Acceptance to high school in Finland is based on merit (grades) and motivation and can be turned down, which resembles the application process for college/university in the United States.

[3] After the linguistic turn in historiography during the early 1970s, historians began using sources of a different kind, for example memory data. Moreover, the texts used by historians have become more visual than earlier as a result of technological development. Historians have started to use multimodal texts to achieve, express and evaluate historical knowledge. Today historical literacy practically means the same as multiliteracy.

[4] The analysis of the high school students is based on Rantala and van den Berg (2013).

[5] The students in the Normal Lyceum of Helsinki differ from average upper secondary school students. The Normal Lyceum has long been ranked among the top ten upper secondary schools in Finland. In addition, the Finnish class teacher students are among the best in their age group. Only 7 % of the applicants are admitted annually to the class teacher program at the University of Helsinki. Thus it is as difficult to get into the class teacher program as it is to get into programs to study law or medicine.

[6] This is typical of novice interpreters (e.g., Afflerbach & VanSledright, 2001; Monte-Sano, 2011). Similar types of interpretations occurred also in Wineburg's study. Some of the upper secondary school students in Wineburg's study considered the textbook to be more reliable than other sources, as it "reports facts." They also preferred sources containing "neutral information" to those that expressed a certain viewpoint (Wineburg, 1991).

[7] The names used here are not the students' real names. F and M are used here to show the gender of the participants (F=female, M=male)

[8] All the interviews were originally in Finnish and translated into English for this article.

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Improving online source analysis in history education: Trialling the Ethos model

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Abstract: This paper reports on the findings of a study that compared models of online source analysis. It is argued that there is disconnect between print-based (classical) approaches to teaching online source analysis in history, and how students are informally analysing online information. It will be argued that this disconnect makes it difficult for students to effectively analyse online sources containing false and misleading information. In order to address this issue, formal web-based approaches to online source analysis need to be developed and evaluated. The paper puts forward Shane Borrowman's (1999) application of the Aristotle's concept of Ethos as a framework through which online source analysis can be formalised, and student critical awareness can be activated. The study was conducted with Australian senior high school students, who evaluated Holocaust denial websites before and after an intervention. The responses in each case were compared, and it was found that formalising students' web-based models of analysis significantly increased the depth and criticality of their engagement. This paper contributes to the debate on how to most effectively activate student critical awareness when analysing online historical sources.

Keywords: History teaching, online education, Holocaust denial, source analysis.

Introduction

I have always taught my History students to be critical with online sources. I teach them to look at authorship, to check references, to consider attribution, to corroborate with other sources, to determine relevance, and to explore perspective. These are, after all, the criteria listed on many of the online source analysis scaffolds published for History teachers to use. As such, I felt that the way I was teaching my students to evaluate online sources was sufficient. That was, however, until I received a paper from a senior student on the life and achievements of Albert Speer.

The paper on Albert Speer was well written, and referenced with a range of reputable print sources. Despite this, about half way through, the paper began to change in tone. It began to argue that Speer's claimed ignorance of the specifics of the Holocaust was, in fact, evidence that the Holocaust, as it is currently understood, is an exaggeration. It argued that the systematic, large-scale killing of Jews and other minorities never happened. Somewhat alarmed, I ran some of the text through Google to see if I could determine its origin. I found that the student, when conducting online research, had taken information from the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), which contains Holocaust denial material (Anti-Defamation League, 2005). The student had not cited this reference in their paper. A little confused as to why this bright student sourced information from IHR, I took the time to check the site myself. I found it to be quite professionally developed, with correct academic formatting, referencing, links to

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resources, links to other websites that corroborate the views of the IHR, bibliographies containing reputable sources, and even a downloadable periodic journal. In short, I found that this website ticked many of the boxes on the source evaluation checklists I had provided students for online source analysis. Yet it was not a reliable historical source. The whole episode got me thinking: what does one do if unreliable websites simply manufacture the criteria we look for to signify reliability? What happens when unreliable sites follow academic referencing conventions, use primary sources, contain reliable sounding references and a bibliography, are formatted like other reputable sites, and are linked to a range of other sites that reinforce their message? How do we equip students to analyse websites that contain false and misleading information packaged to look credible? I was of the view that a new approach to online historical source analysis needed to be developed, and it was in an attempt to address this important issue that the following study emerged.

Credibility Assessment Online

Research suggests that many Internet users display poor understandings of how to locate and evaluate information online (Eastin et al., 2006; Kafai & Bates, 1997). Due to the complex and multi-layered nature of web-based information, individuals generally do not engage in rigorous or time consuming information evaluation processes but, instead rely on superficial factors such as the website design and navigability to determine the quality and credibility of the content (Metzger, Flanagin & Medders, 2010). As Metzger et al. (2010) note:

> The internet presents a very different environment - one of information abundance - which makes traditional models of gatekeeper oversight untenable. In such an environment, people must defer to external sources of knowledge on a very large scale, resulting in a "radical externalization" of the processes involved in trust assessment. (p. 416)

Echoing these conclusions, a Stanford University study found that 46% of web users believe that the most important factor in establishing the credibility of a website is the ‘Design Look’; other topics of importance included Information Design (28.5%), ‘Information Focus’ (25.1%), ‘Company Motive’ (15.5%) and ‘Information Usefulness‘ (14.8%), while ‘Information Accuracy’ languished at 14.3% (Fogg, Danielson & Soohoo, 2002). A North American study conducted by Michael O’Sullivan and Thomas Scott (2000) found that the major factors contributing to student satisfaction in using the Internet were ease in usage, speed in usage, and convenience. Students have been observed to prefer browsing to systematic search strategies, examine only the first screen of most sites, perform only two or three inquiries per search, make quick decisions, construct answers from limited information, are satisfied with any somewhat-relevant hit, are unable to judge the quality of the information, and have a tendency to plagiarise (Todd, 2001). More recent studies indicate that it is not the website content alone that shapes the way users assess its credibility, but also the process by which users arrive at a site, including the use of search engines, branding, and referrals from within personal networks (Hargittai, Fullerton, Menchen-Trevino & Thomas, 2010). These studies of online credibility assessment are significant because they suggest that when evaluating information online, individuals tend to look less at the reliability of the content, and more at external factors such as the visual quality of the website and ease by which the site was found, for example its appearance in the results of a search engine query.

While this is an issue that touches on many areas of the school curriculum, History educators need to be particularly concerned. History is a contested discipline, and it is often used as a tool for communicating, promoting and legitimising a broad spectrum of views, including those that are racist, false and misleading. With many traditional publishers refusing to print such views, the purveyors of extreme material increasingly rely on websites for dissemination. Perhaps the most notorious example of this phenomenon is Holocaust denial.

Holocaust deniers seek to undercut, minimise, trivialise or deny well-verified knowledge about the Holocaust. Initially, Holocaust denial was a print based activity. However, the Internet has afforded many of those who deny this atrocity a fresh means of disseminating their material, and a number of deniers and denial organisations have been active in the online space. This study considered six Holocaust denial websites, chosen because they adopted a range of strategies to make their content appear credible. The first three websites, the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) (www.codoh.com), the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) (www.ihr.org), and David Irving's Focal Point (fpp.co.uk), all employ academic language and conventions. They also appeal to liberal ideals such as freedom of expression, and argue that all history is open to reinterpretation and that everyone has the right to freely espouse their ideas. The second three websites, Air-photo[1] (air-photo.com), Gary Lauck's website (www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com), and The Zundelsite (www.zundelsite.org), take a different approach, using colourful graphics, free games and anti-authority rhetoric to attract browsers. These websites, albeit to a lesser extent, appeal to freedom of expression as a way of legitimising their content. All of these sites are readily accessible using search engines, and can be located with seemingly benign terms such as 'Auschwitz Stories'. Holocaust denial material is within easy reach of most students. Given the issues associated with how individuals evaluate information online, how can History educators equip students to deal with these websites should they encounter them?

Print-based (Classical) Models for Online Source Analysis

Many of the criteria used in History classrooms to teach online source analysis are adapted from those used with traditional print-based sources. To illustrate this, I have included the following list of criteria from a grid in *Making History: A Guide for the Teaching and Learning of History in Australian Schools* (Taylor & Young, 2003, p. 136). Because of the impact and scope of this publication in Australia, the list can be taken as representative of the criteria used in many Australian schools:

- Locating Information
- Validation of sources
- Motivation
- Primary or Secondary
- Detection of Bias
- Assessment of relevance
- Distinguishing fact from opinion

More recent scaffolds, such as the one available in *History: for those new to teaching the subject* (2010, pp. 62-63) include additional criteria such as 'Links' and 'Decode the URL', but the majority of the criteria are still print-based:

- Decode the URL
- Identify the author or creator of the site

- Links (is the site linked to other sites related to the topic? Most quality sites link to other related sites)
- Purpose
- Currency

Could be unreliable	**Should be reliable**
Site produced by a private individual but no information is given about them	Site produced by well qualified individuals, e.g. from universities or respected journalists
Site where no information is given about the author or agency	Public organisation which has a clear ethical charter, e.g. Amnesty International
Site where no author or agency is shown	Government, educational sites or non-profit organisation and research sites
Site which uses racist, sexist or violent language to get its message across	Sites which present information objectively rather than emotionally
Site which biased or feature stereotypes, distortions and exaggerations	Sites which provide a statement of intent which will help you detect a point of view and bias
Site which takes extreme viewpoints without providing verifiable evidence	Sites which provide both sides of a discussion, supported by verifiable evidence
Site which is not dated.	Sites which are dated and recently updated.

Many evaluation scaffolds developed in the USA, Canada and Britain contain variations of the same basic criteria, and it becomes evident when examining these lists that they are essentially adaptations (in some cases a direct lift) of evaluation scaffolds developed for use with traditional print-based source material. The type of analysis facilitated by these classical scaffolds is effective when engaging with online information types that mirror those found in print-based sources, such as tables of contents, indexes, keywords, graphs, headers and titles, timelines, glossaries, photographs and classification graphics (McPherson, 2005). However the print-based nature of these criteria may limit their effectiveness; the way individuals are evaluating information online, and the strategies websites use to make their content appear credible, are inconsistent with traditional criteria. It is proposed here that in order to address this issue, additional criteria need to be developed so that students can more accurately assess the quality and validity of selected websites.

A Web-Based Model for Online Source Analysis

The research considered earlier, whilst highlighting the poor understandings of individuals when it comes to analysing online information, also indicates that students are already deploying web-based criteria in their analysis. The fact that students rely on how they located an online source (Hargittai, Fullerton, Menchen-Trevino & Thomas, 2010), or the quality of its design and technical features (Fogg, Danielson & Soohoo, 2002), is evidence that they are using a set of informal criteria for online source analysis. That many studies have found these informal criteria to be inadequate for research work speaks to the need to develop formal models that can help to activate critical awareness. In response to this, Metzger (2007, 2010)

has argued that for any web-based model of analysis to be effective, it needs to focus on the structural, textual and procedural features of web-based sources. As such, it is these features, along with considerations for how digital historical sources differ from print-based historical sources (Lee, 2002), that determined the criteria that were selected in the study. The criteria are: *Access*, which refers to the sheer volume of information available to those browsing that has not been filtered by traditional gatekeepers. *Hypertext***,** through which websites create information pathways not present in traditional source material. *Search Engines*, which function as the gateway to most online material and can be directly linked with credibility assessment (Hargittai et al, 2010); and *Multimedia*, which refers to the combination of textual, visual and audio media that is not present within print-based sources. These features of online source material also impact significantly on credibility assessment (Fogg et al., 2002; Hargittai et al., 2010; Metzger, et al., 2010; O'Sullivan & Scott, 2000).

This paper uses 'Ethos' as a framing concept within which these features can be operationalised into a set of formal criteria that aim to activate critical awareness. Ethos, as an umbrella term, refers to the strategies used by websites to make their material appear credible and believable. Ethos was initially conceptualised in Aristotle's Rhetoric (1991), and forms a part of classical rhetorical theory, however the concept has recently been applied to the study of digital information (Apostel & Folk, 2013). The salience of Ethos in the current study stems from its application to the analysis of Holocaust denial websites by Shane Borrowman (1999). Borrowman recognised the advantages that Holocaust deniers gain through their utilisation of the electronic medium, arguing that the intellectual freedom of the Internet "allows [the deniers] great latitude when constructing their Ethos - their credibility or authority" (1999, p. 45). This framing is broad, but flexible enough to accommodate the discreet elements of web-based information being targeted. One of the advantages of Ethos is that it is conceptually simple, making it a suitable tool for use in classrooms. It also encourages students to consider information sources in ways that are not evident in popular checklist models. Borrowman (1999) identifies two types of Ethos in his study: Academic Ethos and Techno-Ethos. *Academic Ethos* is the credibility that comes from being recognised as an expert in a particular area of knowledge, and can be achieved through the use of academic terminology, objective prose without a strong authorial voice, and by adopting formatting conventions common to credible sources. *Techno-Ethos* is the credibility constructed by websites through technical sophistication and appealing aesthetics (Borrowman, 1999).

Beginning with these two types of Ethos, four additional types were developed to reflect the distinct features of online sources considered earlier, including access to information, which was termed *Liberal Ethos*, the use of hypertext in persuasive ways, which was termed *Hyper Ethos*, the use of multimedia and appealing visuals to promote credibility, which was termed *Multimedia Ethos*, and drawing upon the credibility associated with search engine results, which was termed *Search Engine Ethos*. Each type of Ethos will now be considered in more detail as they relate to the Holocaust denial sites.

- *Liberal Ethos:* the appeal of Holocaust denial websites to notions of freedom of speech, anti-censorship, 'First Amendment' rights, and anti-authoritarianism. IHR, Focal Point, CODOH and the Zundelsite all utilised Liberal Ethos.
- *Hyper Ethos:* the denial sites' use of hypertext in a persuasive manner by promoting links with reputable websites and referencing other denial sites as authorities when making contentious knowledge claims. In the latter instance, internet users may become trapped in a circular world where the denier's truth claims are the only ones heard. IHR, and Zundelsite utilised Hyper Ethos.

- *Search Engine Ethos*: the denier's exploitation of the popular assumption that search engines are impartial indexes, and that ranking relates to reliability (Fallows, 2005). They actively engage in search engine optimisation so that their pages will be listed within the first few pages of a search. All denial sites utilised Search Engine Ethos.
- *Multimedia Ethos*: the denial sites' use of brightly coloured images, maps, audio, video and games to promote positive associations with the subject matter. Gary Lauck's site and Airphoto both utilised Multimedia Ethos.

In each case, Ethos is not concerned with technical aspects of online information such as the function of a search engine or hyperlink, or the colour of a page; it is concerned with how these features are used to persuade. As a tool for History students, Ethos is suitable for supporting the process of historical inquiry. Being concerned primarily with the critical evaluation of online source material, it aligns with the historical thinking heuristics Wineburg (1991) describes as sourcing and corroboration. Importantly, the function of Ethos in supporting historical inquiry is not analysing the primary sources embedded within the websites in isolation, but analysing the website holistically, including how sources relate to other elements on the page. In this way the Ethos model has not been developed to replace classical models of analysis, but to function as an additional lens that formalises the previously informal web-based strategies used by students. It was these six types of Ethos – Academic, Techno, Liberal, Hyper, Search Engine, and Multimedia – that were trialled with the participants of this study.

Study Design

The aim of this research is to examine the impact of formalising students' analysis of online historical sources using the Ethos framework articulated above. This was achieved by comparing student responses to Holocaust denial websites before and after an intervention in which the students were taught to identify different forms of Ethos. The study was conducted with 41 students from three senior Modern History classes located in Sydney, Australia (students in senior high school are typically aged 16-18). The school selection process was designed to accommodate a measure of socio-economic, ethnic, and academic diversity. No students had formally studied the Holocaust, though student responses indicated that they had all encountered information about the Holocaust in popular media, especially in film. The research was undertaken in one double period lesson.

The study consisted of two phases separated by a brief researcher directed presentation (the intervention). The first phase was designed to shed light on how students approached the evaluation of historical websites prior to intervention, and consisted of a class discussion where students were asked to write down the criteria they thought were important in online source evaluation. This was followed by a student evaluation of the Holocaust denial websites. Students were asked to locate some of these sites using a search engine. Of interest was the extent to which student analysis correlated with checklist models, and whether they deployed any web-based criteria in their analysis.

The intervention introduced students to the web-based Ethos model of analysis. This presentation considered Ethos broadly and in abstract, and did not apply the model to any of the Holocaust denial websites.

The second phase involved students re-evaluating the Holocaust denial websites. This data was compared with that of phase one. Of interest was the impact the presentation had on

student analysis, with the inference being that their informal approach to online analysis had may have begun to be formalised. Indicators included students' ability to critically deconstruct the various element of the website. Data was collected via an activity sheet in which students were asked to write comments relating to their views during the initial discussion, and their assessments during the first and second phases. Students were also asked to identify the types of Ethos they saw being deployed during the second phase.

The ethical requirements of the NSW Department of Education (then the Department of Education and Training), stipulated that all students who participated in the study were to be informed in the Participant Information Statement (PIS) that the websites being used contained Holocaust denial material. The nature of Holocaust denial, broadly including the false and deceptive claims made by deniers, was explained to students in the PIS. The methods of persuasion used by the websites were not discussed until the conclusion. In this particular research context some prior knowledge was a necessary precondition. However, despite the forewarning, the majority of students were still unable to detect denial material in three of the six sites viewed in phase one, which is a testimony to the effectiveness of the strategies used by denial websites. In addition, a key focus was on the way students critiqued the sites, and which approach produced the *most critical* engagement. This finding was not dependent on whether a student decided a site was reliable or unreliable, but stemmed from the reasons they gave for their decision.

Research Questions

A number of questions guided this study. The first was how students approached the analysis of online historical sources prior to the intervention. The second was how effective these initial approaches were in equipping students to engage with websites that contain false and misleading information. The third was whether formalising students' online analysis through Ethos produced a *more critical* engagement with the online sources.

Results and Discussion

One of the aims of this pilot research was to determine how students approached the analysis of online historical sources prior to the intervention. When asked to write down criteria important for evaluating online sources, many of the responses correlated with the traditional checklist models considered earlier. In two out of three schools, the highest rating reliability factor recorded was authorship. The other top rating factors included the sources used in websites, the use of objective language, the number of references cited, and the students' own prior knowledge. Also evident within the responses were a number of informal web-based criteria, including site appearance, consensus and layout. Most students did not list features such as search engines or hyperlinks. Based on the brief survey, students initially appeared to be deploying a formal-traditional approach combined with informal web-based models of online source analysis.

Another initial aim was to examine whether traditional print-based models and informal web-based models equipped students to critically engage with online sources that contained false and misleading material. The results indicated that for these particular cohorts, traditional models were not particularly effective. Despite being forewarned that the websites being used in the study contained Holocaust denial material, a significant number of students were still unable to identify Holocaust denial activities in three of the websites evaluated in phase one, and many rated IHR, CODOH and Focal Point as credible. CODOH for example, by arguing the need for open debate and freedom of speech, counteracted the appearance of

bias, with students commenting that the website was partially reliable because "the author writes that they are 'willing to be convinced I'm wrong about any or all of this'"; "CODOH stands for Committee for Open Debate Of the Holocaust and committees are professional and seem reliable"; and "there is an old man in the background and he looks smart." The same student, noticing that CODOH had a webmaster, commented: "[the] webmaster's merits have been accredited." The IHR achieved a similar result by including articles on legitimate 'liberal' topics, which gave a sense of balance. One student commented: "[IHR] communicate[s] anti-war views regarding Iraq" and "it is a fairly reliable website to show a differing perspective on past events." Another commented that IHR: "Looks professional, reliable, simple, easy, down to the point." By deploying objective language and academic formatting, IHR managed to convince the majority of students in the study that the information was factual. Other responses acknowledged the bias, but still rated it as reliable because the website drew upon sources and speeches for its information. Even the more extreme Zundelsite was tentatively rated as reliable by some students because of the nature of the content, with a student commenting that: "it appears to use factual evidence such as times and dates and it has a slogan and logo so it looks official." In this particular case the student's prior knowledge was accessed, commenting: "its content contradicts historical records regarding the Holocaust and I'd therefore say its unreliable." The results suggest that the classical models initially deployed by students were not entirely effective. It was clear from student comments that traditional criteria such as authorship, detection of bias, searching for primary sources, examining links, and searching for references were manipulated by the denial sites. Distinguishing fact from opinion was equally fraught, as in many cases what students were searching for was not facts or opinions, but rather forms of language *used* for denoting facts or opinions. Traditional criteria, as we have seen, were subverted.

The denial sites also manipulated participants' use of informal, web-based criteria. Every participant listed search engines, and Google in particular, as the primary means by which they conducted historical research online. One student, when asked how and where they searched for information online, wrote: "Type in keywords on Google and pick the most relevant site - usually the first or second." Another wrote "I use various sites from Google that are relevant to the topic and believe anything that is written." Through the use of meta-tags and other search engine optimisation strategies, denial websites are continuously attempting to improve their search ratings. Given student reliance on search engine results, this has proven a valuable strategy. Another common strategy was using the consensus of information on a particular topic as an indicator of its reliability. This strategy was also manipulated by the denial sites, which tended to link to other sites with the same point of view or ideas, giving the student the impression that these ideas are commonly held and, as a result, reliable. 'Consensus' featured prominently in participants' initial reliability assessments. In two out of three classes, the consensus created by hyperlinks was one of the highest rated reliability factors. More traditional uses of hyperlinks was also an important strategy, as a number of denial websites (IHR in particular) use links to reputable websites as a form of credibility by association. It was the IHR's link to antiwar.com (not a particularly credible website in and of itself) that prompted a student to describe the IHR as "balanced".

An interesting feature of the results obtained from phase one was that most students tended to use a mixture of traditional and web-based criteria for analysing online sources - the traditional criteria tended to be formal and had presumably been taught to them in school; while it is possible that the web-based criteria had been learned by students through their activities in non-educational contexts. It was also interesting that the lack of critical engagement with the web-based criteria (understanding how search engines work, how graphics and links can be used persuasively) undermined student attempts to use traditional criteria in a formal and critical manner. For example, denial sites that were well written,

correctly referenced, and linked to corroborating information, were rated as reliable because students were not aware of how hyperlinks and formatting can be used to manipulate a user's trust in the credibility of a website. An important finding from phase one was that if traditional and web-based models were to be deployed, they needed to be deployed in concert to be most effective.

This brings us to the second question that this paper set out explore: Did formalising students' web-based analysis with the Ethos model make any difference? In terms of reliability, some websites (in particular the more extreme site Nazi-Lauck and the amateurish site Air-photo.com, which appears to no longer exist) were rated poorly by students before and after intervention. However, the processes involved in their evaluation did change. Whilst the initial evaluation may have consisted of a gut reaction to particular types of language or symbols, the second evaluation revealed a greater depth of appreciation. For example, with respect to Air-photo.com students in phase one commented that the site: "Doesn't look reliable because it's so 'cartoonish' and so it looks fake and unreliable", "too colourful, doesn't look professional", "looks like children's story telling website", and "writing is too colourful and uncoordinated, layout is unprofessional, there is no major heading, ugly colours, no borders, boring site-all the above reasons make it seem unreliable to me." This informal analysis contrasts markedly with the formal analysis that occurred during phase two: "[techno Ethos has been employed through] visual appeal-images of green grass and bright blue day" and "blue skies, green grass, bright colours-evoking idea of the place being pleasant" in order to "reel in children/younger audiences." When considering Nazi-Lauck, students upheld their initial rejection of the content, but displayed a greater awareness of the purpose and target audience, with some students commenting that the use of Ethos was effective for a number of reasons including the free interactive games that would appeal to children, the "masochistic" "gung ho" appeal for young males, the drawings and pictures, and the multilingual component that would appeal to different audiences. In both cases, the Ethos model formalised student analysis of the online sources, and promoted significantly more critical engagement.

When considering student responses to the sites that received positive reviews in phase one the shift is more significant. Student responses to IHR in phase two shifted away from the positive accounts of phase one to reveal a more profoundly critical understanding. Students commented that IHR "appears to offer differing perspectives and general liberal ideals regarding anti-war movements", but in reality "have used them [the different modes of Ethos] to make IHR appear to be unbiased and offer differing perspectives" and "to appear qualified to give this information." When asked why the IHR had deployed particular modes of Ethos, student responses included "to subtly persuade people into being anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel. To make people believe their interpretation of the news is the 'truth'", "to affiliate themselves with a popular anti-war movement, to support their argument both academically and liberally e.g freedom of speech on political issues" and "to present an intellectual argument for Holocaust denial." When asked about the effectiveness of the Ethos deployed by IHR, students responded that: "the speaker lists, journal, conferences [and] 'pamphlets' all make the site appear to be a reliable source of info"; "It is hard to see from first look that IHR is a Holocaust denial website. It appears to be neutral, with an unbiased perspective, where as some of the other sites [were] blatantly obvious that [they] supported Holocaust denial" and "[the] way [the] website is structured makes it appear as though it is a reliable source of information-[therefore the] information it provides is 'fact'." When compared with the responses from phase one, not only were students able to identify IHR as a Holocaust denial website, they also displayed considerable skill in unpacking both the strategies used by the site as well as the target audience. These responses also highlight a limitation of traditional models, which tend to privilege the critical analysis of website content over structure and format. In the case of IHR, structure and format is one of the primary

mechanisms of persuasion, a point well made by the student responses considered above. Similar responses were obtained for CODOH and Focal Point; students not only indicated that they now viewed these sites as unreliable, but also displayed a critical awareness of the methods of persuasion being deployed, and the intended audience of the sites. One student commented that CODOH was attempting: "to appeal to people who are 'liberal minded' e.g students, people who support a cause merely because it is under-supported" and "[to] make it seem intellectual, and therefore reliable", and that with Focal Point: "Liberal [Ethos] was used to gain the readers empathy as if to say this person's views have been held back by governments" and its purpose was: "to build sympathy with the audience in order to make revisionism appear okay". When asked, all students indicated that Ethos had been deployed effectively by IHR, CODOH and Focal Point.

Comparing the findings from phases one and two associated with IHR and CODOH is perhaps the clearest example of the disconnection between traditional models of online source analysis and the way individuals are informally evaluating information. Using traditional print-based and informal web-based models of analysis half the students who participated in the study were deceived. The denial sites consciously manipulated traditional criteria for establishing authenticity, such as the appearance of bias, clear authorship, and academic formatting and language. Having satisfied the traditional criteria, students were left to rely on informal web-based strategies, including appearance, consensus amongst websites, and search engines results. The denial sites also satisfied these informal criteria, and many students were left convinced. It was only after many students' informal web-based strategies were formalised that they were able to critically and thoroughly dissect these sources.

Conclusion

This study proposed that there is disconnect between print-based traditional models of online source analysis and the way students analyse online information. It was argued that this disconnect made it difficult for students to effectively evaluate online sources containing false and misleading information. Confirming this, it was found that traditional models, in the absence of formalised web-based models, did not sufficiently prepare a significant proportion of students for engaging critically with the websites presented to them. In some cases the informal web-based strategies deployed by students actually undermined the effectiveness of traditional approaches. After the intervention, when students' web-based models of analysis had been formalised using the Ethos framework, participants' responses were more critical and nuanced, and they became much more effective at analysing and dissecting the sources.

Although the empirical nature of this research was limited, the results suggest that relying on traditional models of source analysis, such as those found in Australian curriculum support documentation, may not be sufficient for preparing students to critique websites that contain false and misleading information. This small scale study suggests that formalising students' online source analysis with Ethos can increase the criticality of their engagement. It was also seen that formalising online analysis dovetailed well with the use of traditional models. The findings highlight an important aspect of History education that needs more critical attention, and points to the need for more research with blended models that combine print-based and web-based criteria with different types of historical websites and content.

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About the Author

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Endnotes

[1] This website has since been removed.

HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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Popular history magazines and history education

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ABSTRACT: This paper argues that popular history magazines may be a welcome complement to other forms of historical media in history teaching. By outlining a theoretical framework that captures uses of history, the paper analyses popular history magazine articles from five European countries all dealing with the outbreak of World War I. The study finds that while the studied articles provide a rather heterogeneous view of the causes of the Great War, they can be used to discuss and analyse the importance of perspective in history, thus offering an opportunity to further a more disciplinary historical understanding.

KEYWORDS: Uses of history, historical thinking, popular history magazines, narrative.

Introduction

Popular history as a source for historical knowledge has been the subject of some debate in academic circles (de Groot, 2008, pp. 4–6): some have argued that it offers a view of history that is too simple to be fit for a serious study of history, while others have argued that popular history indeed should be studied seriously since it is the history that most people will be familiar with. Popular history is also used in history education and this makes it particularly important to reflect upon whether it may be material fit to be used as a source of historical information. I will argue that popular history may indeed provide material that could be used in history teaching under certain circumstances and in this paper I want to discuss what advantages popular history may have and demonstrate how popular history could be approached in history education. Furthermore, I will present an analytical framework to aid educators interested in using popular history in their teaching in a constructive manner.

In the context of this study, popular history is defined as non-fictional history aimed at a non-expert audience that can be disseminated through a variety of media (e.g. films, novels, computer games, et cetera). The present study focuses on popular history magazines. From a history didactical perspective, magazines are interesting for at least two reasons: it can be assumed that they are consumed by teachers and pupils (and their families) alike (Popp 2015, p. 42) and that they could be claimed to obtain a kind of middle ground between popular and academic history: although the magazines are tailored to sell copies and advertisements and thus could be regarded as commercial rather than academic (cf. Axelsson 2012, pp. 278–279), they also publish texts by academic historians; all texts used for analysis in this study were authored by academic historians.

If we connect the aforementioned aspects of popular history and popular history magazines to the teaching of history, there are a variety of interesting approaches that can be afforded:

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the present analysis will focus on (i) what version of history is presented in the popular history magazines, (ii) what appears to be the aim of the historical account, and (iii) how is the account presented from a historiographical perspective, i.e. to what extent are disciplinary aspects visible in the studied accounts? The first of these approaches aims at specifying what historical content or subject matter popular history magazines have: do they give a historically acceptable version of history? With regards to what aims popular history magazines may have, it is interesting to study if the articles have a professed or implicit agenda and what that agenda may be? And, finally, what historiographic or disciplinary aspects are visible in the studied material? This disciplinary aspect of history is purported by some to be the real dividing line between popular and academic history: what distinguishes academic history is its reliance on critical analysis and evidence based presentation (cf. Lévesque, 2008, pp. 18–20).

This study makes use of a unique material: five articles that deal with the same topic from five different European countries (Sweden, the UK, Germany, Poland, and Spain). These articles have been made available by the EHISTO research project (www.european-crossroads.de). The project was an international collaboration between researchers in Germany, Poland, Spain, the UK, and Sweden that strove to further trans-national and media critical competencies in European history education through the use of popular history magazines (Popp, Schumann, & Hannig, 2015). Articles from national popular history magazines covering the same topic were chosen and translated into the languages of the participating countries (i.e. English, Polish, Spanish, German, and Swedish) and made available at the project's website.

Research on popular history magazines

It has been claimed that popular history magazines and their pertinence for history education has not attracted much interest in research in history and history didactics (Popp et al., 2015, pp. 15–16). Some history didactically minded research has however recently been carried out on popular history magazines and it has focused on what content the magazines have and how that content is presented, what entices buyers to buy and read popular history magazines (Hannig, 2015), and what attitudes teachers may have towards them. Regarding the topics that popular history magazines deal with, it seems that popular history magazines devote a lot of attention to the 20th century and the two world wars (e.g. Gorbahn, 2015, pp. 319–320; Vinterek, 2015, p. 316). Furthermore, a 'masculine' focus on history seems to be the norm: great men are both pictured a lot more than women and are devoted more space within the magazines (cf. Axelsson, 2012; Vinterek, 2015). Research also shows that while popular history magazines strive to present a picture of history as 'objectively true' (Popp, 2015, p. 57), they employ narrative techniques that strive to engage its readers on an emotional level (cf. Glaser, 2015, p. 166; Jaeger, 2015, pp. 130–131). It also seems as if popular history magazines devote some effort to coming across as more 'academic' or 'scientific' in character (Sjöland, 2015, pp. 236–237; Vinterek, 2015, p. 306). While it has been argued that popular history magazines provide too simple and mono-perspectival a view of history to be able to develop the historical understanding of its readers (Popp, 2015, p. 64), research has shown signs that some history teachers find popular history magazines quite useful both as a tool for learning and inspiration (Haydn, 2015, p. 367). This discussion is also something this paper seeks to further.

Theoretical approach

Uses of history

Even though there are perceptions of history as being academic or popular (or something else) in kind, it has been argued that there is no given consensus of what counts as an academic or popular rendering of history: these categories are dynamic and contextually contingent (cf. de Groot, 2008, p. 2; Salber Phillips, 2004, pp. 125–133). If one proceeds along this view of history, it could be argued that it becomes essential to analyse history didactically, i.e. to analyse how is history presented and disseminated in a certain context. A notion that may be helpful when doing this is 'uses of history.' It can be applied when analysing how history is used by various members of, and institutions in, society. Whenever history is the subject or topic of some kind of presentation (written, spoken, et cetera) it could be said that history is being used, i.e. there is a use of history. There are various approaches to how uses of history could be perceived, but the study presented here will focus on two dimensions of uses of history: what I have termed teleological and narratological uses of history.

Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson has argued that the use of history is one of the most basic driving forces in the human psyche: we use history to achieve truth, develop identities, argue morally, and to claim legitimacy and power (cf. Karlsson, 2010, p. 89). He has also developed a typology of uses of history that has been widely used in Swedish history didactical research. According to Karlsson, history can be used in the following ways:

- *Scientifically* – to obtain and reconstruct new knowledge through an analytical and methodological approach;
- *Politico-pedagogically* – to illustrate, make public, and create debate;
- *Morally* – to rediscover and show historical wrong-doings and shortcomings;
- *Ideologically* – to invent, construct, and/or argue something;
- *Existentially* – to create meaning in life and build identities;
- A *non-use* – to cover up, conceal, or try to make some historical events, persons, or periods fall into public neglect (Karlsson, 2014, p. 72).

I have chosen to term these uses of history *teleological uses of history* since their primary object is to illustrate for what aim or purpose people or institutions use history. Although these categories or types of teleological uses of history are not fixed or mutually exclusive, they can offer us a way of analysing what agenda that may lie behind a certain historical account. When analysing popular history magazines this seems a particularly fruitful approach since they are supposed to do a lot of things at once: to generate profit for the publishers and entertainment and information for their readers. Furthermore, they also need to be able to attract authors with an academic background in order to develop and maintain credibility. Thus, teleological uses of history may allow us to say something about how the history presented relates to a larger historical culture or context.

German historical theorist Jörn Rüsen developed a typology of historical narratives that may be useful in portraying how history can be used from another perspective (Rüsen, 2012). According to Rüsen there are four types of historical narratives: the traditional, exemplary, critical, and genetic (Rüsen, 2012, pp. 57–58). To exemplify, a person can use history in the following ways: she can do so to assert a tradition (a traditional use of history): 'To eat lye-soaked stock fish at Christmas is an old Swedish tradition,' to argue an example (an exemplary use of history):'If we look at history, we can see that we have eaten lye-soaked

stock fish at Christmas for a very long time and should continue to do so to uphold a national identity,' to criticise a certain practice using the historical example either by giving a counter-example or an alternative account of history (a critical use of history):'To eat lye-soaked stock fish at Christmas is a Catholic tradition that should be abolished, not least because Sweden has been Protestant for almost 500 years and we do have refrigerators today,' or to acknowledge that there are various perspectives that can be applied to how we should and could understand history (a genetic use of history):'Depending what perspective you approach the Swedish Christmas tradition of eating lye-soaked stock fish, you may argue that it is nice traditional dish on the Christmas table, a reminder of the hardships of past generations, an offensive remnant of Swedish Catholicism, or an outdated way of conserving and preparing fish, for instance.'

I have chosen to term this dimension of uses of history *narratological uses of history* since it focuses on how history is presented, i.e. the historiographical or representational aspects of uses of history. Thus, all uses of history can be analysed both according to their teleological *and* their narratological qualities. The point is that these narratological uses of history portray cognitively different ways of treating history and historical accounts: a traditional and exemplary use of history sees history as something that is independent from interpretation and representation, thus becoming static and impervious to change. A critical use of history, uses the historical narrative to do the opposite: to show that change and disruption is what could be learnt from the historical example. While doing so, however, the historical example is treated in the same way cognitively as with the traditional and exemplary uses of history: it is treated as something that is 'true' in the sense that is not dependent on context and perspective (lye-soaked stock fish should not be eaten because it is a historical remnant and thus alien to us). A genetic use of history, on the other hand, acknowledges the contextual contingency of history and historical accounts and that how you regard history is affected by interpretation and perspective. Thus, narratological uses of history could be applied to further an analysis of teleological uses of history by focusing on the disciplinary aspects of the historical account we are presented with.

From a history didactical and educational perspective, an analysis of how the historical accounts from the popular history magazines use history both from a teleological and narratological perspective could yield interesting results: what could be said about the aims of the historical narratives we are presented with, and what status is given to the presented historical narratives: do they present history as something depending on perspective or not?

Material and methodology

As stated above the material I have used for this study has been derived from the EHISTO-project web page: *www.european-crossroads.de*. By registering online on the website, you can access a rather wide range of material from popular history magazines along with teaching guides for both school teachers of history, and history teacher educators. The articles covering two topics were chosen by the participants in the EHISTO-project: the First World War and Columbus and his 'discovery' of America. The material from the popular history magazines include front pages, editorials, and feature articles by scholars. These feature articles were chosen for analysis.

The chosen articles all deal with the outbreak of the First World War and they are all between 5 and 8 pages in length. Although the articles are amply illustrated, and this could be argued to be highly relevant as to how the article is interpreted (cf. Wobring, 2015), I have chosen to disregard the images and focus on the written text in the main article (i.e. I have also disregarded boxes with inserted text), mostly due to reasons of space and scope. Even

though this makes the present analysis lacking in a history didactically relevant aspect, my wish is that the analysis presented here may illustrate how further analyses applying uses of history could be performed (for instance on the uses of illustrations in popular history magazines). As previously mentioned, all the articles analysed have been translated into all the languages of the participating countries. I have used the English versions of all articles. Some of the English translations display both grammatical and syntactical errors, but they are not of the kind that may affect the understanding of the historical content of the texts. All articles clearly state who the author of the article is and the academic credentials and affiliations of the authors. The articles are 'Weeks of decision' by Stig Förster, a professor of contemporary history, from the German magazine *Damals* (Förster, 2004), 'Assassination in Sarajevo. The Pretext' by Julio Gil Pecharromán, a professor of contemporary history, from the Spanish magazine *La Aventura de la Historia* (Pecharromán, 2004), 'An inevitable disaster' by Peter Englund, a professor of narratology and an academic historian, from the Swedish magazine *Populär Historia* (Englund, 2008), 'The shot that sparked the First World War' by Christopher Clark, a professor of modern history, from the British magazine *BBC History Magazine* (Clark, 2012), and 'Celebrating War. European societies at the advent of war' by Piotr Szlanta, a professional historian specialised in modern German history, from the Polish magazine *Mówią wieki* (Szlanta, 2009).

Regarding the teleological uses of history in the articles, I have chosen to code references to academic history as 'scientific,' references to wrong-doings in the past as 'moral,' references to whether knowledge about the war is pertinent to understand later developments in history as 'politico-pedagogical,' references to how history could be relevant to our present identities or perception of selves as 'existential,' references to how history may be used to construct, convince or argue something as 'ideological,' and, finally, failure to mention pertinent details or events as 'a non-use.'

When coding narratological uses of history, I paid close attention to how the historical narrative is presented; if the reader is presented with a narrative that seeks to enforce a view of the historical narrative as 'true,' I have coded it as 'traditional,' if the narrative argues for lessons to be learnt from the historical example, I have coded it as 'exemplary,' if the narrative uses the historical example to criticise or give an alternative view of certain aspects of contemporary or past historical culture, I have coded it as 'critical,' and, finally, if the historical narrative has engaged in attempts to display the contingent and interpretational aspects of history, I have coded it as 'genetic.'

Results

Content

The studied articles display a variety of approaches to explaining why World War I broke out. Christopher Clark argues in the English article 'The shot that sparked the First World War' that the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent Franz Ferdinand and his spouse in Sarajevo on the 28th of June 1914 was the reason the war broke out: 'the assassinations remind us of the power that a single, symbolic event – however deeply it may be enmeshed in larger processes – can wield over history' (Clark, 2012, p. 23).

The German article by Stig Förster begins by outlining the assassinations in Sarajevo, but claims that there were more complex reasons as to why the war broke out: he mentions the political, colonial, economical, and military power struggles between the European super powers, but argues that 'these factors are not sufficient to explain why exactly the war broke out that summer of 1914' (Förster, 2004, p. 14). Instead Förster claims that attention should

be given to 'the activities and motives of about 50 men, whose decisions influenced the destinies of millions of people' (Förster, 2004, p. 15). It was the mind sets and moods of the leading politicians, monarchs, and militaries that ultimately decided the outcome of the European crisis in July 2014, according to Förster's view.

Polish historian Piotr Szlanta chooses yet another approach to explaining why the war broke out: 'After mobilization was announced, cheerful crowds bade farewell to smiling soldiers departing for the front. […]. In the weeks to follow similar scenes were observed in numerous European cities' (Szlanta, 2009, p. 32). Although Europe was ripe for war due to political, economic, and military reasons, it was the popular support across the European nations that made the war possible. It was not until bad news started coming from the front that 'the initial enthusiasm began to fade and was replaced with disappointment, dissatisfaction and apathy' (Szlanta, 2009, p. 36).

Spanish historian Julio Gil Pecharromán argues that the war broke out for more abstract, ideological reasons:

> The 1914 summer meant, above all other considerations, the triumph of the nationalisms [sic!] as cultural and political phenomena. European governments, forced to choose between war and peace, were prisoners of a past of conflicts, whose major aims were the consolidation of a national awareness and the defence or acquisition of a territorial basis defined by *ethnic borders*. In order to base these achievements, the national elites, had not stopped using, all over [sic!] the 19th century, all the ideological propaganda and historical justification resources, and they had not stopped encouraging the most fanatic collective passions and the most simplistic and manipulated views of the *other*, the national enemy, faceless and with no virtues, who had to be smashed in the name of the […] nation's destiny (Pecharromán, 2004, p. 29).

According to Pecharromán the war was more or less ideologically determined: all factors (e.g. political, social, economic, and military) were all pointing in the same direction, it would be useless to point out 'public opinion pressure or this or that interest group on each side of the belligerent powers and attributing them a decisive role' (Pecharromán, 2004, p. 29).

The Swedish article by historian Peter Englund takes a similar stance on the outbreak of the war, though less deterministic than the Spanish approach: surely there were factors contributing to the outbreak of war, but mere coincidence played its role as well: 'Today, in hindsight, it is possible to identify a number of critical points in the development [of the conflict], points where the outcome was by no means given, and in which an alternative history hides itself' (Englund, 2008, p. 27). For instance, Englund argues that it was chance that allowed Princip to kill Franz Ferdinand: Princip was a 'lousy shooter' and the shots were 'badly targeted' but still managed to inflict lethal wounds on the Archduke and his wife. Furthermore, the driver of the Archduke's car took a 'wrong turn' and happened to end up in the same street as Princip, who had already given up on trying to assassinate Franz Ferdinand (Englund, 2008, p. 27). Had not these coincidences met, there would not have been a conflict as we know it. Furthermore, it was only when the war was 'believed to be inevitable by the right number of people in positions of power, [that] it became inevitable' (Englund, 2008, p. 31).

Teleological uses of history

Although the studied articles present a rather multifarious picture of why World War I broke out, they make less varied teleological uses of history. The most predominant teleological use of history seems to be a politico-pedagogical one: the aim behind the articles seems to be that readers should learn what the true reason to why the Great War erupted is, be it because of murder, politics, or chance. Closely related to this use of history is an ideological use of history: as Pecharromán, Förster, Szlanta, and Englund try to convince us that it was the mind

set of the public and/or people in power that propelled Europe into the catastrophe. The war made sense to them, and we should understand that this was the decisive reason why the war broke out. There are also traces of moral uses of history: Stig Förster argues that the accusation in article 231 of the Versailles peace treaty, stating that Germany had the sole responsibility for the war, was 'unfair' and that the 'responsibility was in fact shared more evenly' (Förster, 2004, p. 19). Förster is also the only author that makes what could be coded as a scientific use of history: the July crisis has become a 'central topic in historical science [sic!]' (Förster, 2004, pp. 14–15) due to the fact that structural explanations to why the war broke out are deemed insufficient, and then he goes on to narrate what historical research has found out about the leading decision makers and their reasoning about the war.

It should, however, be stressed that these uses of history are overlapping and it may be difficult, if not impossible, to code one use of history according to only one category. For instance, when an author states that we should know more about the outbreak of World War I because we can learn important things from it, we could be witnessing a politico-pedagogical, ideological, moral, or commercial use of history. Or more precisely put, since interpretation and context are important aspects of how a text's meaning is rendered we could either read the statement as an invitation to learn about why such an important catastrophe could occur (politico-pedagogical), as an invitation to muse on the moral misdoings of the people in power (moral), or to show and convince us of something related to the mechanisms of war and conflicts (ideological). It depends on the questions you ask and the reason you ask them.

Narratological uses of history

The dominant narratological use of history found in the articles is the traditional one. What we are presented with are narratives that leave no traces of historiographical or disciplinary aspects of the historian's trade. Leaving the Swedish article aside, all authors present what could be called a closed and mono-perspectival approach to history: their account is the correct one for the reasons they give. Some examples to illustrate:

> A spiral of international crises had poisoned the atmosphere in Europe. However, that war broke out in 1914 was not an inevitable fate. Therefore, recent research has a strong focus on the partly absurd decision-making processes which led straight to the disaster (Förster, 2004, p. 14).

> A cheerful [crowd] bade farewell to smiling soldiers departing for the front. Young women gave them beverages, cigarettes and sometimes much more ..., since how could you refuse anything to the young heroes who were about to fight for their country (Szlanta, 2009, p. 32)?

> The Europe [of] 1914 was the daughter of the Industrial revolution and the national-liberal revolutions which [had] shaken the continent since the end [of] the 18th century. The Nation-State concept, the parliamentary regimes and the liberal sytem of capitalist economy had arisen from those processes. But all of it had developed hindered by failed attempts, beginner['s] errors and the logical resistance from the structures that had to be replaced (Pecharromán, 2004, p. 24).

What these quotations have in common is that they present the historical account as if it were transparent, i.e. what we are given here are accounts of what 'really' happened and the 'real' causes of the Great War. The accounts are seemingly not products of the authors' choices and perspectives; they are written in the passive voice. In this sense the narratives can be perceived as closed and mono-perspectival: what we are presented with is to be perceived as the final word on what caused World War I.

There are also examples of exemplary uses of history: for instance, Julio Gil Pecharromán and Christopher Clark argue that the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia could be regarded as 'something similar to what happened nowadays [sic!] with the US invasion of Iraq' (Pecharromán, 2004, p. 28) or the international development after the attack on the

World Trade Center in 2001 (Clark, 2012, p. 23), suggesting that there is something to be learnt from the historical example. Christopher Clark also makes what could be coded as a critical use of history when he states that:

> Serbia remains one of the blind spots in the historiography of the July Crisis. The assassination at Sarajevo is treated in many accounts as a mere pretext, an event with little bearing on the real forces whose interaction brought war. The truth is that it confronted the Austro-Hungarian authorities with a challenge they were unable to ignore' (Clark, 2012, p. 23).

According to my interpretation, Clark uses the historical example to try to correct the historiographical error of not paying enough attention to the Sarajevo assassination. This is done by giving an alternative counter-narrative to what he perceives to be the dominant narrative concerning the causes of World War I. Clark does so, however, by asserting that his own position and narrative should be perceived as more accurate than other narratives, not acknowledging that his own perspective is contingent on his interpretation and approach.

The article that differs from the others regarding its narratological use of history is that of Swedish historian Peter Englund. The point of Englund's text is not to argue what the true or correct version of history is, but rather to argue the contingency of history:

> The point here has not been to explore what is known as contra-factual [sic!] history or alternate history, but to show how the road leading up to the devastating World War I by no means was straight, and the outcome was by no means inevitable.
>
> Yet the inevitable, paradoxically, [plays] a role in this event, but not as facts but as words. The world exists, independently of us, while at the same time it is also something that we [conjure]. When the war was believed to be inevitable by the right number of people in positions of power, it became inevitable. At the same time, this means that the opposite [could] also be possible, in a similar crisis, sometime in the future. All statements about reality affect it. History is made by humans (Englund, 2008, p. 31).

Depending on from what perspective we approach history (and events around us), we ascribe it (or them) different meanings. This could be regarded as a genetic use of history since Englund uses the historical example to argue the contextual contingency and specificity of matters historical.

Discussion

Regarding the content of the articles studied it can be difficult to draw any conclusions about what really happened in July 1914 since they present such disparate (and sometimes opposing) accounts of the events leading up to the outbreak of World War I. Furthermore, all articles make claims about the causes of the Great War that seem to have some weight to them, furthering the difficulty in choosing which story to believe. I want to argue, however, that this disparity could be regarded as a didactical benefit rather than a problem. If we want to teach history as a discipline where an understanding of the contingency of history is the rule rather than the exception (cf. Lévesque, 2008, p. 101), the material used in this study offers a good opportunity to display this. A material that offers a chance of promoting understanding of history's complexity and multi-perspectivity among its readers could be a welcome complement to history textbooks that tend to offer rather closed and one-dimensional accounts of matters past (cf. Eikeland, 2002, p. 158; Thorp, 2014, p. 512).

These same history textbooks also tend to present accounts of history that have been 'tidied up' from the interpretive and representative mess that a disciplinary approach to history yields. Furthermore, authors of history textbooks do not have a similarly conspicuous role to play as the authors of the articles studied: where the narratives presented in the magazine

articles have a clear 'sender' and voice, history textbooks tend to appear to be more anonymous and, therefore, give an appearance of presenting an 'objective' narrative free from perspective. For this reason I want to argue that the articles studied here may provide an excellent example for a discussion of voice and perspective in historiography and could consequently be used to complement the accounts offered in history textbooks.

The articles studied could also be a rewarding way of analysing the dissemination of history, both from the perspective of historical culture (through the teleological uses of history) and historiography or historical representation (through the narratological uses of history). This holds true when studying the texts both individually and in concert. Since the popular history magazine article format offers a rather limited space, authors tend to offer condensed narratives of history that are quite suitable for analysis from the perspective of uses of history. It should, however, be noted that while this could be argued to be a rich material for teaching the disciplinary aspects of history, it is also quite demanding. Educators that want to further their pupils' or students' meta-historical understanding through the uses of popular history magazines, need to be able to detect and scrutinise the disciplinary aspects of popular historical texts, and to devise learning modules to implement this kind of teaching (cf. Donnelly, 2014, p. 11). The analytical framework presented here (i.e. the focus on content, and teleological and narratological uses of history) could be a useful tool in furthering analyses of cultural context and representation in all types of historical narratives, not only those in popular history magazines.

Conclusion

In this paper I have done two things: I have illustrated how and argued why popular history magazines may be material fit for meta-historical analyses and history teaching, and I have presented a theoretical framework for analysing historical media from a history didactical perspective applying the notion of uses of history. The popular historical material offered through the EHISTO-project's webpage may be a unique opportunity for history educators at all levels to analyse popular history magazines from a number of perspectives.

As the presented analysis has shown popular history magazines do convey complex and historically accurate views of history. If used together, the articles studied here can be used to analyse and discuss the contextual contingencies and representational practices that characterise history, both of an academic and popular nature through the multiple perspectives on a historical event presented. Furthermore, the theoretical framework presented may be applied on all kinds of historical media to further analyses of history didactical aspects in history education, for teachers and pupils alike. To present history in a coherent and convincing way is a challenge to writers of historical accounts of all types and an awareness of the interpretive and representative nature of history can be argued to be an essential asset in history education. Students of history may come to appreciate the complexity of history and accounts thereof through a systematic study of articles from popular history magazines, if given the necessary tools and guidance.

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